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

Two volumes
Volume 2

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Chapter 6: Dunham

Case Study 3: *Dunham*, Norfolk

6.1 Introduction

TABLE 6.1: *DUNHAM* AT A GLANCE

Dunham, Norfolk	
No. parishes in study area (modern)	9
No. historical parishes	11
Parishes by name	Little Dunham, Great Dunham, [East and West] Lexham, Litcham, Mileham, Longham, Wendling, Kempstone, Beeston with [Little] Bittering
Parish with most PAS finds	Great Dunham (60)
Parishes without PAS finds	Lexham, Longham, Kempstone
Size of study area	69.7 km^2
Pre-Viking kingdom	Kingdom of East Anglia
Wapentake/hundred	Launditch hundred
Rivers	River Nar
Major routeways	Peddar's Way to the west; Fen Causeway
Other geographical features	Central Norfolk watershed at Mileham; highest point in Norfolk
Nearest centres c. 1066	Thetford
No. small finds analysed in area	100
No. small finds per km^2	1.4/km^2
No. entries in Domesday	16

The *Dunham* parish cluster (Table 6.1; Figure 6.1; Figure 6.2) is located in mid-west Norfolk in the hundred of Launditch, named for the north-south Iron-Age ditch running through it. The case study unit takes its name from Great Dunham, the parish with the most metal-detected finds in the cluster. *Dunham* is situated c. 40km west of Norwich, c. 40km north of Thetford, and c.80km east of Peterborough (Figure 6.3). The area is first presented here in terms of its political geography, natural environment, and historical and archaeological background, followed by the small finds and the 'secondary data', including evidence from place-names and Domesday Book.

FIGURE 6.1: *DUNHAM* TOPOGRAPHY
Shown over the 'Natural Character' regions of England. *Dunham* sits on the edge of the Central Norfolk Claylands, where they converge with the Brecklands to the south and North-West Norfolk to the north (©EH).

FIGURE 6.2: LAUNDITCH HUNDRED

FIGURE 6.3: *DUNHAM* **AND THE SURROUNDING REGION**
Dunham is shown here against the 'natural character regions' of England and other places mentioned in the text. Many of these are 'productive sites' discussed in the VASLE project (Richards *et al.* 2009), and by Pestell (2003), Rogerson (2003), and Davies (2010). Many of these parishes are in west Norfolk. Note how well connected Dunham is to Peterborough, Thetford, Bury St Edmunds, and the coast, via the Roman road network.

6.2 The region and parishes

The *Dunham* cluster is made up of nine modern parishes (Figure 6.4). Some of the parishes in the study area have no recorded Middle or Late Saxon PAS finds (Lexham, Longham, and Kempston) but their inclusion maintains the study area's physical coherence; they are also valuable for other evidence. All of the parishes are located within the hundred of Launditch (cf. Figure 6.2).
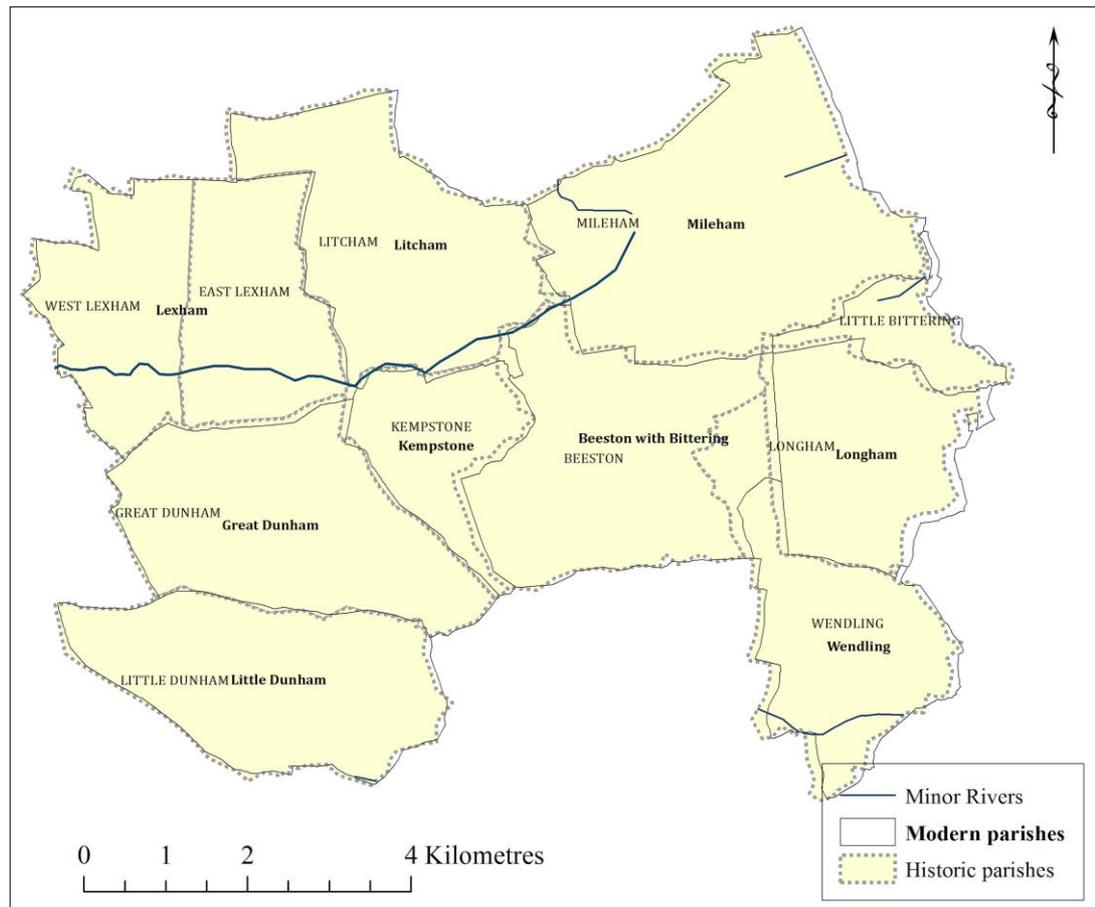
FIGURE 6.4: *DUNHAM* **PARISHES: MODERN AND HISTORIC**

6.2.1 Geography, soils, and agriculture

East Anglia is often characterised as lacking strong relief (Chatwin 1961, 92), but the *Dunham* study region, located to the northeast of Swaffham and west of East Dereham, comprises several hills and valleys. One of the highest points in the county of Norfolk is found to the south of the cluster in the parish of Little Dunham (at 95m OD), and both Great and Little Dunham are notable for their flat-topped hills from which the name 'Dunham' (OE 'hill-settlement') derives. The Nar valley runs through the northern parishes. The slopes in *Dunham* are gradual, but the Nar valley is certainly not flat. There is little risk of flooding along the Nar valley (Figure 6.6). Norfolk's regional watershed runs

through *Dunham*, which hosts fluvial origins that drain both west toward the Fens, and east to the coast (Williamson 1993, 113-4). It has been suggested that the location of this watershed influenced regional activity in the past, and that the watershed would have been a significant landmark or boundary within the county (Rogerson 1995a; Liddiard 2000).

FIGURE 6.5: NAR VALLEY
Gentle gradients slope toward the river Nar and along springlines in the parish of Beeston.

Topographically, *Dunham* is characterised by glacial drift clay deposits of varying depths that overlie solid Upper Chalk (Figure 6.7) on the Jurassic chalk belt that stretches northeast across England (Ashwin and Davison 2005, 4). The Jurassic belt is a predominantly clay vale, generally flat, but elevated by patches of drift, creating the gentle rises that are found in areas such as Great and Little Dunham (Chatwin 1961, 92). Most of Norfolk's glacial deposit drifts are Boulder Clay through which streams have cut over time (Chatwin 1961, 93). *Dunham* is situated on the 'Central Norfolk Claylands' near the Breckland border, where loamy sands give way to chalky till (Sussams 1996, 3; Ashwin and Davison 2005, 9). This is also known as 'Mid Norfolk' according to the Natural Landscape Characterisation. It is covered by a range of soil types (Figure 6.8), the most predominant of which are ranked as 'moderately fertile' and 'moderately to highly fertile' loamy and clayey soils. These are relatively common soil types (Soilscape 18 and 8) across England, with 19.0% and 10.6% coverage, respectively. Both are slightly acid, though the less fertile (18 (shaded green)) is 'slowly permeable' but 'base-rich', while the more fertile (8 (shaded brown)) has 'impeded drainage' (National Soil Resources Institute 2012). This water-retention is a marked contrast to the freely-draining and overly-dry heathlands to the southwest, some of which are found on the western edges of Lexham and Litcham (shaded yellow and red). Most of *Dunham*, however, situated below the marshy river (shaded blue) has clayey rather than sandy drift. The *Dunham* area as a whole is dominated by arable and grassland with some woodland and pasture, although the lower-

lying land is seasonally wet (National Soil Resources Institute 2012). Traditionally, the Central Norfolk Claylands were less fertile than other parts of Norfolk due to the poorly-draining stagnogleys, though it was by no means the most difficult land to farm in the county (Ashwin and Davison 2005, 9).
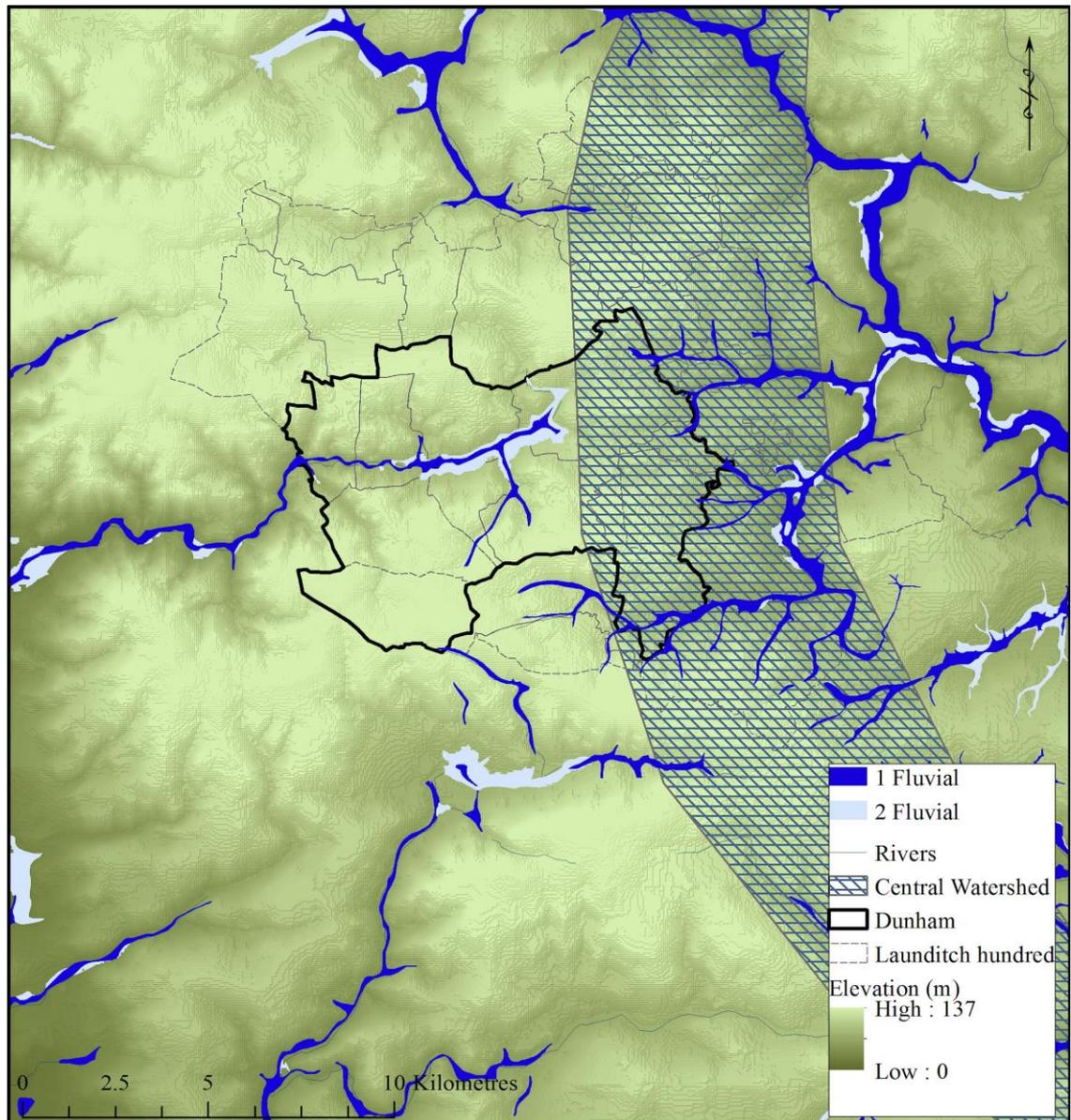
FIGURE 6.6: MODERN FLOOD LEVELS AND NORFOLK WATERSHED
The regional watershed (shown hatched blue) runs through the eastern case study parishes. Only land immediately adjacent to the river Nar is at risk of flooding, and then only in extreme cases. **Key: 1 Fluvial** = areas susceptible to first influx of flood waters; **2 Fluvial**= areas susceptible in extreme flood events. (Crown copyright/database right 2015. A British Geological Survey/EDINA supplied service).
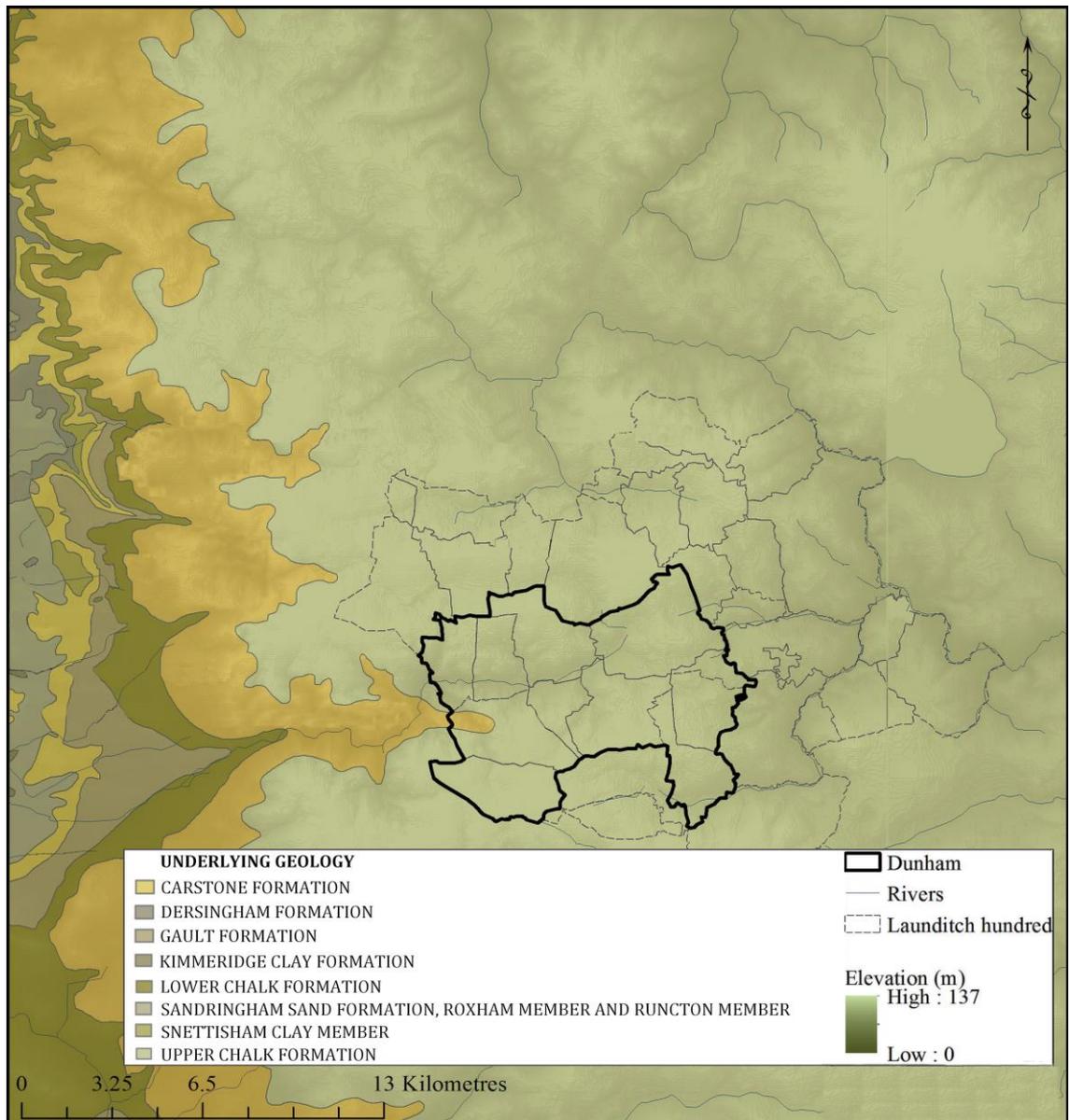
FIGURE 6.7: UNDERLYING GEOLOGY OF *DUNHAM*
The bedrock geology of the *Dunham* region is almost uniformly Upper Chalk Formation, with a small finger of Middle Chalk extending into Great Dunham parish. Launditch hundred as a whole is characterised by this shared geology, as is most of 'Mid Norfolk' (cf. Figure 6.1). Crown copyright/database right 2015. A British Geological Survey/EDINA supplied service.
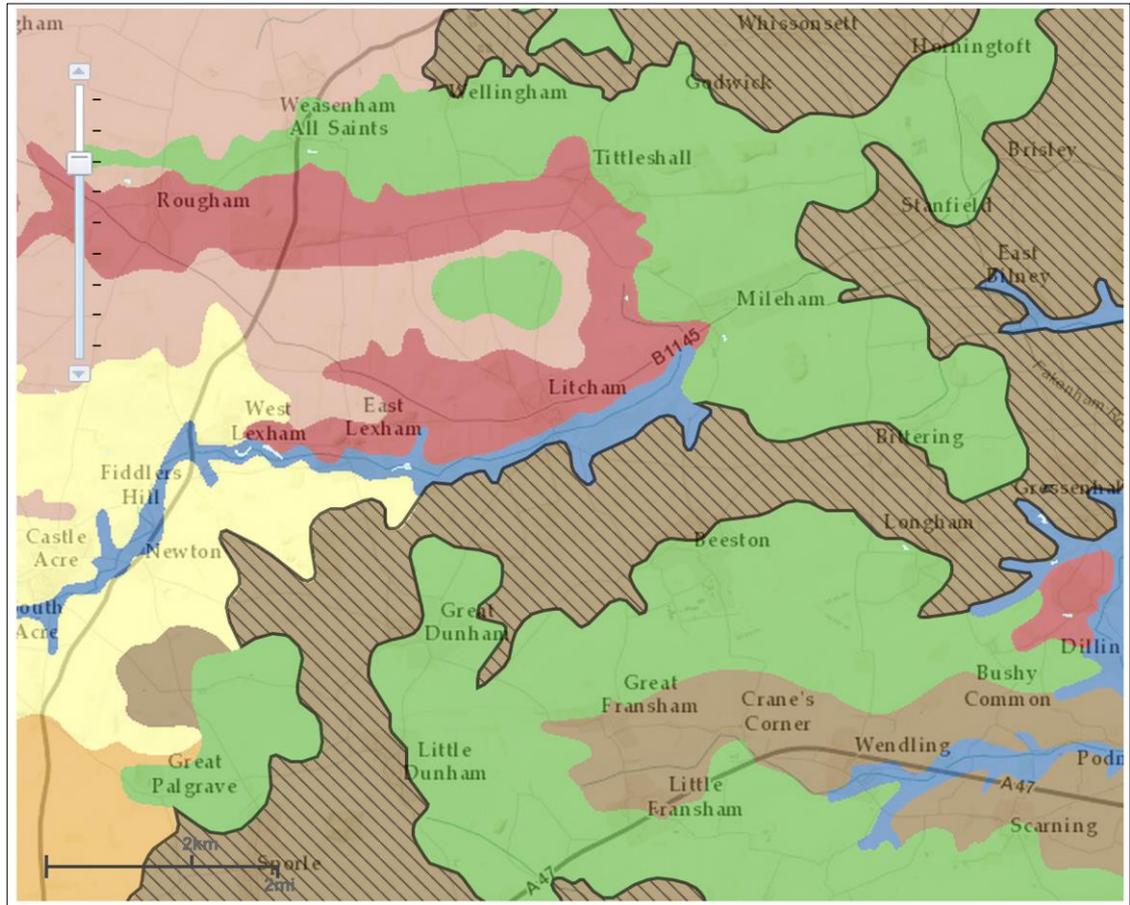
FIGURE 6.8: SOILS
Modern soil designations according to 'Soilscapes' (Cranfield University) are shown against a modern map of the area. Soilscape 8 (brown, hatched) is the most fertile soil type in *Dunham*. It appears in all parishes south of the Nar and Mileham (© National Soil Resources Institute 2012).
Key: Green (Soilscape 18): 'Slowly permeable seasonally wet slightly acid but base-rich loamy and clayey soils'**; Dark brown (Soilscape 8):** 'Slightly acid loamy and clayey soils with impeded drainage'; **Taupe (Soilscape 6)**: 'Freely draining slightly acid loamy soils'**; Maroon (Soilscape 10)**: 'Freely draining slightly acid sandy soils'.

Dunham's location adjacent to the more complex geology of eastern Norfolk and traversed by the regional watershed, places it on a geographical frontier in many ways. This is highlighted by Roman causeways which run through and near to these natural boundaries (cf. Figure 6.3). The study area lies to the east of one of East Anglia's main thoroughfares, the Roman 'Peddar's Way' (Margary no. 33b (1973, 244; Briggs 2013)). The area is crossed by several sections of Roman road, including a prominent north-south route passing through Great and Little Dunham that connects with the Peddar's Way, running from the coast to Thetford and thence to Bury St Edmunds. It is now preserved in lengths of modern road and field boundaries.[29] Another east-west road known as the Fen Causeway (NHER: MNF2796; Margary no. 38 (1973, 244; Briggs 2013)) follows the Nar through *Dunham* and links North Elmham and eastern Norfolk to Peterborough and the north-south Ermine Street. No obvious Roman transport links connect the region to

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[29] This road is not in Margary but is generally accepted to be a Roman road, known as the 'Pickenham to Toftrees' road in the NHER (MNF3697; see also Williamson 2006, 38, Fig. 2.9).

Norwich. Based on these communication networks and a geographical understanding of the area, *Dunham* appears to lie in a central, gateway position within northern East Anglia.

6.3 Archaeological context of *Dunham*

'It is unusual to find a village in this area which does not exhibit some signs of shrinkage...'

-Wade-Martins (1980, 94)

The study area was assessed for notable archaeological finds and features based primarily on searches of Historic Environment Records (HERs) and developer-funded archaeology reports. The relevant archaeological background to *Dunham* from the prehistoric period to the Norman Conquest is presented in chronological order with specific attention to the Middle and Late Saxon periods. Only features that might still have been visible or influential in the early medieval period are discussed for the pre-Saxon periods. The collated evidence for Middle and Late Saxon activity in *Dunham* is discussed under thematic headings for clarity, with 'Excavation', 'Pottery', and 'Small finds' presented in both cases, and 'Sculptures, structures, earthworks' added to the Late Saxon evidence. Deserted medieval villages and notes on early medieval communication routes are also presented here. The evidence presented in these cases is referenced by Case Study IDs which can be linked to Appendix 1 and relevant maps. The earlier evidence is referenced by NHER number.

6.3.1 Prehistoric Dunham

FIGURE 6.9: THE LAUNDITCH
Trees line what was once an Iron Age defensive ditch and routeway; it later served as moot site where the Fen Causeway crosses the ditch, to the left of the photograph.

Subsistence patterns in Norfolk varied from region to region, often dictated by the soils and their underlying geology. Archaeological evidence for early farming is restricted to a

few excavated sites, although some extrapolations may be made. Norfolk was being farmed as early as the Neolithic, with more extensive clearing for agricultural purposes beginning in the Bronze Age and intensifying in the Iron Age and Roman periods (Ashwin and Davison 2005, 12). By the Late Saxon period flax, horse-beans, peas, celery, and a variety of cereals were being cultivated; even marginal areas like the fens had been coaxed into arable production (Ashwin and Davison 2005, 12). By the ninth century AD, most of upland Norfolk — including the case study region of *Dunham* — hosted some form of settlement (Ashwin and Davison 2005, 32).

Dunham had pockets of prehistoric activity in every parish (Figure 6.10). Enclosures, ditches, and trackways identify most of these. The most impressive of the earthworks in Dunham is of course the Launditch. This earthwork, forming the length of the Beeston-Longham parish boundary from north to south and having once extended much further, is believed to have been a defensive Iron Age boundary (Figure 6.9). The Launditch is traversed by the Roman Fen Causeway, where the hundred moot met in the medieval period (D908).

Several tumuli dating to the prehistoric period are located within the study region, all north of the River Nar. One of these mounds marks a boundary meeting place between Litcham and Tittleshall parishes. Many more prehistoric monuments are located further north, outwith the study region, perhaps suggesting a preference for the sandier soils, or reflecting a higher likelihood of destruction on the clay soils.
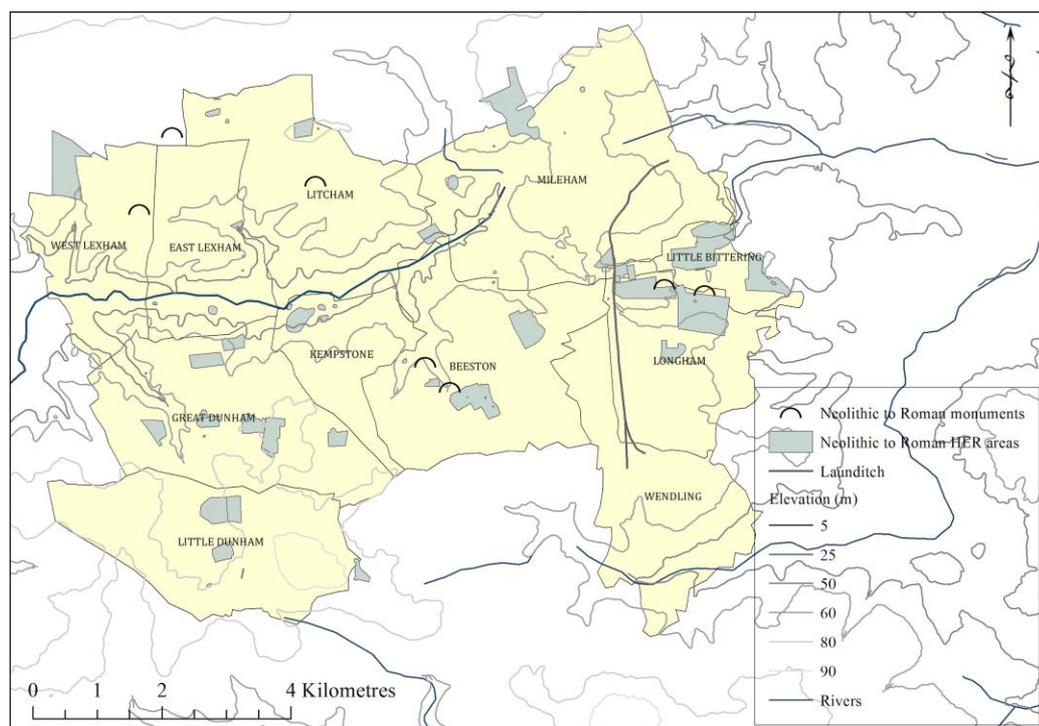
FIGURE 6.10: PREHISTORIC *DUNHAM*
Data derived from HERs courtesy of the Norfolk Historic Environment Records Office.

6.3.2 Roman to Early Saxon Dunham (to c. AD 650)

Romano-British activity is found throughout *Dunham* (Figure 6.11), with roads crossing east to west as well as north and south. The Fen Causeway is the most extensive of these, and, meandering along the higher ground of the Nar Valley, is the least 'Roman' in appearance, except where it crosses the Launditch as 'Salter's Lane' (Figure 6.12).
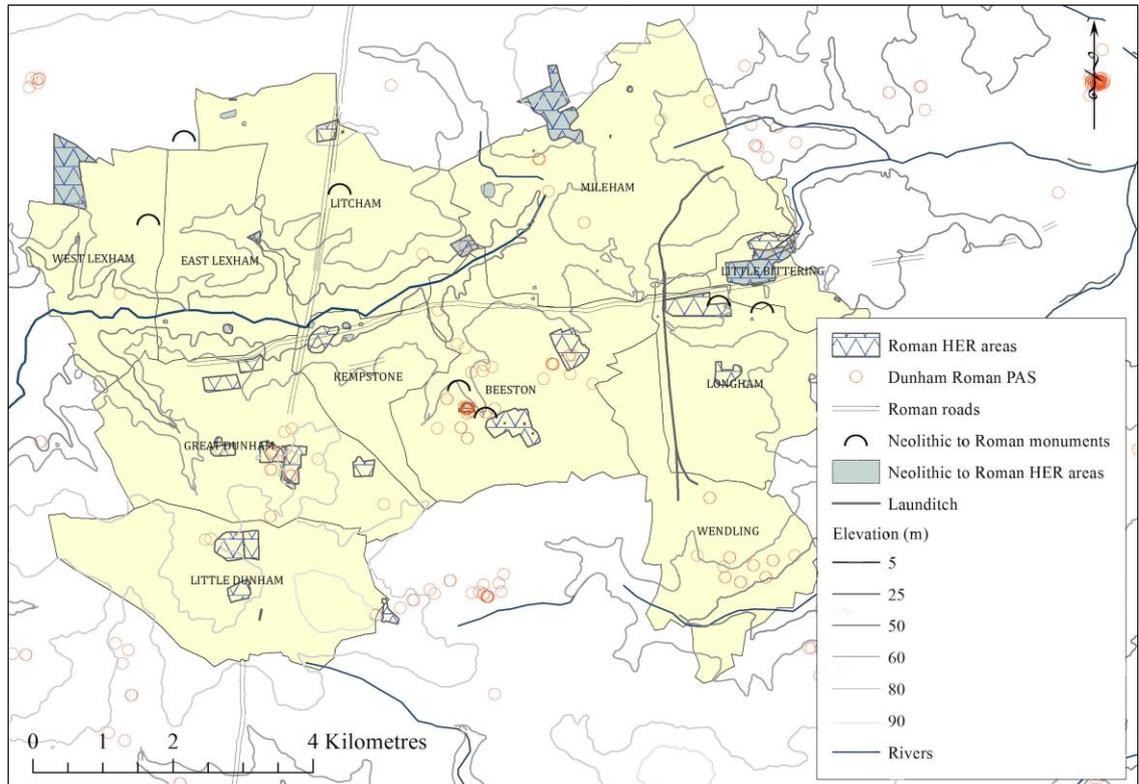
FIGURE 6.11: ROMANO-BRITISH *DUNHAM*
Showing HERs and Romano-British PAS findspots.

FIGURE 6.12: SALTER'S LANE
The name of this stretch of road reflects its role in the salt industry. Transportation of salt from the Fens and coast into East Anglia is attested from the prehistoric period onward (Lane and Morris 2001). By Domesday (AD 1086) Mileham and several surrounding parishes held salthouses for storing and distribution (see Table 6.7, below).

The Pickenham to Toftrees road transects Litcham and the Dunham parishes (Figure 6.11). There was probably a Romano-British settlement in Little Dunham (NHER: MNF30273), a village that straddled the Fen Causeway in Longham east of the Launditch, and indication of settlement along the Roman road at the border of Litcham and Tittleshall (Figure 6.13). It appears that these settlements were based directly around the road systems.
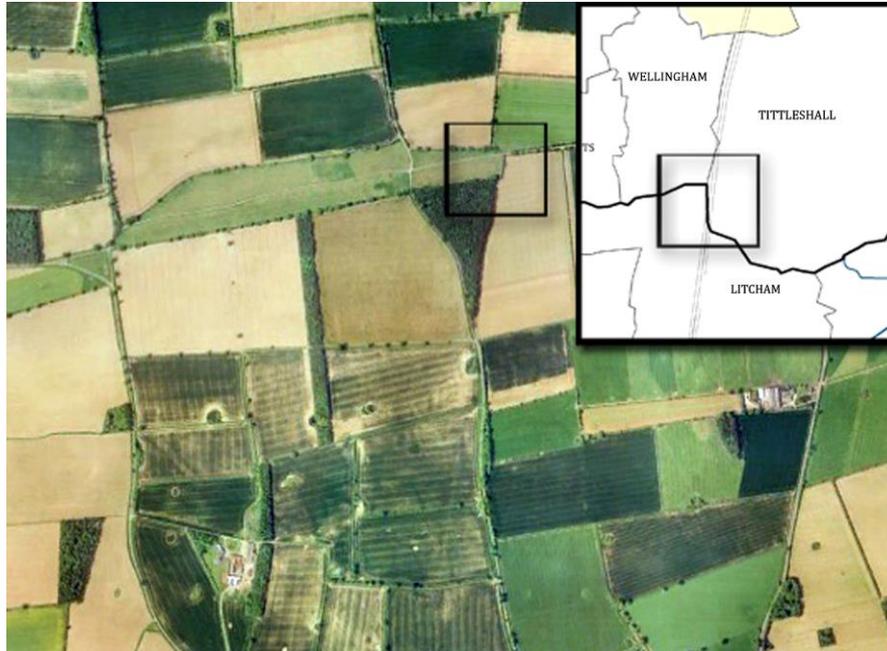
FIGURE 6.13: ROMAN ROAD THROUGH LITCHAM
The same road that traverses Great and Little Dunham ran through Litcham and Tittleshall. The mound that marks the parish boundary described above lies just south of the point at which the Roman road is taken up as a parish boundary, and where the parishes of Wellingham, Tittleshall, and Litcham meet (see inset).

There is some evidence for woodland regeneration beginning in the fifth century after the Romans departed, but peat analyses from southern Norfolk suggest that this might have been fairly localised: grassland and cereal-types prevailed in the pollen record throughout the Early Saxon period and agriculture continued to develop into the Middle Saxon period as records at nearby Brandon and other East Anglian Middle Saxon sites suggest (Ashwin and Davison 2005, 11).

Several finds indicate an Early Saxon presence over areas where Roman activity took place, such as at Great and Little Dunham (Figure 6.14). There is a suspected Early Saxon cemetery in Great Dunham to the south of the modern village, identified by the presence of urns found during construction of a road in the nineteenth century (NHER: MNF4176). A second suspected cemetery is located in Beeston where large numbers of finds from metal-detecting and fieldwalking suggest an inhumation cemetery (NHER: MNF49093). These cemeteries certainly would not have rivalled nearby Spong Hill in North Elmham (Hills and Lucy 2013), though both local and regional cemeteries might have retained prominence in local memory. The majority of the Early Saxon evidence seems to come

from the south of the study area, but this is almost certainly a reflection of targeted metal-detecting and fieldwalking (Rogerson pers. comm.).
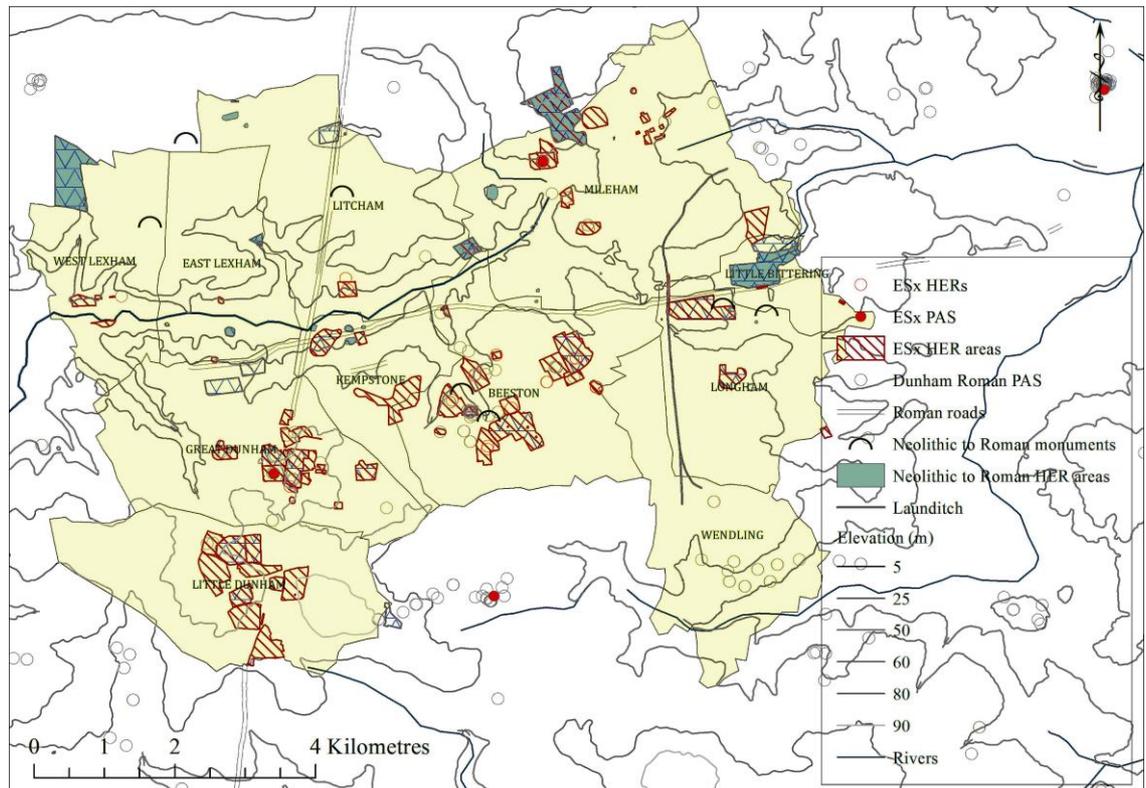
FIGURE 6.14: EARLY SAXON DUNHAM
Showing HERs where Early Saxon finds — particularly potsherds — have been recovered through fieldwalking.

6.3.3 Middle Saxon Dunham (c.650-850)

TABLE 6.2: MIDDLE SAXON EVIDENCE SUMMARY

Excavations	Pottery	Non-PAS metalwork
y	*y*	*n*

At this time the Kingdom of East Angles was mostly dominated by Mercia, although continued hostility between the two kingdoms is recorded in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle.* Ipswich was the closest place exhibiting urban characteristics at this time, although Thetford and Norwich were developing into important sites along their respective riverbanks (Atkin 1985; Ashwin and Davison 2005, 32). Evidence for occupation and activity in this period can be identified on the basis of Ipswich ware from c.720 (Blinkhorn 2012; Welch 2012, 2). Coinage circulation resumed in AD 680 and provides another means of identifying Middle Saxon sites. There are fewer known cemeteries from this period, partly because of changes in burial practice as Christianity was widely adopted in the seventh century, and breaks from some of the Early Saxon settlement locations are also evident.

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FIGURE 6.15: MIDDLE AND LATE SAXON HERS (NON-METAL)
MSx and LSx archaeology is shown against the known earlier archaeology, including PAS finds. Most of the polygons represent fieldwalking extents that have revealed potsherds. The numbers listed correspond to the NHER Case Study IDs found in **Appendix 1**. Metalwork is shown below in Figure 6.16.

Both East Dereham (to the east) and North Elmham (to the northeast) have evidence of Middle Saxon activity in the respective forms of a potential monastery and a planned settlement (Ashwin and Davison 2005, 32). North Elmham in particular has been associated with elite consumption patterns, exhibiting ties to the wider emporia at the time through sherds of imported continental pottery — a rare occurrence in the 'hinterlands' (Wade-Martins 1980; Blinkhorn 1999, 11). It has furthermore been suggested that Bawsey may have played an important role in Anglo-Saxon administration prior to the emergence of King's Lynn (Hutcheson 2006). A number of other rural sites have been identified as 'productive' in the Middle Saxon period (e.g. Davies 2010), situating *Dunham* within a wider regional landscape of artefact use and discard, though the precise nature of these sites remains ambiguous (cf. Figure 6.3, above).

6.3.3.1 Excavation

Besides pottery, discussed below, little archaeology dating to the Middle Saxon period has been discovered through excavation. One trial excavation prior to construction in Mileham, however, did reveal a boundary ditch (D900) believed to date to the seventh or

eighth centuries, perhaps delimiting the extent of a settlement (Gurney and Penn 1998, 201).

6.3.3.2   Pottery

Middle Saxon pottery has been recovered in relatively large quantities in *Dunham*. Systematic fieldwalking and potsherd retrieval by metal-detectorists have contributed to this, along with excavation. In Beeston, Great Dunham, Little Dunham, and Mileham in particular, notable distributions of Ipswich and contemporary local wares have been identified. Fransham has yielded much higher quantities of Middle Saxon pottery, as a result of the extensive fieldwalking carried out there (Rogerson 1995a). It is not improbable that neighbouring parishes such as Great Dunham and Beeston would yield similar results under the same level of scrutiny. Several pottery findspots in the NHER have been interpreted as evidence of probable settlement at Longham (D362), while others point more ephemerally to sites of activity foci over the *longue durée*; many potsherds are found in association with evidence of at least one other period and are often close to later features, as at the twelfth-century church at Beeston (D329) or the 'Old Hall' in Great Dunham (D303).

6.3.3.3   Small finds

Numerous small finds are recorded in the HER, with many of these now also in the PASD. All non-metal findspots for this period refer to pottery scatters. The metalwork is discussed in more detail below, but briefly, the Middle Saxon HERs do not reveal any unexpected finds. There are strap-ends, pins, brooches and two sets of tweezers, amongst other items (Figure 6.16). What is striking about these records, however, are the relatively few coins. This is in notable contrast to several neighbouring parishes in West Norfolk where quantities of Middle Saxon coins attracted the attention of archaeologists (e.g. Rogerson 2003; Davies 2010).
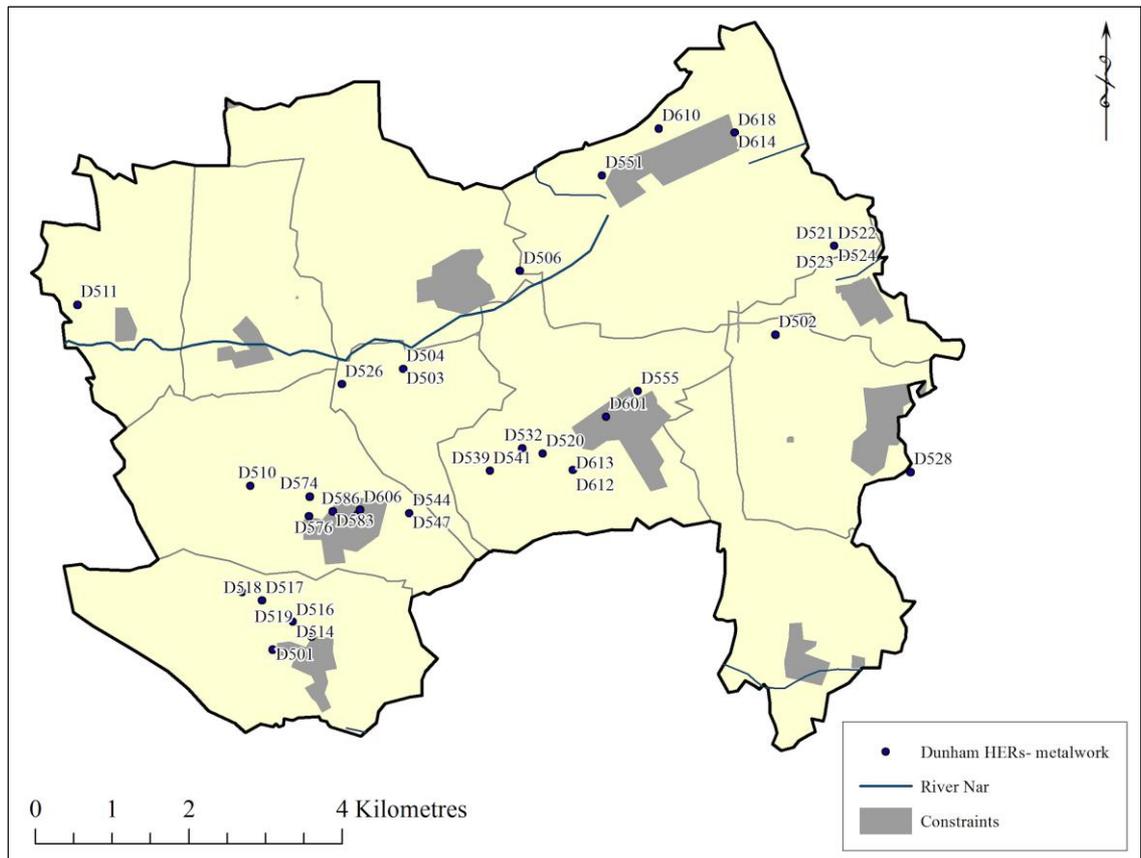
FIGURE 6.16: HER FINDSPOTS — ALL METALWORK
The IDs listed here can be linked to the catalogue in Appendix 1.

6.3.4 Late Saxon Dunham (c.850-1100)

TABLE 6.3: LATE SAXON EVIDENCE SUMMARY

Excavations	Pottery	Non-PAS metalwork	Sculpture, structures	DMVs
y	y	n	y	4

The Late Saxon period witnessed the murder of King Edmund followed by the reign of the viking king Guthrum and settlement of Scandinavian members of the 'Great Army' in the late ninth century. In the first half of the tenth century, East Anglia was conquered by the West Saxons. Nevertheless, this political turmoil is rarely archaeologically visible. The archaeological evidence in *Dunham* for the Late Saxon period often overlaps with Middle Saxon and medieval finds, suggesting continued settlement or at least activity foci. This can make dating sites difficult, however (cf. Albone *et al.* 2008, 57, where Norfolk's Late Saxon and medieval sites are discussed together for this reason). It is furthermore possible that a number of the NHER records with a start date of 1066 actually had Late Saxon origins. To attempt to refine the NHER chronology was beyond the scope of this project, however, and therefore only cases where a site was assigned a pre-Conquest date are addressed here.

6.3.4.1   Excavation

Several developer-funded excavations have been undertaken in *Dunham* with their results fastidiously recorded in the NHER. Few of these small trenches revealed more than Late Saxon potsherds with some portable metal finds. Rescue excavation of the deserted village of Grenstein, which falls partially within Mileham parish, was undertaken in the 1960s by Wade-Martins (1980). This has been the most revealing excavation work in the immediate study area, suggesting that settlement shifted southwards in the medieval period from its Late Saxon hamlet (Wade-Martins 1980, 160). Most of the details relate to the 12th century and later; little Late Saxon evidence was found through either the toft and pond excavation or fieldwalking. Nevertheless, these results provide a valuable glimpse of early medieval and later settlement development on the Norfolk clays. Middle Harling (Rogerson 1995b) provides the most comprehensive contemporary settlement excavated in Norfolk, with which analogies might be drawn. Other excavated sites in closer proximity include Sedgeford (Cabot *et al.* 2004) and North Elmham (Wade-Martins and O'Connor 1980).

6.3.4.2   Pottery

A number of Late Saxon pottery scatters have been recorded throughout *Dunham*, though not as many as with the previous period. Where typed, it is normally Thetford ware, to which Ipswich ware gives way after the mid-ninth century (Rogerson 1995b, 89). Notably there is no evidence of overseas imports in either the Middle or Late Saxon periods; all pottery is from within East Anglia. This phenomenon was observed elsewhere in West Norfolk by Davies (2010, 280), throwing the Continental imports from North Elmham into even sharper relief (Blinkhorn 1999, 11).

As with the earlier pottery, there were frequent associations between Late Saxon potsherds and Middle Saxon and medieval finds and features. Further examples of longevity of occupation in *Dunham* might be evident in the potsherds found adjacent to medieval moated sites at Little Dunham (D313) and Beeston with Bittering (D355), and the supposed manor at Little Dunham (D302). Other associations near churches (e.g. East Lexham (D304) and Litcham (D328)), deserted medieval villages (e.g. Kempstone (D324) and Grenstein (D353)), and millstones (e.g. D3597; D359, both in Mileham) are also notable. Overall, it appears that most medieval sites in *Dunham* yield evidence of prior activity when adjacent areas are searched.

6.3.4.3 Small finds

There are few non-metal finds of note recorded in the *Dunham* HERs besides potsherds. A minimum of two whetstones have been recovered, with one from Mileham (D361), and a lava quernstone dating to the Late Saxon period was recovered from the rubble of the disused church of St Paul in Kempstone (D367). This was presumably Mayen lavastone which has been identified elsewhere in *Dunham* and excavated East Anglian sites (e.g. Middle Harling (Rogerson 1995b, 81)). It was imported in bulk from the Rhine, but often processed and distributed via Ispwich (Steedman 1994, 296; Pohl 2010, 149). This artefact is valuable evidence for small-scale processing of grain and domestic activity, and its significance increases in light of the known milling industries operating in the *Dunham* region by the late eleventh century (cf. Table 6.7, below). Other quernstones of the same material have been recovered throughout *Dunham* but they are undated (e.g. NHER: MNF4092 (D367)). Lava quernstone fragments were recovered in great quantity at Middle Harling, but they had been broken and used for metalling (Rogerson 1995b, 89-91). Evidence for quernstones might therefore be difficult to trace in unexcavated contexts.

The majority of the metal finds are included in the artefact analyses below, but some are worth highlighting here. The Mileham sword (D610) deserves special mention. Recovered from beneath two metres of silt in a medieval moat in 1945, the sword is embellished with Ringerike-style designs and has been roughly dated to the early eleventh century. Wilson (1965, 40) does not doubt the Late Saxon origins of the sword, which was found beneath later medieval pottery. Other items with Scandinavian-influenced motifs have also been recovered from the region but may well have been produced in England, as was the sword (Wilson 1965, 40). In terms of Scandinavian cultural association and provenance, a copper alloy ingot (D541) was found amongst a number of multi-period finds in Beeston, and Kershaw (2012, no. 442) identified a fragment of an oval brooch from Mileham (D614) as a Scandinavian import (Figure 6.17). The copper alloy ingot of which increasing numbers are being found in Norfolk, including two at Bawsey (Davies 2010, 285), might be viewed as a product of the Scandinavian-influenced bullion economy more frequently represented by silver ingots (Pestell 2013, 249), but which are relatively common in hoards from Scandinavian hubs such as Ribe and Birka (Sindbæk 2001, 51). Another possibility is that it relates to jewellery production. Frankish- and Frisian-imported raw copper alloys have been found at Kaupang for use in metalwork manufacture in the eighth and ninth centuries (Skre 2010, 132).
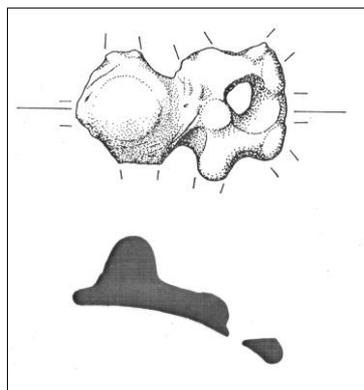
FIGURE 6.17: OVAL BROOCH FROM MILEHAM PARISH
Fragment of an oval brooch recovered in the parish of Mileham and recorded with the NHER (MNF7270). The brooch is unclassifiable but has been confirmed as Scandinavian in provenance. Image from Kershaw (2012, no. 442). Another oval brooch fragment is listed on the PASD, found in Great Dunham (D010; see Box 6.1, below).

6.3.4.4   *Sculpture, structures, earthworks, settlement*
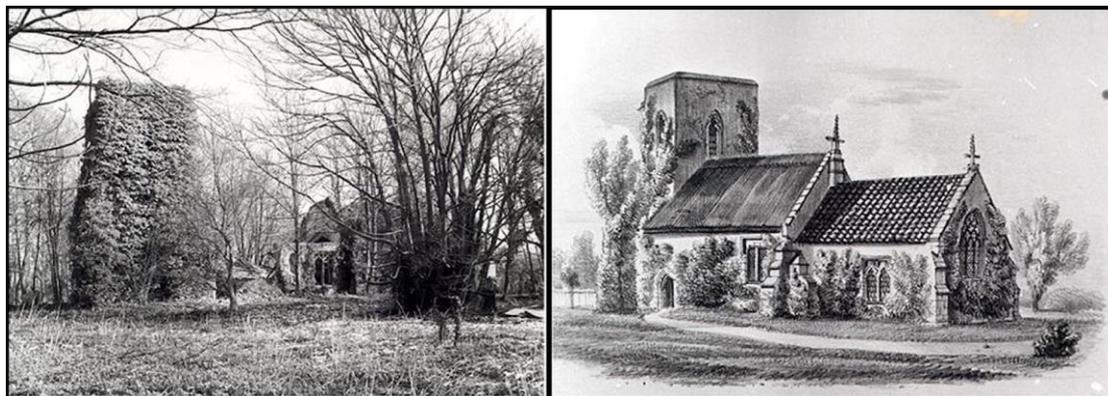
FIGURE 6.18: ST PAUL'S, KEMPSTONE
A photograph of the ruins of St Paul's (left) and an undated depiction of the church intact (right). Copyright: Norfolk Museums and Archaeology Service.

No Late Saxon sculpture has been identified in *Dunham*, although at least four Late Saxon churches were founded here in the tenth and eleventh centuries. Three church buildings preserve Late Saxon origins, often distinguishable by their windows. The parish church of Kempstone, now lost, was also of Late Saxon date (Figure 6.18). Only one church in Lexham is fully recorded in the Domesday Survey (Litcham had half a church listed), and is presumably that in East Lexham (D903), the earliest of the two Saxon round-towered churches. West Lexham's church of St Nicholas might in fact be early Saxo-Norman (D901). The architectural evidence is another reminder of the discrepancies between Domesday Book and the archaeological records.

It is pertinent to consider the millstone (D301) dated to the Late Saxon period found in *Dunham* in this analysis. As with the whetstone and lava quern above, as surface finds they are often dated based on surrounding evidence; most millstones from *Dunham* are ascribed a post-Conquest date in the NHER, but this might well be convention rather than

secure dating. It is perhaps more reliable to view the evidence for a number of medieval millstones and a handful of Late Saxon millstones in the context of the milling industries recorded in Domesday Book. By the late eleventh century, mills were a common feature of the Nar valley landscape (discussed in detail below). These normally represent the continuity of pre-Conquest industries rather than post-Conquest foundations, as indicated in the term 'always' (TRE) rather than 'now' (TRW) in the Norfolk Domesday Book (e.g. 46,1). Therefore even where millstones are not necessarily attributed to the Late Saxon period, the medieval millstones might provide clues as to the location of earlier milling activity.

In terms of earthworks, *Dunham*'s hundred takes its name from a characteristic feature: the 'Launditch' (D905) is a long earthwork boundary that was once believed to be Anglo-Saxon in date, as are many of East Anglia's linear earthwork features (Wade-Martins 1980, 5). After excavation, however, the Launditch was reinterpreted as an Iron Age bank (NHER: MNF7235). Parts of the long, ditched bank remain visible in the *Dunham* landscape, and at the junction with the Salter's Way a medieval moot site is also recorded (D908). A sixteenth-century map shows a gibbet there, indicating its importance as a place of justice and execution (NHER: MNF13025). Other earthworks in *Dunham* relate to deserted medieval villages, and are discussed below.

TABLE 6.4: DMVS IN *DUNHAM*
All DMVs listed here are related to settlements recorded in Domesday Book. Although they are indications of medieval settlement sites, all are associated with Middle or Late Saxon (or earlier) evidence of activity.

	In DB?	*Location known?*	*Parish*	*HER ID*	*Project ID*
Longham	y	y	Longham	MNF7269	D362-3
West Lexham	y	y	Lexham	MNF4063	D331
Little Bittering	y	y	Beeston with Bittering	MNF7266	D910
Kempstone	y	y	Kempstone	MNF4083	D911
Grenstein (Tittleshall)	y	y	Tittleshall	MNF7225	D913
Godwick (Tittleshall)	y	y	Tittleshall	MNF1104	n/a
Sutton (Tittleshall)	y	y	Tittleshall	NMF3708	n/a

The settled landscape of *Dunham* was altered drastically between the early Anglo-Saxon and later medieval periods. Without excavation it is difficult to trace just how the layouts and property distributions changed and precisely when. Unlike with many other parts of England, settlement on the clays of Norfolk tended to shift from small nucleations in the Middle Saxon period, to more dispersed, or semi-dispersed settlements in the subsequent period as population growth necessitated more land (Williamson and Skipper

2005, 38). Nevertheless by the eleventh century, new agricultural systems and trends towards nucleation similar to elsewhere in Late Saxon England were being adopted. The deserted or shrunken medieval villages in *Dunham* are proof of local change, if not immediately revealing of pre-Conquest settlement (Table 6.4). They include places completely abandoned (e.g. Grenstein), and others where shifts away from earlier settlements occurred (e.g. East Lexham), and have been viewed as testament to the difficulties posed by heavy clay-land farming (Wade-Martins 1980, 53).
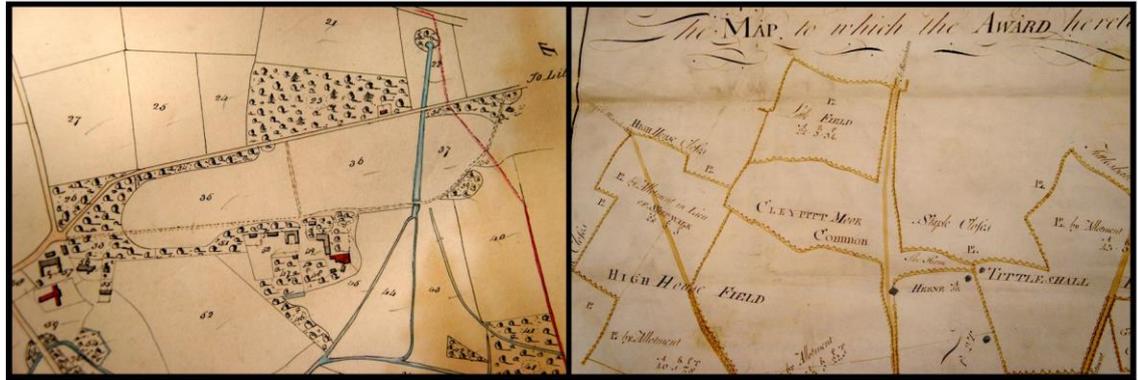
FIGURE 6.19: ROADSIDE ENCLOSURE
A post-enclosure Tithe and Apportion map of East Lexham in 1841 (left) shows parts of the parish where what would have once been wide droveways were streamlined to make narrower roads (see Rippon 2004, 34 on this topic). The surplus was converted to irregular enclosures as was common across England (NArch: DN/TA 440). A pre-enclosure Award map of Litcham c. 1770 (right; NArch: MC2372/1) shows how common land along roadsides looked before enclosure.

Tithe and enclosure maps often show areas of newly enclosed roadside (Figure 6.19), thus highlighting the wider droveways of the medieval period (e.g. Rippon 2004, 34) in addition to the old trackways and settlements long since converted to arable fields. For example, a number of 'Old Road' place-names are preserved in newer field names on tithe maps. The most puzzling change in *Dunham* recognisable from early modern settlement layouts relates to the north-south Roman road, running through Great and Little Dunham and Litcham. The earliest eighteenth-century estate maps of Litcham and Dunham preserve the line of the road only as field boundaries. It is hard to imagine, however, that the road did not continue to feature in the post-Roman centuries. Indeed, both Great and Little Dunham seem to have developed around it, possibly continuously since the Roman period (Figure 6.20). Unfortunately, field names alongside the road are unrevealing. Some analogy might be derived from Tittleshall and its neighbouring deserted medieval village of Sutton, however, both of which had Middle and Late Saxon origins (Wade-Martins 1980, 55). In this case, settlements developed just north and south of an east-west Roman road, perpendicular in the former case, parallel in the latter (Wade-Martins 1980, Fig. 29). Great Dunham appears to have developed in a remarkably similar way, although there is no record of the two clusters having different names (Figure 6.21). Wade-Martins described Tittleshall in1905 as 'surprisingly nucleated for a boulder clay upland village' (1980, 53);

the multi-foci villages of Great and Little Dunham are more in keeping with regional

settlement patterns.

FIGURE 6.20: ROMAN ROAD THROUGH *DUNHAM*
Showing the line of the road picked out by field boundaries running through the polyfocal
settlement of modern Dunham.
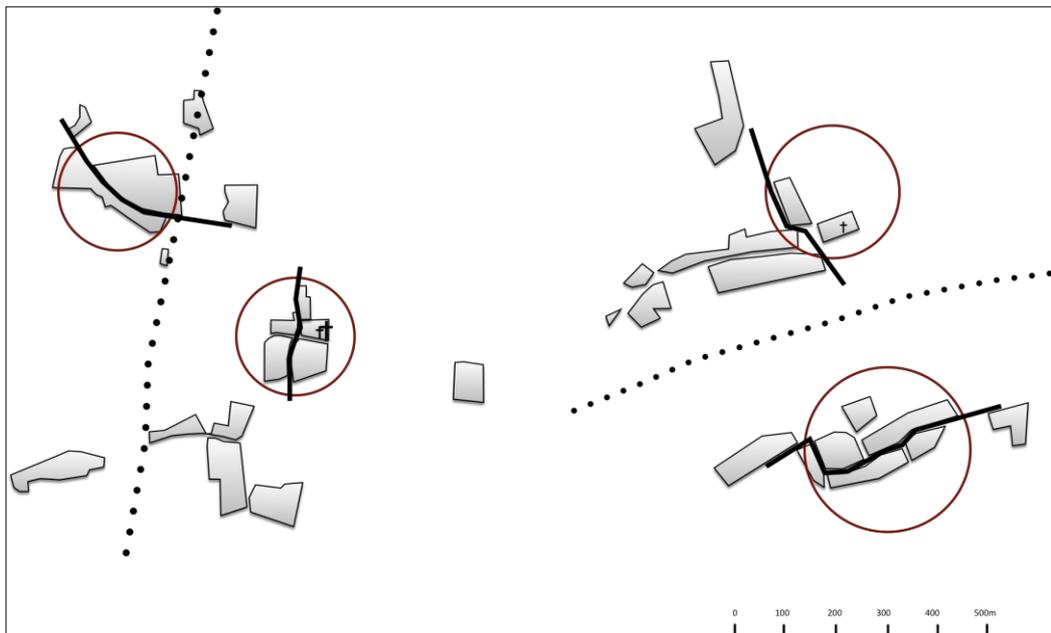
FIGURE 6.21: GREAT DUNHAM AND TITTLESHALL AND SUTTON SETTLEMENTS
Schematic representation of early settlement around Great Dunham (left) based on 1878 enclosure
award (NArch: DNTA/257), and the Tittleshall and Sutton settlements (right) based on Wade-
Martins (1980, 55). Note the relationship of settlement parallel to and perpendicular to the Roman
roads (dotted lines).

Some settlements in *Dunham* underwent drastic shifts over time, and we might expect

the less discernible Middle and Late Saxon occupation sequences to have undergone

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similar processes. Nevertheless, an element of locational continuity has been identified based on pottery distributions in the cases of Great Dunham and Beeston. It is worth noting that unlike the East Midlands, East Anglian parish boundaries were not necessarily solidified prior to the Norman Conquest (Williamson and Skipper 2005, 38), thereby contributing to the fluidity with which roads, fields, and settlements evolved. As Domesday Book records, however, most of the place-names in *Dunham* were associated with some form of settlement — whether farmstead, hamlet, or vill — by 1066.

6.4 Domesday Book and historical background

> *'…in addition to the anomaly of Yorkshire (that was Danish but not free) there was to be the anomaly of East Anglia (that was free but not Danish)…'*

-Davis (1955, 25)

TABLE 6.5: *DUNHAM* IN DOMESDAY BOOK
All data derived from Open Domesday (OD) and *Domesday Book: Norfolk* (1984, Phillimore, 'NDB').

Place	*Total Population*	*Relative Size*	*Total tax (geld units)*	*Relative Amount*	*Domesday Entries*
BITTERING	8 households	quite small	0.7	very small	2
DUNHAM (GREAT AND LITTLE)	69 households	very large	9.9	very large	3
KEMPSTONE	8 households	quite small	1	very small	1
LEXHAM (EAST AND WEST)	39 households	very large	7.8	very large	2
LITCHAM	30 households	very large	7.1	quite large	3
LONGHAM	3 households	very small	0.5	very small	1
MILEHAM	97 households	very large	6.3	quite large	3
WENDLING	10 households	quite small	1.1	quite small	1

The area had several important manors and valuable sokelands prior to and after the Norman Conquest. Table 6.5 above, highlights the range of valuations and populations in the region. Norfolk was the most densely populated county in England after AD 1000 (Barringer 2005, x), and given the populations listed for Mileham and Dunham it is easy to see why. A number of other vills in Launditch hundred (e.g. Foulsham and North Elmham) had populations of 70 households or greater. Domesday Book holds an entry for every current parish in the *Dunham* cluster except Beeston. Bittering is recorded independently from Beeston (the two were not amalgamated until the nineteenth century) and Great and Little Dunham and East and West Lexham are treated as one vill, as was common elsewhere (e.g. High and Low Risby, *Roxby*). As the archaeology demonstrates, there was

certainly a presence in the Beeston region in the Late Saxon period, suggesting that its omission was either an oversight or that at the time it was subsumed under one of the neighbouring parishes. Rogerson suggests it was linked with the see of Mileham under King William (1995a, 150).

The table here takes a slightly different form from those in the other case studies since there were more complex pre-Conquest landholding divisions than was possible to represent without major adjustments. In this case, due to the number of different landholders of what only became single units under a Norman lord, the landholders TRE are listed beneath their respective manors in the table. It is worth noting the number of freemen and the freewoman that appear as landholders prior to the Conquest.

Place	Tenant-in-Chief TRW (1086)							
	Ralph of Tosny	King William	Ralph de Beaufour	Hermer de Ferrers	Count Alan of Brittany	William de Warenne	Edmund son of Payne	Abbot of Bury St Edmunds
External Manors	Necton [M]				Stanfield [M]			
MILEHAM		I [M] *Archbishop Stigand; Alwine a freeman*	II [M]	III [M]	[S] *2 freemen*			
BITTERING		[S] *Alwin; A freewoman*						
DUNHAM	[S] *Earl Harold*	[B] *Archbishop Stigand*					[M] *Payne father of Edmund*	
KEMPSTON						[S] *Archbishop Stigand*		
LEXHAM			[S] *Fathir of Banham (Earl Harold)*			[M] *Ulfkil, a free man*		
LONGHAM				[S] *A freeman*				
LITCHAM		[B] *Archbishop Stigand*		[M] *Thorkil*				
WENDLING		[S]						[M] *Abbey of Bury St Edmunds; a freeman*
Other holdings	+20	+15	+3	+1 (Litcham)				

Mileham was the largest and most important estate centre in the area, holding land in over twenty vills. Many of these were within Launditch and neighbouring hundreds though some were held further afield. By 1086 Mileham had become a royal estate, held in demesne by William the Conqueror. Prior to 1066, it belonged partly to Archbishop Stigand, one of the major landholders TRE. William would have coveted this land as a wealthy estate, but it also served a defensive and administrative role with the establishment of a motte and bailey after the Conquest (Liddiard 2005, 81). The additional Mileham manors (Table 6.6) represent gifts of land to followers of William. Count Alan of Brittany's holding in Mileham was held as sokeland within the nearby manor of Stanfield. This is an example of the division of some of Stigand's lands: thirty-five freemen held the land under Archbishop Stigand prior to 1066, but by 1086 the land of two of them had

gone to Bishop Almer under Alan of Brittany, while William de Warenne was granted rights over the remaining land and freemen (*NDB*, 4,8).

The Norfolk Domesday survey was more explicit about some information than other shire surveys. Overlords in 1066 are occasionally listed in addition to the lords, thereby providing a better understanding of transferals of land after the Conquest. The Norfolk Domesday is especially clear about assets before, up to, and in 1086, following a pattern of 'then, after, now', or, if the same, 'always'. Furthermore, the way in which assessments of vills in Norfolk are listed in Domesday Book may provide an indication of earlier settlement complexities, perhaps representing different farmsteads or hamlets within a given place. Hadley (2005, 82) comments that villages with different foci can often be linked to multiple lords; it would appear that not only were there multiple lords and polyfocal settlements represented in *Dunham* (Figure 6.22), but that under a given lord, there might even be a number of smaller hamlets beyond the core vill.

FIGURE 6.22: 'POLYFOCAL' SETTLEMENT IN 19TH-C GREAT DUNHAM.
Even to this day Great Dunham remains a sprawling village with multiple foci lined east-west and north-south surrounding a number of fields. See Figure 6.21, above for contrast with other local village development. Copyright: Norfolk Records Office; NArch: DNTA/257, Great Dunham Tithe map, 1838.

TABLE 6.7: INDUSTRIES AND OTHER ASSETS IN *DUNHAM* (1086)

Vill	Church	Fishery	Market	Mill	Salthouse
Dunham			0.5	2	1
Lexham	1	1		2	0.25
Litcham	0.5		0.25	1	
Mileham				1	1
Wendling				1	
Total	1.5	1	0.75	8	2.25

Some of the most valuable information from the Norfolk Domesday survey comes from the range of taxable industries recorded. The *Dunham* vills had many such assets, presented in Table 6.7. Dunham [Great and Little], followed by Lexham, Litcham, and Mileham, was worth the most geld, although the latter had the greatest population (cf. Table 6.5). A total of 10 mills are listed in *Dunham*, all of which were in place prior to the Conquest. While this figure may lead us to suspect that the Domesday surveyors elsewhere failed to record similar establishments, *Dunham* nevertheless seems to have been an industrious region. 'Salthouses' reflect the importance of the salt trade in the area.

The market recorded here (though it only adds up to 3/4 (Table 6.7)) is one of the earliest markets listed in Norfolk (Letters 2005), and the entries for Dunham and Litcham are two of the three Norfolk Domesday Book references to markets (the third is in Norwich under King Edward and later King William (NDB 1,61)). Liddiard (2000, 81) has argued that Mileham, as the central *caput* since the Anglo-Saxon period, is the most likely site for this market. I would argue rather that the market was more likely to be held in one of Mileham's sokes, either [Great] Dunham or Litcham. This point will be developed further after the archaeology has been introduced, but it suffices to mention that both outliers were more valuable than Mileham in 1066. Shares in the vill of Dunham were held TRE by Earl Harold under his estate at Necton, as well as by Archbishop Stigand, and Payne, father of Edmund. This latter holding of Payne's reflects the only instance of continuity in landholding in *Dunham*, with the lordship transferred from Payne to his son, Edmund, TRW (NDB, 46,1). Such fragmentation of what had probably once fallen entirely under either Necton or Mileham is reminiscent of the partitioning of other valuable vills noted previously, such as Heckington (Lincs., Chapter 5), and Winterton (N.Lincs., Chapter 4). This could suggest that Dunham had long been a valuable outlier, possibly in large part due to its role as an economic centre within Launditch hundred.

The network of landholding in *Dunham* reveals a tightly-knit series of sokelands and lesser manors, dominated primarily by Mileham and its three tenants-in-chief, but also

contributing to the estate of Necton. Necton, held by Earl Harold and then Ralph de Tosny, was the regional competitor of Mileham and probably also had its origins as a complex Anglo-Saxon estate (Figure 6.23). The vill of [Great and Little] Fransham was not held by Mileham, but in part by a group of freemen in 1066, and in part by Earl Harold under his Necton estate (NDB 8,66; 8,68; 22,11).
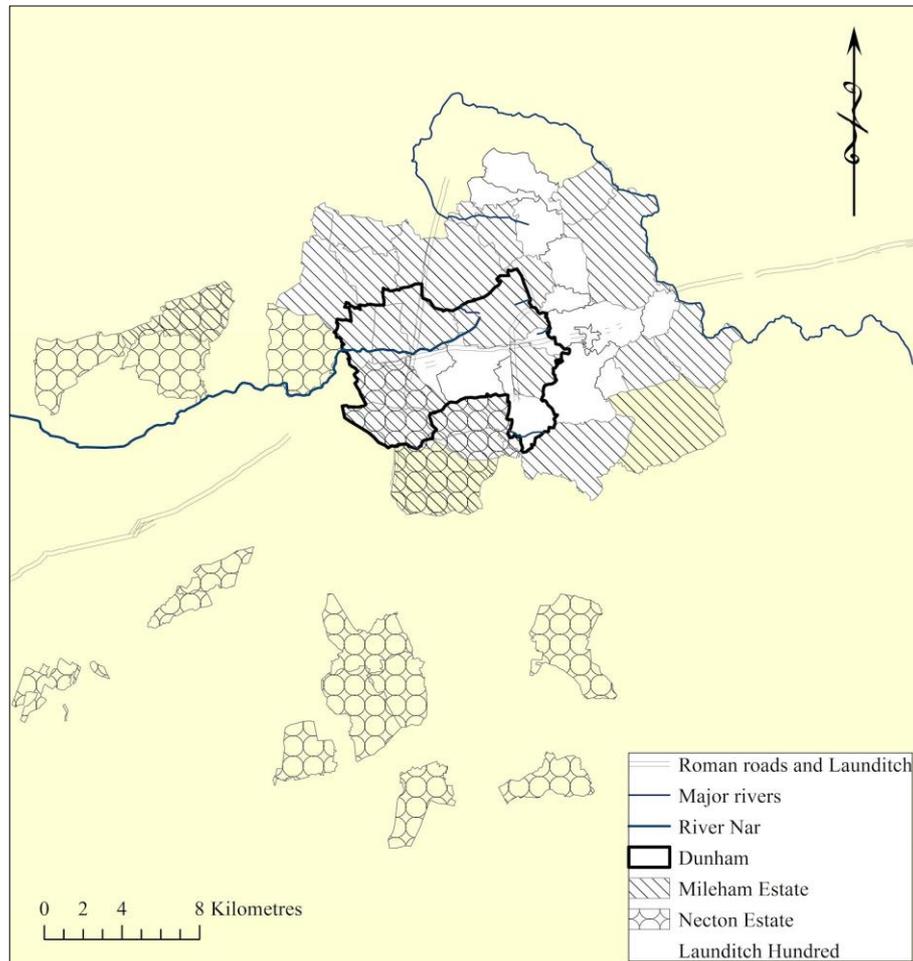
FIGURE 6.23: NECTON AND MILEHAM ESTATES

Prior to the Conquest, the vills of *Dunham* were held by a more diverse set of landlords, including several 'freemen' and one 'free woman'. These lords could represent the inheritors of partitions of the larger Anglo-Saxon estates. Such divisions probably took place after the ninth century and might have been piecemeal over time, although Martin (2007, 135) suggests that in the northern part of East Anglia, 'the period of Scandinavian rule is likely to have disrupted the established social order, making the prime arable areas available for reallocation on a more equal or 'common' basis.' These were not necessarily *Scandinavians* taking the land, however, but rather a mixture of newcomers and native occupants taking advantage of the disruption caused by Scandinavian settlement. The personal names of several of these landholders indicate Scandinavian affiliations: Ulfkil (whose son was named 'Thorth'), Fathir, Toki, and Thorkil each held land in *Dunham* prior to the Conquest, and while some retained property elsewhere, none were still lords in

Dunham by 1086. By the eleventh century, the personal name evidence was not a strong indication of cultural affiliation, however, and it was not uncommon for one brother to have a Scandinavian name and the other an English one (Davis 1955, 29).[30] It has nevertheless been argued that the Scandinavian personal names listed in Domesday could relate to elite Anglo-Scandinavian landholding families, descendants of earlier members of the Great Army and, later, Cnut's followers (Insley 1994, xxxvii). The name 'Thorkil' was particularly popular in East Anglia after one of Cnut's lords was established in Norfolk, for example (Insley 1994, 113; Fellows Jensen 1995, 10).[31] It remains difficult to assign heritage and cultural identities to the landowners in Domesday Book on the basis of personal names, but it is clear that Scandinavian influence on naming practices persisted throughout the Viking Age in England.

6.5 Place-names

TABLE 6.8: PRIMARY SETTLEMENT NAMES
In the absence of a published EPNS survey for Launditch, the data here is derived from the NHER parish summaries (http://www.heritage.norfolk.gov.uk/parishes).

Place Name	Meaning	Expanded	Origin	First recorded
BEESTON	Grassy place	Grassy (*beos*) + tun (enclosure)	OE	Unknown
BITTERING	Place of Brihthere's people	Personal name + ing (people of)	OE	Domesday (1086)
DUNHAM (GREAT AND LITTLE)	Hill farmstead	hill (*dun*) + ham (vill)	OE	Domesday (1086)
KEMPSTONE	Cymi's enclosure	Personal name (*Cymi*) + tun (enclosure)	OE	Domesday (1086)
LEXHAM (EAST AND WEST)	Farmstead "of the leech"; Leech might have been someone's nickname although the River Nar that runs through Lexham still contains leeches	leech (*lex*) + ham (vill)	OE	Domesday (1086)
LITCHAM	Farmstead with enclosure	Enclosure + ham (vill)	OE	Domesday (1086)
LONGHAM	Homestead of Lawa's people	Personal name + ing (people of) + ham (vill)	OE	Domesday (1086)
MILEHAM	Mill farmstead	Mill + ham (vill)	OE	Domesday (1086)
WENDLING	Wendel's people	Personal name + ing (people of)	OE	Domesday (1086)

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[30] Davis (1955, 29) cites the example here of Archbishop Stigand (Scandinavian name) and his brother Æthelmær (English name).

[31] Fellows-Jensen (1998, 10) notes that the prominence of *Thorkil* must be an eleventh-century introduction given its contracted form; earlier forms tended to be preserved as uncontracted (e.g. *Thorketil*), and were less fashionable by the eleventh century. It seems that Cnut and his retinue in part accounted for an increased popularity in Scandinavian personal names, but also reinforced the new, shortened, style of name.

6.5.1 Settlement names

There are no prominent Scandinavian place-name elements in the *Dunham* cluster (Figure 6.24), and in fact Scandinavian place-names are relatively rare across most of western Norfolk (Williamson 2005, 34). It has been argued that the distribution of Scandinavian place-names in Norfolk reflects a predominantly aristocratic settlement, with pockets of 'peasant' settlement based on the coast near Flegg (Sandred 1991, 328; Insley 1994, xxxvii-xxxviii). The relatively few Scandinavian place-names overall could reflect the aristocracy's desire to assimilate with the local elite, as well as the fact that they were more likely to be a mobile group, unattached to a specific tract of land which they could imbue with their mother tongue. It has also been suggested that it is ultimately the process of preservation of place-names to which we must turn for answers: where East Anglian names do not preserve ON origins, this is not to mean there were not once such names in use; it simply reflects the fact that more English-speakers were there to result in the English names being preserved (Townend 2002, 48). The late preservation of the deserted medieval village, Grenstein (listed as *Greineston* in 1198), has, however, been interpreted as a 'Grimston hybrid' of possible pre-Conquest date (Wade-Martins 1980, 96; and for recent discussion of the 'Grimston-hybrid' see Fellows-Jensen (2012) and Townend (2014, 117-21)).[32] This remains the only settlement name close to *Dunham* with a Scandinavian element. The settlement names do not necessarily indicate that there was no Scandinavian presence in the region; Scandinavian elements do appear in several field names in Norfolk, even in regions where the names of the primary settlements and parishes are indisputably Anglo-Saxon (e.g. Sandred 2002). However, as is shown below, *Dunham* does not preserve many field-names with definitively Scandinavian elements. Unfortunately, the Launditch EPNS is incomplete, and it is therefore difficult to safely ascertain the origins of many of the lesser names.

The large number of *-ham* place-names in the study region (OE 'vill; estate') are a possible indication that the associated land was of better quality than that in other regions of the Central Norfolk Claylands (Figure 6.25). Williamson suggests that *-hams* tend to be associated with primary river valleys and better soil drainage, whereas the *-tun* element, from the OE for 'enclosure; farmstead' were peripheral to the better soils and river valleys (2005, 34). The distribution of *-ham* names in Launditch and the Central Norfolk Claylands concentrates in *Dunham*, the northwestern part of the hundred, and where the clay land borders Breckland and the Northwest Norfolk sands. Most are located west of the central watershed and many are found on land above 80m OD. If indeed *-tuns* are to be seen as subsidiary (though not necessarily later) settlements to the more important *-hams*, the

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[32]Grenstein is technically entirely within Tittleshall parish, although finds from the NHER extend its potential archaeological remit into Mileham. It is possible that it was previously associated more closely with Mileham.

Dunham study area may have supported a prosperous group of Anglo-Saxon vills. The *-ing* names, on the other hand (Bittering, Longham, and Wendling), are associated with more marginal land where there is a shift in land type along the central watershed that separates the *-hams* from the easterly wooded *-leahs*.
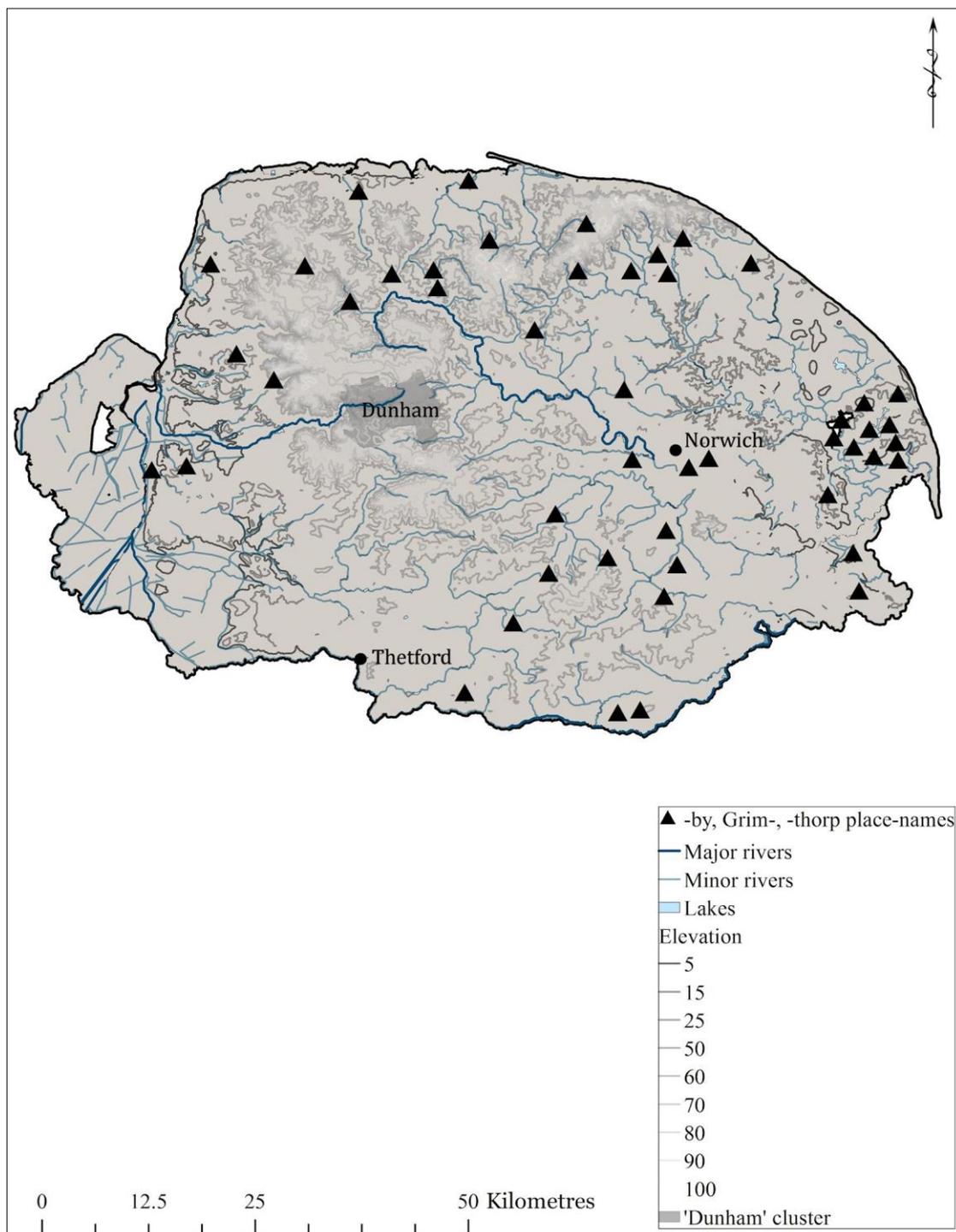
FIGURE 6.24: *-BY*, *-THORPE*, *-GRIM* NAMES IN NORFOLK
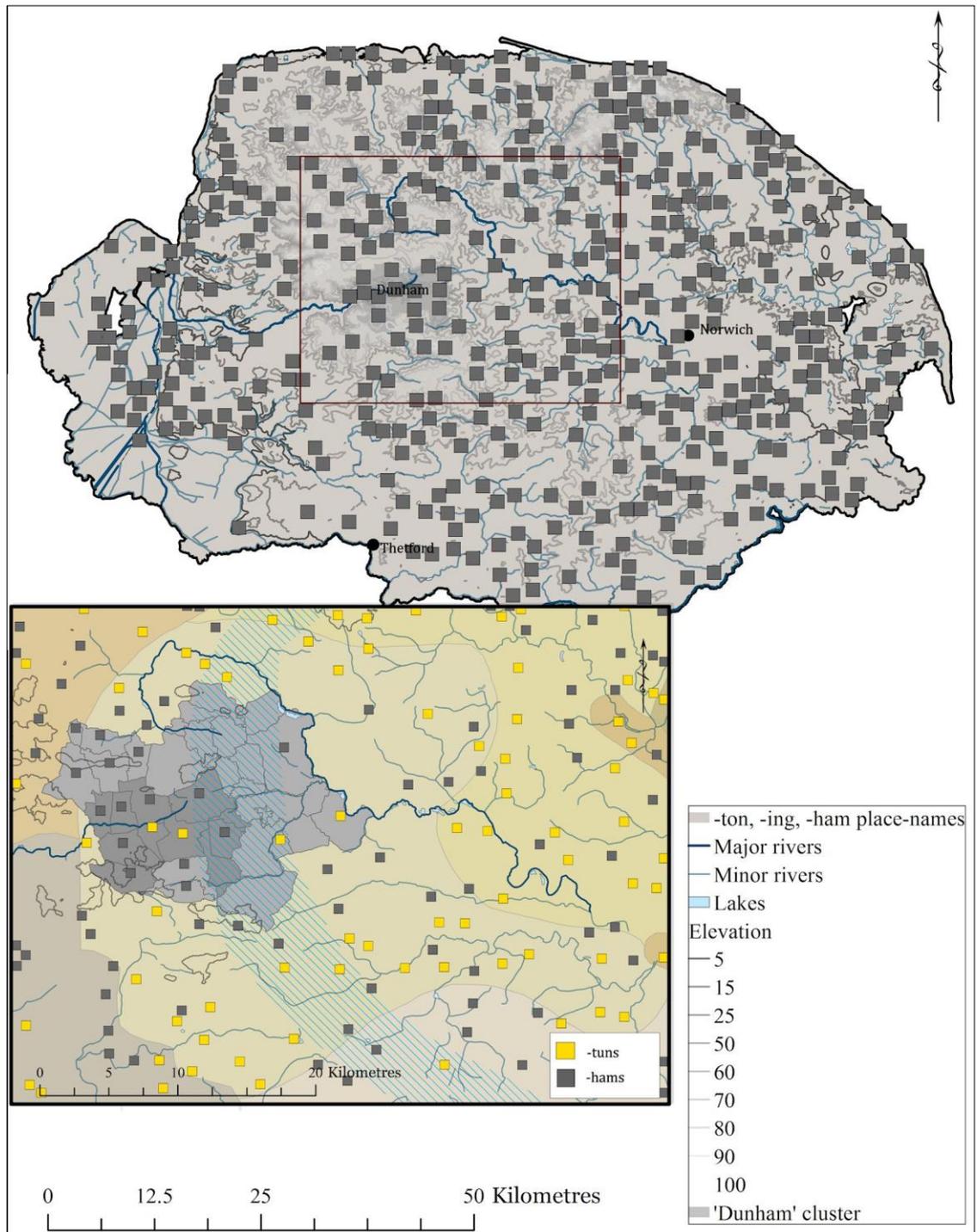
FIGURE 6.25: -*HAM* AND –*TUN* NAMES IN NORFOLK AND LAUNDITCH HUNDRED
Inset shows close-up of –*hams* and –*tuns* in Launditch against the regional watershed and Natural Landscape Characters.

Mileham's Domesday status as a populous and thriving parish or township is probably linked in part to its industry: the name 'Mileham' comes from the Old English word for 'mill'. Some of the other notable parish names include Dunham, a topographical name that describes the hill(s) in the region (Gelling and Cole 2000, 164-7); Lexham, after the leech (Figure 6.26); and Beeston, which is a popular Old English place-name, referring to a grassy area (Figure 6.27). Three other 'Beestons' with similar origins are recorded

throughout Norfolk, and they are common elsewhere in England, including one outside Nottingham. Nearby Gressenhall also derives its name from a 'grassy' place.

FIGURE 6.26: 'LEXHAM'
The River Nar, south of East Lexham, perhaps still full of the leeches that may have given the settlement its name (NHER: TNF288).

FIGURE 6.27: 'BEESTON'
Looking west over Beeston from Watery Lane: still a 'grassy place'. 'Gressenhall' also describes a place with grass.

6.5.2 *Field, lesser, and later place-names*

It has been noted that after increasing changes in tenure and agriculture in the seventeenth century in Norfolk, field-names also changed, and many medieval names were thereby abandoned (Field 1967, 7). The field-names can nevertheless provide some valuable topographic information. Thus 'Alder Carr', 'Friars Mill Common', and 'Old Road Way' in West Lexham, for example, taken from the 1838 tithe map (NArch: DN/TA 28), each shed insight on an earlier — albeit undatable — landscape; 'Burrow Hill' in West Lexham might be a form of 'barrow hill': there are some mound-like features noted on the 1st Edition OS map. It is otherwise of interest that in fields and woods where prehistoric mounds still stand, no field names refer to their presence. Another name of note is 'Burhwood' which relates to a medieval hall that might have been an earlier elite residence (Liddiard 2000, 80), although Gardiner (Gardiner 2012, 2) notes that *burh* can also refer to 'any manorial enclosure', not necessarily a fortified place. The place-name indicates a manorial residence sited within a wooded area. Mileham castle was constructed opposite Burhwood and the region surrounding the castle was wooded parkland (Liddiard 2000, 80).

Scandinavian field-names are not common in *Dunham*. With the Launditch *EPNS* incomplete, it would be unwise to take interpretations of the early modern field-names too far. Several names that could be interpreted as Scandinavian, such as 'breck', from ON *brekka* meaning 'slope', are probably rather from the OE. 'Breck' (*brēc)* in East Anglia means 'broken up land', often associated with heath and clay lands (i.e. 'Breckland' hundred) although Sandred (2002, 5) notes that its use as 'exposed barren slope' could in fact indicate earlier Scandinavian influence. 'Carr' is occasionally listed on tithe and enclosure maps (ON *kjarr*: marshy brushland), but this term seems to have entered widespread usage over time, and cannot be taken to indicate a necessarily early Scandinavian linguistic presence. A handful of 'gates' are found in Beeston which might derive from the ON *gata* (way, street). Norwich still preserves several *gata* which were probably coined during the period of Scandinavian rule; however again, the elements as field names might have derived from later usage, as it is one of the few common Scandinavian place-names elements to survive in Norfolk (e.g. Part III of the EPNS for Norfolk commonly lists *gata* for fieldnames with –gate (Sandred 2002)).

6.6 The Artefacts

TABLE 6.9: ARTEFACTS AT A GLANCE

Dunham, Norfolk	
No. PAS finds (excluding coins)	93
No. finds analysed total (including coins)	100
No. coins (PAS ; EMC)	2; 5
No. non-metal finds	1
% artefacts found metal-detecting	100%
No. small finds from HER (metal; non-metal)	58; 83
Total no. small finds	101

The large number of HER-recorded small finds in Dunham sets it apart from the other case studies. Where they are not duplicated in the PASD, however, their metadata varies in resolution and specificity, and therefore they must still be treated separately. The NHER artefacts have been classed broadly by date and by simplified type and can be categorised under 'Fingerprints' and 'Functional Groups' as with the PAS data. It was outwith the scope of this project to revisit each HER-listed find and attempt to refine its classifications, however, and therefore they do not include details on stylistic influence and exact provenance (though this is often limited to a single field). The extensive and detailed PAS record was deemed sufficient to provide information on these finer patterns in Dunham.

6.6.1 Dunham, the PAS and Norfolk Historic Environment Records

After cleaning the dataset according to the methods described in Chapter 3, 96 artefacts dating to the Middle-Late Saxon periods were identified (Table 6.9) of which the majority date to the Late Saxon period (Figure 6.28). The artefacts are predominantly copper alloy (94%), with two silver coins and four lead items (Figure 6.29). Five EMC coins were recorded in Dunham which were added to the dataset. A basic distribution map is presented in Figure 6.30 and the numbered artefacts can be matched to the tables in **Appendix 1** for reference.
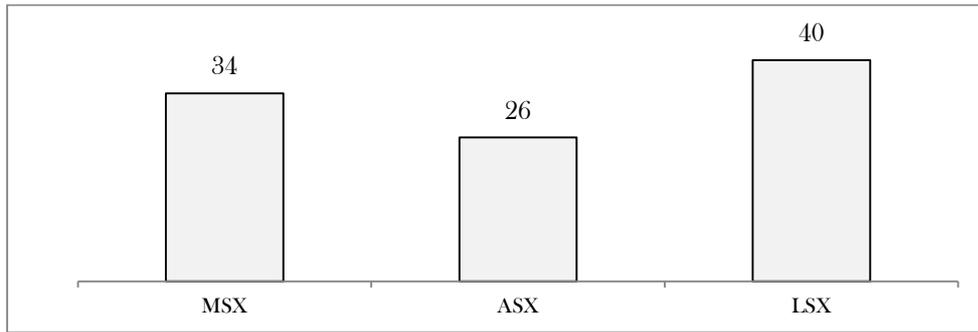
FIGURE 6.28: ARTEFACTS BY SUBPERIOD

The findspot precision for artefacts in Dunham is overwhelmingly to within 10m² (Figure 6.31), suggesting that most (if not all) finds can be reliably attributed to recovery from the parts of the field in which they appear on the distribution maps. The artefacts are shown against natural and modern constraints in Figure 6.32. The majority of the finds were recovered from the parish of Great Dunham, around the modern village (Figure 6.33). A further 190 Middle to Late Saxon small finds were listed in the Norfolk HERs.[33] It is therefore possible to occasionally include the metal artefacts from the NHER in the quantitative analyses that follow. Where they are included it will be made clear.
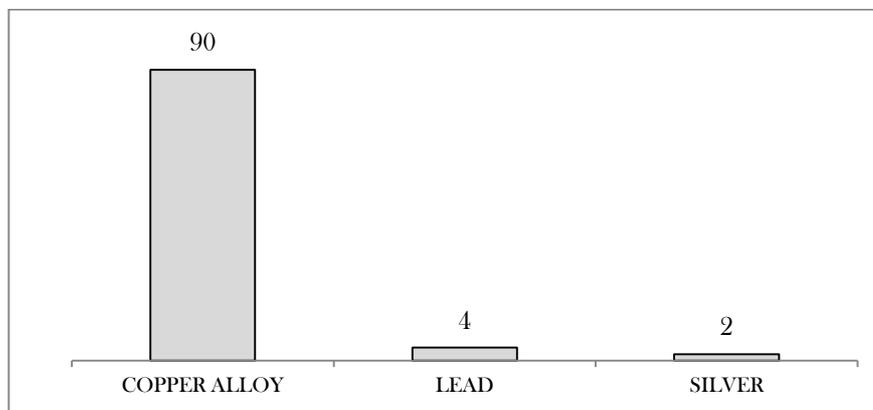
FIGURE 6.29: PRIMARY MATERIALS

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[33] Several of these were duplicates of PAS records, and many were vague in terms of quantities recovered, but an additional 58 metal-based finds were identified from these records as unique; the remainder are dominated by pottery sherds.
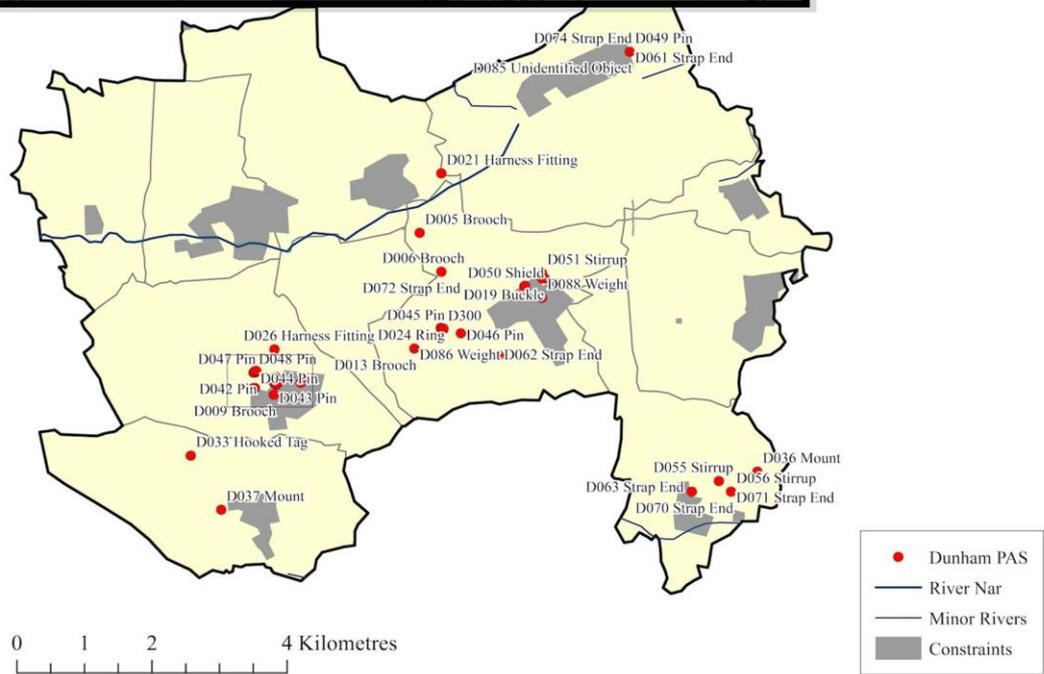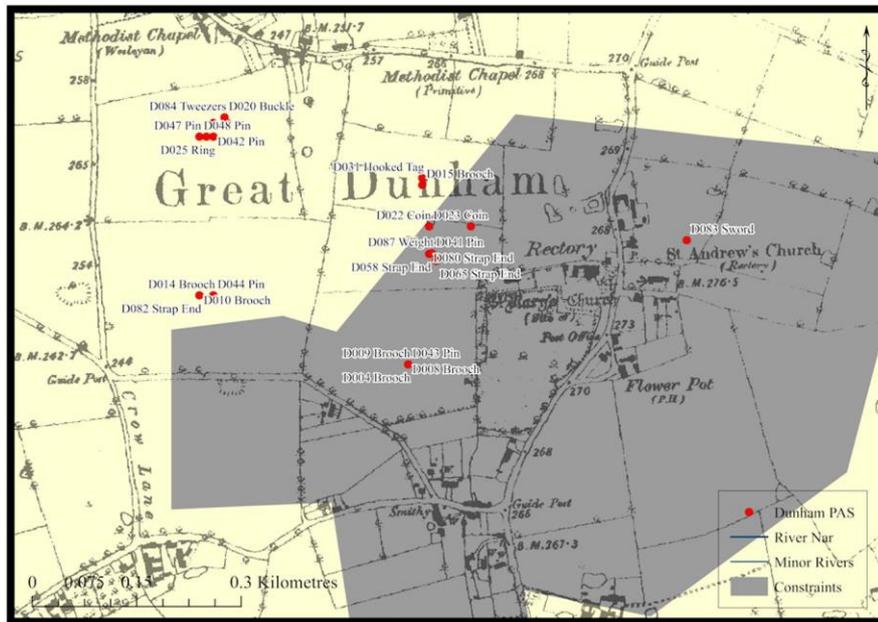
FIGURE 6.30: DUNHAM ARTEFACT DISTRIBUTION
The artefact ID numbers on the map can be linked to the more detailed references in the catalogue
(**Appendix 1**). Inset shows detail of dense distributions of artefacts in the parish of Great Dunham.
(Historic map copyright for this and all subsequent *Dunham* historic maps: Crown copyright and
Landmark Information Group Limited (2015). All rights reserved. (1884)).
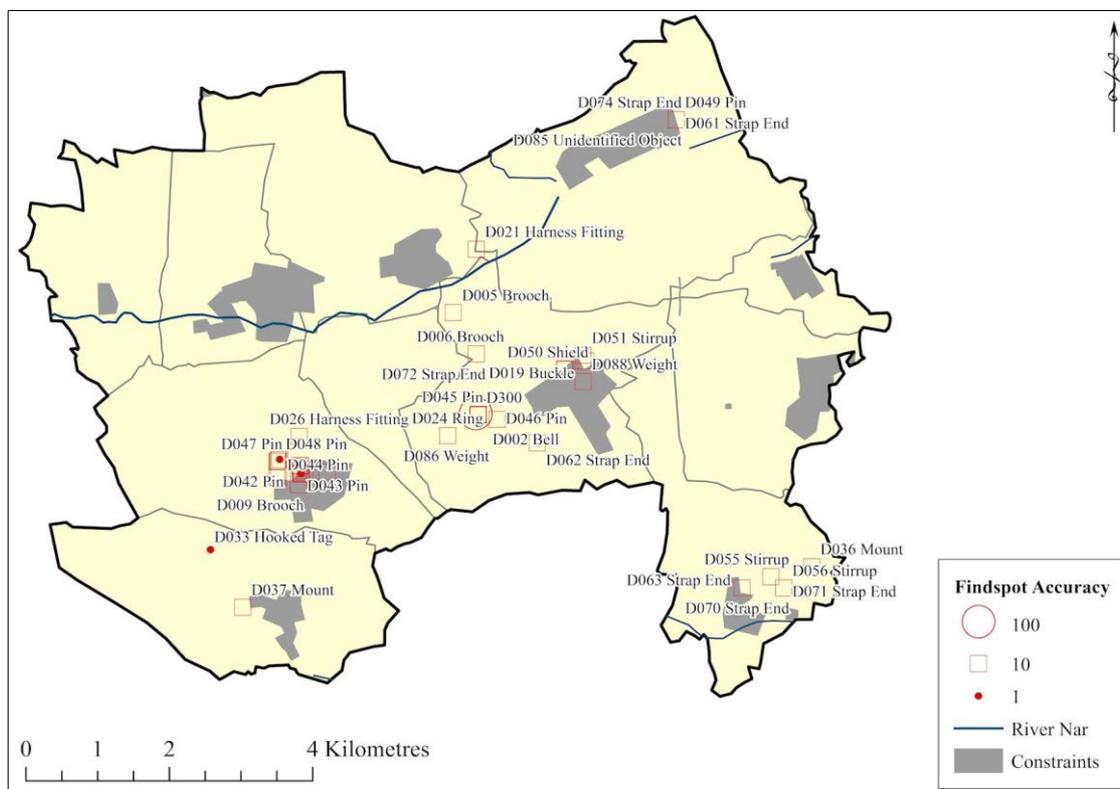
	Dunham, Norfolk		
1m	10m	100m	n/a
7.3%	84.4%	1.0%	7.3%

FIGURE 6.31: FINDSPOT PRECISION

The recording of artefacts in Dunham is overwhelmingly consistent. There are several instances in Great Dunham where a field centroid must have acted as the standard point-of-reference for recording, however, since a number of artefacts recovered at different times are attributed to the very same coordinate.
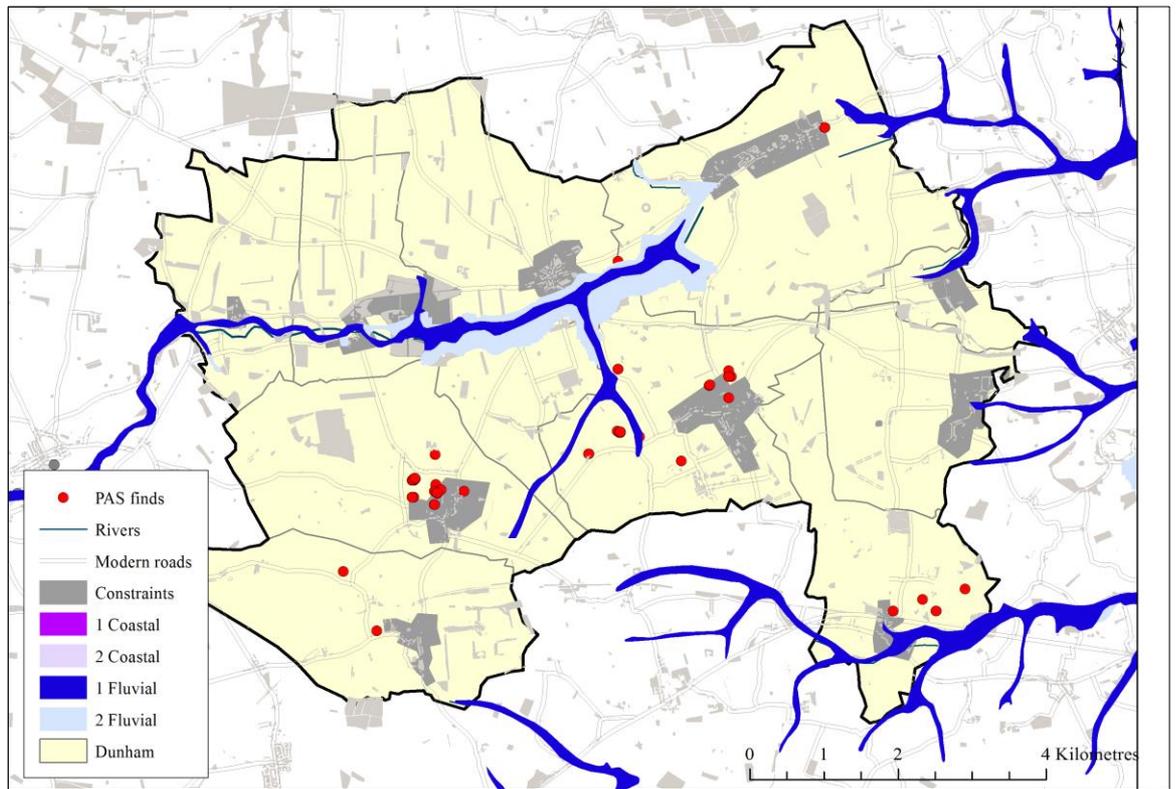
FIGURE 6.32: PAS AND LOCAL CONSTRAINTS
Refer to Figure 6.6 for flood level key. (© Crown copyright/database right 2015. A British Geological Survey/EDINA supplied service; Ordnance Survey (Digimap Licence)).
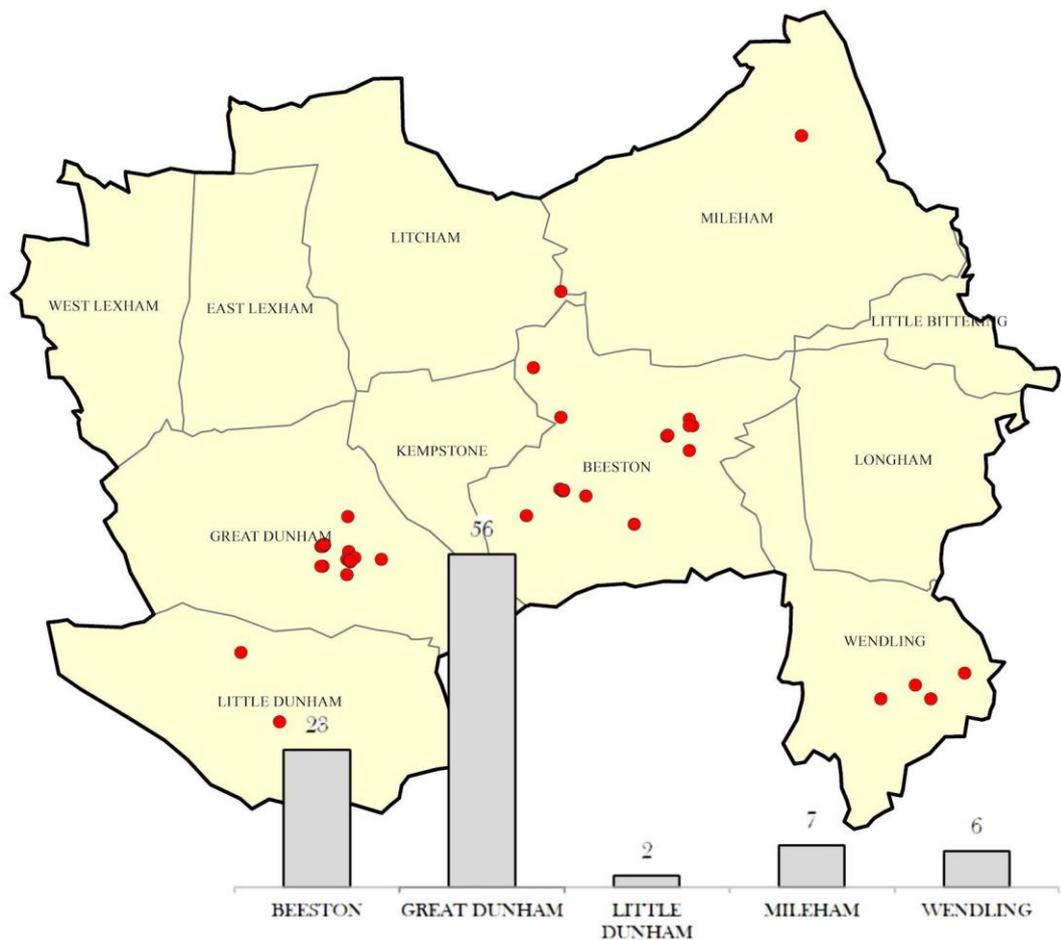
FIGURE 6.33: PAS FINDS BY PARISH

6.6.2 Fingerprints

The Dunham fingerprint (Figure 6.34, Figure 6.35, Figure 6.36) reveals a broad range of the more commonly recovered metal finds in the region. 'Strapends/fittings' are the most frequently reported, followed by 'brooches' and 'pins'. The 'other' category comprises 13% of the data and is broken down according to 'simplified type' for clarity (Figure 6.38).
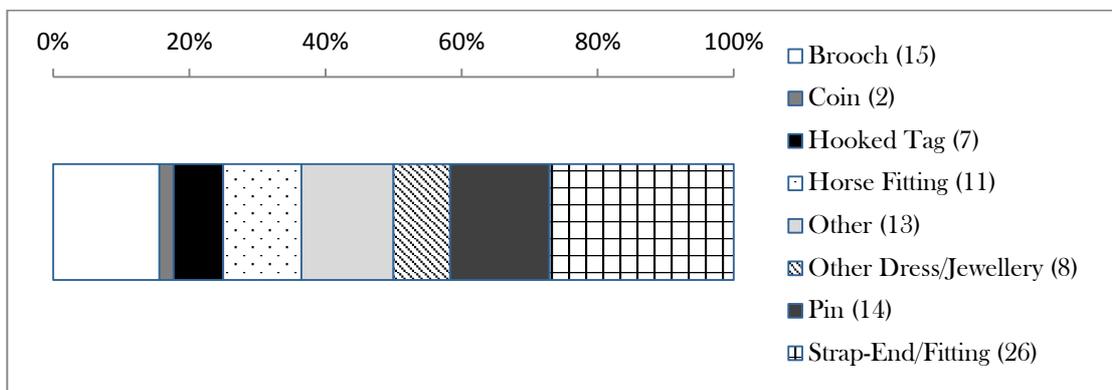
FIGURE 6.34: DUNHAM FINGERPRINT A. (%)
Strap-ends are the only find type of which there are noticeably more than others, and coins are the least well represented. The quantity of brooches found in *Dunham* overall is certainly notable (see Box 6.1, below).
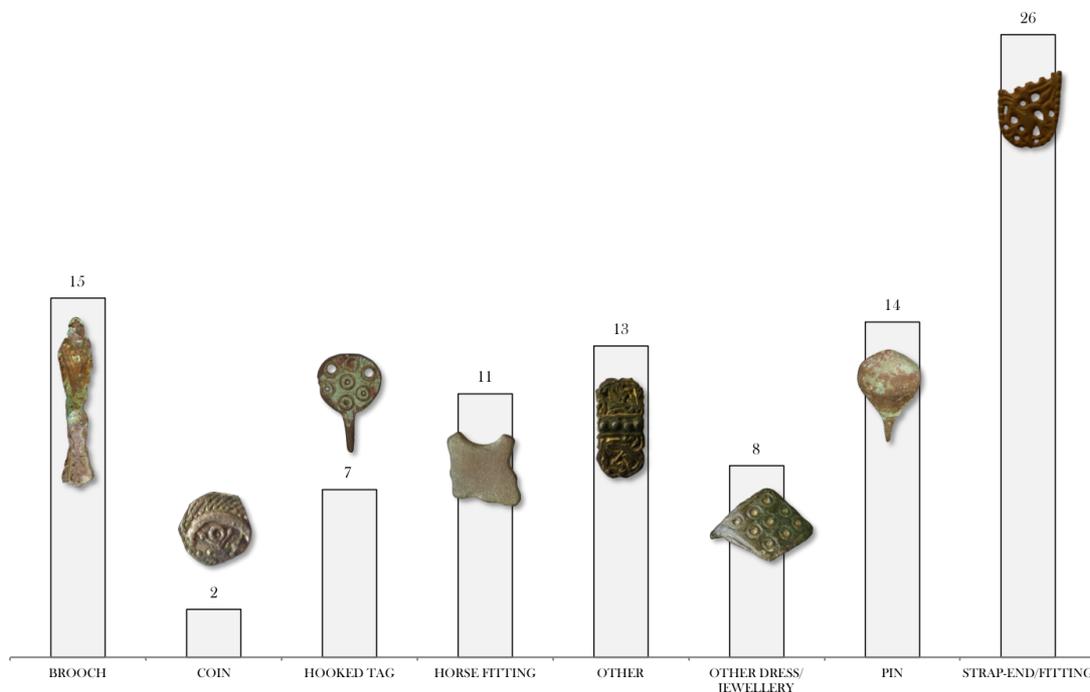
FIGURE 6.35: DUNHAM FINGERPRINT B.

324
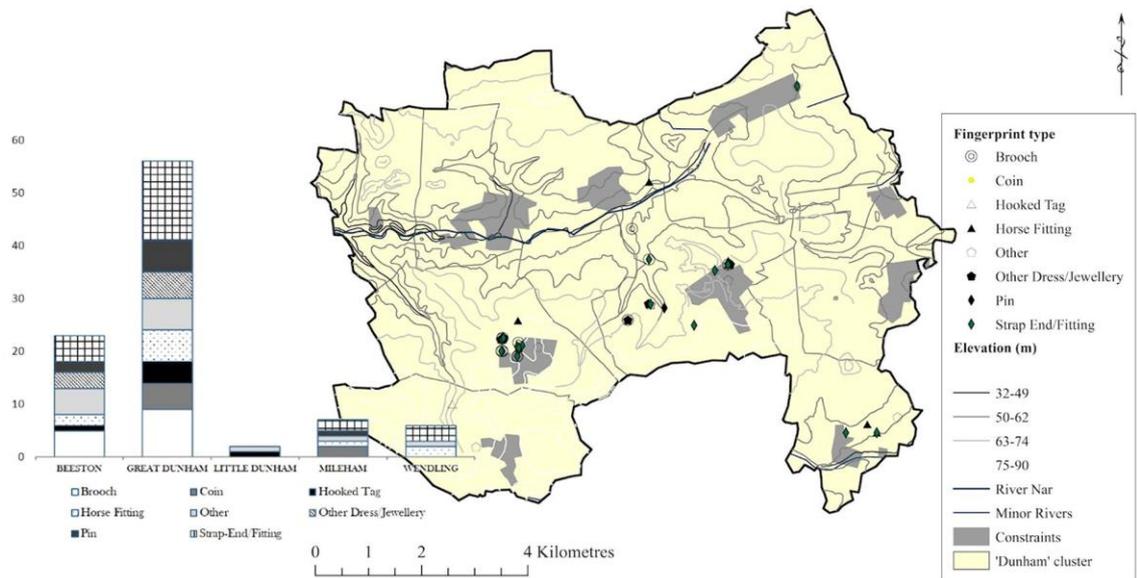
FIGURE 6.36: FINGERPRINT DISTRIBUTION
The majority of brooches are found in Great Dunham and Beeston. See Box 6.1 for more on the subcategories represented here, and Figure 6.37 for distribution of brooches.

FIGURE 6.37: DISTRIBUTION OF BROOCHES IN *DUNHAM*
Brooches are shown here classed by sub-period. Due to overlap in findspots a number of the LSx brooches are not clearly visible, but it is evident that almost all PAS-recorded brooches cluster in Great Dunham or Beeston.

The artefacts in the 'other' category indicate diverse associated activities taking place

across Dunham. They include a possible shield mount and sword belt mount (D050; D083

(see Figure 6.49, below)), a hanging bowl mount (D039), various other mounts (D036-8; D040), a knife/sword grip (D035)[34], an unidentified object (D085), and weights (D086-088).
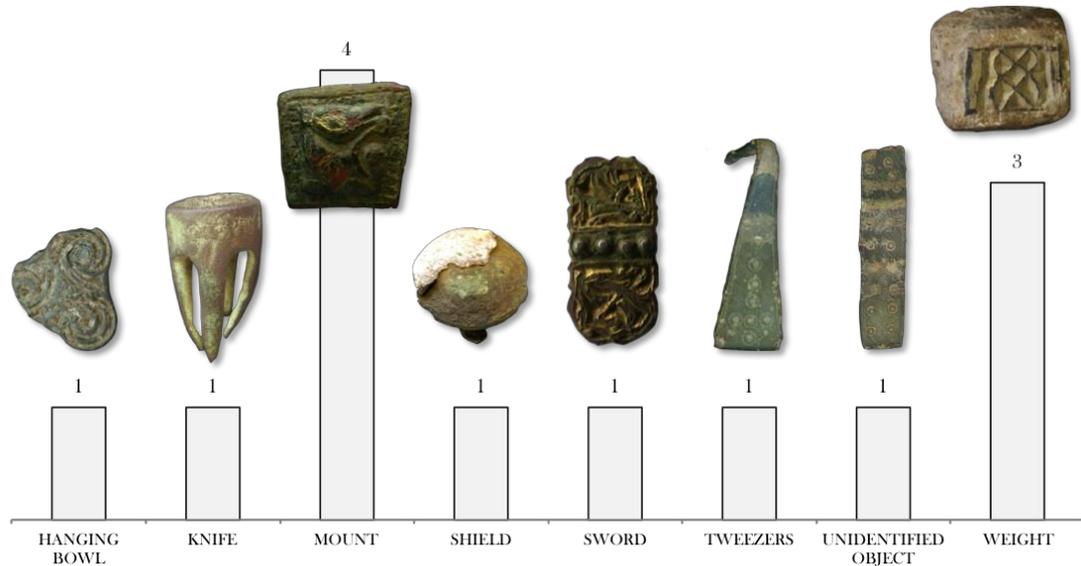
FIGURE 6.38: DUNHAM 'OTHER' FINGERPRINT CATEGORY

When Dunham's fingerprints are assessed by subperiod (Figure 6.39), the distribution of find types is unsurprising, with more coins in the Middle Saxon period than in others, and horse fittings only from the Late Saxon period. Hooked tags and strap-fittings can be long-lasting types or difficult to classify and are therefore prominent in the general 'Anglo-Saxon' sub-period. Of this last subcategory, most of the finds have been assigned broad date ranges in the PASD, while only a third of them straddle the Middle-Late Saxon divide (Figure 6.40). By historic parish, the fingerprints in Dunham reveal a range of find types in both Beeston and Great Dunham, with five categories represented in Mileham — all with relatively even spreads. As was expected, Great Dunham dominates the other parishes in terms of quantity of finds. The distribution map highlights this concentration in Great Dunham, with a more widespread pattern in Beeston (Figure 6.36).

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[34] Recent revisions of this record (as of July 2014) indicate that the grip mount was more likely to belong to a sword than a knife (PASD: NMS-819015). This interpretation is therefore adopted for subsequent references to the find.
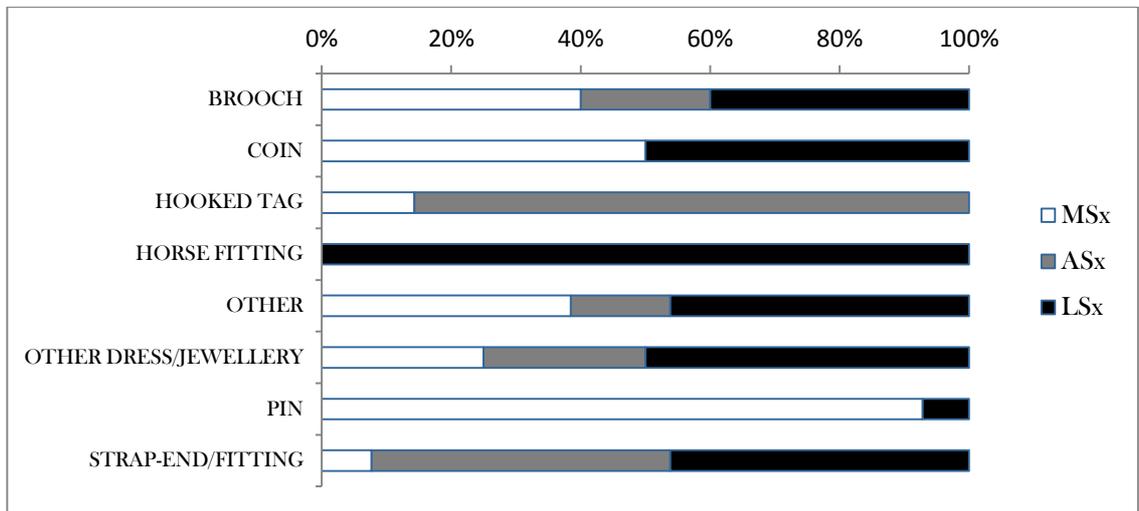
FIGURE 6.39: FINGERPRINT BY SUBPERIOD
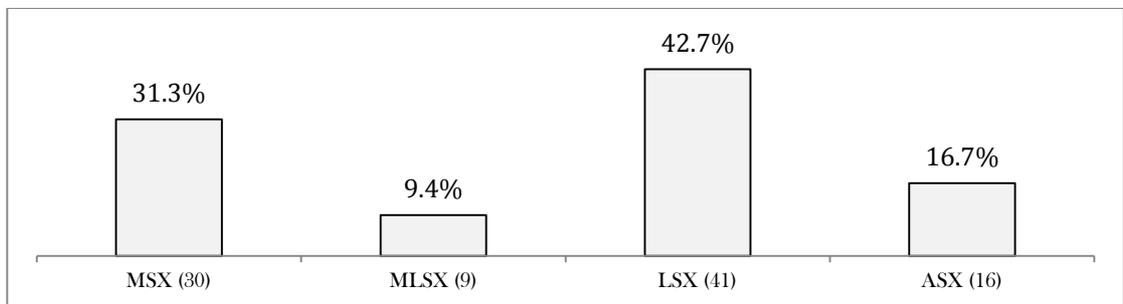
FIGURE 6.40: REFINED SUBPERIODS

When the Norfolk HER metalwork data are cleaned and categorised in a similar way, they show a slightly different pattern to that established by the PAS (Figure 6.41, Figure 6.42). The NHER is dominated by finds that fall in the 'other' category. Although a third of these are 'unidentified' objects, some are similar to types from the PASD, with an ingot, tweezers, weights, and a sword. In the NHER, artefacts are often described as either Middle or Late Saxon without specific dates assigned; this makes it difficult to accurately compare their chronology against PAS records. Nevertheless they have been assigned to either the MSx or LSx broad sub-period, and c. 60% of the finds have been classed as 'Late Saxon'. This figure might actually be low: given that NHER finds are often assigned either a pre or post-Conquest date, some of the 'post-Conquest' types could well have been in use and lost prior to 1066. The actual *Dunham* finds signature might therefore be weighted even more heavily toward the Late Saxon period than the PAS signature would indicate (Figure 6.42).
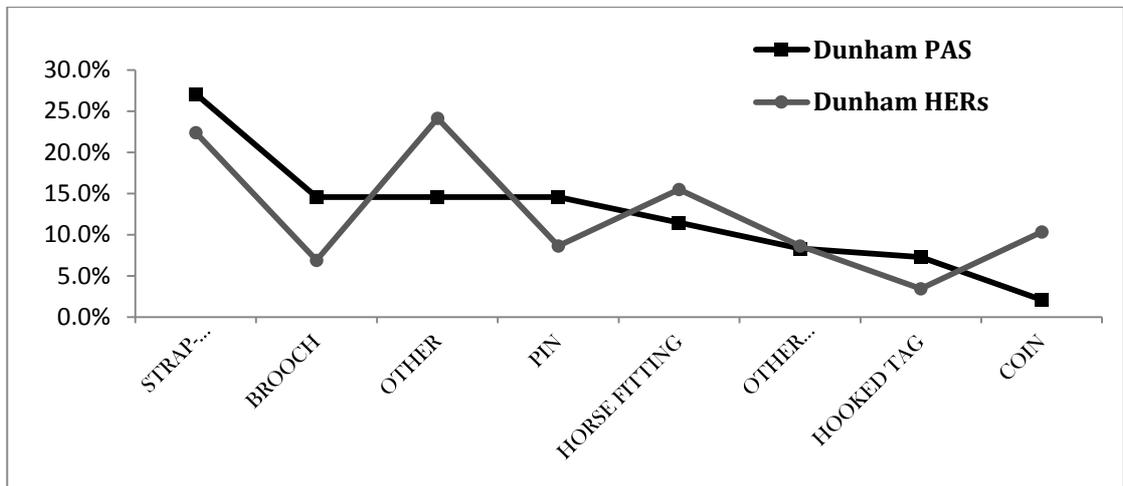
FIGURE 6.41: PAS AND NHER FINGERPRINTS COMPARED
Discrepancies between brooches and the 'other' category are notable in the two different datasets, but overall they follow a roughly similar trend.
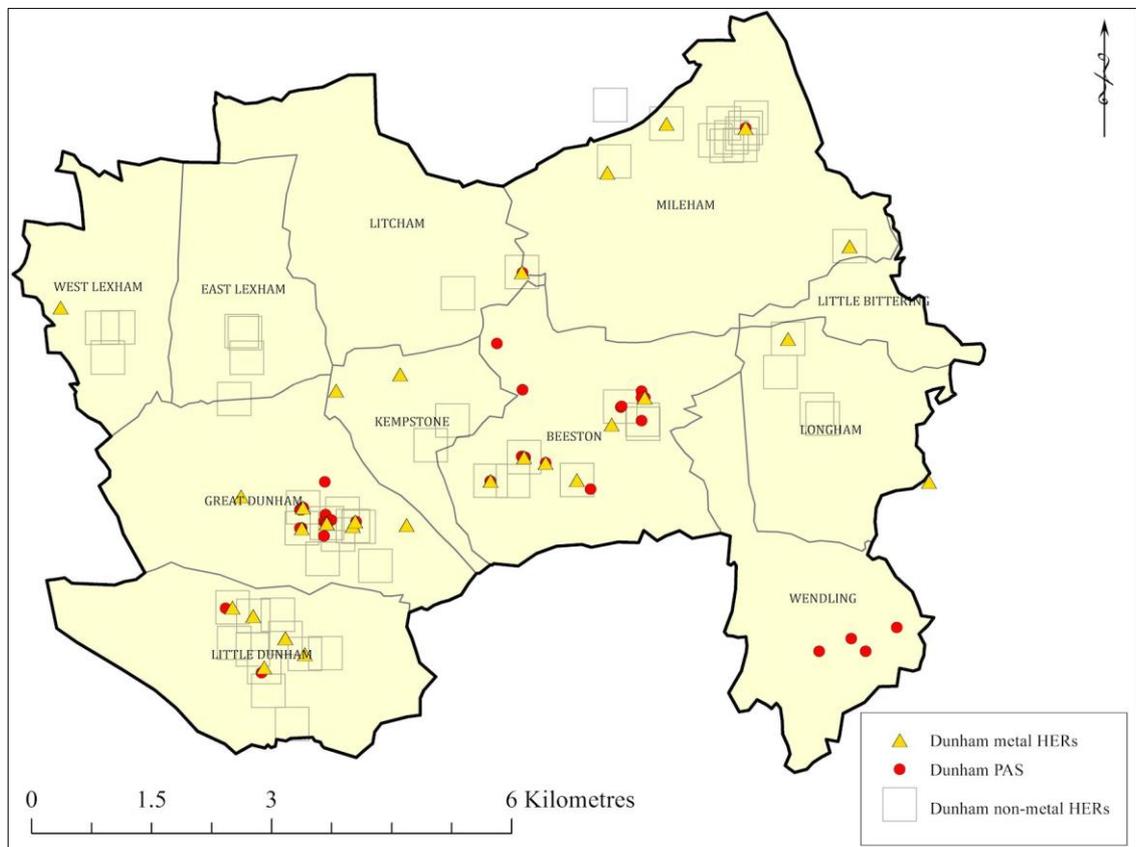
FIGURE 6.42: NHER ARTEFACTS MAPPED AGAINST DUNHAM PAS
The majority of the non-metal finds represent pottery scatters. This presents a good example of how the PAS records and HERs complement one another based on the different modes of recovery; activity is evident in Lexham and Longham parishes where the PASD has so far recorded no finds.

The *Dunham* case study is well-represented by brooches, with 15 recorded on the PASD, and a further four on the NHER. They are distributed predominantly in Great Dunham (with 10), followed by Beeston (4) and Little Dunham (3). Mileham and Litcham each have one brooch recorded. As Figure 6.39 illustrates, the brooches in *Dunham* on the PAS are evenly spread across the Middle and Late Saxon periods, with some indeterminately dated as 'ASx'. Within the other case studies only *Aunsby* (Chapter 5) has a comparable number of brooches recorded (at 12) of which two thirds are of Late Saxon date.

East Anglia is known for its distinctive ansate brooch style produced in the Middle Saxon period, of which *Dunham* has six examples (D004 and D014 shown here).

D004   D014

Following Scandinavian settlement in England, East Anglia began producing disc brooches based on the Scandinavian Borre-style. Kershaw (2013) treats East Anglia's role in Viking Age brooch manufacture extensively, so it remains only to note that this style of brooch appears frequently in *Dunham* (with two examples pictured below (D009 a&b)), in addition to a brooch of Scandinavian provenance that inspired the East Anglian types (D008). The 'East Anglia Series' disc brooches have also been recorded in *Roxby* (Chapter 4), and *Aunsby* (Chapter 5), indicating how widespread their popularity was. Other brooch types have also been recovered in *Dunham,* of which two different fragments of Scandinavian oval brooches are most notable (D010 pictured here; the other an NHER record introduced above (Figure 6.17)). Refer to further discussions on brooches in *Dunham* below (6.8.2), and to Figure 6.37, above, for a map of their distribution.

D003

D008

D010

D009 a&b

D005

6.6.3 Functional groups

The functional groups provide another means of interpreting *Dunham*'s artefactual signature (Figure 6.43, Figure 6.43, Figure 6.45). Similar to both Roxby and Aunsby before, the majority of Dunham's small finds are classed as 'personal', primarily due to the high volume of brooches, other jewellery and strap-ends. A remarkably similar pattern is evident in the metal HER finds (Figure 6.47). In both cases, the large 'personal' category is broken down for further analysis in Figure 6.48, below. There is no evidence for hunting or fishing, and only one PAS artefact indicates domestic activity. The few items represented in Dunham's 'weaponry/tools' category are, however, worth exploring.
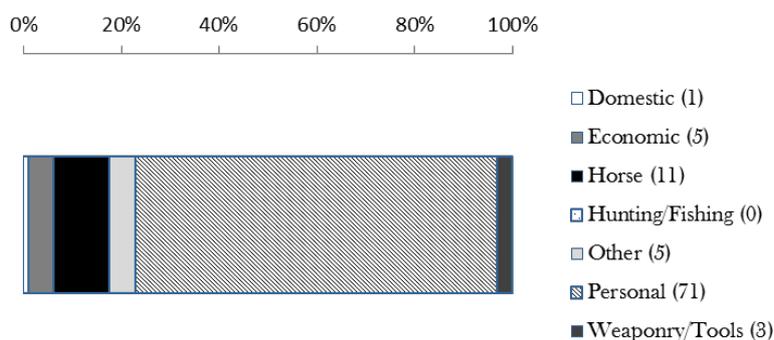
FIGURE 6.43: FUNCTIONAL GROUPS A. (%)
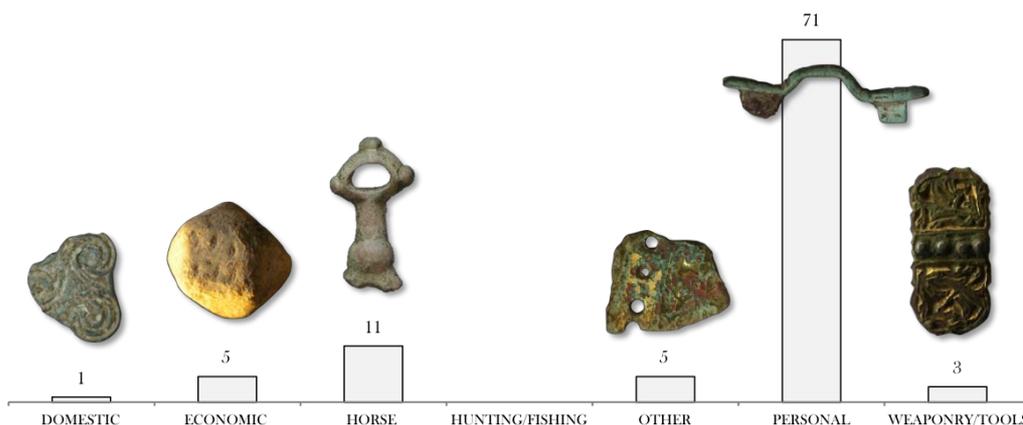
FIGURE 6.44: FUNCTIONAL GROUPS B.
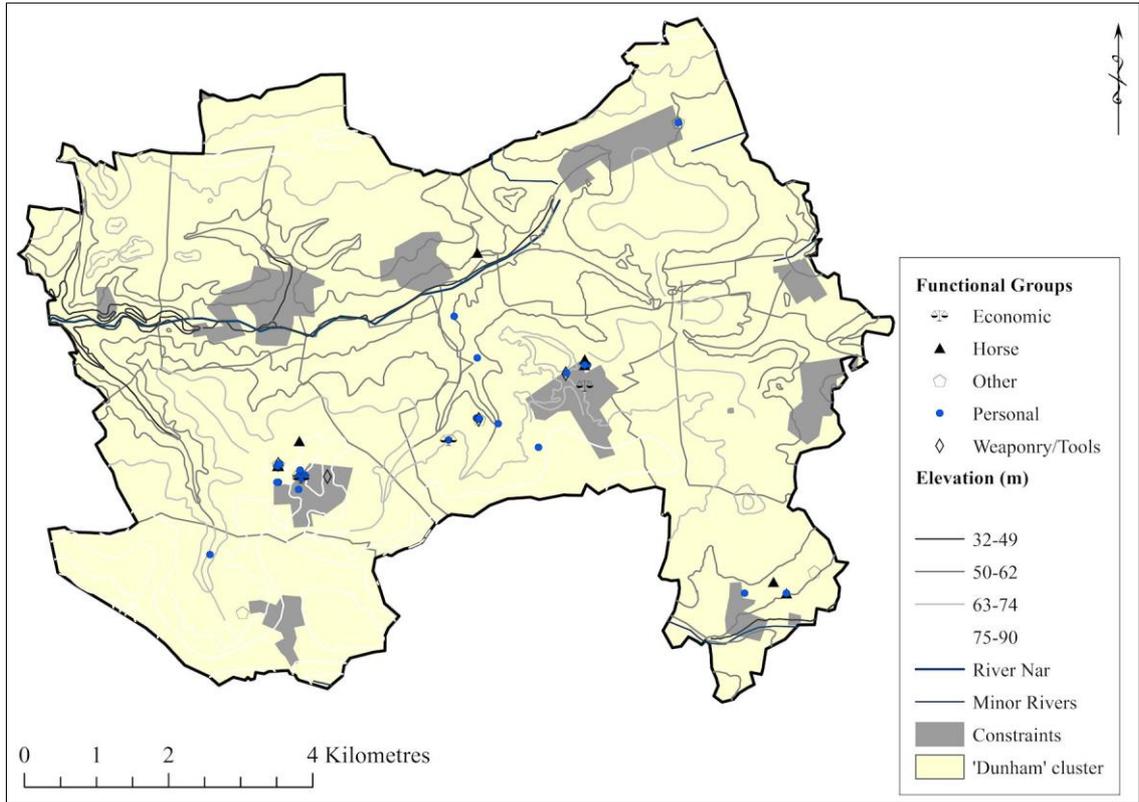
FIGURE 6.45: FUNCTIONAL GROUP DISTRIBUTION
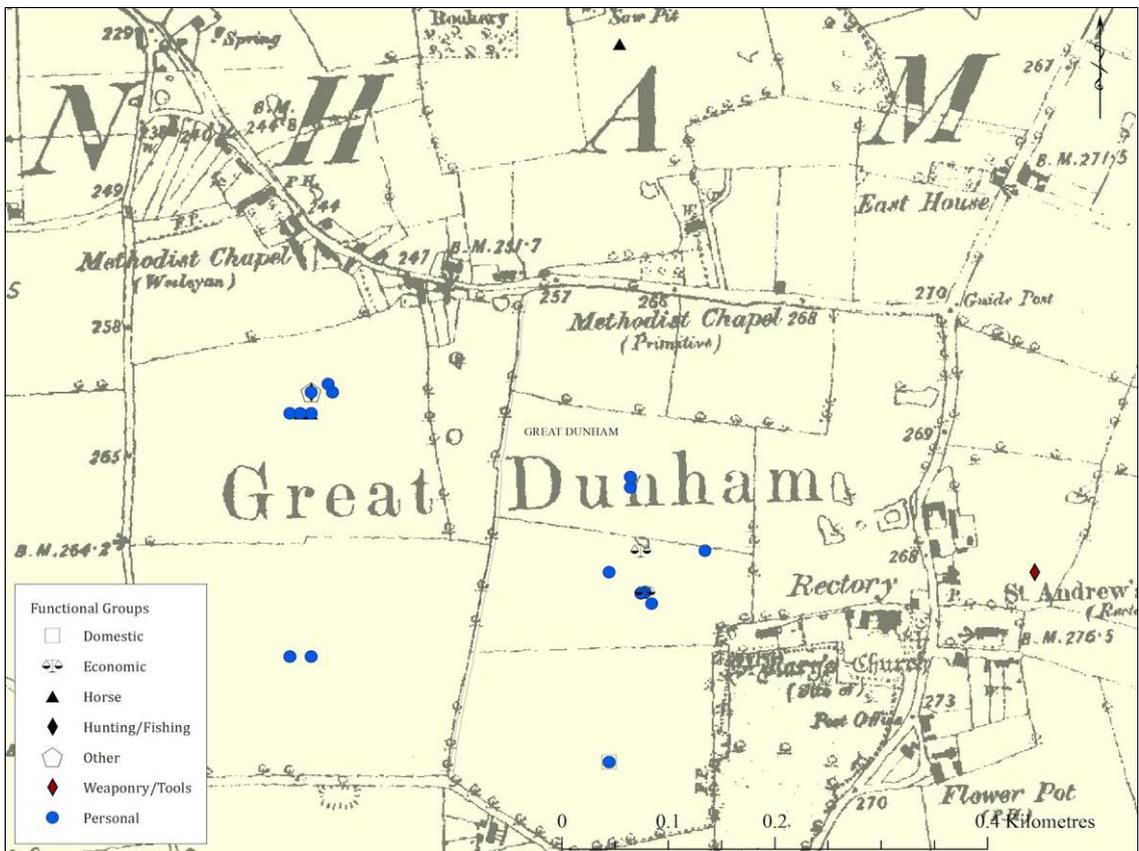
FIGURE 6.46: FUNCTIONAL GROUPS: GREAT DUNHAM
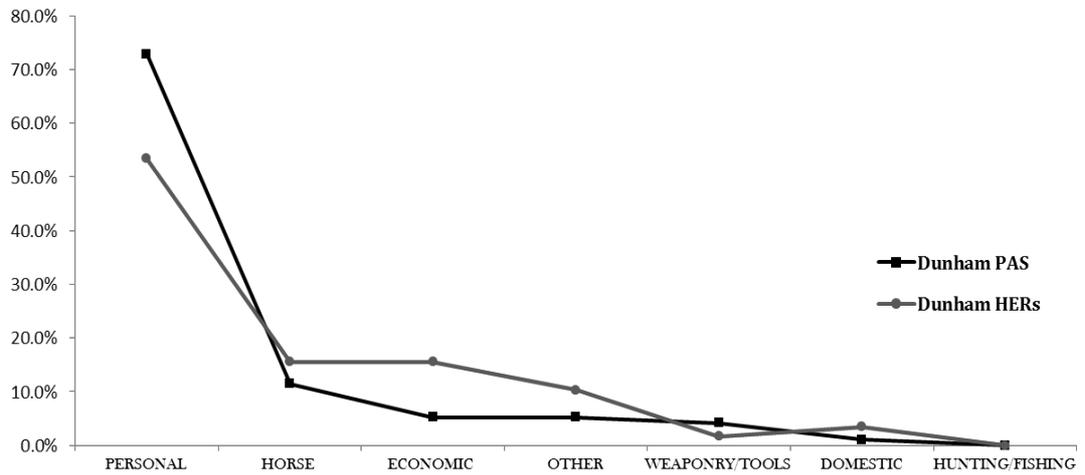
FIGURE 6.47: DUNHAM NHER COMPARED TO PAS
The patterns shown here are very similar, with the only obvious deviations found in the 'economic' and 'personal' categories.
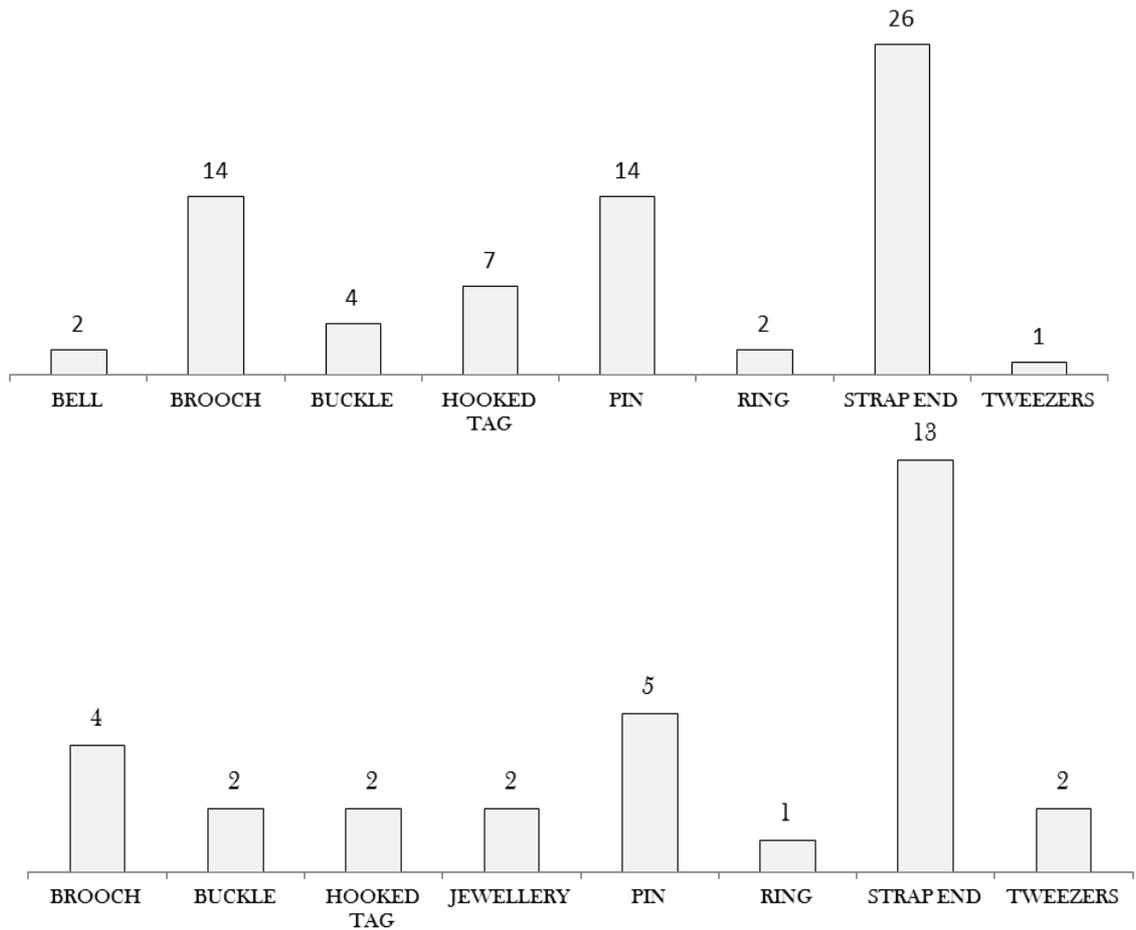
FIGURE 6.48: 'PERSONAL' CATEGORIES FOR: DUNHAM PAS, DUNHAM HER
Top= PAS; Bottom= HER. The similarity in artefact types represented by the 'personal' category in the two different datasets is remarkable, although the quantities in each differ greatly. Only bells were not recorded in the HER, while other jewellery was not recorded in the PAS. This indicates that despite different methods of recovery and reporting, these were all common find types in the past, and also suggests the artefact types here have good survival rates.

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Dunham's 'weaponry/tools' component does not at first appear remarkable. To this category, however, can be added the non-metal whetstones from the PASD (D300) and the NHER (D361), as well as the Late Saxon Mileham sword recorded in the NHER (D610). The sword belt mount (D083), sword grip (D035), and shield mount (D050) were not recovered in proximity to one another, with two from different fields in Great Dunham and another from Beeston; they all date to different centuries. This temporal and physical distribution is noteworthy, since the finds cannot be explained as a single cemetery or deposition event. The sword belt mount is particularly rare since it combines a copper alloy base with silver rivets (Figure 6.49); this is occasionally seen on strap-ends but to a much lesser extent on other artefacts (PASD: NMS-CC10A2). The whetstones (one each from Beeston and Mileham) and sword serve as proof that even centuries after the Middle Saxon weapons above were deposited, there were still tools or weapons in use in the locality. The sword grip mount from Great Dunham is of an Anglo-Scandinavian design (D035). The artefact is difficult to date to one side of the Conquest or another, but along with the earlier weaponry, colours Dunham in a distinctly military light. This character is reaffirmed by the construction of the Norman castle at Mileham after 1066, and the suggestion that the place-name Burhwood indicates an earlier fortified residence. It is also possible that the relatively high incidence of weapon loss in Dunham reflects something of the nature of deposition in addition to the functional interpretation: the Mileham sword from the 'Giant's Moat' could be interpreted as a votive deposition in a watery context, a practice well-attested throughout the medieval and Viking Age world (see Lund 2005; Raffield 2014).

FIGURE 6.49: DUNHAM SWORD-BELT MOUNT
Dated between c. AD 750-850, the gilt copper alloy sword belt mount (D083) points to the probable presence of a sword belt and sword, worn by someone in Great Dunham in the Middle Saxon period. The silver rivets make it a rare find, although a similar mount has been recorded at Talconeston (NHER: 23698) and comparable examples have been noted in Germany (PASD: NMS-CC10A2).

The other functional groups that are well-represented are 'economic' and 'horse' related finds. The former includes five coins recorded in the EMC, without which Dunham would be curiously under-represented economically. Further evidence for economic activity comes from three weights: a lead polyhedral weight (D087), a Dublin-style trapezoidal weight (D088), and a rectangular weight decorated with gilt copper alloy (D086; Figure 6.51). These could be connected with Scandinavian activity, evidencing connections to Norse-controlled York or Dublin. The coins date mostly to the early eighth century, with one ninth-century continental coin: a silver denier of Charles the Bald, minted at Blois (D022: 864-77). The NHER contributes a further six coins, one of which is a tenth century penny of Aethelred (D525); most of the others are Middle Saxon in date. In addition to the coinage, a further two weights (D529; D519) and a copper alloy ingot (D541) were recorded. Their overall distribution is relatively widespread, with two noticeable groups in Beeston, one in Great Dunham, and another in Little Dunham (Figure 6.50). Together, these finds indicate that early medieval economic exchange in Dunham involved a mixture of coinage and bullion. This practice is evidenced in a number of England's mixed hoards; most notably the Vale of York hoard (deposited c. 927), which contains tenth-century coins, hacksilver, and a cache of Alfredian coins, presumably also for use in hacksilver economy (Townend 2014, 153).
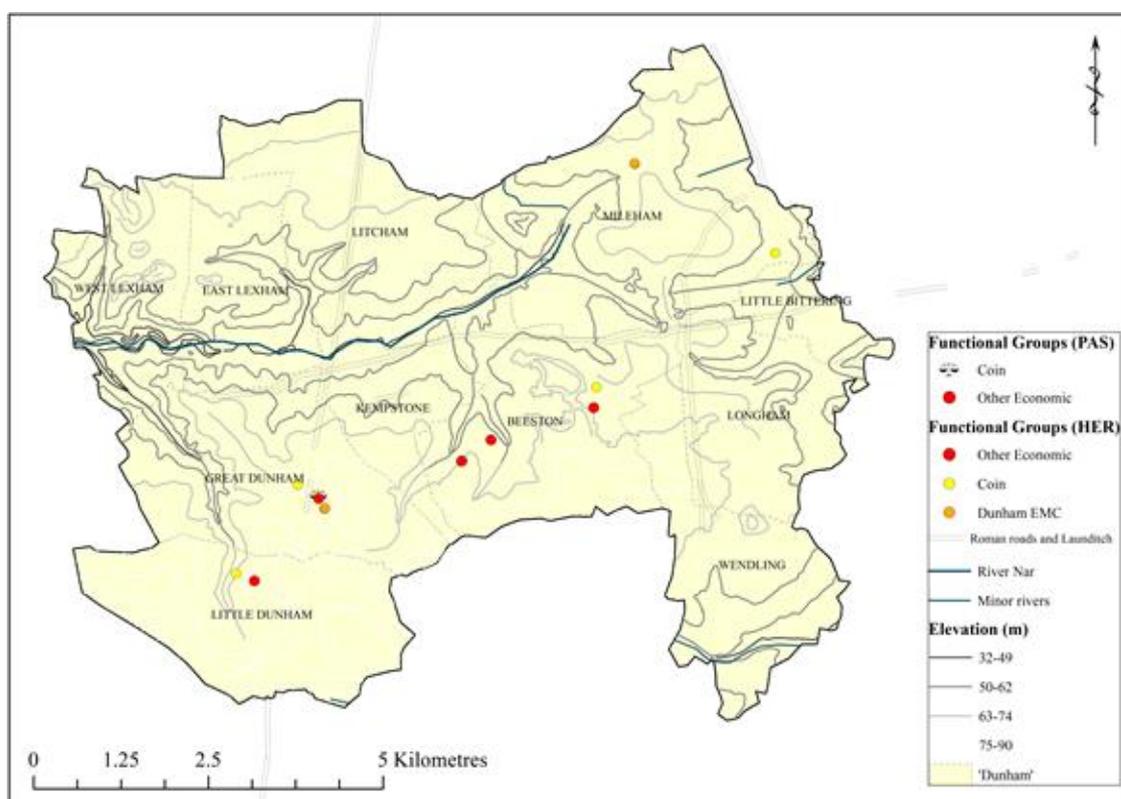
FIGURE 6.50: ECONOMIC CATEGORY IN DUNHAM (PAS, HER, EMC)
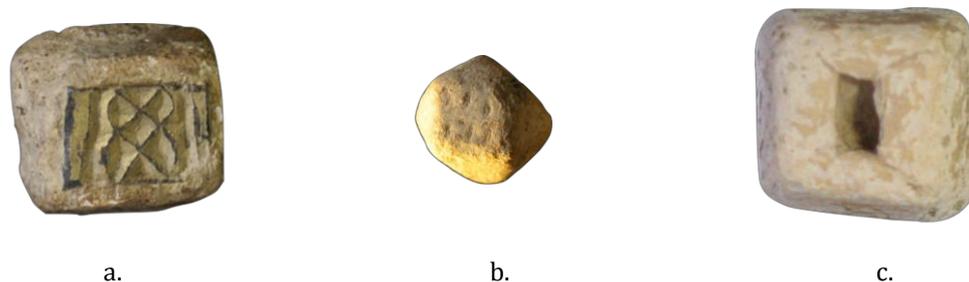
FIGURE 6.51: OTHER 'ECONOMIC' ARTEFACTS IN DUNHAM PAS: WEIGHTS
a. Gilded rectangular weight (D086); b. Polyhedral weight (D087); c. Dublin-style trapezoidal weight (D088). a. & b. scale x 2 ; c. is to scale.

The 'horse' category provides significant evidence for equestrian activity in the region during the Late Saxon period. The artefacts comprise stirrup terminals or harness fittings, and many are Anglo-Scandinavian in style. One find of note here is a cheek-piece fragment in Ringerike openwork with parallels in Denmark (D021). The fragment is worn, but it was recovered from near a medieval moated site in Litcham just west of the parish border with Mileham (Figure 6.52; NHER: MNF13535). Ringerike designs were locally prominent as the Mileham sword (also recovered from near a moated site) reflects (D610). This could reflect a dominant trend amongst the powerful and the military elite. The sword grip mount (D035) from Great Dunham might also exhibit Ringerike designs. The NHER 'Horse' trappings are overwhelmingly harness fittings, at least one of which is also Ringerike in style (D502). This was recovered from a field near the moot site at Salter's Lane where the Roman road meets the Launditch (Figure 6.53). It is the only Late Saxon artefact associated with this assembly place.

To return to the dominant category in Dunham, the 'personal' items, it would seem that rather more than passing losses of jewellery were taking place over the centuries. After the mid-eighth century (to which approximately two thirds of the finds date) these distributions cannot be explained as accompanied burial items. As Figure 6.49 illustrates, the PAS and NHER records are comparable in the 'personal' find-types noted in Dunham. The most prevalent finds are strap-ends, followed by brooches and pins. The distributions of these dominant types are fairly widespread, though again, a concentration in Great Dunham is apparent (Figure 6.54).

FIGURE 6.52: RINGERIKE CHEEKPIECE FINDSPOT
The eighteenth-century tithe map for Litcham preserves the name 'East Hall Green' indicating land associated with a hall east of the village of Litcham. The Ringerike-style cheeckpiece was recovered near an HER-identified medieval moat just west of East Hall Green. The site borders Mileham parish and is situated on a terrace above the river Nar. Red dot indicates location from which photograph was taken. Tithe map ©Norfolk Archives; aerial © GoogleEarth; photograph © author.
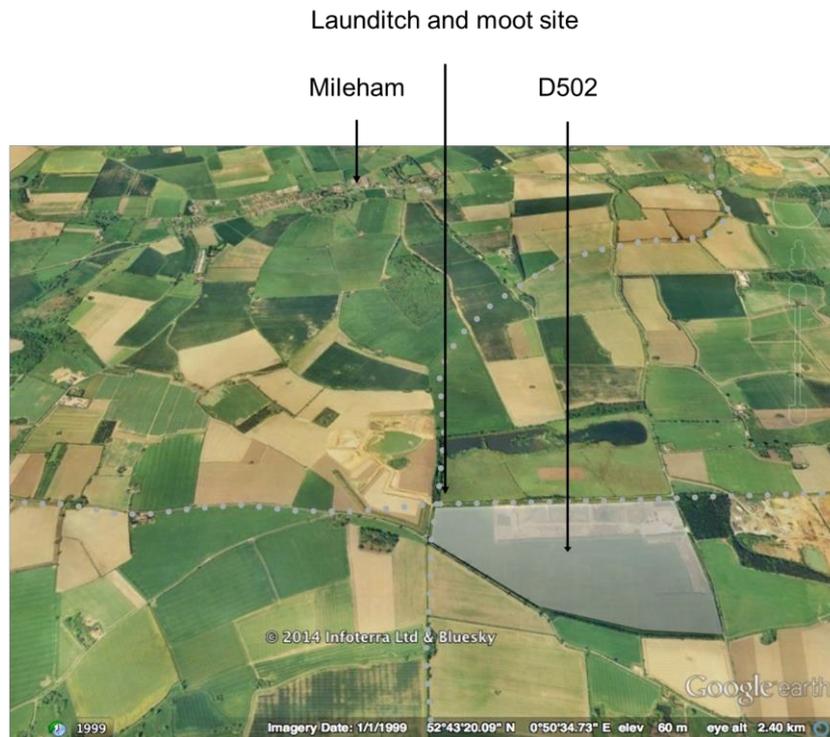
FIGURE 6.53: RINGERIKE-STYLE HARNESS NEAR LAUNDITCH
An NHER entry (MNF13025; D502) records a single Late Saxon find recovered from a field in the vicinity of the Launditch though the precise findspot is unknown. The dotted lines illustrate the Salter's Lane Roman road (e-w) and the Launditch (n-s). Mileham is visible in the background and the polygon in the foreground represents the findspot field in which there is now a quarry. Aerial © GoogleEarth.
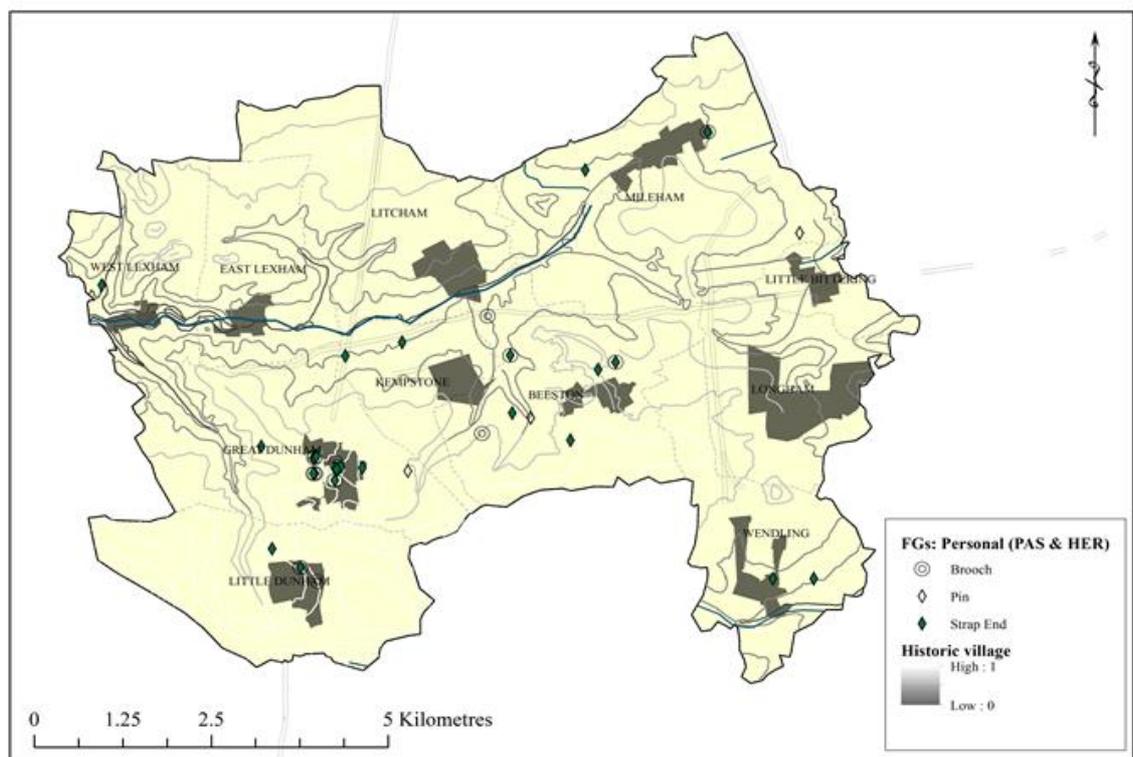
FIGURE 6.54: PRIMARY 'PERSONAL' FIND TYPE DISTIRUBTIONS
Distributions of brooches, pins, and strap-ends from the PASD and HER datasets. Strap-ends appear to concentrate in Great Dunham, and are the most common isolated finds, but all items enjoy a widespread distribution.

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The tweezers (D084) in the 'personal' group are the only artefact not necessarily intended for overt display (although cf. Ashby (2014b, 166, 171); they certainly formed part of the everyday Anglo-Saxon dress kit). Both bells in the dataset are tenth-century Anglo-Scandinavian examples. One of the rings is quite a distinctive finger-ring with a lozengiform bezel decorated with ring-and-dot motifs (D024; Figure 6.55). The second ring (D025) could be either an earring or finger ring and, with its tapered ends, resembles the similarly ambiguous Late Saxon ring in the *Aunsby* dataset (A043). This is a common type; excavations at Middle Harling, east of Thetford, revealed several similar rings (Rogerson 1995b, 56-7)(Rogerson 1995b, 56-7). Together these artefacts indicate communities with accessibility to markets and the purchasing power to acquire such goods.

FIGURE 6.55: FINGER RING
Anglo-Saxon ring (PASD: NMS-042912; D024), dated between 720-1066. The ring-and-dot motif was a favourite design in early medieval England, but it appears very frequently on artefacts in Dunham.

6.6.4 Coins and economic activity in Dunham

There are not many coins in *Dunham*, and certainly few in relation to the quantities of 'Personal' finds (Figure 6.56). The coins date mostly to the early eighth century, with one ninth-century continental coin providing the latest date: a silver denier of Charles the Bald, minted at Blois (D022; between AD 864-77). The NHER contributes a further six coins, all Middle Saxon in date. It was shown above, however, that other forms of economic transaction occurred from the mid-ninth century. The implications of these distributions are discussed in greater detail below.
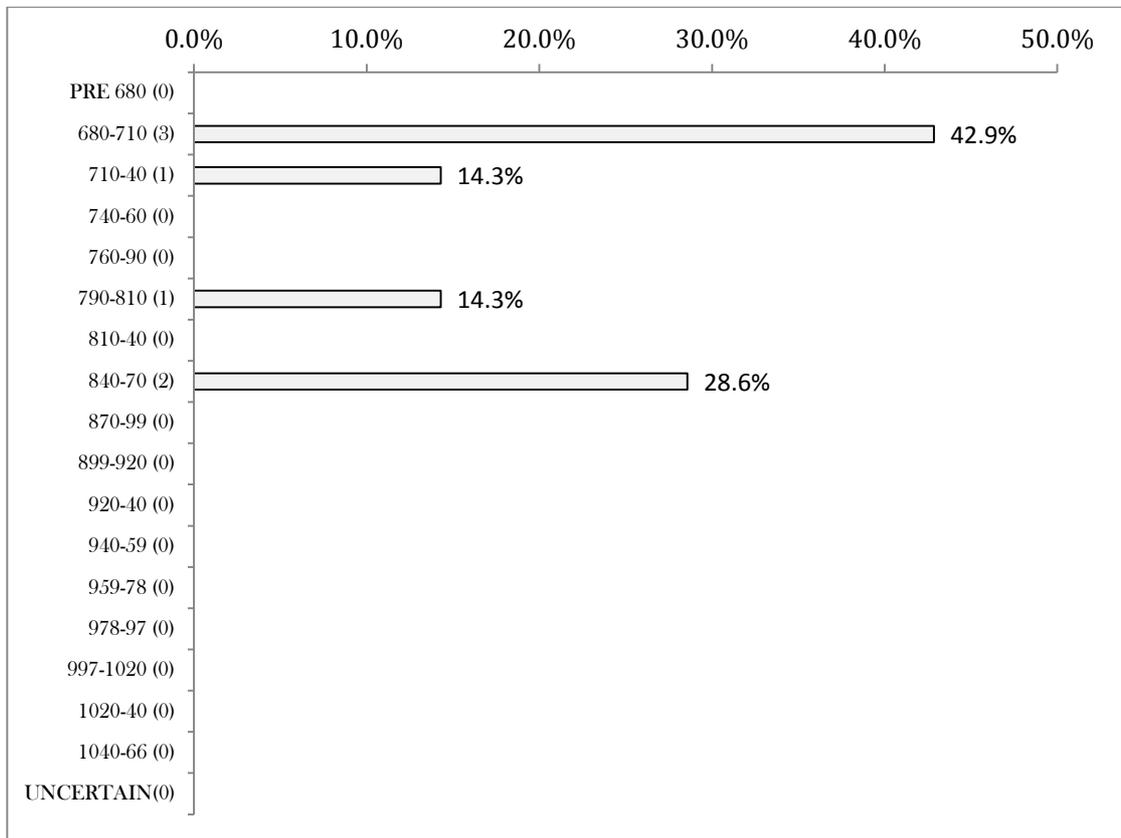
FIGURE 6.56: COINS BY DATE GROUP

6.7 Artefacts in Dunham through time

The finds signatures in Dunham are here compared with trends in the Norfolk west clay and heathland region ('Breckland' district), and those in Norfolk as a whole. Due to the volume of HER-recorded finds and the discrepancies between the PAS and HER, in this case the Norfolk finds patterns are derived solely from the PASD. In Norfolk, 99.7% of the current PAS dataset was found through metal-detecting (some related to controlled investigation), which is comparable to 100% in Dunham. The fingerprint and functional trends are contrasted initially, followed by a more detailed, chronological assessment of artefact patterning in Dunham.

6.7.1 Dunham, Norfolk and Middle and Late Saxon material culture

The trends in artefact fingerprints based on the PAS in Norfolk and Dunham are fairly harmonious (Figure 6.57). When the PAS and HER finds are combined, there is a noticeable discrepancy between Dunham's 'other' finds category and that of Norfolk, but this is probably a direct result of the differences in recovery in the NHER data, leading to a more diverse range of find types. On the whole, Dunham's signature is consistent with that of the county. A Chi-square test indicates that in fact there is no dependent relationship

between artefact types and regional signatures (p= .413; Appendix 4). The more immediate region surrounding Dunham was also assessed. 'Breckland' district comprises the hundreds of Launditch and Breckland. Within this area, the trends are very similar to both *Dunham* and wider Norfolk, except that the coin count is much higher (Figure 6.58). This could be a reflection of the wealthy Middle Saxon ecclesiastical landscape in west Norfolk, though perhaps we should not read too much into the coinage figures, since there are fewer than 100 coins dating to the Middle and Late Saxon periods in the Norfolk PAS. On the other hand, close to 1000 coins are recorded in the Norfolk EMC.[35] These numbers are easily skewed by the presence of coins hoards.
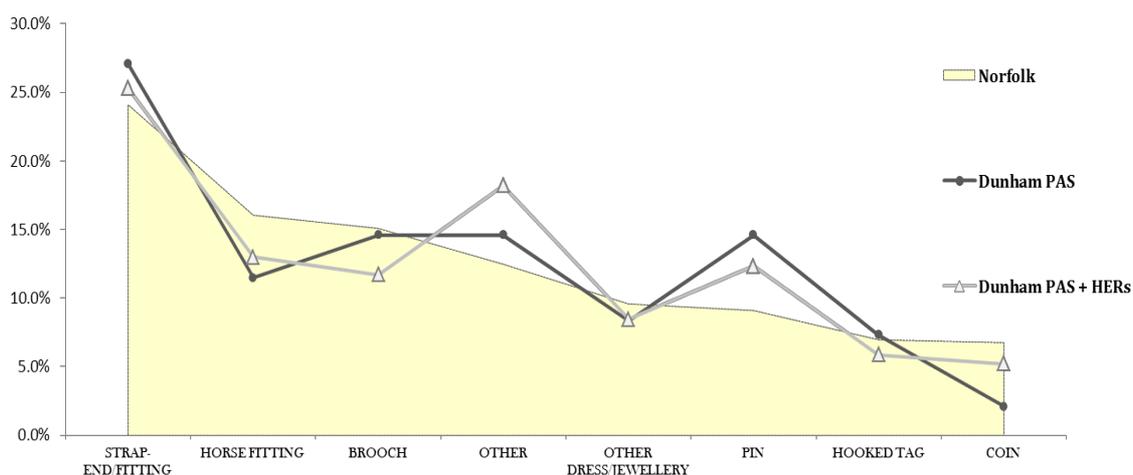
FIGURE 6.57: NORFOLK AND PAS/HERS COMPARED
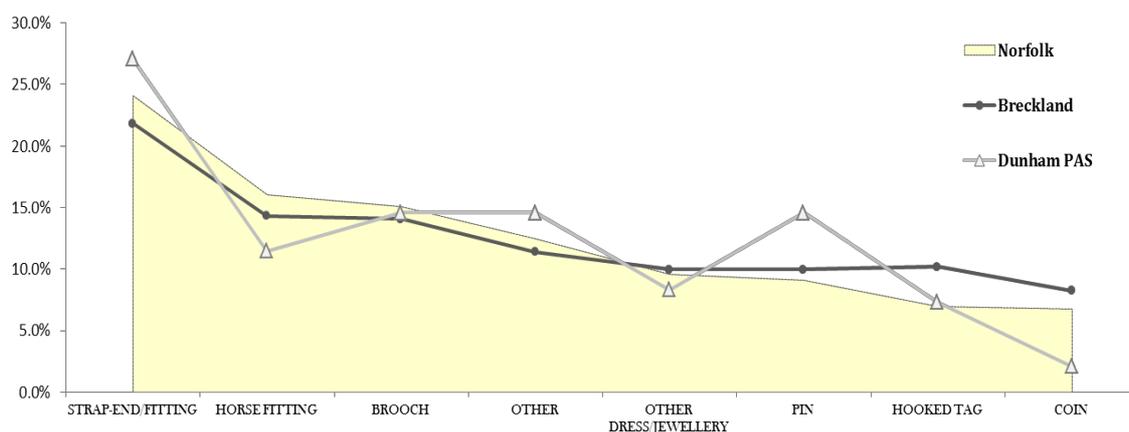
FIGURE 6.58: NORFOLK , BRECKLAND AND DUNHAM: FINGERPRINTS

When *Dunham* is compared with functional group trends in the wider region, both Norfolk and Breckland have near-identical distributions of finds across most of the groups

[35] This can be compared with Lincolnshire where c. 400 Middle and Late Saxon coins are recorded in the PAS, with c. 670 in the EMC. Such differences illustrate how divergent the datasets continue to be, and that, on their own, each dataset cannot provide an accurate representation of the past. This problem is particularly acute with coinage. There are also private coin collections that are not readily available for inclusion in studies such as this.

(Figure 6.59; Figure 6.60). Almost no finds attributable to 'hunting/fishing' or other agricultural or sporting pursuits have been noted in Norfolk. *Dunham* has a rather higher representation in the 'weaponry/tools' category than the regional average, even without the addition of the NHER records; Beeston and Great Dunham are in fact the only parishes in Norfolk in which more than one 'weaponry/tools'-classed artefact has been recorded with the PAS.
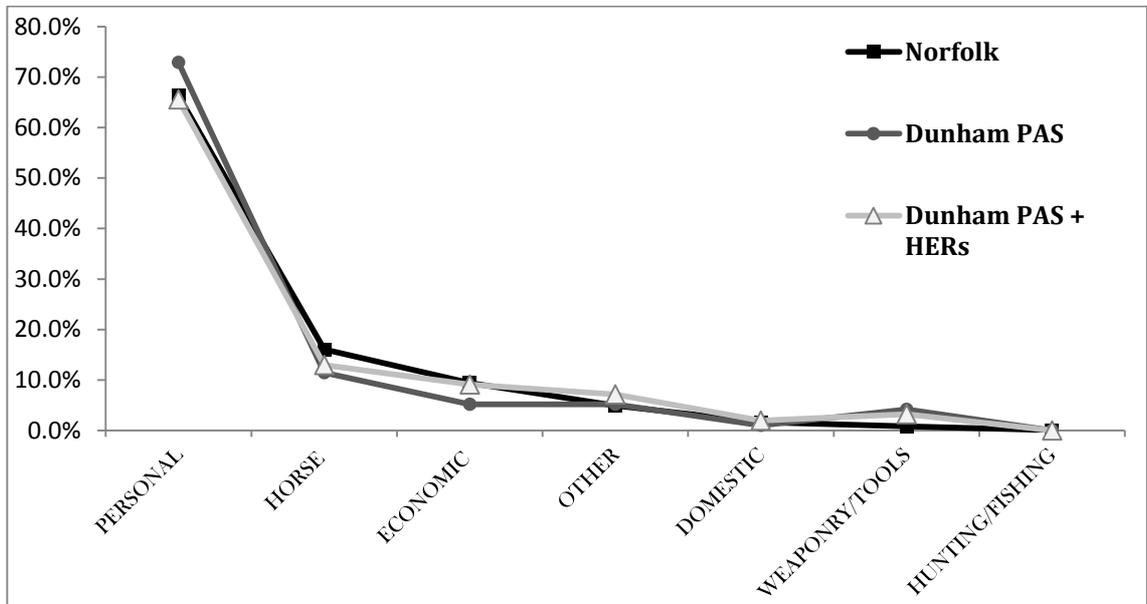
FIGURE 6.59: NORFOLK AND DUNHAM: FUNCTIONAL GROUPS
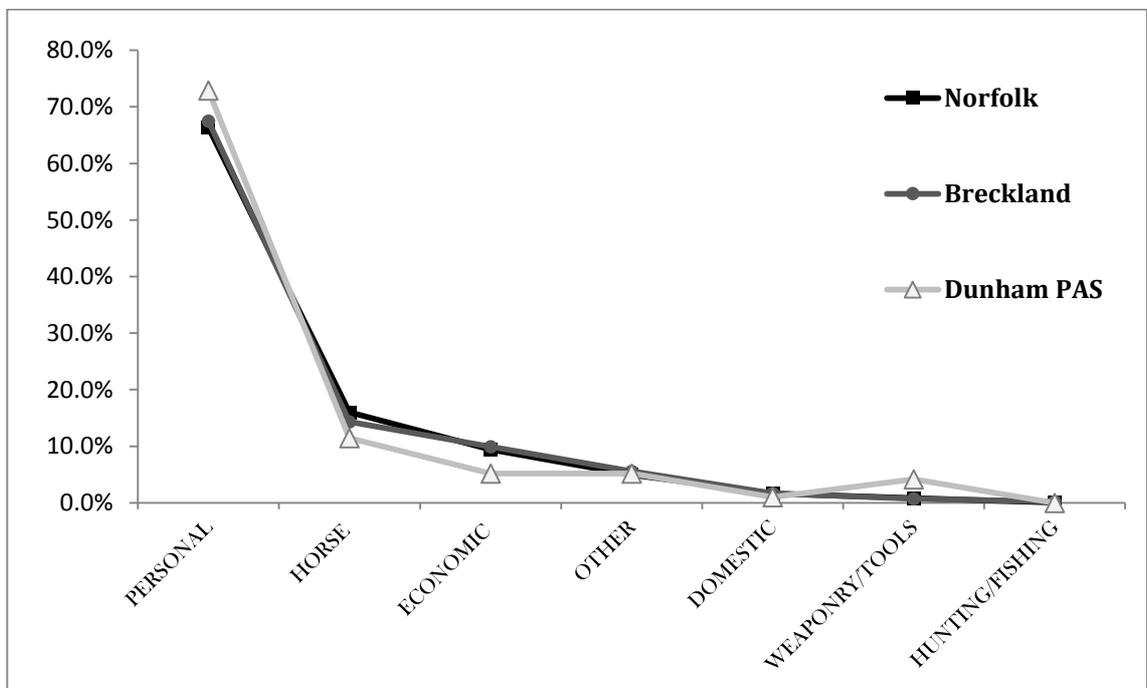
FIGURE 6.60: NORFOLK, BRECKLAND AND DUNHAM: FUNCTIONAL GROUPS

As mentioned above, the coinage signature is the most difficult to accurately compare, since different methods of recovery and recording took place before and outside of the

PAS. The chart in Figure 6.56 includes the EMC records in addition to the PAS for both Norfolk and Dunham, but again, *Dunham*'s seven coins make any comparison — even in broad trends — highly tenuous. Given the level of metal-detecting in Great Dunham it is difficult to attribute a lack in coinage to taphonomic processes or metal-detectorist biases. On the other hand, it seems hard to believe that there was not more coinage moving through *Dunham* in the Middle Saxon period (Figure 6.61). The removal of coinage from circulation through hoarding is known to have taken place throughout East Anglia in the eighth to tenth centuries, with the Morley St Peter hoard deposited c. AD 925 as one example (Blackburn 2005, 20). Thus undiscovered coin hoards might account for some of the apparent disparities between sites such as Great Dunham and Bawsey (Davies 2010), for example, which otherwise have many artefactual similarities.
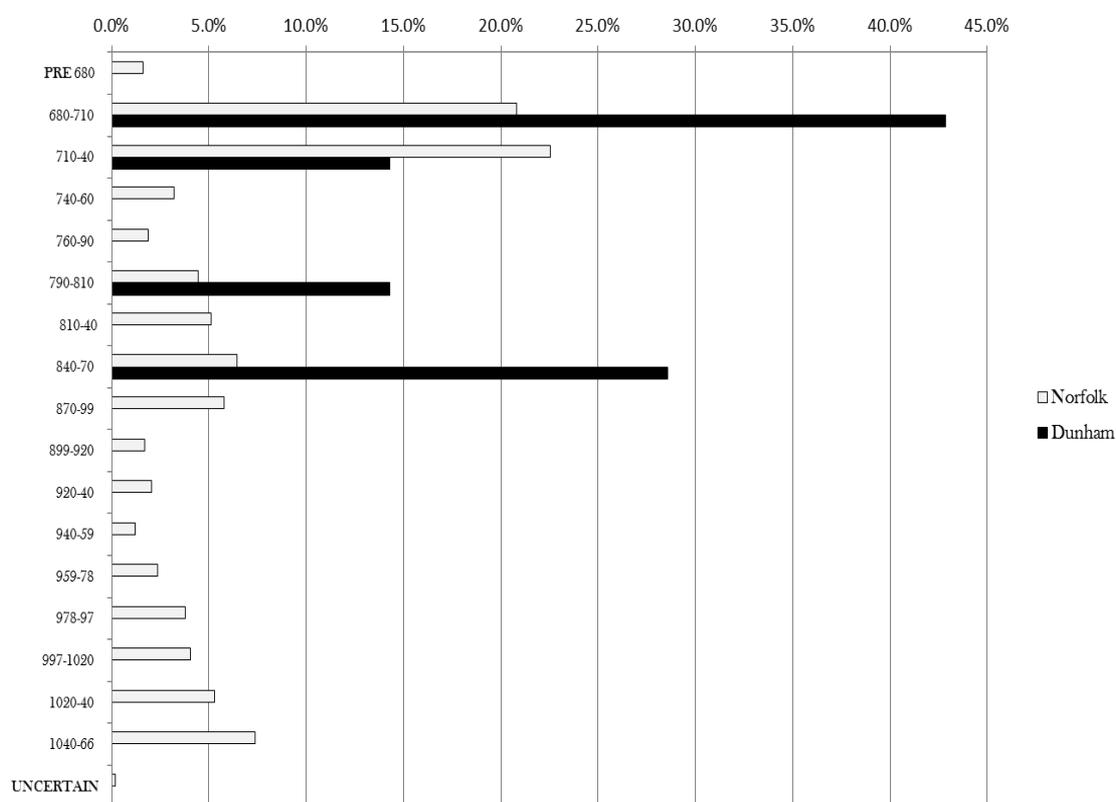
FIGURE 6.61: NORFOLK AND DUNHAM DATE GROUPS COMPARED

It is widely noted that coin loss declines nationally after c. AD 870 (Blackburn 2003; Richards *et al.* 2009, 3.2.2) and that for a time following its introduction by Scandinavians, an economy based on bullion was in operation alongside the diminished monetary economy. There is evidence of a weight-based economy operating in *Dunham* from the mid-ninth century, although again the evidence is rather sparse. Two weights were found in Beeston and another in Great Dunham; only one ingot has been recovered, but this came from the same findspot in Beeston as the incised Irish-style weight (D086; Figure 6.62), and is remarkable in that it is made of copper alloy (D541). Despite the relative

paucity of economic evidence related to other regions in wealthy west Norfolk, these finds nevertheless attest to transactions of varied natures taking place over the years.

It has previously been noted that artefact distributions in the *Dunham* region focus on Mileham, Wendling, Beeston, and Great Dunham, with an especially dense concentration in the latter (cf. Figure 6.33). These areas provide the focus for the following evaluations, although information is drawn from neighbouring parishes to better inform the patterns that emerge. The artefacts are discussed in roughly chronological order according to their PAS-assigned date brackets, allowing for instances where wider date brackets might imply an artefact type was in use over a longer period of time, or simply that the artefact's date range is less certain, as the methodology for 'Refined Chronologies' details in Appendix 3 (1)a)i)). The discussion is also broken down by finds dating to before and after the period of Scandinavian settlement.

D086; D541
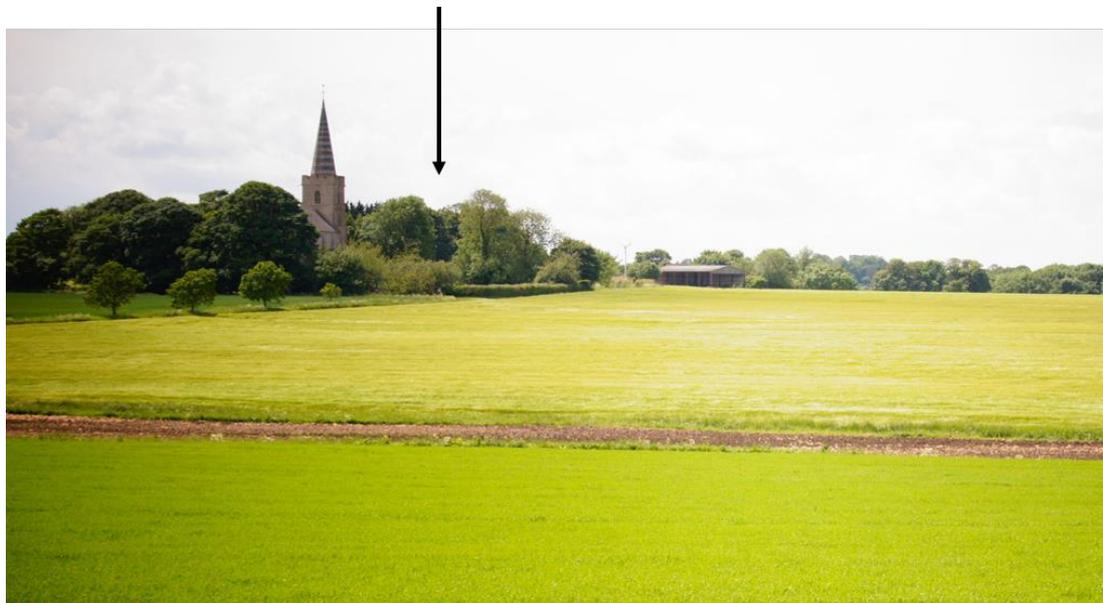
FIGURE 6.62: IRISH INCISED WEIGHT
The weight (D086) was recovered close to where a copper alloy ingot (D541) was also found.

6.7.2 Middle Saxon Dunham (MSx) c. AD 700-850

Middle Saxon *Dunham* (map series Figure 6.64a-c, below) was situated within a wider elite and ecclesiastical landscape, with the wealthy monastery of *Medhamstead* (Peterborough) *c.* 70km along the Roman Fen causeway to the west, Ely 50km to the southwest, and other probable monasteries and minsters to the east (cf. Figure 6.3). The importance tied to earlier places of gathering, ritual, and justice seems to have frequently been transferred to Christian centres of authority in the centuries that followed, as was the case at North Elmham (Blair 2005, 317). Williams (2004) suggests that Early Saxon cremation cemeteries might have played important roles as sites of assembly in the past. North Elmham, with its Middle to Late Saxon settlement (NHER 1013) and later Saxon cathedral, and nearby Dereham, where a monastery might have been founded as early as AD 654 (NHER 2890), suggest that areas of communal value continued to thrive even as they evolved throughout the Middle Saxon period. To the west of Dunham, Bawsey has also been interpreted as an important centre linked to ecclesiastical landholding (e.g. the Bishop of Thetford) by the time of the Domesday Survey, with a large quantity of seventh-century coins suggesting Middle Saxon origins for its role (Pestell 2003; Hutcheson 2006, 101). The thoroughfares passing through Dunham linked north and south East Anglia, and also connected eastern areas including Norwich to the Wash and further inland to Mercia. Dunham was therefore well-connected not just within Norfolk, but to the North Sea, Suffolk, and the western kingdoms.

Some evidence of these multi-scalar connections is seen in the small finds from Dunham. There are three main activity foci in Dunham dating to the Middle Saxon period, with one on the fields near the village of Great Dunham, another north of the village of Beeston, and a third in the fields north of St Mary's church. Apart from the shield (D050), all are 'Personal' items. Curiously, there is an apparent drop in activity around the late seventh and eighth centuries in both Beeston and Dunham, despite a widespread pattern of Roman activity and Early Saxon pottery discard, metalwork discard tentatively resumes in the mid-eighth century in both cases. It is within this date bracket that activity in Beeston appears to shift to the north of the Church of St Mary's, with discards of pins, an ansate brooch, and a strap-end. The finds here have not been dated more narrowly than to between 120-200 years during which they were possibly made, used, and lost. They are therefore not necessarily contemporary. Apart from the pin and strapend found in the same field, the finds are sufficiently widespread to suggest unrelated modes of discard (Figure 6.63). The strapend style is not recorded by either Thomas (2003) or Hinton (1996), but there are several known parallels throughout Norfolk (NPAS: NMS-E80813) perhaps suggesting a regional type. The ansate brooch from north of Beeston village (D016) is a common East Anglian regional type (Box 6.1).
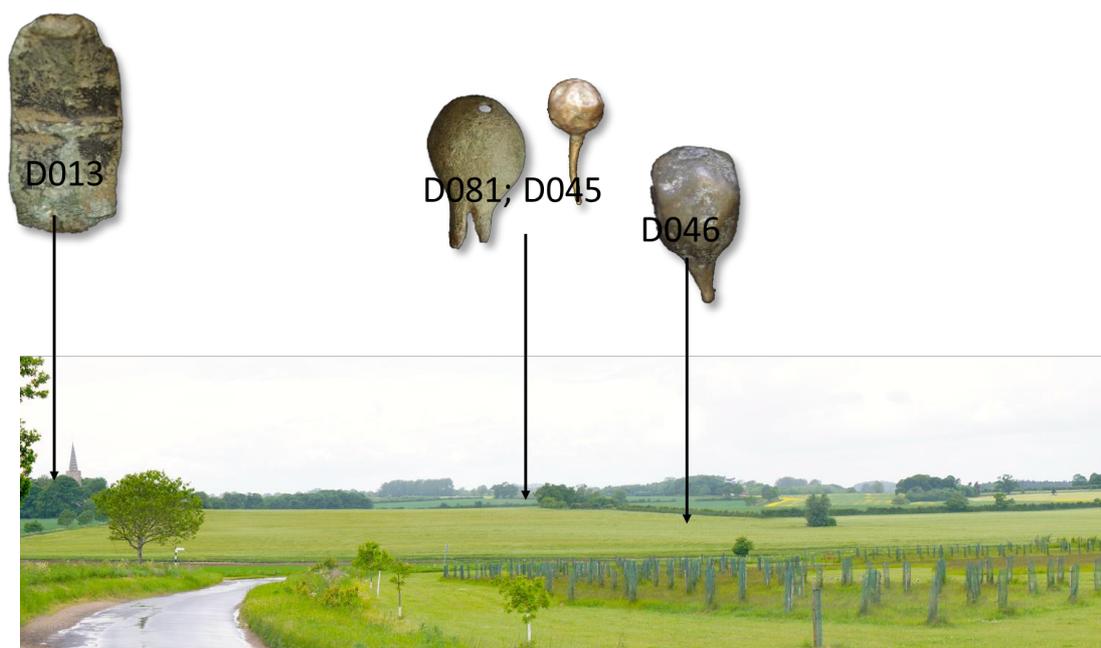
FIGURE 6.63: MIDDLE SAXON FINDS LOST IN BEESTON
The steeple of the Church of St Mary's is visible to the left. The photograph faces west across Beeston parish, away from the modern village. A stream runs roughly north-south to the Nar from the church and D081 and D045 were recovered from fields to its west. Evidence of Roman activity is also recorded along the stream in the PAS (cf. Figure 6.11).

In Great Dunham around the mid-eighth to early ninth-century, the finds suggest intensification of activity. Again, the dating centres loosely on the mid-eighth century, but might reflect slightly earlier or later activity: a single 'Porcupine'-type sceatta (D023) recovered from a field east of the Roman road, provides a date of discard after AD710-50, while a fragment of a Scandinavian oval brooch (D010) gives a late eighth-century date. Evidence of a continental connection is found in the Charles the Bald denier (D022), and the sword belt mount recovered from north of St Andrew's church (D083). The mount is believed to be Germanic in influence and 'certainly Continental in manufacture' (NPAS: NMS-CC10A2); a similar example was found at Tacolneston (Gurney 2003; NHER 23698). Again, the finds here are predominantly 'Personal', and the majority of the slightly later finds were recovered west of the Roman road. Such a collection of find-types, including tweezers (D084), would often suggest an Early Saxon cemetery (Chester-Kadwell 2009, 81). An Early Saxon cemetery has been posited to account for the finds in the southwestern corner of Great Dunham village, and the hanging bowl mount (D039) might be better viewed in this context. It seems unlikely given the regional archaeological record and local Christian influence, however, that the eighth-century finds came from burial contexts. The Middle Saxon cemetery at nearby Sedgeford, for example, is probably early eighth-century in origin and all 61 excavated burials were unaccompanied and oriented east-west (Cabot *et al.* 2004, 316). It therefore seems that activity shifted slightly north of the early cemetery in the eighth century. One focus might have been where the sword

mount was discarded near the modern church of St Andrews. This pattern of tightly nucleated Middle Saxon settlement around a later parish church site is found in Mileham and Longham (Wade-Martins 1980, 41, 52, respectively), and the evidence suggests it is also the case at Beeston. Wade-Martins (1980, 41) believes that these formations indicate pre-Danish foundations for the churches, in which case we can envision a number of small, devout communities evolving around places of local value. Thus even as populations grew in the later centuries and denucleation occurred, the church sites were preserved as anchors of memory in the changing landscape.

The artefacts dating firmly to the ninth century — the period straddling the transitional and presumably disruptive time of Scandinavian raids and settlement — are predominantly Anglo-Saxon style ansate brooches (e.g. D004), pins (various head-types) and strap-ends (predominantly Thomas's Class A, type 1). There is no obvious hiatus in activity based on the quantities and distributions of these artefacts. The recovery of pins from Middle Saxon settlement sites is common (e.g. at Flixborough (Evans and Loveluck 2009)), but slightly less readily explained are the three ansate brooches dating to the eighth and ninth centuries (D012; D014; D015), each from a separate field. Davies (2010, 283) also records ansate brooches at Bawsey, though does not specify the nature of their discard. Pottery scatters have been recovered from each of the major fields returning metalwork in the village of Great Dunham; the distributions here could therefore reflect discrete discard practices associated with family groups living near the Roman road.

Interestingly, although the metalwork points to foci around Beeston and Great Dunham, pottery scatters suggest extensive activity around Dunham as a whole in the seventh to early ninth centuries. Otherwise, however, only three metal-detected finds support evidence for activity at the eastern end of the modern village of Mileham. The artefacts span the eighth to ninth centuries, and, along with the pottery scatters reinforce Wade-Martins' interpretation that Mileham's Middle Saxon settlement focus was at the eastern end of the modern village (1980, 56).

Ipswich ware and a common East Anglian ansate brooch-style are indications of regional trade and production in Dunham, and might be interpreted as expressions of regional identity. The rare example of the Continental sword belt mount nevertheless indicates a higher-status group with wider-ranging connections. This might be viewed in the context of imported ceramics from Francia found at North Elmham (Davies 2013, 1), and the well-attested North Sea connections between East Anglia and Frisia (see Naismith 2013). The fragment of an early Scandinavian oval brooch bearing textile impressions (D010) is evidence of contact with Scandinavia. The textile impressions could indicate a burial context (Chester-Kadwell 2009, 81); it is possible that the brooch was an heirloom transported to Dunham by a follower of the Great Army, perhaps in AD 866 or 870, when they overwintered at Thetford. On the other hand, pre-Viking Age trade connections

between the continent, Scandinavia, and East Anglia may have resulted in this early piece arriving in England prior to the first Viking raids.
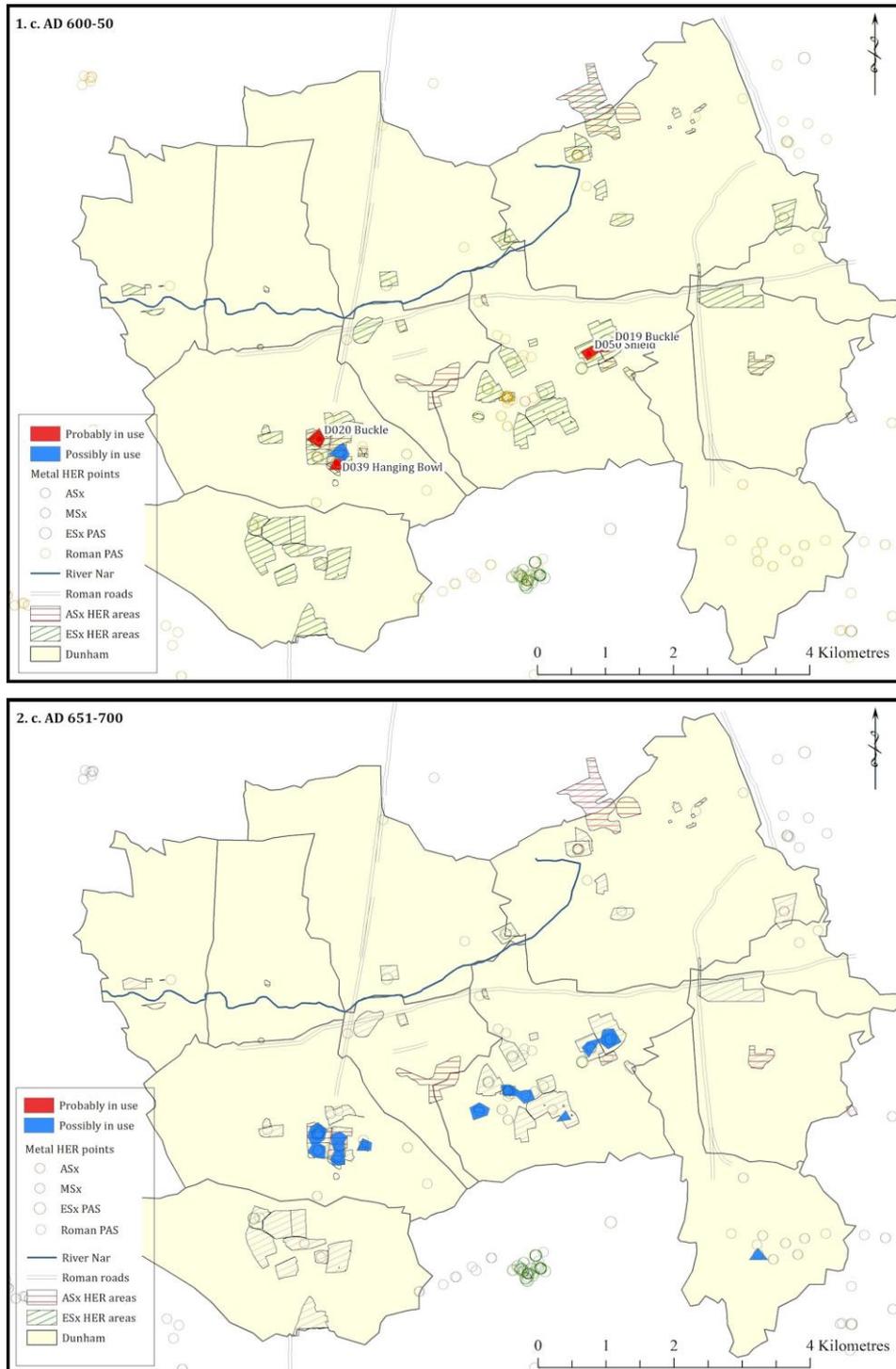
6.64a

FIGURE 6.64A-C: MIDDLE SAXON *DUNHAM* THROUGH TIME
For details on how refined chronological categories were established, see Appendix 3 (**1)a)i)**).
Polygons provide a minimum 100m buffer around recorded findspots to allow for lack of precision, and to highlight 'areas' rather than simply spots within which there is artefactual evidence for past human activity. The time periods shown here span dates of use centring on AD 600 to AD 850, from top to bottom, left to right. See Figure 6.66a-c, below, for the Late Saxon refined chronology, and see Appendix 5 for high resolution slides of the same maps to better illustrate these changes through time.

347

3. c. AD 701-50

Probably in use
Possibly in use

Metal HER points
○ ASx
○ MSx
○ ESx PAS
○ Roman PAS

— River Nar
Roman roads
ASx HER areas
ESx HER areas
Dunham

D034 Hooked Tag D041 Pin
D023 Coin

0   1   2   4 Kilometres

4. c. AD 751-800

D049 Pin

LITCHAM
MILEHAM

WEST LEXHAM
EAST LEXHAM
LITTLE BITTERING

KEMPSTONE
BEESTON
D016 Brooch
D045 Pin
D013 Brooch
LONGHAM

Probably in use
Possibly in use

Metal HER points
○ ASx
○ MSx
○ ESx PAS
○ Roman PAS

— River Nar
Roman roads
ASx HER areas
ESx HER areas
Dunham

GREAT DUNHAM D048 Pin
D040 Mount D047 Pin
D014 Brooch

LITTLE DUNHAM

WENDLING

0   1   2   4 Kilometres

6.64b

348

5. c. AD 801-50

Map legend:
- Probably in use
- Possibly in use

Metal HER points
- ASx
- MSx
- ESx PAS
- Roman PAS

- River Nar
- Roman roads
- ASx HER areas
- ESx HER areas
- Dunham

Labels: D061 Strap End, MILEHAM, LITCHAM, WEST LEXHAM, EAST LEXHAM, LITTLE BITTERING, KEMPSTONE, BEESTON, LONGHAM, D062 Strap End, GREAT DUNHAM, D060 Strap End, D003 Brooch, D004 Brooch, WENDLING, LITTLE DUNHAM, D063 Strap End

0   1   2   4 Kilometres

6. c. AD 851-900

Map legend:
- Probably in use
- Possibly in use

Metal HER points
- ASx
- LSx
- Roman PAS

- River Nar
- Roman roads
- ASx HER areas
- ESx HER areas
- Dunham

Labels: D085 Unidentified Object, MILEHAM, LITCHAM, WEST LEXHAM, EAST LEXHAM, LITTLE BITTERING, D005 Brooch, D006 Brooch, KEMPSTONE, BEESTON, LONGHAM, D032 Hooked Tag, D086 Weight, D024 Ring, D007 Brooch, GREAT DUNHAM, D017 Buckle, D065 Strap End, D068 Strap End, D067 Strap End, WENDLING, LITTLE DUNHAM

0   1   2   4 Kilometres

6.64c

349

6.7.3 Late Saxon Dunham (LSx) c. AD 850-1100

The Viking 'Great Army' overwintered in East Anglia at Thetford for the first time in 866, followed by another winter in 870 (*Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* 866, 870), but it was not until AD 880 that Scandinavians are traditionally presumed to have settled in Norfolk (Smith 1956). The *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* notes that even during the initial overwintering, the East Anglians 'made peace' with the Great Army, and insinuates that they may have helped to 'horse' them. They were less welcome upon their return in 870 when King Edmund challenged the army. This battle sparked a chain of destruction according to the Chronicle (AD 870), whereby Edmund was first slain, then the army 'overran all that land, and destroyed all the monasteries to which they came', followed by the sacking of 'Medhamsted' (Peterborough). In AD 875, under Guthrum, Osketil and Anwind, part of the army went to Cambridge for a year (*Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* 875). In AD 880, the army 'settled, and divided the land' in East Anglia (*Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* 880). This one-sided account of the activity of the Great Army indicates that there was relatively frequent interaction between the Scandinavian Great Army and East Anglia since it first overwintered in Thetford. The extent to which this interaction coloured the subsequent East Anglian landscape remains debated, however. In *Dunham* there is the opportunity to explore the Scandinavian and local East Anglian influences through the material culture and its distribution.

From AD 800-950, several Scandinavian-influenced and Scandinavian-imported objects were used and discarded in *Dunham*. As in the Middle Saxon period, activity is most evident in Beeston and around the village of Great Dunham (polygon map series Figure 6.66a-c, Figure 6.67a-c, Figure 6.68a-c, below). There are similarities in the artefact signatures in both cases, although again, there is a distinct concentration around four fields in Great Dunham, and a more dispersed distribution with two main foci in the parish of Beeston. Fifteen items in Dunham have dates that centre around AD 900, but which are too loosely dated to ascribe to one side of the century or the other ('ASx' finds). One of these artefacts is worth noting since it indicates activity outside the areas that have already revealed a Middle and Late Saxon presence: that is, a nummular brooch from east of Litcham Common (D005). The brooch location is further significant as it is the only artefact in Dunham that might be associated with the east-west Roman road. It is also adjacent to a road running from Beeston to Litcham, and might thus be interpreted as a loss during travel. The design itself is curious and without known parallels in other brooches; the image could represent Christ or imitate a Woden Head penny (NPAS: NMS-1F0421). In light of its recovery location which was not just at a crossroad, but near a river crossing (at 'Bridge Farm') and marshy terrain, a deliberate deposition might alternatively be posited.

FIGURE 6.65: BELLS IN *DUNHAM*
Bell D002 in Beeston is not considered a 'Norse' bell as it is stylistically different from D001 (see Schoenfelder and Richards (2011) for details). Nevertheless, that the two date to similar periods and were lost or discarded in close proximity suggests a shared local culture around these artefacts, whether as expressions of status, use for practical reasons such as for hunting, or, more probably, a combination of the two.

Those items that have been dated more firmly to the period following the presumed Scandinavian settlement in *Dunham* (late ninth-tenth century) highlight a new area of activity in Wendling. There are no Middle or Late Saxon metal HERs associated with Wendling as there are with Beeston and Great Dunham. Extensive quantities of Roman and Medieval finds have been recovered there, however, suggesting that as a settlement site, Wendling was only reinvigorated in the Late Saxon period. The majority of items in this date bracket with Scandinavian influence were recovered from Great Dunham; several have Borre-style decoration. One of these is a Borre-style brooch that Kershaw identifies as coming from Scandinavia (2012, cat no. 48; D008), while another brooch is a typical Borre-style 'East Anglian Series' disc brooch, 'Type 1' (D011; also in Kershaw (2012, cat. no. 160)). This latter brooch should be viewed within its wider regional framework as a common brooch type found across Norfolk (Box 6.1), with three recorded in *Dunham* proper. Also of note within this category are the two bells (D001; D002; Figure 6.65). As mentioned in Chapters 4 and 5 (and see Figure 4.46 *in Roxby*), the bells have been viewed as a colonial artefact, coincident with areas of Scandinavian settlement (Schoenfelder and Richards 2011). The presence of two in such close proximity (one in Great Dunham and one in Beeston) is noteworthy. Although the Beeston bell appears to be a 'perforated' bell,

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and therefore not of the same type and distribution as the Norse bells (Schoenfelder and Richards 2011, 153-4), it is still worth noting the apparent introduction of a new accessory at a time when other changes in style were also occurring. Regardless of how finely the chronological changes outlined above can truly be traced, different choices were clearly being made in Late Saxon *Dunham*, as evidenced in the material culture in general. What is interesting is that in terms of the landscape, the distributions remained little altered, the one exception being the appearance of increased materially-represented activity in Wendling in the Late Saxon period. The quantity of finds in Great Dunham remains the most striking feature of the distributions, and it is difficult to see this as a reflection of household discard alone.

The following discussion revisits the idea of Great Dunham as a market site, addressed in the Domesday Book discussion, but also broadens the analysis to take the range of secondary evidence into greater account and address the role that landscape played in Viking Age *Dunham*.

6.66a

FIGURE 6.66A-C: LATE SAXON *DUNHAM* THROUGH TIME
See Appendix 5 for high resolution slides of the same maps to illustrate the changes through time.

7. c. AD 901-50

WEST LEXHAM · EAST LEXHAM · LITCHAM · MILEHAM · LITTLE BITTERING · KEMPSTONE · BEESTON · LONGHAM · GREAT DUNHAM · WENDLING · LITTLE DUNHAM

D072 Strap End
D002 Bell
D001 Bell
D011 Brooch
D008 Brooch
D033 Hooked Tag
D036 Mount
D070 Strap End · D071 Strap End

Probably in use
Possibly in use
Metal HER points
○ ASx
○ LSx
○ Roman PAS
River Nar
Roman roads
ASx HER areas
ESx HER areas
Dunham

0   1   2   4 Kilometres

8. c. AD 951-1000

WEST LEXHAM · EAST LEXHAM · LITCHAM · MILEHAM · LITTLE BITTERING · KEMPSTONE · BEESTON · LONGHAM · GREAT DUNHAM · WENDLING · LITTLE DUNHAM

D074 Strap End
D076 Strap End · D088 Weight
D026 Harness Fitting
D025 Ring
D009 Brooch · D087 Weight

Probably in use
Possibly in use
Metal HER points
○ ASx
○ LSx
☐ Medieval PAS
River Nar
Roman roads
ASx HER areas
ESx HER areas
Dunham

0   1   2   4 Kilometres

6.66b

354

9. c. AD 1001-1050

Legend:
- Probably in use
- Possibly in use

Metal HER points
- ASx
- LSx
- Medieval PAS
- River Nar
- Roman roads
- ASx HER areas
- ESx HER areas
- Dunham

Labels: D021 Harness Fitting, D079 Strap End, D051 Stirrup, D300, D035 Knife, D018 Buckle, D054 Stirrup, D037 Mount, D055 Stirrup, D056 Stirrup

Place names: WEST LEXHAM, EAST LEXHAM, LITCHAM, MILEHAM, LITTLE BITTERING, KEMPSTONE, BEESTON, LONGHAM, GREAT DUNHAM, LITTLE DUNHAM, WENDLING

0 1 2 4 Kilometres

10. c. AD 1051-1100

Legend:
- Probably in use
- Possibly in use

Metal HER points
- ASx
- LSx
- Medieval PAS
- River Nar
- Roman roads
- ASx HER areas
- ESx HER areas
- Dunham

Labels: D057 Stirrup, D038 Mount, D028 Harness Fitting, D080 Strap End

Place names: WEST LEXHAM, EAST LEXHAM, LITCHAM, MILEHAM, LITTLE BITTERING, KEMPSTONE, BEESTON, LONGHAM, GREAT DUNHAM, LITTLE DUNHAM, WENDLING

0 1 2 4 Kilometres

6.66c

355

6.67a

FIGURE 6.67A-C: LATE SAXON BEESTON THROUGH TIME
See Appendix 5 for high resolution slides of the same maps to illustrate the changes through time.

7. c. AD 901-950

Probably in use
Possibly in use

Metal HER points
○ ASx
○ LSx

□ Medieval PAS

River Nar
Roman roads
ASx HER areas
ESx HER areas
Dunham

D072 Strap End
D601 Furniture Fitting
D532 Unidentified Object D529 Weight
D002 Bell
Furniture Fitting D541 Ingot
D613 Unidentified Object

0   0.3   0.6   1.2 Kilometres

8. c. AD 951-1000

Probably in use
Possibly in use

Metal HER points
○ ASx
○ LSx

□ Medieval PAS

River Nar
Roman roads
ASx HER areas
ESx HER areas
Dunham

D076 Strap End
D088 Weight
D601 Furniture Fitting
D532 Unidentified Object D529 Weight
Furniture Fitting D541 Ingot
D613 Unidentified Object

0   0.3   0.6   1.2 Kilometres

6.67b

9. c. AD 1001-1050

Legend:
- Probably in use (red)
- Possibly in use (blue)

Metal HER points
- ○ ASx
- ○ LSx
- ☐ Medieval PAS
- — River Nar
- Roman roads
- ASx HER areas
- ESx HER areas
- Dunham

Labels on map: D051 Stirrup, D079 Strap End, D601 Furniture Fitting, D532 Unidentified Object D529 Weight, D300, Furniture Fitting D541 Ingot, D613 Unidentified Object

0   0.3   0.6   +2 Kilometres

10. c. AD 1051-1100

Legend:
- Probably in use (red)
- Possibly in use (blue)

Metal HER points
- ○ ASx
- ○ LSx
- ☐ Medieval PAS
- — River Nar
- Roman roads
- ASx HER areas
- ESx HER areas
- Dunham

Labels on map: D057 Stirrup, D601 Furniture Fitting, D532 Unidentified Object D529 Weight, D038 Mount, Furniture Fitting D541 Ingot, D613 Unidentified Object

0   0.3   0.6   +2 Kilometres

6.67c

358

6.68a

FIGURE 6.68A-C: LATE SAXON GREAT DUNHAM THROUGH TIME
Although the specific findspots overlap quite heavily in the Great Dunham fields, this has been attributed to centring findspots in a given field when recording coordinates (see Figure 6.31, above). The interpretation here is that while original artefact losses might not have clustered so intensively as is presented here, the fields themselves were clearly areas where repeated loss took place in the early medieval period. See Appendix 5 for high resolution slides of the same maps to illustrate the changes through time.

6.68b

9. c. AD 1001-1050

10. c. AD 1051-1100
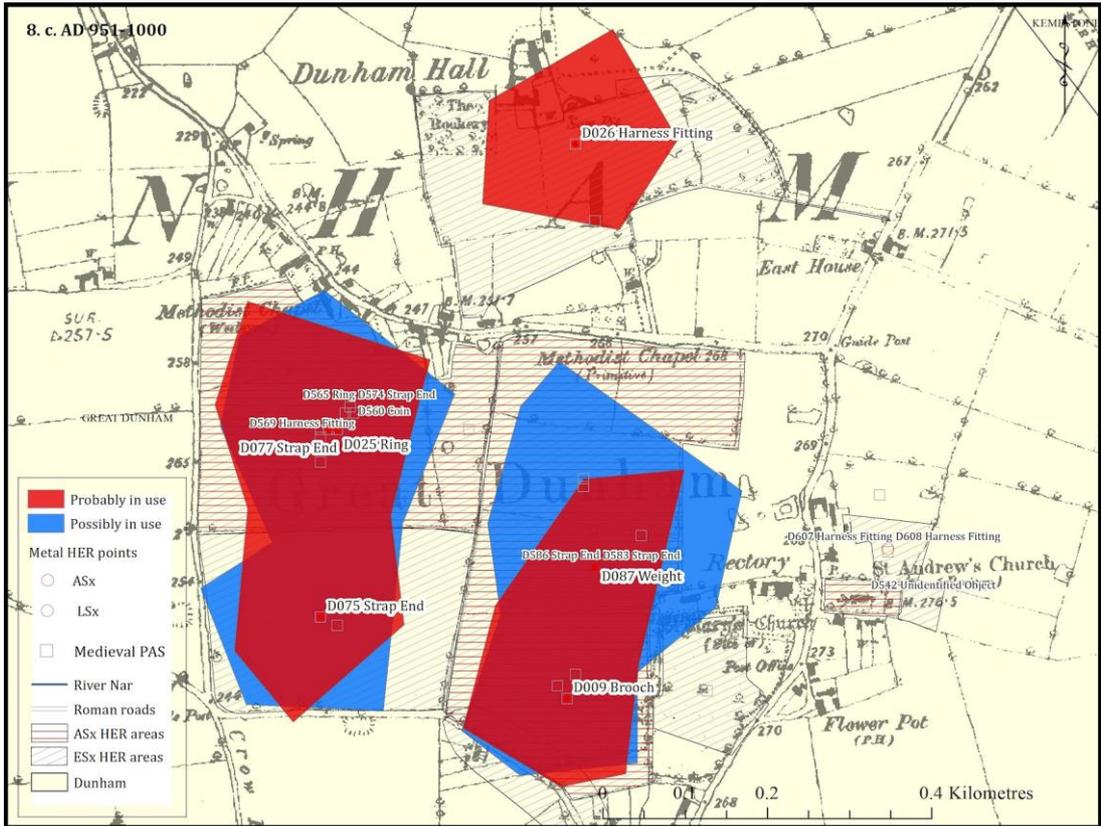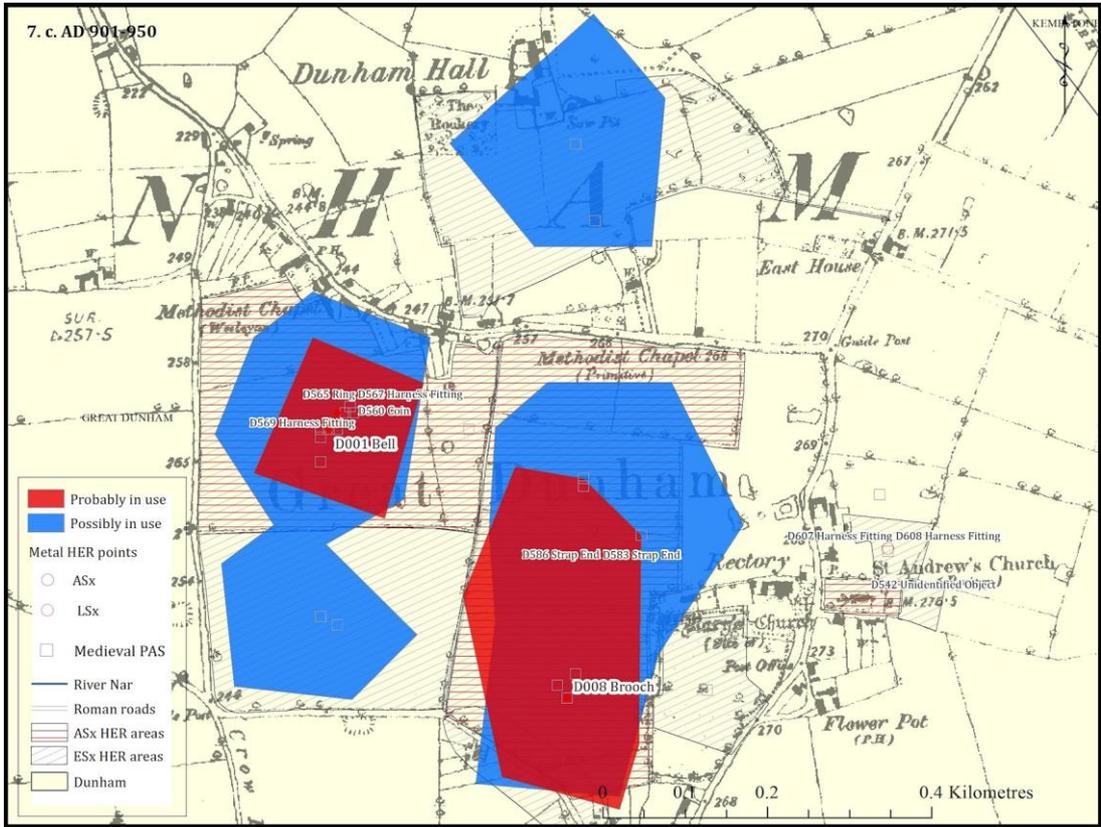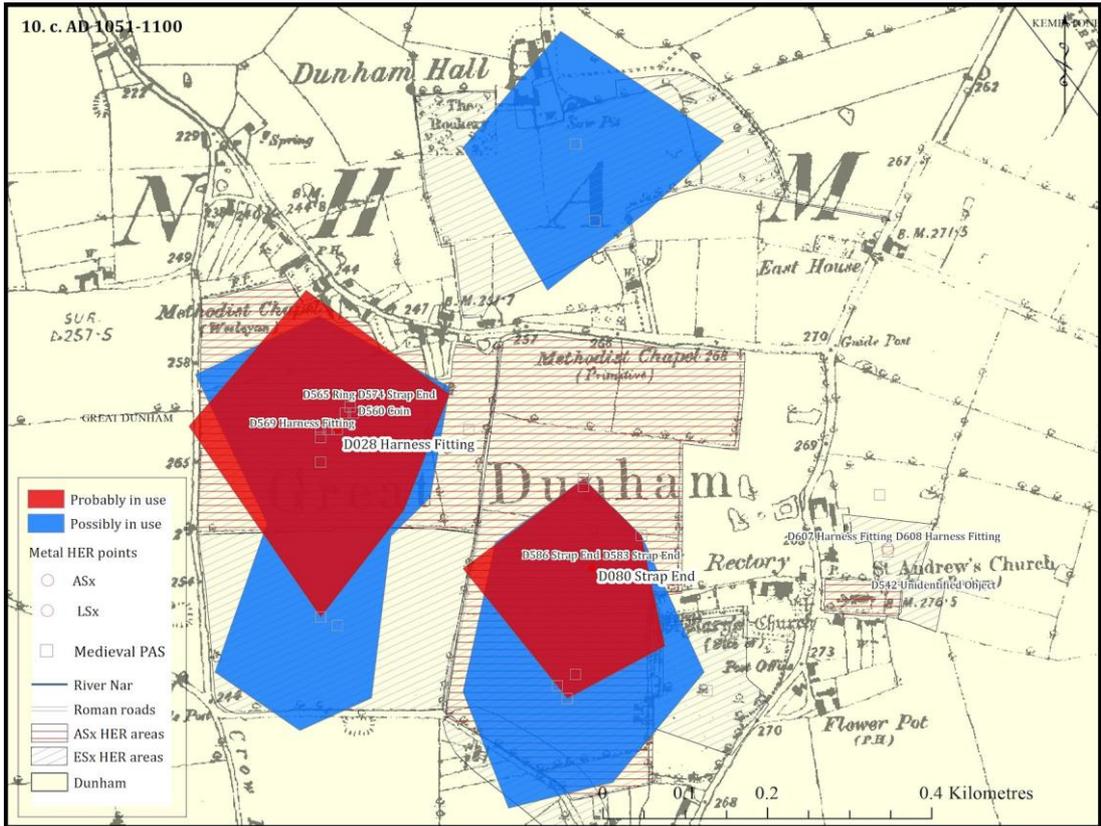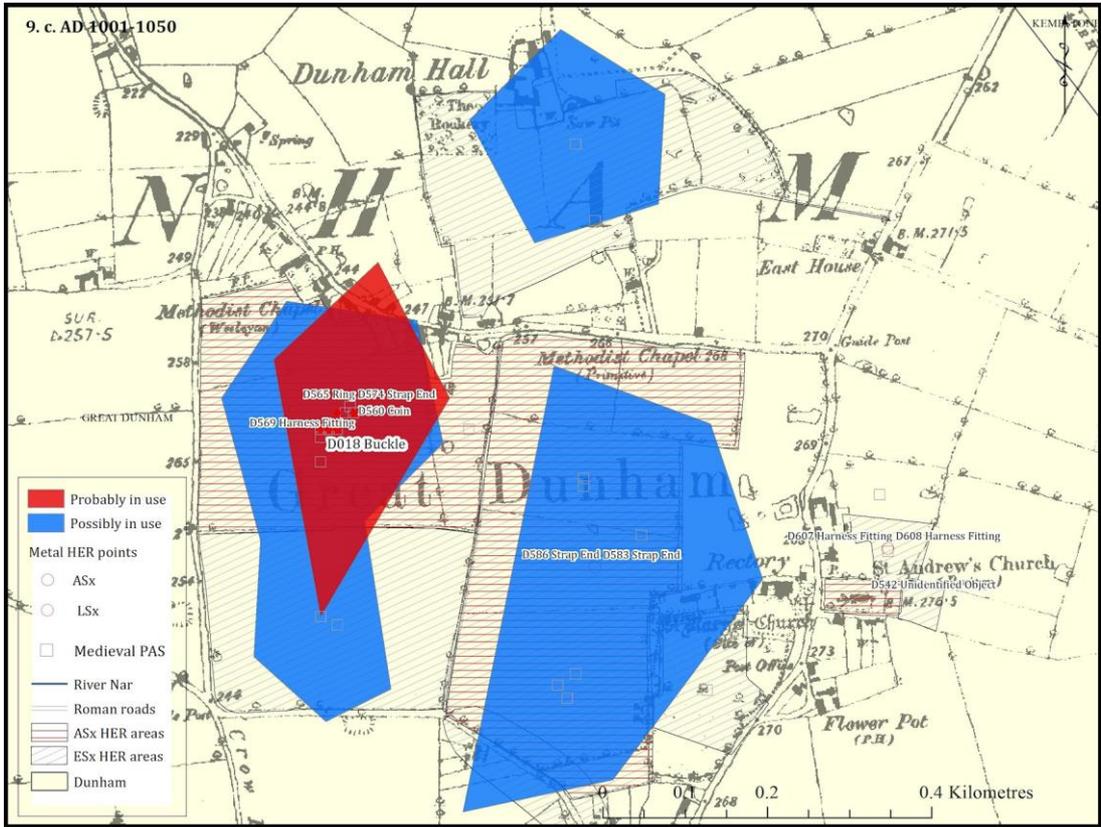
6.68c

6.8 *Dunham*, Norfolk, and the early medieval world: trade and regional identity

'East Anglia is a rather neglected part of the Danelaw from the point of view of research into the Scandinavian impact'

-Sandred (1991, 324)

In the past decade, the Scandinavian impact on East Anglia has received greater attention than Sandred found to be the case in the 1990s (cf. quotation above). Nevertheless, the rise in Scandinavian-style metalwork with which to contend has arguably made the precise nature and extent of the Scandinavian impact more puzzling. Dunham provides a localised view of the diverse material culture in use within a handful of communities in Norfolk throughout the Middle and Late Saxon periods. It was shown that within Dunham there were notable changes in both artefact type and design after the period of Scandinavian settlement. In many cases these changes were in keeping with widely-noted trends from across the country (e.g. ansate brooches going out of favour); in other instances however, particularities indicate that Scandinavian influence — whether direct or indirect — had some effect on the material culture discarded in Dunham after the mid-ninth century. At the same time, apparent continuity in place visible in the artefactual record suggests that Dunham may not have been subject to obvious disruption following the Scandinavian settlement, reconquest by the Saxons, and Cnut's subsequent reign.

In this final part of the case study, it is necessary to return to the primary project aim and consider the nature of the transitions highlighted by the portable material culture. Based on the above and including the secondary evidence presented, more pointed objectives are also at hand: specifically, to determine the location of the 'half-market' listed in Domesday Book, and explore Mileham's origins as a place of local control and administration.

6.8.1 Dunham as a place of trade and elite control

The *Dunham* market entries in Domesday Book make up two of the three market entries for Norfolk as a whole. Identification of its precise location therefore remains an intriguing historical-archaeological problem to resolve (see Rogerson 1995a, 156; Liddiard 2000, 81). To what extent does the archaeological record support the case for its location in the parish of Great Dunham? A firmer social and economic context for the *Dunham* finds assists in the enquiries that follow.

The Domesday Survey attributes the revenue from half a market under King William's estate at Mileham to the manor of 'Dunham' (NDB 1,212); a quarter market was similarly listed under Litcham's holdings (NDB 13,16). The quarter missing from a 'whole' market

has been argued to belong to Mileham (Liddiard 2000, 81), or Kempstone or Lexham (Rogerson 1995a, 156), and Liddiard posits that Mileham itself is the most likely physical site for the market. It was suggested above, however, that based on the evidence of the metal-detected finds, the fields within the present village of Great Dunham could be the site of this market prior to and following the Norman Conquest, regardless of which vill held rights to the missing quarter market. It is furthermore possible that, if not in Litcham, the unrecorded vill of Beeston (accidentally overlooked by Domesday scribes?) might have been attributed the remainder.

The definition of an early medieval market site is still not perfectly defined, and as research of surface distributions of portable material culture increases, previous assumptions that quantities of coinage from 'productive sites' point to markets become untenable (see articles in Pestell and Ulmschneider 2003). Ulmschneider and Pestell (2003) now suggest that we should be more flexible in considering the existence of 'trading' sites where a range of economic transactions took place, and certainly a move beyond focusing on emporia is widely accepted (Williams 2008, 29). In this respect, artefact distributions with notable coinage signatures are not necessarily 'market' sites, while distributions that are not dominated by coins could yet be places of important trade and transaction. These issues reflect the problematic preconception that market and settlement sites are mutually exclusive (see also Davies (2010, 337) on this).[36] It has been posited that Middle Saxon metalwork from South Newbald, East Yorkshire (Leahy 2000) might serve as a surface distribution model for a 'market site', from which we can borrow some assumed characteristics.

In terms of artefact signatures a diverse array of lost and discarded items — including units of transaction not limited to coins — might be expected. The distribution of such losses would presumably be fairly dense, centring on the site of the market, but dependent on subsequent taphonomic and agricultural processes. Another consideration relates to accessibility and location, which was notable at South Newbald, situated along a major Roman thoroughfare (Leahy 2000, 78). Easy access to regional transportation routes would be necessary for a larger market, and it would need to be sufficiently central to serve a local community. Finally, the importance of the place itself over time — with links to sites of administrative power or other symbolic associations — may have influenced its evolution to a site of trade. At South Newbald, Leahy (2000, 54) notes a cemetery of uncertain date and the presence of Romano-British activity as possible factors influencing the perceived status of the area in the early medieval period.

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[36] Davies here cites an example from Lake Tissø (in Jørgensen 2003, 175-207) in Denmark where sixth- to eleventh-century activity was interpreted as a manor and a market (2010, 337). See also Skre (2007) for a discussion on the relationship between 'central places', towns, cultic sites, and markets.

Based on the above, of the three candidates, Great Dunham fits the criteria most closely, but these factors resonate with each of the study areas to a degree. The metal-detecting bias must be taken into consideration in the case of Great Dunham in particular: the area is known to be targeted by metal-detector users (cf. Chapter 3, 3.4.2.2). Attempts have been made, however, to locate the market through targeted metal-detecting and fieldwalking surveys at probable sites — particularly around the Kempstone-Litcham confluence near the Roman crossroad — but these have not returned favourable results (Andrew Rogerson, pers. comm.). Litcham had a fair recorded by 1326 (Letters 2005) and therefore might yield new evidence in the future, but its present archaeological record does not suggest it hosted an eleventh-century market.

Mileham was not recorded as having a fair in any charters prior to 1500 (Letters 2005). Mileham is a good candidate in terms of administrative control, with Archbishop Stigand holding the estate TRE, and King William holding it in demesne after the Conquest (cf. Table 6.6), however Mileham's administrative jurisdiction extended to the wider area and this alone cannot be proof of a market site. Litcham and Dunham were held in part by the same lords, but one 'Thorkil' held Litcham's market TRE, and Hermer of Ferrers had it TRW. Part of Dunham was also held TRE by Earl Harold's estate at Necton, albeit by 1066 this was worth very little compared to Mileham's. Nevertheless, Dunham is geographically coherent with Necton, and looking at the distribution of these extensive estates of west Norfolk, it is possible that an earlier, complex estate at Necton might have included Dunham and Fransham in its core (cf. Figure 6.23). Necton's archaeology remains under-explored, but Domesday records it as a central estate with jurisdiction over more outliers than Mileham. The fact that Dunham was evaluated as half a market could reflect an earlier autonomy over the market revenues compared to the quarter at Litcham and the presumed quarter at Mileham (or Beeston). A market at Dunham might therefore have emerged in the Middle Saxon period, and by the Late Saxon period had become a regulated source of revenue and a trading piece amongst the competing local lords, including Stigand. By the eleventh century, Great Dunham boasted one of the grandest churches in the area (Heslop 2014), further insinuating earlier precedence as a place of value.

In terms of communication routes, Great Dunham is arguably better-situated for a market than the other contenders since it lies on the north-south Roman road that would have connected the coast to Thetford, and its parish boundary meets the same east-west Roman road that runs south of Litcham and Mileham. This Fen Causeway connected central Norfolk to King's Lynn, the Fens, and the rest of England. The parish of Dunham also boasts the highest point in Norfolk found in Little Dunham (95m OD), with the concentration of finds in Great Dunham on a relatively elevated plateau at 80m OD. This might be compared to the parish of Bawsey where the early medieval archaeology is concentrated on a hill (Davies 2010, 274). Perhaps in part due to this connectivity and

geographic prominence, both Great and Little Dunham evidence Roman and Early Saxon activity which is rivalled locally only by Beeston. Activity represented by Middle Saxon wares and presumably related to occupation in Great Dunham persisted to the Late Saxon period, whereas in Little Dunham, the pottery accords with the PAS distributions and indicates drastically reduced activity. In Mileham, comparable longevity of occupation is only visible in Grenstein, on the northern parish boundary, but this lacks the metalwork evidence so abundant in Great Dunham. The centre of Great Dunham therefore appears to have retained value as a place over centuries of occupation, even in the seventh to early ninth centuries where ceramic evidence for occupation is sparse elsewhere. In fact, Great Dunham is the only place in Dunham where gilded high-status Middle Saxon finds such as a sword mount (D083) and another mount type (D040) have been recovered.[37] Rogerson (1995a, 161) notes that at neighbouring Fransham there is little evidence for occupation prior to the eleventh century; Great Dunham therefore indeed stands out locally.

A final point on location and the importance of place in this debate relates to Mileham's location in the wider Norfolk landscape. Liddiard (2000) and Rogerson (1995a) both make much of the central watershed that arcs north-south across the county and upon which Mileham lies. It might also be significant that the Launditch — probably Iron Age but likely used similarly in the Anglo-Saxon period as a boundary and defense system — runs parallel to this natural boundary. Liddiard (2000, 80-1) suggests that the watershed defined political and administrative territories in the past, making Mileham an ideal place for transactions between travellers from different jurisdictions. This regional interfluve could also be interpreted as a liminal space, however, perhaps accounting for the limited evidence for occupation in Mileham prior to the Late Saxon period. Where the Roman Fen Causeway traverses the Launditch and the later Roman road at the boundary of Longham, Beeston and Mileham, there is evidence of prehistoric, Roman, and Early Saxon activity adjacent to the crossroads. However, this is restricted to the Longham side of the boundaries and therefore suggests some early affinity between the Launditch and those living in the east-draining watershed. Longham only became an outlier of Mileham after the Conquest (NDB, 66,25), further suggesting that until the eleventh century, Mileham had little affiliation with the east-draining lands south of the Roman road. Along these lines, the rise of Mileham as a power centre, capped by a Norman motte and bailey and royal demesne, appears relatively late in the early medieval timeline and was perhaps only instigated by Stigand seeking to found a new administrative centre as he rose to local power as Bishop of North Elmham in 1043.

Liddiard suggests that Mileham 'would have contained a high-status Anglo-Saxon building' at 'Burhwood' hall, opposite the castle, and Mileham has also been posited as a minster site and multiple estate centre (2000, 80). Domesday Book remains the earliest

[37] Beeston yielded a possible ungilded sixth- to seventh-century shield mount (D050).

source on landholding of the Mileham estate, however, and it cannot be assumed that Stigand's holdings prior to the Conquest necessarily preserve the relationships of multiple estates: Stigand held more land in Norfolk TRE than the King himself, but attained these various obligations through 'several processes of fissioning' (Hutcheson 2006, 102) including the forfeiture and death of previous lords (NDB 1,226). Several of Mileham's holdings were not previously held by Stigand in the first place. Therefore, while not negating the possibility of a fortified Middle Saxon elite hall (OE 'burh' from 'Burhwood'), it seems that Mileham was only emerging as a site of wider regional administrative power in the early eleventh century through Stigand, and that this was solidified with William's construction of a castle after the Conquest.

Great Dunham therefore appears as the most likely site for a market, accessible by a number of routes, prominent in the regional landscape, and centrally-located amongst the clay- and brecklands west of the central Norfolk interfluve (cf. Figure 6.3). The question remains however: without the Domesday Book entry for a market, would the artefactual signature in Great Dunham still point towards a market site? Traditionally, probably not, since it contains few obvious indicators of economic transaction (with 8 coins and 3 weights). What is remarkable, however is not only the quantity of other find types in a range of styles, but the density of their distribution. Wade-Martins' excavations and fieldwalking at the nearby Grenstein DMV (1980) revealed no definitively Late Saxon finds — and certainly none comparable to those from Great Dunham — despite having identified the probable Late Saxon settlement zone through pottery.

Middle Harling, on the other hand (Rogerson 1995b), located southeast of the River Thet and east of Thetford, provides a more fully-excavated context from which to compare the finds. There are many similarities between the Harling assemblage and artefact types from across *Dunham*, evident in certain pins, hooked tags, and strap-ends. These are all fairly common finds, but the parallels nevertheless point toward a common culture in these two rural communities separated by 30km. Interestingly, Middle Harling has fewer brooches (four, of which two are lead alloy) than Great Dunham, which has yielded ten (Rogerson 1995b, 55). Middle Harling was metal-detected as well as excavated, so this is unlikely to be a recovery bias (Rogerson 1995b, 53). For an unexcavated site of apparently little pre-Conquest importance, Great Dunham has a remarkable number of brooches and strap-ends. In terms of coins, however, Middle Harling surpasses Great Dunham by far with its 51-coin Beonna Hoard, in addition to a number of other early medieval coins (Rogerson 1995b, 88-9). Great Dunham has a total of eight Middle and Late Saxon coins. Discounting the hoard, however, which relates to a different deposition pattern than single losses, Great Dunham is not so far behind Middle Harling, which had 10 Middle Saxon coins (if the 9 sceattas were in fact not part of the hoard) and 8 Late Saxon coins (Archibald 1985, 17-8). Middle Harling's role in the early medieval period remains

uncertain, and no zones of activity were identified (Rogerson 1995b, 90-1). It is suggested, however, that if Middle Harling represents a high-status rural settlement with Middle Saxon royal interest (Rogerson 1995b, 89), then Great Dunham, with its gilt sword belt mount and predominantly copper alloy assemblage, might very well represent a similar level of patronage.

As mentioned above (p363), we should not see evidence for settlement and trade sites as mutually exclusive. The fine sword mount from Great Dunham might well represent an elite residence adjacent to the site of an eleventh-century parish church from which a market could be overseen, with pottery scatters from villager discards and manuring over the years evident in the central fields. The quantities of horse fittings, strapends, and brooches of types which were commonly sought in Middle and Late Saxon East Anglia probably represent a combination of losses from tradespeople and the many individuals moving through the area of exchange. Some of the artefacts show evidence of secondary use (e.g. D058), while others are possibly unfinished (e.g. D032) and might therefore represent on-site attempts at repair and manufacture, and discard when these were unsuccessful. Finally, it is important to consider that trade in archaeologically-invisible commodities such as salt and timber were also taking place at central rural locations (Blinkhorn 1999, 17). Dunham's position on the Fen Causeway, of which part is known as 'Salter's Way', and the 2.25 salthouses listed in Domesday Book (cf. Table 6.7) reinforce that salt was a locally-processed commodity which was probably distributed at the local market. Similarly, Mileham is attributed a vast woodland extent (for up to 1,110 pigs) compared to the surrounding region, and might have profited from trading in firewood.

6.8.2 Great Dunham's market and implications for Dunham

If indeed Great Dunham was a market site, this would have had important implications for the evolution of the community's local identity and economy, affecting both the lower levels of society as well as those who benefited from the market revenues. The fortunes of Little Dunham in particular should be examined alongside this. There is no doubt that both Great and Little Dunham originated as separate communities, and in the Roman and Early Saxon periods these appear to have centred on the Roman road. In the Early Saxon period in Great Dunham, artefacts were not being lost or discarded with anywhere near the same frequency as they were later, around AD 750, and in Little Dunham activity appears to have ceased altogether. To contrast with other parishes in Norfolk, Middle Harling has little evidence of activity prior to the late seventh century (Rogerson 1995b, 87), and Bawsey also appears to be much more intensively used in the Middle Saxon period (Davies 2010, 275, 283). Great Dunham followed a similar trajectory to Bawsey, whereby discrete activity foci intensified in the Middle Saxon period, perhaps even attracting families from nearby Little Dunham to relocate to a site where some form of patronage was emerging.

Unlike Bawsey, however, Great Dunham's artefact signature is even more prolific in the Late Saxon period. Ulmschneider (2000a) viewed 'productive sites' as products of ecclesiastical patronage and control. It has similarly been suggested that Bawsey's Middle Saxon floruit was the result of association with the East Anglian bishops (Davies 2010, 292). Dunham has no such historical evidence until Stigand, but a large eleventh-century church situated close to an elite residence as at Great Dunham might reflect some level of ecclesiastical, or combined secular and ecclesiastical patronage.

Proponents of the 'minster hypothesis' would argue that the coin profile at Great Dunham does not suggest a site of great religious importance. Perhaps, however, we continue to place too much emphasis on the role of coinage and not enough on barter in the early medieval period, which surely sustained some rural trade even within a monetised economy (e.g. Blinkhorn 1999, 17; Skre 2013). Many have now acknowledged that diverse transactions could occur at a number of places in the early medieval rural landscape (Williams 2008, 29; Davies 2010, 90), and that in fact rural ecclesiastical or secular sites played an important role in shaping the economy (Davies 2013). The emergence of a site of exchange along the Roman road in Great Dunham appears to have roots in the eighth century; its success is evident in the fact that more than two hundred years later, similar patterns of loss or discard were still occurring, though the artefact types themselves had changed.

This success surely contributed to a growing population (the vill of Dunham had the second-largest population in the Launditch region in Domesday Book) and opportunities for diversified occupations. The fact that Dunham also hosted a milling industry with two mills by 1066 further indicates a range of practices. Milling in this part of Norfolk is well-attested in Domesday Book, with 10 mills recorded in *Dunham* and Fransham (cf. Table 6.7), reflecting a wealthy region but also one of centralised control and taxation. Evidence for activity through metal-detected finds is once again evident in Little Dunham for the Late Saxon period, suggesting that stability and the presumed economic prominence of Great Dunham could have enabled expansion of previously shrunken or abandoned sites. In the eleventh century, metal-detected evidence for activity at both Fransham and Litcham also becomes apparent. The eleventh century appears to have been a time of great change in *Dunham* as a whole, and by the mid-eleventh century, if not before, the market at Dunham was subject to Mileham which was becoming an increasingly powerful centre.

That Great Dunham — which may never have been an administratively central place — hosted a market, is illustrative of the extent to which outliers and sokelands played an economically and socially pivotal role in the overall landscape of manorial obligation. It is furthermore crucial to note that the top-down view of landholding systems that Domesday presents probably masks the reality that the lesser landlords, the craftspeople, and peasantry, might have held different places in value. Thus the market at Dunham, or the

local churches at Lexham, for example, could well have been 'central places' in the local mindset, even if the landscape of obligation in which they lived dictated that they were ruled by the lords of Mileham or Necton.

Thus *Dunham* appears to have been host to a relatively stable trading site even in the midst of wider political changes in East Anglia and beyond. In terms of artefact distribution, no obvious disruptions are apparent following the period of Scandinavian incursions and settlement. It is not until the eleventh century that the historical and archaeological record suggests changes in population growth and settlement locations. The impact that the presence of Scandinavians may have had on the area remains to be considered in light of changes evident in the artefact types. By looking beyond Great Dunham to the networks of production and trade that would have been necessary to fuel a rural market, it is possible to explore this topic from another angle.

6.8.3 Networks of trade, landscapes of identity

The hoards of Norfolk might attest to certain political and economic pressures or disruptions that inspired caching — from the Beonna hoard at Middle Harling and other sceatta hoards (NOR0455; NOR0456) in the eighth century, to the early ninth-century Pentney brooch hoard, to the mixed coin and brooch hoard currently being processed by the PAS in South Norfolk (NOR0391). The c. AD 925 Morley St Peter, and c. AD 923 Framingham Earl hoards might certainly be viewed in light of upheavals sparked by Edward's conquest of East Anglia (Blackburn 2006, 206). While Dunham did not exhibit such disruptions in the portable material record, social and cultural transitions were nevertheless occurring at various rates as expressed by the objects selected for and discarded locally.

The brooches (cf. Box 6.1, above) are one of the best examples of this change over time, and Kershaw (2013) devotes much attention to the case of Norfolk's brooches in the Viking Age. Strapend styles also varied to include new stylistic influences, including the Scandinavian-inspired Borre, Ringerike, and Urnes styles. *Dunham* does not, however, have many of these on record. The extent to which design and style reflect deliberate expressions of cultural affiliation remains debatable, and the inevitable mixture of different style-types that most extensively metal-detected rural parishes will reveal suggests that there were no uniform means by which many rural communities expressed their identities. And yet wider regional trends sometimes illustrate apparent territories of material culture by type with only partially permeable boundaries, thereby suggesting that at a broader level, expressions of identity were being negotiated and promoted. The differences in artefact patterning in Viking Age Suffolk and Norfolk are a clear example of this (Kershaw 2013, 190-3). These patterns are not limited to dress accessories, but extended to modes of exchange as well (Blackburn 2005; Naismith 2013; Pestell 2013).

It is unwise to assert that metalwork exhibiting Scandinavian influence can be used to pinpoint people of Scandinavian heritage or other affiliation. What regional distributions can shed light on, however, are the movement of ideas, of fashion and imitation, and the general uptake of Scandinavian influence on accessories more generally. Crucially to the case of *Dunham*, we can attempt to trace the dissemination of materially-executed Scandinavian influence. Kershaw (2013, 192-3) has already shown that Norwich was probably an important centre of brooch manufacture in the Viking Age, producing imitation Scandinavian types as well as the East Anglian series disc brooch. Norwich may have been the seat of Guthrum — possibly reflected in the suburb named Conesford (ON kunung= king; OE ford (Sandred 1991, 329)) — and lasting Scandinavian influence in the surrounding region survives in the city's place-names as well as those around Flegg (cf. Figure 6.24, above). It has been argued that Norwich 'lay in the path of commercial intercourse with Northern Europe, and this combined with the settlement of Scandinavian traders to acquire for it wealth and importance' (Lipson 1937, 194 quoted in Sandred (1991, 329)). It is more difficult to explain the pockets of Scandinavian-influenced metalwork that are found outwith the expected catchment area of Norwich, however, and Kershaw (2013, 141) has suggested that rural manufacturing sites might have played an important role in the wider dissemination of certain types than has previously been accepted.

Kershaw (2013, 143) notes that Hindringham, north of Dunham (cf. Figure 6.3, above) could be one such site. This model fits well with the notion that rural trade and exchange centres were valuable to regional economies, and also accords with the ever-increasing metal finds from non-urban areas around the country. The copper ingot from Beeston has already been cited as tentative evidence for manufacture in Dunham. This is currently highly tentative, but the number of brooches recovered from here is only slightly fewer than at Hindringham.[38] In addition to the Scandinavian-influenced brooches, Hindringham has four ansate brooches recorded on the PASD (**Appendix 2**); so does Great Dunham. The three East Anglian series disc brooches from Great Dunham (D009a & b and D011) might therefore be seen in a similar context to those from Hindringham, although it is also possible that a co-dependent rather than competitive relationship existed between these two sites: perhaps brooches locally-produced at Hindringham were distributed through the *Dunham* market, in this way accounting for losses of similar find types.

The distribution of the regional East Anglian brooch series, especially in light of the earlier ansate brooch distributions (cf. Figure 6.37, above), arguably says more about the strength of a Norfolk regional identity than the presence of culturally-Scandinavian identities. It seems, however, that the latter influenced the former to an extent, beginning

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[38] Kershaw has identified six Anglo-Scandinavian East Anglian series disc brooches at Hindringham (2012, cat. nos. 179-84). One of these brooches (cat. no. 184) showed signs of repair.

with the period of Scandinavian settlement under Guthrum's outwardly Christian and conciliatory reign. Davies (2010, 379) suggests that where changes in fashion are evident in the metalwork yet settlement patterns appear relatively stable over time, we might assume that ideas were moving more than people were. This model appears to apply to Great Dunham and Beeston. Even if there is little evidence of an overtly Scandinavian presence in *Dunham*, however, Pestell (2013) would argue that in fact Norfolk did witness more people moving along with their ideas in the early decades of Scandinavian settlement than was previously believed. Pestell (2013) believes that evidence of material culture which is more likely to signify imported rather than adopted beliefs and cultures — notably, Thor's hammers and bullion economy — is an indication of a Scandinavian presence rather than simply Scandinavian influence. The argument here is that while accessories such as brooches and strap-ends were probably perceived as less-committal tokens of a new Scandinavian-style fashion, items signifying non-Christian religious beliefs (i.e., Thor's hammers) and an imported form of economy (i.e., bullion), would have rarely been adopted by Christian East Anglians (Pestell 2013, 238).

Even if pockets of rural manufacture were helping to disseminate artefacts across Norfolk, there were still networks of trade and urban influences operating from more central nodes in the wider region from places such as Norwich, Thetford, and Ipswich. In this way, these influences can be viewed on the wider scale as geographically-delimited distributions of similar find types (as with the East Anglian series brooches) which we might attribute to expressions of a common 'regional identity'. At the local scale, however — and especially at probable sites of exchange — any obvious coherence in artefact types, and certainly in distribution, will be much less visible. This is a reflection of the complex selection choices and conscious or subconscious expressions of individual and communal identities that are constantly being negotiated. By taking a step back however, occasionally what seems like individual whim when viewed independently, becomes a commonly selected for trend. In the case of the evolution of the East Anglian style Scandinavian-influenced brooches, the origins of this trend can of course be traced to a political and cultural catalyst: Scandinavian rule and settlement in the late ninth century. The persistence of Scandinavian styles in Norfolk even after Scandinavian rule was abolished, however, can be more usefully linked to the continued presence of Scandinavian settlers, the continued connections to the North Sea and Scandinavian trade, and also the inhabitants who now viewed Scandinavian influence as one component of a strong regional identity. The very fact that the inhabitants of Norfolk remained attuned to Scandinavian influence after AD 917, while Suffolk turned to the south and west, suggests a form of resistance. A deliberate promotion of Scandinavian styles through everyday adornment as a signal of autonomy might further account for the otherwise invisible

boundary in material culture that appears between Norfolk and Suffolk in the Late Saxon period.

6.9 Conclusion

Dunham presents a complex picture of communities evolving over time, but always maintaining pockets of elite and military groups. It seems that this has long been an area of local importance, with certain places such as Great Dunham showing changing but continuous activity across the early medieval period. Disruption from Scandinavian settlers is not particularly visible, though it has certainly been demonstrated that activity, and probably settlement appears to have expanded in the Late Saxon period. This was accompanied by a change in material culture as communities from the surrounding region began to embrace Scandinavian influence on their accessories from the ninth century.

There are several suggestions that people travelling from or via Scandinavia spent time at *Dunham*, and that they might even have lived and died there. The remarkably early oval brooch is evidence of this, and probably reflects an heirloom piece, perhaps buried with its last owner before Christianity was widely adopted by all migrants. The scale of any migration to the area cannot be guessed at, but it is clear that the area preserved much of its previous character throughout any ebbs and swells in population: the site of the church at Great Dunham remained a focal point in the landscape, and was probably a valuable political playing piece in terms of negotiating power, both before and after the construction of a church. Although much of the area was tied in some way to Mileham by the eleventh century, the area was controlled by a number of lords, and it seems that Great Dunham remained a particularly prominent manor through its assets of mills and market. This was reinforced following the Conquest by the construction of one of the grandest churches in the region, with a secular echo in Mileham's castle.

Within the wider region, *Dunham* remained a point of control and power, originating at least as early as the construction of the Launditch in the Iron Age. The Launditch and regional watershed combined to form a boundary between east and west Norfolk that *Dunham* was in a position to control, similar to the Roman roads crossing east-west and north-south through the area. Travel and associated trade probably shaped *Dunham*'s economic fortunes as much as the milling and salt industry. The regional landmark of the flat-topped hill by the Launditch probably attracted casual, and eventually regulated trading, becoming a market by the eleventh century. As a 'gateway' to inner Norfolk, but also with an eye to the west, Dunham should be viewed within the context of other west Norfolk sites of importance that have been noted based on their metalwork. The fact that *Dunham*'s prominence extended into the post-Conquest periods suggests a well-founded tradition of local power, with origins extending well beyond the early medieval period.

Chapter 7: Frisby

Case Study 4: *Frisby*, Leicestershire

7.1.1 Introduction

Frisby, Leicestershire	
No. parishes in study area (modern)	4
No. historical parishes	12
Parishes by name	Asfordby, Frisby [on-the-Wreake] & Kirby [Bellars], Grimston, Hoby with Rotherby, [Brooksby, Ragdale, Saxelby, Shoby, Welby, Willowes]
Parish with most PAS finds	Frisby & Kirby (29)
Parishes without PAS finds	—
Size of study area	59.7 km^2
Pre-Viking kingdom	Kingdom of Mercia
Wapentake/hundred	Goscote and Framland wapentakes
Rivers	Wreake
Major routeways	Saltway, *le Strete*, Fosse Way
Other geographical features	Undulating; near Wreake-Soar confluence
Nearest centres c. 1066	Leicester, Nottingham
No. small finds analysed in area	46
No. small finds per km^2	0.77 /km^2
No. entries in Domesday	18

The *Frisby* cluster is situated to the west of Melton Mowbray in the Wreake valley, c. 20 kilometres northeast of Leicester and c. 30 kilometres south of Nottingham (Figure 7.1; Figure 7.2). Frisby is named for the modern parish of Frisby and Kirby, an amalgamation of the previously separate parishes of Frisby-on-the-Wreake and Kirby Bellars. Its geographical, environmental, historical, and archaeological background is presented here, followed by the small finds data.
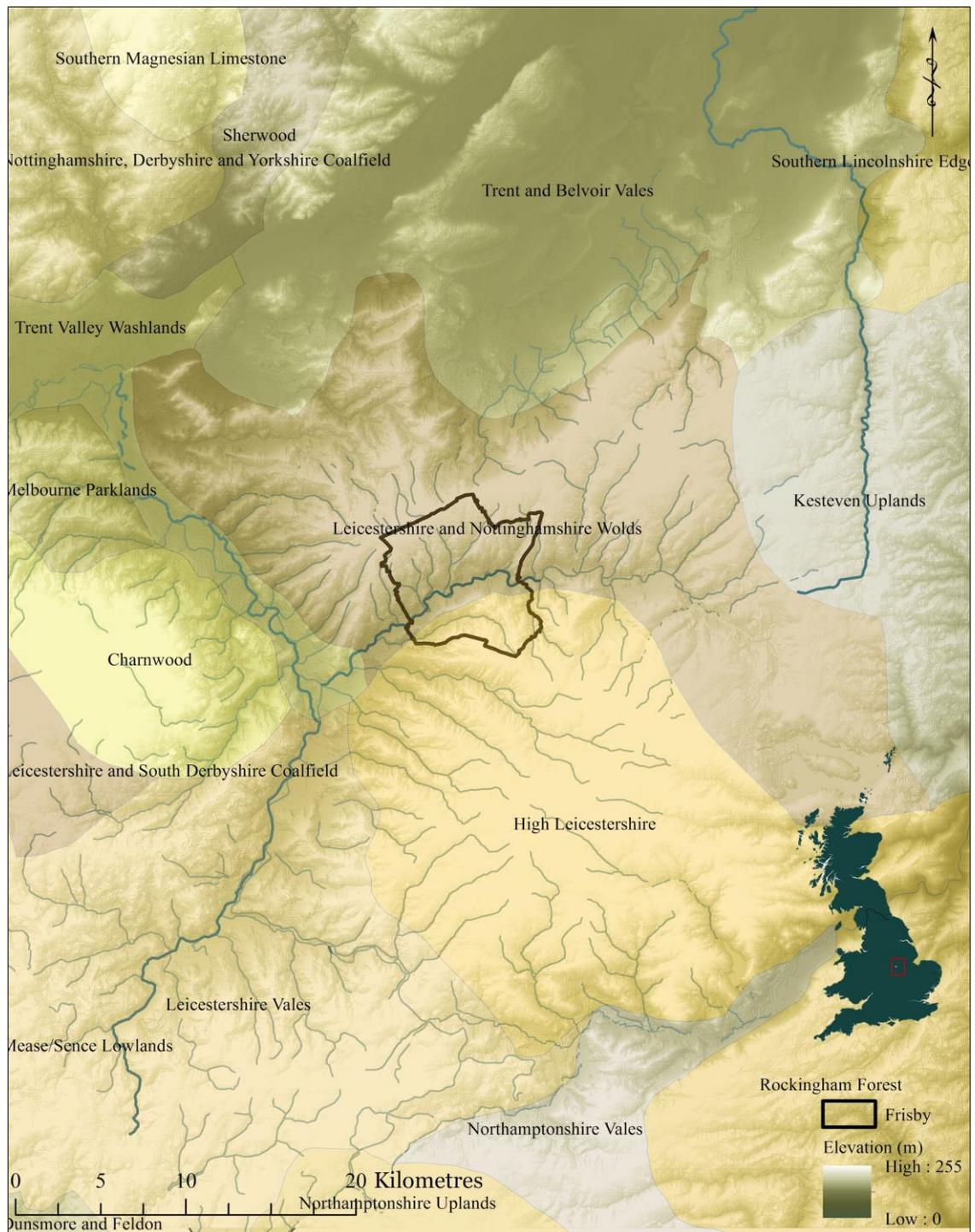
FIGURE 7.1: *FRISBY* TOPOGRAPHY

Shown over the 'Natural Character' regions of England (©EH). The *Frisby* study area fall across two different landscape characters: the 'Leicestershire and Nottinghamshire wolds' to the north, while the upland to the south of the Wreake are part of 'High Leicestershire'.

7.2 The region and parishes

'Leicestershire contains little of the very best land... [m]uch of its land is, however, good...'

-Hilton (1954, 145)

The *Frisby* parish cluster is made up of four modern civil parishes that line the river Wreake. Historically, it was subdivided quite differently: twelve jurisdictions — many of which became ecclesiastical parishes — are listed in Domesday Book (Figure 7.3). In the early medieval period, the *Frisby* cluster fell under the two wapentakes of Goscote and Framland (Figure 7.4). Following later amalgamations they are all now within Goscote in the northeastern jurisdiction of Leicestershire, 'Melton'.
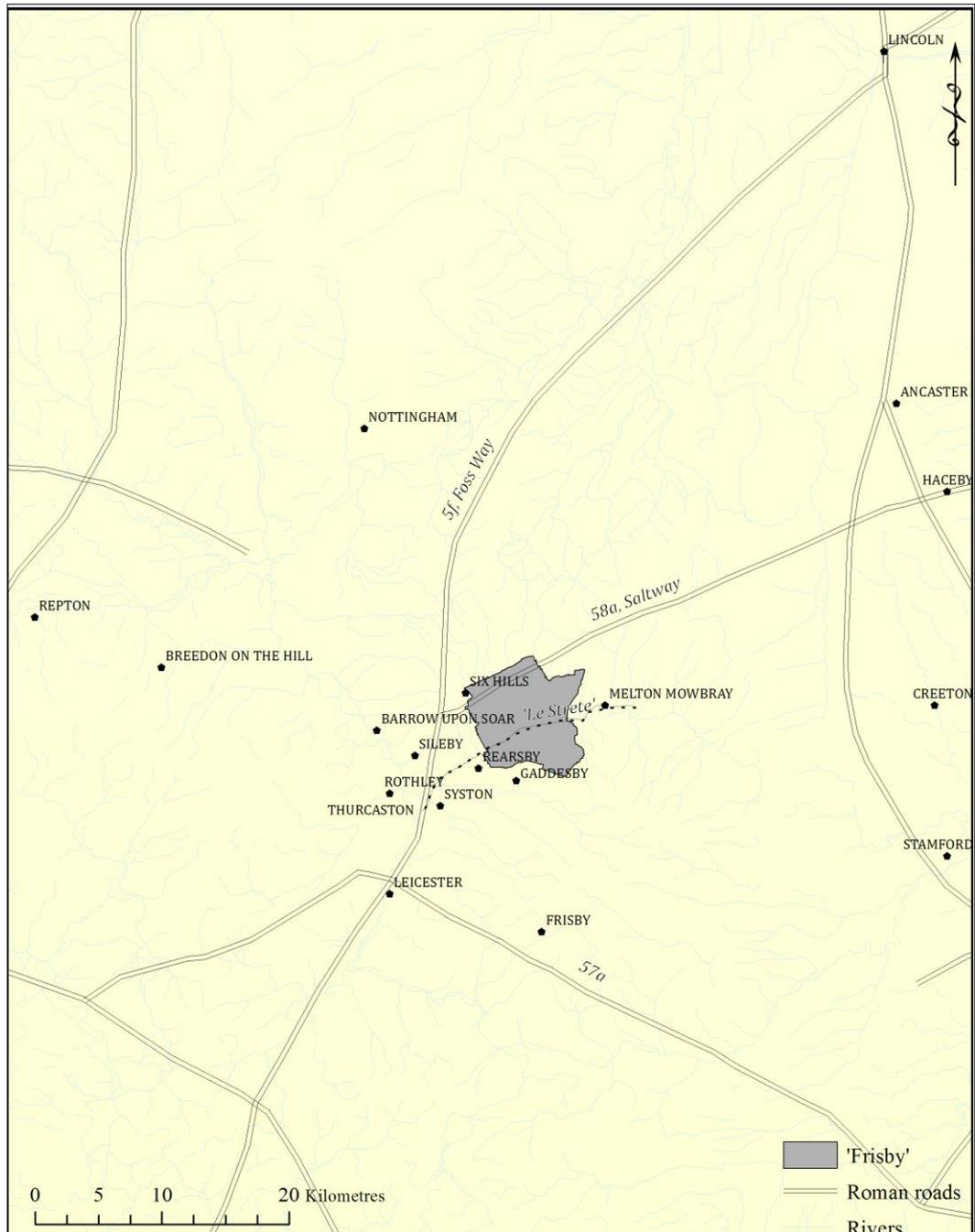
FIGURE 7.2: *FRISBY* **AND THE SURROUNDING REGION**
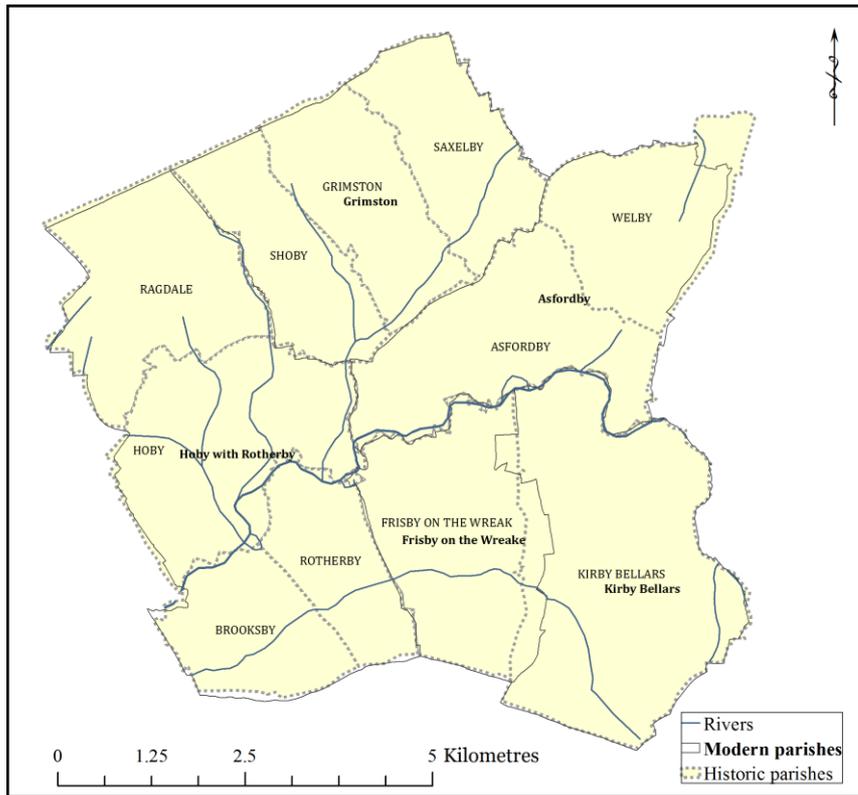
FIGURE 7.3: *FRISBY* **PARISHES: MODERN AND HISTORIC**
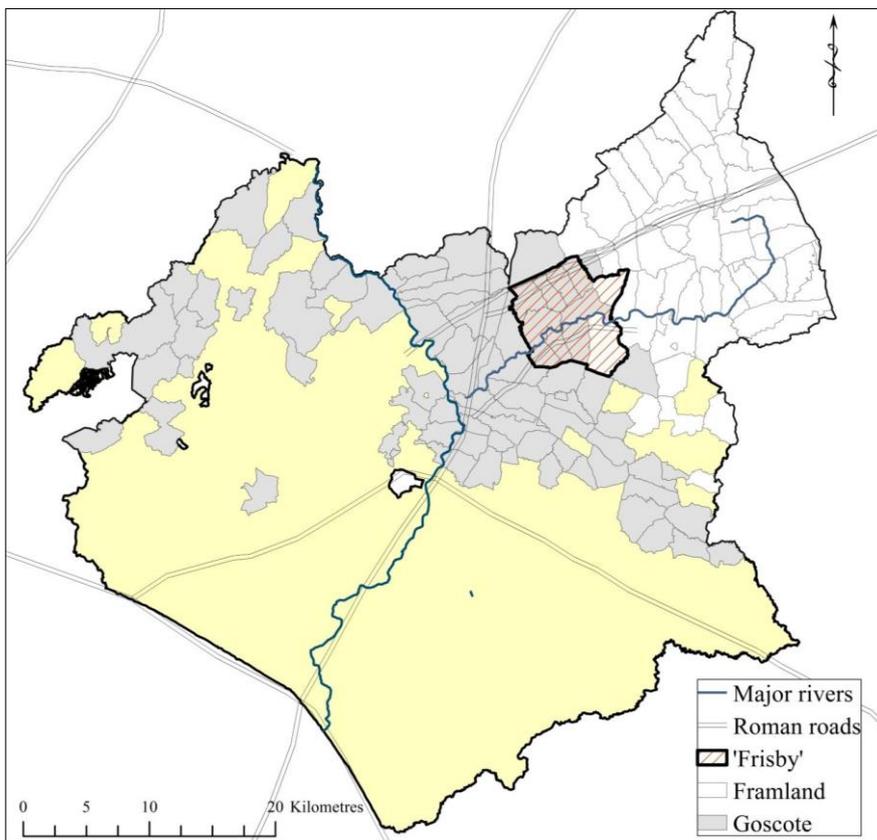
FIGURE 7.4: GOSCOTE AND FRAMLAND WAPENTAKES
The wapentakes in Leicestershire are not entirely geographically coherent. This is in part due to the markedly different soil types and natural resources available in the east and west. It is also notable that neither the major rivers nor the roman roads traversing the county act as natural territorial boundaries for the wapentakes.

7.2.1 Geography, soils, and agriculture

The area is largely defined by the river Wreake, which would have separated the southern parishes of Brooksby, Rotherby, Frisby-on-the-Wreake, and Kirby Bellars, from the northern parishes of Hoby and Asfordby. Today the Wreake water levels are lower, and the river has been diverted for milling and fishponds. The area is further characterised by the long hills that line the valley on either side, affording expansive vistas across the Wreake (Figure 7.5). Upland from the river valley, around Grimston, Ragdale, Saxelby, Shoby, and Welby, undulating vales and narrow passes provided sheltered locations for settlement. *Frisby* is an area of high relief compared to the other case studies, with its highest point in Grimston at 156m OD, and the lowest along the Wreake valley.

FIGURE 7.5: VIEW ACROSS THE WREAKE VALLEY
Facing south from Ragdale looking across the Wreake valley to the hills of Kirby Bellars and Frisby.

The Wreake is a tributary of the river Soar, and in the past would have connected transportation to the larger river. The land adjacent to these rivers made for fertile meadows, but the risk of flooding would have been quite high, making settlement on the flatter land unlikely (Figure 7.6). A major Roman road known as the 'Foss Way' linking Leicester to Nottingham and Lincoln (Margary no. 5f), bounds the study area to the northwest, while another, Margary no. 58a, forms the northern boundary (Margary 1973, 192; Briggs 2013). The latter was a salt way, connecting the Fens and Lincolnshire to central Mercia. This same road bounds the south of the *Aunsby* study area (cf. Figure 5.3). The northwestern corner of Ragdale where the two roads cross is known as 'Six Hills'. 'Le Strete' is a presumed Roman road not listed in Margary (1973) but recorded as an HER (LeiHER: MLE8839). It runs through the case study region from Melton to the Soar and Wreake confluence, following a natural ridgeline (cf. Figure 7.2). All are roughly preserved in modern roads. While the Wreake acted as a political boundary, it was unlikely to have hampered communication across the valley. Footpaths and tracks preserve local networks of movement (Figure 7.7). The modern villages are often intervisible and within a few kilometres of one another.
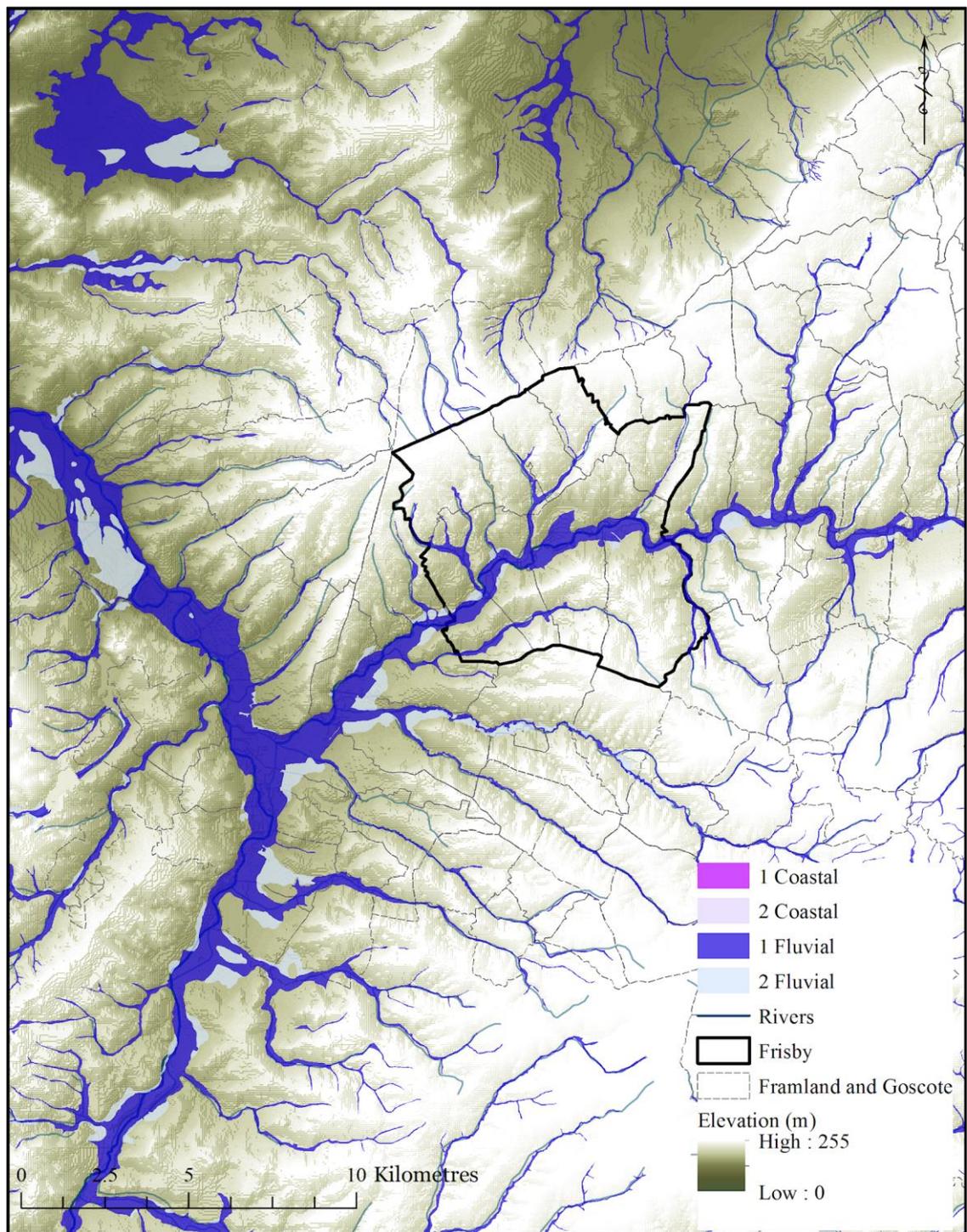
FIGURE 7.6: MODERN FLOOD LEVELS
Key: 1 Fluvial = areas susceptible to first influx of fluvial flood waters; **2 Fluvial**= areas susceptible in extreme fluvial flood events. (© Crown copyright/database right 2015. A British Geological Survey/EDINA supplied service.)

FIGURE 7.7: LOCAL NETWORKS OF COMMUNICATION
This footpath between Rotherby and Hoby is one of many linking the parishes and villages that converge on either side of the Wreake.

The *Frisby* cluster sits entirely on a Jurassic band of lower Lias, along with c.70% of the eastern part of the county (Page *et al.* 1907, 1). Further west, red Keuper marls dominate the Soar valley and Soar and Wreake confluence; red marls also characterise the entire western part of the county (Figure 7.8). To the east of the study area, narrow bands of middle and upper Lias line the edge of the county. On the *Frisby* lower Lias, argillaceous limestone and clay and shale are found up to 230m thick. The Lias is therefore rarely exposed, resulting in a heavy clay vale suited to pasture and 'one of the most renowned hunting grounds in England' (Page *et al.* 1907, 1-2). Along the Wreake, prominent river terraces of gravel built up over the alluvium when it was a faster-moving river, though these tend to concentrate at the Soar and Wreake confluence (Page *et al.* 1907, 17). Most of the study area therefore comprises clay wolds, with fertile floodplains along the Wreake valley (Figure 7.10).
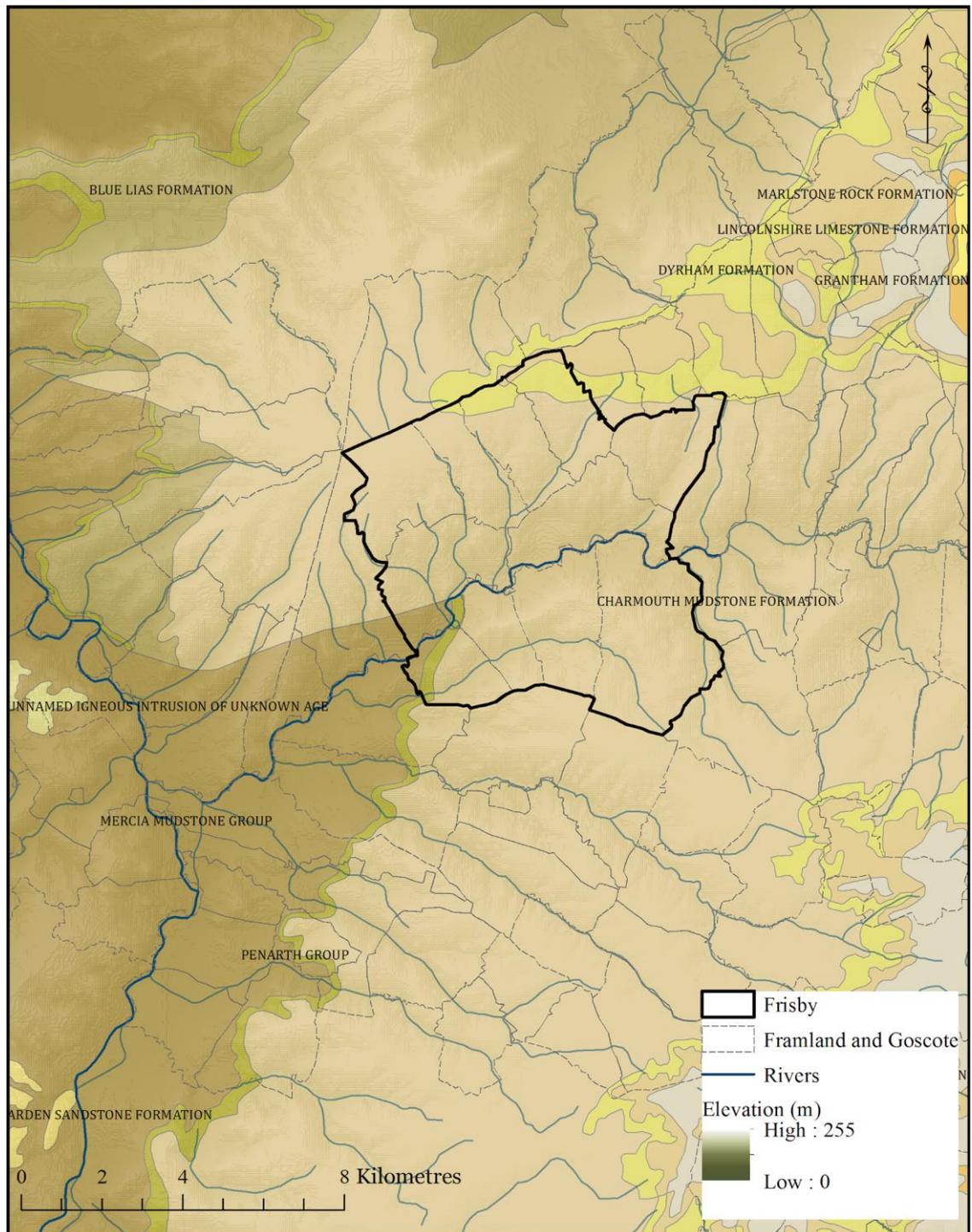
FIGURE 7.8: UNDERLYING GEOLOGY
The bedrock geology of *Frisby* is almost entirely comprised of Charmouth Mudstone formation (a lower Lias), with bands of middle and upper Lias visible in Rotherby and Hoby and upper Grimston parishes. (© Crown copyright/database right 2015. A British Geological Survey/EDINA supplied service.)
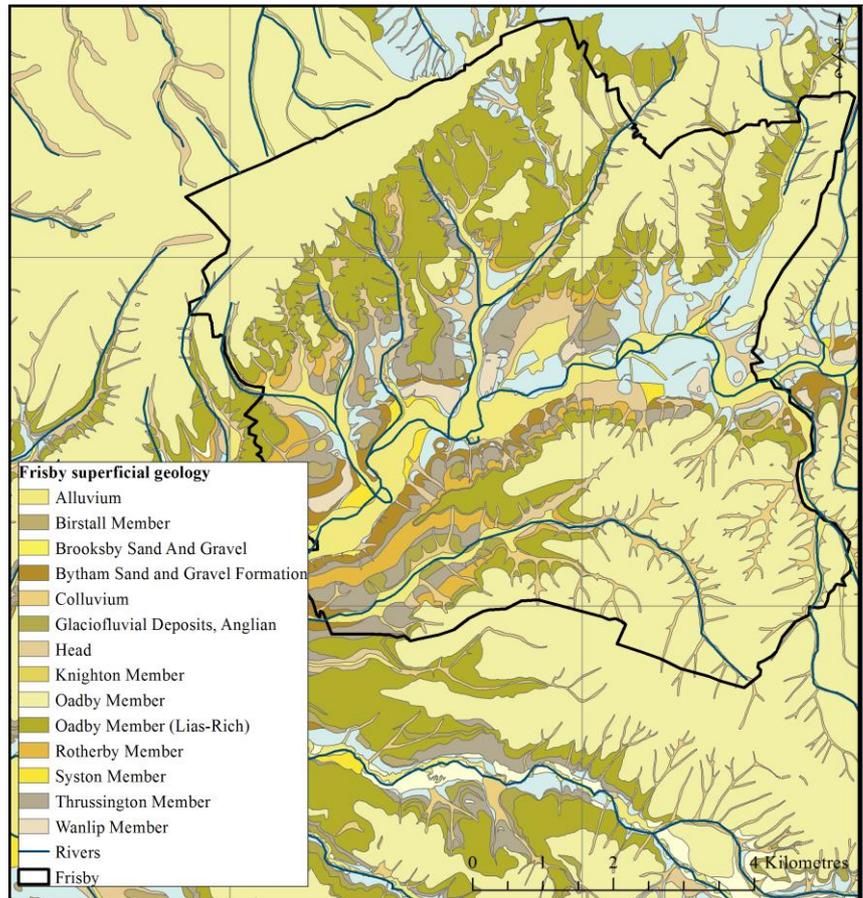
FIGURE 7.9: SUPERFICIAL GEOLOGY

Frisby's superficial or drift geology is more complex. This shows that alluvium and colluvium deposits line all becks and rivers along the Wreake valley, and highlights the large alluvial deposits at the bottom of the valley. (© Crown copyright/database right 2015. A British Geological Survey/EDINA supplied service.)
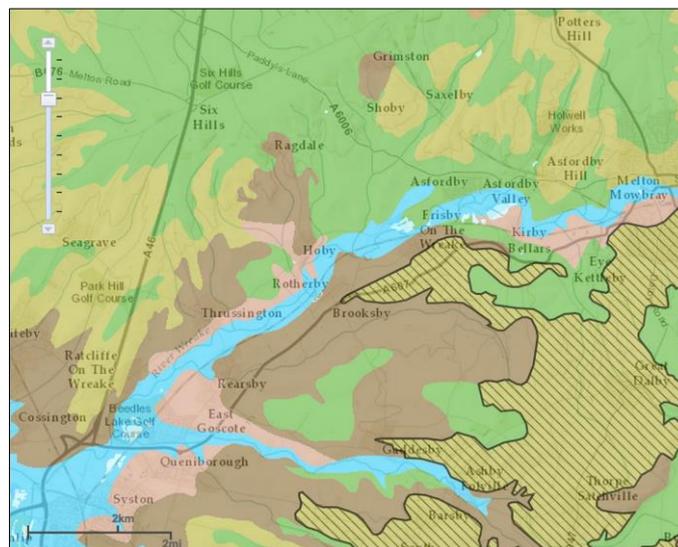
FIGURE 7.10: SOILS

Modern soil designations according to 'Soilscapes' (Cranfield University) are shown against a modern map of the area. Soilscape 9 (puce, hatched) is a highly fertile soil type occurring across *Frisby*. (© National Soil Resources Institute 2012).
Key: Green (Soilscape 18): 'Slowly permeable seasonally wet slightly acid but base-rich loamy and clayey soils'**; Dark brown (Soilscape 8):** 'Slightly acid loamy and clayey soils with impeded drainage'; **Puce (Soilscape 9)**: 'Lime-rich loamy and clayey soils with impeded drainage'; **Taupe (Soilscape 6)**: 'Freely draining slightly acid loamy soils'**; Bright blue (Soilscape 20)**: 'Loamy and clayey floodplain soils with naturally high groundwater'.

Although the heavy boulder clay around *Frisby* may have been initially unattractive to early farmers, western Leicestershire was densely wooded and lacked the streams flowing west and south from the upland wolds which are found to the east of the Soar (Hilton 1954, 146). In many ways, therefore, the dense settlement patterns in northeast Leicestershire represent a compromise of resources.

7.3 Archaeological context of *Frisby*

'The exact lines of the division are not known, but Leicestershire certainly fell entirely within the Danish province. For centuries afterwards its economic and social history was strongly influenced by this momentous event, and its social structure deeply coloured by it.'

-Hoskins (1957, 7)

Although Leicestershire has, overall, enjoyed much dedicated historical landscape scholarship and provided the focus of many of W.G. Hoskins' studies (e.g. 1946, 1949, 1955, 1957), none of the parishes within the *Frisby* area have been the specific subject of such a study. They have been mentioned in regional surveys (Liddle 1982; Hartley 1987), but this is the first time the details of *Frisby*'s Anglo-Saxon and early medieval past have been collated.

Frisby is situated in an archaeologically rich region in terms of Roman and Early Saxon settlement; there has been much less identified from the Middle and Late Saxon periods, however, although fieldwalking, place-names, metal-detecting and contractor excavation reports indicate that the area was certainly occupied in the centuries prior to the Norman Conquest.

7.3.1 Prehistoric Frisby

Frisby and the Wreake valley have a long and vibrant prehistory. A prehistoric routeway just west of Frisby running north-south through Melton Mowbray was in use for centuries; by the time it was first recorded it was known as the Ferdgate, from the Anglo-Saxon 'army, troop', and the ON 'road' (Cox 2004, xi). This was an important ford along the river Wreake.

A number of prehistoric features are recorded in the LeiHERs for *Frisby* (Figure 7.11). Of particular note is the evidence for a Bronze Age metalworking site on Bran Hill (LeiHER: MLE18732), overlooking the modern villages of Frisby-on-the-Wreake and Kirby Bellars. Discoveries at the neighbouring parish of Eye Kettleby further point to the importance of the area for Bronze Age communities. One of Britain's largest known Middle Bronze Age cremation cemeteries was excavated here in the vicinity of earlier ring

ditches; the Melton and Eye Kettleby sites have been viewed as a ceremonial landscape (Cooper 2006, 83), and it seems that the Bran Hill site might also have contributed to this.

A number of prehistoric mounds are recorded in place-names around *Frisby*, and some remain visible today. One of these, near 'The Washstones' on the Wreake, is believed to have been an assembly site (LeiHER: MLE3871).
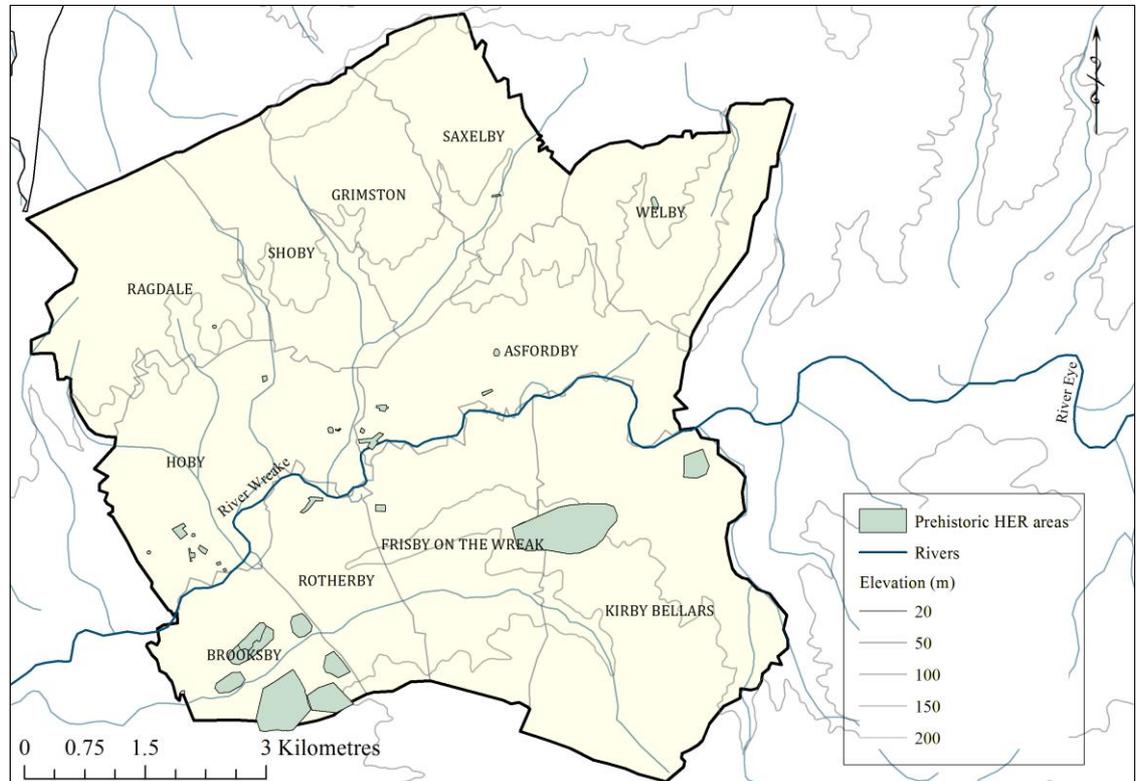
FIGURE 7.11: PREHISTORIC *FRISBY*
The large ovoid polygon straddling the Frisby-on-the-Wreake and Kirby Bellars parish boundary is the site of 'Bran Hill' where evidence for intensive occupation from the Bronze Age through to the later medieval period has been identified through metal-detecting.

7.3.2 Roman and post-Roman Frisby (to c. AD 650)

Northeast Leicestershire was a vibrant Roman landscape, with notable sites along the wolds and the river valleys alike. Just across the Leicestershire border in Willoughby-on-the-Wolds, Nottinghamshire, was the Romano-British 'Great Sacred Grove', Vernemeto (Cox 2004, xii). The entire region was one of sanctity and ritual, with Roman temples and, later, large early Anglo-Saxon cemeteries focusing along the Roman road.

Roman occupation has been identified in several parts of Frisby, in some cases showing apparently continuous settlement since the Bronze or Iron Age (e.g. south of Brooksby (Challis 2000); and southwest of Kirby Bellars at Bran Hill, over the Bronze Age site (LeiHER: MLE8840)). Hundreds of metal-detected finds and pottery recovered from a hill-top overlooking Kirby Bellars to the northeast and Frisby-on-the-Wreake to the northwest suggest that the area might in fact have been a small Roman town. The LeiHER details

record clustering of the pottery and artefacts, perhaps representing individual plots. To the east of Kirby Bellars, geophysical survey confirmed the continuation of the supposed Roman road, 'Le Strete', running from Melton Mowbray along the Wreake to the confluence of the Soar (which was also known as 'Saltgate' (Cox 2004, xiv)); agricultural and settlement features north of the road and quarrying to the southeast were also observed (Chapman *et al.* 2012, 309). Roman activity extended beyond Kirby Bellars: sites in Brooksby, Rotherby, and Frisby-on-the-Wreake south of the river, and Grimston and Welby north of the river, have been identified through pottery, artefact scatters, and cropmarks in the LeiHER.
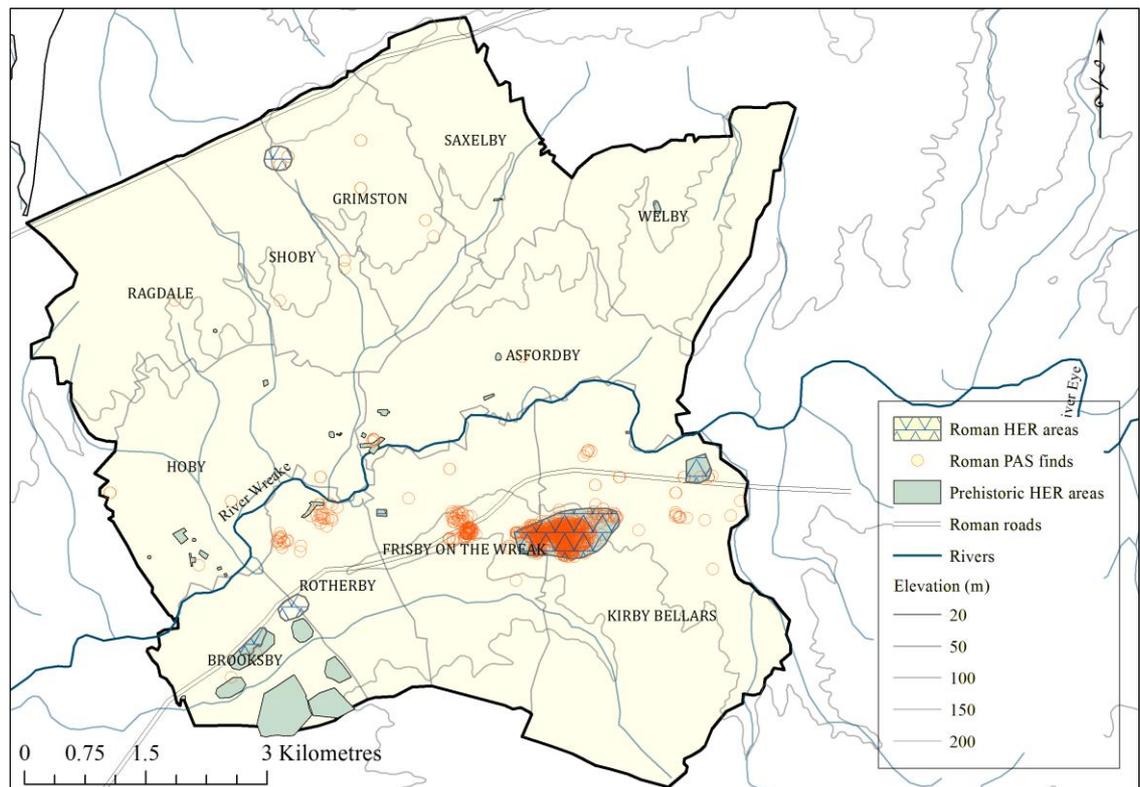
FIGURE 7.12: ROMANO-BRITISH *FRISBY*

Roman activity shaped movement through and around *Frisby*, with roads to the north, south, and and west of the study area still in use today (Figure 7.12). These were well-connected routes, linking the midlands to major hubs and more peripheral industries, such as the salt industry in the Lincolnshire and East Anglian fens (Cox 2004, xiv). In other ways, however, the Roman presence in *Frisby* is probably vastly underrepresented in the archaeological record. The fact that an entire Roman town might have existed south of Kirby Bellars near Bran Hill, but is invisible in cropmarks or otherwise, attests to the intensity of medieval and post-medieval agriculture in the region; it is also a reminder of the difficulties faced in assessing less archaeological visible periods.

In *Frisby*, Early Saxon activity is barely discernible, except for a small cluster of metalwork recovered through metal-detecting at Rotherby. There is some evidence of

continued use of the Roman 'town' into the post-Roman period, with Early Saxon pottery scatters, a spindle whorl and girdle hanger recovered during metal-detecting (F313; LeiHER: MLE8842). Otherwise, however, *Frisby* remains better informed by the regional HERs and grey literature reports (Figure 7.14).

Eye Kettleby is the closest excavated settlement site (excavated 1993-7) although the results have not yet been published. It appears to have similarities to West Stow in terms of occupation dates, and revealed 23 grubenhauser and 18 post-built structures (LeiHER: MLE3981). The site is also notable for the number of deliberate animal burials (cows and sheep) and infants, often termed 'special deposits', in association with pits and grubenhauser (Hamerow 2006). Similar sunken-featured buildings were noted during a watching brief at St Mary's Hospital, Melton Mowbray, with associated cattle and pig bones (Hyam 2005). The size of the Eye Kettleby settlement at a time when most known settlements were relatively small suggests that it might have been a high-status site of regional importance (Liddle 2006, 1). This is in keeping with the longer archaeological view of the southern Wreake valley as an area of prominence.
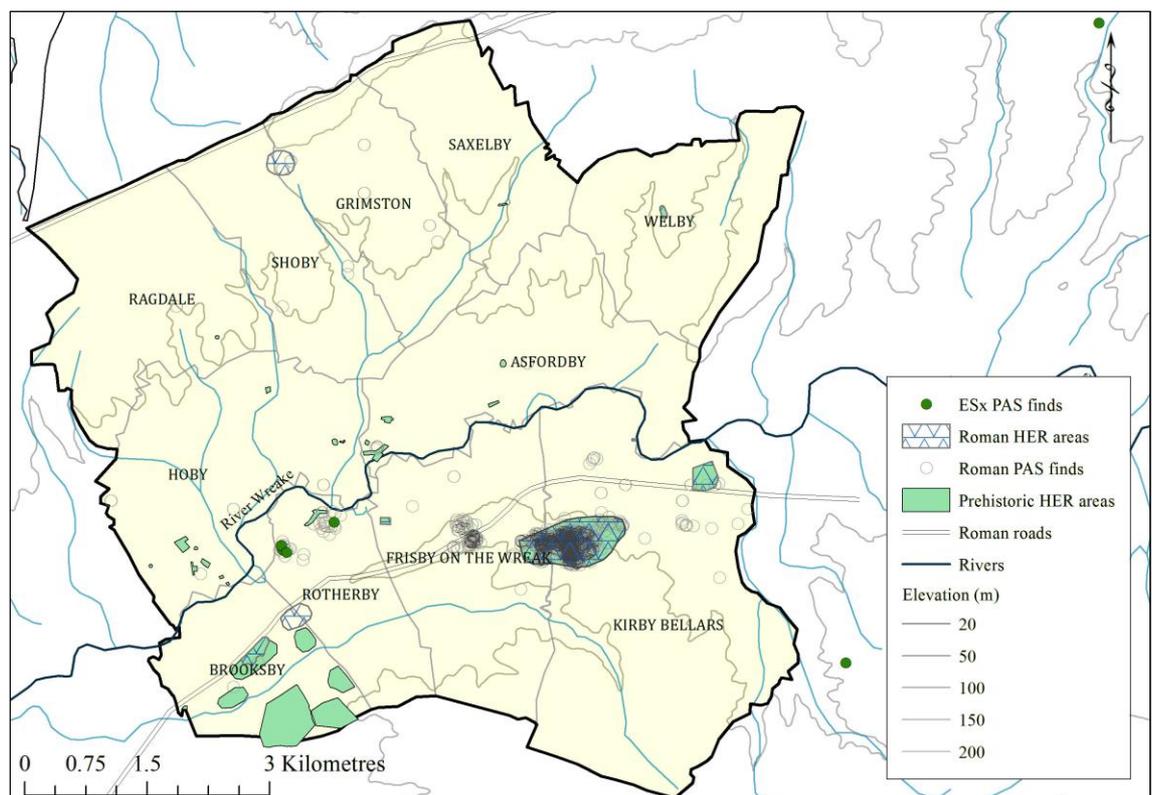
FIGURE 7.13: EARLY SAXON *FRISBY*
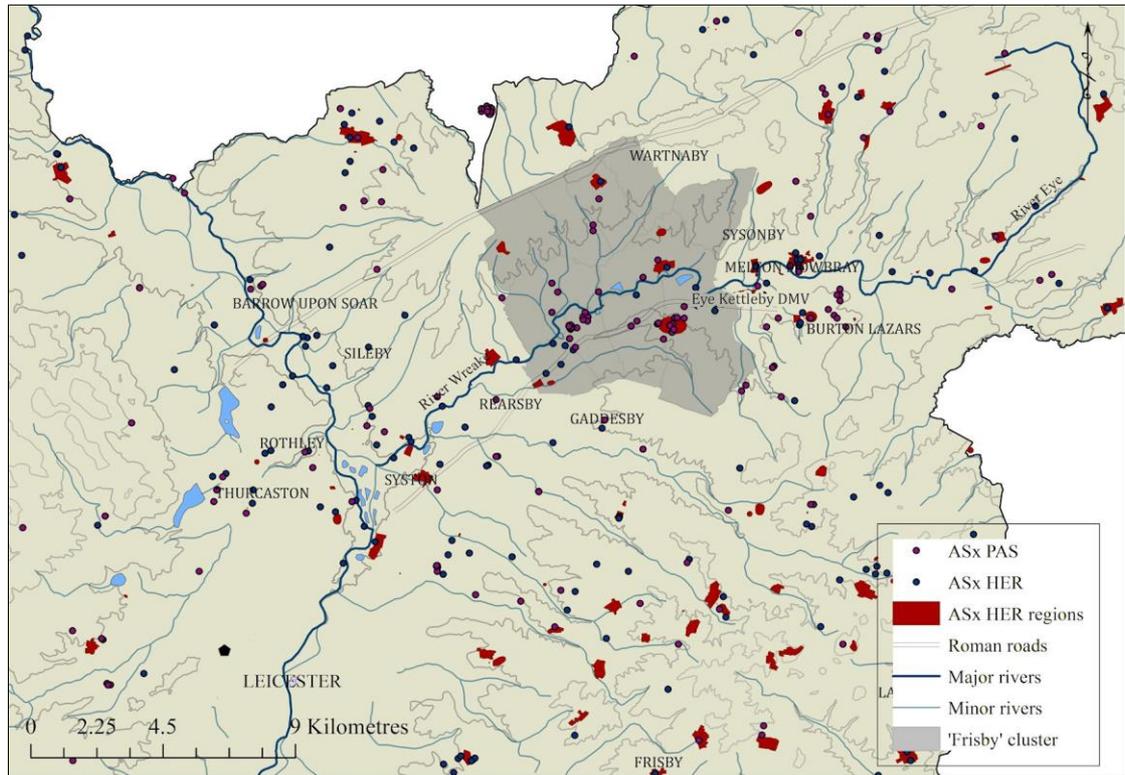
FIGURE 7.14: ANGLO-SAXON *FRISBY* AND THE WREAKE VALLEY

7.3.3 Middle Saxon Frisby (c.650-800)

TABLE 7.2: MIDDLE SAXON EVIDENCE SUMMARY

Excavations	Pottery	Non-PAS metalwork
y	*y*	*n*

Several developer-funded, local archaeology group, and rescue excavations have taken place in the *Frisby* region, with many more carried out in wider Leicestershire and Rutland. These have helped to shed light on Anglo-Saxon and early medieval life in the east midlands, as has fieldwalking.

7.3.3.1   Excavation

The single most revealing excavation in *Frisby* was led by a local archaeological society in the Kirby Bellars churchyard in 1960 (TLAHS 1965-6, 66; Hurst 1967-8). The site was noted for its Saxon and Medieval pottery, although over 70% of the c. 500 sherds were unstratified, indicating extensive topsoil disturbance. In addition to the pottery, a ditch cut north-south through the trench, dated to the Saxon period by the pottery deposited in the infill. Hurst (1967-8, 10) also notes 'a series of patches of clay, stones, and burnt soil presumably the collapsed remains of flimsy cob and timber buildings'. The excavations partially revealed the skeleton of a horse or ox which was described as 'in association'

with the only non-ceramic find recovered: a silver penny of Burgred of Mercia (852-74). The Leicestershire Museum account of the event notes that stratigraphic recording was not detailed, however, so it would be unwise to assume a deliberate relationship between the animal and the coin. Nevertheless, this animal burial calls to mind the 'special deposits' known from other midland Anglo-Saxon sites (e.g. particularly the cow at Eye Kettleby (Hamerow 2006, 3)), or, less likely, the sixth-century Wigston Magna 'warrior burials' accompanied by horses and wealthy furnishings (Liddle and Middleton 1994). The upper layers of the Kirby excavation yielded mixed medieval, Roman, and Saxon pottery, making it difficult to establish any sequence later than the Early/Middle Saxon activity associated with the ditch and stratigraphically lower potsherds. Another trench dug in 1965 identified a four-inch burnt layer and metal waste. The burnt layer was cut by the church wall providing a terminus ante quem of 1220, but greater precision is impossible (F503; LeiHER: MLE11637).

FIGURE 7.15: ANGLO-SAXON *FRISBY* (HER AREAS)
The LeiHER areas show polygons that encompass archaeological fieldwalking and excavation events that have revealed Anglo-Saxon material. The IDs listed here refer to multiperiod sites and therefore the original LeiHER ID is provided. See Figure 7.16 for individual findspots listed in the project database. Note that these areas do not distinguish between Early, Middle and Late Saxon finds, often because the ceramics are not firmly dated.

Excavations in Eye Kettleby (cf. above, p386) have further advanced our knowledge of the Middle Saxon period in the Melton region. To the west of the deserted medieval village of Eye Kettleby, an Early to Middle Anglo-Saxon settlement site was identified (Figure 7.15). Crucial to the interpretation of the *Frisby* case study, this settlement is adjacent to a site in Kirby Bellars that is believed to be an Anglo-Saxon cemetery based on the metalwork recovered from a nearby field (Wendy Scott pers. comm.; see). The relationship between these sites fits with the current interpretation that Anglo-Saxons tended to establish ancestral cemeteries close to their settlements, often using them for over a century (Liddle 2006, 1). The siting of cemeteries in relation to settlements is recognised elsewhere in Leicestershire (e.g. Empringham), but this case is one of few in the county also featuring proximity to a parish boundary (Liddle 2006, 2). If Eye Kettleby was indeed a high-status site based on its size, this would also have implications for the role of the cemetery and its position not just within Kirby Bellars but along the Wreake valley as a whole.

To the west of the study area, the excavation of a major cemetery at Rothley in 2007 provides further context for ritual practice in the region. Rothley is just west of the Soar and Wreake confluence. A cemetery revealing use over 250-300 years from the mid-seventh century was excavated adjacent to a Roman settlement site (Upson-Smith 2011). There is indication that some of the graves were family plots, and all burials were aligned east-west (Upson-Smith 2011, 17). Only one artefact dating to the Saxon period was recovered (Upson-Smith 2011, 22). This suggests that the community using the cemetery was influenced by Christian beliefs from the middle of the seventh century. This is in contrast with the supposed evidence for a furnished cemetery at Kirby Bellars, in use at the same time.

7.3.3.2   Pottery

The Kirby Bellars churchyard excavation has thus far yielded the most pottery in *Frisby*. Hurst (1967-8, 11) noted the assemblage was of 'considerable importance', since the 83 handmade Saxon sherds could have been deposited in the eighth-ninth centuries. The Leicestershire Museums Archaeology Record suggests, however, that the dates are probably earlier (LeSMR 71NW.A). These common local potsherds nevertheless fall within the Middle Saxon period and provide evidence for domestic activity in the Kirby Bellars vicinity.

7.3.3.3   Small finds

No confirmed Middle Saxon finds have been recovered from the *Frisby* region. A fragment of a loom weight from the Kirby churchyard excavations is thought to date to the Early

Saxon period (LeiSMR: 71NW.A), while a clay bead found south of St Peters church might be either Early or Middle Saxon in date (F312).

BOX 7.1: THE KIRBY BELLARS 'CEMETERY'

The artefacts recovered from two fields in the eastern part of Kirby Bellars reflect continuity from the Early Saxon period when a number of other artefacts were also deposited. Although several of the artefacts are difficult to date with precision, their co-occurrence and some of the types themselves, strongly indicate that they accompanied burials. Tweezers (F040) have been considered an 'indicator' find, suggesting cremation cemeteries in Early Saxon contexts (Chester-Kadwell 2009, 81) and another possible toilet article was recovered from a similar location (F039). A group of three hair pins, including a 'Ross Type LXVI' represents a rare discovery (F020-2; LEIC-709A97). Though hair pins were in use throughout the early medieval period beginning in the seventh century, their occurrence within this group of finds points to deposition prior to the mid-eighth century.

Several of the items are dated closely to the seventh century: the 'Odin' mount (F023), the sword scabbard pyramid mount (F026), and the gold bead or pendant suspension loop (F001). The former two have parallels recorded elsewhere on the PASD. The mount depicting a bearded man with horns or birds on his head could represent 'Odin' and might therefore be an indication of 7th-century expressions of belief. Two similar examples were recovered by metal-detectorists in Norfolk, and others are known from Hampshire and Nottinghamshire (Geake 2003, 206-9). This was therefore a relatively widespread type. Its form probably originated in Sweden (Geake 2003, 209) and reflects early contact with Scandinavia. The pyramid mount also has other parallels in England (e.g. WILT-9195E0), although it is the first-recorded find of its kind in Leicestershire and is therefore of regional importance (LEIC-4BD061).

Several brooch fragments (F002; F003; and F007 (pictured)) have been recovered from the same area. These were difficult to date with any precision, but within the given context, it is assumed that they represent the poorly-preserved remains from accompanied burials. The coinage (F012-14; F016) circulation end-dates (c. AD 740) are taken to represent the very latest terminus ante quem of the cemetery, by which time it becomes highly unlikely that furnished burials were a common occurrence. The artefact cluster represents some fine objects, including gilding, garnets, and high-status objects such as swords. It is unlikely that these come from losses in the same area over time, and must therefore be deliberate depositions. It seems probable that they are evidence of accompanied burials from what might have initially been a mixed cremation-inhumation cemetery in use from the 5th- 7th centuries and extending to the 'Conversion Period' (Welch 2011, 3), perhaps used only by a small local faction in the early eighth-century.

Pictured: Left to right, brooch fragment (F007); tweezers arm (F040); 'Odin' mount (F023); gold bead (F001).

7.3.4 Late Saxon Frisby (c.800-1100)

TABLE 7.3: LATE SAXON EVIDENCE SUMMARY

Excavations	Pottery	Non-PAS metalwork	Sculpture, structures	DMVs
y	y	y	n	7

The ninth and tenth centuries were tumultuous times in Leicestershire, with the late ninth century Viking Army settlements and a pledge made and broken to the Kings of Wessex in the first half of the tenth century. Olaf Guthfrithsson of Dublin may have established his base in Leicester in 940 (Wood 2013, 48). Fighting between King Edmund and Olaf ensued, and the two sides were reconciled in Leicester, when Olaf was baptised with Edmund as sponsor and gift-giver (Whitelock 1995, 221). This was short-lived, however, and with Olaf's death in 941, Edmund of Wessex 'freed' the towns south of the Humber, with specific reference to Leicester, from the yoke of the Norse-Irish kings (Wood 2013, 54). Leicester was therefore central to some of the most important recorded events of the tenth century, revolving around disputes and reconciliations between Anglo-Saxons, Anglo-Scandinavians, and Hiberno-Norse.
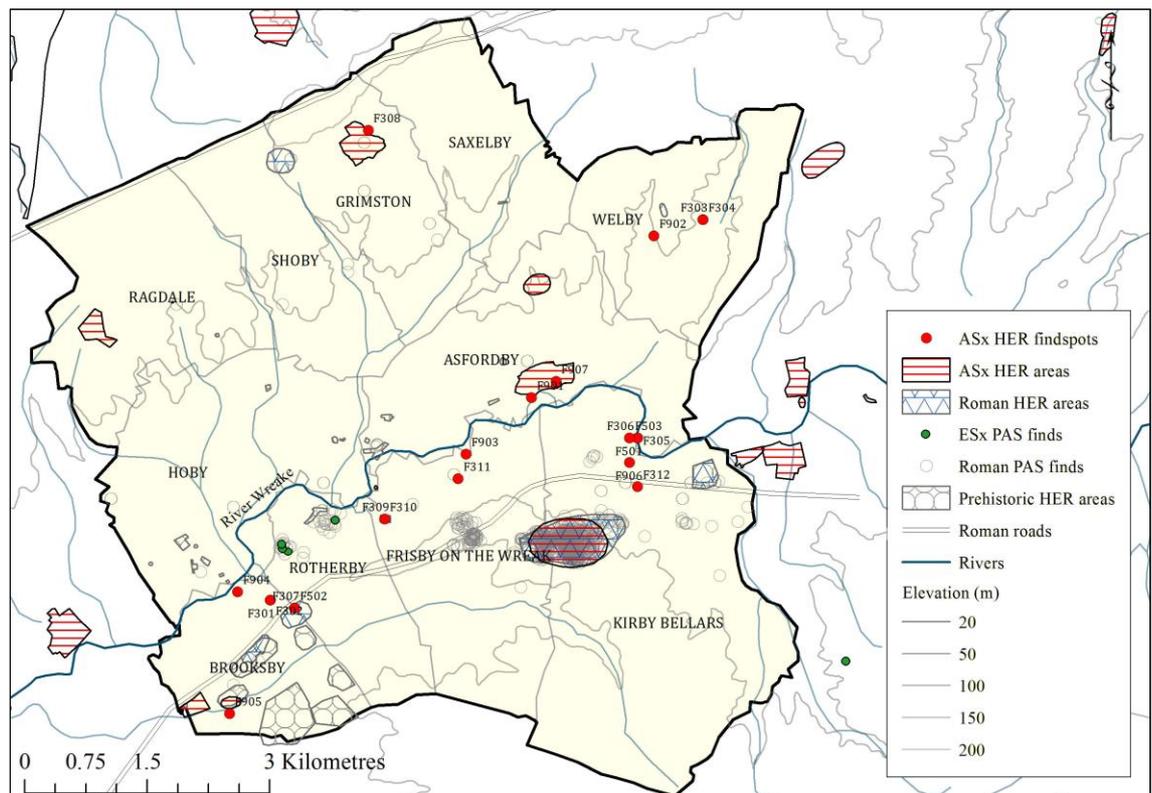
FIGURE 7.16: ANGLO-SAXON *FRISBY* (HER FINDSPOTS)
As with Figure 7.15, above, these findspots do not distinguish between Middle and Late Saxon finds due to imprecise dating of the ceramic evidence. See also Figure 7.18 for comparison with later medieval artefact and pottery findspots.

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The archaeology from *Frisby*, however, has been less revealing of the Late than of the Middle Saxon period. Nevertheless, excavation, pottery and earthworks provide clear evidence for activity in certain parts of the study area (Figure 7.16).

7.3.4.1 Excavation

Excavations in *Frisby* revealed Late Saxon potsherds from the Kirby churchyard, discussed below. A pipeline inserted through the deserted medieval village of Kirby Bellars surprisingly revealed no artefactual evidence (TLAHS 1965-6, 66).

Although the area was certainly continually occupied throughout the early medieval period, there is still some evidence that new sites were being settled in the Late Saxon period. An archaeological evaluation at Burton Lazars, southeast of Kirby Bellars, for example, revealed a site that appeared to have only been occupied from the tenth century onwards, based on the new presence of Stamford ware (Burrow 2005). Stamford ware has also been noted at Sileby during a watching brief (Parker 2003). These neighbouring areas reinforce that the wider region was active in the Late Saxon period.

7.3.4.2 Pottery

Approximately one fifth of the pottery sherds recovered from the Kirby Bellars churchyard date between the tenth and twelfth centuries. The pottery here is valuable in situating the *Frisby* communities as consumers within a network of two Late Saxon/early medieval pottery industries: predominantly unglazed wheel-thrown cooking pots came from Stamford, while the sandy glaze-splashed cooking pots were from Nottingham (Hurst 1967-8, 11-6). Of these sherds, most were unstratified, but several of each type were found stratified in the two layers of the ditch below the 'medieval' layer. Stratification was poorly recorded and only the bottom of the ditch did not have later intrusions, but this sequence might nevertheless suggest pre- and post-Conquest use of both wares, with Stamford wares dominating earlier than the eleventh and twelfth century Nottingham types. One tenth-century Nottingham type sherd was identified, however. Hurst (1967-8, 6) notes that Northampton and St Neots types — the more developed types of the eleventh and twelfth centuries — were barely present.

Other pottery scatters identified in *Frisby* have been less closely examined but appear to cover similar date ranges, including a scatter northeast of Brooskby Hall where Middle and Late Saxon pottery sherds were found in a water pipe ditch (F301; F302).

7.3.4.3 Small finds

The ninth-century Burgred lunette from the Kirby excavation was produced by the moneyer Heawulf and is the only coin from this century found in *Frisby.* No other Burgred issues are listed in Leicestershire in the PASD or EMC, nor are there any attributed to this

moneyer apart from a possible Aethelred II broad penny from Kent (KENT-11E076), making this a find of some regional importance. Examples of Burgred lunettes by Heawulf (Figure 7.17) can be found for auction online (e.g. coinarchives.com). The Kirby coin was donated to Leicestershire Museums after the excavation. Heawulf was probably operating out of London (Blackburn 1998, 116), indicating that this coin travelled a considerable distance before its loss or deposition near a horse burial, ditches, and discarded potsherds.

FIGURE 7.17: BURGRED LUNETTE
Image of a Burgred Lunette similar to that recovered from the churchyard excavation. This example (image not to scale) was listed on the coin auction website: coinarchives.com (www.coinarchives.com/w/results.php?search=+Mercia).

Further small-scale excavation in 1965 in the churchyard revealed splashes of lead and tin weighing a total of 4 lbs (F503). This evidence for metalworking could date anywhere between the seventh and thirteenth centuries, however (LeiHER: MLE3747). Another find of note is not from *Frisby* proper, but from neighbouring Melton Mowbray. This is a Jellinge-style disc brooch from Scandinavia, currently in the Jewry Wall Museum, and was recorded in Kershaw (2012, no. 484). The brooch is one of only seven of its type known in England and is the most westerly, with others recovered from the Humber region and East Anglia. In Scandinavia this type is currently only known in Viking Age Denmark (Kershaw 2013, 115).

7.3.4.4   *Sculpture, structures, earthworks, settlement*

No sculpture or structures that date earlier than the Norman Conquest have been noted in *Frisby.* The evidence of the earthworks from this period is nevertheless informative on the overall development of the region. The east side of the modern village of Kirby Bellars has long been noted for its well-preserved earthworks (cf. Figure 7.59, below), and aerial photographs have been used to assess the early medieval settlement patterns as well as the medieval moated manor site and priory (Hartley 1987). Kirby Bellars priory was built in the fourteenth century, and the modern parish name is derived from the founder's surname, 'Beler' (Hartley 1987, 9). The landscape setting of the priory — now the parish church — is appropriate for an ecclesiastical site, set on a bend in the river Wreake, as it meanders to create a semi-island. The church itself is sited on a steep bank over the river. It is highly likely that this was the site of the original, Anglo-Saxon church, later known by Scandinavian-speakers as the 'Kirk'.

Ecclesiastical patronage in the region speaks to the area's long-standing prominence, which was noted above in the extensive size of the Early Saxon village of Eye Kettleby.

This continues to be affirmed into the medieval period through Melton, with its cathedral-like parish church (Wendy Scott, pers. comm.; Wing 1855-6).[39]
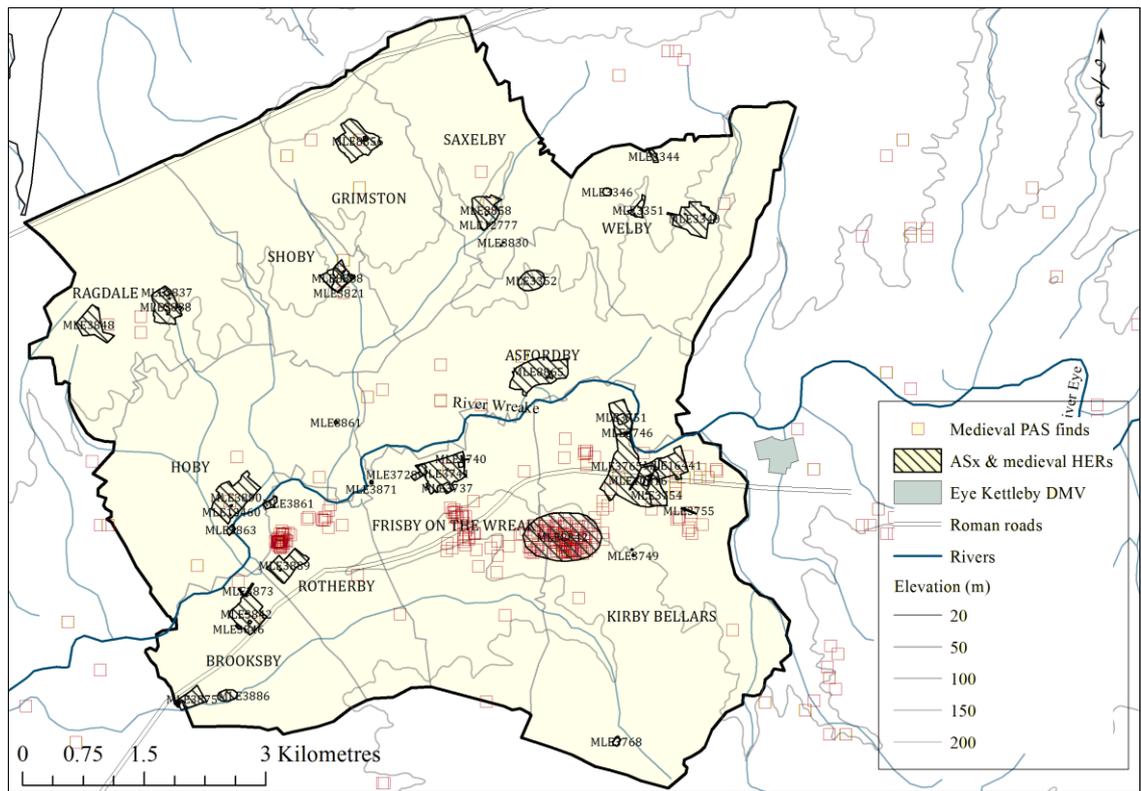
FIGURE 7.18: ANGLO-SAXON TO LATER MEDIEVAL *FRISBY*
Again to compare with Figure 7.15 and Figure 7.16, above, the overlaps between HER areas that also revealed evidence of post-conquest medieval activity can help to illustrate the longevity of use of some of these places. Although there may have been breaks in activity, in many cases continuity over the *longue durée* was common.

The other notable earthworks at Kirby Bellars are a palimpsest of medieval village holloways and closes overlaid with seventeenth-century fishponds and ornamental park features. The relationship between the DMV, the Middle Saxon cemetery, and any Anglo-Saxon settlement remains uncertain. It seems likely that based on the evidence for activity close to the church, this is where Middle and Late Saxon settlements concentrated, eventually expanding or shifting to the east (Figure 7.18).

A number of other DMVs have been recorded in *Frisby* due to the well-preserved earthworks (Table 7.4). Those at Brooksby are still visible, although Willowes is completely under cultivation (Figure 7.19). At Brooksby and Willowes, private ownership and early enclosure led to the abandonment (forced, in the case of Willowes[40]) of villages with medieval origins.

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[39] 'Though not so rich, possibly, in historical association as some, this beautiful House of God... is the finest church in the county... The transept is of due length... in parochial churches this advantage is seldom found... [t]he two aisles and clerestory... in perfection. These are matters essential to true grandeur, and have been almost confined to cathedrals' (Wing 1855-6, 93).
[40] In 1495 Willowes was converted to pasture and '"thirty persons departed in tears and... perished"' (Hartley 1987, 13, after Nichols 1800).

FIGURE 7.19: SITE OF 'WILLOWES' DMV

Listed as 'waste' in Domesday Book, Willowes eventually attracted another population following the Conquest and must have maintained a close relationship with the community in nearby Ragdale. By the fifteenth century it was completely abandoned.

TABLE 7.4: DESERTED MEDIEVAL VILLAGES (DMVS)

Every parish in *Frisby* exhibits some earthworks of medieval origin. Definitions of 'shrunken medieval villages' and 'deserted medieval villages' are imperfect, and a handful of the lesser earthworks are not included in the list below. Since many of these villages are only dated to as early as AD 1067 they do not have corresponding project IDs; those that do also have evidence of Anglo-Saxon occupation. Sites listed at the bottom lie outwith *Frisby* but are close neighbours. The many deserted medieval villages in the region might be due to the difficulties faced by clayland farming along the Wreake, but it is also notable that in most cases villages appear merely to have shifted or consolidated over time.

	In DB?	*Location known?*	*Parish*	*HER ID*	*Project ID*
Brooksby	y	y	Brooksby and Rotherby	MLE3842	F502
Frisby on the Wreake	y	y	Frisby and Kirby	MLE3740	n/a
Kirby Bellars	y	y	Frisby and Kirby	MLE3754, MLE16441	n/a
Ragdale	y	y	Holy and Rotherby	MLE3837	n/a
Shoby	y	y	Grimston	MLE3821	n/a
Welby	y	y	Welby	MLE3340	F303
Willowes	y	y	Holy and Rotherby	MLE3848	n/a
Eye Kettleby	y	y	Eye Kettleby	MLE3950	n/a
Sysonby	y	y	Sysonby	MLE3963	n/a

The cases of Brooksby and Willowes were not unique. Clayey soils led to early enclosure in eastern Leicestershire, with many in place by the fifteenth century (Beresford 1949). The earliest recorded enclosures in the study area were in Brooksby in 1378, which was fully enclosed by 1492 (Page *et al.* 1907, 255); most parishes were fully enclosed by the 1670s. The process was mixed, however. A number of the *Frisby* parishes maintained open field systems until at least 1601; others were only partially enclosed in the fifteenth century (Beresford 1949, 79, 102-11). Thus, in terms of societal attitudes towards agricultural land, delineated properties were an early vogue in Brooksby, Kirby Bellars, Ragdale, and Willowes, while in the neighbouring parishes, peasants continued to share the fields in the three-field system. In any case, the Wreake valley preserves the evidence

of many of these post-Conquest processes in the form of earthworks, including deep ridge and furrow and headlands. This has resulted in limited visibility of much of the earlier medieval archaeology, including Anglo-Saxon settlement patterns and field systems.

The earthworks and the pottery from the churchyard excavations point to activity in a small part of *Frisby* in the Anglo-Saxon and post-Conquest periods. The pottery from Kirby Bellars shows how hand-made local pottery gave way to imports of wheel-thrown wares from up to 40 kilometres away by the Late Saxon period. This small snapshot of activity and wider regional connections is highly informative about the trends that might be expected in neighbouring parishes.

7.4 Domesday Book and historical background

TABLE 7.5: *FRISBY* IN DOMESDAY BOOK
All data derived from Open Domesday (OD) and *Domesday Book Leicestershire* (1979, Phillimore)[41]

Place	Total Population	Relative Size	Total tax (geld units)	Relative Amount	Domesday Entries
ASFORDBY	25 households	quite large	8.3	very large	2
BROOKSBY	13 households	medium	4.7	quite large	2
FRISBY ON THE WREAKE	11 households	quite small	4	medium	1
GRIMSTON	30 households	quite large	7.8	very large	2
HOBY	12 households	medium	4.3	quite large	1
KIRBY BELLARS	28 households	quite large	7	quite large	2
RAGDALE	4 households	very small	6	quite large	1
ROTHERBY	11 households	quite small	4	medium	1
SAXLEBY	23 households	quite large	4.8	quite large	1
SHOBY	14 households	medium	11	very large	1
WELBY	28 households	quite large	16	extremely large	4

With its eleven Domesday vills, the Frisby study area presents a mixed pattern of landholding. Four external manors held land in *Frisby*; three of these were major central

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[41] Note that the Leicestershire entries in Domesday Book are occasionally imprecise in that they group fees held by the same manor under a single set of data. Thus, the populations for the vills of Frisby, Brooksby, and Rotherby, all held under the manor of Barrow-on-Soar are listed as a single number. The value of each in terms of carcucates and bovates is listed separately, however, and so on the basis of these valuations, a very rough estimate of the respective populations was calculated. This was a basic formula that assumed that the percentage of land attributed to each vill was equal to the percentage of the population. It is not an exact calculation by any means, but given that Domesday is notorious for its inexactitudes, it is not unreasonable to rely on such means in order to provide a basic estimate.

estates with the second Barrow-on-Soar manor probably reflecting a later partition of an earlier complex estate (Table 7.5). The Leicestershire Domesday survey does not differentiate between berewicks and sokeland, but these manors were nevertheless beholden to their lords and tenants-in-chief in some way. They are referred to here as sokes for convenience (Table 7.6). In addition to the sokes, however, there are a number of apparently independent manors or sokes, none of which fell under the see of another estate; their lords would have owed the fee directly to the king. In two of these cases, the same lord had the fee of two vills within the *Frisby* cluster. Thus Countess Judith held both Welby and Brooksby, while Robert de Bucy held Grimston and Ragdale, with the entire fee of the latter belonging to him. Hoby and Shoby were similarly undivided fees held by a single tenant-in-chief.

TABLE 7.6: LANDHOLDING IN *DOMESDAY BOOK*
Key: M=Manor; S=Soke; B=Berewick. Sokes and berewicks are listed under the manor to which they are beholden. A vill might be held by more than one manor, or could have its own manor in addition to part held as soke by another manor (e.g. Brooksby).

Place	Tenant-in-Chief TRW (1086)								
	King William	Earl Hugh of Chester	4 men at arms	Geoffrey de la Guerche	Countess Judith	Robert de Bucy	Ralph Framen	Drogo de la Beuvriere	Aubrey de Coucy
	Lord TRE (1066)								
	King Edward	Earl Harold	Earl Harold	Leofric son of Leofwin	n/a	n/a	n/a	Ulf Fenman	Harding son of Alnoth
External Manors	Rothley [M]	Barrow-on-Soar [M]	Barrow-on-Soar [M]	Melton Mowbray [M]					
ASFORDBY	[S]						[M]		
BROOKSBY		[S]			[M]				
FRISBY-ON-THE-WREAKE I		[S]							
FRISBY-ON-THE-WREAKE II		[S]	[S]						
GRIMSTON	[S]					[M]			
KIRBY BELLARS I				[S]					
KIRBY BELLARS II				[M]					
HOBY								[M]	
RAGDALE AND WILLOWS						[M]			
ROTHERBY		[S]							
SAXELBY	[S]								
SHOBY									[M]
WELBY				[S]	[M]				
Other holdings	+18	+9	+9	+7 (Melton)					

The region comprised several royal vills, both before and after the Conquest, as Table 7.6 illustrates. Each of the *Frisby* holdings associated with elite estates were, in 1066, under either the see of King Edward's at Rothley or that of Earl Harold's at Barrow-on-Soar. The Melton Mowbray estate was also extensive, held TRE by Leofric son of Leofwin and TRW by Geoffrey de la Guerche. *Frisby* was therefore central to the lands of these three major estates (Figure 7.20) which focused around the Wreake valley. The Rothley and Barrow-on-Soar estates follow a similar pattern to the west along the northeastern Soar valley, although it is notable that their holdings focus in general on eastern Leicestershire. The valley sides at the Soar and Wreake confluence were coveted lands, rich in alluvium, transected by an important Roman road leading from Nottingham and the

north to Leicester and the south. The rivers were lined with mills and the gentle slopes afforded good arable land and pasture. Barrow and Rothley each held land west of the Soar in the most densely wooded Gartree wapentake. The place-names, 'Charley' and 'Rothley' from the OE *leah* for 'wood', would seem to confirm that these were the lords' woods, thus ensuring diverse lands for resource and recreation under each estate. Churches are not recorded in Domesday for the region, but with milling an important local industry, a number of mills are attested to in the survey (Table 7.7).
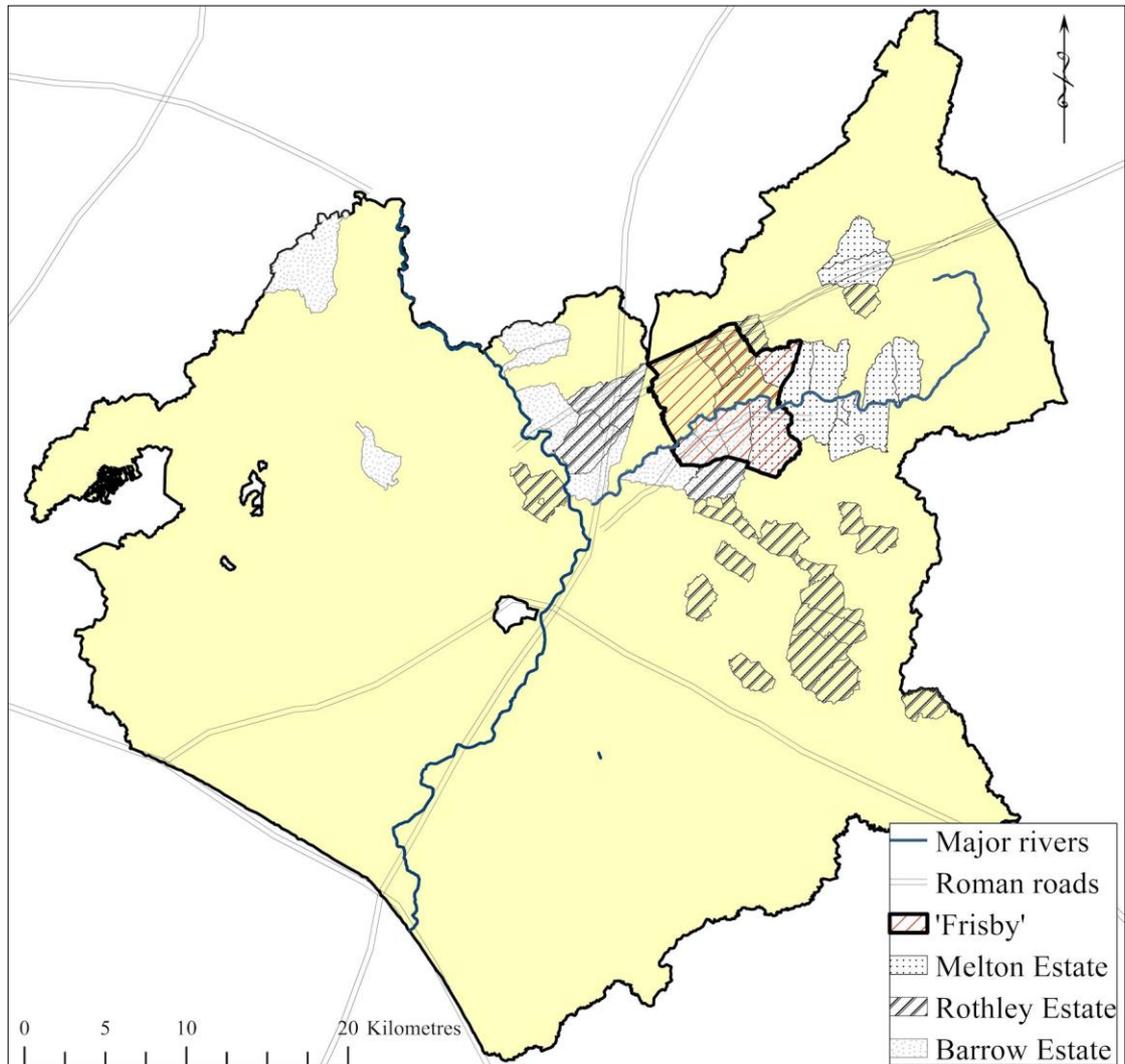
FIGURE 7.20: PRIMARY MANORIAL ESTATES AROUND *FRISBY*
Note that part of western *Frisby* does not fall under either of the major local manors.

TABLE 7.7: ASSETS IN *FRISBY*

Vill	Mill
Asfordby	2
Brooksby	1
Frisby on the Wreake	1
Welby	0.5
Total	4.5

Of the *Frisby* entries, Welby had an extremely large geld, and this is probably one reason that it was so readily subdivided after the Conquest. Presumably, this land had been held entirely by the great estate of Melton under Leofric prior to the Conquest. Geoffrey de la Guerche did not therefore inherit the Melton estate intact following the Conquest, although he was able to keep Kirby Bellars as a whole, with his under lord, Ralph, at the manor (*LeiDB*, 29,16). Countess Judith and her men were also appeased, as she split her fee amongst three lords (*LeiDB*, 40,13, 40,37-8).

The county of Leicester resulted in many dispersed estates, and even the wapentakes were not entirely geographically coherent (cf. Figure 7.4, above). The same is true of the local administrative 'hundreds' (Figure 7.21), first recorded in the twelfth-century Leicestershire Survey (c. 1129/30, LeiDB, 'Notes'; Page *et al.* 1907, 344-54). It has been suggested that these divisions were Scandinavian-imposed for tax assessment. Only midland Danelaw counties such as Derbyshire, Nottinghamshire, and Lincolnshire appear to have adopted this system in the tenth century (Hadley 2005, 101-2). These hundreds are only occasionally alluded to in Domesday, but their twelfth-century appearance suggests that they could have been much more fundamental to local early medieval administration than the manorial estates, if indeed they were of tenth-century origin as has been suggested. Their relative geographical coherence in Leicestershire in contrast with the sprawling manorial estates makes this especially plausible. The hundreds acted as judicial units, formed the basis for geld collection, and also provided military service (Hadley 2005, 101). They were therefore likely to have their own assembly court, thus acting as another administrative level under the wapentake, at which a more locally-based group of leading members of the community would meet (cf. Anderson 1934; Baker and Brookes 2013). Kirby Bellars lends its name to the hundred, adding support to the notion it had a central administrative role. We might assume on the basis of known practice in wapentakes, that the assembly court for the Kirby hundred met in Kirby Bellars.
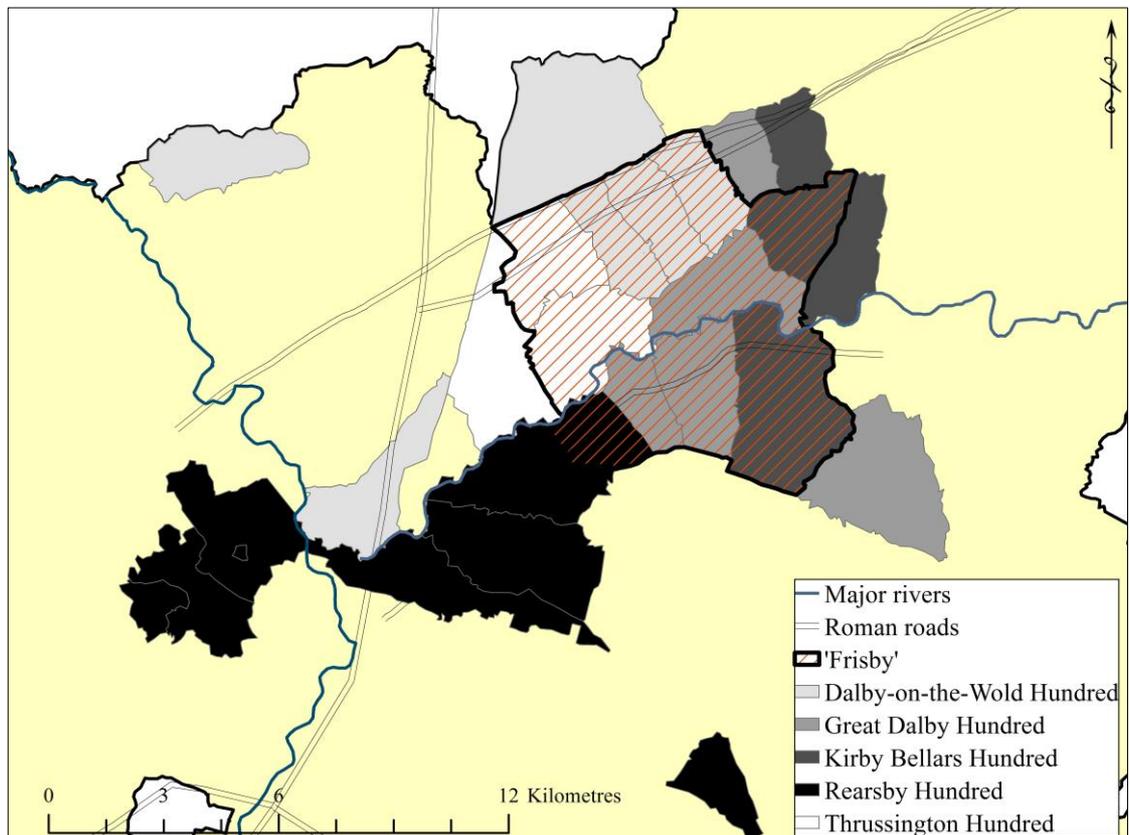
FIGURE 7.21: HUNDREDS IN LEICESTERSHIRE

Information derived from (Page *et al.* 1907, 344-54). Unlike with the wapentakes, the rivers Wreake and Soar play a more obvious role in informing the hundredal divisions (cf. Figure 7.4). Along these divisions we also see coherence between administrative bounds and the Wreake/Eye nomenclature: the 'Wreake' falls within Kirby Hundred; at the border of [Eye] Kettleby and Melton eastwards, however, it is still known as the 'Eye' — its name prior to Scandinavian settlement.

7.5 Place-names

'The evidence of place-names shows that within the area controlled by the arm of Leicester the Anglian inhabitants were not by any means exterminated, nor were the Danish settlers evenly distributed. The Wreak valley and the north-west corner of Leicestershire seem to have been the areas where the Danes settled most densely.'

-McKinley (1954a, 76-7)

TABLE 7.8: PRIMARY SETTLEMENT NAMES[42]
All place-name data from the EPNS survey by Cox (2004), unless otherwise noted.

Place Name	Meaning	Expanded	Origin	First recorded
ASFORDBY	*Asfrøth*'s farmstead (or Farm at ash-tree(s) or ford at ash-trees)	Personal name (*Asfrøðr*) + by (farmstead); poss. Aesc or eski (ash-tree(s)) or Alscford (ford at ash-trees))	ON probable; possible OE	DB 1086; *Esseberie/Osfedebie*
FRISBY [ON THE WREAKE]	Farmstead, village of the Frisians	Frisians + by (farmstead, vill)	ON poss translation of OE	DB 1086; *Frisebie*
GRIMSTON	Grim's farmstead, village	Personal name (*Grimr*) + tun (farmstead, vill)	ON (*Grimr*); OE (tun)	DB 1086; *Grimestone*
HOBY	Farmstead at the headland; concave slope with gentle rise to peak	Headland (*hoh*) + by (farmstead, vill)	OE/ON	DB 1086; *Hobi*
KIRBY [BELLARS]	The village with a church	Church (*kirkju*) + by (farmstead, vill)	ON	DB 1086; *Cherchebi*
ROTHERBY	Hreidar's farmstead	Personal name (*Hreidr*) + by (farmstead, vill)	ON	DB 1086; *Redebi*
BROOKSBY	Brok's farmstead	Personal name (*Brokr*) + by (farmstead, vill)	ON	DB 1086; *Brochesbi*
RAGDALE	A throat or narrow passage (?) in a dale	Narrow passage (*hraca*) + dale	OE reinforced by ON dalr	DB 1086; *Ragendele*
SAXELBYE	Saxulf's farmstead	Personal name (*Saxulfr*) + by (farmstead, vill)	ON	DB 1086; *Saxelbie*
SHOBY	Sigvald's farmstead	Personal name (*Sigvaldr*) + by (farmstead, vill)	ON	DB 1086; *Seoldesberie*
WELBY	Ali's farmstead	Personal name (*Ali*) + by (farmstead, vill)	ON	DB 1086; *Alebi*

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[42] 'Asfordby' is debated by Cox (2004, 9-10) and Fellows-Jensen (1978, 31), due to the differences in early recordings. Cox leaves the definition open to interpretation, but the preferred interpretation here is Fellows-Jensen's, with *Asfrøðr* (ON personal name) only later turning into the more common 'ash' and 'ford' connotations. Topographically a '-ford' interpretation could be more than linguistic coincidence, although the modern village of Asfordby is situated much further back from the Wreake than, for example, Kirby Bellars.

The number of Scandinavian place-names found throughout Leicestershire has often been cited as evidence of intensive Danish settlement (cf. McKinley quotation, above). There are distinct pockets of -*by* and -*thorpe* names in the northeast of the county especially, whereas other parts of Leicestershire are dominated by place-names with Old English elements (Figure 7.22).

■ -ton, -ing, -ham place-names
▲ -by, Grim-, -thorp place-names
— Major rivers
▨ 'Frisby' cluster

0   5   10   20 Kilometres
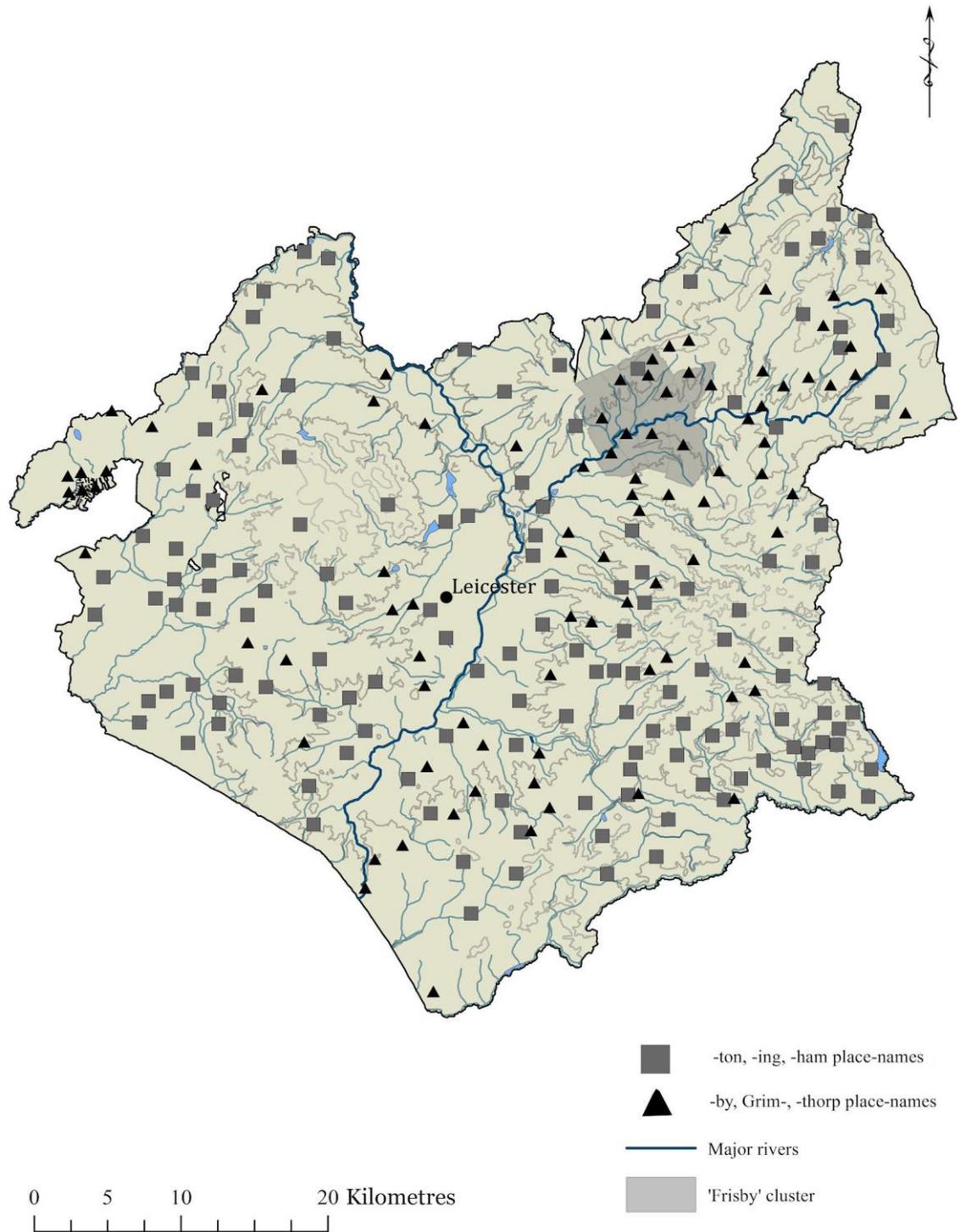
FIGURE 7.22: PLACE-NAME DISTRIBUTIONS
There is a clear concentration of Scandinavian place-names around the Wreake valley and the *Frisby* cluster.

7.5.1 Settlement and major place-names
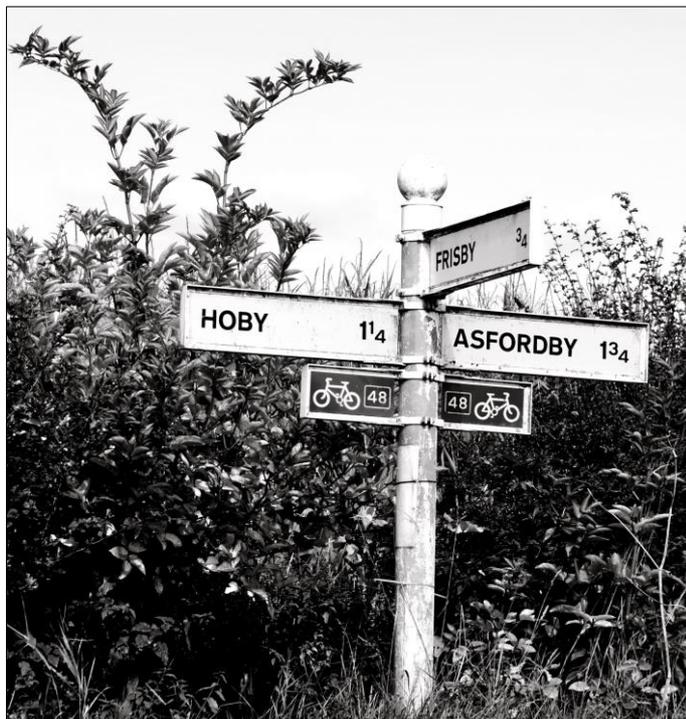
FIGURE 7.23: SETTLEMENT NAMES IN *FRISBY*
The ON suffix –*by* for 'homestead' or 'settlement' is extremely common along the Wreake valley.

All of the *Frisby* settlement names contain an Old Scandinavian suffix or prefix (Figure 7.23), with only three preserving an Old English element, including the much-debated 'Grimston' (cf. Chapter 2, 2.4). This distribution is in keeping with the pattern that McKinley noted along the Wreake valley (1954a, 76-7, cf. quotation above). It is also evident here that Scandinavian settlement left a mark beyond the farmsteads that ended up bearing their names: the river Eye, as it was known prior to Scandinavian occupation, was renamed the 'Wreake', from the ON *vrepk* which means 'winding or twisting' (Cox 2004, xiv). Upstream, the river continues to bear the name 'Eye', reflecting the influence of Scandinavian-speaking peoples in the 'Wreake' valley, compared with that of English-speaking peoples beyond Melton.

Of especial note in terms of the settlement names, are 'Frisby' [-on-the-Wreake] which reflects a place named for 'Frisians', and the topographic 'Hoby' and 'Ragdale', both with Scandinavian suffixes appended to the original OE topographic descriptors. Hoby is a good example of the specificity by which Anglo-Saxons viewed and labelled the landscape, as Gelling and Cole (2000) have shown. The term *hoh* is OE and is commonly found in place-names referring to headlands, 'heels' of land, and concave slopes. There is some debate as to the precise origin of the *hoh* in Hoby, since it forms a headland jutting out on the Wreake floodplains, but also forms a concave, curved slope along the valley side (Figure 7.24). 'The farmstead of the Frisians' is a fairly common place-name within the Danelaw: others are found in west Leicestershire (Gartree hundred) and in the Firsbys (East and

West) of Lincolnshire (Fellows Jensen 1978, 46, 81), for example. The name has been interpreted as indicative of pockets of non-Danish settlers within a predominantly Danish population after the initial Scandinavian settlement process (Fellows Jensen 1978, 46). It is tempting to view this in relation to historical events, as deriving from a band of Frisian soldiers who accompanied the *micel here* to England and, when the army disbanded, remained in their brotherhood and settled along the Wreake. McLeod (2014, 138-9) sees such ethnonyms as probable early settlement names within England's Viking Age settlement chronology.

FIGURE 7.24: HOBY: OE *HOH* + ON *BY*
This photograph taken from the Wreake valley floodplain shows the elevated position of modern Hoby village on the *hoh*, or 'headland' overlooking the river. The Lidar image inset provides a clear view of the topography that inspired Hoby's name, probably prior to the Scandinavian settlement. By the Domesday survey it was known by an ON suffix, having become an OE-ON hybrid place-name. (Lidar: © Environment Agency.)

7.5.2 Field, lesser, and later place-names

In addition to the many 'Scandinavian' parish-names, *Frisby* contains a number of notable field names. The region's minor place-names have been recorded and researched in depth. Many of the field-names cannot be dated to before the thirteenth century, but they might nevertheless hint at earlier Anglo-Saxon or Viking Age topographic perceptions. In *Frisby*, the most notable field-names are those indicating 'thing' sites: places of medieval assembly. Many of these are known across Leicestershire (Cox 1971-2), and to date, three different areas relating to early places of assembly have been identified through toponyms in *Frisby* (Figure 7.25). Two of these places are known through early maps; the third is preserved in name only but it is somewhere in Asfordby parish (Cox 2004, 9). Studies of assembly sites in England have shown that they were often located in proximity to major routeways, and could be associated with a variety of notable landscape features, from

mounds to thorn-bushes, to certain trees, and parish boundaries (see Anderson 1934; Pantos 2003). The preservation of the Scandinavian *þing* could indicate that the site was adopted or founded by a predominantly Scandinavian-speaking population; it might also suggest that Old Norse was the language of administration in the *Frisby* region for long enough to establish '*þing-hou*' as the lasting term for this site. The wapentake name 'Framland' is a purely Scandinavian name, from the ODan personal *Fræna*, and ON *lundr,* 'grove' (Cox 1971-2, 16).
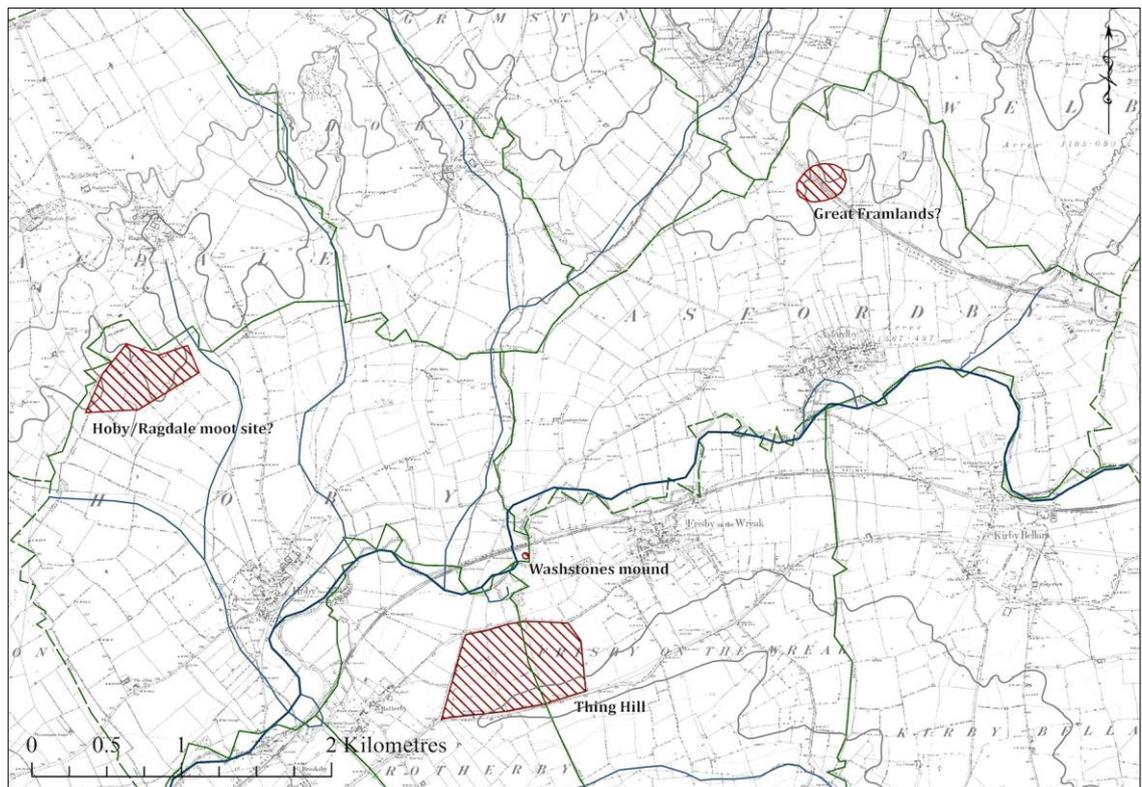
FIGURE 7.25: THING SITES IN *FRISBY*
(Historic map copyright for this and all subsequent *Frisby* historic maps: Crown copyright and Landmark Information Group Limited (2015). All rights reserved. (1889)).

The term *-haugr* (ON hill; mound) is remarkably common throughout *Frisby*. There are ten examples recorded in the EPNS survey for the parish of Kirby Bellars alone (Cox 2004, 86-93). Given the local topography, we might expect several of these names, such as *Brecchou* (c.1200; *brēc* (OE broken-in ploughland) + *haugr*), to refer to hills (Cox 2004, 89). The term *-haugr* could also have been used in reference to smaller mounds, perhaps as in *Belloue, Bellhowe by Saltgate* (c. 1250) or *(le) Croshou* (c. 1250 (Cox 2004, 88, 89)); several human-built mounds are still found throughout *Frisby* while more may have since been ploughed out.

Other place-names found in *Frisby* refer to travel and longer-distance connections to elsewhere in England. In particular, the 'Saltgate', which follows the Roman road running through Melton along the edge of the southern Wreake valley to the Fosse Way and thence

north and south to Nottingham and Leicester, is an indication of how the salt-trade made its way through the landscape. Of particular note are the minor offshoots of the Saltgate preserved in names of roads leading across the Wreake to Asfordby and Hoby (Cox 2004, xv). These minor routes also serve to indicate fording spots along the river Wreake.

A number of other Scandinavian terms are frequently repeated in the field names of *Frisby*, including *gata* (ON a way, a road); *vangr* (ON in-field); and *dalr* (ON valley). With the former, the name evolved over time to refer to 'right of way to pasture' (Cox 2004, 309). Many of these forms are recorded no earlier than the fourteenth or fifteenth centuries, and the term *dalr*, for example, is often difficult to distinguish from the OE *deill* (a share of land; (Cox 2004, 300). Nevertheless the Scandinavian linguistic influence was long-lasting in this part of Leicestershire to the extent that, as with Lincolnshire, Scandinavian words evolved with new connotations to become central to agricultural dialect. This would certainly have contributed to a regional identity, with or without remembered associations with Scandinavian heritage.

7.6 The Artefacts

TABLE 7.9: ARTEFACTS AT A GLANCE

Frisby, Lincolnshire	
No. PAS finds (excluding coins)	36
No. finds analysed total (including coins)	46
No. coins (PAS ; EMC)	10; 1
No. non-metal finds	1
% artefacts found metal-detecting	100%
No. small finds from HER (metal; non-metal)	4; 11
Total no. small finds	47

Frisby has less than half the number of PAS finds dating to the Middle and Late Saxon periods than the other case studies (Table 7.9). Analyses of these items on the basis of fingerprints and functional groups are therefore less reliable, due to the small sample size. They nevertheless highlight key information about the current portable material record.

7.6.1 Frisby and the PAS

After cleaning the early medieval finds (cf. Chapter 3, 3.2.3), 45 total PAS finds were retained to form the current dataset, one of which was non-metal and ten of which were coins (Table 7.9). There was one EMC coin identified within the *Frisby* study region. The majority of artefacts date to the Middle Saxon period (Figure 7.26). The artefact distribution is illustrated in Figure 7.27 and Figure 7.28, and the numbers assigned can be

matched to the catalogue in **Appendix 1**. Artefacts are shown against natural and modern constraints in Figure 7.29. The findspot precision of the artefacts is displayed in Figure 7.30, while the numbers of artefacts recovered per parish are shown in Figure 7.31.
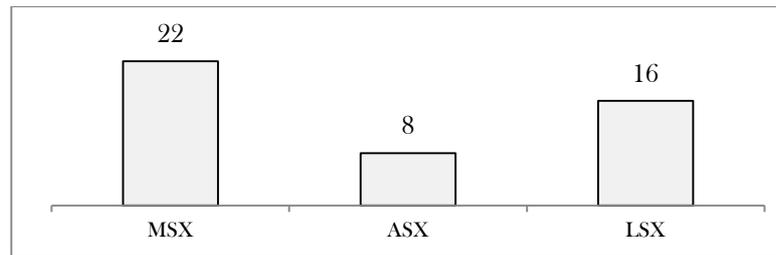
FIGURE 7.26: ARTEFACTS BY SUBPERIOD
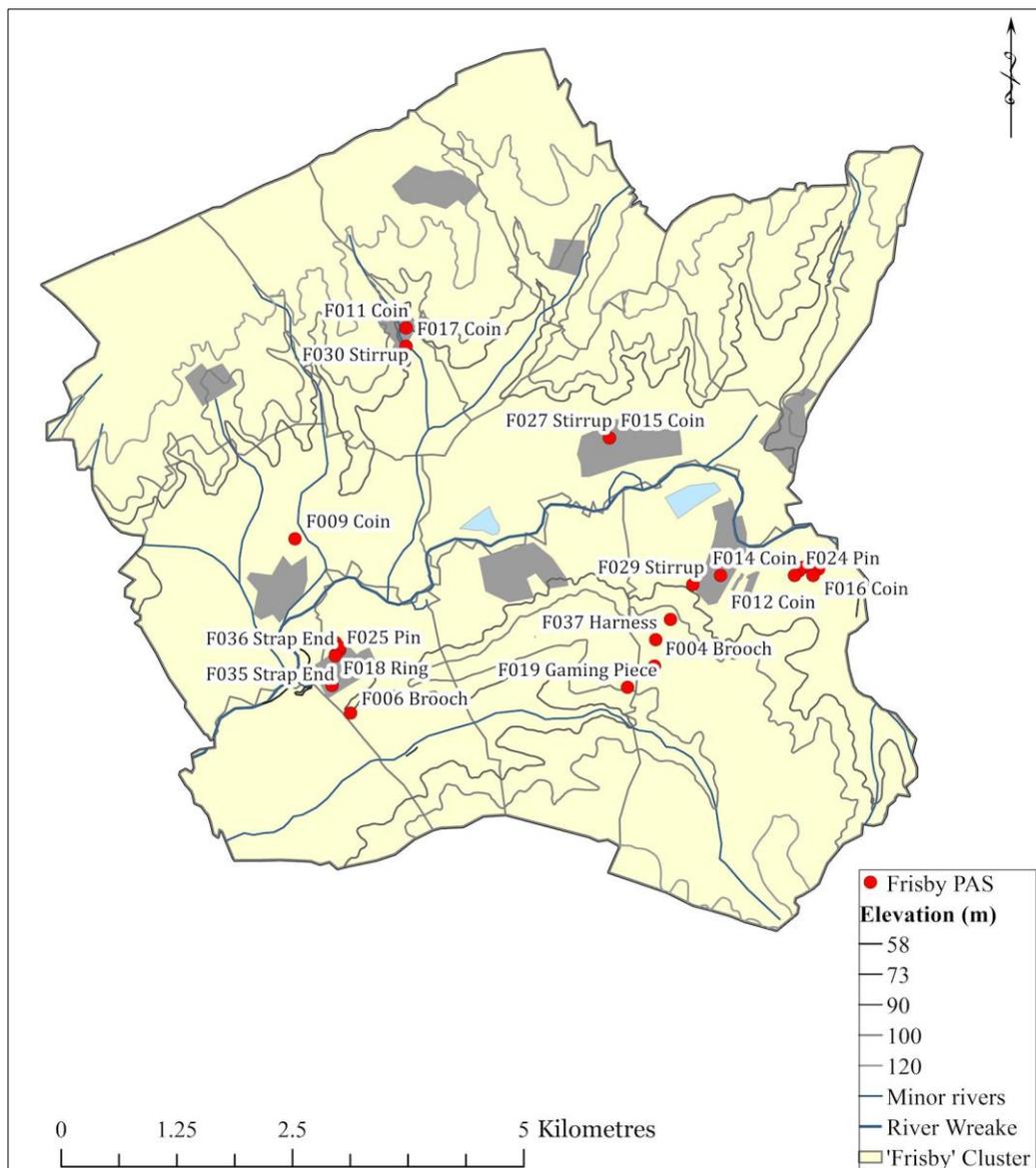
FIGURE 7.27: FRISBY ARTEFACT DISTRIBUTION
The artefact ID numbers on the map can be linked to the more detailed references in the catalogue (**Appendix 1**). See Figure 7.28 below for detail of Kirby Bellars region.
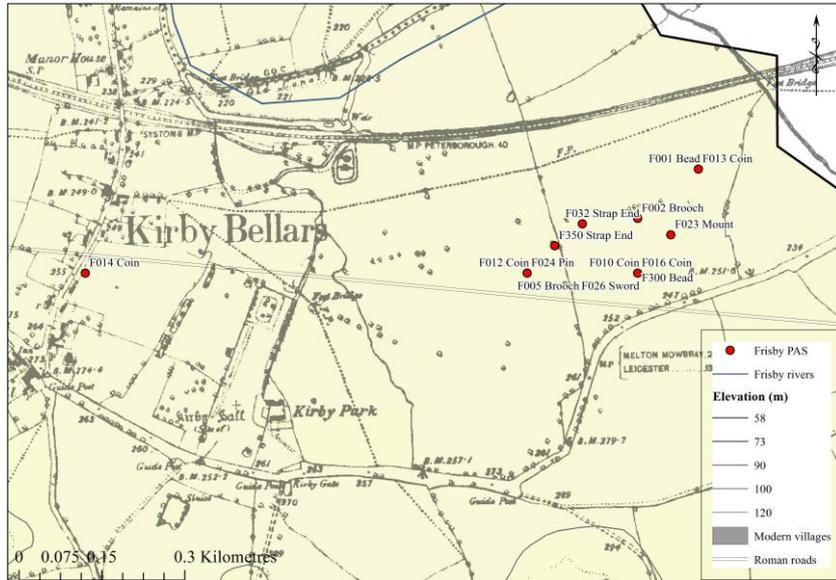
FIGURE 7.28: KIRBY BELLARS PAS DISTRIBUTION DETAIL
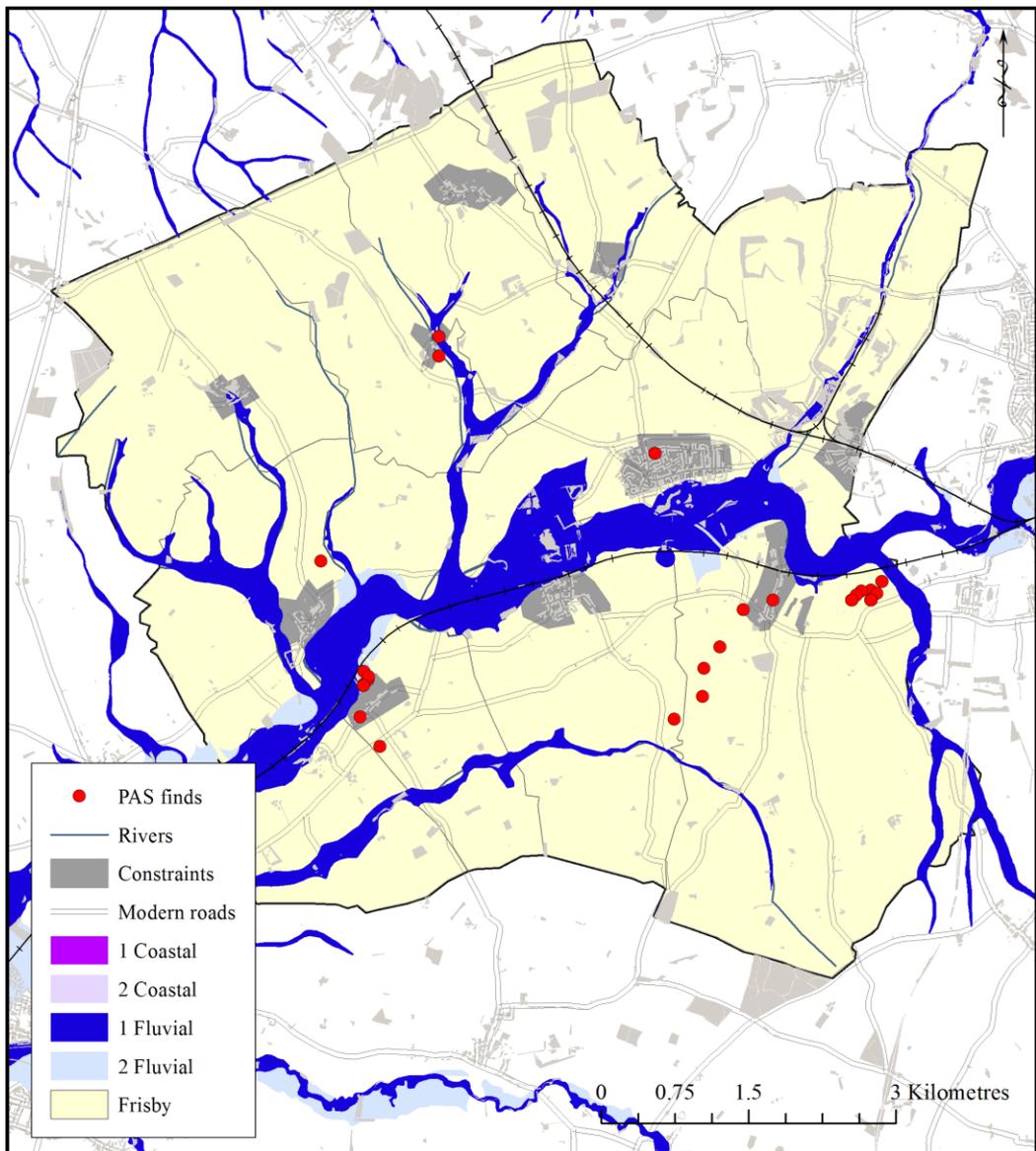
FIGURE 7.29: PAS AND LOCAL CONSTRAINTS
Refer to Figure 7.6 for flood level key.
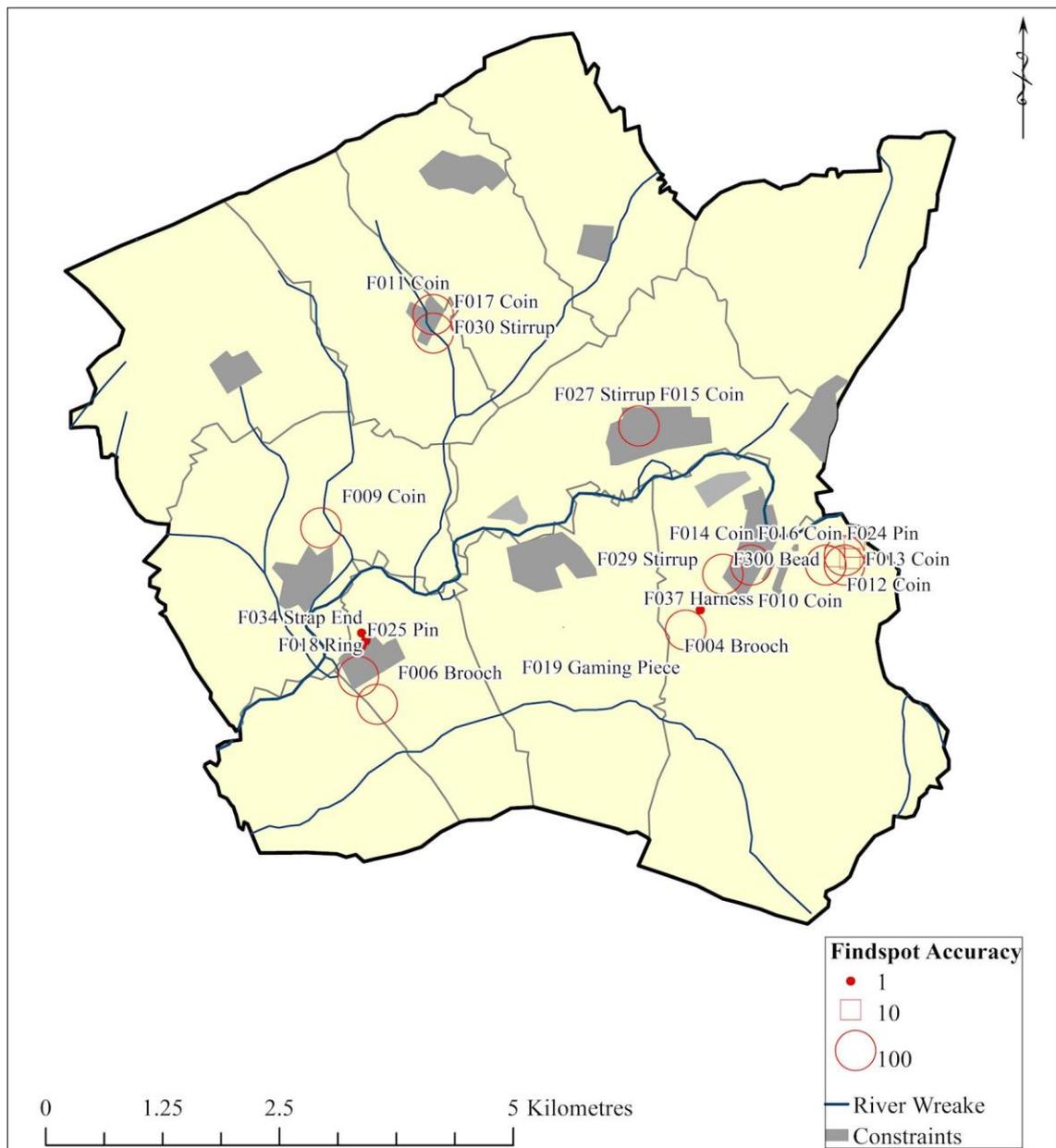
Frisby, **Leicestershire**			
1m	*10m*	*100m*	*n/a*
17.8%	8.9%	64.4%	8.9%

FIGURE 7.30: FINDSPOT PRECISION

Findspot precision is not strong in *Frisby* although more artefacts were recorded to within 1m of their recovery point than those within 10m. A small number of artefacts did not have coordinates recorded and were assigned to a parish only. These have approximately the same resolution as those based on the village 'centroid' (as are many of the coins). This accounts for the number of dots apparently within expected constraint areas. They could have been recovered from any field around the village to which they are assigned.
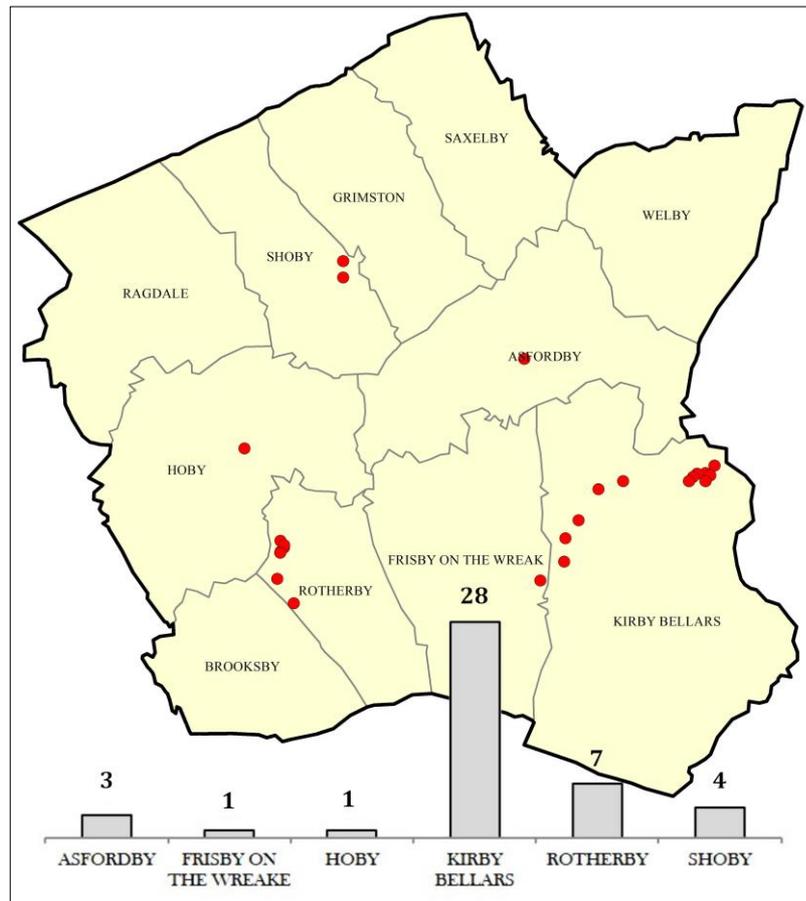
7.6.2 Fingerprints

The *Frisby* fingerprints (Figure 7.32, Figure 7.33, Figure 7.34) illustrate a range of the more commonly recovered artefacts, with all categories covered except 'hooked tag'. *Frisby* is unique amongst the other case studies in having more coins than any other category. Distribution across the categories represented is quite even, apart from the notable lack of pins. This tends to be a very common artefact type, and would normally be expected in areas of early medieval occupation and burial; their absence here is curious.
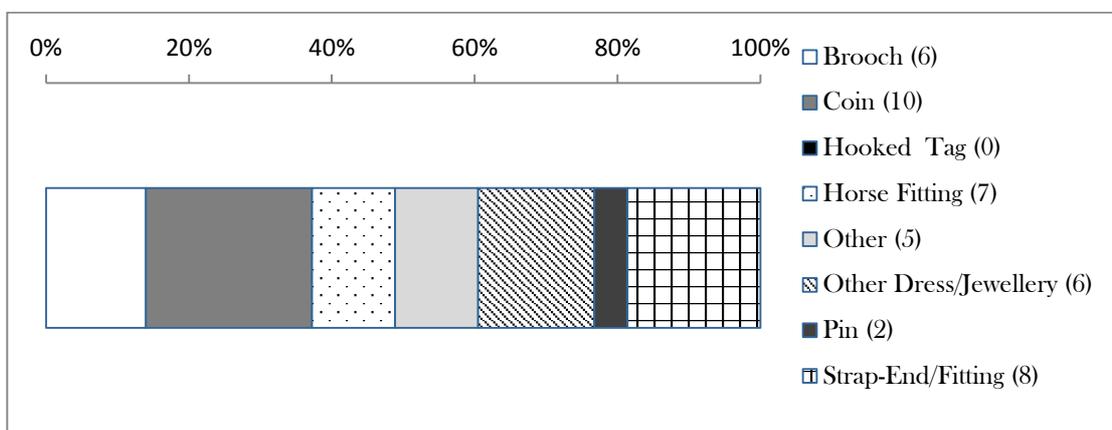
FIGURE 7.32: FINGERPRINT CHART A)
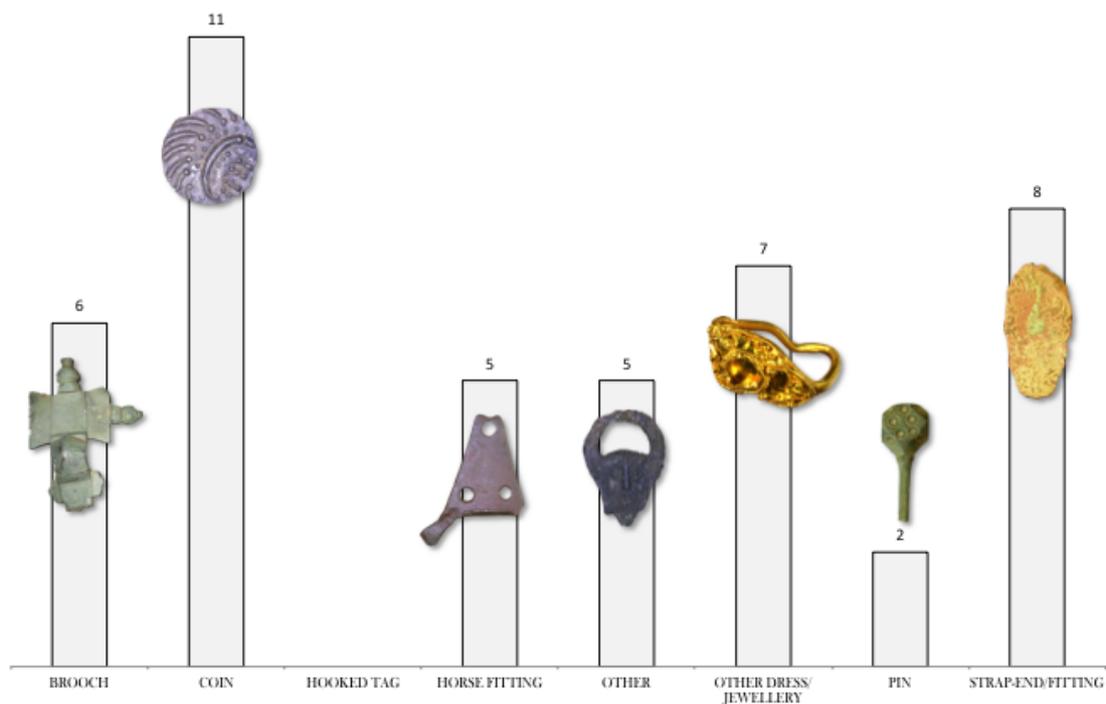
FIGURE 7.33: FINGERPRINT CHART B)

In the 'other' category, a single artefact represents each of the five items: a gaming piece (F019), a mount (F023), a sword scabbard pyramid (F026); a probable toilet article (F039), and tweezers (F040). These finds are considered in more detail in the functional groups below.
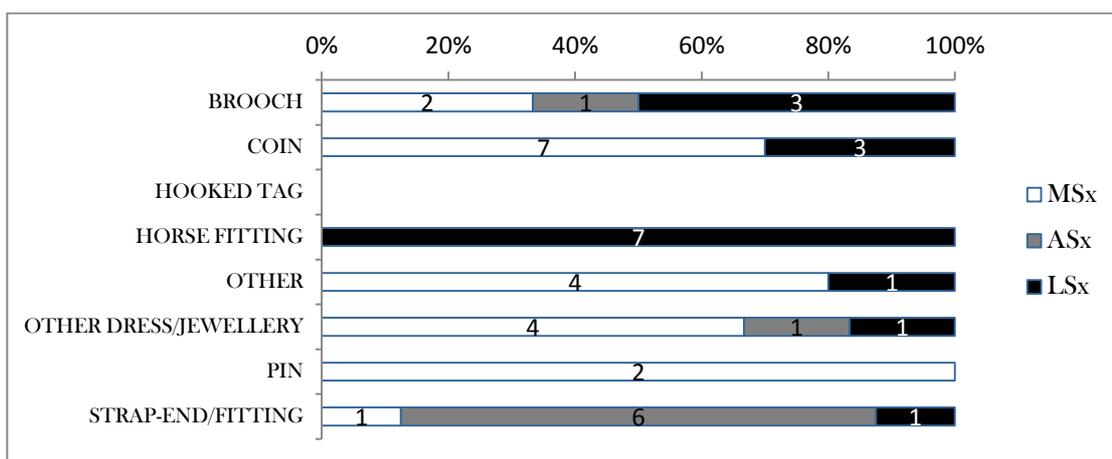
FIGURE 7.34: FINGERPRINT BY SUBPERIOD

There are no remarkable trends across the fingerprints when broken down by sub-period (Figure 7.34), except to note that, as has been observed elsewhere, horse fittings only appear in the Late Saxon period. The distribution map (Figure 7.35) illustrates that the only two artefact concentrations so far identified in *Frisby*, in Kirby Bellars and

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Rotherby, contain a number of different artefact types. Coins are the most common find outwith these concentrations and might suggest a bias amongst detectorists.
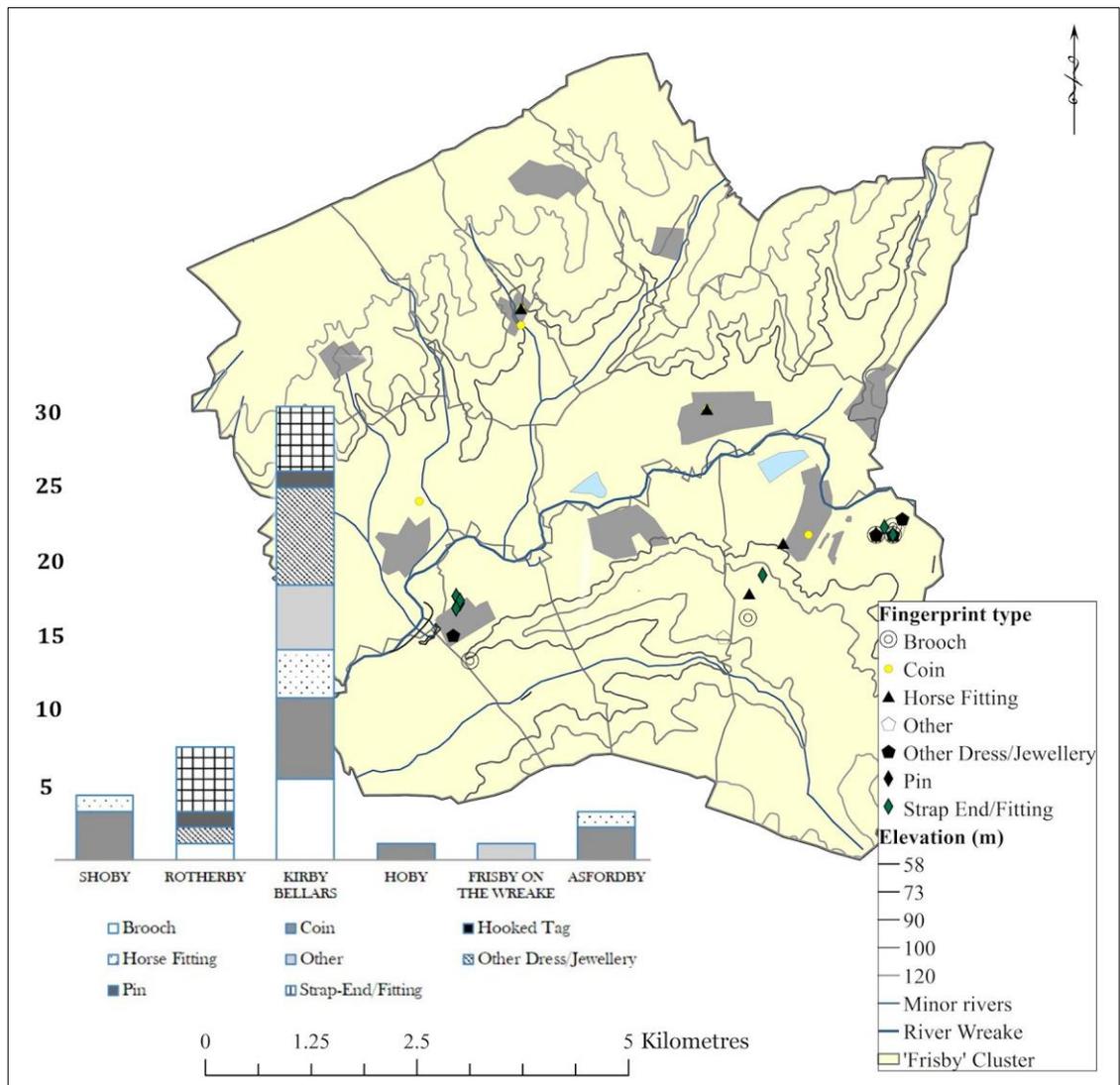
FIGURE 7.35: FINGERPRINT DISTRIBUTION

7.6.3 Functional Groups

Only five of the seven functional groups are represented in *Frisby*, with the 'personal' category making up more than half of the dataset (Figure 7.36, Figure 7.37). Half of these again are dated to the Middle Saxon period (Figure 7.38). The 'personal' finds are broken down by simplified type in Figure 7.39.
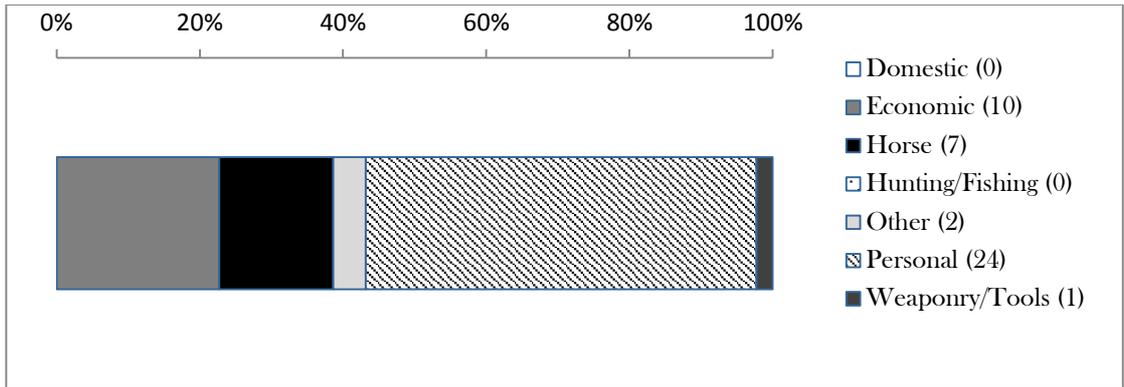
FIGURE 7.36: FUNCTIONAL GROUP A. (%)

Legend:
- ☐ Domestic (0)
- ◨ Economic (10)
- ■ Horse (7)
- ☐ Hunting/Fishing (0)
- ☐ Other (2)
- ⊠ Personal (24)
- ■ Weaponry/Tools (1)
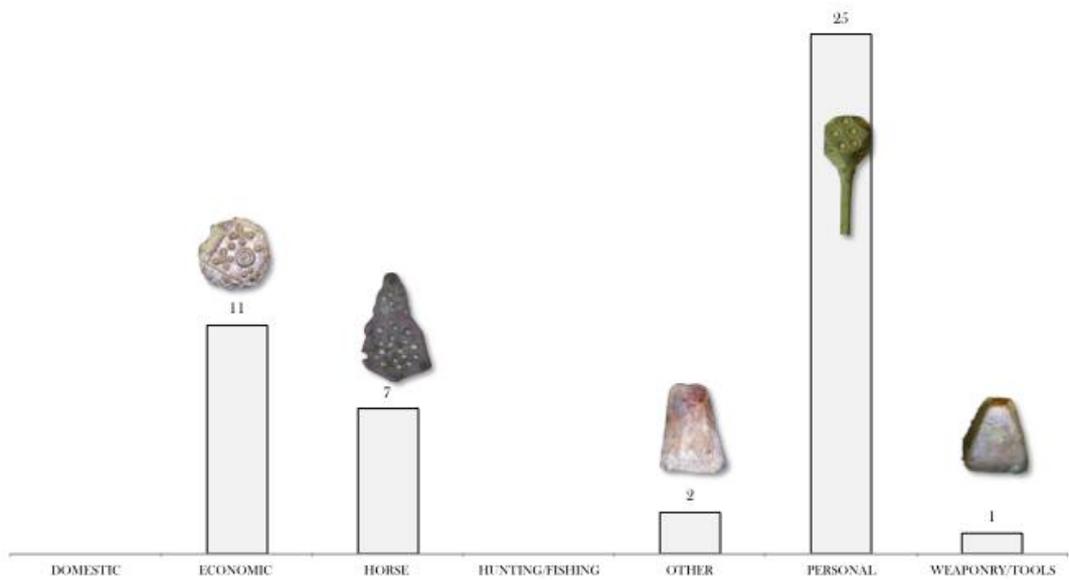
FIGURE 7.37: FUNCTIONAL GROUP B.
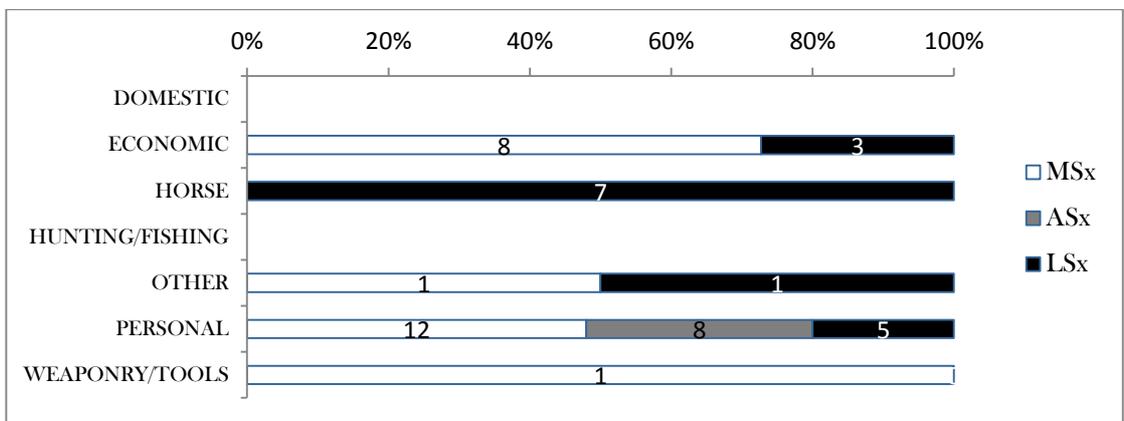
FIGURE 7.38: FUNCTIONAL GROUPS BY SUBPERIOD

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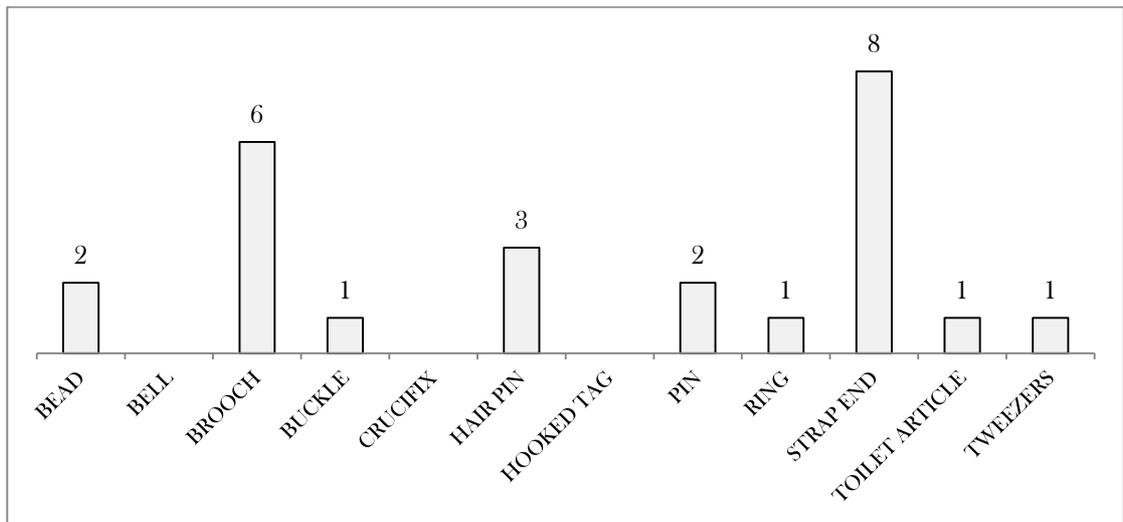
FIGURE 7.39: 'PERSONAL' CATEGORY

The most notable finds in this category are the hair pins, of which three have been identified in *Frisby*. Helen Geake (PASD: LEIC-709A97) notes that one example in particular, F020, is a rare find not produced before the seventh century, but which, based on other excavated examples, could have come from a pre-AD 720 burial context (Figure 7.40). The distribution map shows that this artefact is indeed from the suspected cemetery site in Kirby Bellars (Figure 7.41;), and that it was found in proximity to a set of tweezers (F040). The non-metal find, a glass bead (F300) also falls into this category.

FIGURE 7.40: HAIR PIN (F020)
Shown approximately to scale (PASD: LEIC-709A97).
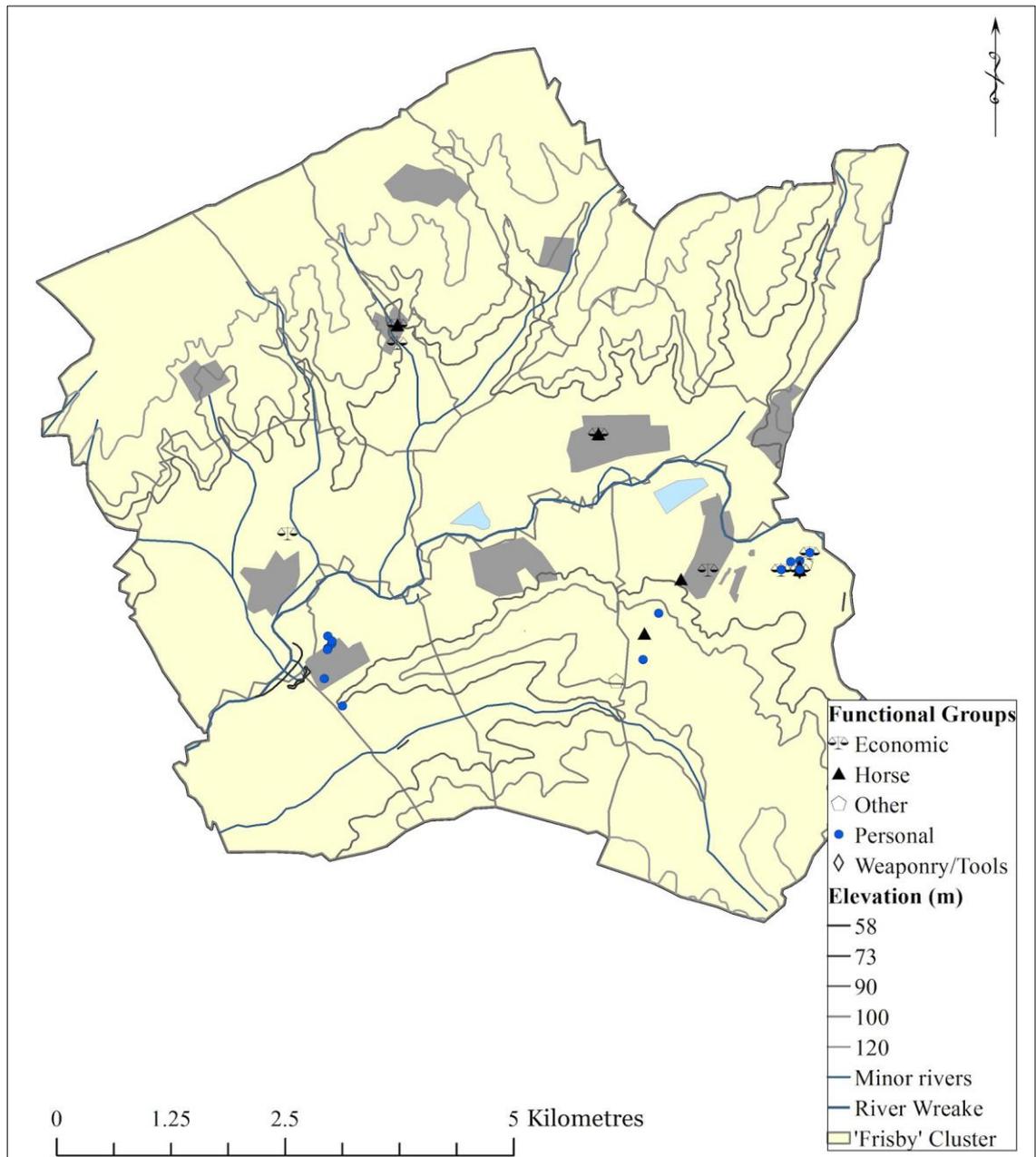
FIGURE 7.41: FUNCTIONAL GROUP DISTRIBUTION

The only other functional groups with notable representation are the 'economic' and 'horse' categories. The 'economic' types are all coins and are therefore discussed below. The 'horse' articles are predominantly stirrup strap mounts, with one harness fitting (F037) and a strap junction (F352), the latter unprovenanced. Of the strap mounts, one is a Williams Class B (F029). At the time of identification on the PAS ten years ago, it was one of only two of this type known in England, and the only one with a recorded provenance. The strap mount is an Anglo-Scandinavian Urnes design, but the type is best paralleled by a Northern French example (LeiPAS: LEIC-51E6F2; Williams 1998, 106). The distribution of this category across *Frisby* is not widespread: three were found in Kirby Bellars, one possibly in relation to a Roman road, and another three were recovered from the Grimston vicinity, although two of these are unprovenanced. There is little more proof here than

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that the presence of mounted riders on decorated horses in the Late Saxon period can be acknowledged, although perhaps it is noteworthy that these items with elite connections are found in the larger and more prosperous of the local Domesday Book vills.

FIGURE 7.42: SWORD SCABBARD PYRAMID MOUNT (F026)
PASD: LEIC-4BD061.

The 'weaponry/tools' category had a single PAS find, a sword scabbard mount (F026), although the HER-identified lead waste might also be classed under here (F503). The scabbard mount from the PAS is of regional importance, [43] being the only one identified in Leicestershire thus far (Figure 7.42). It was recovered from the same high-yielding field in Kirby Bellars as the tweezers and hair pins. Its seventh-eighth century date supports a possible interpretation as an elite burial.

7.6.4 Coins and economic activity in Frisby

It is surprising that in what, historically, seems to have been a 'Scandinavian' enclave, there is no evidence for a bullion economy in the form of ingots or weights. Coins are well-represented in *Frisby* relative to the other functional groups, however, and certainly in comparison to the other case studies (Figure 7.43). The coins provide dates in favour of an accompanied burial cemetery lasting into the early eighth century at Kirby Bellars — although a coin of Edward the Confessor (1048-50) also found here is harder to interpret (F010). The other coins, however, are mostly centred on villages, and therefore do not provide adequate locational information (Figure 7.44). A single coin was recovered from excavations at Kirby Bellars churchyard, providing an otherwise unrepresented ninth century coinage date (F501: Burgred of Mercia (852-74)).

The coins are most valuable for the evidence of connectivity they provide. Two of the coins were minted in Stamford (F009: Cnut silver penny (1029-35); and F010), the former

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[43] This is a term used in the PASD often to denote artefacts that have not previously been recovered in the region, but the term might indicate other significant factors.

lost in Grimston and the latter in Kirby Bellars in the Late Saxon period. An earlier sceatta found in Kirby Bellars probably originated in Ribe, Denmark (F014: Copper alloy sceatta series X, c.710-40, LeiPAS: LEIC-5608D1). Together these coins serve to remind that travellers or inhabitants in Frisby operated within an international network of trade, travel, and purchase.
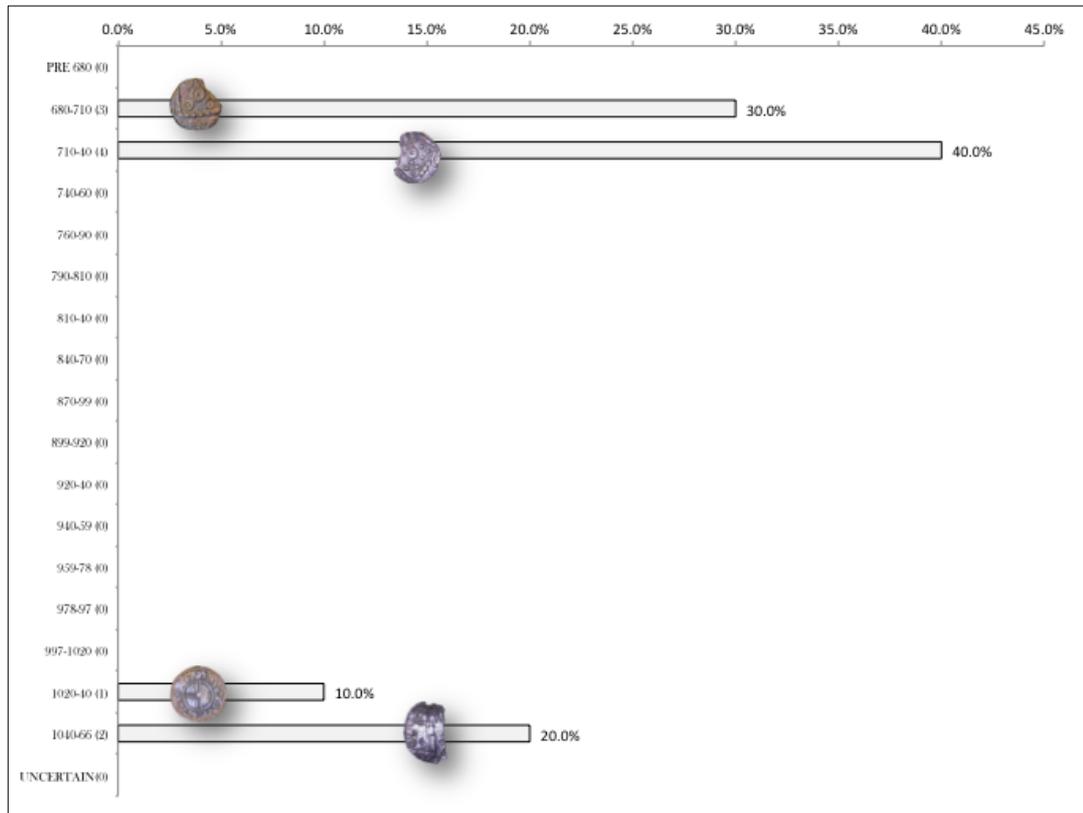
FIGURE 7.43: COINS BY DATE GROUP
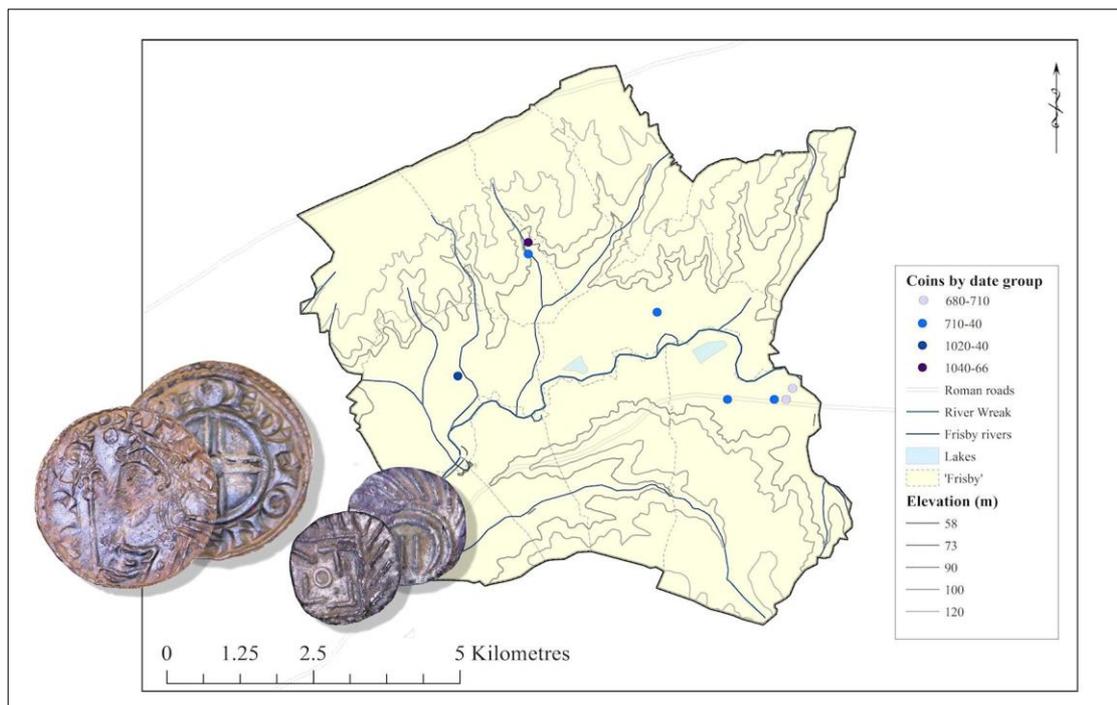
FIGURE 7.44: COINAGE DISTRIBUTION
Coins pictured: Silver Cnut 1029-35 (F009), silver Continental sceatta 695-740 (F013).

It is especially curious that while a handful of the coins cluster in the 'cemetery' as might be expected, there are none from the extensively metal-detected fields south of Kirby Bellars village. These fields have yielded huge quantities of Romano-British and later medieval coins, amongst other artefact types (cf. Figure 7.12, above; Figure 7.63, below). This dearth is therefore not due to recovery bias. A small number of non-economic Early Saxon finds have also been recovered from these fields (Figure 7.13).

7.7 Artefacts in *Frisby* through time

TABLE 7.10: LEICESTERSHIRE PAS STATISTICS

Leicestershire		
Total ASx finds	*Finds without* Frisby	*Frisby % of Leics. data*
206	161	22%

The finds in *Frisby* are here contrasted with the signatures of Leicestershire as a whole. *Frisby* is anomalous amongst the other nested case studies in that it dominates its county's Middle and Late Saxon PAS dataset with 22% of Leicestershire's recorded finds (Table 7.10). Across Leicestershire, 99% of the PAS-recorded artefacts were recovered through metal-detecting, or through chance finds whilst metal-detecting. This is comparable to *Frisby*, where 100% of all finds were made with a metal-detector. After the county-wide and local fingerprints and functional groups are compared, *Frisby*'s artefact signature is considered in greater chronological depth, with attention to changes in artefact concentrations across the Middle and Late Saxon periods.

7.7.1 *Frisby, Leicestershire and Middle and Late Saxon material culture*

The artefact fingerprint for Leicestershire illustrates two key differences with that of *Frisby*: Leicestershire as a whole has c.10% more 'horse fittings' than *Frisby*, while it has c.10% fewer 'other dress/jewellery' finds (Figure 7.45). A chi-square test (**Appendix 4**) indicates, however, that there is no significant relationship between artefact type and regional versus local recovery patterns (p=.088). This means that *Frisby*'s artefact signature is not anomalous within the county, though larger sample sizes in the future might reveal a different result. Nevertheless, the test predicted a significantly lower number of 'other dress/jewellery' artefacts for *Frisby* than was present, and a slightly higher number of 'horse fittings'. A distribution map shows that the 'horse fittings' tend to be recovered from west of the Soar, in what was considered a widely wooded region (Figure 7.46). This high incidence of horse accessory loss is therefore perhaps associated with hunting in royal and elite forests, although it might also reflect a problem with

recovery in *Frisby*. The presence of a large 'other jewellery' category in *Frisby* is explained by the pre-Christian cemetery at Kirby Bellars which has been targeted by metal-detector users for several years. But its low incidence in the rest of Leicestershire — where the actual number of finds of this type is lower than in *Frisby* as a whole (6 artefacts to *Frisby*'s 7) — is worth exploring further.
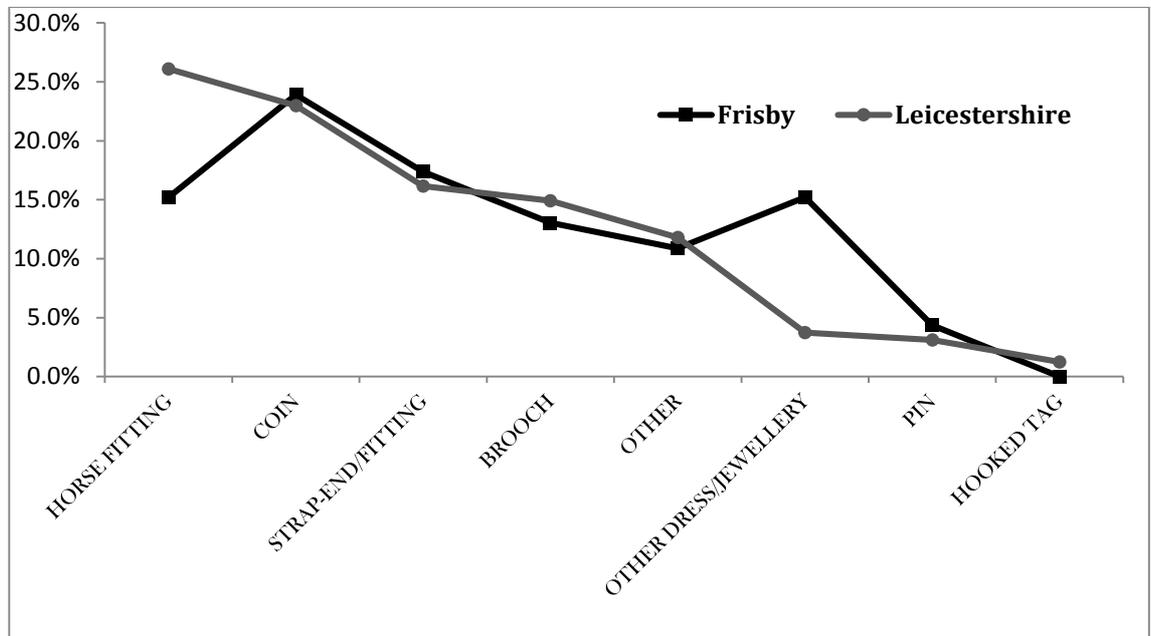
FIGURE 7.45: LEICESTERSHIRE AND *FRISBY* FINGERPRINTS COMPARED

The low numbers of other dress items in Leicestershire are almost certainly explained in large part by limited metal-detecting, and the number of fields to which access is denied or where the majority of archaeology lies beneath modern development. In some ways it may nevertheless be representative of early medieval settlement patterns. Much of Leicestershire's metal-detecting takes place west of the Soar, which is now extensively cultivated and more urbanised than the land to the east (Figure 7.47). As mentioned, however, in the medieval period it was the more densely wooded part of the county, and settlement tended to be dispersed. Communities were therefore smaller and this might have been reflected in cemetery size, hence their low visibility in the metal-detected record. With such a small sample size overall, this is difficult to ascertain, however; Frisby and Kirby remains the only modern Leicestershire parish with more than ten finds dated to the Middle and Late Saxon periods (cf. Chapter 3, Figure 3.10). The functional groups reflect similar trends to those of the fingerprint (Figure 7.48), so it remains only to note that apart from the 'horse' and 'personal' categories, Leicestershire and *Frisby* have close relative quantities of find types.

Fingerprint

		Elevation (m)
◎	Brooch	— 21
●	Coin	— 40
△	Hooked Tag	— 60
▲	Horse Fitting	— 80
⬠	Other	— 100
⬟	Other Dress/Jewellery	— 115
◆	Pin	— 130
◆	Strap End/Fitting	— 150
▨	FrisbyMedParishes	— 180
—	Major rivers	200
—	Minor rivers	210
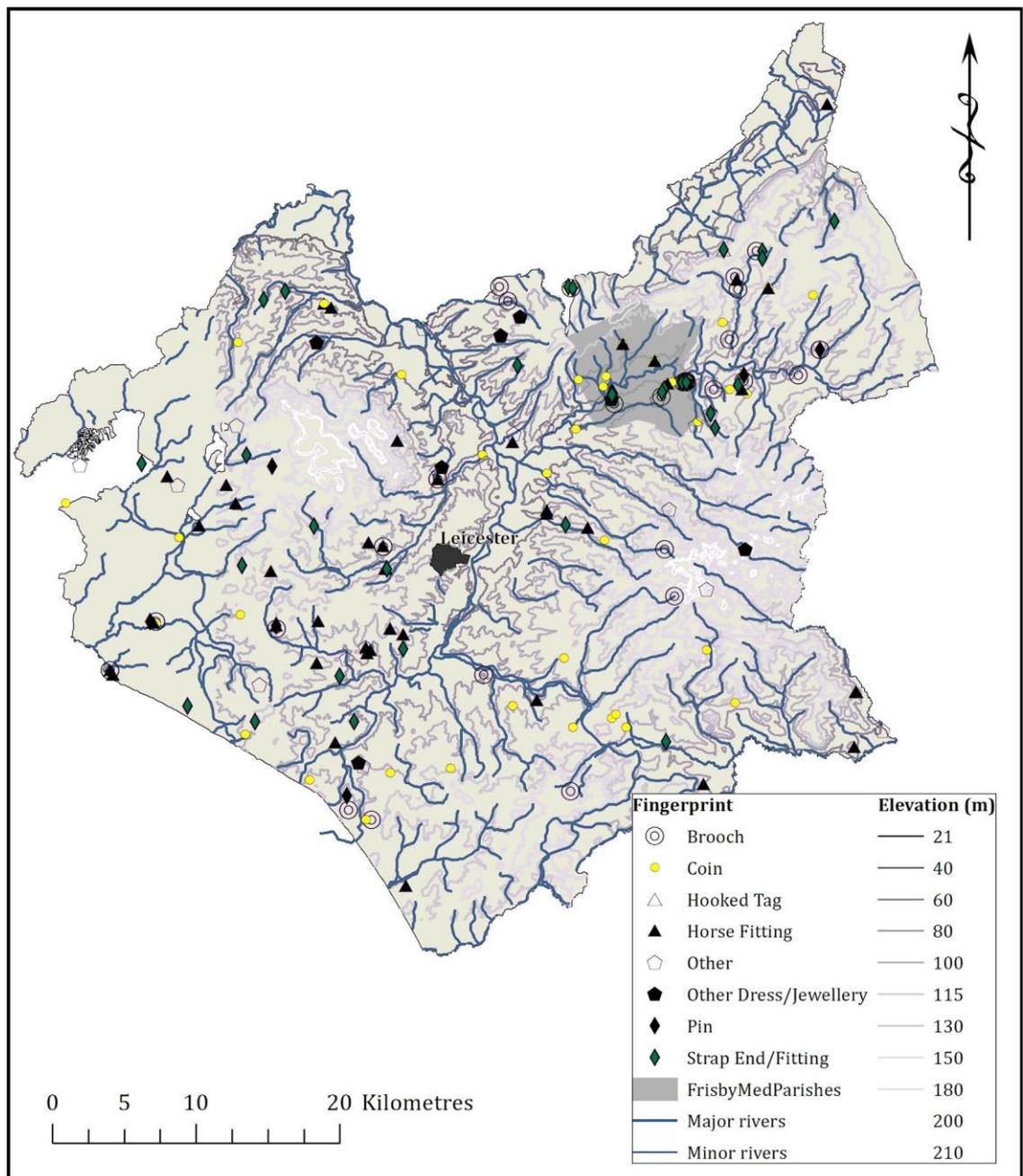
FIGURE 7.46: LEICESTERSHIRE FINGERPRINT DISTRIBUTION
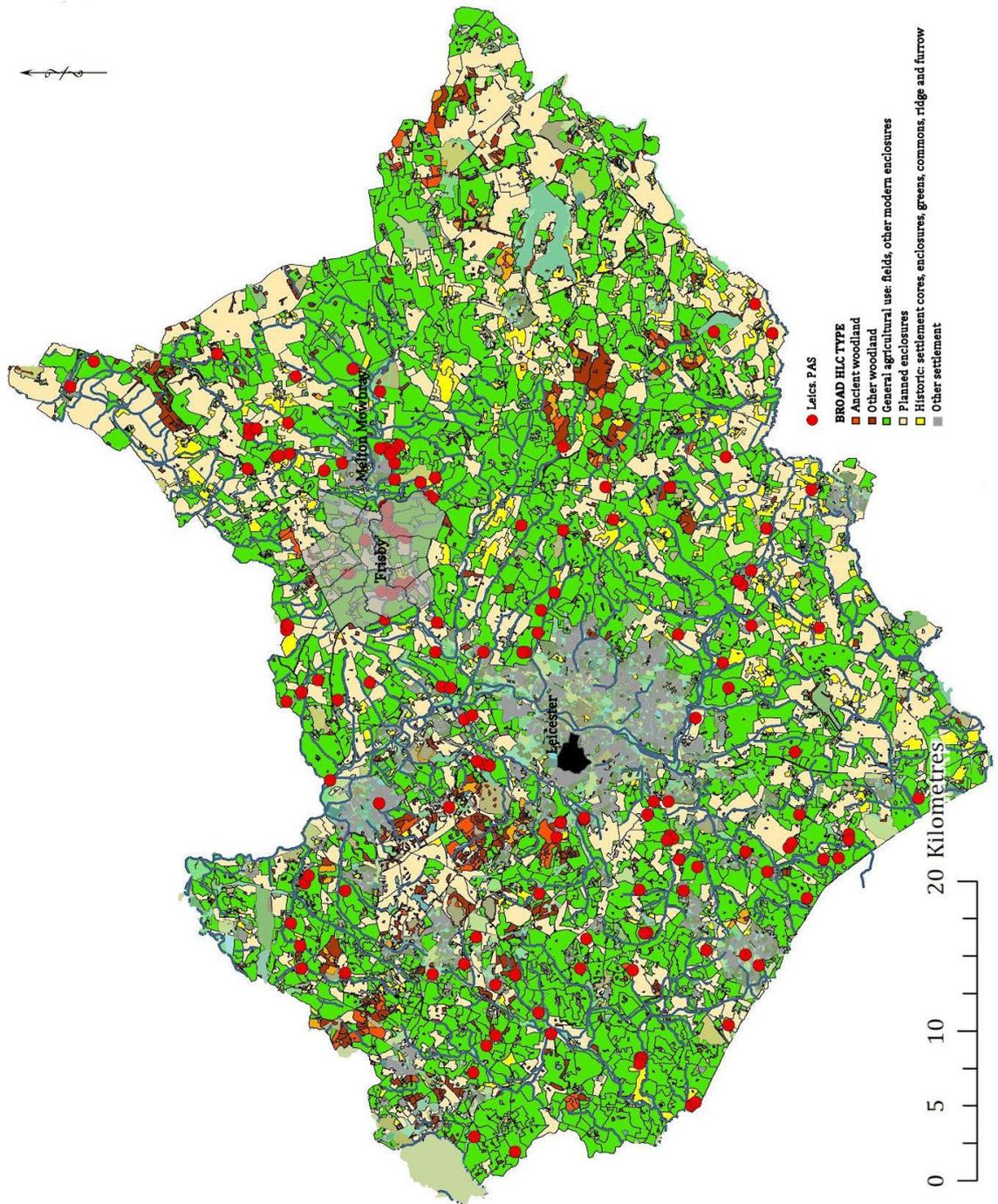
FIGURE 7.47: HISTORIC LANDSCAPE CHARACTERISATION OF LEICESTERSHIRE AND RUTLAND
This shows the Broad HLC Types in Leicestershire and Rutland, modified to highlight certain trends pertinent to the discussion. PAS finds for Rutland are not shown, but note that western Leicestershire has a more even distribution early medieval finds; artefacts in eastern Leicestershire are clearly concentrated around the Melton Mowbray and *Frisby* region. HLC data courtesy of the Historic Environment Team at Leicestershire County Council and EH.
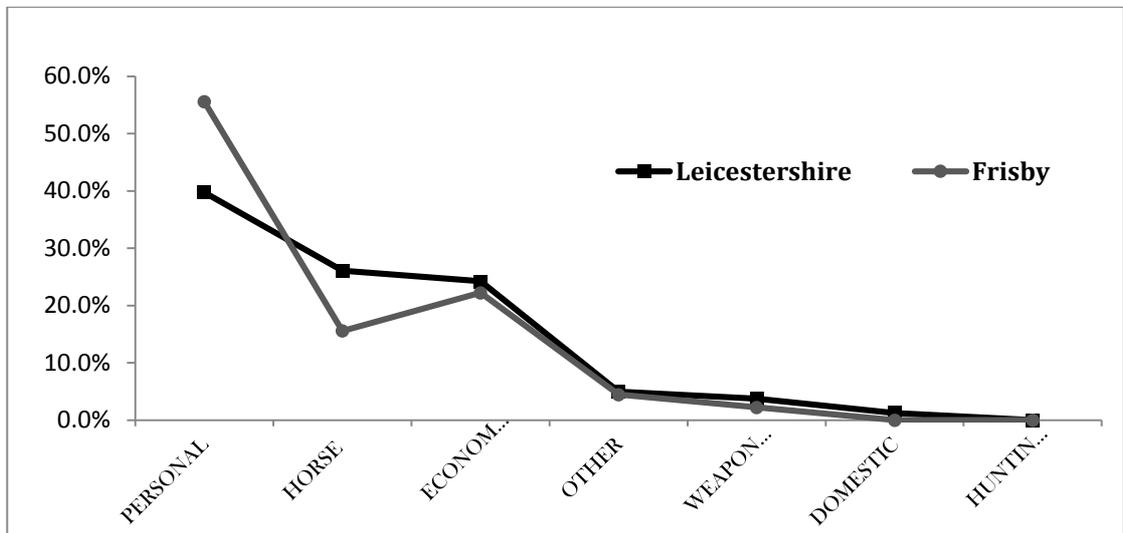
FIGURE 7.48: LEICESTERSHIRE AND *FRISBY* FUNCTIONAL GROUPS COMPARED

The coinage signature in *Frisby* has already been highlighted as one of its more remarkable attributes. In Leicestershire as a whole, where similar ratios of coins to other finds have been recovered, the coin date groups are much more diverse than in *Frisby* (Figure 7.49). This would suggest that recovery across Leicestershire is more representative, though sparser, whereas *Frisby* continues to reflect targeted detecting (30% of the coins were found in the 'cemetery' region of Kirby Bellars; 40% of the coins are located in Kirby Bellars parish). The excavated Burgred coin (F501) has no parallels on either the PASD or EMC for Leicestershire, and only one other coin recorded on the EMC (a styca from a York mint (LeiEMC: 2001.0533)) falls in the same date bracket of AD 840-70.
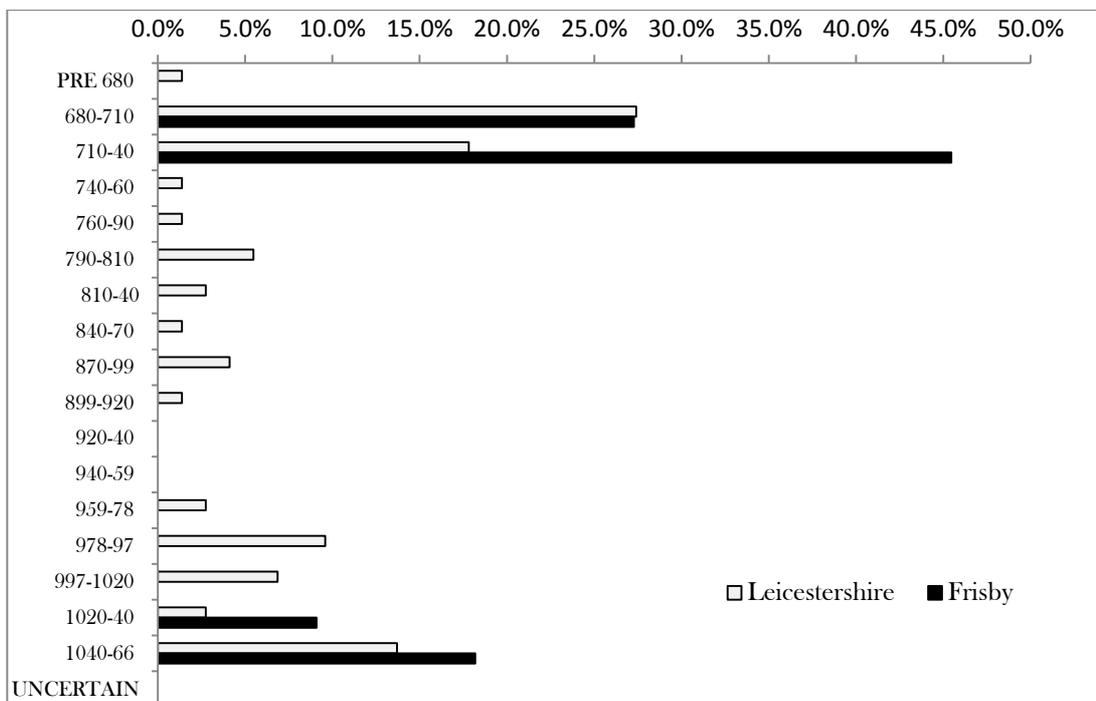
FIGURE 7.49: LEICESTERSHIRE AND *FRISBY* COIN DATE GROUPS COMPARED
These figures combine EMC and PAS data.
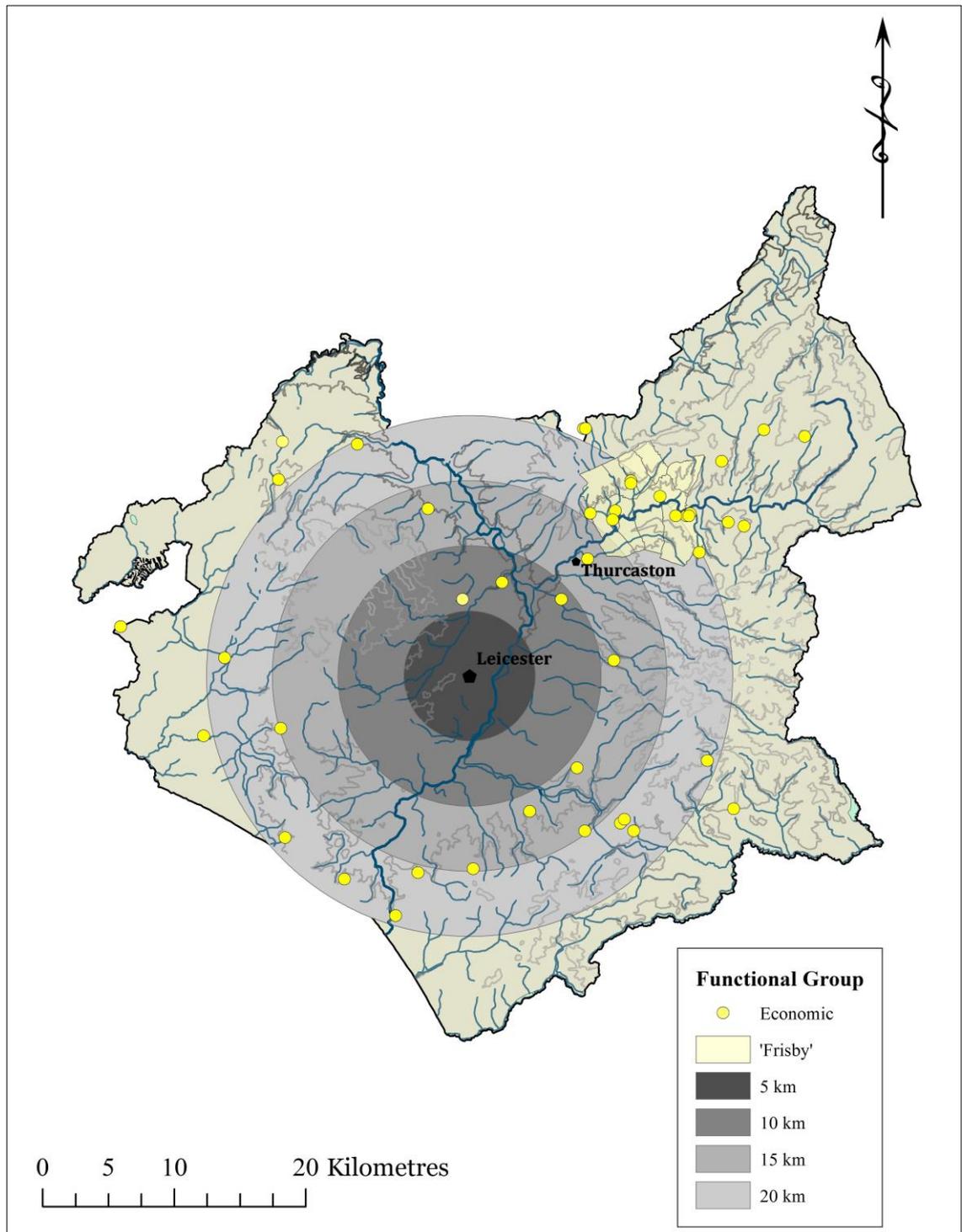
FIGURE 7.50: 'ECONOMIC' DISTANCES FROM CENTRE AT LEICESTER
Thurcaston lies just west of Brooksby parish in *Frisby,* also on the Wreake. Economic findspots in Leicestershire are mapped against 5km radii from Leicester, the largest urban centre. It is not surprising that no finds have been recovered within 5km of the centre given modern development constraints, but it is interesting that the majority of economic finds are found between 15-20km away from Leicester. See Figure 7.52, below, which shows that other artefact distributions suggest this is not merely due to recovery bias.

Coinage distribution across Leicestershire (Figure 7.50) does not reflect any intriguing patterns in terms of date, but it is interesting that the 'economic' finds were all recovered at least five kilometres away from the centre of Leicester, with the majority at least 15

kilometres away. This is not merely a recovery bias related to urban constraints: artefacts from other periods and in other categories were recovered closer to Leicester (Figure 7.52), suggesting smaller economic hubs distributed throughout rural Leicestershire. Support for this is found in the Thurcaston hoard (LeiPAS: LEIC-C6D94; Figure 7.51), buried around AD 925 (Blackburn 2006, 206).[44] This is the largest concentration of Late Saxon coins in Leicestershire, and is of regional and national importance. The hoard was found within 10 kilometres from Leicester, and its composition provides further evidence for economic activity around the Soar and Wreake confluence.

FIGURE 7.51: THURCASTON HOARD
The Thurcaston hoard was recovered over the course of almost a decade, mostly as single finds. The hoard is a mixture of Viking Age coins, including Viking Northumbrian, Arabic, and Saxon coins. Some coins evidence use as bullion even though they are early tenth-century in date, as Blackburn has pointed out (LeiPAS: LEIC-C6D945). See hoard location, Figure 7.50. Image available through https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/106146, courtesy of Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge.

Rotherby and the two distributions in Kirby Bellars are the only clusters within *Frisby*, and therefore form the basis of the following discussions. Other information from the surrounding parishes is drawn upon, however, including looking to the post-Conquest period for clues on the earlier periods.

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[44] Note that the hoard itself was calculated as a unit in charts above, except for the 'Coinage Date Groups' (Figure 7.43), since it was seen to represent an artefact as a whole.
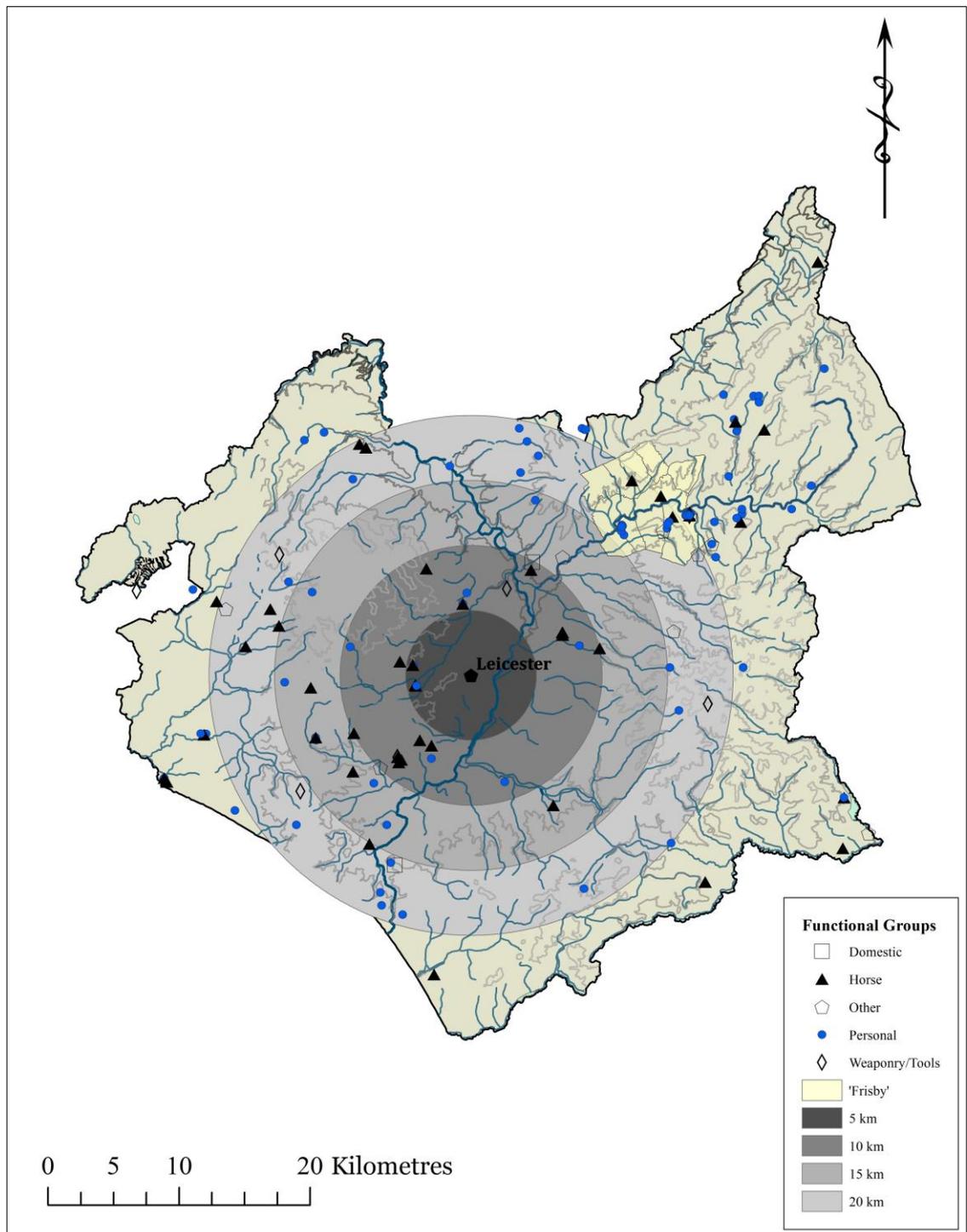
FIGURE 7.52: FUNCTIONAL GROUP DISTANCES FROM CENTRE AT LEICESTER
This map illustrates the distances of all non-economic functional groups from the centre at Leicester. It is clear that a number of findspots have been identified within >5-10km of Leicester, suggesting Leicestershire's distribution of economic finds might not be due to recovery bias.

7.7.2 Middle Saxon Frisby (MSx) c. AD 650-850

The prehistoric and Roman hill-top site bordering Frisby-on-the-Wreake and Kirby Bellars continued in use into the Early Saxon period, as pottery scatters and a small number of artefacts recorded in the HER attest (F313). There is little material evidence for its use or occupation in the following centuries, however, until the late ninth or early tenth century (for this discussion please refer to the polygon map series Figure 7.53a-c, Figure 7.54a-c, and Figure 7.55a-c, at the end of section 7.7.2, below). In these intermediary years, the site bordering Eye Kettleby in eastern Kirby Bellars was especially active (Figure 7.54). The situation in Rotherby appears to have been roughly similar, with Early Saxon activity followed by a lapse in loss of material culture until sometime between the ninth to eleventh centuries (Figure 7.55).

   The Middle-Saxon sceattas recovered at the eastern Kirby Bellars location could have been deposited between AD 700 and 765 or slightly thereafter. The other items are difficult to date with any precision, although it seems that the sword scabbard mount and other mount must date to the seventh century. The cemetery therefore appears to have been in use up to the mid-eighth century, with the sceattas possibly representing some of the final depositions.

   Based on the material and find types recovered in Kirby Bellars, including a garnet-inlaid sword scabbard mount (Figure 7.42) it seems that the cemetery was used by a local elite group. It may also have served non-elite community members, but there is less material evidence to reflect this. Early elite activity points to a socially-stratified community, probably associated with the adjacent settlement site at Eye Kettleby (Finn 1998), though perhaps attracting burials from other communities in the vicinity. It could also represent an early local dynasty that formed the basis of the wealthy manorial estates that emerged out of Melton Mowbray and Kirby Bellars in the Late Saxon period. The entire area should in fact be viewed in light of its deeper history, whereby one of the largest-recorded Bronze Age cemeteries was identified in Eye Kettleby (Cooper 2006, 83). The Wreake valley was a thriving landscape through to the Middle Saxon period.

   The results of the Eye Kettleby excavations of the Anglo-Saxon settlement have not yet been published, but most dates refer to fifth and sixth-century activity (Finn 1998; Cooper 2006, 173). No PASD finds as yet have been attributed to the parish, which is hopefully a sign that metal-detectorists are avoiding the scheduled monument rather than not reporting the results of illegal detecting. It seems strange that activity should cease at Eye Kettleby in the sixth century but apparently continue at the adjacent cemetery into the seventh and eighth. Perhaps this is indicative of the shift to less intensive settlement on clay soils in the Anglo-Saxon period noted in Leicestershire by Liddle and Middleton (1994), and could account for the emergence of activity to the south-west on the north-facing hillside. It is also suspected that more settlement activity associated with the area of

the modern Kirby Bellars village and DMV would be uncovered through excavation. At present, the Anglo-Saxon pottery from the Kirby Bellars churchyard excavation (Hurst 1967-8) remains the main indication of this. Some debate as to the dating of the potsherds makes any chronological suggestions tentative (see above, 7.3.3), but a sixth- to eighth-century date might be posited by taking the middle ground. If the animal skeleton discovered during excavation — apparently either horse or cow — is in fact not associated with the Edward the Confessor penny, a date comparable with the 'special deposits' of cow and sheep observed at Eye Kettleby — that is, approximately sixth-century (Hamerow 2006, 3-4) — might be suggested. With this in mind, it is tentatively argued that the area of the modern Kirby Bellars village originated at a similar time, or slightly later, than the Eye Kettleby settlement. If activity continued at this site into the Late Saxon period, use of the cemetery even after the adjacent Eye Kettleby settlement went out of use could be explained by a continued western presence.

It is difficult to say much more about the local study region in this period with any confidence. On the basis of the settlement evidence available for the wider Wreake valley, and certainly given the increasing discoveries of Middle Saxon settlement sites as noted in the grey literature of the wider Leicestershire, Rutland and Northamptonshire regions, however, it is highly likely that the area was more populated than the present evidence indicates. The manor of Rothley, near the Soar and Wreake confluence, was probably the head of a multiple estate in the Middle Saxon period. A Middle- to Late-Saxon cemetery excavated prior to construction in 2007 in the vicinity of the medieval village, contained at least 161 unaccompanied inhumations (Upson-Smith 2011). The cemetery is believed to have been associated with a churchyard, and possibly a minster of regional importance (McLoughlin 2006, 233); it was in use for between 130-355 years (at 68% probability; (Upson-Smith 2011, 25). Evidence for exposure prior to death might even point to transportation over some distance prior to burial (Upson-Smith 2011, 52). Rothley had become an ecclesiastical centre by the thirteenth century with three of its five soke chapels in Gaddesby, Grimston, and Wartnaby (McLoughlin 2006, 160). Rothley was also listed under the Hundred of Rearsby in the twelfth-century Leicestershire survey (Page *et al.* 1907, 344), which included Brooksby and other Wreake valley parishes such as Syston and Queniborough. It was therefore closely tied in many ways to the fortunes of the Wreake and its inhabitants. With this in mind, we might expect a shared culture to have emerged over time; perhaps some of the local inhabitants in *Frisby* were buried in the cemetery (cf. Upson-Smith 2011, 52).

The example of Rothley, with relatively healthy and robust inhabitants (Upson-Smith 2011, 53), reflects a wealthy centre located at the confluence of a number of important communication routes north of Leicester. If the earliest inhumations were indeed examples of churchyard burials from the late seventh or early eighth century (Upson-

Smith 2011, 50), this could point to some regional overlap between increasing Christian and diminishing non-Christian burial traditions (as exhibited at the Kirby Bellars 'cemetery'). Along with other regional examples of earlier mixed cremation and inhumation cemeteries at Melton Mowbray and Market Overton (Rutland) (Meyers and Austin 2014), the Rothley cemetery presents a picture of a populous and wealthy area where different groups in close contact continued to practice different burial rites in the late-seventh to early-eighth century.

1. c. AD 600-650

F026 Sword F023 Mount
F006 Brooch

Legend:
- Probably in use
- Possibly in use
- Roman PAS
- HER ASx region
- Roman roads
- Rivers
- Frisby

0   1   2   4 Kilometres

2. c. AD 651-700

F001 Coin
F017 Coin
F015 Coin
F014 Coin F013 Coin
F012 Coin

Legend:
- Probably in use
- Possibly in use
- HER ASx region
- Roman roads
- Rivers
- Frisby

0   1   2   4 Kilometres
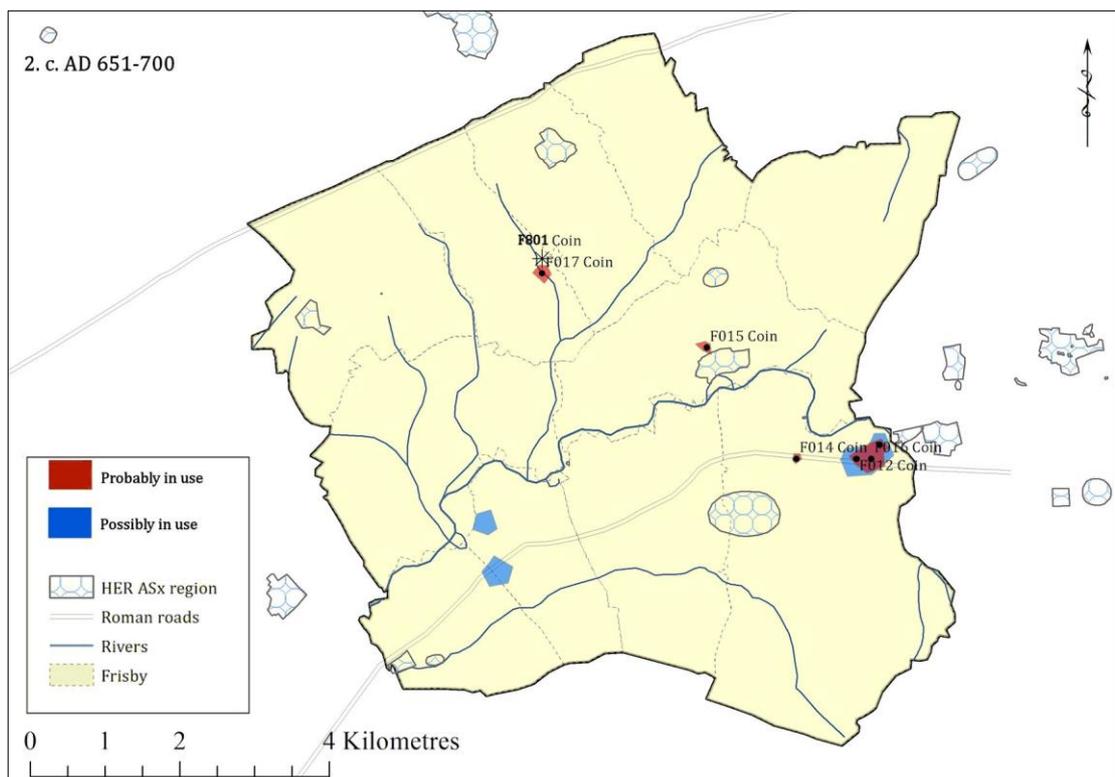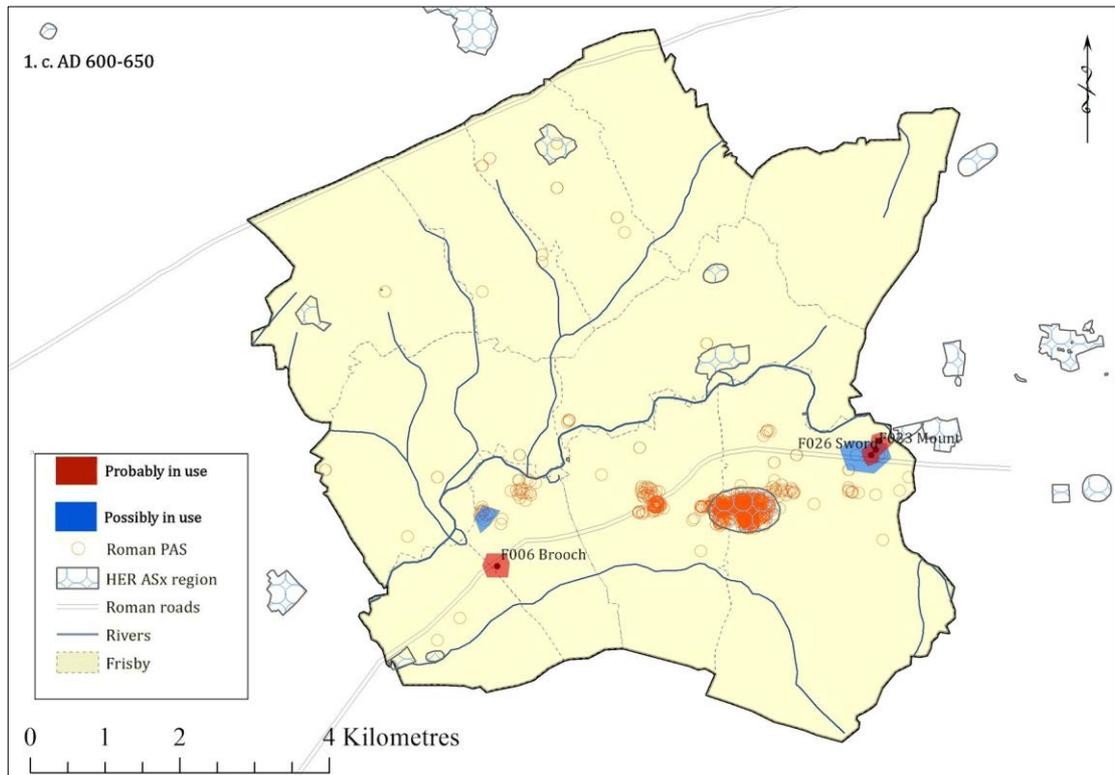
7.53a

FIGURE 7.53A-C: MSX *FRISBY* THROUGH TIME

Polygons represent possible physical extents of sites of loss (and possibly use), across a chronological dimension of periods of probable versus possible use and discard in Middle Saxon *Frisby*. These schemas are based on the refined chronologies assigned to each artefact, derived from PASD 'dates from' and '-to' (see **Appendix 3**). Polygons provide a minimum 100m buffer around recorded findspots to allow for lack of precision, and to highlight 'areas' rather than simply spots within which there is artefactual evidence for past human activity. The time periods shown here span dates of use centring on AD 600 to AD 850, from top to bottom, left to right. See Figure 7.57a-c for the Late Saxon refined chronology, and see Appendix 5 for high resolution slides of the same maps to better illustrate these changes through time.

3. c. AD 701-750

Probably in use
Possibly in use

HER ASx region
Roman roads
Rivers
Frisby

F022 Hair Pin F024 Pin
F008 Buckle F300 Bead

F025 Pin

0   1   2   4 Kilometres

4. c. AD 751-800

Probably in use
Possibly in use

HER ASx region
Roman roads
Rivers
Frisby

0   1   2   4 Kilometres

7.53b

5. c. AD 801-850

Probably in use
Possibly in use

HER ASx region
Roman roads
Rivers
Frisby

F003 Brooch

0   1   2   4 Kilometres

6. c. AD 851-900

Probably in use
Possibly in use

HER ASx region
Roman roads
Rivers
Frisby

0   1   2   4 Kilometres
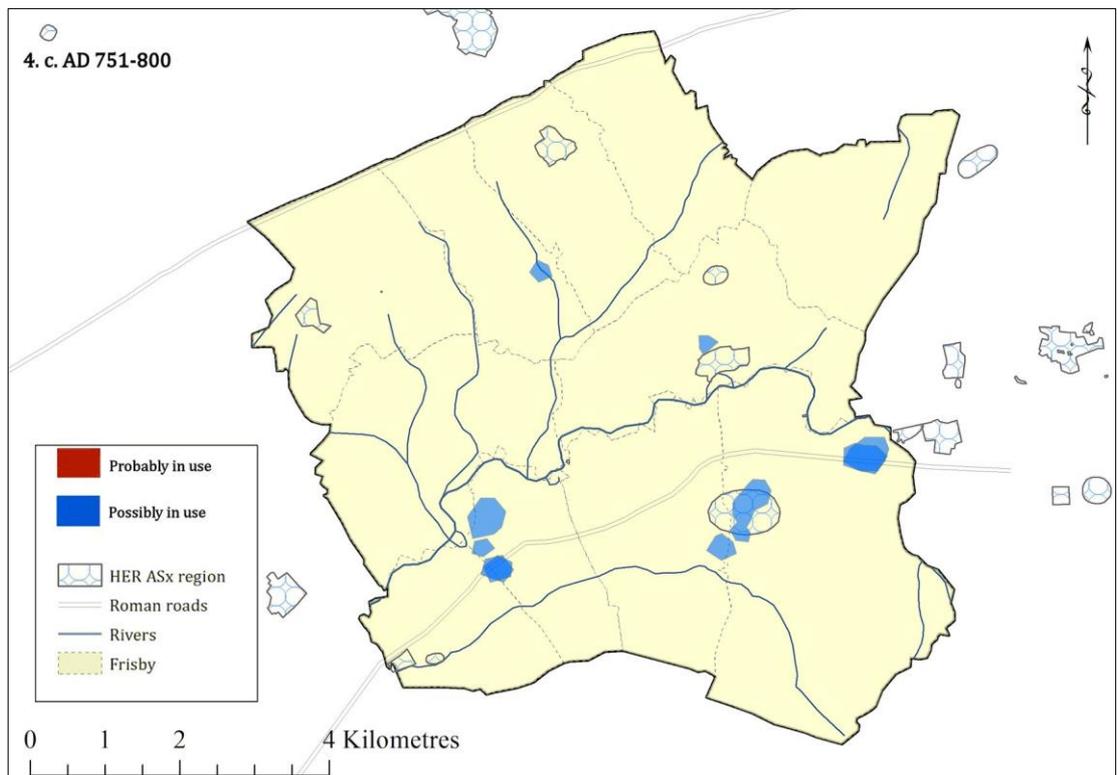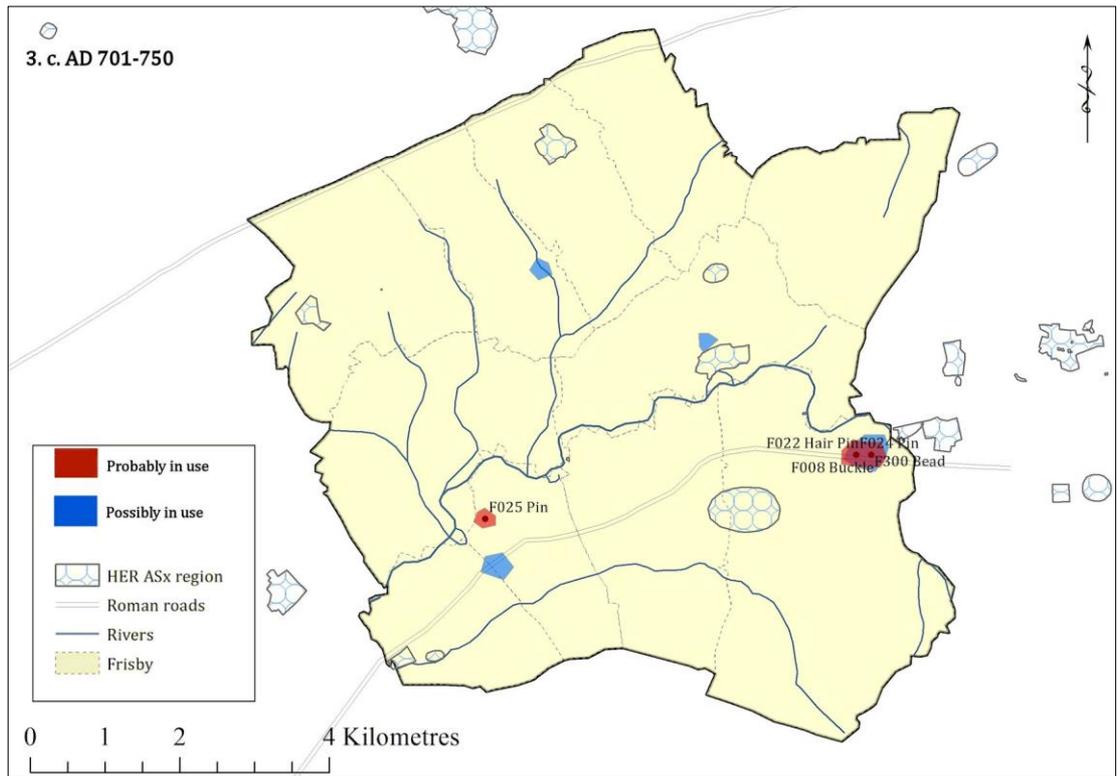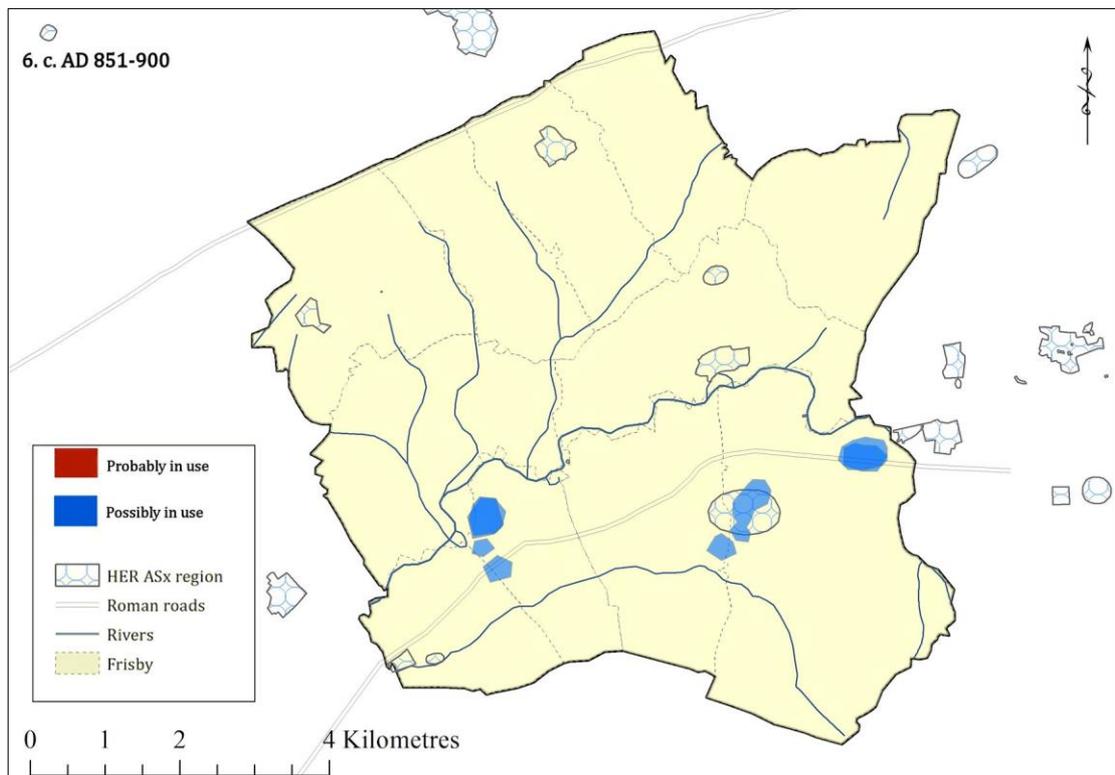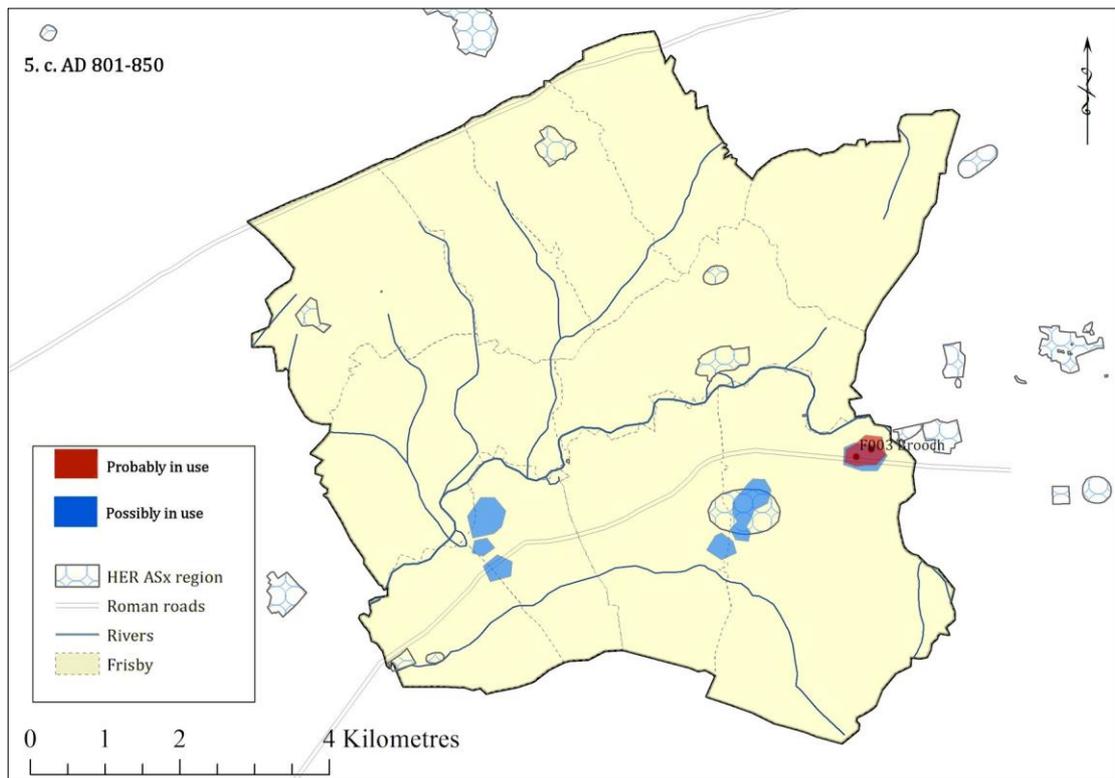
7.53c
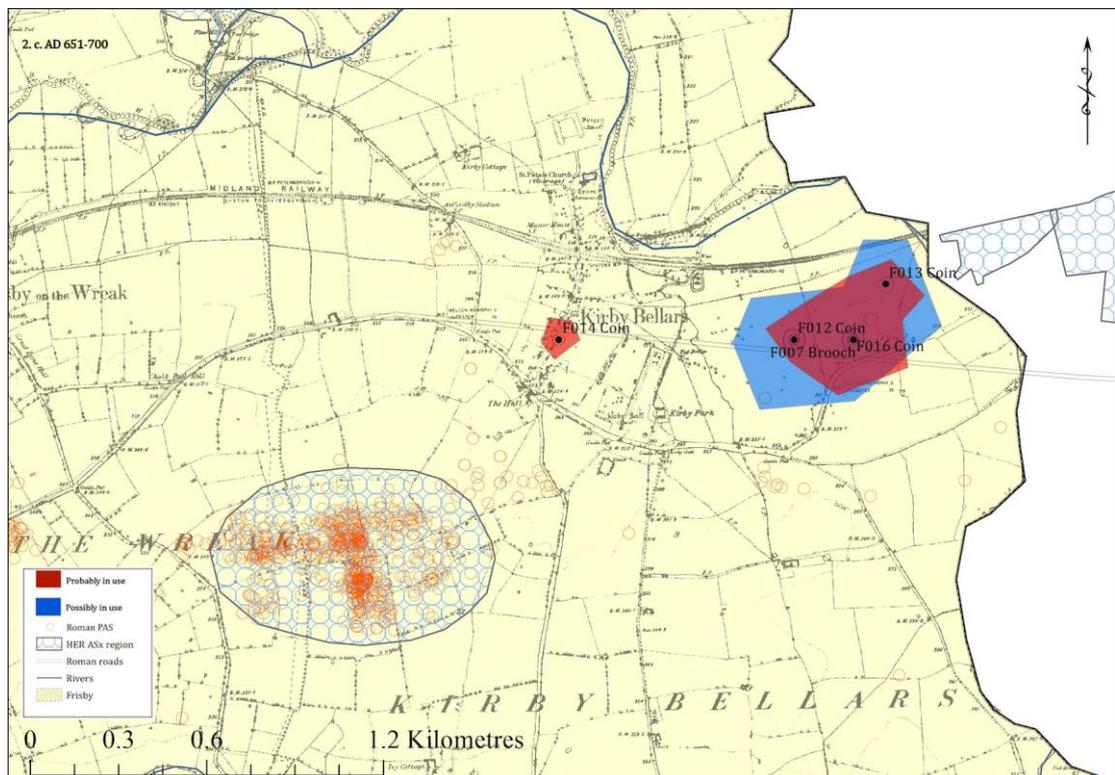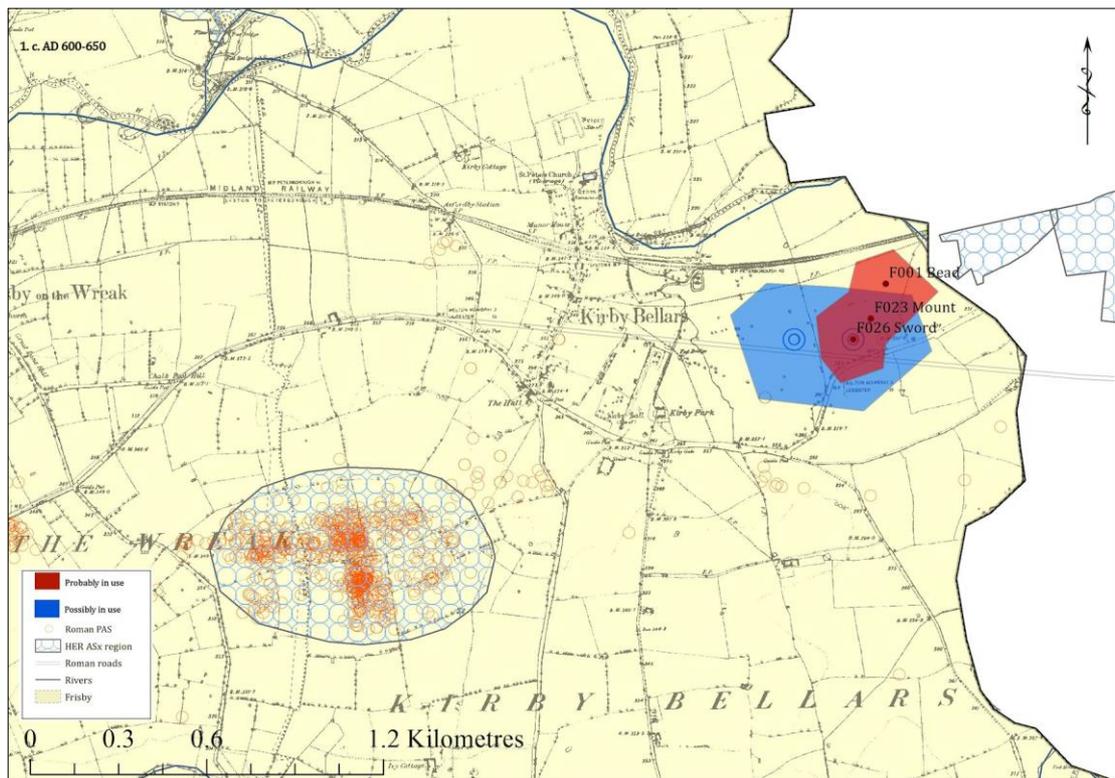
7.54a

FIGURE 7.54A-C: MSX KIRBY BELLARS THROUGH TIME
The coin recorded at Kirby village was assigned coordinates centred on the village. It is therefore possible that it was actually recovered from a field closer to the 'cemetery'. See Appendix 5 for high resolution slides of the same maps to illustrate the changes through time.

3. c. AD 701-750

F022 Hair Pin F024 Pin
F008 Buckle F300 Bead

Probably in use
Possibly in use

HER ASx region
Roman roads
Rivers
Frisby

0   0.3   0.6   1.2 Kilometres

4. c. AD 751-800

Probably in use
Possibly in use

HER ASx region
Roman roads
Rivers
Frisby

0   0.3   0.6   1.2 Kilometres

7.54b

433

5. c. AD 801-850

Probably in use
Possibly in use

HER ASx region
Roman roads
Rivers
Frisby

F002 Brooch
F003 Brooch

Kirby on the Wreak
Kirby Bellars
The Hill
Kirby Salt
Kirby Park

T H E   W R E A K
K I R B Y   B E L L A R S

0   0.3   0.6   1.2 Kilometres

6. c. AD 851-900

Probably in use
Possibly in use

HER ASx region
Roman roads
Rivers
Frisby

Kirby on the Wreak
Kirby Bellars
The Hill
Kirby Salt
Kirby Park

T H E   W R E A K
K I R B Y   B E L L A R S

0   0.3   0.6   1.2 Kilometres

7.54c

7.55a

FIGURE 7.55A-B: MSX ROTHERBY THROUGH TIME
Maps are only shown to c. AD 800 as there are no items in Rotherby after c. AD 750 that were 'probably' in use, until the Late Saxon period. See Appendix 5 for high resolution slides of the same maps to illustrate the changes through time.

3. c. AD 701-750

F025 Pin

Legend:
- Probably in use
- Possibly in use
- HER ASx region
- Roman roads
- Rivers
- Frisby

0   0.3   0.6   1.2 Kilometres

4. c. AD 751-800

Legend:
- Probably in use
- Possibly in use
- HER ASx region
- Roman roads
- Rivers
- Frisby

0   0.3   0.6   1.2 Kilometres
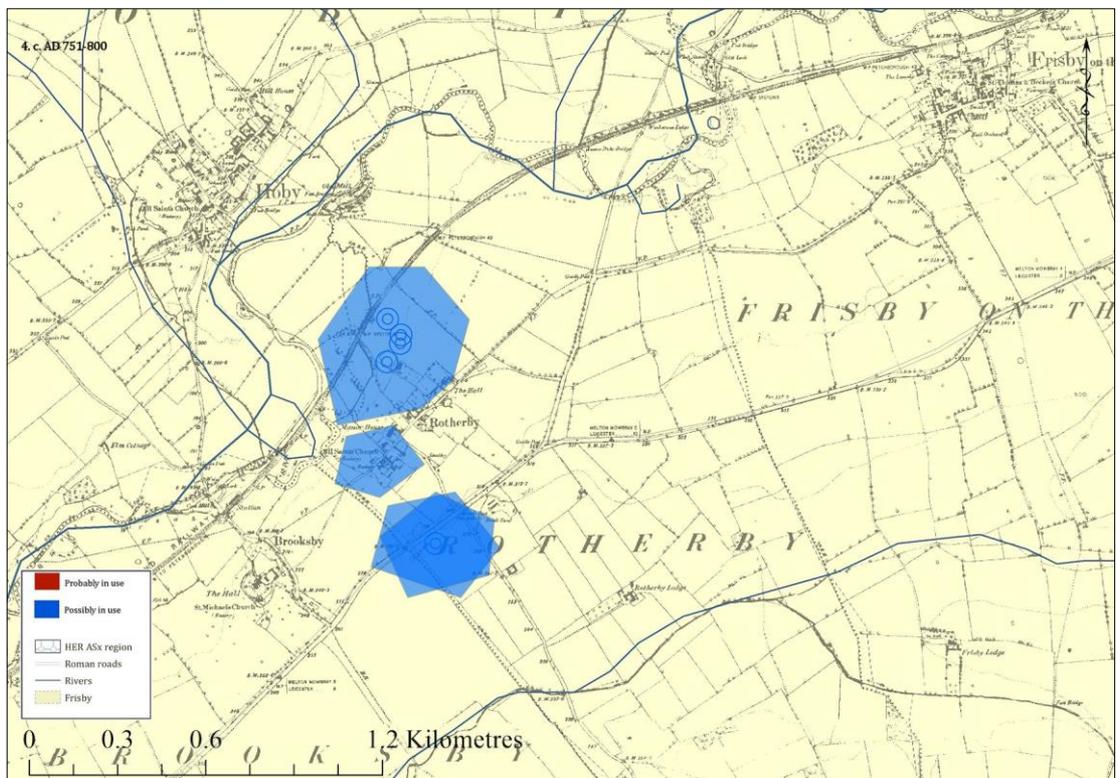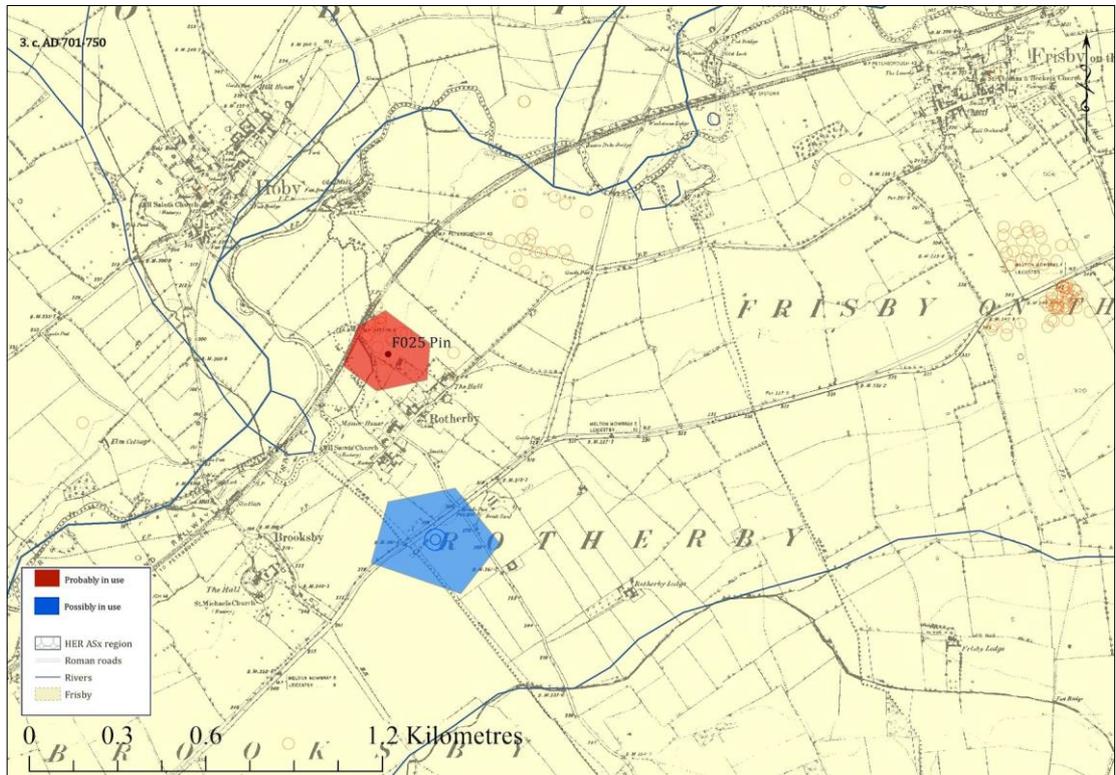
7.55b

7.7.3 Late Saxon Frisby (LSx) c. AD 850-1100

Rothley and other regional soke centres such as Barrow [on-Soar] and Melton [Mowbray] continued to control many parts of the Wreake valley into the Late Saxon period, even after fragmentation of the larger estates had occurred. By the time of Domesday Book these were held by the major landholders Earl Hugh of Chester and the King (McLoughlin 2006, 163-4). The archaeological record in *Frisby* reveals little that indicates a network of high-status manors, however, apart from a single gold ring found at Rotherby, near the modern parish church (Figure 7.56). If the finds from eastern Kirby Bellars are indeed related to a cemetery that went out of use following the full conversion of the region to Christianity, there is an apparent late-eighth/early-ninth century break in artefacts being lost in *Frisby* (Figure 7.58a; for this discussion please also refer to the polygon map series Figure 7.57a-c, and Figure 7.58a-c, below).
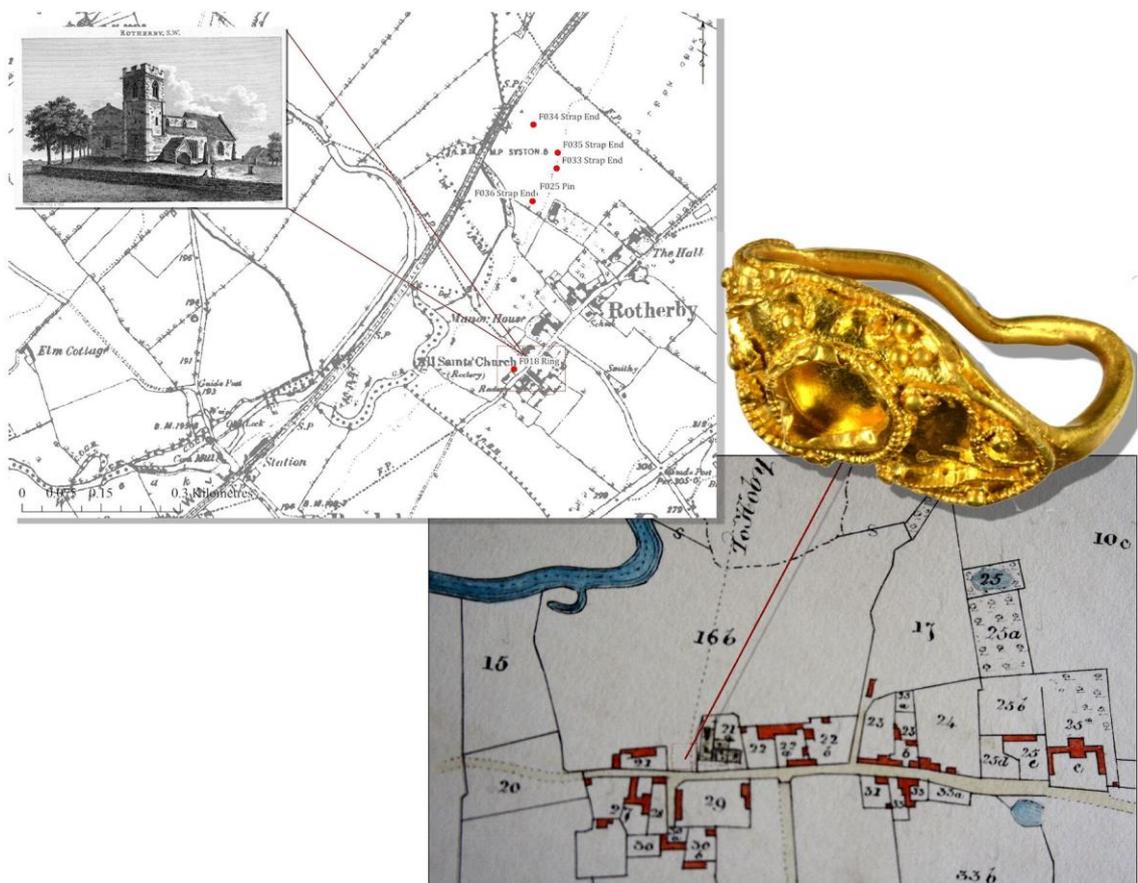
FIGURE 7.56: SITE OF RING RECOVERY
The ring was recovered from beside the modern parish church, where some evidence of earthworks is visible. The association between gold and a site of later ecclesiastical importance or the adjacent manor house may not be a coincidence. There is also a public right of way leading from the church to Hoby which could preserve a trackway of antiquity. 1845 tithe map courtesy of The Record Office for Leicestershire (TI/268/1).

It is possible that this is a reflection of political unrest. Caveats must again be noted, given the patchy record of recovery in the area. Nevertheless, several parts of *Frisby* which are known to have been extensively detected, yielded material from periods preceding and

post-dating the early middle ages (particularly in Rotherby, Frisby-on-the-Wreake, and Kirby Bellars), and yet they have failed to produce evidence for activity during this time period. In fact, only a handful of coins and artefacts across all of Leicestershire have been clearly attributed to the c.750-850 date bracket. This might be a reflection of conservative dating practice within the PAS, but is worth considering further. Throughout the late eighth century, according to the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, Mercians were warring with the people of Kent; in the early ninth century their king was deposed and battle with the West Saxons resulted in Mercia variously falling under West Saxon control and being regained. It is difficult to estimate the impact that the wars of these kingdoms would have had on a small area such as *Frisby*, but with 'great slaughter on both sides' recorded for the battle at Wilton in AD 823, there is a chance that this included men from Leicestershire as well (*Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, 823). In the 830s and for twenty years afterwards, viking attacks across England threatened all of the kingdom, although they had yet to overwinter. By AD 868, the viking army overwintered in Mercia in Nottingham, where the locals apparently made peace with them. Over the next few years the Great Army travelled across England, including Mercia, a number of times, and in AD 874 were found overwintering in Repton, having come from Lindsey (*Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, 874). This route may well have taken them through, or very close to, *Frisby* (cf. Figure 7.2). It was also there that the viking leaders established their puppet king, Ceolwulf, having deposed the Mercian king, Burhred, and thus established a base of supposedly loyal Mercian followers.

The historical record therefore suggests that this was by no means a period of stability for those living under the auspices of the Mercian kingdom. On the other hand, the evidence from Rothley cemetery indicates that people were still being buried in a similar manner up to the tenth century (Upson-Smith 2011). Given the current archaeological record, however, it seems that activity along the Wreake valley was diminished during these tumultuous times. Much of the evidence for sustained settlement might lie beneath the modern villages, but indications of renewed human activity are only hinted at in Rotherby, where a pin dated to the mid-eighth or ninth centuries was recovered (F025). Nevertheless, the evidence from the Kirby churchyard excavation, and especially the Burgred coin (Hurst 1967-8), provides a tantalising suggestion of a continued local presence. From the second half of the ninth century, though more so in the tenth century, the small finds again point to frequent or more intensive activity: it apparently picks up around where the pin was lost in the low-lying floodplains of Rothley; on a hillside in southern Kirby Bellars overlooking the Wreake previously active in the Early Saxon, Roman, and prehistoric periods, and, rather surprisingly, in the same location where Middle Saxon activity had been so intense over a century previously in eastern Kirby Bellars.

Few of these artefacts are remarkable, apart from the gold ring, and a stirrup strap mount of which only two have been noted in England (F029). These date to different time periods (tenth and eleventh centuries, respectively) but both are of possible continental origin. Their arrival in *Frisby* could therefore have come via travellers from the continent. McLeod (2014) suggests that many more 'Scandinavian' settlers in England actually arrived via the continent and places such as Francia than has been previously acknowledged. The Ottonian influence on the ring could indicate arrivals by way of Frisia, the coastal outpost of the tenth-century Ottonian kingdom. This argument works well with the local toponymy, since 'Frisby' translates as 'homestead of the Frisians' (see above, 7.5.1). In this way, it is tempting to see the ring as an object that accompanied Frisian-derived members of the Great Army, perhaps ending up lost or deliberately deposited in Rotherby. It may even have become an heirloom, with its location adjacent to the local church representative of a relationship between elite and ecclesiastical patronage.

The other artefacts are more difficult to interpret, despite the fact that they are closer in proximity and date. The activity represented by horse-related artefacts, strap-ends, and a brooch over the earlier cemetery site is reminiscent of the concentrations at Osbournby (*Aunsby*), especially in light of the tenth- to eleventh-century stirrup mounts. This might simply reflect the complex relationship between settlement and cemetery that is increasingly apparent in the archaeological record (e.g. Zadora-Rio 2003; Hadley and Buckberry 2005). The artefacts appear too diverse and many in number to indicate accidental loss in relation to travel along the Roman road. The other Kirby Bellars cluster is even more difficult to assign to any event or activity type, given its wide distribution and mixed signature, although it is discussed in greater detail below. Finally, the Rotherby concentration of four strap-ends — of which two are probably Thomas Class A, Type 1 Trewhiddle style (F033-4) and the other two might be Anglo-Scandinavian of indeterminate class (F035-6) — could relate to a single deposition context.

The Late-Saxon coins found throughout the case study region are all eleventh-century and probably reflect chance losses. None of the coins represented in the Thurcaston hoard have been recovered from Frisby and few from elsewhere in Leicestershire, suggesting that the hoard represents an anomalous purse that came to Leicestershire intact, rather than a locally-amassed collection. Edward the Confessor coins (F010; F011) were a popular regional currency, although only two other pennies of Cnut besides that in *Frisby* (F009) have been recorded in Leicestershire.[45] It is also curious that two of the Late Saxon coins were minted in Stamford (F009 and F010), but no other coins in either *Frisby* or Leicestershire have been attributed to the Stamford mint.

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[45] One was recovered from Rothley (LeiPAS: LEI0039), the other from Clawson, Hose, and Harby, north of Melton Mowbray (LeiPAS: LEI0040).

There have been several finds of regional importance recovered from *Frisby*. Due to the fact that these few parishes have the overwhelming majority of finds dating to this period in the first place, it cannot be assumed that the area itself was of greater importance than others in Leicestershire on the basis of the artefacts alone. If *Frisby* cannot be assumed to be more important than other contemporary areas, however, it should certainly be viewed as a place of local importance and wealth across the Middle and Late Saxon periods. There are still a number of other clues to be looked to that can better inform on the people and landscape of *Frisby*, and these are explored in greater detail below.

5. c. AD 801-850

6. c. AD 851-900
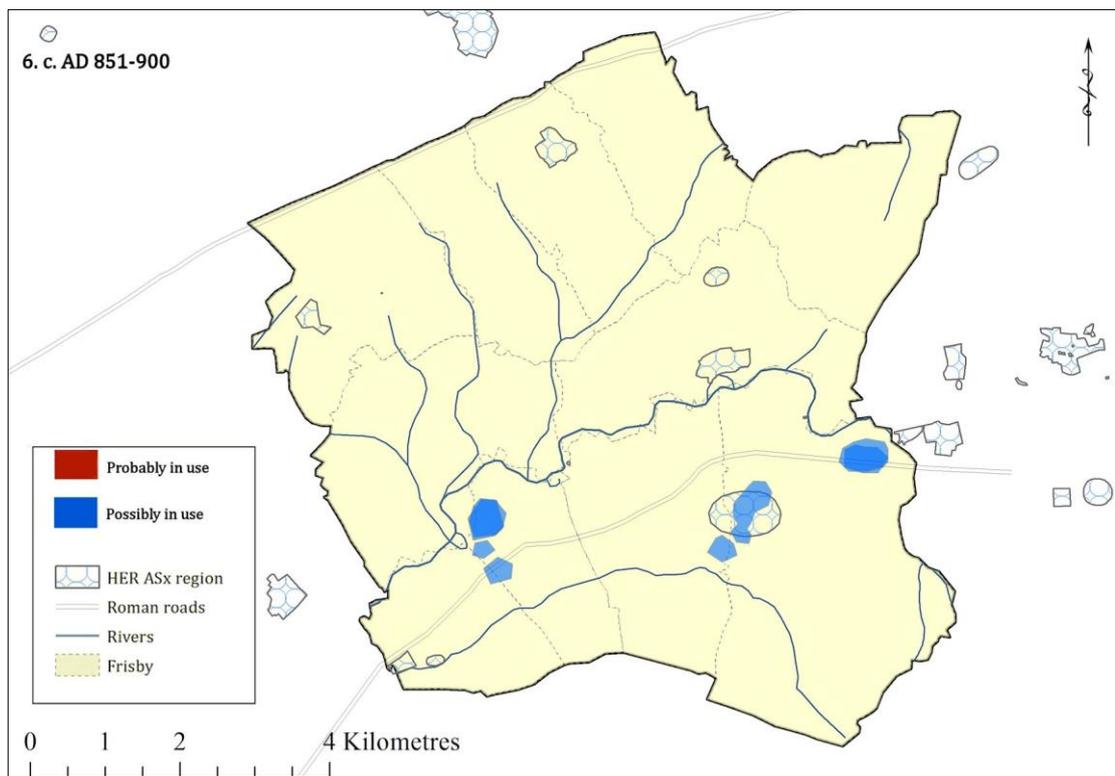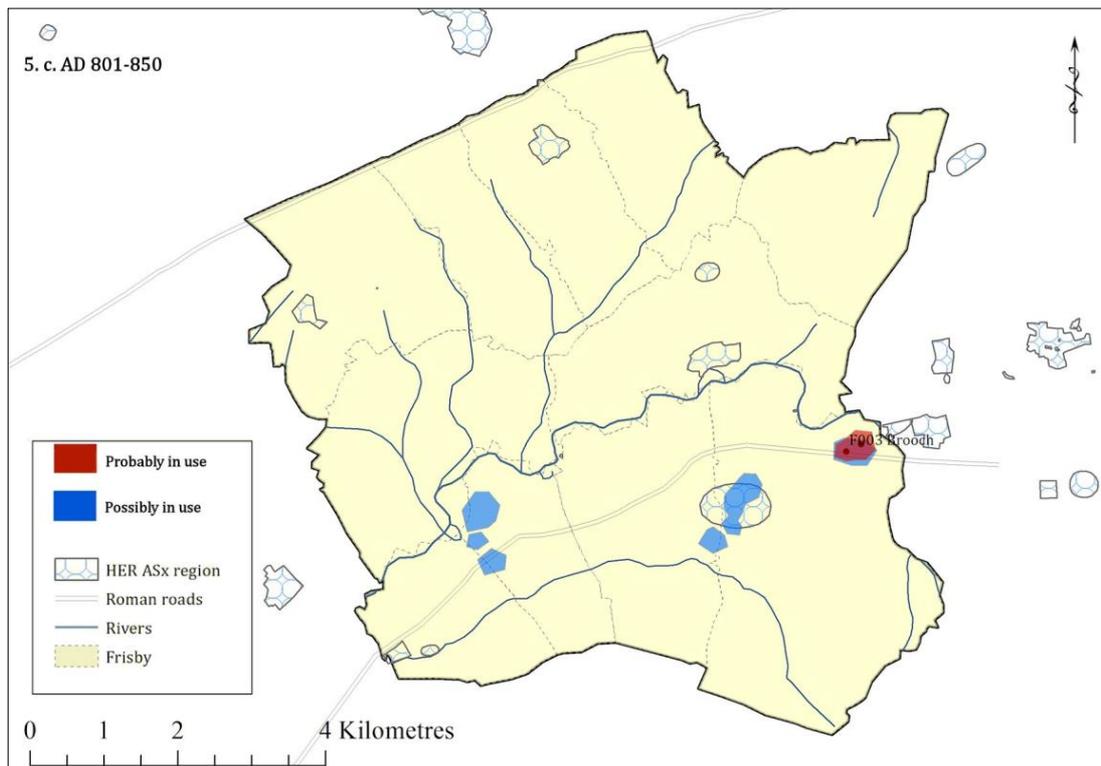
7.57a

FIGURE 7.57A-C: LSX *FRISBY* THROUGH TIME

See Appendix 5 for high resolution slides of the same maps to illustrate the changes through time.

7.57b

9. c. AD 1000-1050

Legend:
- Probably in use (red)
- Possibly in use (blue)
- HER ASx region
- Roman roads
- Rivers
- Frisby

F030 Stirrup
F027 Stirrup
F800 Strip End
F029 Stirrup — F028 Stirrup

0   1   2   4 Kilometres

10. c. AD 1051-1100

F803 Stirrup

Legend:
- Probably in use (red)
- Possibly in use (blue)
- HER ASx region
- Roman roads
- Rivers
- Frisby

0   1   2   4 Kilometres
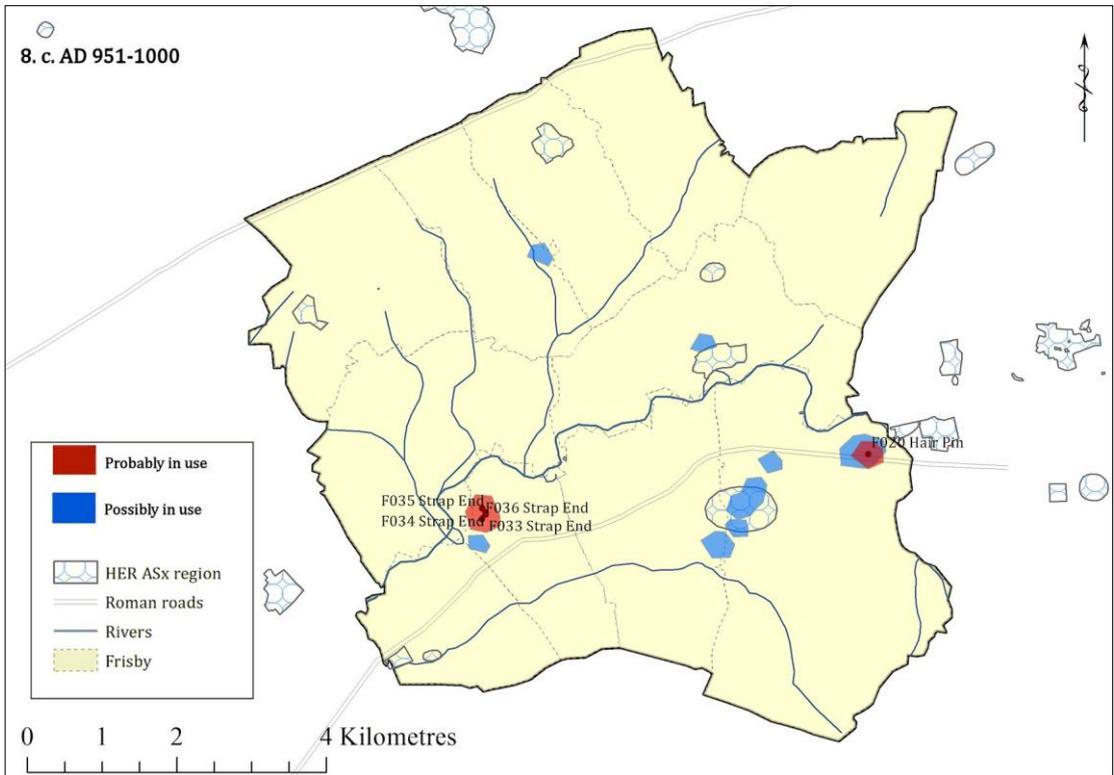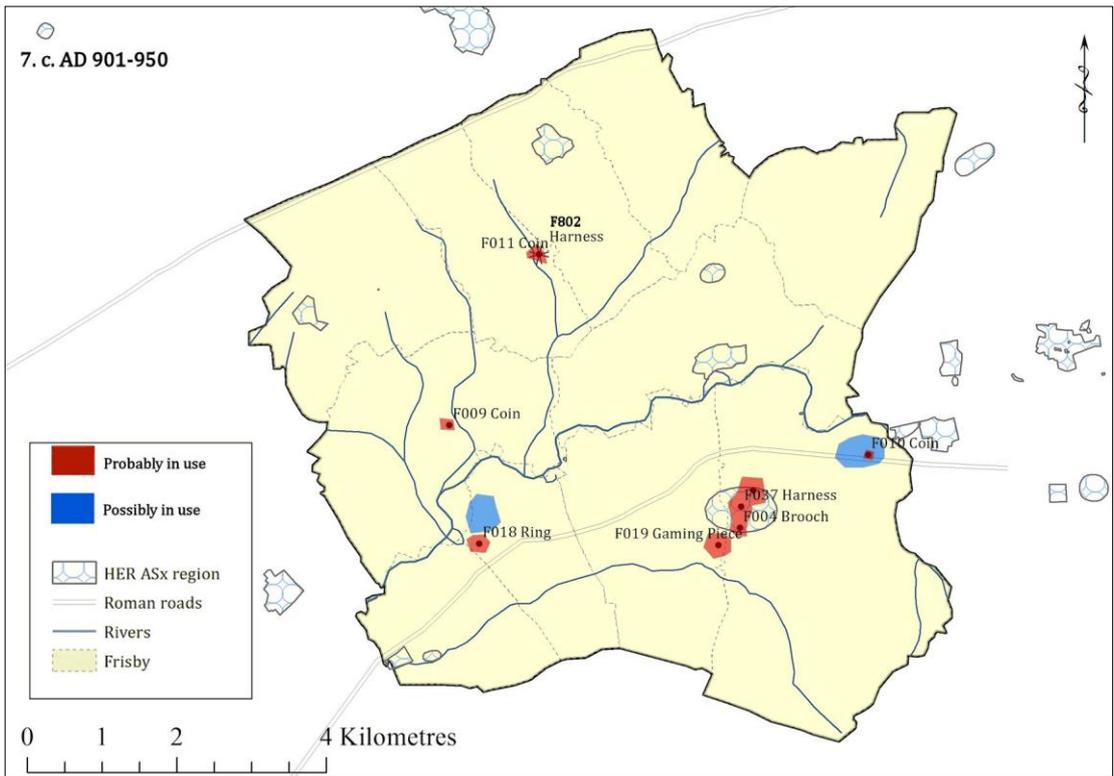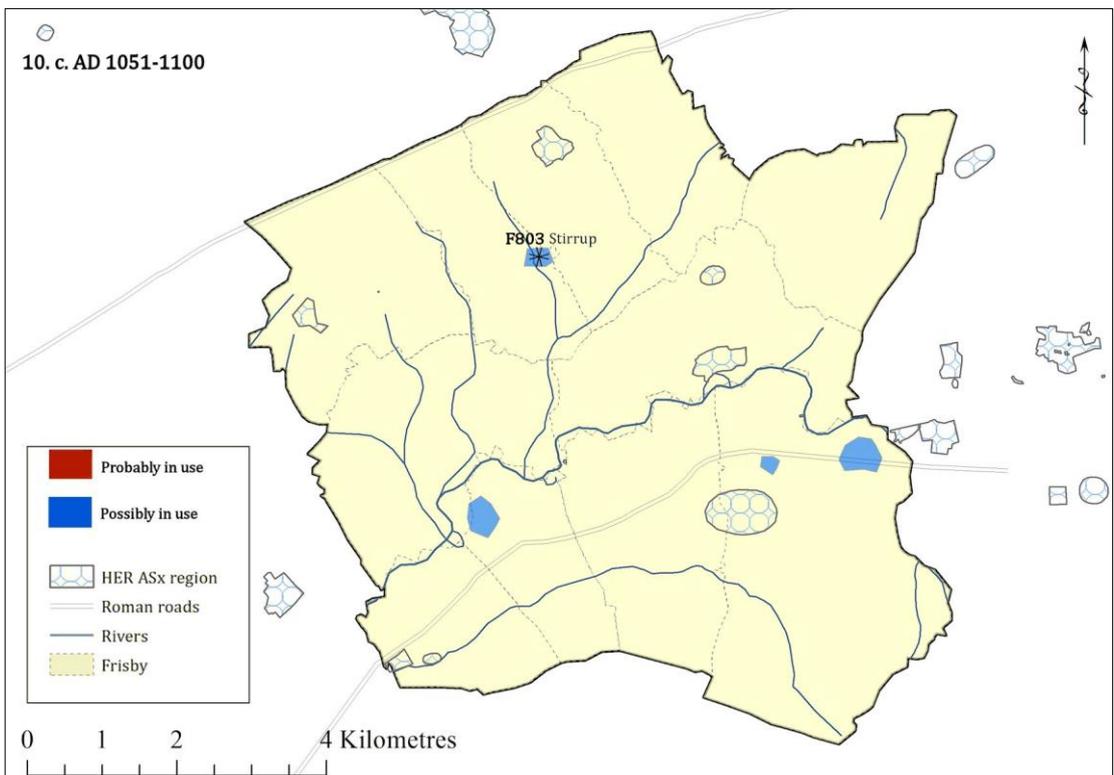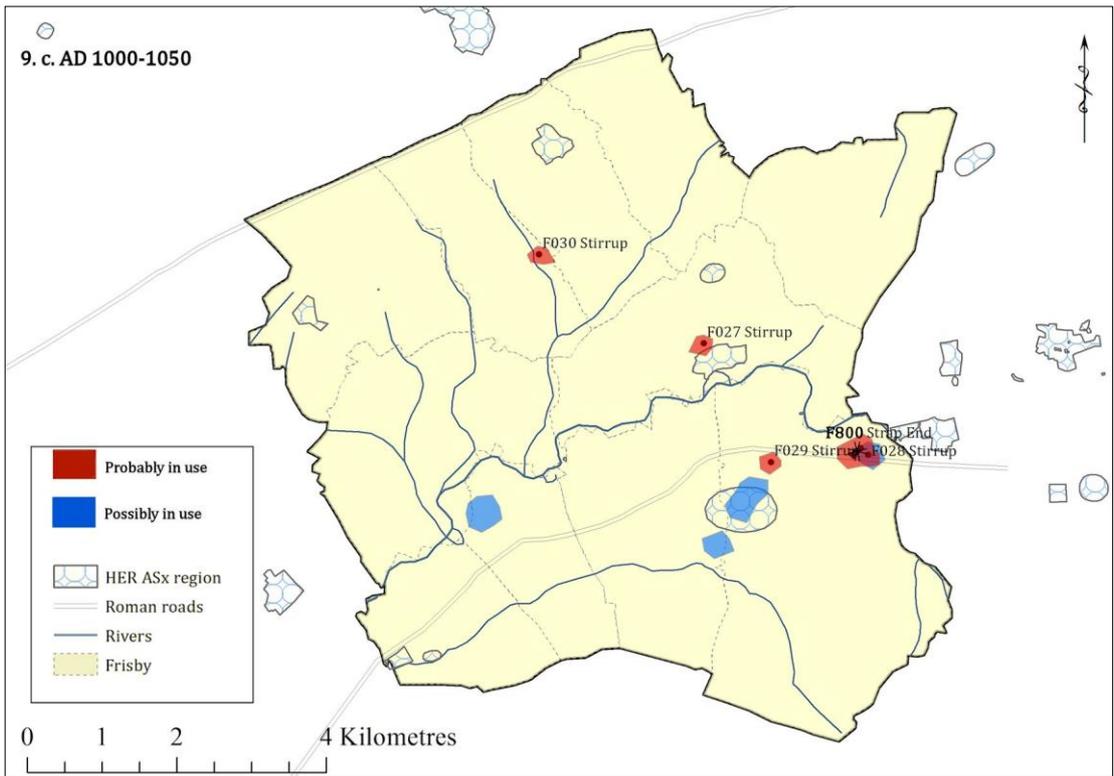
7.57c
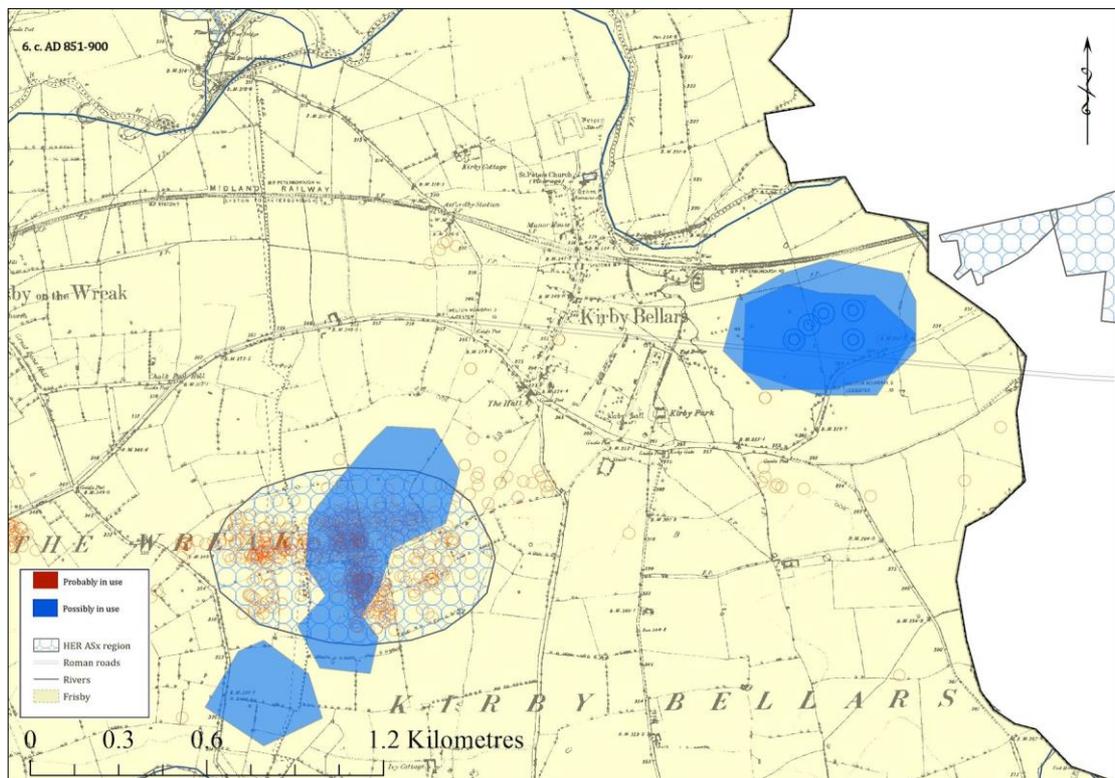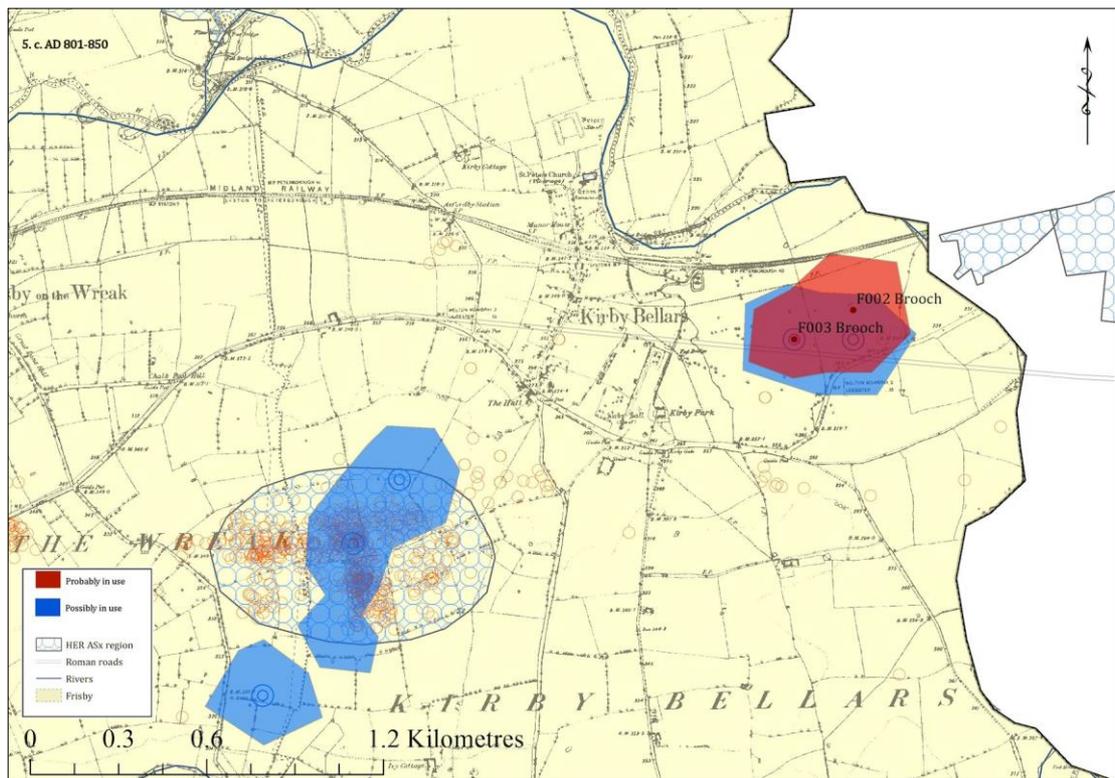
7.58a

FIGURE 7.58A-C: LSX KIRBY BELLARS THROUGH TIME
See Appendix 5 for high resolution slides of the same maps to illustrate the changes through time.

7.58b

9. c. AD 1001-1050

F800 Strap End
F005 Brooch F028 Stirrup

F029 Stirrup

Probably in use
Possibly in use
HER ASx region
Roman roads
Rivers
Frisby

THE WREAK

KIRBY BELLARS

0   0.3   0.6   1.2 Kilometres

10. c. AD 1051-1100

Kirby Bellars

Probably in use
Possibly in use
Medieval PAS
HER ASx region
Roman roads
Rivers
Frisby

THE WREAK

KIRBY BELLARS

0   0.3   0.6   1.2 Kilometres
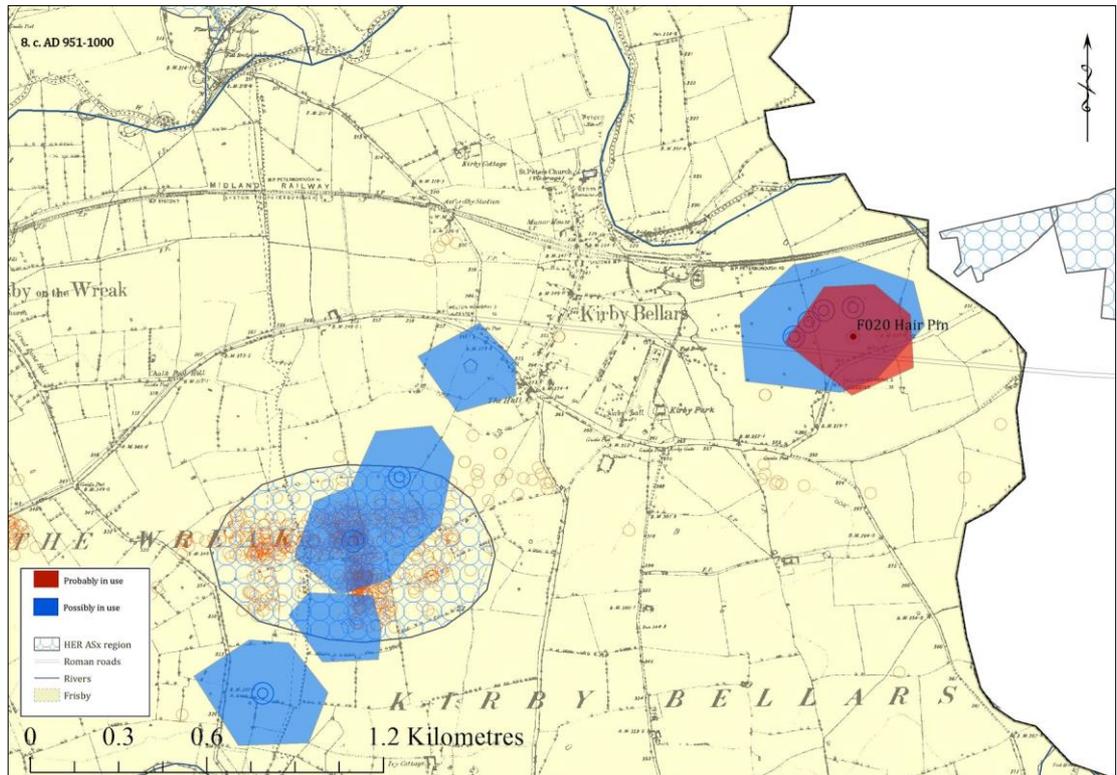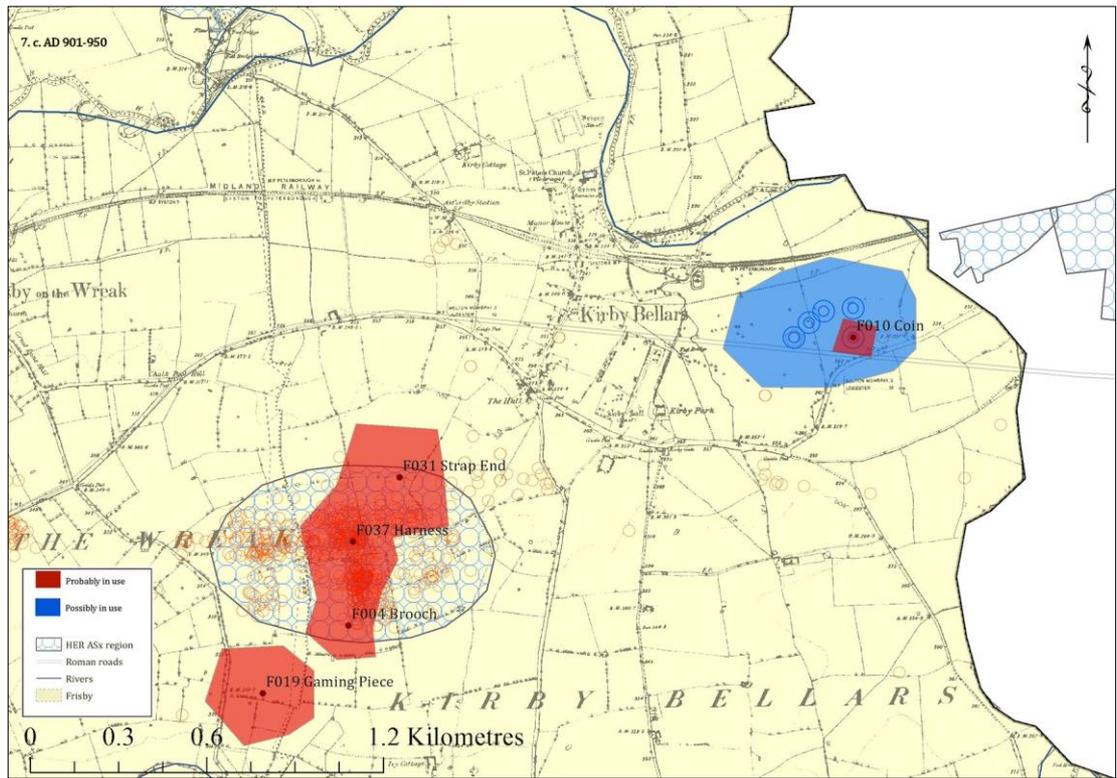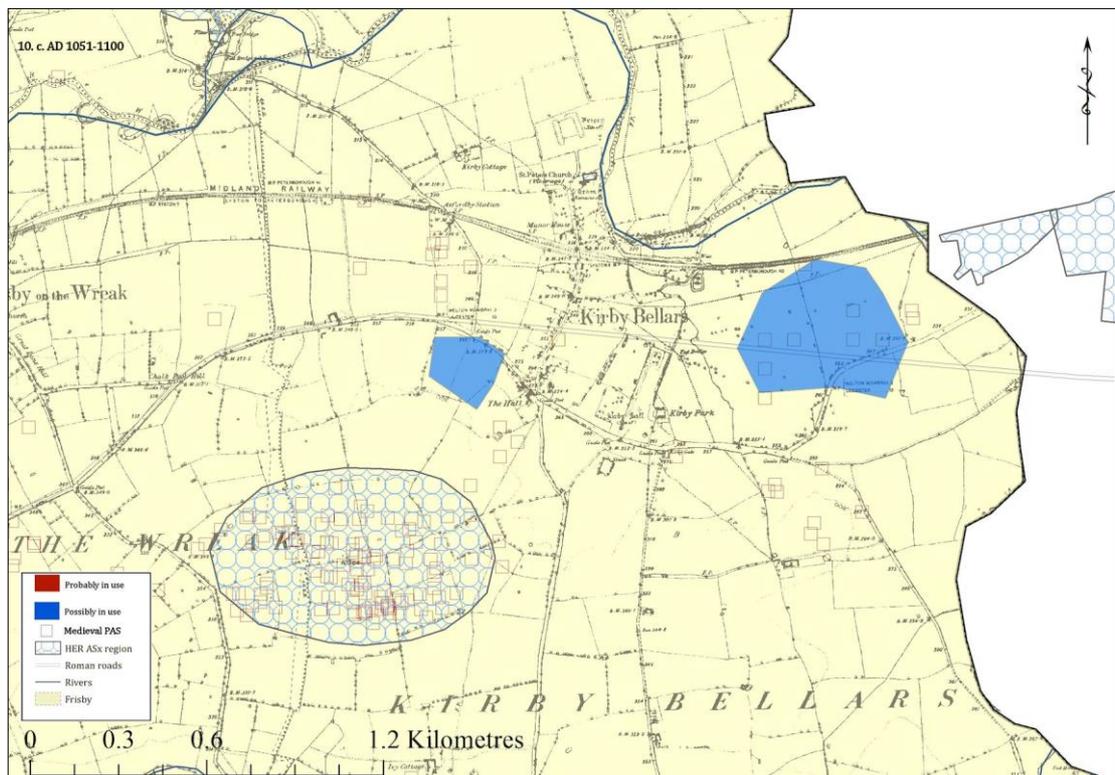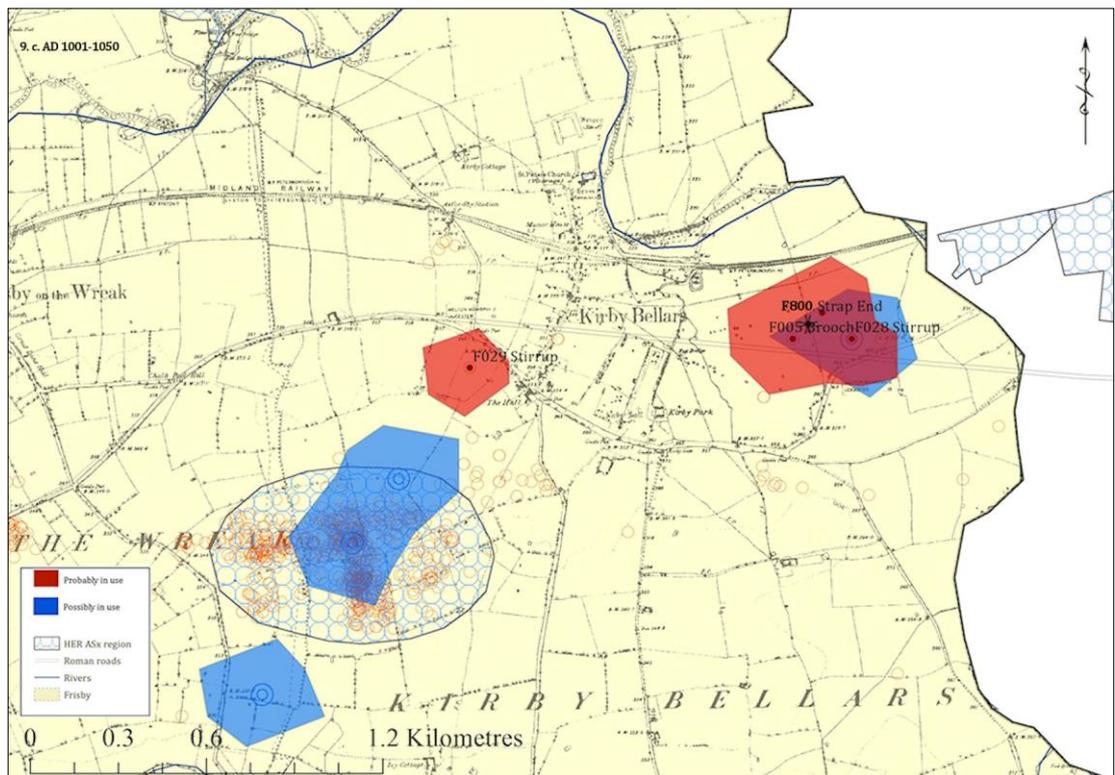
7.58c

7.8 Frisby, Lincolnshire, and the early medieval world: Memory and manors in a midland landscape

'At the bottom stood the village which lent its name to the upland and the annual fair that was held thereon.'

-Hardy (1912, 13)

7.8.1 Introduction

Although it has fewer portable artefacts than the other case studies, *Frisby* yields a complex corpus of multi-period earthworks and other archaeology which provide alternative insight into the early medieval period. The region itself is also historically well-documented. The following discussion highlights two particular cases in order to explore the changing rural landscape of *Frisby* into the Anglo-Scandinavian period: that of Kirby Bellars with its concentration of portable material culture, and Frisby-on-the-Wreake with its single early medieval find. Due to the nature of the evidence, attention here is devoted to the role of antecedent constructed and natural landscape features, the emergence of boundaries, and the evolution of the manorial landscape and open-field agriculture.

7.8.2 Kirby Bellars: from memory to manor

Later historical evidence for Kirby Bellars, according to the Victoria County History for Leicestershire, suggests that it was a relatively wealthy region, associated with the larger centre of neighbouring Melton, but also in a position to support the foundation of an Augustinian Priory in the 14th century (LeiHER: MLE3751). By the twelfth century, it was the dominant centre of the smaller hundred to which it lent its name, as recorded in the Leicestershire Survey (Page *et al.* 1907, 344). But what, if any, was the relationship between the Middle Saxon period and Kirby's later position? Did the Scandinavian settlement which presumably led to the name 'Kirby' affect this process?

The Domesday entries for Kirby Bellars suggest that there might have been at least two manorial concentrations in the eleventh century: one under Geoffrey de la Guerche and his lord-in-residence, and another under Geoffrey's man, Ralph. It is possible that most of the people associated with these lands lived in a single village by the eleventh century, working the three large open fields: East Field, West Field, and Middle Field (Cox 2004, 86-93)[46], with a handful of tenants perhaps more closely tied to the manorial farms. This village presumably became the site of the DMV; the earthworks that continue to overlay the older settlement could account for the lack of evidence for Late Saxon occupation (Hartley 1987, 10) Figure 7.59). A manor and chapel were associated with the later priory

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[46] *Estfeld* (Cox 2004, 89); *Westfeld* (Cox 2004, 93); and *Medelfelde* (Cox 2004, 87), all recorded in 1467 x 84 *LTD.*

(LeiHER: MLE3751), and this might represent the site of one of the Domesday Book manors. In 1086 Kirby was beholden to the large soke centre at Melton and its tenant-in-chief, Geoffrey de la Guerche (LeiDB 29,3); de la Guerche also held part of Kirby in demesne and under him, 'Ralph' held the rest (LeiDB 29, 16). Only one lord was listed TRE for Kirby, however: Leofric, son of Leofwine. It therefore seems that prior to the Conquest, Kirby was an entity unto itself, comprising a 24-carucate holding of some importance.[47] This could indicate that before 1066, only one major manor existed in Kirby.

FIGURE 7.59: KIRBY BELLARS DMV AND CHURCH

It is possible that the cluster of Late Saxon artefacts overlying the Middle Saxon finds in eastern Kirby Bellars points to settlement activity, presumably from those wealthy enough to afford horses. The dating of these artefacts is tenth to eleventh century, and could even point to activity following the Norman Conquest; perhaps the site of a new manor following de la Guerche's gift to Ralph. The artefacts are predominantly Anglo-Scandinavian in character, however, reflecting the continued influence on metalwork that Scandinavian design had. Given the presence of stirrups, it is likely that these finds post-date Cnut's arrival in England. The area has been extensively detected, and these finds could therefore represent a new, eleventh-century Scandinavian farmstead for another wave of settlers accompanying Cnut. The idea of a later phase of settlement, building on

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[47] Based on the sum of carucates each manor was assessed at. Many midland holdings were calculated based on a duodecimal system of the 12-hundred carucate (Roffe 2007).

what was already a longer process of migration than was previously supposed, has gained particular support amongst place-name scholars (Cameron 1965; Townend 2014, 109-10 for overview). Examples from a wider regional perspective such as the excavations at Raunds and West Cotton (Northamptonshire), indicate that it was common for Middle Saxon and Anglo-Scandinavian farms to swiftly develop into manorial compounds within the first half of the tenth century (Thomas 2012, 47). Perhaps this is a later example of a similar phenomenon.

So much might hold true for the eleventh-century. On clayland such as that along the Wreake valley, it is unlikely that any nucleated settlements emerged much earlier. One suggestion is that as agricultural management prompted the emergence of a three-field system, access to fields remained a priority, and necessitated settlements that were somewhat closer to them. This is the *-thorp* argument, proposed by Cullen et al (2011): that the drastic changes involved in nucleation and open-field farming did not take immediate effect, but rather went through stages, from dispersed settlement, to satellites of small groupings with access to the greater fields, until frequently these latter were abandoned in favour of the growing village at the centre of the three-field system. In fact, Cullen et al (2011, 149, n.11) note that Kirby Bellars is one example of several parishes in Leicestershire where the great fields have -thorp names associated with them: *le Esthorp* and *Estthorpleys*; *le Westhorp*, (Cox 2004, 89, 93). These might represent intermediary outlying settlements, perhaps only seasonal, or perhaps for early ploughmen beholden to agricultural service (Cullen *et al.* 2011, 149-51).

If this model has any bearing, however, we would hope to see some archaeological evidence for the 'thorpes'. The tools and objects of everyday farmers are unlikely to be recovered by metal-detectorists, however. Nevertheless the small scatter of artefacts in west Kirby Bellars, bordering Frisby-on-the-Wreake might be telling here. When viewed within a temporal nest, the region has a long prehistoric to Roman presence, while Late Saxon activity gave way to intensive post-Conquest activity, judging by the PAS finds (Figure 7.60). This was a site returned to over many centuries. Is it possible it is *le Westhorp*, first recorded in 1319 (Cox 2004, 93)? Perhaps it evolved as a seasonal settlement or small hamlet in the Late Saxon period, selected for its antiquity as an area first active as a metal-working site in the Bronze Age, which was later patronised by Iron Age and Romano-British peoples. Unfortunately, the earliest map of Kirby Bellars is the OS 1880 first edition; most names preserved in the Place-Name Survey sources are therefore difficult to locate as they are not associated with a map. One futher clue, however, is that Hartley's survey of ridge and furrow in North-East Leicestershire (1987) reveals a bare patch at the Frisby and Kirby border where ridge and furrow was not built up. It is therefore tentatively proposed that based on place-names and Hartley's earthworks maps, Figure 7.61 might illustrate what a developing three-field Kirby might have looked like. In

this case, it is suggested that the prehistoric and Roman landscape informed Late Saxon activity around the 'West Field' (see Deegan and Foard 2007 for examples of early field systems informing Anglo-Saxon boundaries in Northamptonshire). Fields known as 'Chester' are recorded in *Frisby* (Cox 2004, 81), and probably point to local knowledge of Romano-British sites in the area.
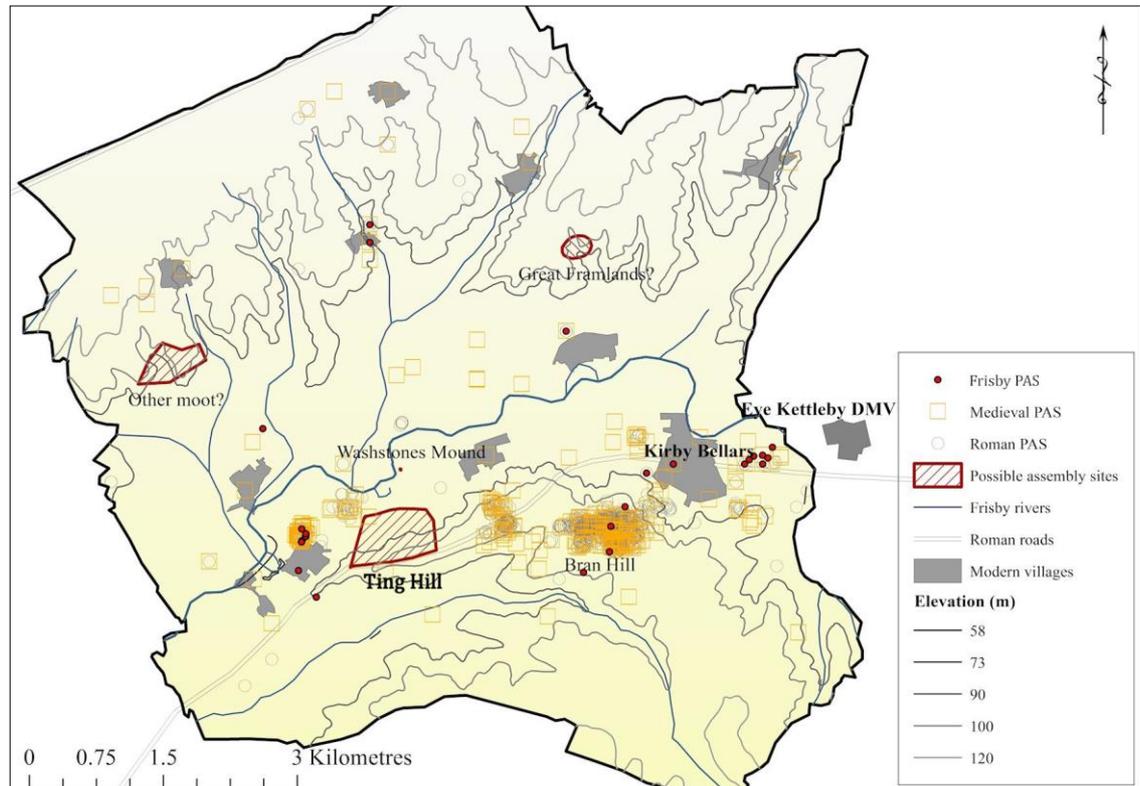
FIGURE 7.60: ROMAN AND MEDIEVAL PAS FINDS IN *FRISBY*
The close relationship between medieval and Roman PAS distributions is in part a reflection of targeted metal-detecting. This makes it curious that there is not more evidence for early medieval activity, especially on Bran Hill where hundreds of Roman and medieval artefacts have been recovered.

The limited metal finds distributed over one kilometre, and each from a different field, do make any firm arguments difficult, however. A number of other suggestions besides a permanently-settled –thorpe might be posited, including: seasonal activity, perhaps a temporary camp, or loss from travel. Two of the finds are equestrian (F031, F037), with one Borre-style brooch (F004) and one 'gaming piece' (F019); all are dated roughly to the mid-ninth to tenth centuries, and could therefore represent a single event, or losses across a century. The latter finds reflect Scandinavian influence. Two further suggestions might be made: firstly, that the artefacts are losses from members of a raiding party in the late ninth-century, passing swiftly through. Three of the finds were recorded to within one metre square (two using handheld GPS), although the third was only recorded to within 100 metres (F037). Their distribution is roughly aligned, perhaps shadowing a line of movement. Again, the small sample size means this must remain speculative, but it is of note that neither any of the copious Romano-British nor the later medieval artefacts

recorded in these fields trace a similar pattern. They might therefore be seen to relate to a single event or a repeated series of travel-related losses unique to circumstances in the early medieval period.

FIGURE 7.61: KIRBY THREE-FIELD SYSTEM
The map depicts a conjectural distribution of 'Westfeld', 'Middlefeld', and 'Estfeld' extending south from the manor at Kirby Bellars and the modern village. Is it possible that evidence for activity on the old Roman site in Bran Fields (in orange, to the left), relates to '*le Westhorpe*'? (Historic map: © Crown Copyright and Landmark Information Group Limited (2015). All rights reserved. (1946).; Lidar: © Environment Agency.)

The other suggestion is based more on the surrounding landscape: that the ancient prehistoric and Roman site had become a place of assembly by the Late Saxon period, and that the finds represent travel in association with it. Kirby Bellars had lent its name to the local hundred to which it belonged, recorded in the twelfth century (Page *et al.* 1907, 344), and the assembly was therefore likely to have been held there. Several factors support this interpretation in terms of position in the landscape. The hill is in a prominent position, commanding views of the Wreake valley (Figure 7.62). It is approximately equidistant from the modern settlements of Kirby Bellars and Frisby-on-the-Wreake, and is situated within 25 metres of the border between the two parishes. Proximity to borders has been cited (and statistically proven) by Pantos (2003) as a common factor in assembly site locations, as has proximity to features from antiquity. The strongest factor behind this suggestion, however, is the fact that within *Frisby*, a number of place-names refer to 'thing' sites, indicating that it was a landscape within which gatherings were an important component. 'Ting Hill' lends it name to the fields across the Rotherby and Frisby borders,

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for example (earliest c. 1200: *Thinghou* (Cox 2004, 83, 123))[48], while other thing-sites have been noted at Saxelby (*Tingeo* (Cox 2004, 110)), and Hoby (*Underdingesti*; *Abovedingesti* (Cox 2004, 115)). It has also been suggested that a flat-topped mound on the Wreake in Hoby, and another site at 'Great Framlands', Asfordby, hosted assemblies (Cox 1971-2). The site of this latter — which is apparently named as the wapentake meeting place for Framland — is almost directly north of the Frisby-Kirby border; the two sites might have been intervisible from across the valley depending on the precise location of the Framland assembly (Figure 7.62). The mound at Hoby is similarly positioned to face Ting Hill and the Rotherby-Frisby border. This arrangement is curious and points to a landscape within which multiple levels of administration were operating.[49] In many ways it suggests a ritualised landscape, even if that ritual was imbued more with political associations than religious.
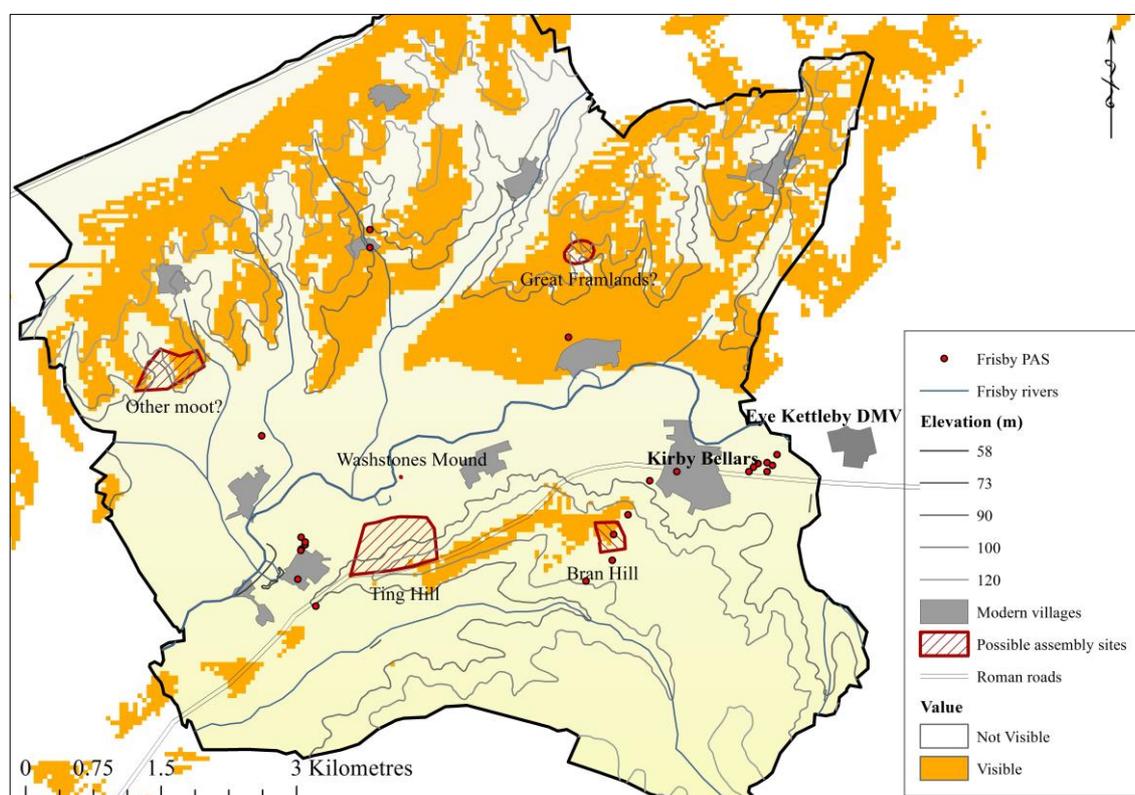
FIGURE 7.62: VIEWSHED ANALYSIS FROM BRAN HILL
This viewshed analysis indicates that, depending on ground coverage in the past, it could have been possible to view the conjectural upland assembly sites from Bran Hill, south of Kirby Bellars. Ting Hill is also visible to the west.

[48] The thing-sites cannot be dated to any earlier than c. 1200, but there is a strong possibility that they were coined following the initial Scandinavian settlement and division of land into wapentakes, probably in the tenth century; the wapentakes required an assembly site.
[49] The law codes of Aethelred the Unready refer to three upper tiers of moot court: council of the five boroughs; borough (or shire) court; wapentake court (Cox 1972; and see Turner 2000; Baker and Brookes 2013, 76). Cox (1972, 16) notes that under these there were certainly other levels of local administration taking place, and probably meeting more frequently.

The distribution of these places known as thing-sites calls to mind the landscape of the All-thing, Gotland (Myrberg 2008), whereby a number of 'things' surrounded land held in common and were situated approximately four kilometres from one another (Myrberg 2008, 141); the distance between the thing-sites in *Frisby* is approximately two to three kilometres. Myrberg (2008, 134) and Pantos (2003) both note that assemblies were not necessarily defined by any one territory or site; it is furthermore common for sites to be short-lived (Iversen 2013, 96). The fact that the places in *Frisby* were preserved in place-names suggests that they played more than a temporary role in the local history of the area. At present, however, an assembly site at the Kirby-Frisby border is conjectural. The fact that the surrounding region was possibly host to a range of assemblies, probably serving different groups and strata of society, does reinforce that the landscape as a whole was one of central administrative importance. In addition to its local population, it would have hosted travellers from throughout the wapentake. It is curious therefore, given the nature of people congregating, that there are so few artefacts lost in *Frisby*.

FIGURE 7.63: MEDIEVAL PAS FINDS ON BRAN HILL
The artefacts on Bran Hill are predominantly coins, but seal matrices, tokens, rings, jettons, and spindle whorls are also evident. Is it possible that this is a medieval market? Note also the concentration of artefacts overlying the earlier cemetery site to the east. Some of this distribution might be attributed to medieval manuring practice, but the Bran Hill finds are so densely concentrated this seems unlikely to be the sole explanation.

To return to the distribution of artefacts at Bran Hill, it is particularly notable that the low quantity of early medieval finds appears to be representative; the area has been extensively detected and returned to on numerous occasions. Over one hundred each of

medieval and Romano-British finds have been recovered, however, centring on the field where the Borre-style brooch was found. We might therefore suppose that whatever the nature of the Late Saxon site, it was low-impact in terms of artefacts lost, whether due to activity type or social status. This does not challenge the suggestion that it may once have been a meeting-place; in fact few artefacts tend to be recovered from meeting sites even in excavated contexts (e.g. Sanmark and Semple 2008, 249-50). In any event, continuous human presence seems to have informed activity of a different scale and function by the medieval period, when finds associated with trade, horses, and weaponry appear (Figure 7.63), perhaps reflecting a seasonal event such as the rural Wessex fair described by Hardy, above (7.8, p447). This area is perhaps best viewed alongside the fortunes of Kirby's neighbouring parish, Frisby-on-the-Wreake.

7.8.3 Frisby-on-the-Wreake: Kirby's lesser neighbour?

Frisby-on-the-Wreake presents a different case from Kirby Bellars, both in terms of the available evidence and its role in the early medieval landscape. As noted above, the place-name 'Frisby' means village or farmstead of the Frisians (7.5.1), and it was suggested that this could refer to Frisian vikings who accompanied the 'Great Army'. This point deserves revisiting in light of the parish development.

There are no Middle or Late Saxon portable finds recorded in Frisby-on-the-Wreake except for the gaming piece (F019) south of the Anglo-Saxon, prehistoric and Roman HER site at Bran Hill, bordering Kirby Bellars. Early Saxon finds are similarly absent. We know from Domesday Book, however, that Frisby-on-the-Wreake was certainly host to at least one small settlement by the eleventh century. Well before this, at the turn of the second millennium, there was extensive Iron Age and Romano-British activity south and west of the modern village, as revealed by metal-detecting and field walking (cf. Figure 7.11, Figure 7.12, above), and further indication of early activity in a cropmark-identified Iron Age and Roman site to the east of the parish (LeiHER: MLE7985). Large fields in Frisby-on-the-Wreake have been metal-detected, so the lack of early medieval finds is not a detecting-based bias. The entire surrounding area, including the neighbouring parishes of Rotherby and Kirby Bellars, has yielded finds dating to this period. Frisby-on-the-Wreake was undoubtedly part of a wider active landscape in the early medieval period, but to what extent did it host activity?

The modern village of Frisby-on-the-Wreake is the largest of the study area villages south of the Wreake. Its earliest medieval settlement core may lie underneath the present village; this is reinforced by the probable medieval earthworks identified on aerial photographs to the west of the village (LeiHER: MLE3728). As with the other villages along the Wreake except Kirby Bellars, medieval settlement developed parallel to the river. Anglo-Saxon dwellings did not necessarily do the same, and in fact are often shown

to have had little influence on later settlement arrangements (Gardiner 2012). In 1086, according to Domesday, the population of Frisby-on-the-Wreake could have been approximately 11 households, but this need not imply they were nucleated; there might only have been small hamlets clustered along the river, perhaps accounting for the difficulty in identifying them archaeologically. Indeed, Frisby was not a wealthy vill in the eleventh century (cf. Table 7.5), and the archaeology does not suggest it was any wealthier between the Roman retreat and the Late Saxon period.

FIGURE 7.64: STEEP CLAYLANDS OF FRISBY-ON-THE-WREAKE

Frisby's medieval history is closely tied to that of Kirby's, even though at the time of Domesday they were held by separate tenants-in-chief. By the thirteenth century, Frisby was recorded as *Frisby Hernis*, indicating 'a district obedient to a single jurisdiction', and in the 14th century, the name *Frisby in Kyrkeby* confirms that it was indeed neighbouring Kirby to which it was obedient (Cox 2004, 80). It is suggested here that settlement within Frisby was generally small in scale, and made up of poorer farmers working the steep land

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along the river (Figure 7.64). The lack of Anglo-Saxon archaeology despite the evidence for Roman activity suggests a decline in fortunes in the intervening years; both Rotherby to the west, and Kirby to the east have evidence of some Early Saxon activity (cf. Figure 7.13, above). This situation might have informed the settlement pattern which seems to have occurred following the Scandinavian settlement of Leicestershire, probably after Coelwulf's appointment as 'King' in 874.

The micro-toponymy of the Wreake valley makes it difficult to imagine that the Scandinavian impact on the area was not intense, and took place across many levels of society (Townend 2002, 47; and see Cox (2004) for field-names of Goscote and Framland wapentakes). Old English terminology is found across *Frisby* as well, however, suggesting that mixed languages competed for primacy throughout the early medieval period until they were preserved in writing from the eleventh-century onwards. With this in mind, it seems practical to suggest that the names Rotherby, Asfordby, Kirby, Welby and the other local –*by* names represent phases of Scandinavian settlement, whereby earlier Anglo-Saxon holdings were either appropriated or divided.

Rotherby and Rearsby (west of Brooksby) were likely named for the same individual, *Hreiðar* — the alternative explanation that two men with the same name were given land adjacent to one another seems an unnecessarily complicated explanation — and Brooksby was therefore probably a later partitioning of *Hreiðar*'s original estate. These divisions were probably parceled from the larger Anglo-Saxon holding based around the royal vill of Gaddesby (McLoughlin 2006, 135-44). Thus it is possible to envision *Hreiðar* and his family and followers being awarded a large extent of land as part of the Scandinavian conquest of Mercia in the late ninth century. To link this tentatively to the artefacts that begin to be deposited around this time, the gold ring at Rotherby might indicate that *Hreiðar* had arrived in England via Frisia, perhaps with a Frisian retinue amongst his followers. A group of these people may have been granted land by *Hreiðar* up-river, perhaps on then-unoccupied land left as such due to the unattractively steep-sided hills against the river, thereby establishing the place that came to be known as 'Frisby'. The ring could even represent an early burial — perhaps that of the founder — as it seems too precious an item to readily discard (cf. Robbins 2013, 56).

Following this narrative, *Hreiðar*'s farmstead was later subdivided, or fragmented organically over time, to accommodate different settlement foci. Brooksby's etymology remains debatable, and could refer to '*Brōk*'s farmstead', an OE-ON hybrid of 'brook' and –*by*, or even an ODan reference to a bog (Cox 2004, 125). All are equally plausible. The bog reference is tempting, since Rearsby is also on low-lying marshy ground near the Wreake and Soar confluence, which 14th-century references to a 'mere' preserve (Cox 2004, 197). In any case, these areas of less favourable land were partitioned off in the pre-Conquest centuries and eventually evolved to support local manors and nucleated villages.

The subsequent relationship between the vills and farmsteads in Frisby is difficult to trace, but similar partitionings appear to have occurred upland around Grimston, leading to a number of smaller vills named for people with Scandinavian names. Complexities in landholding and jurisdiction between Grimston, Shoby, and Saxelbye, are found in historical documents from eleventh century Domesday Book to nineteenth century estate maps, with land attributed to one township or chapelry variously lying in or in the jurisdiction of one of the other neighbouring townships (see McLoughlin 2006, 169-72 for full details). The impression is given that there were many lesser landholders in the upland region prior to the Conquest; perhaps too numerous to mention in the Domesday Survey.[50] Such entangled connections could support the argument that the three jurisdictions as a whole once belonged to a larger unit — notably that of the estate of Rothley, one of the earlier Anglo-Saxon settlements in the sixth century (McKinley 1954b). Although by the time of Domesday Book, Ragdale, Shoby, and Hoby were independent manors (cf. 7.4, above), the region was clearly part of the same active landscape: the Roman salt-road connected Melton to the Fosse Way, the Soar, Rothley and Barrow-upon-Soar, and subsequently to Charnwood in the west and Leicester to the south. Milling was an important local industry by the eleventh century, reflecting lordly control over the landscape.

To return to the relationship with Kirby, at some point Kirby's interests in Frisby-on-the-Wreake increased. This does not appear to have been the case in 1086, but certainly they shared in the milling industry operating along the Wreake. No manor was recorded at Frisby in Domesday Book, although two different parties had shares it in as soke (see Table 7.6, above). The area was therefore at the whim of those with the ability to purchase it. What the example of Frisby and Kirby reveal, however, is that the formal parish boundaries between the areas might not have emerged until after the 14th century. A modern footpath traces the old boundary between the Frisby and Kirby parishes (now amalgamated, as it had been in the thirteenth century). The track runs parallel to several others, all leading from the Wreake towards Gaddesby, one of the important royal regional manors throughout the early and later medieval periods; it was granted a market in 1306 (McLoughlin 2006, 131, n.511). It is possible that this footpath was already of antiquity (probably leading from crossing-points along the Wreake) prior to the establishment of a formal boundary between Kirby and Frisby; the path thereby informed the line. The track appears to follow the natural topography. In fact, centred on the Roman finds concentration on Bran Hill, an east-west ridge cuts across, traced by a short lane that

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[50] The last line of Robert de Bucy's Leicestershire holdings notes: 'The holders of these lands before 1066 could go where they would, except for one called Saeric, who held 3 c. of land in Ragdale but could not withdraw elsewhere with them' (LeiDB 17, 33). Saeric is therefore the only one named of presumably many such holders. Another 3 carucates of land were attributed to Ragdale in 1086, so it seems likely that small parcels of land and multiple lesser lords were active in the region prior to the Conquest.

might hint at another early route joining the parallel trackways (Figure 7.65). This could therefore represent an early confluence of routes subsidiary to the Roman salt-way to the north, but nevertheless marking a site of meeting, and, certainly in the Roman and medieval periods, intense activity.

FIGURE 7.65: BRAN HILL AND POSSIBLE TRACKWAYS
The area of Roman and medieval activity on Bran Hill is depicted in orange, draped over a Lidar image of the Frisby-on-the-Wreake and Kirby Bellars hills that lie to the south, overlooking the modern villages. The modern footpath (recorded on current and historic OS maps) traces what was the boundary between the two parishes prior to modern amalgamation, depicted in red. Another conjectural route is outlined in black, leading from the valley into Kirby village to the hill. This line continues to inform the field boundaries , and is probably of considerable antiquity. Note how Bran Hill overlooks the Roman road to the north, as well as the villages.

The ridge and furrow patterns in Frisby and Kirby further support the idea that the parish boundary was only formalised in the later medieval period, since the earthwork patterns tend appear continuous and indicate cooperative farming. The same is evident along the Brooksby and Rotherby boundary. Between Rotherby and Frisby, however, it appears that clear boundaries were already in place, with the furlong arrangements respecting these divisions (see Hartley 1987, 165).

By the late ninth or early tenth century, Kirby had become another important figure in the Scandinavian-settled landscape of *Frisby*. This was probably an extension of its central ecclesiastical role in the landscape, presumably also with a manor and several settlements in the pre-Viking era. As noted, its fortunes between the early eighth and late ninth centuries can only be guessed at, but it is possible that Scandinavian disruption influenced a break in visible material culture. At some point it regained its local prominence, however. Although no churches are attributed to manors in the Leicestershire Domesday Survey, an ecclesiastical focus at Kirby, perhaps even in association with Scandinavian settlers, probably played an important role in its prominence.

FIGURE 7.66: PATH TO ROTHERBY AND HOBY FROM FRISBY-ON-THE-WREAKE.
This 'line of desire' cuts diagonally across a modern field, leading from Hoby and the parish of Rotherby along the Wreake into the parish of Frisby and towards 'Ting Hill'. The church steeple marks Hoby, on the opposite side of the Wreake, and the houses in the background indicate settlement along Hoby's *hoh*.

It has been suggested that as churchyard burial became more common in the tenth and eleventh centuries, inhabitants were less likely to view the landscape in the same ways their forebears had: there was an increased dichotomy between perceptions of spaces that were wild or ordered, profane or sacred (e.g. Zadora-Rio 2003, 15). There is certainly some value to this argument in regard to religious belief and increased prescriptions on burial of the dead (Zadora-Rio 2003). This argument fails, however, to account for the fact that the landscape was being continuously altered and 'tamed' by human activity, and that early medieval people were still very much active within it; to farmers and peasants, interacting with the natural world was a crucial part of daily life. Specific place-names for different types of fields, trees, or crops, reflect the attention that was certainly paid to the landscape despite changes in religious belief. People using Scandinavian and Old English languages described '*hohs*' and '*rags*' to denote large landscape features such as hills, promontories and valleys; and smaller features were also named and noted, such as mounds and small knolls, '*haugrs*' (see Cox 2004). The worldview of people living in and moving through *Frisby* was shaped in many ways by the environment they interacted with on a daily basis. Movement played an important role in this: major thoroughfares around and within *Frisby* controlled regional travel, while internal networks of communication such as the tracks between Rotherby and Hoby (Figure 7.66), the select fords across the Wreake, and the paths leading over-hill to Gaddesby, shaped the local landscape. A sense of community and localism might have been further enhanced through intervisibility along the Wreake valley (cf. Figure 7.5, above); this would have been punctuated with more

visible place-markers as churches began 'putting down roots and pushing up towers' in the eleventh century (Morris 2012, 5).

7.9 Conclusion

The evidence indicates that the landscape of *Frisby* was indeed re-shaped and re-written as a result of Scandinavian settlement from the late-ninth century onwards. The archaeology in Leicestershire, unlike that of the west midlands, enjoys a relatively prominent ceramic record to complement the metal-detected record. Developer-funded and community archaeology projects in particular have enabled the reliable identification of Middle Saxon activity sites. The Wreake valley is therefore known to have been extensively settled in the centuries leading up to the Scandinavian settlement. Nevertheless, the metal-detected record suggests that patterns of activity and probably settlement changed in *Frisby* from the ninth-century. Settlement at the vill of Frisby might even have been introduced following the Scandinavian conquest, while Scandinavian lords and their followers reappropriated other areas such as Rotherby and Kirby from local inhabitants. Anglo-Saxon lords might have been dispossessed, but local populations probably remained to the extent that they also influenced the area's toponymy. Along these lines, there is also evidence that *Frisby* was an area in which the deeper past influenced subsequent activity, whether full awareness of the region's former history was preserved or not. There are multiple levels of this influence visible, from the Bronze Age and Roman sites at Bran Hills which became a possible place of meeting in the Late Saxon period (and perhaps a post-Conquest market), to the Early/Middle Saxon cemetery whose existence might well have been preserved in the memories of the later inhabitants of Kirby Bellars and Eye Kettleby. In addition to the human-built past, the natural landscape influenced movement through the area, settlement locations, and the names of places. It also impacted industry, where milling was an important local activity.

There is little indication that the West Saxon conquest of Scandinavian-occupied Mercia was absolute in the Wreake valley. Scandinavian language certainly persisted to the extent that the lasting impact of local dialects (Scandinavian and Old English) on the microtoponymy of several parts of Leicestershire is notable even today. The peasantry was probably a combination of Anglo-Saxon, Scandinavian, and other continental migrants (including Frisians), although Scandinavian lords would have been the elite majority in the ninth and early tenth centuries, as reflected in the Grimston place-name (see above, 7.5.1). It was suggested that following Cnut's accession in the eleventh century, there may even have been resurgence in appreciation for the region's Scandinavian heritage, perhaps persisting after the Norman Conquest.

Overall, despite *Frisby*'s few portable artefacts compared to the counties of Lincolnshire and Norfolk, its signature is remarkable within Leicestershire. Many of the suggestions put forward above remain to be evaluated within the context of future excavation and metal-detecting in the area, but the historical, toponymic, and earthwork evidence already goes some way towards assessing *Frisby*'s fortunes across the early medieval period.

Chapter 8: Discussion

Nested negotiations in Viking-Age England:
Landscape, Artefacts, and People

8.1 Introduction

The last four chapters introduced and evaluated the evidence for settlement and activity between c. AD 650 and 1100 in four hitherto little-studied rural areas of England. Middle- to Late-Saxon portable material culture and the landscapes in which they were found were assessed on varying scales, revealing overall that the period following Scandinavian settlement was characterised by changes in artefact use, settlement intensification, and newly-founded places of activity. Furthermore, while the local areas were anomalous in terms of quantity of metal-detected finds, they also distinguished themselves in certain ways from the regional averages based on their artefact signatures. The former might well be explained by Richards' assertion (1999b) that so-called 'productive' sites merely reflect artefacts disturbed by extensive ploughing and are not therefore historically 'special' sites (see also Pestell 2014, 141). Conversely, the latter fact suggests that regardless of *historical* significance (i.e., that they were minsters, markets, or high-status estate centres), the relative importance of these places to the study of the early medieval period is evident in the diversity of their artefact signatures. Each area was of value within nested local and regional spheres in its own way; this was measured through production and industry, investment in places of local meaning (e.g. churches, cemeteries, assembly sites), trade and travel, and manorial relationships. All contributed to the characteristics of these places and the identities of those living within them. In each case, furthermore, it was shown that a Scandinavian presence had influenced certain changes in the area, whether directly (e.g. partitioned estates in *Roxby*, *Aunsby*, and *Frisby*), or indirectly (e.g. the Scandinavian-flavoured regionalism that was expressed materially in *Dunham*).

Analysis of the case studies has revealed that each area supported at least one community of inhabitants throughout the Middle and Late Saxon periods, and it is therefore appropriate to refer to 'settlements' in the discussions that follow. These places were lived-in and active environments prior to and throughout the Viking Age, and, for the most part, they are good examples of 'everyday' rural communities which also exhibit elements of high-status occupation. It is therefore possible to trace similarities and differences in everyday lifestyles, activities, and processes of negotiation by considering the local micro-regions and their wider contexts together. It is argued here that two overarching concepts, diaspora and regionality, are best used to access these nested negotiations. These theories are particularly useful in combination because the first

acknowledges the importance of the Scandinavian migrations to England, while the second recognises the crucial role that local peoples and second- (and later-) generation migrants played in shaping the period — as expressed materially and in the inhabited landscape. The aim of this chapter is to draw the evaluations of the four case studies together in order to compare and contrast the patterns and anomalies within them, as well as to evaluate them collectively in light of the wider Anglo-Saxon and Viking-Age worlds.

Given the diverse nature of the research, and the fact that multiple lines of evidence were pursued in order to assess each case study, this penultimate chapter is necessarily wide-ranging so as to accommodate a complete discussion of the results and interpretations. It is therefore divided into three parts, each addressing predominantly different sets of evidence and results, and each guided by a different objective theme outlined in Chapter 1 (1.2). This division also allows for a number of theoretical approaches to be applied according to the evidence and research questions to which they are most relevant. There is a distinct overlap across the three parts, however, and it is intended that the final discussion draws upon the interpretations set forth in the first and second, thus linking them together.

The first discussion, on 'Landscape and Artefacts' evaluates the relationship between landscape and artefact distributions, and contrasts the artefactual patterns across the case studies, providing a quantitative basis for the discussions that follow. The second part links 'Artefacts and People', and explores how communal and regional identities are represented and negotiated materially. The third discussion, 'People and Landscape', brings the first two themes full circle. It is devoted to assessing the impact of early medieval peoples on the landscapes in which they lived, but also considers the ways in which wider socio-political changes are made manifest in the landscape and the material past.

8.2 Landscape and Artefacts

8.2.1 The relationship between landscape and artefacts

8.2.1.1 Characterising the case studies

The case studies presented above provided evidence of areas that were in use from the Middle- to Late-Saxon periods, suggesting that local inhabitants and new-coming settlers shared a role in the preservation of place over time. They also indicated that in other places, activity only emerged following the initial Scandinavian settlement, perhaps pointing to newly-carved territories and homesteads for people benefiting from the disruptive period (Martin 2007, 135). Negotiations in the preservation of place and communal memories of a given landscape were therefore being revised in some cases, and

apparently co-operatively maintained in others, sometimes less than a kilometre away as was evident with Osbournby and Scott Willoughby in *Aunsby*.

Following the analysis of each case study, different characterising factors were identified, although many similarities were also noted. A review of these provides a useful starting point for the following discussions. The case studies concluded that:

Roxby, N. Lincs., was characterised by at least one small settlement and possible cemetery at Santon in the Middle Saxon period. By the mid-ninth century, however, a shift in focus had occurred, with activity emerging along the Jurassic Way and limestone cliff springline. At the modern village of Roxby and near the deserted medieval village of High Risby, evidence for domestic activity pointed to Late-Saxon settlements. Evidence for plying heavy cord, possibly in relation to sail production, was associated with these settlements. The area also revealed notable quantities of Scandinavian-associated artefacts, including brooches and a gaming piece. Paired with the place-name evidence it was suggested that by the tenth-century, the Roxby area hosted Scandinavian-affiliated populations invested in sheep-rearing and textile-production, perhaps associated with a Humber-based ship-building industry or as provisions for larger ecclesiastical estates such as Kirton-in-Lindsey.

Aunsby, Lincs. hosted at least two Middle Saxon communities on opposite sides of a stream, and possibly another west of the modern Silk Willoughby village. These communities appear to have buried their dead close to their settlements. The community at Osbournby was apparently host to an elite horse-owning group and probably represented a centre of local importance within the immediate region. Following the period of Scandinavian settlement, the area was granted to a Scandinavian lord, possibly as a result of the partitioning of a larger estate focused on Folkingham. Over time, other parts of *Aunsby* were divided and granted to new farmer-lords, some of whom may also have been Scandinavian-affiliated, although the area probably supported a population with mixed language backgrounds and cultural identities. It is possible that some of these areas were not settled until after Cnut's arrival, where his followers found sympathy with the local communities. Local churches became communal foci around which settlements grew, and parish boundaries were formalised. Traffic from salt-pans in the Fens, and en-route to assembly meetings at the wapentake mound passed through, bringing news, ideas, and new fashions.

Dunham, Norf. served a number of small communities in the Middle Saxon period, though some as-yet-unidentified settlements probably focused more closely around the Nar Valley. The claylands that dominate the region meant that settlement more frequently coalesced in small hamlets than nucleated villages, even after the tenth century. The area was probably relatively wooded. *Dunham* supported some elite members as exhibited in the deposition of fine accessories and weaponry throughout the Middle- to Late-Saxon periods. The establishment of a grand church as well as a castle following the Norman Conquest suggests

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that it was a region of some administrative importance. The possible market site at Great Dunham might have played a role in this and would have attracted travel and trade from the many networks connecting it to eastern East Anglia, the coast, and the eastern midlands. Local industry also focused on milling and the salt trade. *Dunham* was topographically prominent: it boasted the highest hill in the area, was situated on the regional watershed, and was bounded by a defensive Iron-Age ditch that later served as an assembly site.

Middle Saxon communities in *Frisby*, Leics., focused on the Wreake valley. The area might have hosted an Early/Middle Saxon cemetery used by several local communities. Some of the local inhabitants were elite people associated with horses. By the Late Saxon period, larger estates had fragmented, revealing a complex landscape of landholding and obligations, but also a number of independent, lesser manors nestled in the south-facing hillside. Milling was a common industry along the Wreake, and the area also attracted local and regional travel to the many assembly sites that *Frisby* boasted. A Frisian community appears to have settled beside the wealthier village of Kirby. Kirby was an area of local prominence, with an early church and its close association with the major estate at Melton Mowbray.

These are general characterisations of use of space over time, informed primarily by artefact distributions. The case studies have shown that while further chronological and spatial resolution is desirable with PAS-recorded data, the distribution of portable material culture can nevertheless help to shed much-needed light on the ways in which early medieval people shaped places over time. It is important to consider the forms that place-making and activity took in more detail, however, and to situate this within a broader, comparative framework. When viewed together, do the above characterisations hold up? What do these artefact-led micro-histories reveal about use of space and landscapes into the Viking Age? At the regional and intraregional level, do shifts in material culture reflect shifts in communication patterns?

To this end, the artefact signatures of the case studies are first considered in relation to one another and their landscape contexts, including, where data is available, places of origin and networks of movement. Categorisation and mapping of the artefactual data rarely highlighted obvious 'activity zones'; however, several examples of the relationship between artefact signatures, distribution, and landscape are discussed below. First, however, the natural environment and general issues with recovery biases are addressed.

8.2.1.2   Artefact distributions and the natural environment

The picture presented by artefacts mapped against natural and human-made constraints tends to be harmonious when viewed on a broad, regional scale. The VASLE project showed that on a national scale, PAS distributions of metalwork could generally be attributed to historical factors rather than metal-detecting biases (Richards *et al.* 2009, 2.5.1). This suggests that, notwithstanding certain biasing factors, the regional distributions are 'real'. Furthermore, it indicates that anticipated landscape constraints, based on modern evaluations such as floodplains, often similarly influenced early-medieval societies. When viewed at the local scale, however, an environmentally-determined model becomes less reliable. In *Aunsby*, artefacts were recovered from a field that suffered from constant water damage due to a spring, puzzling the local metal-detectorist (Chapter 5, Figure 5.11); in *Frisby*, two of the three concentrations of artefacts were located on seemingly unsuitable terrain compared to adjacent areas: one in Rotherby sits on a low-lying floodplain, with another south of the village of Kirby Bellars on a hilltop (Chapter 7, Figure 7.29). The distribution of artefacts in *Roxby*, on the other hand, corresponded to expectations derived from local topography and floodplain extents (Chapter 4, Figure 4.21).

As was discussed in Chapters 4-7, some of these discrepancies can be explained through local recovery biases and the problem of negative evidence. In instances where less suitable land was apparently occupied, but more ideal areas have not been extensively metal-detected, we should perhaps assume that the entire region was fairly extensively settled. This is how *Frisby* — where the 'secondary' evidence suggests much more intensively occupied landscape than the current metal-detected record provides — has been interpreted. In the case of *Aunsby*, it is possible that changes to the water table have occurred since the period of activity.

In general, regional distributions followed springlines and rivers, similar to patterns noted in the VASLE project (Richards *et al.* 2009, 2.4.2.4) and other regional Anglo-Saxon studies (Ulmschneider 2000a; Chester-Kadwell 2009). The most striking patterns at the local level were similarly unsurprising: despite the exceptions noted above, activity and settlement normally occurred above floodplains, and in proximity to fresh water sources. In insular contexts such as Orkney, access to fresh water has been linked to status and control (Brundle 2005, 85-6). It is possible that control of spring sources was linked to power in certain circumstances in inland England, but around the present case study regions there appears to have been sufficient availability of freshwater to dismiss this hypothesis.

8.2.1.3 Case study fingerprints and functional groups

With the general relationship between artefacts and landscape established, the case study signatures can be evaluated as a whole. Under the functional groups the 'personal' category was the most strongly represented in each case, as was to be expected based on the VASLE project's national assessment of similarly-classified early medieval artefacts (whereby 66.6% of finds were 'Personal-related'; Richards et al (2009, 32, Fig. 62)). The fingerprint signature shows that despite this general commonality across the case studies, there was variation in the quantities of the most frequently-recovered accessory types (Figure 8.1; Figure 8.2). *Aunsby* and *Dunham* both have more than double the number of brooches than the other two study areas, for example, and comparable numbers of strap-ends. *Aunsby* has by far the greatest quantity of horse-fittings and pins, whereas *Roxby* dominates in terms of the 'other' category. Due to the large number of personal items in each case, it is difficult to discern between the other categories in the relative distribution chart of the functional groups (Figure 8.3). It is of note, however, that although *Aunsby* had the highest raw figure of 'horse-fittings', apart from *Roxby* the remaining case studies appear to have comparable relative distributions.
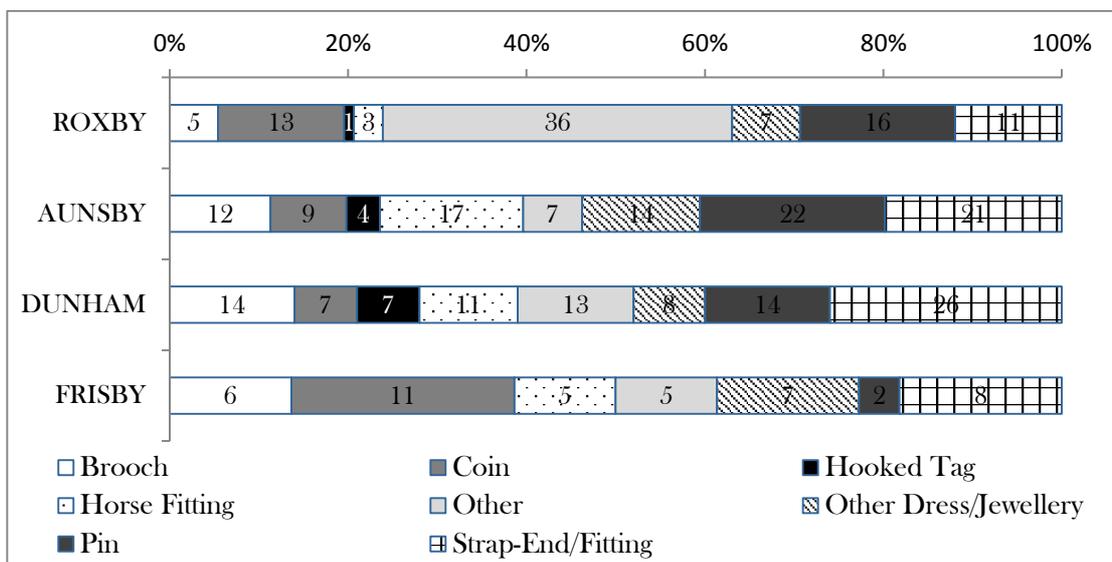
FIGURE 8.1: CASE STUDY FINGERPRINTS COMPARED (%)
Each of the three high-yielding case studies represents one find type more strongly than others: *Roxby* with the other category; *Aunsby* with pins and horse fittings; and *Dunham* with strap-ends.
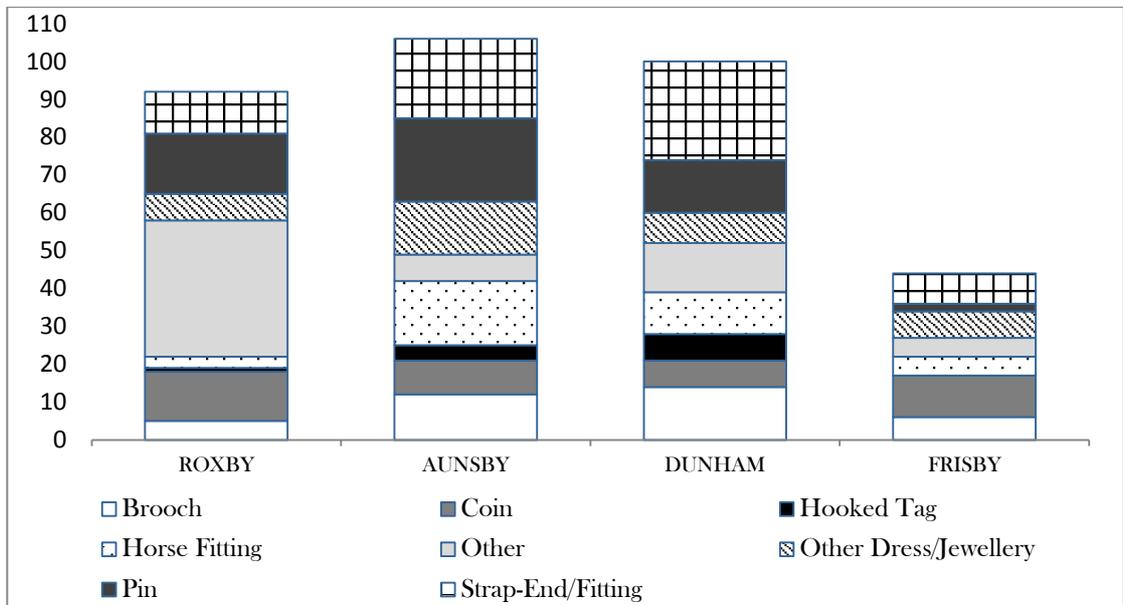
FIGURE 8.2: CASE STUDY FINGERPRINTS COMPARED
This chart presents the same data as Figure 8.1, but illustrates the relative quantities of artefacts within each case study; it is therefore not surprising that *Frisby* is not better represented in any category compared to the other case studies.

These apparently significant differences were tested for independence using a Chi-square statistical test. The test returned a *p*-value= .000 (**Appendix 4**), which indicates that there is a significance to the different artefact counts apparent in each case study. Had the null hypothesis been correct, *Aunsby* and *Dunham* would have been expected to have more artefacts in the 'other' category, and *Roxby* far fewer. The reasons behind this have already been explored (cf. Chapter 4, 4.7.1), but it is worth reinforcing that even within North Lincolnshire, where reporting of lead items was encouraged by the local FLO, *Roxby* still dominated the regional signature. It was not possible to test *Aunsby*'s prevalent horse-fitting record against all case studies because *Roxby* had a count of fewer than 5.
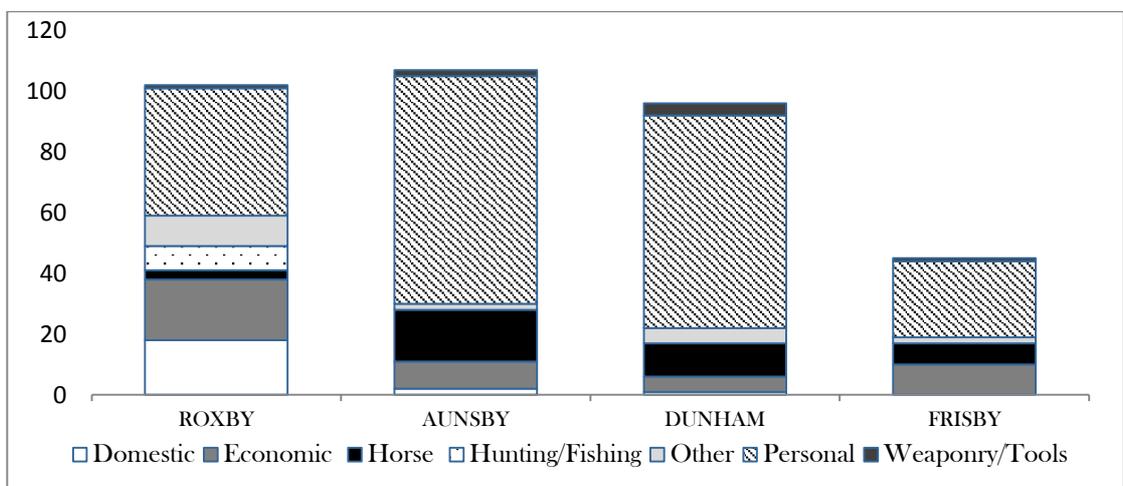
FIGURE 8.3: CASE STUDY FUNCTIONAL GROUPS COMPARED

Another way of looking at this data is in comparison to the average of the subregions. Figure 8.4 shows that across the counties of Lincolnshire, Norfolk, and Leicestershire, the most common find type is the strap-end, and the least common is the hooked tag. None of the case studies follows the average pattern tightly. This alone speaks to regionality influencing metalwork preferences in the past, but it will also reflect preservation and modern recovery practices.
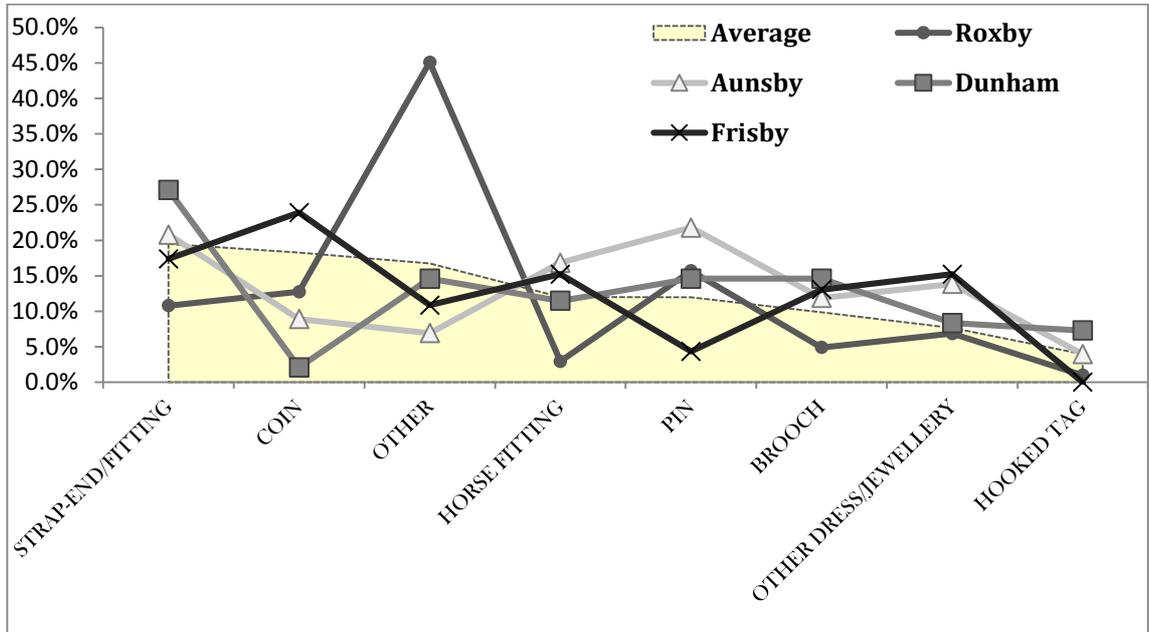
FIGURE 8.4: CASE STUDY FINGERPRINTS AGAINST SUBREGIONAL AVERAGE
The subregional average was calculated from the Lincolnshire, Norfolk, and Leicestershire fingerprints.
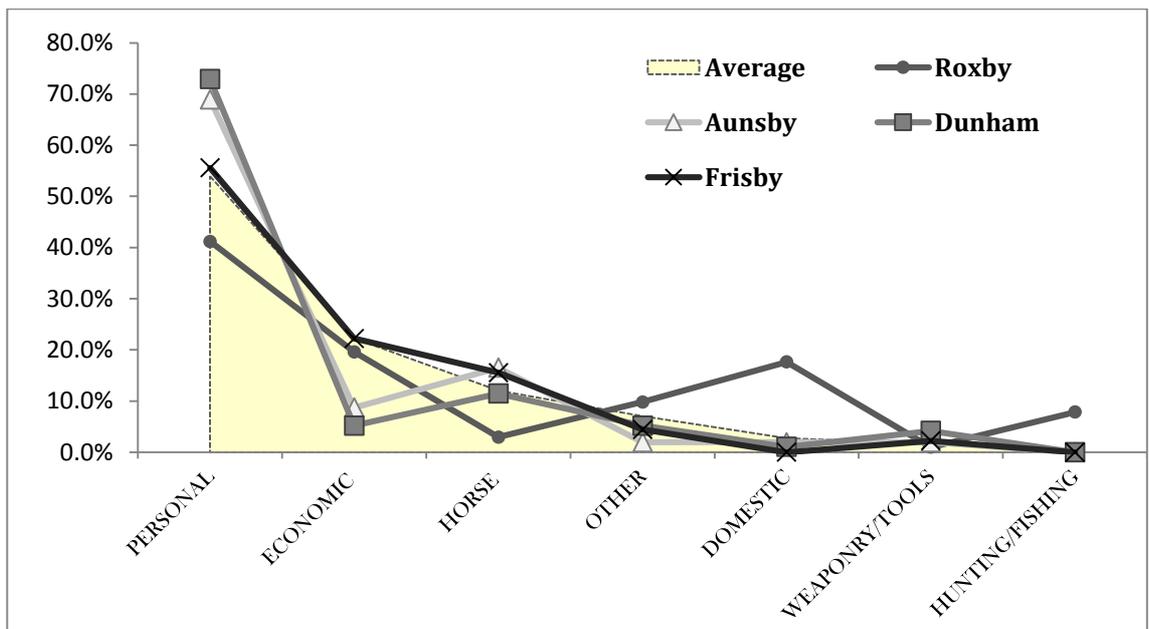
FIGURE 8.5: CASE STUDY FUNCTIONAL GROUPS AGAINST SUBREGIONAL AVERAGE

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The functional group patterns follow the subregional average more closely (Figure 8.5). It is interesting to note here that *Frisby* is very much in line with the wider patterns of recovery, especially regarding 'personal' and 'economic' finds. The degree to which *Aunsby* and *Dunham* fall below the average regarding their 'economic' groups is similarly curious. With *Dunham*, coins and an ingot from the EMC and HER indicate that it is not as economically sparse as the PASD suggests; with *Aunsby*, however, the single EMC coin does not change the picture.

It is worth briefly exploring the patterns that occur between the case studies in the 'other' fingerprint category (Figure 8.6). Of these categories, another seven were represented across the case studies as a whole, but did not occur in every case: two of these were from *Aunsby* and the remainder from *Roxby*. Several points can be drawn from these patterns. The first is that it is telling about the nature of early medieval society and communication and trade networks (as well as artefact preservation) that even within a catch-all category, the same types appear. Secondly, the fact that *Roxby* contains such a quantity of find types not present in other case studies marks it out as distinct — whether this is in relation to recovery bias or is historically representative has been discussed in the case study, Chapter 4. Finally, it is argued that this 'other' category can provide valuable clues to discerning anomalous, or 'special' sites.
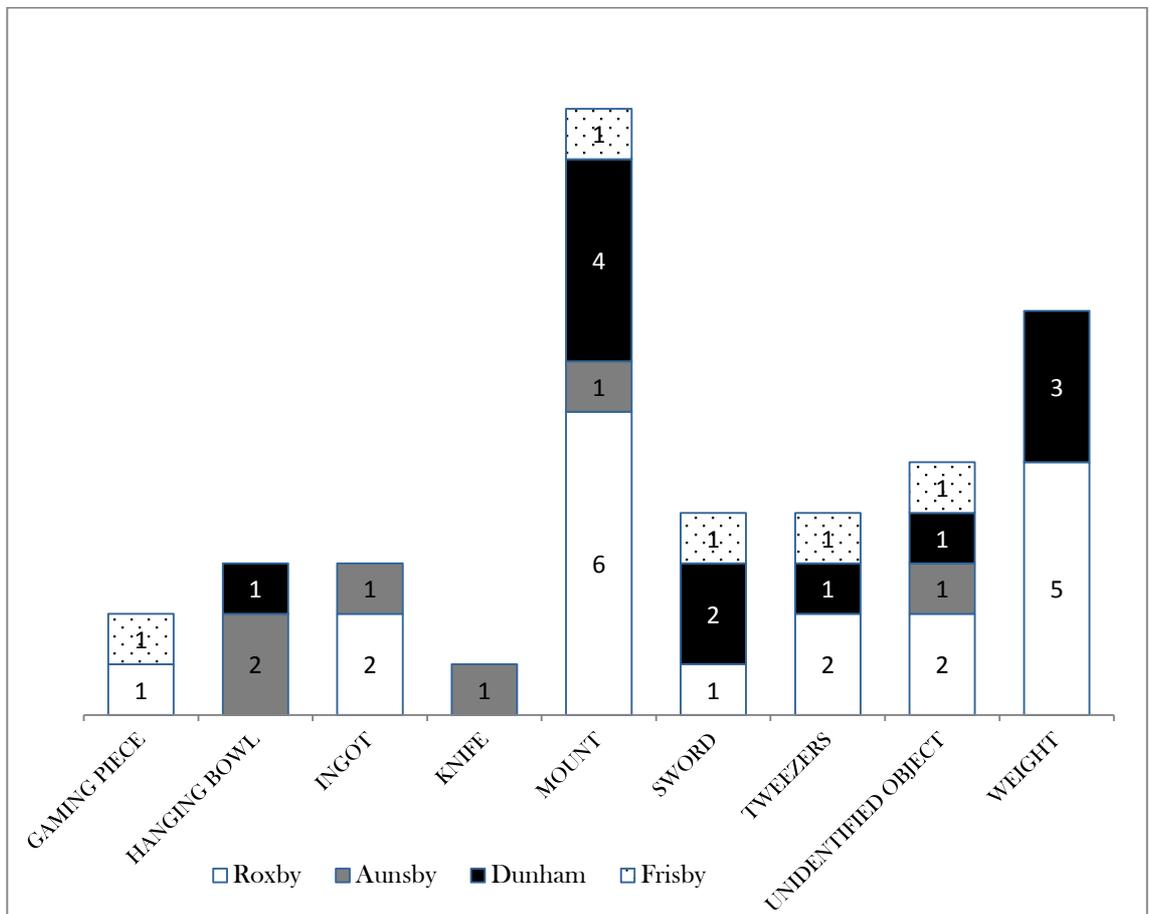
FIGURE 8.6: ALL CASE STUDIES: 'OTHER' FINGERPRINT CATEGORY

In terms of chronological patterns, the numbers were closely corroborated across the sub- and microregions. A Chi-square statistical test indicates there is a dependent relationship between the county sub-periods and their respective counts (p= .000; **Appendix 4**; Figure 8.7; Figure 8.8). Norfolk was shown to have a higher than anticipated number of artefacts dating to the Late Saxon period, as with Leicestershire, while Lincolnshire had fewer Late Saxon finds than the subregional average. These might be historically representative, or could reflect PAS dating biases in different regions. Interestingly, however, the case studies themselves were shown to have no correlation when the sub-periods were tested (p= .502; **Appendix 4**). The fact that there is no statistical significance might in fact be of historical significance: all areas reveal similar ratios of artefacts by sub-period. Since this is not true at the subregional level, these particular areas might be said to exhibit shared traits in artefact loss and deposition across the Middle and Late Saxon periods that other areas of Lincolnshire, Norfolk, and Leicestershire did not share. Thus communities in *Roxby*, *Aunsby*, *Dunham*, and *Frisby*, could be seen to have had similar levels of access to portable material culture — perhaps even as an indication of long-term local stability and continuity — while other areas within the same counties were more likely to fluctuate.
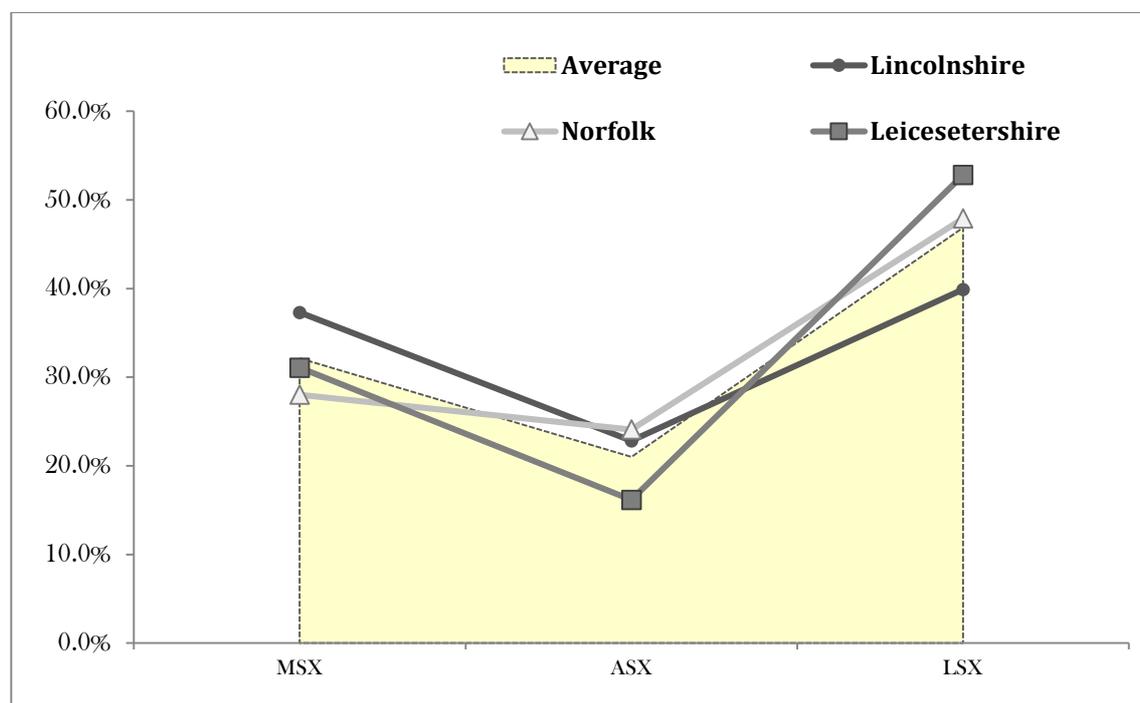
FIGURE 8.7: SUB-PERIOD TRENDS ACROSS THE SUBREGIONS AGAINST AVERAGE
Note that the average shown here is that of the combined subregions, not England and Wales as a whole. In 2009, the VASLE dataset average for Late Saxon artefacts across the country was approximately 44.4 % (subject to a slightly different dataset than that here with the inclusion of an Early-Middle Saxon category; see Richards et al (2009, Fig. 59)). The average of Lincolnshire, Norfolk and Leicestershire in the Late Saxon period here is 46.9% compared to the Middle Saxon period at 32.1%.

It is notable that the relative quantity of Late Saxon artefacts is slightly higher than the Middle Saxon finds. A greater discrepancy might have been expected, given ninth- to eleventh-century population growth (Hinton 2013), and the fact that the Late Saxon period spans a longer time-frame. It is normally assumed that populations were growing in the Late Saxon period, and that the Domesday inquest should mark a high point in England's early medieval population totals. Current estimates range from a population of 2 million to 2.5 million (Moore 1997; Bartlett 2000, 296; Hinton 2013, 178), with the assumption that it at least doubled after the seventh century when estimates average 1 million people in England (Härke 2011, 8; Hinton 2013, 147). The raw frequencies of archaeological finds do not appear to support the idea of a vastly-growing population, although their distributions within the case studies often indicate a wider use of space.
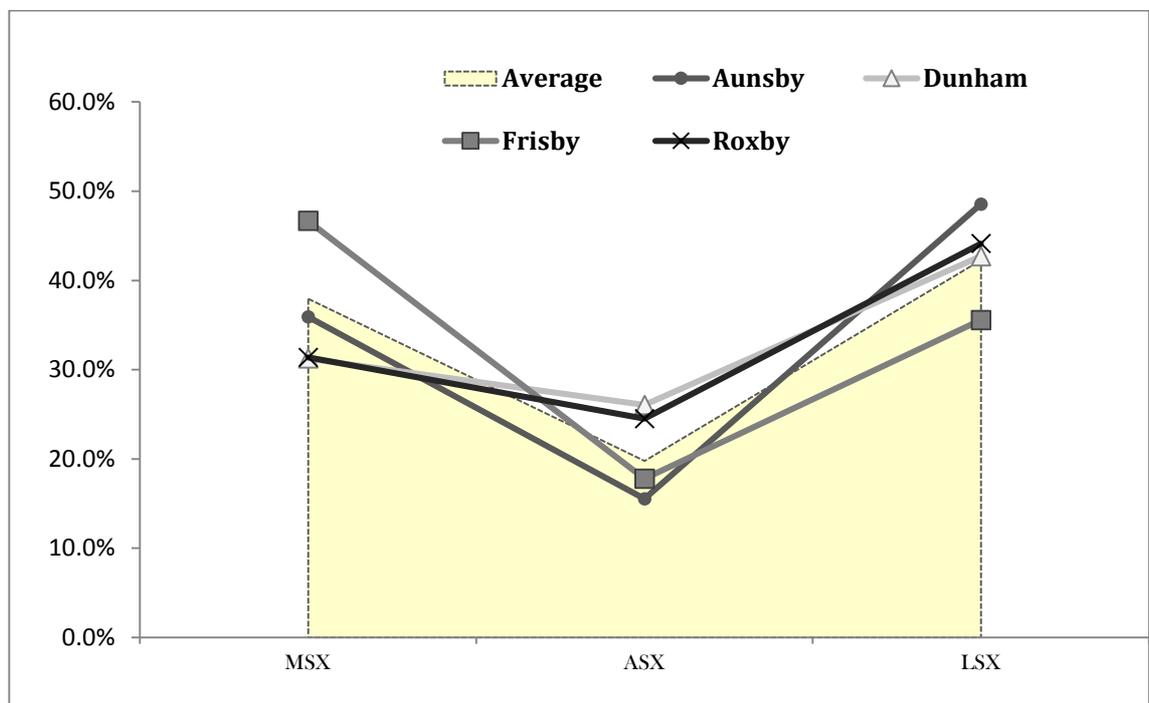
FIGURE 8.8: SUB-PERIOD TRENDS ACROSS THE CASE STUDIES AGAINST AVERAGE

The patterns across the four different study regions highlight stark differences in their artefact fingerprints. Again, this is based in many ways on *Roxby*'s 'other' category. The parish of Roxby cum Risby has the highest number of lead spindle whorls in the Humber region (18% of the Lincolnshire total), followed closely by Barton-on-Humber and Winteringham (*cf.* Chapter 4, Figure 4.39), notwithstanding extensive detecting in other areas of North Lincolnshire. This suggests that in fact lead spindle whorl use focused on the Humber estuary and Ancholme valley, reflecting a specialised local industry. It has previously been suggested that the heavy whorls for plying thick woollen cord might have been used for rope or sailcloth production (Martin Foreman, pers. comm.; Cooke *et al.* 2002), reinforcing a maritime relationship. Thus in this case, *Roxby*'s divergent patterning

has geographical resonance based on its proximity to sea- and water-ways not observed in other case studies.

8.2.2 Diagnosing different uses of space

Classifying the artefacts by fingerprint highlights key differences in the social practices and economies of the local case study communities, and in many ways strengthens the synopses presented above. In terms of identifying specific zones of activity in the case studies, the artefact fingerprints and functional groups do not alone provide sufficient data for definitive characterisations, however. Activity zones can be difficult to define, even in excavated contexts with good stratigraphy and hundreds of finds, as the cases of Cottam (Richards 1999a) and Kaupang (Skre 2011) have shown. Skre noted that this was a common problem: 'Everyone who has worked on settlement finds knows that it is not easy to undertake analyses of activity of this kind' (2011, 397). The several parts of the 'taskscape' (Ingold 1993) are therefore normally difficult to disentangle; the landscape of differentiated activity at West Heslerton, North Yorkshire (Powlesland 2003) is an apparent exception.

The methods of classifying the metalwork as applied above are nevertheless useful starting points for investigation, and provide a comparative base from which to assess different regions. Tasks act as an 'ensemble' and are 'mutually interlocking' (Ingold 1993, 158); if this premise is accepted, it is perhaps unnecessary to delimit specific zones in order to characterise the social landscape. Overall, it is shown that a more complete characterisation of the case studies is derived through combined considerations of artefact patterning and a range of other sources of evidence, including Domesday Book and place-names.

Three examples of how different characteristics across the case studies can be examined comparatively through the relationship between artefact signatures and landscape patterns are presented here, namely: the evidence for equestrianism and what its distributions imply, the evidence for trade- and market-based sites, and the identification of settlement sites.

8.2.2.1 Local distributions of equestrian equipment

Equestrianism and an elite cavalry membership in Late Saxon England have often been attributed to Scandinavian influence, and particularly to the reign of Cnut (Graham-Campbell 1991; Richards 2004, 153; Sheeran 2009). While their regional distribution has been considered by a number of scholars (Seaby and Woodfield 1980; Williams D 1998; Sheeran 2009), local surface distributions have not been examined in detail.

Roxby provides a starting point from which to inform interpretations of the other case studies. Though it lies on a corridor of movement along Ermine Street and the Jurassic Way, *Roxby* has strikingly few finds under the 'horse' category. Loss of horse-fittings might be expected to occur during travel and therefore focus around trackways. Three horse-fittings found adjacent to Ermine Street and the Jurassic Way could reflect such a case; however, given that the *Roxby* region as a whole has been extensively detected, it would appear that losses overall were less frequent than anticipated. With this in mind, the horse-fittings recovered in greater numbers from the other case studies might relate to a mode of deposition other than travel loss. Alternative suggestions are that they represent stabling areas, refuse deposits, loss from trade sites, or even production. In rare instances, collections of horse-related equipment might even point to '*cavalry graves*' similar to those noted in Denmark (Sheeran 2009, 3.4.2).

The case in *Aunsby* is the most compelling example of the four microregions, where the majority of horse-related finds cluster together in two fields approximately 500m apart (see Chapter 5, Figure 5.40). They would seem to suggest repetitive loss, possibly as a result of stabling, on-site production, or even deliberate deposition. Their location within the local landscape is in close association with a number of other contemporary artefacts suggesting a much-frequented area. One cluster is sited near a parish boundary, the other north of an excavated Middle Saxon dwelling and associated ditches. The Domesday inquest records that Osbournby was a relatively wealthy vill (its geld assessment was the third-highest in *Aunsby*) with two manors. Based on the above and the fact that the evidence for in-situ production is tentative, the preferred interpretation is that of a place where horses were kept and dressed, probably in association with one or both of the local manors. The majority of the horse-fittings are stirrups, indicating relatively late deposits, probably following Cnut's arrival in England in the early eleventh century (Sheeran 2009).

Dunham also had an interesting distribution of horse-fittings, whereby two fields accommodated the majority (see Chapter 6, Figure 6.46). If *Dunham* did indeed host a market, these losses are more readily accounted for. Otherwise they might represent refuse or stabling losses from local cavalry members, perhaps associated in some way with Mileham's burh or other elite settlements. In the future a more refined chronology of the find-types could help shed light on this; it is possible that seasonal fairs resulted in craftspeople and vendors operating from different parts of the area on each occasion, thereby accounting for their occurrence in multiple fields. In *Frisby*, the seven horse-fitting distributions are harder to interpret as they are widespread. The possible horse skeleton buried at Kirby Bellars could, however, be evidence that horses were kept locally.

The distribution of equestrian finds remains equivocal, although it is evident that travel loss was not the primary means by which items were discarded and that alternative explanations should be sought. The evidence from *Aunsby* is the most informative, and

could very well point to an association with the property of one or more local lords. The best candidate for this would be the eleventh-century manors listed in Domesday Book. If this is indeed the case, proximity to the excavated Middle Saxon dwelling suggests that Late Saxon settlement shifted only marginally to the north and perhaps also east. Other tentative links between metal-detected data and manorial estates listed in Domesday Book have been posited for *Dunham*, based additionally on their relationship to field-names and medieval moated sites (cf. 0). Characterisations such as this are useful in testing our ability to relate non-excavated archaeological data to historical sources. A research programme solely devoted to identification of Domesday Book manors in this way is unadvisable, but as a product of wider landscape investigations, PAS data can be a valuable contributor (cf. Cooper 2006, 193).

8.2.2.2   Identifying market and trade sites

Interest in 'productive sites' over the past decade has focused attention on metal-detected distributions that might signify market sites. The defining characteristics of a 'market site' remain uncertain, although they tend to be identified by high quantities of coinage (although see Loveluck 2007, 128 for warnings against this). It was suggested above, however, that despite yielding few coins, Great Dunham (*Dunham*) may have supported a long-running market. If this site merits consideration as a market, it is necessary to review whether this might also apply to the other case studies. Great Dunham is therefore looked to as a possibly diagnostic example here, accepting that all rural markets would have slightly different industries, produce and crafts fuelling the event.

TABLE 8.1: POSSIBLE 'MARKET' SITES COMPARED

Case study	Parish	Polygon size (m²)	No. artefacts	Artefacts/m²
Dunham	Great Dunham	241	51	0.21
Roxby	Risby	1144	28	0.02
Aunsby	Osbournby	410	51	0.12

The 'market' area across which the finds in Great Dunham were distributed is 241 metres square and contained 51 Middle and Late Saxon artefacts. Polygons applied to catch the distributions of the largest concentrations of finds in *Roxby* and *Aunsby* (*Frisby* having too few to evaluate) would have had to be over 1000m² in the case of *Roxby* and still only yielding 28 artefacts; and 410m² in the case of *Aunsby*, also with 51 artefacts (Table 8.1).

These figures suggest that there is certainly something unique to Great Dunham that has resulted in the concentration of archaeology compared with other equally high-yielding metal-detected regions. There is a possibility that this is due to differences in agricultural practice which may have contributed to increased 'spreading' of what could once have been more coherent deposits in *Roxby* and *Aunsby* in the past. I would suggest that this is not the case, however, since both the Risby and Osbournby distributions lie across old field boundaries that prevent the areas from being extensively ploughed out. The fact that Great Dunham has double the artefact density than Osbournby, and that both have been subject to fairly equally intense metal-detecting, does not, however, confirm the site's use as a market. Nor does this preclude the fact that smaller informal trade sites might be archaeologically represented in the other case studies. The polyhedral weights at *Roxby,* and the suggestion that the hill at *Frisby* was a later medieval fair or market both remain tentative evidence of Late Saxon economic activity. At present, however, Great Dunham remains the only convincing candidate for a market of the four case studies, certainly influenced in part by the historical reference to a local market in Domesday Book.

The details behind this interpretation have been discussed at length in Chapter 6, but it is useful to review the landscape characteristics associated with this suggestion. Great Dunham's position in the wider landscape of communication in west Norfolk strengthens its candidacy, as does its prominence on a flat-topped hill, one of the highest in the county, and presumably a well-known landmark based on its name. *Dunham* also hosted the hundredal assembly at the Launditch moot site, which would have drawn visitors from the wider region. Its location along the regional watershed furthermore positioned it as a gateway into Norfolk for eastern traffic, while it would also have conducted traffic and goods out of East Anglia and into the rest of England along the Roman road crossing the Launditch. At the local level, the modern village's layout reflects its origin as a number of dispersed hamlets which might have come to focus on a green, as was common elsewhere in Norfolk. The grand eleventh-century church at Great Dunham (Heslop 2014) appears to be indicative of one core Late Saxon focus, perhaps facing onto a common area aligned along the Roman road. The relationship between church and formal market by the time of Domesday Book might not be coincidental, and it seems likely that the market was held on common land overlooking the church.

The case of Great Dunham has important implications in terms of the widely accepted expectation that coins represent market sites and that 'productive sites' are predominantly Middle-Saxon. The evidence presented not only in Great Dunham but also from the other case studies, suggests that rural communities continued to play an active role in local economies even as nucleation and urban production increased in the Late Saxon period. Furthermore, many 'productive sites' with large quantities of coins have

been linked to ecclesiastical sites (Richards *et al.* 2009, 4.5), although these need not necessarily have hosted markets. For example, it has been suggested that Bawsey, West Norfolk, with its remarkable Middle-Saxon coinage signature, was a centre for taxation, obligation dues, or toll collection (Hutcheson 2006, 93; Davies 2010, 290; Pestell 2014, 161). Following this interpretation, coins were cached and collected rather than lost due to market transactions.

Richards et al (2009, 4.5) suggested that the durability of dress accessories being traded for and lost at certain sites might account for their over-representation compared to coins. We must also remain open to the possibility that while lower coin denominations existed, coins might not have everywhere been the primary means of conducting daily transactions amongst a rural populace (cf. Skre 2007, 448-9) — perhaps especially not in areas settled by people coming from a background of non-monetised transactions such as southern Scandinavia (Skre 2013). Different regions, as well as different social, political, and economic contexts might have required different modes of transaction, as is perhaps represented in the 'mixed' Vale of York hoard (Townend 2014, 153). Richards et al (2009, 4.5) caution that '[t]o gain a full understanding of the 'productive sites' one needs to adopt a holistic perspective, as sites with few coins or metalwork can tell us just as much about trade and exchange as those that have profuse finds.' Based on the strong Scandinavian component of most Late Saxon 'productive sites' recorded in the VASLE project, they also suggested that Scandinavian settlers might have continued to patronise rural markets even as regulated, urban trade centres were emerging as the norm. Although this interpretation was based on the prolific Torksey and Meols sites, given the evidence from *Dunham* and, to a lesser extent *Roxby*, we might consider a correlation between sites that lack evidence for monetised transactions but which otherwise appear to have supported trade in the Late Saxon period, and Scandinavian influence.

Along these lines, a Chi-square test of independence performed on the case studies based on their respective 'Scandinavian-influenced' artefacts compared to 'other' types (i.e. not exhibiting Scandinavian influence), showed that there was no dependent relationship (p= .619; **Appendix 4**). Thus, it would appear that a relationship between Scandinavian-influenced artefacts (defined in Appendix 4, n.58) and possible market sites (i.e. at Great Dunham) cannot be proven in this case, since similar levels of Scandinavian-influenced material culture are to be found across all case study areas. This does not mean, however, that people affiliating with Scandinavian culture did not play a role in the longevity of use of rural markets, but that it cannot at this stage be pursued statistically. It is also a reminder that people were consuming a range of artefact types and that those with Scandinavian affiliations would not necessarily be represented more prominently by Scandinavian-influenced material culture.

It is important to return to the key finding amongst this last inquiry, however. That is, the fact that closely comparable quantities of items that were attributed to Scandinavian influence (i.e., imports from Scandinavia, evidence of viking activity, or English-produced 'Anglo-Scandinavian' material culture) were recovered from across *Roxby*, *Aunsby*, and *Dunham*. Because these study areas also had similar quantities of finds overall (c. 100), the Chi-square test returned no significant correlation. These numbers were contrasted against the Domesday Book figures for 'freemen' and 'freewomen' in the case studies, to illustrate that just as with place-names, we cannot assume a correlation between Scandinavian influence and 'free' peasantry (Figure 8.9). Even more interesting, however, is that *Frisby* yielded approximately half as many artefacts of Scandinavian influence, and it also has approximately half as many artefacts in total compared with the other case studies (Figure 8.10). This ratio therefore appears to be predictable to an extent: within a given Danelaw county approximately one-quarter to one-third of the Middle and Late Saxon artefacts might be expected to exhibit Scandinavian influence. This cannot be taken as a failsafe model, but as with the sub-period distributions discussed previously, serves to indicate commonalities in access to (and preferences for) material culture throughout the Danelaw.
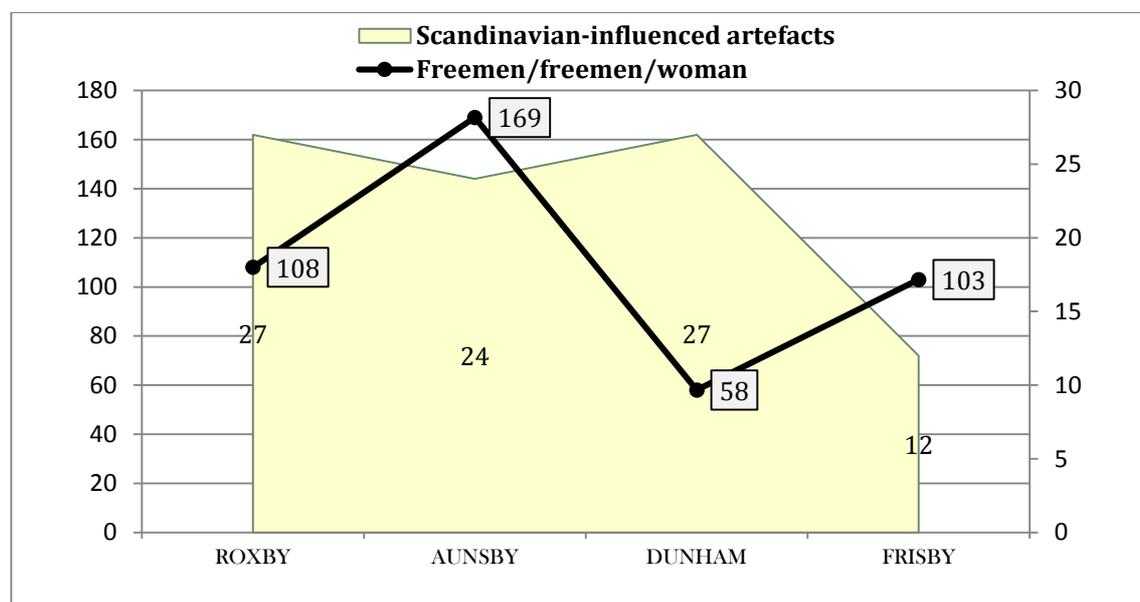
FIGURE 8.9: SCANDINAVIAN-INFLUENCED MATERIAL CULTURE AND DB FREEMEN AND WOMEN
It is now widely accepted that the old generalisation that Domesday Book freemen represent Scandinavian populations is unreliable. This table shows that both *Roxby* and *Dunham* have the same number of 'Scandinavian-influenced' artefacts, despite place-name evidence suggesting that *Roxby* and the Ancholme valley were more densely settled by Scandinavian-speaking inhabitants. See also Figure 8.10, below for percentage ratios of Scandinavian-influenced material culture.
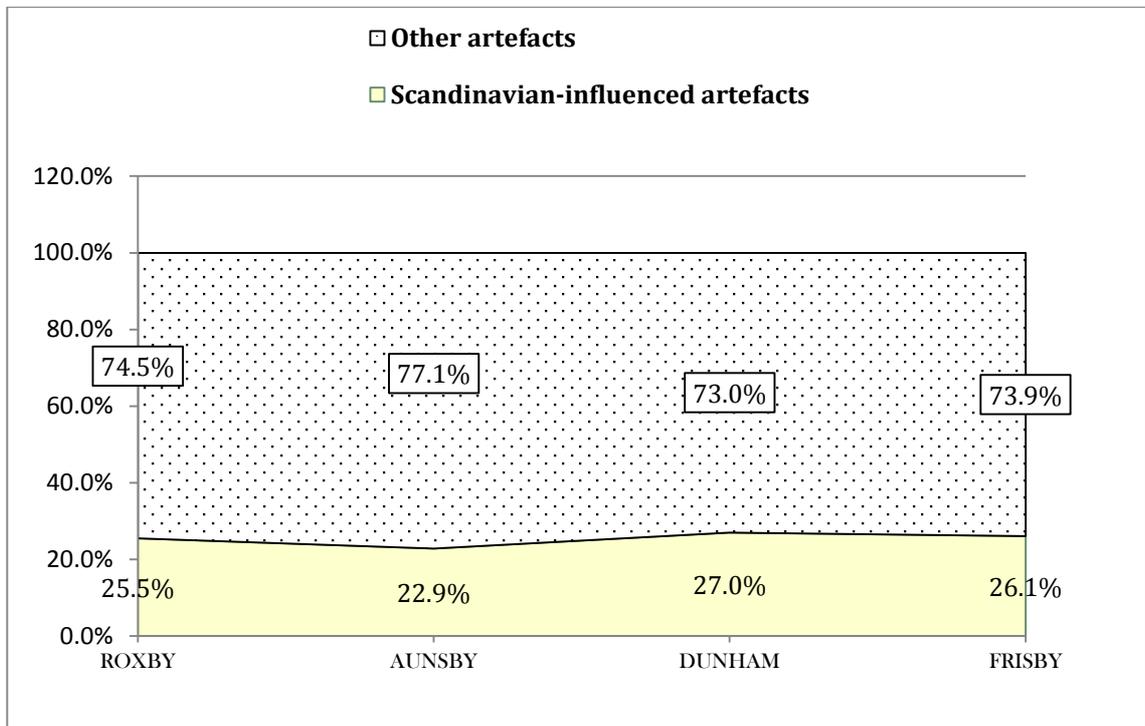
FIGURE 8.10: SCANDINAVIAN-INFLUENCED MATERIAL CULTURE: ALL CASE STUDIES (%)

8.2.2.3   Metal-detected artefacts and identification of settlement sites

A final example of how artefact distributions and their landscape setting can inform on local characteristics is through the evidence they provide for settlement. Distributions of potsherds are commonly used to identify settlement limits and manured fields. Wade-Martins' (1980) research on medieval settlements in Norfolk relied extensively on such evidence, for example. Metal-detected data is recovered less systematically than fieldwalking, and without high-resolution spatial data it is even less amenable to similar distribution analyses. Nevertheless, certain artefacts were ascribed to different spheres of activity through the functional groups, and it was hoped that their distribution would provide general indications of settlement-associated losses versus other means of deposition. For example, vessels and quernstones are more likely to be associated with the 'domus' (house; homestead), whereas net weights and farming equipment are more likely to point to activity beyond the settlement, in the 'agrios' (field; see Hodder (1990) on dichotomies between the two spheres in the Neolithic). These can also serve to explore gendered use of space. Unfortunately, however, as the case study analyses demonstrated, 'domestic' metal artefacts and others associated with agriculture or subsistence were uncommon beyond *Roxby*, making such distinctions difficult.

Nevertheless, while it was evident that distinct activity zones could not be characterised based on the metalwork categorisations, other solutions were found whereby settlements and areas of everyday activity might be more readily identified. One obvious answer was to look to the limited non-metallic artefactual records from the PAS,

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HERs, and other sources. In each case study, potsherd evidence was present to varying degrees. Although chronological resolution varied within HER entries, sometimes only confirming the presence of 'Anglo-Saxon' pottery, it was still possible to develop a better image of the areas that were inhabited in the early medieval period. At a more conjectural level, concentrations of 'personal' Late Saxon items that were unlikely to come from burial contexts and could not definitely be attributed to trade sites, were taken as evidence of repeated human presence, possibly indicating refuse discards around places of settlement over time. This line of thought is evident in other landscape-artefact studies, including Chester-Kadwell's Early Saxon research (2009, 81), stating that 'in theory settlement would be indicated by a mixed suite of finds…' Evidence from the surrounding landscape, including previous and later known settlement patterns, helped to inform these interpretations.

At times the evidence appeared to confirm that modern villages indeed had early medieval origins, as with the villages of Roxby (*Roxby*) and Kirby Bellars (*Frisby*), for example. These latter were additionally supported by cropmark and earthwork evidence. In other cases, known deserted medieval villages had some association with Late Saxon material culture that suggested probable occupation. This was demonstrated at High Risby (*Roxby*), Scott Willoughby (*Aunsby*), and Kempstone (*Dunham*). Instances where distributions could not be linked to known later settlements were more tentatively interpreted: the finds at Beeston (*Dunham*), for example, appear to point to one or two of Norfolk's many unidentified, abandoned hamlets (Medlycott 2011, 70). Other tentative links have been made between places where low numbers of early Anglo-Saxon artefacts were recovered, but where place-name evidence and Late Saxon material culture pointed to probable settlement in the area by AD 1086 (e.g. Swarby, *Aunsby*; see Figure 5.56). In several cases these sites were chronologically distinguishable, evidencing Late Saxon floruits and instances of continuity (evident in Little Dunham (*Dunham*), for example). It was rarely practical to attempt to identify specific settlement characteristics such as street frontages, commons, or greens, based on the artefact distributions alone. In some instances, however, pre-enclosure maps hinted at the forms that earlier settlements may have taken, including identifying droveways and common land (cf. Figure 5.61 and Figure 7.61). In both the cases of Osbournby (*Aunsby*) and Kirby Bellars (*Frisby*), evidence for activity in the form of artefact loss had one primary focus around known medieval settlement cores. However, scatters of artefacts were also recovered around 'secondary' locations in these parishes, in places which would have been part of, or adjacent to, a great field by the time open field farming had been implemented. Notably, in both cases these areas of minor early medieval losses were extensively metal-detected, and had revealed vast amounts of Romano-British metalwork. In the case of Kirby Bellars, this area of long-term activity with relatively little visible Anglo-Saxon archaeology has been tentatively

linked to a '*thorp*' fieldname, perhaps preserving a now-lost settlement active alongside the *–by* of Kirby (cf.

Box 4.2; Chapter 7, 7.5.2). Numerous -*thorp* place-names are still extant in Kesteven, including 'Culverthorpe'. It is possible that some sites of Romano-British settlement remained active to an extent throughout the Anglo-Saxon period, and that in Mercia at least, they often attracted *–thorp* appellatives. Those that did not thrive, as Culverthorpe and Thorpe Ewerby did in Kesteven, probably did not survive as settlements into the late medieval period. Proximity to growing nucleated villages such as Osbournby and Kirby [Bellars] might have contributed to this fate. These tentative explorations are made possible by the artefactual and place-name evidence. The relationship between *–thorps* and *–bys* might be more fruitfully assessed using landscape and metal-detected evidence in the future.
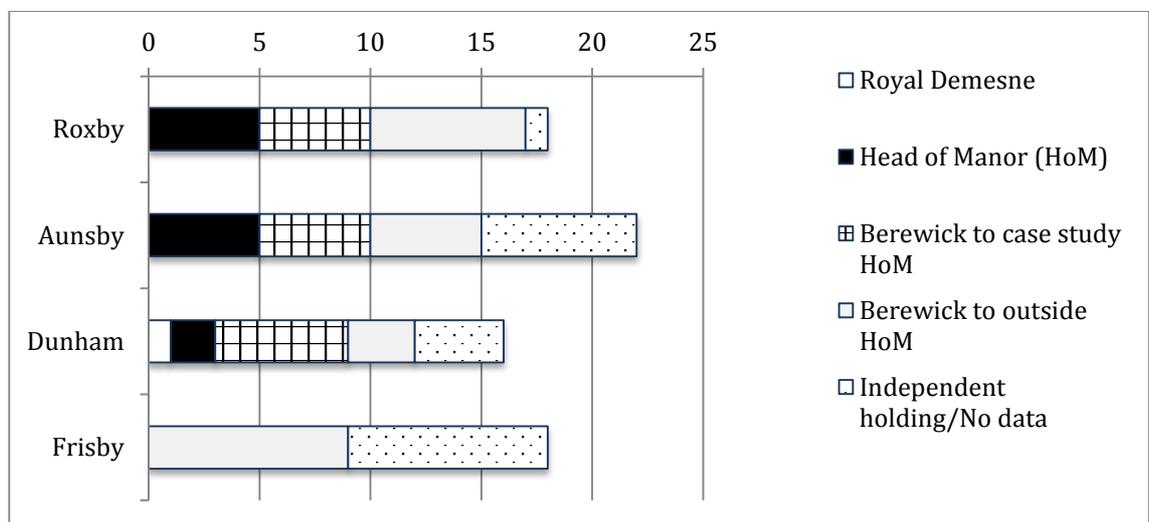
FIGURE 8.11: DOMESDAY BOOK ESTATE HOLDING TYPES ACROSS THE CASE STUDIES
Note the difference in composition of holding in *Frisby* to the rest of the case studies. These are firstly examples of regional differences in landholding patterns, but they also point to probable differences in social relationships and networks of communication throughout the surrounding region. *Dunham* is the only case study held in royal demesne. Both *Roxby* and *Aunsby*, the Lincolnshire case studies, have five Heads of Manor in the case study areas, and the same number of berewicks beholden to manors within the case study, suggesting a closely-knit system of land use.

At a more general level, Domesday Book provides a means of contextualising artefacts within the manorial estate, occasionally preserving clues about Middle Saxon estate structures and their subsequent fragmentation. Mileham in *Dunham* proved to be a large estate centre, and Culverthorpe in *Aunsby* also held several outliers; but the majority of the finds across each of the case studies were recovered from parishes that were partially independent and beholden to other manorial centres. The exception here is *Roxby*, where local holdings were curiously interconnected despite the manors not controlling land elsewhere (Figure 8.11). The growth of local centres over time explains some of this recovery bias: Melton Mowbray, for example, which held Kirby Bellars as soke, is now an

urban environment with infrequent metal-detecting. On the other hand, places like Mileham and Folkingham (Osbournby's soke centre) have yielded comparatively little evidence despite experiencing only modest urban development over time. The conclusion is that while more is surely to be discovered from certain soke centres, the communities living in the outliers and sokelands were responsible for a wide range of activities. The archaeological visibility of these outliers has important implications regarding interpretations of social status and the connections between everyday life and estate organisation.

Taken together, the evidence from the case studies highlights settlement diversity in the Middle and Late Saxon periods. In some cases regional expectations as to settlement forms were confirmed, including the more dispersed, smaller settlements identified on the Norfolk claylands. In other areas, where it might have been assumed that congregation would result in noticeable artefact losses, this was not always the case (e.g. assembly sites; cf. Chapter 7, 7.8). These results are valuable in that they showcase the methodological opportunities afforded by PAS data for identifying Viking-Age sites and their relationship to antecedent and later features, but they also highlight how certain assumptions should not be made about artefact distributions. It becomes possible to think not just about a parish exhibiting general evidence of activity in the Viking Age, but about specific places and how they are situated physically and temporally in relation to others in the surrounding region.

8.2.3 Landscapes of travel and communication

Another way of looking at the artefactual evidence in light of the landscape is in terms of movement and communication. Many of the items within the case studies were not produced on-site and therefore arrived at their ultimate place of deposition via the movement of people. The case studies were all similarly situated with easy access to major routeways in use since at least the Roman period. This might in part reflect recovery biases, since metal-detectorists are more likely to target areas around Roman roads, especially when they are preserved in modern roads (Ulmschneider 2000a, 102; Richards *et al.* 2009, 2.3; Robbins 2012, 57). Interestingly, however, apart from *Dunham* there was little evidence that settlement-related activity focused around these major thoroughfares; there was an apparent desire to segregate local life from the dangers and disturbances of the road. Additional implications are that we should not assume that casual loss as a result of road travel was common, or that such losses are commonly recovered via metal-detecting. Settlement at a distance from major routeways, which had roots in the Early and Middle Saxon periods, resulted in two modes of movement and communication operating in rural areas: local traffic moved between settlements along droveways, greenways, and lesser tracks (e.g. between Osbournby and Dembleby (Chapter 5)),

whereas official or other travellers could bypass such settlements by using the older Roman roads. This system is especially evident in *Roxby* where the artefact distributions cluster around the route of the upland Jurassic Way and lesser tracks visible in cropmarks, but far less closely around Ermine Street to the east. Travel systems such as this are evidence for the nested levels on which social interaction and communication took place (see Wrathmell 2012, 87-8, for discussion on 'three levels' of travel and communication in the Yorkshire Wolds).

At the wider regional level, riverine and sea travel added another dimension to communication and trade networks. Within Scandinavian-settled England, the Trent is well-attested as a means of travel between York and the south. Historical references to stipulations and prescriptions on travel, such as the fact that burgesses were required to escort the king's men to York (Campbell 1987, 13, refering to Domesday Book), are further evidence that movement was a source of control, linked to political regulations and social status. References to viking activity in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* frequently detail raiding party and Great Army movements; their swiftness and widespread coverage over land and by sea deviated wildly from standard means of movement, and almost certainly increased the fear associated with them. Power could thus be exerted by movement in a number of ways.

The movement of ideas, fashion, and allegiances through portable material culture in the early medieval period could also be seen as evidence of a subtler means of demonstrating power, whereby the creation and negotiation of identities through accessories, as well as the mercantile prowess behind their distribution became tools of the non-elite for social betterment. The relationship between landscape, geography, travel networks, and artefact distribution is complex due to the number of agents acting upon each component. Nevertheless, as the local case studies have shown, human agency generally trumps geography as a means of explaining the movement of goods. Mayen quernstones are a good example of this phenomenon, having been transported from the Rhineland to Britain for millennia (Pohl 2010), and thence inland to rural settlements such as Mileham, *Dunham* (cf. Chapter 6, 6.3.4.3), and Riby Cross Roads (*Lincs.*), for example, probably via Ipswich (Steedman 1994, 296). It is useful here to briefly consider the known networks of transportation evidenced across the four case studies in order to explore the relationship between movement, artefact, and landscape more closely.

The schematic presented in Figure 8.12, below, illustrates a mere fraction of the network of connections between place, artefact, and people that ultimately led to the deposition of the case study objects. It is important to note that the network lines are indicative of estimated provenance only, and do not take into account the initial sourcing of material and production locations, or intermediary market stages before their arrival inland. They are therefore not evidence of direct communication (cf. Sindbæk 2007b, 66).

Nevertheless, at a glance, the network indicates that even relatively ordinary communities were, to one degree or another, linked to a wide world of international and interregional connections.

FIGURE 8.12: NETWORKS OF PROVENANCE, ALL CASE STUDIES

There remains some debate as to the impact of Scandinavian influence on Viking-Age trade networks in England (see Hinton 2005, 157) which could be explored further here. From a Scandinavian perspective, Sindbæk (2007a, 2007b) has shown that 'nodal points' and central distribution sites played a prominent role in the communication networks of the Viking Age. Others have suggested that central places in Scandinavia can be identified through proximity to distributions of Irish and British metalwork from organised raiding parties (Sørheim 2011; Heen-Pettersen 2014). The evidence from Anglo-Scandinavian England, including rural areas such as *Roxby* and *Dunham*, adds another level of complexity to these interpretations. Certainly Sørheim's (2011) interpretation cannot be applied the other way around, since Scandinavian metalwork in England is found well beyond anticipated 'centres' (although cf. Richards et al (2009, 5.0) on hubs connected to a 'lower tier of central places'). Similar observations regarding the dissemination of English-produced Scandinavian-style brooches led Kershaw to question the assumption that their production only occurred at major centres (2013, 141). Where we know that certain artefacts were definitely produced in Scandinavia and transported to England, such as the Jellinge-style brooch from *Roxby* (Figure 4.47), but where their distribution cannot simply be explained through proximity to a central place, two explanations —

which are not mutually exclusive — present themselves: 1) that, as mentioned previously, we underestimate the role of rural exchange sites which did not necessarily operate as regulated markets; and 2) that these items were not all moving as a result of trade, but as a result of accompanying their migrant owners.

Recently scholars have drawn attention to the diverse influences from Ireland and the continent — particularly Carolingian, Frankish and Frisian — which accompanied the Scandinavian settlement process in England (e.g. Thomas 2012b), probably along with migrants from these areas as well (e.g. McLeod 2014). This balances the view of a Scandinavian-dominated trade network, and also of a Scandinavian-dominated social landscape in the diasporic 'host' nation. Along these lines we are reminded again of the origins of the place-name 'Frisby': 'homestead of the Frisians' (and cf. McLeod 2014, 138-9). Cultural diversity is written into the English landscape, but it is also evident in the connections to which the portable material culture points. Syncretism as a result of culture contact, and movement back and forth to Scandinavia and the continent only diversified this further (Fellows Jensen 1995, 8-9; McLeod 2014).

Finally, though perishable commodities are difficult to trace, the communication networks linking intraregional settlements were undoubtedly used for the transportation of payments of rent in kind, including the movement of cattle, flour, ale, and firewood (*Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, 852), in addition to inter- and intra-regional commodities such as pottery and salt. Transportation of the latter is in fact evidenced in place-names found in Osbournby, *Aunsby* ('Saltway'), and Mileham, *Dunham* ('Salter's Way'), and the Roman road through *Frisby* known as 'Le Strete' and 'Saltgate'. Although the names are not traceable to the early medieval period, the salt industry was well-attested in the Roman and medieval periods, and Domesday Book records salt-mills in *Dunham* by at least the late eleventh century. It is therefore reasonable to assume that these routeways preserve evidence of the ancient industry, and that part of the day-to-day traffic through the case study landscapes was connected to the transportation of salt. Potsherds provide the best evidence for intraregional communication within the case studies, and reflect regular interaction with regional pottery production networks, such as those of the Thetford and Torksey wares. The contrast between regionally-sourced pottery and metalwork acquired from further afield, might reflect the different social values ascribed to domestic material culture (less frequently displayed beyond the elite) versus decorative accessories (intended for display).

By tracing the provenance of certain artefacts it has been possible to illustrate some of the networks of communication and trade that existed on multiple scales in the Middle and Late Saxon periods. While none of the artefacts can be shown to have moved directly from their place of manufacture to the place of loss or deposition, important implications in terms of accessibility are discernible: none of the case studies — three of which are at

least 20 kilometres from the nearest coast — existed in isolation. In fact, proximity to known 'centres' of trade does not appear to have strongly influenced the degree to which imported goods were consumed at these sites. It is notable, however, that artefact losses along prominent roadsides is not as frequent as would be expected, especially in light of metal-detecting patterns that favour known routeways. The patterns of loss and discard were most evident in areas that were likely to be associated with settlement rather than travel which has valuable implications for future interpretations.

8.2.4 Conclusion

Through consideration of artefact distributions in relation to their landscape context, and by comparing the results of the case studies, a number of points can be summarised:

Methodological

1) Artefact distributions can be usefully applied to identify areas of past activity, including the locations of probable sites of settlement;
2) Specific zones of activity remain difficult to define, but generalisations can be made about how space was used, especially in conjunction with other lines of evidence;
3) Assumptions should not be made about the processes of loss and deposition; travel and certain sites of congregation yielded fewer artefacts than anticipated, and we must therefore reconsider how we understand practices leading to loss, deposition, and the ultimate formation of the archaeological record that becomes available to metal-detect;

Case-study specific

1) Despite similarities in recovered artefact types and in local population densities, artefact signatures reflected diverse practices within the micro-regions;
2) *Roxby*'s signature continues to stand out as a unique reflection of local industry, while *Dunham*'s signature and landscape context strongly suggests a site of trade in ways that other case studies do not support; *Aunsby* has the strongest evidence for early nucleated settlement, probably with Middle-Saxon origins;
3) Communication networks shifted to include more Scandinavian imports in the Late Saxon period, but the Middle Saxon period was by no means less connected.

Artefact distributions alone cannot reveal the ways in which a landscape was perceived, and cannot always identify areas of local or regional importance. Characterisation of a given area must therefore be a holistic endeavour. Artefacts are especially good, however, at revealing key information about the people who made and used them. This is explored in the following discussion, in which the people of Viking-Age

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England are drawn into the narrative of socio-cultural negotiations and implementations of change over time.

8.3 Artefacts and People

'A man's sword is a direct record of the man himself.'

-Hinton (1975, 180)

8.3.1 Identity and material culture

It was demonstrated above that in several cases different activity zones were identified through a combination of artefact classifications and other historical and archaeological evidence, but who were the people behind the artefacts? The artefacts themselves weave additional layers of meaning into the emerging narrative by proving access to social context: a sword is not only a 'direct record' of a person (cf. Hinton 1975, 180, above), but is a multi-vocal record of a series of social practices affiliated with and negotiated through numerous individuals and groups. Portable objects are a crucial component of the currently available evidence for Viking Age culture contact and transition. The influence of diasporic movement can be explored through the manufacture, selection, use and movement of artefacts. It is not always possible — or necessarily desirable — to trace individual heritage through an artefact's attributes (see Barth 1969, 9), but by evaluating cultural influences and the forging of new expressions at different scales, the artefactual evidence contributes to a nuanced understanding of expressions of identity in this period of change and negotiation.

It is beyond the remit of this project to review each of the many types of artefact that appear in the various case studies, nor is it possible to fully address all of the social themes and facets of materiality expressed in the artefactual record. Instead, this discussion looks to a selection of artefacts drawn from the case studies to act as examples through which certain key themes are explored. In order to attempt to address the multi-faceted ways in which identity was expressed and constructed, it is considered in terms of two sub-categories: status, and ethnic and cultural identities.

8.3.2 Expressions of status

Jewelled and gilded items are the most obvious expressions of wealth in the material record, and help to identify elite members of the community. These artefacts are more commonly viewed in the pre- and early Viking Age when portable material wealth was a signifier of status, and formed a part of a 'prestige economy' (Williams 2007) and gift exchange (Samson 1991; Skre 2013). Traditionally, this was followed by a reversion to a monetised economy, changes in land ownership, and the refashioning of elite expressions

of status (Fleming 2010, 295; Thomas 2012a, 53): all contributed to the transition evident in the case studies whereby a handful of gold and garnet accessories made way for widespread use of copper-alloy accessories. It was not a straightforward transition since there is evidence for shifts not only in elite attitudes to fashion, but also in those of the middling ranks. There was determination and a sense of entitlement behind the accessorising of the lesser landholders after the ninth century, which may be attributed to widespread changes in control over land. The fragmentation of complex Middle-Saxon estates meant more local lords, many of whom would have been glorified farmers and not necessarily thegns as before (Fleming 2010, 276-89). The 'freemen' listed in Domesday Book often held small manors, whether shared or independently of others (e.g. Mileham in *Dunham* (NDB 4,8)), and might also represent a social group aspiring to style themselves as elites. The many personal place-names that emerged in the Late Saxon period are further evidence of changing social attitudes (Fellows-Jensen 2011, 72). It was not merely the acquisition of accessories for their own sake that was important, but the fact that they *looked* finer than they were: there is evidence for gilding on some of the Late Saxon copper alloy accessories in the case studies, and recent analyses of copper alloy surfaces suggest that objects would have had a sheen akin to gold (Hilary Walker, pers. comm.). Furthermore, as markets grew, so did the availability of such items; it was becoming increasingly difficult to keep access to certain expressions of status 'closed' (Hinton 1999), both physically and socially.

8.3.2.1   High-status signifiers

Each of the case studies revealed artefacts that could be taken to represent high status, often through gilding and the presence of garnets or cut glass. These were normally dated to the Middle Saxon period. In the three cases where concentrations of 'personal' metalwork dating to the seventh and early eighth centuries might represent Anglo-Saxon cemeteries (i.e., Santon, *Roxby*, Scott Willoughby-Osbournby, *Aunsby*, and Kirby Bellars, *Frisby*), at least one gilded and garnet item suggested an elite presence. The horse-harness mount in *Aunsby* (A074) is a clear example of elite identity through reference to horse ownership, let alone the gold and jewels comprising the artefact itself. While not a 'personal' object on its own, its location within an assemblage of 'personal' items from a possible cemetery could suggest a secondary, personal association in the final stages of the artefact's life.

In addition to the status associated with horse ownership in life — as, for example, is suggested by 'the considerable economic resources necessary to breed, train and feed quality riding animals' (Fern 2005, 67) and the elitism of the hunt (Fleming 2010, 296) — funerary and memorial traditions were occasionally associated with horse-related objects.

These are known from horse burials such as Sutton Hoo's 'Mound 17' (Carver 2005); but also from the graves of individuals accompanied by horse accessories, some of which evidenced reuse for personal ornamentation as seen, for example, in a female grave at Wallingford, Oxfordshire (Fern 2005, 46). In this respect, a single item can reference a geographically widespread funerary practice known from fifth- to eighth-century England and continental Europe (Fern 2005), in addition to the practices associated with rearing, riding, and equipping horses. These associations are not necessarily part of a conscious decision to express a certain identity in the past, but their consideration helps to situate the notion of status within a wider range of social practices. Certainly with horse-related artefacts these practices are also reflected in the types of land attendant with horse-riding activities, looking beyond the immediate areas in which they were deposited, discussed above. The coincidence of woodland and horse-related equipment in western Leicestershire, and the wooded park at Mileham, *Dunham*, around which a number of harness fittings have been recovered, are further proof. These artefacts therefore have implications of associated social practice and symbolism that extend far beyond their final deposition context.

Thus each case study has evidence that speaks to a small number of people expressing wealth and status through a range of practices in the Middle Saxon period. These were probably local people of power, perhaps thegnly landowners. Weapon depositions at *Dunham* and *Frisby* suggest warrior connotations. The distribution of such high-status finds, near the excavated 'hall' at Osbournby (*Aunsby*) for example, or in proximity to local churches, halls, and moated sites in *Dunham* and Kirby Bellars (*Frisby*), also ties into associations of local wealth and patronage. Overall, *Dunham* remains the only case study where a strong elite presence is attested from the Middle Saxon period to the Norman Conquest; the others probably represent associations with higher-status farmer-lords or lesser thegns. The Domesday Book evidence supports such an interpretation.

8.3.2.2   Negotiating status

In the Late Saxon period there is often the expectation to see evidence of increased social stratification. It is normally the case, however, that what we do see is restricted not to portable material displays of wealth as was common in the Middle Saxon period (Thomas 2012a, 50). Rather, it could take the form of association with structures (e.g. proximity to churches), as well as monumental sculpture, enclosures, and place-names. In many ways, therefore, status had become associated with stasis, place, and property. Without sculptural or excavated evidence, this can be difficult to trace archaeologically. The metalwork of this period appears to exhibit less social differentiation.

Artefacts tend to remain undervalued in considerations of the lower social strata, although this is a topic that is beginning to receive more attention (Smith 2009). It has been noted (Geake and Naylor 2008, 102; see Chapter 1) that metal-detected material culture is valuable because it provides access to a diversity of social strata through its often-unsystematic recovery process. What, then, does the record reveal about the construction of identity amongst the silent majority of the Middle and Late Saxon periods?

Roskams (2006) has suggested that when seeking the marginalised of society it is useful to look for structures of oppression since these will be more visible than the divested classes themselves. Power structures are evident to an extent through artefacts associated with hunting, including horse-related artefacts and even bells which, whether worn on the person or not (Schoenfelder and Richards 2011), seem to *reference* the prestige of animals kept for hunting, such as dogs (Fleming 2010, 296). These practices required keepers and trainers (Fern 2005, 67) who would not have been part of elite society. A closely-related food procurement practice was provisioning for the local lord with fish and fowl, as was evident at Flixborough (Dobney *et al.* 2007, 190-211) and has been noted in several contemporary documents (e.g. *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, 852). Hints of similar activities were visible at *Roxby* through the lead net weights which suggest fishing, wild-fowling, or both (cf. Chapter 4, Box 4.4). Thus structures of obligation and power evidenced through artefacts can point to the activities of both lordly and humbler groups.

Artefacts provide other ways into the non-elite of society, however. Access to the most mundane, everyday artefacts, is frustrated overall by the fact that iron is selected against by the majority of metal-detectorists.[51] Some non-metal finds recovered by chance or through fieldwalking do help to fill a few gaps, but the tools of the farmer and the fixtures of the built environment generally remain invisible in unexcavated contexts, even if the pottery associated with the family meal is recovered. Across both the Middle and Late Saxon periods, however, there are certain find types that probably remained 'open' to a range of social groups, such as pins, brooches, and strap-fittings which could be finely or very poorly executed (see, for example, Thomas 2003; Thomas 2004 (on strap fittings); Haldenby 2012 (on pins); Kershaw 2013 (on brooches)), all of which occur in the case study datasets. Increased access to personal accessories is furthermore evident in the Late Saxon case study assemblages.

By the eleventh century in *Aunsby*, for example, lead and pewter brooches were being worn by some members of the community. Smith (2009, 323) notes that in the later medieval period, different craftspeople appear to have worked with copper alloy than with lead, suggesting that the distinction between these materials extended beyond the consumer's selection. Conversely, recent metallurgical analysis of metalworking crucibles from Kaupang has shown that the same craftspeople worked with a range of non-ferrous

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[51] Indeed, some metal-detecting machines are designed to discriminate against iron.

metals, including lead and copper alloy (Pedersen in press). Thus, while lead items might not necessarily reveal different craft production strategies than copper alloy, many examples are poorly-executed. Their presence alongside other cheaply-made copper-alloy dress accessories within Late Saxon communities speaks of emerging social aspirations amongst the middling classes, and a burgeoning market of mass-produced trinkets.

As noted above, widespread social change is well-attested across England into the ninth and tenth centuries, fuelled by a number of transitions not limited to estate fragmentation and a growing market economy. Certainly the process of Scandinavian settlement coincided with many of these changes. It cannot be said to have been a major catalyst, however, since many such processes were in motion in one part of the country or another prior to the Viking Age. It does seem, on the other hand, that certain changes in terms of access to investment (including sculpture and metalwork) and associated social practices (e.g. commemoration and expressions of fashion), and even access to land were hastened by viking disruptions and Scandinavian influence (Martin 2007, 135). The evidence from the case studies illustrates that these transitions, whether slow or fast, and regardless of how they were implemented, had important implications for local communities.

Research on metal-detected finds makes it increasingly apparent that women played crucial roles in negotiating culture contact processes in the Viking Age (Kershaw 2013). In other ways, women's attire probably also served to negotiate and advertise personal and family status. Just as there were social differences between cottagers, smallholders (bordars), villagers, and freemen (listed in increasing order of land held), some differentiation in roles might be expected between the wife of a smallholder, for example, and that of a freeman. Women could also be heads of household or manor, and we see, for example, a 'free woman' as lord of part of Bittering (*Dunham*) TRE (*NDB* 1, 213). Those families with more land and independence (such as freemen) would have had greater income (Fleming 2010, 313). We might therefore expect the freemen and wealthier smallholders and their families to make up the majority of the non-elite seeking to acquire decorative accessories.

8.3.3 *Expressions of ethnicity and cultural identity*

Although ethnicity would have been a fluid and context-dependent concept in the Viking Age in general (Hadley 2002b; Svanberg 2003; Abrams 2012; Downham 2012), it is also clear that certain groups made deliberately visual statements that were recognisable as 'other' to the viewer. This is especially apparent in the examples of pagan 'viking' burials, such as the cremation mound cemetery at Heath Wood, Ingleby, Derbyshire (Richards 1995), or the Balladoole burial on the Isle of Man (Bersu and Wilson 1966). Less overt perhaps, but nevertheless visibly signifying cultural differences, were styles of dress and dress accessories. The traditionally Scandinavian oval brooches worn by women to fasten

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apron-style garments, for example, were unlike dresses worn in England (Graham-Campbell 1980, 27-30; Kershaw 2013, 21, 96-100). Indeed, thanks to Kershaw's recent study (2013), brooches remain the best examples for tracing Scandinavian provenance through metalwork, although the extent to which their wearers identified with Scandinavian heritage remains open to interpretation. Furthermore, there is evidence that Scandinavian men were discernible from locals due to their bared necks. Pestell (2013, 254) quotes a passage from a c.tenth-century letter to a fellow Anglo-Saxon in which it is clear that 'Scandinavian' styles were noticeably different, but also that they were becoming fashionable amongst local English populations:

> I tell thee also, brother Edward, now that thou hast asked me, that you [the English people] do wrong in abandoning the English practices which your fathers followed, and in loving the practices of heathen men who begrudge you life, and in so doing show by such evil habits that you despise your race and your ancestors, since in insult to them you dress in Danish fashion with bared necks and blinded eyes. I will say no more about that shameful mode of dress except what books tell us, that he will be accursed who follows heathen practices in his life and in so doing dishonours his own race.
>
> <div align="right">-anon. letter in Whitelock (1995, no. 232)</div>

This passage further serves to illustrate that at least some of those living in tenth-century England perceived the Scandinavian settlers as an 'ethnic other', and that racial profiling occurred based on dress, as we know it to have occurred based on other visual cues such as hairstyle (Ashby 2014b). Attitudes such as this reveal germinations of prejudice towards Scandinavians in England long before the St Brice's Day Massacre of 1002.

The concept of the viking diaspora (Jesch 2008a; Abrams 2012) is particularly relevant here, since it refers to migrant communities with a connection to a common homeland (Cohen 2008), who remain 'culturally visible in the receiving nation' (Abrams 2012, 19). Although Scandinavian national identities were not imported directly into the diasporic countries in ways that the over-simplified use of 'Dane' and 'Norse' might imply (Sindbæk 2008; Abrams 2012), some groups chose, through dress, to define themselves along various Scandinavian-associated social boundaries (Barth 1969, 15). The agency of the artefact (Latour 2005, 179-80; Sindbæk 2008, 173), of its technology and manufacturer (Ingold 2009; Ashby 2011a), and of its user/wearer are all implicated in the ways identity was expressed through material culture (cf. Robb 2010).

8.3.3.1   Portable material culture and the ethnic 'other'

The metalwork of Anglo-Scandinavian England provides many opportunities to explore processes of cultural and ethnic negotiation. One such artefact that is frequently looked to is the Thor's hammer. It has been argued that women played a crucial role in affirming

non-Christian religious identities based on the frequency with which Thor's hammers are found associated with female graves in Scandinavia (Staecker 2003, 468). Thor's hammers are found throughout Scandinavian-occupied England and are seen by Pestell (2013, 238-44) as 'key indicators' of Scandinavian presence, along with bullion.[52] Based on Scandinavian analogy, we might imagine that those deposited in England were similarly associated with females. Only a single possible Thor's hammer pendant has been recovered from a local case study area, *Roxby* (Chapter 4, Box 4.3), although more are known within the macro study regions. Thurcaston, west of *Frisby*, for example, has one recorded on the PAS (PASD: LEIC-185125; LEI0097). Pestell (2013) has argued that Scandinavian-style brooches, on the other hand, were not necessarily signifiers of a Scandinavian presence; they would have been more readily adopted by Anglo-Saxon women since they did not signify any overtly non-Christian affiliations. Nevertheless, Kershaw's (2013) research has led her to suggest that whether of Scandinavian provenance or not, the wearers of Scandinavian imported brooches and their derivatives played a key role in the negotiation of culture contact. Debate as to the number of Scandinavian females who accompanied male raiders and immigrants to England has ranged widely (see Jesch (1991, 2008b); Bowden *et al* (2008); Kershaw (2009); McLeod (2011); and see Goodacre et al (2005) for a genetics-based Scottish study). McLeod (2011, 353) concludes that the ratio of females to males may have been between one-third to 'roughly equal'. This is a ratio only, but such an estimate adds weight to the argument that Scandinavian-derived brooches are more likely to have arrived in England accompanying their female owners as opposed to as items of trade. Geake (2001, 249) attributes the 'outstandingly poor quality' of some of the Scandinavian-influenced metalwork to the arrival of Danish 'peasant women'.

With this in mind, the role of portable material culture in signifying and constructing ethnic or other culturally-distinguishable identities must be reviewed based on the evidence from local case studies. As noted, one means of approaching this is by looking at brooches, as Kershaw (2013) demonstrated; each of the case studies has revealed examples of 'Anglo-Scandinavian' brooches in addition to other forms. In *Aunsby* and *Dunham*, ansate brooches from the Middle Saxon period were found, and in *Roxby* and *Frisby*, certain penannular and disc brooches occurred. The Middle Saxon styles were common types, with *Dunham* revealing a local preference for East-Anglian-style ansate brooches. A disc brooch with inset jewels in *Frisby* was evidently high status, while the basic lead openwork brooch from *Aunsby* might have belonged to a middling inhabitant. The distribution of most of these types was widespread, and apart from a few finer items, they reflected common access to ideas and manufacture. The East Anglian types suggest a

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[52] The recent discovery from Winteringham (adjoining *Roxby*) of a pendant bearing a depiction of Odin (PASD: NLM-7F954A), with Swedish and Baltic parallels, might reflect another example of pagan affiliation.

broad regionalism, the remit of which extended beyond East Anglia proper into Kesteven and Lindsey.

By the Late Saxon periods, the brooches being produced, traded, worn, and lost at the case studies were frequently of Scandinavian influence. Again, an East Anglian style had emerged as it had with the Middle Saxon ansate brooches, this time incorporating Scandinavian elements with Anglo-Saxon brooch-pin technology (Kershaw 2013, 56). But, as was discussed above (Chapter 6, 6.8), and as Kershaw (2013, 62) has shown, the distribution of the East Anglian Borre-style disc brooches reflects a northerly preference for the brooches that focuses on modern Norfolk. This suggests that unlike the ansate brooches which were widespread across East Anglia as a whole, including Essex and Sussex, the disc brooches with Scandinavian motifs were selected for by consumers in Norfolk for reasons that those living further south did not share in.

Interestingly, an East Anglian Borre-style series brooch was recovered from both Osbournby (*Aunsby*), and Roxby (*Roxby*) in Lincolnshire. In fact, as Kershaw (2013, 141, Map 4.7) illustrates, a number of these brooches are found outwith Norfolk, probably as a result of trade. It is clear, therefore, that the distribution of brooch types was not limited by barriers of communication or travel, but rather by preference. This example might be one the strongest pieces of evidence in support of Scandinavian-style designs acting as overt cultural, if not ethnic, signifiers. The fact that their distribution extended into the eastern Danelaw from Norfolk, but not far south of it, seems further proof that their association was with areas peopled by and proclaiming allegiance to territory that had once been under Scandinavian control. The fact that, according to the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* (AD 1014), the peoples of Lincolnshire and Norfolk welcomed Cnut as ruler in the eleventh century, might be viewed as a similar expression.

To return to the case studies and how these affiliations might have been negotiated at the local level, it is interesting to note that there is little correlation between Scandinavian or Anglo-Scandinavian brooches and the place-name evidence: *Dunham* has as many brooches with Scandinavian influence as *Roxby* and *Aunsby*; *Frisby*, with its heavily Scandinavianised toponymic landscape has so far revealed none. In the cases of *Roxby* and *Dunham*, brooches produced in Scandinavia were recovered near to brooches with Scandinavian elements but which were produced in England. This points to the presence of women able to acquire the 'original' product, as well as their new derivatives, or perhaps to people trading in Scandinavian brooches. In either case, the widespread availability and use of Scandinavian-influenced brooches is evident; neither case study is located close to a major urban hub or emporia. We can further posit that based on the evidence across three of the four case studies, Scandinavian-style brooches were both familiar and desirable to rural community members in Anglo-Scandinavian England.

Indeed, Kershaw (2013, 141-3) noted that the distribution of brooches produced in England points to rural production centres as yet unidentified. She tentatively suggested Hindringham, north of *Dunham*, as a possible production site given the number of brooches recovered from the parish (Kershaw 2013, 143). It was suggested above that the *Dunham* region might be interpreted similarly, especially in light of the lead alloy ingot from Beeston which could constitute evidence for jewellery production. We must therefore also consider the role of the manufacturers in negotiations of identity through Viking-Age craftsmanship.

Ashby (2011b) has shown that regionality influenced comb-production in north-east England, while Kershaw (2013) illustrated the regionality of certain brooch types in the Scandinavian homeland. Thus far, the East Anglian Borre-style disc brooch series provides the clearest evidence for regional brooch preferences in Viking-Age England. Interestingly, Kershaw (2009, 301) notes that this series is one of the most 'conservative' in style, with Scandinavian motifs strictly copied onto Anglo-Saxon style brooches. She sees this as a reflection of the early 'limits to the extent of cultural assimilation' prior to the later brooch designs which incorporated mixed Anglo-Saxon and Scandinavian elements (Kershaw 2009, 302). This might be taken to indicate that at this early stage, manufacturers were not yet versed in the 'language' of the local styles (Ashby 2011a) and were therefore foreigners. Fellows-Jensen (2011, 82) has asserted a similar idea based on the place-name evidence, whereby names that incorporated Anglo-Saxon elements with a -*by* ending could only reflect a later stage of acculturation once the local language became more familiar; place-names of wholly Scandinavian origin were therefore interpreted as earlier settlements. McLeod's recent research (2014) suggests that craftspeople deliberately emigrated from Scandinavian parts to find work in England. If rural production of the East Anglian series was undertaken initially by Scandinavian settlers, their decision to conserve the styles of their homeland could hint at a common diasporic characteristic whereby migrants romanticise the homeland and its customs (Cohen 2008, 165). If this is the case, the East Anglian series would have its origins in emblemic conveyances of Scandinavian heritage (cf. Weissner 1983, 257-8), but which perhaps came to represent more of a regional identity as it became widely fashionable throughout Norfolk. Certainly its technology favoured local traditions, making it more attractive to non-Scandinavians.

The conservatism observed on the East Anglian series must have been a *choice* on the part of the craftspeople, with interesting implications in terms of mimetics. In this case, the copy became a widely-recognisable and desirable object; but was this because of its close imitation of the Scandinavian motif — the *original* to which it referred — or because of its syncretic properties as a *new* product that perhaps appealed to a wide range of local and immigrant brooch-wearers? The occurrence of the series to a lesser extent in

Lincolnshire and other Danelaw counties west of East Anglia might even indicate that Scandinavian sympathisers looked to East Anglia for fashionable and emblemic brooches, just as East Anglians had looked eastwards to the Continent for inspiration in the earlier Anglo-Saxon periods (Geake 1997).

After the Saxon conquest of Scandinavian-occupied lands, however, it is furthermore possible that these brooches, and perhaps later styles, came to symbolise resistance to southern powers (cf. Hadley 2000, 127). Their distribution certainly suggests so, both in terms of who was selecting for them, and who was actively selecting against them in spite of their availability. The people of Norfolk appear to have been key players in preserving an anti-Saxon attitude that probably found sympathisers in other areas of earlier Scandinavian territory such as Lincolnshire. Scholars have recently emphasised that we ought to be looking more to East Anglia as a formative place within the narrative of Viking-Age England (see, for example, ideas in Thomas (2012b); Kershaw (2013); McLeod (2014)). Although its toponymic landscape does not resemble those of the Scandinavianised midlands, the artefactual evidence and its distribution strongly suggests that Scandinavian affiliations of some sort played a crucial role in the identity negotiation processes of the Late Saxon period.

8.3.4 Conclusion

The artefacts themselves offer a complex set of data within which multiple lines of enquiry might be pursued. It has not been possible to explore all of these here, but some of the key insights they provide into negotiations of status and socio-cultural identity have been touched upon. Importantly, it was demonstrated that the microregional case studies each contain a number of artefacts that help to identify some of the groups of people active within these landscapes.

There was certainly change over time as fashions ebbed, but there was also the suggestion that active choices on the part of inhabitants were guiding this. That there might have been an element of resistance to southern pressures embedded in the adoption of Scandinavian-style material culture speaks of regionally-minded communities. Non-elite classes enjoying new freedom of choice in access to commodities appear to have played an important role in this.

8.4 People and Landscape

The first part of this discussion presented the background results that came from using portable artefacts to characterise local landscapes, while, again through the artefacts recovered, the second part explored the types of people who lived in these areas. This final discussion draws the above discussions back into the concept of landscape, in order that

the 'nested negotiations' played out in different environments and on differing socio-cultural levels can be explored.

Portable material culture has been at the fore of these evaluations, both in terms of isolating locations to study, and as a source of evidence for past activities and expressions of identity. The artefacts, the landscapes in which they were deposited, and the people who made and used them, now lead to broader considerations of the relationship between landscape and people across the transition into the Viking Age. In one sense, therefore, the discussion here comes full circle, returning to the theme of landscape. At this stage, however, the term 'landscape' is broadened to include social and political activity in addition to the natural and structured environment. Power and control were expressed and emphasised through the establishment of boundaries and the emergence of less explicitly defined territories, whether political or socio-cultural. Some of these developments can be related to the impact of Viking-Age migration and culture contact, while others were longer-term, organic changes affecting life in England more generally. This final discussion illustrates that an artefact-led methodology, as applied throughout this project, can serve not only to identify areas of past activity, but to generate a narrative of socio-cultural negotiations enacted on multiple and nested levels, across space and time.

8.4.1 The Scandinavian impact: change, negotiation, diaspora, and regionality

It has been convincingly argued that migration theory provides a valuable concept through which the Scandinavian settlement of England might be assessed (McLeod 2014). One of McLeod's (2014, 283) assertions was that since migration was pre-meditated and informed, it therefore involved conscious decisions to acculturate from an early stage. This would certainly solve the 'problem' of the missing Vikings in England (cf. Hadley 2002b, 46). The argument has many strengths, but, as with other models for 'Anglo-Scandinavianisation', risks oversimplifying a complex process. As Richards (2011, 469) noted, no 'common response' should be expected of acculturation and expressions of identity in Viking Age England.

What exactly is meant by the term 'complex' that is so often applied to Viking-Age identities, however? I believe that this can be examined through the nested case studies, where it has previously been demonstrated that negotiations took place on multiple levels. Although these are fluid and interconnected concepts, they can usefully be broken down into four constituent parts that emerged over the course of the Viking Age: an overarching north-eastern identity based on distinction from the West Saxons; subregional identities tied to geographic coherence; socio-cultural identities dictated by displays of control; and

local identities that were closely bound to the immediate environment and places of meaning. The concepts of diaspora and regionality are particularly useful in exploring this further.

8.4.1.1   Regionalism or Scandinavian identity in the Danelaw?

Hadley (2001) argues that regional particularism, in which any given region's populations simply sought to distinguish themselves from the West Saxons, might have influenced the apparently Scandinavian 'Danelaw' character evident in the archaeological record (see also Hadley 2000, 127). Abrams (2008, 174) counters that regional particularism need not deny the area's Scandinavian-ness. Hadley's (2001) argument is valuable in that it allows for the prevalence of longer-term socio-political factors influencing Viking-Age negotiations and expressions of identity; Anglo-Saxon populations continued to play an important role in identity negotiation.

These standpoints can be reconciled based on the evidence from the case study subregions but also from previous wider-scale research on distributions of Scandinavian-influenced material (e.g. Richards *et al.* 2009; Schoenfelder and Richards 2011; Kershaw 2013). It is attested that peoples with little or no claim to Scandinavian heritage appropriated styles of dress and accessories of Scandinavian influence (cf. quote, p492). Thus, a number of factors were at work influencing the use of Scandinavian-style material culture. One of these factors was certainly — at least in the initial years of the Scandinavian settlement — linked to maintenance of expressions of a Scandinavian 'homeland' culture. This is seen in the Scandinavian-produced items lost throughout England, in the 'indicator' finds of Pestell (2013): silver ingots and Thor's hammers, and later in the conservative imitation of Scandinavian designs found on the East Anglian series Borre-style brooches (Kershaw 2013, 56-65).

Although the practices associated with the use of these items and styles may have been inspired by elite emulation, the 'Scandinavianisation' of the local populations was not a top-down imposition. In fact, as Hadley (2000) has argued, preserving a unified 'Scandinavian' identity was low on the agenda of incoming Scandinavian lords whose personal political gains depended more on the type of pre-meditated acculturation for which McLeod (2014, 283) proposes Scandinavian migrants planned. The primary players involved in upholding the Scandinavian-flavoured spread of material culture evidenced in the metalwork of the Danelaw were therefore a combination of incoming peasant- and farmer-settlers, traders, craftspeople, lesser thegns, and local Anglo-Saxons. The upper elite classes played a lesser role in this process of negotiation not only because of their political agendas that required early conversion to Christianity and acceptance of other Anglo-Saxon trappings (Hadley 2000, 126), but because a slower-burning change in the

ways elite classes defined themselves was already underway: by the tenth-century, metalwork had 'largely fallen out of favour as a means of expressing rank and social status amongst the Late Saxon "thegnly" classes' (Thomas 2012b, 53).

What was initially an inevitable outcome of migration, in which incoming populations in the ninth century introduced new material culture, had, by the early 900s, grown to represent much more. It is suggested that Norfolk was one of the regional foci driving the development of a distinctive but broad regionalism that spread west and north from East Anglia, and east and south from Ireland, and which resulted in the distribution of 'Scandinavian' material culture evident in the national pattern of metalwork today (see Richards *et al.* 2009, Fig. 63, for example).[53] It has been acknowledged that East Anglia had long played a crucial role in migration patterns to England from the continent, and that Scandinavian migrations from western Europe to England probably followed in the footsteps of their Anglo-Saxon predecessors (McLeod 2014, 56-7). East Anglia became an initial destination for migrant communities. Its continued importance to Scandinavian groups in the Viking Age is attested to in references in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*. For example, following Guthrum's death in AD 894, 'the wives, ships, and booty' of a Scandinavian army were entrusted to the East Angles when they marched on Chester (*Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* 894). The implication here is that there was a trusted base of sympathetic peoples in East Anglia with whom protection was ensured.

The Saxon conquest of land previously in Scandinavian hands in the early-mid-tenth century arguably acted as a greater catalytic 'moment of crisis' than the decades of Scandinavian raids. Blackburn (2006, 206) illustrates that a large number of coin hoards from the southern Danelaw were deposited between c. AD 910-925. It is at this time that divergences in use of metalwork and coinage between northern and southern East Anglia really become apparent (Martin 2007, 132-3; Kershaw 2013, 192), although there were probably pre-Viking roots in these regional differences (McLeod 2014, 57). Pressures from the West Saxons resulted in resistance. This appears to have been expressed materially, although it probably took other forms. Production of Scandinavian-style brooches probably centred on urban areas such as Thetford, Norwich, and York (Kershaw 2013, 135, 137-9), where Scandinavian autonomy remained stronger than other parts of Saxon-occupied England. East Anglia's near-insular geography with the fenlands separating it from western England might have added to its relative autonomy, and perhaps its role as a haven for Scandinavians, even after the Saxon conquest. Distributions of these items focus in northern East Anglia and the northeast of England (e.g. Kershaw 2013, Map 4.2), and

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[53] The evidence presented here focuses on East Anglia and eastern England, although it is highly likely that similar developments with roots in Irish communication networks were taking place in the west and north, thereby accounting for the 'Hiberno-Norse' style material culture more strongly represented in north-westerly parts of Scandinavian-occupied England.

might even hint at an eastward-facing front, whereby communities in the east midlands, for example, sought inspiration for their 'resistance' from Norfolk.

The West Saxon agenda in the tenth century was perceived as a form of colonialism from within; not only was Scandinavian autonomy threatened, but the earlier kingdoms of Northumbria, Mercia and East Anglia had long resisted Saxon pressures. One result was that across a wide region of Scandinavian-settled England known as the 'Danelaw', Scandinavian-influenced material culture came to represent a number of strands of resistance to southern influence. To some this might have been more aligned with personal or communal notions of 'homeland', but to others, including local Anglo-Saxons, it had become a common form of signalling a non-West-Saxon identity, with roots in earlier, regionally particularist influences, as suggested by Hadley (2000). The renaissance of Scandinavian-style design and personal names following Cnut's conquest of England in the eleventh century might be seen as an extension of this. Regional support for Cnut in Scandinavian-settled counties as recorded in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* was probably also shaped by lingering diasporic notions of 'homeland' and a romanticised Scandinavian past (for a modern example of diasporic romanticisation of the homeland, see Miller (2008, 73-82)). Thus many materially-expressed negotiations of the Viking Age might be viewed on the very broad scale as a resistance movement in opposition to southern control.

8.4.1.2   *Regionalism and the psyche*

Nested within this overarching and temporally-deep framework of resistance and diasporic identity were a number of different subregional identities, shaped primarily by the natural environment and geography. The landscape can have a profound effect on the human psyche (see Schama (1996) for an example from the Low Countries; cf. also Williamson *et al* (2013, 49) on links between East Anglia and the Netherlands). Such effects can take the form of shared cultural expressions through architecture, sculpture, everyday material such as pottery, or other forms of display (this notion has been explored from a number of angles in Lincolnshire: see Symonds (2003a; 2003b) on pottery; Stocker and Everson (2006) on Romanesque architecture; and Ten Harkel (2010) on a variety of media). Examples of this type of regionalism were observed in the case study of *Aunsby* where stone sculptures of locally-quarried Ancaster stone were identified in Swarby (Chapter 5, 5.3.4.4).[54] *Frisby* was also connected to a subregional pottery network, with evidence of links to nearby Nottingham, and in *Dunham*, a western Norfolk regionalism focusing on the control of goods into and out of East Anglia can be posited. This role was probably shared with the other 'productive' sites throughout the region (e.g.

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[54] These subregional interpretations have been extensively explored in the individual case study discussions and are therefore not explored in great detail here.

Rogerson 2003; Davies 2010; Pestell 2014), to which *Dunham* might now be seen to belong. *Dunham*'s natural prominence on the local watershed would have served to delimit and reinforce this. *Roxby* provides a similar example, sited in a position to control and direct movement into the Ancholme valley and out to the Humber estuary. This Humber-side regionalism was derived not only from the channelling cliffs and wolds, but on the maritime and pastoral industries enabled by the local landscape.

8.4.1.3   Socio-cultural negotiations

Throughout the Viking Age another, more complex, set of negotiations was at work. These are not readily related to any one scale, but they can be exemplified through systems of landholding and naming: they are the socio-cultural negotiations observable between lower and elite classes, and also between groups affiliating themselves with different cultures. Social negotiations through the accessorising of the lower classes have been discussed above, as have the ways in which artefacts could be used to signify cultural or ethnic identities. There is considerable overlap between these two distinctions, since, following Hadley's (2000) reasoning, lower classes of Scandinavian migrants were more likely to identify with locals of a similar social standing than with elite Scandinavian lords, and vice-versa. Kin ties, and settlement practices that upheld 'homeland' hierarchies further complicate this, however. These have been noted in the Icelandic *Landnam* (settlement process) (Smith 1995), and might also have occurred in England following models of allegiance within raiding parties and armies (Richards 2011, 47).

Cultural distinctions that might have had some basis in language, ethnicity, and/or dress, continued to influence perceptions of places and peoples notwithstanding the cultural diversity of Anglo-Scandinavian England (as attested, for example, by isotopic analysis of the Ridgeway Hill burials (Loe *et al.* 2014)).[55] This is exemplified by the 'St Brice's Day Massacre' of 1002, as well as in comments such as that on 'heathen' dress from the tenth century, noted above (p492). It was not, however, only those identifying as members of the native population who distinguished 'others' amongst groups living in parts of Scandinavian-settled England: place-names such as Normanby, (*N. Lincs.*) ('North-men'; i.e. 'homestead of the people from the North': Norway (Cameron 2001, 44)) and Frisby (Leics.) ('homestead of the Frisians' (Cox 2004, 80)) suggest that neighbouring communities of settled Scandinavian-speaking peoples — presumably with backgrounds from southern Scandinavia (modern Denmark and northern Germany) — made up the local cultural majority. The fact that members of a Scandinavian-speaking population

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[55] At Ridgeway Hill, Dorset (Loe et al 2014), following excavation of a mass execution grave dating to the Viking Age, isotopic analysis revealed that the origins of many of the individuals were diverse, coming from the arctic circle and Ireland, for example, as well as from different parts of Scandinavia.

would distinguish 'others' in this way indicates that homogeneity might have been preserved within certain settling communities to the extent that their distinctiveness from the mixed but 'Danish'-dominated groups attracted a label. These examples further suggest that diasporic notions of separate homeland regions were remembered in place-names if not actively upheld by community members.

In these examples, early cultural or kin-groups might be related to a certain settlement, and their shared identities may well have traversed class boundaries. In another sense, however, landholding classes were part of their own complex network of social negotiations. The Domesday evidence reflects a range of estate holdings, from large, wealthy complexes, to small, independent manors. Lesser lords of small vills probably had more in common with the local community than with the upper elite who travelled with the king's retinue. Across this wide spectrum, however, a common tenet was emerging: as status displays through metalwork were falling out of favour amongst the elite, association with places of importance, and with property ownership were increasingly used as a means of proclaiming and negotiating status.

Settlement forms in rural England changed across the seventh to eleventh (and even twelfth) centuries as ideas of property and ownership became legally defined. The archaeological record preserves such changes in the form of enclosure boundaries and ditches that serve to delineate and structure space (Hamerow 1995, 16; Reynolds 2003, 101; Thomas 2012a, 47). Accompanying these transitions were increased social constraints and changes in agricultural regimes (Thomas 2012a, 47). Occasionally carucate assessments listed in Domesday Book preserve hints of Middle Saxon or earlier estate units: when they make up units of 12 (occasionally 14 or 18) it is suggested that they reflect earlier hundredal units based on a 12-carucate duodecimal system (e.g. Darby 1954, 319-21; Roffe 1986, 31). In each of the case studies it was possible to identify certain boundaries that were probably only solidified in the Late Saxon or early post-Conquest periods.[56]

Many such divisions were a result of the colonial side of the Scandinavian settlement process, associated with Scandinavian lords and thegns, although it has been argued that non-immigrant parties might have made use of viking disruptions thereby initiating the fragmentation process (Martin 2007, 135). The case studies explored here suggest that there was indeed some relationship between this process, the arrival of Scandinavian settlers to the midlands and East Anglia, and the trade of Scandinavian-influenced objects. The *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* (877; 880) records that members of the Great Army divided

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[56] These details are discussed in the separate case studies, but, for example, Osbournby (*Aunsby*) was assessed at 6 carcucates, while the additions of Scott Willoughby and Dembleby's assessments totals 12.1. These numbers, and the geographical coherence of the later parishes, would seem to indicate that they once comprised a single unit assessed at c. 12 carucates. It has been assumed that Osbournby was the central manor of this unit given that it has the most evidence for longevity of occupation. It might even have stemmed from Roman origins (cf. Chapter 5).

and settled parts of Mercia in AD 877, and East Anglia in AD 880. The refined chronological distributions of the artefacts in the case studies indicate an increase in items of Scandinavian influence that coincides roughly with these dates, followed by later peaks in the tenth century (see, for example, Chapter 4, Figure 4.49). These point not only to changes in the items that were used locally, but also to an influx of people using and wearing objects not previously known, such as 'Norse' bells, Scandinavian brooches, gaming pieces, and polyhedral weights.

The Scandinavian settlement process was not driven solely by negotiations of status, although in many ways it was preserved as such. Toponyms comprising personal names, such as Roxby (*Roxby*), Osbournby (*Aunsby*), and Welby (*Frisby*), probably refer to people of local landholding prominence and a large enough Scandinavian-speaking population to coin the name (Townend 2000). It has been suggested, on the other hand, that Grimston-hybrids (as found in *Frisby*, for example) represent instances whereby a Scandinavian lord inherited land in a predominantly English-speaking area (Lewis *et al.* 2001, 45). In this way, negotiations of status as played out in the landscape can be traced to the level of the manor or vill, often preserved in Domesday Book. Townend (2002, 47) notes, however, that the 'micro-toponymy' of a region is often the best proof of the 'intensity' of Scandinavian settlement, since it points to the lower classes of people who coined, and continued to reinforce the names. Thus we are led to finally consider the local scale, on which similar socio-cultural negotiations were played out, but in which association with places of meaning and inherited landscapes shaped everyday interactions, and communal identities.

8.4.1.4   Local negotiations and the role of place

Investment in certain places over time was exhibited across the four case studies. Many of the examples presented above indicate that deliberate choices were made in terms of how closely associations were maintained with antecedent features. It has been shown that elsewhere in the Viking diaspora these practices were varied but socially entrenched (see Leonard (2011) on Orkney; Halstad-McGuire (2010) on Iceland; Thäte (2007a) on Orkney and Sweden), as was similarly the case in Early and Middle Anglo-Saxon England (for example, Williams (1997; 1998); Semple (1998, 2003, 2004, 2013)). It is argued here that the local, community level was the most important scale at which Viking-Age negotiations were processed. Lordship and lesser classes converged in the manorial landscape, as did peoples of different origins and cultural identities, not to mention gender- and task-based identities. The vills and manors later noted in Domesday Book were the backbone of early medieval society; together, they made up a range of administrative units, geographical entities, and political allegiances.

At the local level, however, harmonious acculturation would have had to mean more than a political show of adopting Christianity, as was popular with Scandinavian leaders such as Guthrum. Furthermore, although I concede that many migrants would have had knowledge of the cultural differences they could expect to encounter in England (McLeod 2014, 283), I do not believe that they arrived with a plan to convert immediately to Christianity and abandon the material culture of their homeland, such as oval brooches, in favour of local styles (Thomas 2000b, 252; and refer to Kershaw 2013, 243). How, then, were these processes of interaction and culture contact negotiated to the extent that assimilation is believed to have happened so swiftly? The answer lies in the landscapes of everyday interaction, where it has already been shown that, despite the emergence of new boundaries and the arrival of different communities and overlords, the ways in which the landscape was inhabited remained remarkably similar throughout the Middle to Late Saxon periods.

One example is found in the longevity of many of the parish boundaries that remained unaltered, some of which might have had Roman, or earlier, origins. Several parish boundaries studied here preserved long-standing natural borders, such as the river-sides along the Ancholme (*Roxby*), Nar (*Dunham*), and Wreake (*Frisby*), or human-made features such as the Roman roads at *Aunsby*. Preservation of such boundaries was primarily practical, of course, but on a subtler level, meant that incoming settlers were adapting to a new landscape with which their Anglo-Saxon neighbours remained familiar. Amongst the wider communities of the *Aunsby* region, for example, those living near the two Willoughbys (Scott and Silk) soon came to associate the OE term for 'willow' with the local flora.

In other cases of course, the natural world was renamed by Scandinavian-speaking peoples, although the features themselves did not change. Thus the river Eye running through eastern Leicestershire became known as the 'Wreake' where it passed through areas of especially dense Scandinavian-speaking populations (Cox 2004, xiv). There were therefore both inheritances of local nomenclature and ancient boundaries on the part of the settling communities as well as transferals of the settlers' world-views to the previous inhabitants operating within the same localities. These practices do not appear to represent overt power struggles over 'ownership' over the land through naming, but rather reflect the natural progression of language use that, if anything, merely indicates the end-result of name preservation through recording (e.g. Townend 2000). In a sense, therefore this indicates the fluidity with which shared senses of place could be adopted. The sharing of languages, place-names, and world-views is a type of acculturation that cannot be planned for, but which arguably had a profound effect on subsequent generations of peoples based around the same place. From an initially multi-vocal and

'socially bilingual' community (Townend 2002, 185), came the eventual ability for rural communities to trace a common local origin despite possibly divergent heritages.

Assimilation focusing on the local landscape was also evident in new boundaries that emerged, since many divisions were influenced by older sites of memory that had become liminal spaces, or earlier field divisions. In the case of *Aunsby* and *Frisby*, for example, possible Early-Middle Saxon cemeteries were situated close to historical parish boundaries. It was suggested that these places of memory and convergence which had served several local communities in *Aunsby*, informed later boundary lines as neutral spaces in the landscape: by the tenth or eleventh centuries, artefact distributions appear to respect these parish borders. A similar pattern was noted in *Frisby* when Kirby [Bellars] and [Eye] Kettleby were delineated as separate holdings and the cemetery the local communities had once shared became associated with the parish boundary.

Examples of acculturation are arguably also evident in place-names such as Hoby (*Frisby*), Willoughby (*Aunsby*) and Appleby (*Roxby*), which combine Old English topographic descriptions with Old Norse suffixes. Fellows-Jensen (2011, 82) does not see these names emerging until 'the onomasticon in the Danelaw had had time to absorb both Nordic and English elements'. It was demonstrated that many of these 'hybrid' places had indeed hosted activity prior to Scandinavian settlement. The names may therefore be taken to reflect not only the growing influence of Scandinavian language on naming practices, but also that local inhabitants were sharing different languages and local information, by the tenth century. 'Hoby', for example, preserves the local Anglo-Saxon perception of the landscape as a '*hoh*' or a 'heel' (Gelling and Cole 2000, 186-8) despite its Scandinavian habitative suffix (see Chapter 7, Figure 7.24). This name remembers an area in general and a type of landscape feature specifically. Following Gelling and Cole's (2000) argument that topographic place-names often referred to very specific landscape features and shapes, the *hoh* would have been identifiable by those familiar with the language even if they had never been to Hoby; the name might therefore have originated as a landmark to guide travellers along the Wreake (cf. Cole 2011; Jones and Semple 2012b, 3). Its Scandinavian form refers to a farmstead or vill associated with the *hoh*, but the core of the name itself preserves a much deeper memory and description of the Anglo-Saxon landscape.

By other means, the Scandinavian linguistic impact on micro-toponymy has been extensively recorded in Lincolnshire and Leicestershire, though less so in Norfolk. The field-names preserve mundane but insightful glimpses into the Viking-Age landscape. In many ways the lasting influence of certain agrarian colloquialisms noted in modern parlance in Lincolnshire today (cf. Chapter 4, 4.5.2), for example, are another reflection of the impact that land can have on a regional psyche. The formative arenas for these early coinings were the local fields, streets, and greens; those sharing the words to the point

that they were preserved on post-medieval maps were the inhabitants who worked in the landscape daily and were familiar with its characteristics. In this way, socio-cultural transfers of the ways in which landscape was understood and named were taking place on very local scales. The agents behind this were the members of the community who were less likely to distinguish themselves in posterity by dropping copper alloy dress accessories, and they are thus made slightly more visible through the local toponymic landscape.

The everyday interactions that took place within a given region, such as shared labour in the fields, would have hastened the processes of acculturation. Lords, peasants, and middling locals shared in this process alike. As elite members of the community sought to define themselves in new ways, patronage of local churches became a popular choice. This was a new form of place-making, implying both control, status, and benevolence. Associations between parish churches and high-status metalwork were noted in the case studies. At Great Dunham, for example, an eighth- to ninth-century continental sword was recovered adjacent to the eleventh-century church. Whether or not a pre-Conquest church had previously stood there, the site itself was probably of continuing 'importance', deriving initially from an Early Saxon ritual space and later evidencing elite activity, perhaps in the form of deliberate depositions of weaponry (cf. Raffield 2014). As another example of longevity of use extending beyond the Viking Age, the Launditch in *Dunham*, was probably in use as an early assembly site, and in the sixteenth century was still host to judicial activity as indicated by the gallows recorded on a map (NHER: MNF13025). Thus, focal points in the landscape were reinvented, but their underlying meanings remained unaltered. Places imbued with previous meaning were not abandoned, but reappropriated; in this way *place* acted as the currency by which transfers of power were negotiated.

The impact of the past was therefore strongly evident in many instances of change as well as continuity. This suggests that even where alterations to boundaries and property divisions were a direct result of elite Scandinavian settlement, local knowledge played an important part in such decisions; the landscape had become a shared unit within such negotiations.

8.5 Conclusion

The processes of negotiation observed in the micro-regions and the broader regions in which they were nested carried important implications in terms of both diaspora and regionality. There were complex, and intertwined negotiations exhibited amongst Scandinavian settlers, local Anglo-Saxons, and the wide spectrum of inhabitants between them. These took place on multiple physical and temporal scales. Local and regional

landscapes shaped the psyches of people settling and moving through Scandinavian-settled England, but it was also shown that earlier regional influences, such as East Anglian autonomy, infiltrated sentiments of local populations. The process of Scandinavian settlement could be seen in different ways: as a form of colonisation, for example, with 'landtaking', the establishment of puppet and Scandinavian kings, pervasive linguistic influence, and a strong influence on local fashion all supporting this concept. On the other hand, increasing evidence for widespread migration that included entire families, craftspeople, and peasantry (McLeod 2014) suggests a diverse diasporic agenda that did not necessarily include an intention to conquer, but merely to join. Within all this, the role of the local and later-generation migrants cannot be ignored, since they all acted as agents in the identities expressed, and transitions that occurred. In many ways, local communities were fundamental to processes of acculturation that shaped 'Anglo-Scandinavian' England.

Chapter 9: Conclusion

'But in truth we must be careful how we use our Dane.'

-Maitland (1897, 139)

This project aimed to explore the transition from the Middle to Late Saxon period in rural 'Anglo-Scandinavian' England. It was shown, overall, that many of the 'complexities' attributed to the negotiation of identities in the Viking Age can be accessed through multi-scalar, and multi-temporal 'nested' studies, and that the local landscape and its communities played a key role in the transitions that were witnessed from the Middle to Late Saxon periods. In the regions under study (Lincolnshire, Norfolk, and Leicestershire) there was a notable degree of continuity in rural settlements, even as England entered the tumultuous Viking Age. This supports the notion that Scandinavian settlers swiftly adapted to English life. From the ninth-century onwards, however, many of the transitions that did take place, including changes in material expressions of identity and land organisation, could be related at least indirectly to Scandinavian influence.

These changes were in part a reflection of the increasingly diverse composition of early medieval society, as migration continued throughout the Viking Age. Elite and peasant identities alike were renegotiated to accommodate changes both within their communities (such as the fragmentation of estates) and in reaction to wider political events (such as the West Saxon conquest). These negotiations were enacted based on affiliation with a range of individual, communal, and regional identities; they related variously to expressions of status, regionality, and ethno-cultural affiliations.

It was argued above that as migrants from a range of backgrounds continued to settle parts of the country up to the eleventh century, the common denominator facilitating such intense shifts in population and socio-cultural composition without any evidence of long-lasting conflict — indeed, with more evidence for reciprocated cultural concessions visible on both sides — was the local landscape. All places were previously occupied when Scandinavian lords, farmers and craftspeople came to settle within them. While some fragmentation of once-large estates resulted in new manors where small hamlets had once been, every space nevertheless occurred within an 'Anglo-Saxon' landscape. Thus the most important part of the process of assimilation and acculturation — what ensured the 'continuity' of so many places — was the transfer of local knowledge about the land, the shared use of space between newcomers and natives, and the initiation of Scandinavian settlers into the little histories of a given landscape, through the area's ancient monuments, fields, landmarks, and natural features.

9.1 Key findings

Within this broad characterisation, a number of more specific key findings were revealed, some of which are methodological, and others of which serve to feed into wider debates and queries on Viking Age England. To summarise them briefly, beginning with the methodological results, it was shown that: 1/ Artefacts recovered by amateur metal-detector users and recorded on the PASD can be used to lead archaeologists to 'new' places of interest including probable evidence for settlement; 2/ in addition to helping to identify sites for study, the dataset of early medieval artefacts for a given region holds valuable metadata which, when analysed and mapped in a number of ways, provides insight into patterns of past activity and change over time within the place identified; 3/ by integrating artefactual data with a range of complementary forms of evidence for the area under study, it is possible to not only generate a narrative of activity, but to answer targeted research questions based on the synthesised data; 4/ by taking a 'nested' approach to the archaeological data, and looking at patterns on multiple scales and assessing how they fit in and inform one another, the above characterisations derived from points 1-3 can be situated within the wider socio-cultural framework of the period at hand.

Other objectives concerned exploring the myriad and interconnected relationships between landscape, people, and artefacts in Anglo-Scandinavian England. It was shown that: 1/ Although 'activity zones' are not striking in the metal-detected artefact distributions, with consideration of additional influencing factors, it is possible to posit certain uses of space in the landscape over time; 2/ that even local, rural, inland communities were connected into an international network of trade and communication, in addition to the more common inter- and intraregional networks; 3/ across the Middle to Late Saxon periods, trade networks shifted to reflect new population and settlement dynamics, as well as changing expressions of status: material culture from overseas such as from Scandinavia no longer necessarily implied status, but was more likely a product of migration; markets had changed to provide for members of the lower social strata, and elite were not consuming large quantities of precious metals; 4/ networks of trade and production came to reflect regional identities in many instances, and especially in East Anglia; this is likely linked to broad socio-political changes but was ultimately tied to the late-ninth century Scandinavian settlement under Guthrum; 5/ there was far less evidence of 'disruption' in the way the land was occupied in the Viking Age than was anticipated, although there was evidence that some shifts in settlement patterns occurred; there was evidence that following the Scandinavian settlement, some previously unoccupied or little occupied regions were revitalised to eventually become manors or productive sokes by

the Norman Conquest; these occurrences were linked to Scandinavian presence; and finally, 6/ that shared systems of movement, and shared local knowledge between immigrant and native communities in a given landscape served to foster the 'speedy' integration we attribute to the Scandinavian settlement process; thus the 'silent majority' was more responsible for effective cultural integration on the ground, than the incoming elite.

9.1.1 Methodological conclusions

The methodological approach aimed first to identify new places in need of examination based on large quantities of PAS artefacts dating to the Middle - Late Saxon periods. This succeeded, and it was shown that even for the case study with half as many finds as the other study areas, *Frisby*, it was possible to generate a narrative of early medieval life and landscape based on the available evidence. The use of PAS data to isolate areas for future study of rural communities is therefore effective. In addition to the identification benefits, the datasets themselves shed light on a number of important factors. For example, comparisons of the case studies revealed notable commonalities across the sample areas despite being located in four geographically distinct regions, different historic kingdoms, and subject to metal-detecting by different groups and individuals.

It was never an objective to create predictive models by which new sites might be readily characterised based on their PAS signature in the future. There is clearly such diversity in the archaeological record as to render a predictive approach impractical. In fact, the remarkable similarities that did occur in the artefact distributions across the local case studies when compared quantitatively, did not exhibit notable similarities in their spatial and temporal distributions when mapped. It was therefore evident that land was used and organised, and artefacts were consumed and deposited in many different ways, so as to necessitate a case-by-case study in every instance.

What the categorisation of artefacts has been shown to provide, however, is a base from which to compare and contrast patterns of activity that will ultimately bring us closer to disentangling the complex narratives of the period. The ability to categorise and quantitatively assess the data in a number of ways, depending on the research questions and data availability is a great benefit of the PAS. With some creative analysis, it has also been shown that changes over time can be more accurately glimpsed through chronological mapping of the artefact distributions. As dating of metal-detected finds recorded with the PAS continues to be refined and findspot precision is improved, this will greatly aid similar future applications of the data.

The aim here was to demonstrate just how much could be done and learnt about Viking Age England by making use of the numerous backlogs of data stored in various repositories across the country, with a specific focus on metal-detected material culture.

Future goals should, however, aim to combine similar desk-based analyses with geophysical survey, targeted and systematic metal-detecting programmes, fieldwalking, and earthworks surveys. It is anticipated that by combining various surveys with a detailed quantitative assessment of PAS distributions would result in a high-resolution characterisation of an area, again without necessarily the need for excavation. As others have called for, however, there is an increased need of excavated records with which to compare the metal-detected evidence as was effectively undertaken at Cottam (Richards 1999a). This is to minimise the risk of taking surface-scatter analyses too far in one interpretive direction without checking them against stratified sequences and in-situ distributions. Along these lines, we are also continuously in need of better understandings of the modern taphonomic processes that affect the recovered metal-detected assemblages.

9.1.2 Landscape, portable material culture, and people

Concepts of diaspora and other grand narratives are only effective when they are supported with local examples. The historically particularist view is vital to the construction and testability of such models. It has been shown here that in many ways the overarching view that Scandinavian settlers were swiftly acculturated has some basis. Through detailed local analysis, however, and especially by comparing regions across different parts of the Danelaw, it was further possible to posit some reasons behind this: notably, that focal points of longevity in the landscape — whether settlement, cemeteries, boundaries, roads, or monumental features — were clearly integrated into the newly-settled landscapes of 'Anglo-Scandinavian' England, and that these served to hinge shared future negotiations of life and landscape amongst natives and newcomers alike.

Some other key similarities were noted across the case studies that spoke to a wider shared 'Danelaw' culture, but one that was arguably only made possible through conciliation at the local level first. What was found to be telling about the breadth of overarching 'Danelaw' identity in Scandinavian-occupied England, is that within four different rural areas in separate kingdoms, each in proximity to different regional centres, certain shared cultural elements were nevertheless evident. These included: Scandinavian-influenced brooches, 'Norse' bells, and certain types of pins and strap ends. Nested within this, however, it was shown that other forms of portable material culture which could indeed have been selected for elsewhere, were instead more likely to be limited to certain regional spheres. Again the obvious example is the East Anglian series disc-brooch with the exceptional occurrences in Lincolnshire proving the rule that despite the option of exportation, they remained most prominent in Norfolk (Kershaw 2013, 56). In the future it would be desirable to evaluate such distributions alongside architectural and morphological evidence from excavated settlements to determine the level at which

local selection dictated material expressions of regionalism, as has been undertaken in Scandinavia (Sindbæk 2008). These nested processes of cultural negotiation remain loosely understood, but clearly it is not sufficient to blanket 'Anglo-Scandinavian' material culture as a uniform expression, nor their consumers as culturally homogeneous.

It has furthermore been argued (although not for the first time) that the widespread adoption of material culture exhibiting Scandinavian elements might have come to represent something beyond cultural affiliations with a Scandinavian homeland. Its Danelaw distribution, and prevalence in areas removed from urban markets, suggests that even as a trend in fashion, Scandinavian-style material culture may have served another function as a statement of opposition — or otherness — to contrast with West Saxon rule.

It is common now to think less along the dichotomised lines of 'Anglo-Saxon', 'Scandinavian' and 'Anglo-Scandinavian', and more about the complexities and nuances of Viking Age identities. It has been argued here that a perception of the 'fluid' identities of peoples living in Anglo-Scandinavian England can be qualified by taking a multi-scalar approach to the archaeology of the period. By nesting evidence along both locational and temporal lines, a flexible framework is provided in which to explore myriad expressions of identity and socio-cultural negotiations. These need not be concentric categories, and in fact are more likely to be intertwined. This is especially true, for example, of locationally-derived expressions of identity, whereby the past might continue to exert a keen pressure on an area, even while other forms of identification (such as religious, or cultural affiliations) are changing.

9.2 Nested negotiations in Viking Age England

In summary, this study has shown that PAS data for the early medieval period can be used not only to identify previously under-studied areas of Viking Age England, but can also aid in the characterisation of these places. Without the metal-detected evidence, these areas would appear archaeologically spare for the time period at hand, when in fact, as has been shown, they hosted vibrant, active communities. This narrative was coloured by the inclusion of a range of other forms of evidence, including Domesday Book and place-names. More importantly, however, this project has not merely sought to prove the abilities of PAS data, but to harness its strengths in order to make a meaningful contribution to the archaeological study of Viking Age England.

To this end, it was shown that the impact of the Scandinavian migrations in rural England can indeed be traced, if not always directly. This is visible in the changes that appear both in the organisation of land, as well as in the ways in which communities began expressing themselves through material culture. Throughout this period, however, expressions were not only being negotiated along cultural lines; status and regionality

were also important contenders, to the extent that migrant populations and locals alike were probably often more concerned with other forms of identity than with their differences or similarities in cultural expression. To this end it has been argued that the role of the peasant and other non-aristocratic people was crucial in the process of Scandinavian acculturation, enabling shared communal identities to develop based around local places. Within these shared bases — which were quickly embedded in the daily life and survival of the migrant settlers — the seeds of regional identities were sown: shared experiences of landscape, languages, and fashion all contributed to this. Regional identities were renegotiated in turn to accommodate the new settlers. Thus, by the time of the West Saxon conquest a shared sense of place might have been a stronger defining factor amongst rural Danelaw communities than a cherished affinity for a Scandinavian homeland.

As the Portable Antiquities Scheme continues to grow, and syntheses of other unpublished forms of archaeological evidence are undertaken, it will be increasingly possible to narrate the transitions of currently invisible early medieval communities, and to thereby contribute more fully to the characterisation of rural landscapes in the Viking Age. This project has demonstrated that at present, it is nevertheless possible to identify and undertake in-depth analyses of Viking Age communities without excavation, by taking a holistic approach to the available evidence. In so doing, it is hoped that not only 'our Dane', but that our 'Anglo-Saxon', our 'Scandinavian', and those identifying somewhere in between, were treated carefully.

Appendix 1: Catalogue
a) Using the Catalogue and Project Database
i) The Catalogue

The catalogue provides a quick reference guide to the artefacts from the micro-regional case studies mentioned in the text. All entries can be cross-referenced with the Project Database (Appendix 2, CD-ROM) using the 'Case Study ID'. This ID has been uniquely assigned for the project. See Appendix 3 for details on how the ID numbering system works. The case studies are presented in order (1-4), and each includes PAS data, EMC data, and small finds attributed to the HER. Note that some of the HER entries do not have parishes assigned as they might cover one or more, but the Case Study IDs can nevertheless be matched to the relevant distribution maps in the case study chapters. The only entries under 'Notes' indicate where a brooch has been identified as one of Scandinavian provenance by Jane Kershaw. Kershaw's own catalogue numbers (2012) are provided alongside these in the Project Database for further reference.

The catalogue also includes a reference number to enable searching by PAS ID on the PAS database (finds.org.uk/database/); for EMC and HER entries, the relevant unique database code is also provided. In addition to these reference numbers, the catalogue lists the subcategories which were applied during the 'cleaning' of the records. Thus, the only categories here that were originally PAS-assigned are the PAS IDs and the Parishes. The 'Simplified Types', 'Broad Categories' (fingerprint types), 'Functional Categories' and 'Subperiods' were all inspired by the VASLE project data categorisation (Richards et al 2009) of which details are found in Chapter 3, and Appendix 3.

ii) The Project Database

The database provides a much more detailed set of metadata for each record, and is presented in tables by case study and evidence type (i.e. PAS, EMC, or HER). The same identification numbers are present as in the catalogue. The dataset details are derived predominantly from the relevant data supplier, but where categories have been added and amended the headings are in block capitals. The database is especially valuable for the 'Description' of the artefact provided by the FLO, although for up-to-date information it is recommended that the PAS ID is searched for online via the PAS database. Findspot coordinates are not provided because some of the sites have restricted access levels. Others wishing to map the data must apply to the PAS for data download access.

Case Study 1: *Roxby*, Lincolnshire

Case Study ID	Reference (PAS ID)	Simplified Type	Broad Category	Functional Category	Subperiod	Modern Parish	Notes
R001	NLM6994	Brooch	Brooch	Personal	ASx (MLSx)	ROXBY CUM RISBY	
R002	NLM6330	Buckle	Other Dress/Jewellery	Personal	ASx	ROXBY CUM RISBY	
R003	NLM-704C05	Strap End	Strap End/Fitting	Personal	LSx	ROXBY CUM RISBY	
R004	NLM-0F69C5	Brooch	Brooch	Personal	ASx	ROXBY CUM RISBY	Scandinavian
R005	NLM-B43784	Strap End	Strap End/Fitting	Personal	LSx	ROXBY CUM RISBY	
R006	NLM-4B4EB4	Coin	Coin	Economic	MSx	ROXBY CUM RISBY	
R007	NLM-51CCF1	Scabbard	Other	Weaponry/Tools	LSx	ROXBY CUM RISBY	
R008	SWYOR-9A8378	Coin	Coin	Economic	MSx	APPLEBY	
R009	SWYOR-197DD8	Strap End	Strap End/Fitting	Personal	ASx	APPLEBY	
R010	NLM-D8B707	Coin	Coin	Economic	MSx	WINTERTON	
R011	NLM-EA1196	Coin	Coin	Economic	MSx	APPLEBY	
R012	NLM-87D661	Coin	Coin	Economic	LSx	ROXBY CUM RISBY	
R013	NLM-8163D4	Hooked Tag	Hooked Tag	Personal	ASx	ROXBY CUM RISBY	
R014	NLM-F3CFD5	Pin	Pin	Personal	MSx	ROXBY CUM RISBY	
R015	NLM-1F85D6	Stylus	Other	Other	ASx	ROXBY CUM RISBY	
R016	NLM-1809C7	Stirrup	Horse Fitting	Horse	LSx	WINTERTON	
R017	NLM-C93FF4	Coin	Coin	Economic	LSx	ROXBY CUM RISBY	

Case Study 1: *Roxby*, Lincolnshire

Case Study ID	Reference (PAS ID)	Simplified Type	Broad Category	Functional Category	Subperiod	Modern Parish	Notes
R018	NLM-BE6EF2	Pin	Pin	Personal	MSx	APPLEBY	
R019	NLM-20E1A0	Coin	Coin	Economic	LSx	WINTERTON	
R020	NLM-0B8F36	Bell	Other Dress/Jewellery	Personal	LSx	ROXBY CUM RISBY	
R021	NLM-BD6BF8	Strap End	Strap End/Fitting	Personal	LSx	ROXBY CUM RISBY	
R022	SWYOR-7DF7B5	Strap End	Strap End/Fitting	Personal	LSx	APPLEBY	
R023	SWYOR-A8C0F5	Pin	Pin	Personal	ASx (MLSx)	APPLEBY	
R024	SWYOR-A8D422	Pin	Pin	Personal	MSx	APPLEBY	
R025	SWYOR-A98A70	Pin	Pin	Personal	ASx	APPLEBY	
R026	SWYOR-AC86A7	Buckle	Other Dress/Jewellery	Personal	LSx	APPLEBY	
R027	SWYOR-290A15	Coin	Coin	Economic	MSx	APPLEBY	
R028	NLM-E7A252	Strap End	Strap End/Fitting	Personal	LSx	WINTERTON	
R029	SWYOR-E9DBC4	Pin	Pin	Personal	MSx	APPLEBY	
R030	SWYOR-EA0A26	Pin	Pin	Personal	MSx	APPLEBY	
R031	SWYOR-080258	Tweezers	Other	Personal	MSx	APPLEBY	
R032	SWYOR-0B56E5	Coin	Coin	Economic	MSx	APPLEBY	
R033	NLM-DBB737	Vessel	Other	Domestic	ASx (MLSx)	ROXBY CUM RISBY	
R034	NLM-AB50F3	Strap End	Strap End/Fitting	Personal	ASx (MLSx)	ROXBY CUM RISBY	

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Case Study 1: *Roxby*, Lincolnshire

Case Study ID	Reference (PAS ID)	Simplified Type	Broad Category	Functional Category	Subperiod	Modern Parish	Notes
R035	NLM-EBA6E3	Weight	Other	Economic	ASx	ROXBY CUM RISBY	
R036	NLM-ECF7F6	Harness Fitting	Horse Fitting	Horse	LSx	ROXBY CUM RISBY	
R037	NLM-B86632	Pin	Pin	Personal	MSx	ROXBY CUM RISBY	
R038	SWYOR-72ABC5	Pin	Pin	Personal	MSx	APPLEBY	
R039	SWYOR-7C4718	Strap End	Strap End/Fitting	Personal	ASx (MLSx)	APPLEBY	
R040	SWYOR-8EAC71	Unidentified Object	Other	Other	MSx	APPLEBY	
R041	SWYOR-8EF416	Unidentified Object	Other	Other	MSx	APPLEBY	
R042	NLM-CF3FB5	Coin	Coin	Economic	LSx	ROXBY CUM RISBY	
R043	NLM-DE9392	Strap End	Strap End/Fitting	Personal	ASx (MLSx)	ROXBY CUM RISBY	
R044	NLM-683755	Ingot	Other	Economic	ASx	ROXBY CUM RISBY	
R045	NLM-A27134	Weight	Other	Economic	ASx	ROXBY CUM RISBY	
R046	NLM-D48443	Bell	Other Dress/Jewellery	Personal	LSx	WINTERTON	
R047	SWYOR-AADE63	Tweezers	Other	Personal	MSx	APPLEBY	
R048	SWYOR-B09717	Pin	Pin	Personal	MSx	APPLEBY	
R049	SWYOR-FEEF24	Mount	Other	Other	LSx	APPLEBY	
R050	NLM-5B6D84	Spindle Whorl	Other	Domestic	LSx	ROXBY CUM RISBY	
R051	NLM-973173	Net Sinker	Other	Hunting/Fishing	MSx	WINTERTON	

Case Study 1: *Roxby*, Lincolnshire

Case Study ID	Reference (PAS ID)	Simplified Type	Broad Category	Functional Category	Subperiod	Modern Parish	Notes
R052	NLM-598E50	Net Sinker	Other	Hunting/Fishing	MSx	WINTERTON	
R053	NLM-A6AFD6	Net Sinker	Other	Hunting/Fishing	MSx	WINTERTON	
R054	SWYOR-672BD5	Pin	Pin	Personal	ASx	APPLEBY	
R055	SWYOR-6736C5	Pin	Pin	Personal	ASx	APPLEBY	
R056	SWYOR-673F75	Strap End	Strap End/Fitting	Personal	ASx	APPLEBY	
R057	NLM-8F0171	Net Sinker	Other	Hunting/Fishing	MSx	WINTERTON	
R058	NLM-8A1036	Net Sinker	Other	Hunting/Fishing	LSx	WINTERTON	
R059	NLM-03DDE2	Mount	Other	Other	LSx	WINTERTON	
R060	NLM-B6BB44	Coin	Coin	Economic	LSx	ROXBY CUM RISBY	
R061	NLM-48FAA7	Net Sinker	Other	Hunting/Fishing	LSx	ROXBY CUM RISBY	
R062	SWYOR-B90401	Brooch	Brooch	Personal	MSx	APPLEBY	
R063	NLM-B96AC3	Pin	Pin	Personal	MSx	ROXBY CUM RISBY	
R064	SWYOR-200652	Coin	Coin	Economic	MSx	APPLEBY	
R065	NLM-5AEE11	Ingot	Other	Economic	LSx	ROXBY CUM RISBY	
R066	NLM-5BF504	Pin	Pin	Personal	MSx	ROXBY CUM RISBY	
R067	SWYOR-808023	Pin	Pin	Personal	ASx	APPLEBY	
R068	NLM-E111C1	Mount	Other	Other	LSx	ROXBY CUM RISBY	

Case Study 1: _Roxby_, Lincolnshire

Case Study ID	Reference (PAS ID)	Simplified Type	Broad Category	Functional Category	Subperiod	Modern Parish	Notes
R069	NLM-9E6383	Stirrup	Horse Fitting	Horse	LSx	WINTERTON	
R070	NLM-605CC8	Net Sinker	Other	Hunting/Fishing	ASx	ROXBY CUM RISBY	
R071	NLM-6123D6	Spindle Whorl	Other	Domestic	LSx	ROXBY CUM RISBY	
R072	NLM-6164E7	Brooch	Brooch	Personal	LSx	ROXBY CUM RISBY	
R073	NLM-FF3922	Brooch	Brooch	Personal	LSx	ROXBY CUM RISBY	
R074	NLM-031295	Spindle Whorl	Other	Domestic	LSx	ROXBY CUM RISBY	
R075	NLM-03EEC4	Buckle	Other Dress/Jewellery	Personal	LSx	ROXBY CUM RISBY	
R076	SWYOR-3A4B52	Coin	Coin	Economic	MSx	APPLEBY	
R077	NLM-CC9631	Net Sinker	Other	Hunting/Fishing	ASx	WINTERTON	
R078	NLM-CF5995	Gaming Piece	Other	Other	LSx	ROXBY CUM RISBY	
R079	NLM-F940A1	Spindle Whorl	Other	Domestic	LSx	ROXBY CUM RISBY	
R080	NLM-F9A303	Pin	Pin	Personal	MSx	WINTERTON	
R081	NLM-FAF117	Spindle Whorl	Other	Domestic	MSx	WINTERTON	
R082	NLM-FDFD91	Ring	Other Dress/Jewellery	Personal	LSx	ROXBY CUM RISBY	
R083	NLM-106B76	Mount	Other	Other	LSx	ROXBY CUM RISBY	
R084	NLM-E4CC66	Strap End	Strap End/Fitting	Personal	MSx	ROXBY CUM RISBY	
R085	NLM-E51FF3	Spindle Whorl	Other	Domestic	ASx	ROXBY CUM RISBY	

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Case Study 1: *Roxby*, Lincolnshire

Case Study ID	Reference (PAS ID)	Simplified Type	Broad Category	Functional Category	Subperiod	Modern Parish	Notes
R086	NLM-C31BB5	Spindle Whorl	Other	Domestic	ASx	ROXBY CUM RISBY	
R087	NLM-C59943	Weight	Other	Economic	ASx	ROXBY CUM RISBY	
R088	NLM-C6EB24	Mount	Other	Other	LSx	ROXBY CUM RISBY	
R089	NLM-C7BB75	Weight	Other	Economic	LSx	ROXBY CUM RISBY	
R090	NLM-45D641	Mount	Other	Other	LSx	ROXBY CUM RISBY	
R091	NLM-35DB13	Weight	Other	Economic	LSx	ROXBY CUM RISBY	
R300	NLM-40DF42	Vessel	Other	Domestic	LSx	APPLEBY	
R301	NLM-40EED1	Vessel	Other	Domestic	LSx	APPLEBY	
R302	NLM-F4C070	Pot	Other	Domestic	LSx	ROXBY CUM RISBY	
R303	NLM-5B9452	Pot	Other	Domestic	LSx	ROXBY CUM RISBY	
R304	NLM-AC8808	Pot	Other	Domestic	MSx	ROXBY CUM RISBY	
R305	NLM-9E6001	Pot	Other	Domestic	MSx	ROXBY CUM RISBY	
R306	NLM-9E36F2	Pot	Other	Domestic	LSx	ROXBY CUM RISBY	
R307	NLM-9D9A13	Pot	Other	Domestic	LSx	ROXBY CUM RISBY	
R800	NLM-D3FA78	Vessel	Other	Domestic	LSx	ROXBY CUM RISBY	
R801	NLM-DA7151	Mount	Other Dress/Jewellery	Personal	ASx (MLSx)	ROXBY CUM RISBY	
R802	NLM-5AC5F5	Vessel	Other	Domestic	LSx	ROXBY CUM RISBY	

Catalogue 2: *Aunsby* PAS

Case Study 2: *Aunsby*, Lincolnshire

Case Study ID	Reference (PAS ID)	Simplified Type	Broad Category	Functional Category	Subperiod	Modern Parish	Notes
A001	NLM1051	Strap End	Strap End/Fitting	Personal	LSx	AUNSBY AND DEM-	
A002	NLM4546	Strap End	Strap End/Fitting	Personal	LSx	SILK WILLOUGHBY	
A003	NLM4598	Strap End	Strap End/Fitting	Personal	ASx (MLSx)	CULVERTHORPE AND	
A004	NLM5242	Buckle	Other Dress/Jewellery	Personal	LSx	OSBOURNBY	
A005	NLM5651	Harness Fitting	Horse Fitting	Horse	LSx	ASWARBY AND	
A006	NLM5652	Pin	Pin	Personal	MSx	ASWARBY AND	
A007	NLM617	Brooch	Brooch	Personal	LSx	OSBOURNBY	Scandinavian
A008	NLM6194	Buckle	Other Dress/Jewellery	Personal	LSx	ASWARBY AND	
A009	LIN-6B7BD2	Brooch	Brooch	Personal	LSx	OSBOURNBY	
A010	LIN-6D1A64	Hooked Tag	Hooked Tag	Personal	MSx	OSBOURNBY	
A011	LIN-6D31B6	Hooked Tag	Hooked Tag	Personal	MSx	OSBOURNBY	
A012	LIN-6D3AB7	Strap End	Strap End/Fitting	Personal	ASx (MLSx)	OSBOURNBY	
A013	LIN-6D45E5	Strap End	Strap End/Fitting	Personal	ASx (MLSx)	OSBOURNBY	
A014	LIN-725497	Brooch	Brooch	Personal	MSx	OSBOURNBY	
A015	LIN-A82A07	Strap End	Strap End/Fitting	Personal	ASx (MLSx)	OSBOURNBY	
A016	LIN-C1B795	Unidentified Object	Other	Other	MSx	OSBOURNBY	
A017	LIN-EB7763	Strap End	Strap End/Fitting	Personal	LSx	OSBOURNBY	

Case Study 2: *Aunsby*, Lincolnshire

Case Study ID	Reference (PAS ID)	Simplified Type	Broad Category	Functional Category	Subperiod	Modern Parish	Notes
A018	LIN-4DB330	Bell	Other Dress/Jewellery	Personal	LSx	OSBOURNBY	
A019	LIN-A64A26	Stirrup	Horse Fitting	Horse	LSx	OSBOURNBY	
A020	LIN-A683E5	Stirrup	Horse Fitting	Horse	LSx	OSBOURNBY	
A021	LIN-3AD5F2	Stirrup	Horse Fitting	Horse	LSx	OSBOURNBY	
A022	LIN-3AF7D7	Stirrup	Horse Fitting	Horse	LSx	OSBOURNBY	
A023	LIN-8FCB77	Pin	Pin	Personal	MSx	AUNSBY AND DEMBLEBY	
A024	LIN-71BA17	Strap End	Strap End/Fitting	Personal	MSx	OSBOURNBY	
A025	LIN-F25105	Stirrup	Horse Fitting	Horse	LSx	OSBOURNBY	
A026	LIN-F29FC4	Strap End	Strap End/Fitting	Personal	LSx	OSBOURNBY	
A027	LIN-A0D5B1	Strap End	Strap End/Fitting	Personal	ASx	OSBOURNBY	
A028	LIN-389E16	Brooch	Brooch	Personal	MSx	OSBOURNBY	
A029	LIN-38B7D6	Pin	Pin	Personal	MSx	OSBOURNBY	
A030	LIN-E42F77	Ring	Other Dress/Jewellery	Personal	LSx	ASWARBY AND SWARBY	
A031	LIN-E61858	Harness Fitting	Horse Fitting	Horse	LSx	ASWARBY AND SWARBY	
A032	LIN-5020B3	Strap End	Strap End/Fitting	Personal	LSx	OSBOURNBY	
A033	LIN-6D7137	Coin	Coin	Economic	MSx	OSBOURNBY	
A034	LIN-A2F766	Buckle	Other Dress/Jewellery	Personal	LSx	OSBOURNBY	

Case Study 2: *Aunsby*, Lincolnshire

Case Study ID	Reference (PAS ID)	Simplified Type	Broad Category	Functional Category	Subperiod	Modern Parish	Notes
A035	LIN-294A88	Strap End	Strap End/Fitting	Personal	ASx	OSBOURNBY	
A036	LIN-55FA97	Strap End	Strap End/Fitting	Personal	ASx	OSBOURNBY	
A037	LIN-597C42	Stirrup	Horse Fitting	Horse	LSx	AUNSBY AND DEM-BLEBY	
A038	LIN-599A34	Stirrup	Horse Fitting	Horse	LSx	AUNSBY AND DEM-BLEBY	
A039	LIN-900B71	Brooch	Brooch	Personal	LSx	OSBOURNBY	
A040	LIN-2000B2	Pin	Pin	Personal	MSx	OSBOURNBY	
A041	LIN-206416	Strap End	Strap End/Fitting	Personal	LSx	OSBOURNBY	
A042	LIN-208391	Pin	Pin	Personal	MSx	OSBOURNBY	
A043	LIN-82FB84	Ring	Other Dress/Jewellery	Personal	LSx	OSBOURNBY	
A044	LIN-833322	Brooch	Brooch	Personal	ASx (MLSx)	OSBOURNBY	
A045	LIN-836777	Hanging Bowl	Other	Domestic	MSx	OSBOURNBY	
A046	LIN-2C7956	Strap End	Strap End/Fitting	Personal	LSx	OSBOURNBY	
A047	LIN-6DBD38	Coin	Coin	Economic	MSx	AUNSBY AND DEM-BLEBY	
A048	NCL-D2F5C5	Coin	Coin	Economic	MSx	ASWARBY AND SWARBY	
A049	LIN-D9A478	Strap End	Strap End/Fitting	Personal	LSx	AUNSBY AND DEM-BLEBY	
A050	LIN-D9C500	Buckle	Other Dress/Jewellery	Personal	LSx	AUNSBY AND DEM-BLEBY	

Case Study 2: *Aunsby*, Lincolnshire

Case Study ID	Reference (PAS ID)	Simplified Type	Broad Category	Functional Category	Subperiod	Modern Parish	Notes
A051	LIN-D9DEB8	Hooked Tag	Hooked Tag	Personal	ASx	AUNSBY AND DEM-	
A052	LIN-DA08E0	Brooch	Brooch	Personal	LSx	AUNSBY AND DEM-	
A053	LIN-DA2226	Stirrup	Horse Fitting	Horse	LSx	AUNSBY AND DEM-	
A054	LIN-DA35B2	Mount	Other	Other	ASx	AUNSBY AND DEM-	
A055	LIN-DA72D6	Strap End	Strap End/Fitting	Personal	LSx	AUNSBY AND DEM-	
A056	LIN-334D17	Ingot	Other	Economic	LSx	OSBOURNBY	
A057	LIN-2C99A2	Brooch	Brooch	Personal	LSx	OSBOURNBY	
A058	LIN-2D6CB6	Buckle	Other Dress/Jewellery	Personal	LSx	OSBOURNBY	
A059	LIN-2DCD46	Buckle	Other Dress/Jewellery	Personal	LSx	OSBOURNBY	
A060	LIN-2E2710	Harness Fitting	Horse Fitting	Horse	LSx	OSBOURNBY	
A061	LIN-644917	Coin	Coin	Economic	MSx	OSBOURNBY	
A062	LIN-300CB4	Coin	Coin	Economic	MSx	OSBOURNBY	
A063	LIN-6D8162	Coin	Coin	Economic	MSx	OSBOURNBY	
A064	LIN-2A2E85	Coin	Coin	Economic	MSx	AUNSBY AND DEM-	
A065	LIN-96AE27	Hooked Tag	Hooked Tag	Personal	ASx (MLSx)	AUNSBY AND DEM-	
A066	LIN-96DFC4	Strap End	Strap End/Fitting	Personal	ASx	AUNSBY AND DEM-	

Case Study 2: *Aunsby*, Lincolnshire

Case Study ID	Reference (PAS ID)	Simplified Type	Broad Category	Functional Category	Subperiod	Modern Parish	Notes
A067a	LIN-96F393	Pin	Pin	Personal	ASx	AUNSBY AND DEM-BLEBY	
A067b	LIN-96F393	Pin	Pin	Personal	ASx	AUNSBY AND DEM-BLEBY	
A067c	LIN-96F393	Pin	Pin	Personal	ASx	AUNSBY AND DEM-BLEBY	
A067d	LIN-96F393	Pin	Pin	Personal	ASx	AUNSBY AND DEM-BLEBY	
A067e	LIN-96F393	Pin	Pin	Personal	ASx	AUNSBY AND DEM-BLEBY	
A068	LIN-970F44	Pin	Pin	Personal	ASx	AUNSBY AND DEM-BLEBY	
A069	LIN-C0B4F4	Buckle	Other Dress/Jewellery	Personal	LSx	AUNSBY AND DEM-BLEBY	
A070	LIN-C0D1F4	Buckle	Other Dress/Jewellery	Personal	LSx	AUNSBY AND DEM-BLEBY	
A071	LIN-19F8E1	Stirrup	Horse Fitting	Horse	LSx	OSBOURNBY	
A072	LIN-1A1AC8	Strap End	Strap End/Fitting	Personal	LSx	OSBOURNBY	
A073	NCL-C947D7	Crucifix	Other Dress/Jewellery	Personal	LSx	AUNSBY AND DEM-BLEBY	
A074	LIN-D365D2	Harness Fitting	Horse Fitting	Horse	MSx	OSBOURNBY	
A075	LIN-E07F16	Harness Fitting	Horse Fitting	Horse	LSx	OSBOURNBY	
A076	LIN-E21F67	Stirrup	Horse Fitting	Horse	LSx	OSBOURNBY	
A077	LIN-3B8DB4	Brooch	Brooch	Personal	MSx	OSBOURNBY	
A078	LIN-AA2AD7	Pin	Pin	Personal	MSx	AUNSBY AND DEM-BLEBY	

Case Study 2: *Aunsby*, Lincolnshire

Case Study ID	Reference (PAS ID)	Simplified Type	Broad Category	Functional Category	Subperiod	Modern Parish	Notes
A079	LIN-AA4621	Pin	Pin	Personal	MSx	AUNSBY AND DEM-BLEBY	
A080	LIN-AA4FE3	Pin	Pin	Personal	MSx	AUNSBY AND DEM-BLEBY	
A081	LIN-AA6211	Pin	Pin	Personal	MSx	AUNSBY AND DEM-BLEBY	
A082	LIN-AA6C00	Pin	Pin	Personal	MSx	AUNSBY AND DEM-BLEBY	
A083	LIN-AA7626	Pin	Pin	Personal	MSx	AUNSBY AND DEM-BLEBY	
A084	LIN-AA7FD4	Pin	Pin	Personal	MSx	AUNSBY AND DEM-BLEBY	
A085	LIN-AA8973	Pin	Pin	Personal	MSx	AUNSBY AND DEM-BLEBY	
A086	LIN-AA9635	Pin	Pin	Personal	MSx	AUNSBY AND DEM-BLEBY	
A087	LIN-D38A85	Buckle	Other Dress/Jewellery	Personal	LSx	AUNSBY AND DEM-BLEBY	
A088	LIN-0E19C0	Buckle	Other Dress/Jewellery	Personal	MSx	AUNSBY AND DEM-BLEBY	
A089	LIN-0E3FE3	Knife	Other	Weaponry/Tools	MSx	AUNSBY AND DEM-BLEBY	
A090	LIN-13D0D8	Strap End	Strap End/Fitting	Personal	ASx	OSBOURNBY	
A091	LIN-1401C8	Strap End	Strap End/Fitting	Personal	ASx	OSBOURNBY	
A092	LIN-968C84	Pin	Pin	Personal	MSx	OSBOURNBY	
A093	LIN-A76E70	Pin	Pin	Personal	MSx	AUNSBY AND DEM-BLEBY	
A094	LIN-E84C33	Harness Fitting	Horse Fitting	Horse	LSx	OSBOURNBY	

Case Study 2: *Aunsby*, Lincolnshire

Case Study ID	Reference (PAS ID)	Simplified Type	Broad Category	Functional Category	Subperiod	Modern Parish	Notes
A095	LIN-E9D910	Stirrup	Horse Fitting	Horse	LSx	AUNSBY AND DEM-BLEBY	
A096	LIN-E9EDE4	Waste	Other	Weaponry/Tools	LSx	AUNSBY AND DEM-BLEBY	
A097	LIN-D5E1B6	Coin	Coin	Economic	LSx	AUNSBY AND DEM-BLEBY	
A098	LIN-3972E3	Hanging Bowl	Other	Domestic	MSx	AUNSBY AND DEM-BLEBY	
A099	LIN-F79A53	Brooch	Brooch	Personal	LSx	ASWARBY AND SWARBY	
A800	LIN-0E61E1	Bead	Other Dress/Jewellery	Personal	MSx	AUNSBY AND DEM-BLEBY	
A801	LIN-0E8FB6	Bead	Other Dress/Jewellery	Personal	MSx	AUNSBY AND DEM-BLEBY	
A802	LIN-629513	Brooch	Brooch	Personal	LSx	OSBOURNBY	
A803	LIN-2666B7	Brooch	Brooch	Personal	LSx	AUNSBY AND DEM-BLEBY	

Case Study 3: *Dunham*, Norfolk

Case Study ID	Reference (PAS ID)	Simplified Type	Broad Category	Functional Category	Subperiod	Modern Parish	Notes
D001	NMS-5E23D4	Bell	Other Dress/Jewellery	Personal	LSx	GREAT DUNHAM	
D002	NMS-B76AC8	Bell	Other Dress/Jewellery	Personal	LSx	BEESTON WITH BITTERING	
D003	NMS-79D224	Brooch	Brooch	Personal	ASx (MLSx)	GREAT DUNHAM	
D004	NMS-40F226	Brooch	Brooch	Personal	ASx (MLSx)	GREAT DUNHAM	
D005	NMS-1F0421	Brooch	Brooch	Personal	ASx	LITCHAM	
D006	NMS-1E0981	Brooch	Brooch	Personal	LSx	BEESTON WITH BITTERING	
D007	NMS-03E7F1	Brooch	Brooch	Personal	LSx	BEESTON WITH BITTERING	Scandinavian
D008	NMS-799114	Brooch	Brooch	Personal	LSx	GREAT DUNHAM	Scandinavian
D009a	NMS-5687A7	Brooch	Brooch	Personal	LSx	GREAT DUNHAM	
D009b	NMS-5687A7	Brooch	Brooch	Personal	LSx	GREAT DUNHAM	
D010	NMS-F26AB7	Brooch	Brooch	Personal	MSx	GREAT DUNHAM	Scandinavian
D011	NMS-81B318	Brooch	Brooch	Personal	LSx	GREAT DUNHAM	
D012	NMS-4544B2	Brooch	Brooch	Personal	MSx	GREAT DUNHAM	
D013	NMS-33E302	Brooch	Brooch	Personal	MSx	BEESTON WITH BITTERING	
D014	NMS-887A84	Brooch	Brooch	Personal	MSx	GREAT DUNHAM	
D015	NMS-9FBFB0	Brooch	Brooch	Personal	MSx	GREAT DUNHAM	

Case Study 3: *Dunham*, Norfolk

Case Study ID	Reference (PAS ID)	Simplified Type	Broad Category	Functional Category	Subperiod	Modern Parish	Notes
D016	NMS-A4BF37	Brooch	Brooch	Personal	MSx	BEESTON WITH BIT-TERING	
D017	NMS-A8B818	Buckle	Other Dress/Jewellery	Personal	ASx	GREAT DUNHAM	
D018	NMS-53FD56	Buckle	Other Dress/Jewellery	Personal	LSx	GREAT DUNHAM	
D019	NMS-99B800	Buckle	Other Dress/Jewellery	Personal	MSx	BEESTON WITH BIT-TERING	
D020	NMS-8A4284	Buckle	Other Dress/Jewellery	Personal	MSx	GREAT DUNHAM	
D021	NMS-22EA27	Harness Fitting	Horse Fitting	Horse	LSx	LITCHAM	
D022	NMS-721CC8	Coin	Coin	Economic	LSx	GREAT DUNHAM	
D023	NMS-3B2956	Coin	Coin	Economic	MSx	GREAT DUNHAM	
D024	NMS-042912	Ring	Other Dress/Jewellery	Personal	ASx	BEESTON WITH BIT-TERING	
D025	NMS-37D6E6	Ring	Other Dress/Jewellery	Personal	LSx	GREAT DUNHAM	
D026	NMS-3053A3	Harness Fitting	Horse Fitting	Horse	LSx	GREAT DUNHAM	
D027	NMS-73AD22	Harness Fitting	Horse Fitting	Horse	LSx	GREAT DUNHAM	
D028	NMS-6E0164	Harness Fitting	Horse Fitting	Horse	LSx	GREAT DUNHAM	
D029	NMS-500CC0	Hooked Tag	Hooked Tag	Personal	ASx	GREAT DUNHAM	
D030	NMS-435057	Hooked Tag	Hooked Tag	Personal	ASx	GREAT DUNHAM	
D031	NMS-40CA70	Hooked Tag	Hooked Tag	Personal	ASx	GREAT DUNHAM	
D032	NMS-4B9745	Hooked Tag	Hooked Tag	Personal	ASx	BEESTON WITH BIT-TERING	

Case Study 3: *Dunham*, Norfolk

Case Study ID	Reference (PAS ID)	Simplified Type	Broad Category	Functional Category	Subperiod	Modern Parish	Notes
D033	NMS-31E7F8	Hooked Tag	Hooked Tag	Personal	ASx	LITTLE DUNHAM	
D034	NMS-3C44B3	Hooked Tag	Hooked Tag	Personal	MSx	GREAT DUNHAM	
D035	NMS-819015	Knife	Other	Weaponry/Tools	LSx	GREAT DUNHAM	
D036	NMS-415400	Mount	Other	Other	LSx	WENDLING	
D037	NMS-BD7EB4	Mount	Other	Other	LSx	LITTLE DUNHAM	
D038	NMS-DFA870	Mount	Other	Other	LSx	BEESTON WITH BIT-TERING	
D039	NMS-79E691	Hanging Bowl	Other	Domestic	MSx	GREAT DUNHAM	
D040	NMS-81CF95	Mount	Other	Other	MSx	GREAT DUNHAM	
D041	NMS-3DDAA3	Pin	Pin	Personal	MSx	GREAT DUNHAM	
D042	NMS-73C8B6	Pin	Pin	Personal	MSx	GREAT DUNHAM	
D043	NMS-D3B217	Pin	Pin	Personal	MSx	GREAT DUNHAM	
D044	NMS-9C4C64	Pin	Pin	Personal	MSx	GREAT DUNHAM	
D045	NMS-4EE002	Pin	Pin	Personal	MSx	BEESTON WITH BIT-TERING	
D046	NMS-74B1B7	Pin	Pin	Personal	MSx	BEESTON WITH BIT-TERING	
D047	NMS-432D46	Pin	Pin	Personal	MSx	GREAT DUNHAM	
D048	NMS-64D8F1	Pin	Pin	Personal	MSx	GREAT DUNHAM	
D049	NMS-466973	Pin	Pin	Personal	MSx	MILEHAM	

Case Study 3: *Dunham*, Norfolk

Case Study ID	Reference (PAS ID)	Simplified Type	Broad Category	Functional Category	Subperiod	Modern Parish	Notes
D050	NMS-AD7093	Shield	Other	Weaponry/Tools	MSx	BEESTON WITH BIT-TERING	
D051	NMS-977128	Stirrup	Horse Fitting	Horse	LSx	BEESTON WITH BIT-TERING	
D052	NMS-32FEC2	Stirrup	Horse Fitting	Horse	LSx	GREAT DUNHAM	
D053	NMS-431794	Stirrup	Horse Fitting	Horse	LSx	GREAT DUNHAM	
D054	NMS-9E0796	Stirrup	Horse Fitting	Horse	LSx	GREAT DUNHAM	
D055	NMS-0059B5	Stirrup	Horse Fitting	Horse	LSx	WENDLING	
D056	NMS-6E24B0	Stirrup	Horse Fitting	Horse	LSx	WENDLING	
D057	NMS-A4D906	Stirrup	Horse Fitting	Horse	LSx	BEESTON WITH BIT-TERING	
D058	NMS-6F2E46	Strap End	Strap End/Fitting	Personal	ASx (MLSx)	GREAT DUNHAM	
D059	NMS-81DB72	Strap End	Strap End/Fitting	Personal	ASx (MLSx)	GREAT DUNHAM	
D060	NMS-F26AF2	Strap End	Strap End/Fitting	Personal	ASx (MLSx)	GREAT DUNHAM	
D061	NMS-4628C2	Strap End	Strap End/Fitting	Personal	ASx (MLSx)	MILEHAM	
D062	NMS-DFBC83	Strap End	Strap End/Fitting	Personal	ASx (MLSx)	BEESTON WITH BIT-TERING	
D063	NMS-D6A715	Strap End	Strap End/Fitting	Personal	ASx (MLSx)	WENDLING	
D064	NMS-C2EE81	Strap End	Strap End/Fitting	Personal	ASx	GREAT DUNHAM	
D065	NMS-E01F45	Strap End	Strap End/Fitting	Personal	ASx	GREAT DUNHAM	
D066	NMS-35FCC3	Strap End	Strap End/Fitting	Personal	ASx	GREAT DUNHAM	

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Case Study 3: *Dunham*, Norfolk

Case Study ID	Reference (PAS ID)	Simplified Type	Broad Category	Functional Category	Subperiod	Modern Parish	Notes
D067	NMS-C387A8	Strap End	Strap End/Fitting	Personal	ASx	GREAT DUNHAM	
D068	NMS-410A21	Strap End	Strap End/Fitting	Personal	ASx	GREAT DUNHAM	
D069	NMS-96C741	Strap End	Strap End/Fitting	Personal	LSx	GREAT DUNHAM	
D070	NMS-6EA125	Strap End	Strap End/Fitting	Personal	LSx	WENDLING	
D071	NMS-6E8456	Strap End	Strap End/Fitting	Personal	LSx	WENDLING	
D072	NMS-1AF6A3	Strap End	Strap End/Fitting	Personal	LSx	BEESTON WITH BIT-TERING	
D073	NMS-331DF4	Strap End	Strap End/Fitting	Personal	LSx	GREAT DUNHAM	
D074	NMS-443687	Strap End	Strap End/Fitting	Personal	LSx	MILEHAM	
D075	NMS-710070	Strap End	Strap End/Fitting	Personal	LSx	GREAT DUNHAM	
D076	NMS-B68682	Strap End	Strap End/Fitting	Personal	LSx	BEESTON WITH BIT-TERING	
D077	NMS-5F1771	Strap End	Strap End/Fitting	Personal	LSx	GREAT DUNHAM	
D078	NMS-F27B04	Strap End	Strap End/Fitting	Personal	LSx	GREAT DUNHAM	
D079	NMS-BA0045	Strap End	Strap End/Fitting	Personal	LSx	BEESTON WITH BIT-TERING	
D080	NMS-6F9B28	Strap End	Strap End/Fitting	Personal	LSx	GREAT DUNHAM	
D081	NMS-E80813	Strap End	Strap End/Fitting	Personal	MSx	BEESTON WITH BIT-TERING	
D082	NMS-C31392	Strap End	Strap End/Fitting	Personal	MSx	GREAT DUNHAM	
D083	NMS-CC10A2	Sword	Other	Weaponry/Tools	MSx	GREAT DUNHAM	

Case Study 3: *Dunham*, Norfolk

Case Study ID	Reference (PAS ID)	Simplified Type	Broad Category	Functional Category	Subperiod	Modern Parish	Notes
D084	NMS-291203	Tweezers	Other	Personal	MSx	GREAT DUNHAM	
D085	NMS-44B0B5	Unidentified Object	Other	Other	ASx	MILEHAM	
D086	NMS-03F926	Weight	Other	Economic	ASx	BEESTON WITH BIT-TERING	
D087	NMS-3CC062	Weight	Other	Economic	LSx	GREAT DUNHAM	
D088	NMS-738151	Weight	Other	Economic	LSx	BEESTON WITH BIT-TERING	
D300	NMS-4C8FE1	Whetstone	Other	Weaponry/Tools	LSx	BEESTON WITH BIT-TERING	
D350	NMS-4B6146	Hooked Tag	Hooked Tag	Personal	ASx	GREAT DUNHAM	
D351	NMS-874992	Pin	Pin	Personal	LSx	GREAT DUNHAM	
D352	NMS-96E7D1	Pin	Pin	Personal	MSx	GREAT DUNHAM	
D353	NMS-97E958	Pin	Pin	Personal	MSx	GREAT DUNHAM	
D354	NMS-97C848	Pin	Pin	Personal	MSx	GREAT DUNHAM	
D355	NMS-978534	Pin	Pin	Personal	MSx	GREAT DUNHAM	
D356	NMS-95AEB7	Strap End	Strap End/Fitting	Personal	MLSx	GREAT DUNHAM	

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Case Study 4: *Frisby*, Leicestershire

Case Study ID	Reference (PAS ID)	Simplified Type	Broad Category	Functional Category	Subperiod	Modern Parish	Notes
F001	LEIC-1768B3	Bead	Other Dress/Jewellery	Personal	MSx	FRISBY AND KIRBY	
F002	LEIC-AD2EF0	Brooch	Brooch	Personal	ASx	FRISBY AND KIRBY	
F003	LEIC-92C077	Brooch	Brooch	Personal	LSx	FRISBY AND KIRBY	
F004	LEIC-CD4F45	Brooch	Brooch	Personal	LSx	FRISBY AND KIRBY	
F005	LEIC-E4D996	Brooch	Brooch	Personal	LSx	FRISBY AND KIRBY	
F006	LEIC-5C1F57	Brooch	Brooch	Personal	MSx	HOBY WITH	
F007	LEIC-6FD553	Brooch	Brooch	Personal	MSx	FRISBY AND KIRBY	
F008	LEIC-86FB45	Buckle	Other Dress/Jewellery	Personal	MSx	FRISBY AND KIRBY	
F009	LEIC-2E5E22	Coin	Coin	Economic	LSx	HOBY WITH	
F010	LEIC-1478B6	Coin	Coin	Economic	LSx	FRISBY AND KIRBY	
F011	LEIC-781C20	Coin	Coin	Economic	LSx	GRIMSTON	
F012	LEIC-4D8E33	Coin	Coin	Economic	MSx	FRISBY AND KIRBY	
F013	LEIC-8D5460	Coin	Coin	Economic	MSx	FRISBY AND KIRBY	
F014	LEIC-5608D1	Coin	Coin	Economic	MSx	FRISBY AND KIRBY	
F015	LEIC-7FF4D2	Coin	Coin	Economic	MSx	ASFORDBY	
F016	LEIC-8D7C53	Coin	Coin	Economic	MSx	FRISBY AND KIRBY	
F017	LEIC-54D360	Coin	Coin	Economic	MSx	GRIMSTON	

Case Study 4: _Frisby_, Leicestershire

Case Study ID	Reference (PAS ID)	Simplified Type	Broad Category	Functional Category	Subperiod	Modern Parish	Notes
F018	PAS-D6EBE3	Ring	Other Dress/Jewellery	Personal	LSx	ASFORDBY	
F019	LEIC-1C8B10	Gaming Piece	Other	Other	LSx	FRISBY AND KIRBY	
F020	LEIC-709A97	Hair Pin	Other Dress/Jewellery	Personal	ASx	FRISBY AND KIRBY	
F021	LEIC-AFF3B7	Hair Pin	Other Dress/Jewellery	Personal	MSx	FRISBY AND KIRBY	
F022	LEIC-AFE7E1	Hair Pin	Other Dress/Jewellery	Personal	MSx	FRISBY AND KIRBY	
F023	LEIC-40DB05	Mount	Other	Other	MSx	FRISBY AND KIRBY	
F024	LEIC-BEA3C3	Pin	Pin	Personal	MSx	FRISBY AND KIRBY	
F025	LEIC-1CA6C7	Pin	Pin	Personal	MSx	HOBY WITH ROTHERBY	
F026	LEIC-4BD061	Sword	Other	Weaponry/Tools	MSx	FRISBY AND KIRBY	
F027	LEIC-050256	Stirrup	Horse Fitting	Horse	LSx	ASFORDBY	
F028	LEIC-AF8883	Stirrup	Horse Fitting	Horse	LSx	FRISBY AND KIRBY	
F029	LEIC-51E6F2	Stirrup	Horse Fitting	Horse	LSx	FRISBY AND KIRBY	
F030	LEIC-77FE66	Stirrup	Horse Fitting	Horse	LSx	GRIMSTON	
F031	LEIC-1ED734	Strap End	Strap End/Fitting	Personal	ASx	FRISBY AND KIRBY	
F032	LEIC-712276	Strap End	Strap End/Fitting	Personal	ASx	FRISBY AND KIRBY	
F033	LEIC-232307	Strap End	Strap End/Fitting	Personal	ASx	HOBY WITH ROTHERBY	
F034	LEIC-340A54	Strap End	Strap End/Fitting	Personal	ASx	HOBY WITH ROTHERBY	

Case Study 4: *Frisby*, Leicestershire

Case Study ID	Reference (PAS ID)	Simplified Type	Broad Category	Functional Category	Subperiod	Modern Parish	Notes
F035	LEIC-FA9CE7	Strap End	Strap End/Fitting	Personal	ASx	HOBY WITH ROTHERBY	
F036	LEIC-345B57	Strap End	Strap End/Fitting	Personal	ASx	HOBY WITH ROTHERBY	
F037	LEIC-E1D367	Harness	Horse Fitting	Horse	LSx	FRISBY AND KIRBY	
F038	LEIC-70B087	Strap End	Strap End/Fitting	Personal	MSx	FRISBY AND KIRBY	
F039	LEIC-AFDB43	Toilet Article	Other	Personal	MSx	FRISBY AND KIRBY	
F040	LEIC-6F3475	Tweezers	Other	Personal	MSx	FRISBY AND KIRBY	
F300	LEIC-162FC7	Bead	Other Dress/Jewellery	Personal	MSx	FRISBY AND KIRBY	
F350	LEIC-3A2841	Strap End		Personal	LSx	FRISBY AND KIRBY	
F351	LEIC-4EEDF0	Coin	Coin	Economic	MSx	GRIMSTON	
F352	LEIC-F7C893	Harness	Horse Fitting	Horse	LSx	GRIMSTON	
F353	LEIC-A69257	Stirrup	Horse Fitting	Horse	LSx	GRIMSTON	

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Other Evidence: Case Study 1: *Roxby*, Lincolnshire

Case Study ID	Reference (ᴘᴀs ɪᴅ)	Simplified Type	Broad Category	Functional Category	Subperiod	Modern Parish	Notes
R308	21550 - MLS21550	Pottery			LSx	ROXBY CUM RISBY	
R500	15907 - MLS15907	Coin			ASx	APPLEBY	
R501	19660 - MLS19660	Coin			MSx	WINTERTON	
R502	22063 - MLS22063	Ingot			LSx	ROXBY CUM RISBY	

Other Evidence: Case Study 2: *Aunsby*, Lincolnshire

Case Study ID	Reference (PA_ _ _ ,	Simplified Type	Broad Category	Functional Category	Subperiod	Modern Parish	Notes
A400	EMC: 1987.01	Coin	Coin	Economic	MSx	OSBOURNBY	
A302	MLI97515	Pottery			ASx		
A303	MLI60112	Pottery			ASx		
A304	MLI60445	Pottery			LSx		
A305	MLI84357	Pottery			ASx		
A306	MLI90155	Pottery			ASx		
A307	MLI90161	Pottery			ASx		
A308	MLI90178	Pottery			MSx		
A309	MLI91108	Pottery			ASx		

Other Evidence: Case Study 3: _Dunham_, Norfolk

CATALOGUE 7: _DUNHAM_ OTHER EVIDENCE

Case Study ID	Reference	Simplified Type	Broad Category	Functional Category	Subperiod	Modern Parish	Notes
D400	EMC: 2008.021	Coin	Coin	Economic	MSx	MILEHAM	
D401	EMC: 1995.0132	Coin	Coin	Economic	MSx	MILEHAM	
D402	EMC: 2009.037	Coin	Coin	Economic	MSx	GREAT DUNHAM	
D403	EMC: 2006.0246	Coin	Coin	Economic	MSx	GREAT DUNHAM	
D404	EMC: 2012.0221	Coin	Coin	Economic	ASx	GREAT DUNHAM	
D501	MNF11351	Harness Fitting	Horse Fitting	Horse	LSx	LITTLE DUNHAM	
D502	MNF13025	Harness Fitting	Horse Fitting	Horse	LSx	LONGHAM	
D503	MNF13042	Strap End	Strap End/Fitting	Personal	MSx	KEMPSTONE	
D504	MNF13042	Strap End	Strap End/Fitting	Personal	LSx	KEMPSTONE	
D506	MNF15535	Harness Fitting	Horse Fitting	Horse	LSx	LITCHAM	
D510	MNF21441	Strap End	Strap End/Fitting	Personal	LSx	GREAT DUNHAM	
D511	MNF28740	Strap End	Strap End/Fitting	Personal	LSx	LEXHAM	
D512	MNF30272	Brooch	Brooch	Personal	LSx	LITTLE DUNHAM	
D513	MNF30272	Brooch	Brooch	Personal	MSx	LITTLE DUNHAM	
D514	MNF30272	Jewellery	Other Dress/Jewellery	Personal	LSx	LITTLE DUNHAM	
D515	MNF30272	Unidentified Object	Other	Other	LSx	LITTLE DUNHAM	
D516	MNF30272	Strap End	Strap End/Fitting	Personal	LSx	LITTLE DUNHAM	

Other Evidence: Case Study 3: *Dunham*, Norfolk

Case Study ID	Reference	Simplified Type	Broad Category	Functional Category	Subperiod	Modern Parish	Notes
D517	MNF30277	Strap End	Strap End/Fitting	Personal	LSx	LITTLE DUNHAM	
D518	MNF30277	Buckle	Other Dress/Jewellery	Personal	LSx	LITTLE DUNHAM	
D519	MNF30277	Weight	Other	Economic	LSx	LITTLE DUNHAM	
D520	MNF30718	Pin	Pin	Personal	MSx	MILEHAM	
D521	MNF30999	Pin	Pin	Personal	MSx	MILEHAM	
D522	MNF30999	Pin	Pin	Personal	MSx	MILEHAM	
D523	MNF30999	Hooked Tag	Hooked Tag	Personal	MSx	MILEHAM	
D524	MNF30999	Hooked Tag	Hooked Tag	Personal	LSx	MILEHAM	
D525	MNF30999	Coin	Coin	Economic	LSx	MILEHAM	
D526	MNF31580	Strap End	Strap End/Fitting	Personal	ASx	GREAT DUNHAM	
D528	MNF40089	Buckle	Other Dress/Jewellery	Personal	MSx	LONGHAM	
D529	MNF4084	Weight	Other	Economic	LSx	BEESTON WITH BIT-TERING	
D532	MNF4084	Unidentified Object	Other	Other	LSx	BEESTON WITH BIT-TERING	
D539	MNF4085	Furniture Fitting	Other	Domestic	LSx	BEESTON WITH BIT-TERING	
D541	MNF4085	Ingot	Other	Economic	LSx	BEESTON WITH BIT-TERING	
D542	MNF4178	Unidentified Object	Other	Other	LSx	GREAT DUNHAM	
D543	MNF4188	Mount	Other	Other	LSx	GREAT DUNHAM	

Other Evidence: Case Study 3: *Dunham*, Norfolk

Case Study ID	Reference	Simplified Type	Broad Category	Functional Category	Subperiod	Modern Parish	Notes
D544	MNF4188	Pin	Pin	Personal	MSx	GREAT DUNHAM	
D546	MNF4188	Harness Fitting	Horse Fitting	Horse	LSx	GREAT DUNHAM	
D547	MNF4188	Jewellery	Other Dress/Jewellery	Personal	LSx	GREAT DUNHAM	
D549	MNF4197	Brooch	Brooch	Personal	MSx	LITTLE DUNHAM	
D550	MNF47351	Stirrup	Horse Fitting	Horse	LSx	GREAT DUNHAM	
D551	MNF47728	Strap End	Strap End/Fitting	Personal	ASx	MILEHAM	
D555	MNF49093	Coin	Coin	Economic	MSx	BEESTON WITH BIT-TERING	
D560	MNF50341	Coin	Coin	Economic	LSx	GREAT DUNHAM	
D565	MNF50341	Ring	Other Dress/Jewellery	Personal	LSx	GREAT DUNHAM	
D567	MNF50341	Harness Fitting	Horse Fitting	Horse	LSx	GREAT DUNHAM	
D569	MNF50341	Harness Fitting	Horse Fitting	Horse	LSx	GREAT DUNHAM	
D574	MNF50341	Strap End	Strap End/Fitting	Personal	ASx	GREAT DUNHAM	
D576	MNF50364	Pin	Pin	Personal	MSx	GREAT DUNHAM	
D583	MNF50364	Strap End	Strap End/Fitting	Personal	ASx	GREAT DUNHAM	
D585	MNF50364	Coin	Coin	Economic	MSx	GREAT DUNHAM	
D586	MNF50364	Strap End	Strap End/Fitting	Personal	LSx	GREAT DUNHAM	
D587	MNF50364	Tweezers	Other	Personal	MSx	GREAT DUNHAM	

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Other Evidence: Case Study 3: *Dunham*, Norfolk

Case Study ID	Reference	Simplified Type	Broad Category	Functional Category	Subperiod	Modern Parish	Notes
D588	MNF50364	Coin	Coin	Economic	MSx	GREAT DUNHAM	
D598	MNF54692	Unidentified Object	Other	Other	MSx	GREAT DUNHAM	
D600	MNF57676	Coin	Coin	Economic	LSx	LITTLE DUNHAM	
D601	MNF57879	Furniture Fitting	Other	Domestic	LSx	BEESTON WITH BIT-TERING	
D606	MNF62204	Strap End	Strap End/Fitting	Personal	MSx	GREAT DUNHAM	
D607	MNF62204	Harness Fitting	Horse Fitting	Horse	LSx	GREAT DUNHAM	
D608	MNF62204	Harness Fitting	Horse Fitting	Horse	LSx	GREAT DUNHAM	
D610	MNF7229	Sword	Other	Weaponry/Tools	LSx	MILEHAM	
D612	MNF7255	Tweezers	Other	Personal	MSx	BEESTON WITH BIT-TERING	
D613	MNF7255	Unidentified Object	Other	Other	LSx	BEESTON WITH BIT-TERING	
D614	MNF7270	Brooch	Brooch	Personal	LSx	MILEHAM	
D618	MNF7270	Strap End	Strap End/Fitting	Personal	LSx	MILEHAM	
D301	MNF7258	Millstone			LSx		
D302	MNF11351	Pottery			LSx		
D303	MNF13726	Pottery			MSx		
D304	MNF15800	Pottery			LSx		
D305	MNF16093	Pottery			LSx		

Other Evidence: Case Study 3: *Dunham*, Norfolk

Case Study ID	Reference	Simplified Type	Broad Category	Functional Category	Subperiod	Modern Parish	Notes
D306	MNF16576	Pottery			MSx		
D307	MNF16576	Pottery			LSx		
D308	MNF17883	Pottery			MSx		
D309	MNF17883	Pottery			LSx		
D310	MNF19547	Pottery			MSx		
D311	MNF19548	Pottery			LSx		
D312	MNF30236	Pottery			MSx		
D313	MNF30236	Pottery			LSx		
D314	MNF30272	Pottery			MSx		
D315	MNF30272	Pottery			LSx		
D316	MNF30273	Pottery			MSx		
D317	MNF30277	Pottery			MSx		
D318	MNF30277	Pottery			LSx		
D319	MNF30403	Pottery			LSx		
D320	MNF31201	Pottery			LSx		
D321	MNF32081	Pottery			LSx		
D322	MNF4019	Pottery			LSx		

Other Evidence: Case Study 3: *Dunham*, Norfolk

Case Study ID	Reference	Simplified Type	Broad Category	Functional Category	Subperiod	Modern Parish	Notes
D323	MNF4074	Pottery			LSx		
D324	MNF4083	Pottery			LSx		
D325	MNF4083	Pottery			MSx		
D326	MNF4084	Pottery			MSx		
D327	MNF4085	Pottery			LSx		
D328	MNF4091	Pottery			LSx		
D329	MNF4093	Pottery			MSx		
D330	MNF4093	Pottery			LSx		
D331	MNF41779	Pottery			LSx		
D332	MNF4178	Pottery			LSx		
D333	MNF4178	Pottery			MSx		
D334	MNF41780	Pottery			MSx		
D335	MNF4196	Pottery			MSx		
D336	MNF4197	Pottery			LSx		
D337	MNF4198	Pottery			MSx		
D338	MNF4199	Pottery			MSx		
D339	MNF50341	Pottery			MSx		

Other Evidence: Case Study 3: *Dunham*, **Norfolk**

Case Study ID	Reference	Simplified Type	Broad Category	Functional Category	Subperiod	Modern Parish	Notes
D340	MNF50341	Pottery			LSx		
D341	MNF50364	Pottery			MSx		
D342	MNF50364	Pottery			LSx		
D343	MNF54692	Pottery			MSx		
D344	MNF54692	Pottery			LSx		
D345	MNF57451	Pottery			MSx		
D346	MNF57675	Pottery			MSx		
D347	MNF57675	Pottery			LSx		
D348	MNF57676	Pottery			MSx		
D349	MNF57676	Pottery			MSx		
D350	MNF57682	Pottery			MSx		
D351	MNF61257	Pottery			MSx		
D352	MNF7225	Pottery			MSx		
D353	MNF7225	Pottery			LSx		
D354	MNF7255	Pottery			MSx		
D355	MNF7255	Pottery			LSx		
D356	MNF7257	Pottery			MSx		

Other Evidence: Case Study 3: *Dunham*, Norfolk

Case Study ID	Reference	Simplified Type	Broad Category	Functional Category	Subperiod	Modern Parish	Notes
D357	MNF7258	Pottery			LSx		
D358	MNF7259	Pottery			LSx		
D359	MNF7264	Pottery			LSx		
D360	MNF7268	Pottery			MSx		
D361	MNF7268	Pottery			LSx		
D362	MNF7269	Pottery			MSx		
D363	MNF7269	Pottery			LSx		
D364	MNF7270	Pottery			LSx		
D365	MNF7270	Pottery			MSx		
D366	MNF7277	Pottery			MSx		
D367	MNF4092	Quern			LSx		

CATALOGUE 8: *FRISBY* OTHER EVIDENCE

Other Evidence: Case Study 4: *Frisby*, **Leicestershire**

Case Study ID	Reference	Simplified Type	Broad Category	Functional Category	Subperiod	Modern Parish	Notes
F400	EMC: 2007.007	Coin	Coin	Economic	MSx	ASFORDBY	
F301	MLE16377	Pottery			MSx		
F302	MLE16377	Pottery			LSx		
F303	MLE3340	Pottery			LSx	GRIMSTON	
F304	MLE3340	Pottery			LSx	GRIMSTON	
F305	MLE3743	Pottery			MSx	KIRBY BELLARS	
F306	MLE3743	Pottery			LSx	KIRBY BELLARS	
F307	MLE3882	Pottery			MSx		
F308	MLE6205	Pottery			MSx		
F309	MLE6828	Pottery			MSx		
F310	MLE6828	Pottery			LSx		
F311	MLE9626	Pottery			LSx		
F312	MLE6200	Bead			MSx		
F500	MLE3743	Brooch	Brooch	Personal	MSx	KIRBY BELLARS	
F501	MLE3743	Coin	Coin	Economic	LSx	KIRBY BELLARS	
F502	MLE3882	Ring	Other dress/jewellery	Personal	LSx		
F503	MLE3747	Waste	Other	Weaponry/Tools	ASx	KIRBY BELLARS	

Appendix 2: Project Database

See DVD (included) for project database and electronic version of the thesis.

Appendix 3: Data Cleaning

a) PAS data

For each subregion (i.e. county), PAS data was downloaded from the 'Broad Period': 'Early Medieval' (AD 410-1066) found through the Advanced Search feature on the PAS website (http://finds.org.uk/database/search/advanced). Within this, PAS records are assigned a 'Date from' and 'Date to'. These are designated by Finds Liaison Officers (FLOs) and approved by National Finds Advisors (NFAs). Several artefacts, however, cannot be dated more finely than to 500 years or more. This might be because of lack of information or due to the artefact's preservation. Furthermore, the dataset for this project required the earliest, post-Roman finds to be removed in order to leave those artefacts dating to the Middle and Late Saxon periods.

The VASLE project, having analysed a similar time period based on PAS material, provided some rigorous guidelines for the process of data cleaning, with much of it directly applicable to the case here. Furthermore, by following a similar cleaning process, it is easy to compare the data here to that of Richards et al (2009) and any subsequent projects that might adopt these guidelines. Some of the methods described below deviate slightly from that of the VASLE project, but it remains the clearest guide for such a process (Richards et al 2009, 2.2.1).

i) Cleaning artefact subperiods, dates, and refined chronologies

From the PAS search for 'Early Medieval' artefacts (as of 24 October, 2012), the following table (Appendix Table 1, identical to those in Chapter 3, reproduced for ease of reference) present which data were excluded, which categories were added, and why:

1. Initial cleaning process *Steps taken*	Comments
Per county:	
• Data download on PAS website: Advanced search > Broad Period = Early Medieval	
Of these records, the following were **discarded**:	
• Finds with assigned date span of ≧ 500 years	Too broad
• Finds dating primarily to the Early Saxon period (c. AD 400-650)	Too early
• Finds falling primarily in the post-Conquest period (i.e., after AD 1066)	Too late
• Finds without assigned start or end dates	Too vague

2. Cleaning for parish cluster selection *Steps taken*	Comments
Of the records, some were **temporarily removed**:	
• Finds where primary material not metal	Subject to different forms of recovery; reintroduced after case studies selected
• Object type is 'coin'	Unsuitable to have case study based solely on coinage, especially in case of a hoard representing a single event; a range of artefact types was desired; coins reintroduced after case studies selected.
To these records, new categories were **added**:	

• 'Subperiod'
  • Middle Saxon (MSx)
  • Late Saxon (LSx)
  • Middle or Late Saxon (ASx)
	Artefact date falls under:
	• MSx (to AD 850)
	• LSx (from AD 850)
	• ASx (between c. AD 850-950 or too broad)
	This was to check that parishes selected for study artefacts of mixed date ranges.

• 'Refined subperiod'	Distinguish within 'ASx' category: • Too broad = ASx • Too close to AD 800 = MLSx (Middle/Late Saxon) *NB this category used primarily for discussion purposes rather than quantitative analysis where 'subperiod' is favoured.*

APPENDIX TABLE 1: DATA CLEANING STEPS

Following the elimination of chronological outliers, Richards et al (2009) assigned a 'Broad Subperiod' to each artefact for ease of analysis. This method was similarly adopted to highlight general chronological trends:

- If the object's date range ended at or before 850, it was dated as Middle Saxon (MSx)
- If the object's date range started at or [after] 850, it was dated as Late Saxon (LSx)
- If the object's date range ended at or before 900, and was greater than or equal to 125 years, it was dated as Middle Saxon (MSx)
- All remaining objects were dated Middle/Late Saxon as their date range was either too long to be assigned specifically or was located too close to the boundary in the 9th century to be definitively assigned to either period (ASx).

Richards et al (2009, 4.2.1.1)

A final classification is appended here, to help clarify discussions of the fourth category:

> Objects classed as 'ASx' were further subdivided into those too difficult to classify (left as 'ASx'), and those which were simply too close to the ninth-century 'boundary' ('MLSx').

It became increasingly evident, however, that nuances in change over time could not be adequately visualised by reducing close to twenty generations of artefact use, trade, mimesis, and manufacture to three classifications. Therefore another set of chronological categorisation was applied, termed 'Refined Chronologies'.

Refined Chronologies were devised based on the date brackets assigned in the PAS to each artefact. This was a necessarily experimental categorisation since the dating of artefacts is relatively imprecise except for coins. An attempt was made to counter this 'fuzziness' however, and to try to present artefacts that might represent long-lasting types which may have been in use over a number of generations.

Thus the date brackets were calculated for the time-span between 'Date from' and 'Date to', providing the number of years during which an artefact *type* as represented by the given artefact might have been used. This was then converted to provide an approximate generation bracket, 'Fuzzy Generations' to better convey the idea of people using artefacts rather than years applied to them (i.e. a date range of 200 years would be classed under 10 generations during which communities might have—according to PAS dating—used a certain type of artefact). Because of the commonalities in date spreads, it was necessary to group categories of generations together, hence as they become less specific, they are grouped more widely. Thus the final 'Fuzzy Generation' bracket encapsulates 200-500 years, or 10 or more generations during which an artefact might have been used. This is extremely vague, but noting the presence of an artefact in relation to others with more

specific dates can sometimes provide clues as to the actual period of the given artefact's usage.

Refined Chronology brackets	Fuzzy Generations No.	Generation (approx.)
1. 600-650	1. 0-34 years	1
2. 651-700	2. 35-70	2-3
3. 701-750	5. 71-119	4-5
4. 751-800	7. 120-199	6-9
5. 801-850	10. 200-500	10+
6. 851-900		
7. 901-950		
8. 951-1000		
9. 1001-1050		
10. 1051-1100		

APPENDIX TABLE 2: REFINED CHRONOLOGIES

The date ranges themselves were also classed according to the median date and reassigned to a narrower date bracket, 'Refined Chronology'. It was then possible to map these artefacts, taking into account both the median date at which they might have been 'active' (i.e. lost and/or deposited), and the number of generations that might actually have had access to the artefact type (Appendix Table 2). Different sizes of dots represent finds that are not 'active' but which might still have been used or lost during the time that other artefacts were being lost. This is admittedly a crude means of attempting to convey more nuanced change over time, but it was deemed appropriate, given the occasional subtleties that dating in the PASD reflects, to attempt to go beyond the broad 'subperiods' that can occasionally whitewash what were in fact centuries of diverse change. As PAS dating improves in precision and artefacts are increasingly linked to stratigraphic sequences, it is hoped that an improved methodology taking a similar approach will be feasible.

ii) Simplified Types, Fingerprints and Functional Groups
(1) Simplified types

The PAS has a standardised list of artefact types for their records, but these amount to 2,127 different options (http://finds.org.uk/database/terminology/objects). To manage

this and to maintain consistency across the subregions, 'Simplified Types' were defined which would serve to 'smooth' the artefact types across the datasets, but which would not result in over-simplifying the data designations. This step was carried out at all levels, although with the local case study dataset, care was taken to read the artefact 'Description' in the PAS record to help determine the final type. It was not possibly to apply such scrutiny to the >1000 artefacts in the regional datasets.

The 'Simplified Type' was designed for ease of comparison and future ease of classification into Fingerprint and Functional Groups. The process of 'neatening' the object types involved going through the list of types across Lincolnshire, Norfolk, and Leicestershire, and isolating terms that seemed too ambiguous, too similar to another term, or too specific. Examples of these types were then reviewed based on the PAS object 'Description'. Where it was found that a single term was suitable (e.g. 'strap fitting' for both 'strap end' and 'strap union'), this was applied instead. This is by no means a criticism of typing practice in the PAS. The decision to narrow or refine the types further is project-dependant; in this case, consideration of artefact patterns by broad associated function is the more valuable.

This step narrowed the number of terms to work with from 114 to 61 (Appendix Table 3). The justifications for these changes are tabled in the database along with the Functional Groups to which each Simplified Type was assigned. These types are referred to when Fingerprint and Functional Group categories are broken down by object; in cases where individual artefacts are discussed, and where the distinction is crucial, the original PAS-assigned types are also noted.

AMULET	ESCUTCHEON	PLAQUE
AXEHEAD	FINGER RING	PLOUGH
BADGE	FIXTURES AND FITTINGS	POT
BALANCE	FURNITURE FITTING	PRICK SPUR
BEAD	GAMING COUNTER	RING
BELL	GAMING PIECE	ROTARY KEY
BELT FITTING	GIRDLE HANGER	SCABBARD
BOWL	HAIR PIN	SEAL MATRIX
BOOK FITTING	HAMMER	SHIELD
BOX	HANGING BOWL	SLEEVE CLASP
BRACELET	HARNESS	SPEAR
BRACTEATE	HARNESS FITTING	SPINDLE WHORL
BRIDLE	HARNESS PENDANT	SPOON
BRIDLE BIT	HASP	SPUR
BRIDLE FITTING	HINGE	STAFF
BROOCH	HOARD	STAMP
BUCKLE	HOOK	STIRRUP
BUCKLE FRAME	HOOKED TAG	STRAP
CASKET	HORSE TRAPPING	STRAP END
CASTING WASTE	IGNITING ACCESSORY	STRAP FITTING
CENSER	INGOT	STRAP UNION
CHAPE	INGOT MOULD	STUD
CHATELAINE	JAR	STYLUS
CHEEKPIECE	JEWELLERY	SWIVEL
CLOTHING FASTENING	KEY (LOCKING)	SWORD
COIN	KNIFE	SWORD POMMEL
COIN HOARD	LANTERN	SWORD BELT
COIN PENDANT	LATCHLIFTER	TERMINAL
COMB	LINKED PIN	TOGGLE
CRUCIFIX	LOOMWEIGHT	TOILET ARTICLE
DAGGER	METAL WORKING DEBRIS	TWEEZERS
DIE	MODEL	UNIDENTIFIED OBJECT
DIE STAMP	MOUNT	VESSEL
DRESS FASTENER (DRESS)	NAIL CLEANER	WASTE
DRESS HOOK	NECKLACE	WEFT BEATER
DRINKING HORN	NET SINKER	WEIGHT
EAR RING	PENDANT	WHETSTONE
EAR SCOOP	PIN	WORKBOX

Amulet	Jewellery
Axehead	Key
Balance	Knife
Bead	Latchlifter
Bell	Mount
Belt Fitting	Net Sinker
Bracelet	Pendant
Brooch	Pin
Buckle	Plough
Casket Fitting	Ring
Censer	Seal Matrix
Coin	Shield
Coin Hoard	Sleeve Clasp
Coin Jewellery	Spear
Comb	Spindle Whorl
Crucifix	Spoon
Die	Spur
Drinking Horn	Staff
Fixtures and Fittings	Stirrup
Gaming Piece	Strap End
Girdle Hanger	Stylus
Hair Pin	Sword
Hammer Pendant	Toilet Article
Hanging Bowl	Tweezers
Harness Fitting	Unidentified Object
Hasp	Vessel
Hoard	Waste
Hooked Clasp	Weft Beater
Hooked Tag	Weight
Igniting Accessory	Whetstone
Ingot	

APPENDIX TABLE 3: PREVIOUS 114 PAS TYPES AND 61 FINAL 'SIMPLIFIED TYPES'

3. Cleaning for analysis *Steps taken*	Comments
To these records, new categories were **added**:	
Unique 'Case Study IDs'	For ease of reference in-text and on maps.
'Simplified Types'	For consistency in reference to object types across three subregions.
'Broad Subtype' (Fingerprint type)	For creating regional artefact Fingerprints

BROOCH
      PIN
      STRAP-END/FITTING
      OTHER DRESS/JEWELLERY
      HOOKED TAG
      COIN
      HORSE FITTING
      OTHER
	• These subtypes were based on the VASLE project types (Richards et al 2009) which were identified based on the most commonly represented artefact types across early medieval England

'Functional Groups'	For linking artefacts to activity and use

DOMESTIC
      ECONOMIC
      HORSE
      HUNTING/FISHING
      OTHER
      PERSONAL
      WEAPONRY/TOOLS
	• These groups provide an alternative means of classifying the data and relate more closely to associated activity than the 'Fingerprints'

'Refined Chronologies'	To evaluate changes in artefact use over time within and across the Subperiods. This category also considers longevity of use of artefact and/or ability to assign refined date brackets.
'Culture'	To compare cultural influences (e.g. Scandinavian, Irish) of artefacts
'Provenance'	To map networks of travel and trade through artefacts
'Parallels'	To note areas were similar finds have been made and perhaps trace regional influences
'Comments'	Additional notes regarding the object were entered here.

(2) Broad Subtype

The Subperiods provide one means of classifying and comparing the artefact records, but it was also necessary to compare artefact types themselves across regional and local distributions. The VASLE project saw it necessary to further limit the terminology used in their database, and classified each artefact under a separate broad 'object type', based primarily on the more prolific find types in the country (Richards et al 2009, 4.3.3; see also Leahy 2000; Naylor 2004 for use of 'fingerprints'). By charting these types by region, an artefact 'Fingerprint' is established (Richards et al 2009, 4.3.3).These eight categories have

been adopted here. Again this also makes it easier to compare the case studies here with those in the VASLE project:

BROOCH
PIN
STRAP-END/FITTING
OTHER DRESS/JEWELLERY
HOOKED TAG
COIN
HORSE FITTING
- OTHER

'Fingerprints' are generated based both on raw data, or, for comparisons at different scales, percentages. Local Fingerprints are generated using bar graphs based on raw data, while comparison to the wider regional trends and between case studies uses line graphs based on percentages to illustrate deviations and congruencies. The artefact Fingerprints can also be used in conjunction with the subperiods, adding more quantifiable detail to the artefact characterisation of a region.

These categories cover the majority of finds, however the 'other' category often accrues many different types of artefacts. This has been somewhat remedied by breaking down the 'other' finds into a separate chart so that all the minorities that make up the majority are not fully lost in the process of data analysis. In keeping with the aims of the project, however, it was deemed necessary to present the artefact signatures in yet another way— one that made more explicit links to the people and actions associated with the objects.

(3) Functional Groups

In order to relate specific items to associated activities and purposes, finds were classed under 'Functional Groups', thus providing yet another layer of meaning by which individual datasets can be assessed (Appendix Table 4; Appendix Table 5). Although there is inevitably some interchangeability between groups[57], these categories nevertheless enable a more nuanced view of separate artefacts sharing overarching common purposes. These functional groups also serve to redistribute the 'other' fingerprint category more efficiently.

Similar classifications have been applied to a number of different projects. The VASLE project went some way to classifying objects as 'trade-related', or 'work/domestic-related' (Richards et al 2009); Davies (2010, 134) divides metalwork into 'personal' and 'functional' categories; Chester-Kadwell (2009) determined 'key indicator' find-types that represent a certain activity; and as an excavation example, the excavated artefacts at Higham Ferrers were classified and presented under a detailed range of 'Functional

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[57] E.g. a knife could used be for domestic, hunting, or decorative (personal) purposes; 'HORSE' items are ultimately linked to personal choices.

Categories' (Hardy et al 2007, 112-3, Table 4.19). In each case, the categories are designed to reflect the known available data and in this respect, 'functional groups' ought always be tailored to the dataset at hand.

FUNCTIONAL GROUPS	Domestic	Economic	Horse	Hunting/Fishing	Other	Personal	Weaponry/Tools
BROAD SUBCATEGORIES	Other	Coin Other	Horse Fitting	Other	Other	Other Dress/Jewellery Other Pin Brooch Strap End/Fitting Hooked Tag	Other
ARTEFACT TYPES	Drinking Horn Hanging Bowl Jar Key Latchlifter Loomweight Pot Spindle Whorl Spoon Vessel Weft Beater 11	Balance Coin Hoard Ingot Ingot Mould Weight 6	Harness Fitting Spur Stirrup 3	Net Sinker Plough 2	Casket Fitting Censer Die Fixtures and Fittings Gaming Piece Hasp Igniting Accessory Mount Pendant Staff Stylus Unidentified Object 12	Amulet Bead Bell Belt Fitting Bracelet Brooch Buckle Coin Jewellery Comb Crucifix Girdle Hanger Hair Pin Hammer Pendant Hooked Clasp Hooked Tag Jewellery Pin Ring Seal Matrix Sleeve Clasp Strap End Toggle Toilet Article Tweezers 24	Axehead Knife Shield Spear Sword Waste Whetstone 7

APPENDIX TABLE 4: FUNCTIONAL GROUP CATEGORIES COMPARED WITH BROAD SUBCATEGORIES AND ASSOCIATED 'SIMPLIFIED TYPES'

FUNCTIONAL GROUPS	DOMESTIC	ECONOMIC	HORSE	HUNTING/FISHING	OTHER	PERSONAL	WEAPONRY/TOOLS
Description	Objects that are probably associated with activities related to the home such as cooking; also associated with types of production such as weaving. Objects not necessarily related to items; or have indoors/ 'domus', but probably more likely to indicate occupation and be located within a local, home sphere. Not always associated with females but might be in certain cases.	Objects are directly associated with economic transactions such as coins, scales and weights; are associated with the production of such mints). Otherwise individual finds not indicative of any specific activity since they are widely travelled and used. However coins might reveal connections between areas through trade/travel.	Objects associated with horses could cover a range of associations: militaristic, agricultural, hunting and leisure, travel. Horses nevertheless imply a degree of wealth and artefacts might give further clues through decoration and objects could suggest quality as to status or occupation.	Objects associated primarily with the procurement of food for sustenance; therefore artefacts with agricultural associations are also classed here. Hunting might also be undertaken for sport. Objects might be expected to be associated with fields, rivers or woods, 'agrios' but could also be found within range of settlement for repair, manufacture, or discard.	An unsatisfactory category, 'other' will often contain artefacts whose type and therefore function cannot be determined. In other cases, however, certain types do not fall under any other category and are placed here. Even individual finds of a certain type might be revealing but especially where there are several, this category would bear further looking into. Groups of items with potential religious connotations (e.g. censer, stylus), or with caskets, boxes, furniture, could be indicative .	Objects are connected to the individual, to the adornment and care of the body. in some cases (e.g. strap ends) the object might not have been worn by a human in every case. The argument is maintained that the artefact type might be nevertheless represents the type of person by whom it is owned and is still linked to fashion, style and status. Items can be indicative of gender.	Objects are related generally to cutting, violence, defense and will often reflect a certain type of production (i.e. metal-working, blacksmithing). Objects could be indicative of occupation and status. This category should not be immediately associated with men, although artefacts might be used to suggest warfare and/or the presence of male-dominated armies.

APPENDIX TABLE 5: FUNCTIONAL GROUP CATEGORIES AND JUSTIFICATION

(4) Coinage

Coinage date groups were assigned following VASLE methodology (Richards et al 2009, 3.2.2) which in turn followed Naylor 2004. These groups were accepted based on their successful application in the VASLE project, their attention to historical breaks in coinage, and the fact that they are targeted to early medieval coin production.

The categories are as follows:

Pre 680
680-710
710-40
740-60
760-90
790-810
810-40
840-70
870-99
899-920
920-40
940-59
959-78
978-97
997-1020
1020-40
1040-66
Uncertain

(5) Other cleaning tasks

Finally, in cleaning the PAS data for mapping and the database, a number of PASD columns that were superfluous to the project at hand were removed. These varied slightly by county, but all were cleaned so as to ensure they followed the same format with the same headings. The columns removed from Lincolnshire, as an example, were:

Quantity
Other ref
Treasure
Broadperiod
Reuse
Secwfstage
Secuid
Inscription
Disccircum
Museuma
Subsequent action
Objectcert
Datefoundfromcertainty
Datefoundto"
Subperiod from
" to
the following 25 columns related to coins (ending at Statusqua)
reason
username
usernameupdate
CERT
Period from
Period to
After discmethod, next 12 columns
Postcode

The retained columns, along with those additionally inserted, are found in the Project Database.

Appendix 4: Data Analysis

a) Chi-square test of independence

The chi-square test statistic equation is as follows:

$$\chi^2 = \sum \frac{(O_c - E_c)^2}{E}$$

where O_c is the observed frequency count (i.e., the artefact count of a given type, subperiod, and/or region) of a 2 x n contingency table (e.g. two regions: Case Study 1, Case Study 2, and two variables within these regions: number of brooches, and number of strap-ends), and E_c is the expected frequency, or theoretical count if the null hypothesis (i.e. that the variables are independent and knowing the count of one variable cannot help to predict the value of the other variable) is true. The significance level is assumed to be 0.05. If the P-value (derived from the results of the test) is less than 0.05, the null hypothesis is rejected, and the variables are dependent; there is significance to the relationship. P-values > 0.05 indicate the null hypothesis is true, that the variables are independent and therefore the counts have no relationship; they are independent and therefore cannot be used to predict the outcome one another (Pallant 2010, 219).

Using this equation in SPSS, it was possible to query the relationship between datasets, such as from case study to case study, or microregion to subregion. It should be noted that to preserve the integrity of the tests where case studies were being compared to their subregion patterns, the case study data was removed from the overall county dataset before the test was performed. This enabled the two to be contrasted as independent datatsets.

The size of the datasets within the case studies is not vast and certain categories of artefacts are particularly poorly represented. In these cases, an overarching 'all others' category that comprised all categories with cell counts fewer than 5 was created. This enabled categories that were well-represented to be analysed (e.g. brooches per subperiod) although it meant that other categories could not be (e.g. hunting/fishing items) since they always fell into the 'all others' category. Data from Case Study 4, 'Frisby' often could not be included in comparisons across all case studies because not enough fell within any one category.

The chi-square statistic test results are referred to throughout the text, normally following a comparative line chart in order to explain (if a test was possible) how well the data fits within the expected distribution. The results of the statistics tests are presented here, and will be referred to throughout Chapters 4-8. For ease of presentation and

discussion, the P-value is referred to in-text and the results generated in SPSS are presented here.

Where 1.= Lincolnshire; 2.=Roxby.

p=.000. Note the expected count for 'OTHER' finds in *Roxby*, as well as the expected count for coins which is well below what the null hypothesis would predict.

VAR00001 * VAR00002 Crosstabulation

			VAR00002 1.00	VAR00002 2.00	Total
VAR00001	All Other	Count	226	4	230
		Expected Count	217.2	12.8	230.0
		% within VAR00001	98.3%	1.7%	100.0%
		% within VAR00002	13.0%	3.9%	12.5%
		% of Total	12.3%	0.2%	12.5%
	Brooch	Count	131	5	136
		Expected Count	128.4	7.6	136.0
		% within VAR00001	96.3%	3.7%	100.0%
		% within VAR00002	7.6%	4.9%	7.4%
		% of Total	7.1%	0.3%	7.4%
	Coin	Count	394	13	407
		Expected Count	384.4	22.6	407.0
		% within VAR00001	96.8%	3.2%	100.0%
		% within VAR00002	22.7%	12.7%	22.2%
		% of Total	21.4%	0.7%	22.2%
	Other	Count	311	46	357
		Expected Count	337.2	19.8	357.0
		% within VAR00001	87.1%	12.9%	100.0%
		% within VAR00002	17.9%	45.1%	19.4%
		% of Total	16.9%	2.5%	19.4%
	Other Dress/Jewellery	Count	125	7	132
		Expected Count	124.7	7.3	132.0
		% within VAR00001	94.7%	5.3%	100.0%
		% within VAR00002	7.2%	6.9%	7.2%
		% of Total	6.8%	0.4%	7.2%
	Pin	Count	236	16	252
		Expected Count	238.0	14.0	252.0
		% within VAR00001	93.7%	6.3%	100.0%
		% within VAR00002	13.6%	15.7%	13.7%
		% of Total	12.8%	0.9%	13.7%
	Strap End/Fitting	Count	312	11	323
		Expected Count	305.1	17.9	323.0
		% within VAR00001	96.6%	3.4%	100.0%
		% within VAR00002	18.0%	10.8%	17.6%
		% of Total	17.0%	0.6%	17.6%
Total		Count	1735	102	1837
		Expected Count	1735.0	102.0	1837.0
		% within VAR00001	94.4%	5.6%	100.0%
		% within VAR00002	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
		% of Total	94.4%	5.6%	100.0%

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	51.369[a]	6	.000
Likelihood Ratio	45.452	6	.000
N of Valid Cases	1837		

a. 0 cells (0.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 7.33.

Where 1.= Lincolnshire; 2. =*Aunsby*

p=.000

VAR00001 * VAR00002 Crosstabulation

			VAR00002 1.00	VAR00002 2.00	Total
VAR00001	All Other	Count	387	11	398
		Expected Count	374.8	23.2	398.0
		% within VAR00001	97.2%	2.8%	100.0%
		% within VAR00002	22.4%	10.3%	21.7%
		% of Total	21.1%	0.6%	21.7%
	Brooch	Count	126	12	138
		Expected Count	129.9	8.1	138.0
		% within VAR00001	91.3%	8.7%	100.0%
		% within VAR00002	7.3%	11.2%	7.5%
		% of Total	6.9%	0.7%	7.5%
	Coin	Count	399	8	407
		Expected Count	383.3	23.7	407.0
		% within VAR00001	98.0%	2.0%	100.0%
		% within VAR00002	23.1%	7.5%	22.2%
		% of Total	21.8%	0.4%	22.2%
	Horse Fitting	Count	161	17	178
		Expected Count	167.6	10.4	178.0
		% within VAR00001	90.4%	9.6%	100.0%
		% within VAR00002	9.3%	15.9%	9.7%
		% of Total	8.8%	0.9%	9.7%
	Other Dress/Jewellery	Count	118	16	134
		Expected Count	126.2	7.8	134.0
		% within VAR00001	88.1%	11.9%	100.0%
		% within VAR00002	6.8%	15.0%	7.3%
		% of Total	6.4%	0.9%	7.3%
	Pin	Count	234	22	256
		Expected Count	241.1	14.9	256.0
		% within VAR00001	91.4%	8.6%	100.0%
		% within VAR00002	13.5%	20.6%	14.0%
		% of Total	12.8%	1.2%	14.0%
	Strap End/Fitting	Count	302	21	323
		Expected Count	304.2	18.8	323.0
		% within VAR00001	93.5%	6.5%	100.0%
		% within VAR00002	17.5%	19.6%	17.6%
		% of Total	16.5%	1.1%	17.6%
Total		Count	1727	107	1834
		Expected Count	1727.0	107.0	1834.0
		% within VAR00001	94.2%	5.8%	100.0%
		% within VAR00002	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
		% of Total	94.2%	5.8%	100.0%

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	37.353[a]	6	.000
Likelihood Ratio	39.183	6	.000
N of Valid Cases	1834		

a. 0 cells (0.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 7.82.

Where 1.= Norfolk; 2. = *Dunham*

p= .413; the null hypothesis is correct: no significant relationship.

VAR00001 * VAR00002 Crosstabulation

			VAR00002		
			1.00	2.00	Total
VAR00001	All Other	Count	199	9	208
		Expected Count	195.0	13.0	208.0
		% within VAR00001	95.7%	4.3%	100.0%
		% within VAR00002	13.7%	9.3%	13.4%
		% of Total	12.8%	0.6%	13.4%
	Brooch	Count	219	15	234
		Expected Count	219.4	14.6	234.0
		% within VAR00001	93.6%	6.4%	100.0%
		% within VAR00002	15.1%	15.5%	15.1%
		% of Total	14.1%	1.0%	15.1%
	Horse Fitting	Count	233	11	244
		Expected Count	228.7	15.3	244.0
		% within VAR00001	95.5%	4.5%	100.0%
		% within VAR00002	16.0%	11.3%	15.7%
		% of Total	15.0%	0.7%	15.7%
	Other	Count	181	14	195
		Expected Count	182.8	12.2	195.0
		% within VAR00001	92.8%	7.2%	100.0%
		% within VAR00002	12.5%	14.4%	12.6%
		% of Total	11.7%	0.9%	12.6%
	Other Dress/Jewellery	Count	139	8	147
		Expected Count	137.8	9.2	147.0
		% within VAR00001	94.6%	5.4%	100.0%
		% within VAR00002	9.6%	8.2%	9.5%
		% of Total	9.0%	0.5%	9.5%
	Pin	Count	132	14	146
		Expected Count	136.9	9.1	146.0
		% within VAR00001	90.4%	9.6%	100.0%
		% within VAR00002	9.1%	14.4%	9.4%
		% of Total	8.5%	0.9%	9.4%
	Strap End/Fitting	Count	350	26	376
		Expected Count	352.5	23.5	376.0
		% within VAR00001	93.1%	6.9%	100.0%
		% within VAR00002	24.1%	26.8%	24.3%
		% of Total	22.6%	1.7%	24.3%
Total		Count	1453	97	1550
		Expected Count	1453.0	97.0	1550.0
		% within VAR00001	93.7%	6.3%	100.0%
		% within VAR00002	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
		% of Total	93.7%	6.3%	100.0%

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	6.092[a]	6	.413
Likelihood Ratio	5.995	6	.424
N of Valid Cases	1550		

a. 0 cells (0.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 9.14.

Where 1.= Leicestershire; 2.= *Frisby*

p=.088; the null hypothesis is correct: no significant relationship.

VAR00001 * VAR00002 Crosstabulation

			VAR00002 1.00	VAR00002 2.00	Total
VAR00001	All Other	Count	26	7	33
		Expected Count	25.8	7.2	33.0
		% within VAR00001	78.8%	21.2%	100.0%
		% within VAR00002	16.1%	15.6%	16.0%
		% of Total	12.6%	3.4%	16.0%
	Brooch	Count	24	6	30
		Expected Count	23.4	6.6	30.0
		% within VAR00001	80.0%	20.0%	100.0%
		% within VAR00002	14.9%	13.3%	14.6%
		% of Total	11.7%	2.9%	14.6%
	Coin	Count	37	10	47
		Expected Count	36.7	10.3	47.0
		% within VAR00001	78.7%	21.3%	100.0%
		% within VAR00002	23.0%	22.2%	22.8%
		% of Total	18.0%	4.9%	22.8%
	Horse Fitting	Count	42	7	49
		Expected Count	38.3	10.7	49.0
		% within VAR00001	85.7%	14.3%	100.0%
		% within VAR00002	26.1%	15.6%	23.8%
		% of Total	20.4%	3.4%	23.8%
	Other Dress/Jewellery	Count	6	7	13
		Expected Count	10.2	2.8	13.0
		% within VAR00001	46.2%	53.8%	100.0%
		% within VAR00002	3.7%	15.6%	6.3%
		% of Total	2.9%	3.4%	6.3%
	Strap End/Fitting	Count	26	8	34
		Expected Count	26.6	7.4	34.0
		% within VAR00001	76.5%	23.5%	100.0%
		% within VAR00002	16.1%	17.8%	16.5%
		% of Total	12.6%	3.9%	16.5%
Total		Count	161	45	206
		Expected Count	161.0	45.0	206.0
		% within VAR00001	78.2%	21.8%	100.0%
		% within VAR00002	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
		% of Total	78.2%	21.8%	100.0%

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	9.571[a]	5	.088
Likelihood Ratio	8.252	5	.143
N of Valid Cases	206		

a. 1 cells (8.3%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 2.84.

Where 1.= *Roxby*; 2. =*Aunsby*; 3.=*Dunham*; 'All Other'= coins, hooked tags, horse fittings

p= .000

VAR00001 * VAR00002 Crosstabulation

			VAR00002			Total
			1.00	2.00	3.00	
VAR00001	All Other	Count	17	29	20	66
		Expected Count	20.5	23.9	21.6	66.0
	Brooch	Count	5	12	15	32
		Expected Count	9.9	11.6	10.5	32.0
	Other	Count	36	7	14	57
		Expected Count	17.7	20.6	18.7	57.0
	Other Dress/Jewellery	Count	7	16	8	31
		Expected Count	9.6	11.2	10.2	31.0
	Pin	Count	16	22	14	52
		Expected Count	16.2	18.8	17.0	52.0
	Strap End/Fitting	Count	11	21	26	58
		Expected Count	18.0	21.0	19.0	58.0
Total		Count	92	107	97	296
		Expected Count	92.0	107.0	97.0	296.0

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	44.908[a]	10	.000
Likelihood Ratio	44.096	10	.000
N of Valid Cases	296		

a. 0 cells (0.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 9.64.

567

Where 1.= Lincolnshire; 3.= Norfolk; 4.= Leicestershire; 'Other'= other and hooked tags

p= .000

VAR00001 * VAR00002 Crosstabulation

			VAR00002			Total
			1.00	3.00	4.00	
VAR00001	Brooch	Count	136	234	30	400
		Expected Count	204.1	173.0	22.9	400.0
	Coin	Count	407	100	47	554
		Expected Count	282.6	239.6	31.7	554.0
	Horse Fitting	Count	178	244	49	471
		Expected Count	240.3	203.7	27.0	471.0
	Other	Count	399	302	26	727
		Expected Count	370.9	314.5	41.6	727.0
	Other Dress/Jewellery	Count	132	147	12	291
		Expected Count	148.5	125.9	16.7	291.0
	Pin	Count	252	146	7	405
		Expected Count	206.6	175.2	23.2	405.0
	Strap End/Fitting	Count	323	376	34	733
		Expected Count	374.0	317.1	42.0	733.0
Total		Count	1827	1549	205	3581
		Expected Count	1827.0	1549.0	205.0	3581.0

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	292.659[a]	12	.000
Likelihood Ratio	311.148	12	.000
N of Valid Cases	3581		

a. 0 cells (0.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 16.66.

568

Where 1.= Lincolnshire; 3. =Norfolk; 4.=Leicestershire

p= .000

VAR00001 * VAR00002 Crosstabulation

			VAR00002			
			1.00	3.00	4.00	Total
VAR00001	ASx	Count	421	375	34	830
		Expected Count	423.5	359.0	47.5	830.0
	LSx	Count	729	737	101	1567
		Expected Count	799.5	677.8	89.7	1567.0
	MSx	Count	677	437	70	1184
		Expected Count	604.1	512.2	67.8	1184.0
Total		Count	1827	1549	205	3581
		Expected Count	1827.0	1549.0	205.0	3581.0

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	37.275[a]	4	.000
Likelihood Ratio	37.931	4	.000
N of Valid Cases	3581		

a. 0 cells (0.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 47.51.

Where 1.= *Roxby*; 2. =*Aunsby*; 3.=*Dunham*; 4.= *Frisby*

p=.502; the null hypothesis is correct: no significant relationship.

VAR00001 * VAR00002 Crosstabulation

			VAR00002				
			1.00	2.00	3.00	4.00	Total
VAR00001	ASx	Count	25	20	25	8	78
		Expected Count	21.3	24.3	22.2	10.2	78.0
	LSx	Count	37	50	41	16	144
		Expected Count	39.3	44.9	41.0	18.8	144.0
	MSx	Count	30	35	30	20	115
		Expected Count	31.4	35.8	32.8	15.0	115.0
Total		Count	92	105	96	44	337
		Expected Count	92.0	105.0	96.0	44.0	337.0

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	5.333[a]	6	.502
Likelihood Ratio	5.226	6	.515
N of Valid Cases	337		

a. 0 cells (0.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 10.18.

CHI-SQUARE RESULTS 9: ALL CASE STUDIES: SCANDINAVIAN-INFLUENCED MATERIAL CULTURE[58]

Where 1.= *Roxby*; 2.= *Aunsby*; 3. =*Dunham*; 4.=*Frisby*

p= .619; the null hypothesis is correct: no significant relationship.

VAR00001 * VAR00002 Crosstabulation

			VAR00002				Total
			1.00	2.00	3.00	4.00	
VAR00001	Other	Count	64	81	68	33	246
		Expected Count	67.2	76.6	70.1	32.1	246.0
	Scandinavian	Count	28	24	28	11	91
		Expected Count	24.8	28.4	25.9	11.9	91.0
Total		Count	92	105	96	44	337
		Expected Count	92.0	105.0	96.0	44.0	337.0

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	1.783[a]	3	.619
Likelihood Ratio	1.800	3	.615
N of Valid Cases	337		

a. 0 cells (0.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 11.88.

---

[58] Scandinavian-influenced material culture was taken to include: 1. artefacts of Scandinavian provenance (i.e. brooches in Kershaw (2012)); 2. artefacts associated with viking activity (e.g. Islamic dirhams, weights, scales, gaming pieces, ingots); 3. artefacts bearing Scandinavian-style designs but which may have been manufactured in England (e.g. Borre, Urnes, Ringerike-style brooches, buckles, strap-ends, etc).

Where 1.= Lincolnshire; 3. =Norfolk; 4.=Leicestershire

p= .000

Case Processing Summary

	Cases					
	Valid		Missing		Total	
	N	Percent	N	Percent	N	Percent
VAR00001 * VAR00002	3587	100.0%	0	0.0%	3587	100.0%

VAR00001 * VAR00002 Crosstabulation

			VAR00002			Total
			1.00	3.00	4.00	
VAR00001	Other	Count	1339	1221	135	2695
		Expected Count	1377.2	1163.8	154.0	2695.0
	Scandinavian	Count	494	328	70	892
		Expected Count	455.8	385.2	51.0	892.0
Total		Count	1833	1549	205	3587
		Expected Count	1833.0	1549.0	205.0	3587.0

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	25.007[a]	2	.000
Likelihood Ratio	24.697	2	.000
N of Valid Cases	3587		

a. 0 cells (0.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 50.98.

Appendix 5: Chronology Slides

For Chapters 4-7 in which map series present artefact distributions 'through time', the individual maps have been compiled into slides to display higher resolution images. These are found on the DVD accompanying the thesis and match the titles and figure number provided in the relevant chapter.

Appendix 6: Archive data

Lincolnshire

LArch: Armstrong, Andrew (1778) 'Map of Lincolnshire'. LCM 13/4.

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Norfolk

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NArch: Anonymous (c. 1770) 'Litcham Award', surveyor: Christopher Bell, C/Sca2/186.

Leicestershire

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Abbreviations

Archives

Listed by county code and archive number (e.g. LArch: MISC DEP 177/1)

LArch- Lincolnshire Archives (County Record Office, Lincolnshire)

LeiArch- Leicestershire Archives (Record Office, Leicestershire County Council)

NArch- Norfolk Archives (Norfolk Record Office)

Domesday Book

DB – Domesday Book (all Phillimore editions)

LDB- Lincolnshire Domesday Book

LeiDB- Leicestershire Domesday Book

NDB- Norfolk Domesday Book

OD- 'Open Domesday' (domesdaymap.co.uk), data based on Phillimore eds.

EH—English Heritage

EPNS – English Place-Name Society

FLO – Finds Liaison Officer (Portable Antiquities Scheme)

f.n. – Field-name

Historic Environment Records

Individual records referred to by county code + HER: [HER ID]

LHER—Lincolnshire HER

LeiHER—Leicestershire HER

NHER—Norfolk HER

NLHER—North Lincolnshire HER

HER – Historic Environment Record

Leics.- Leicestershire

Lincs.- Lincolnshire

n. – Footnote

NE—Natural England

NFA – National Finds Advisor (Portable Antiquities Scheme)

Norf.- Norfolk

NSRI—National Soil Resources Institute (Cranfield University)

ODan – Old Danish

OE – Old English

ON – Old Norse

OSc – Old Scandinavian

p.n. – place-name

Portable Antiquities Scheme

Individual artefacts referenced as PASD: [PAS ID]

PAS –Portable Antiquities Scheme

PASD – Portable Antiquities Scheme Database

Time periods

ASx – Anglo-Saxon

LSx – Late Saxon

MLSx – Middle/Late Saxon

MSx – Middle Saxon

TRE – *Tempore Regis Eduardi*

TRW – *Tempore Regis Willelmi*

Victoria County History

VCH – Victoria County History

LVCH- Lincolnshire

LeiVCH – Leicestershire

NVCH- Norfolk

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