Sculpture and Identity in Late Saxon East Anglia

Vol. 2 of 2

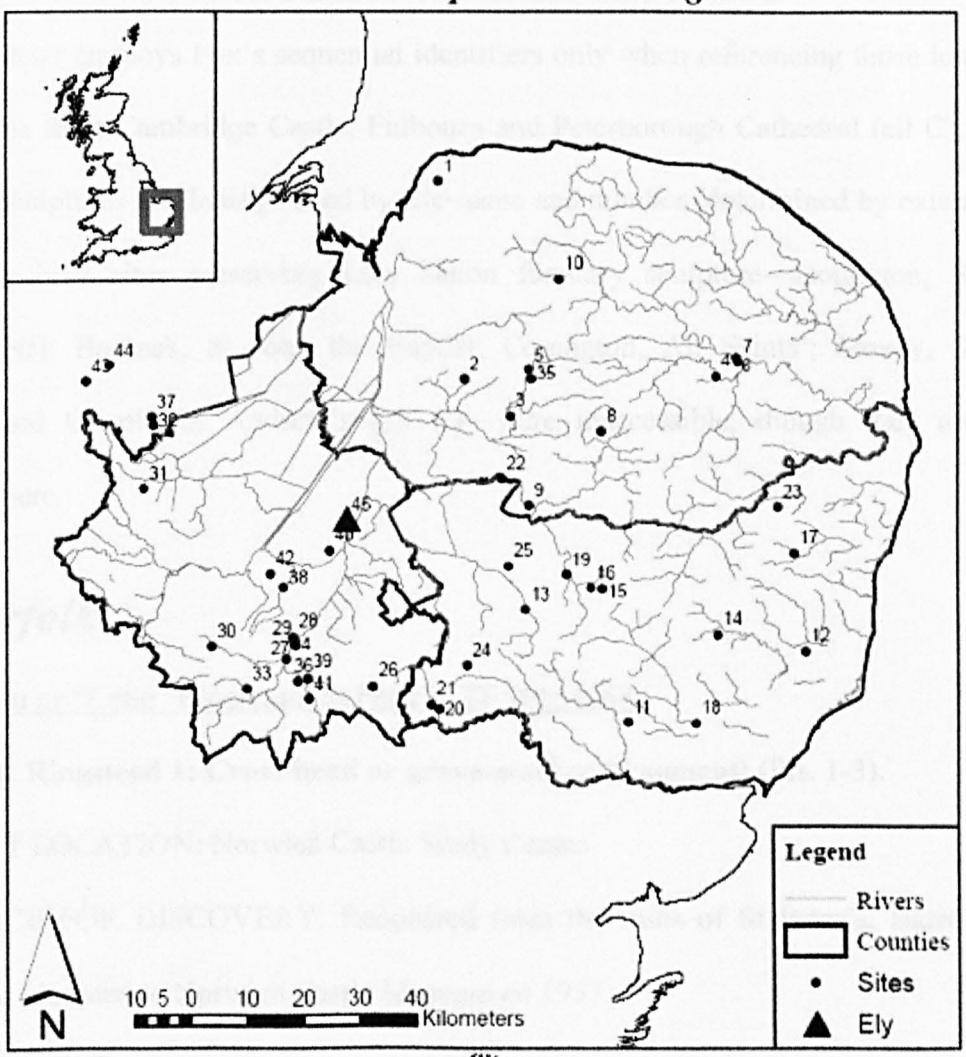
Michael Francis Reed

Thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

in the Centre for Medieval Studies

University of York

January, 2008



Sites

Norfolk
1 Barrett Ringstead
2 Beachamwell
3 Bodney
4 Cringleford
5 North Pickenham
6 Norwich, St Martin-at-Palace
7 Norwich, St Vedast
8 Rockland
9 Thetford
10 Whissonsett

Suffolk
11 Aldham
12 Blaxhall
13 Bury St Edmunds, St Edmund's Abbey
14 Framsden
15 Great Ashfield
16 Hunston
17 Huntingfield
18 Ipswich, St Nicholas
19 Ixworth
20 Kedington
21 Little Wratting
22 Sutton Downham
23 South Elmham, St Cross
24 Wickhambrook
25 Wordwell

Cambridgeshire
26 Balsham
27 Cambridge, St Benet's
28 Cambridge, Castle Hill
29 Cambridge, Little St Mary's
30 Caxton
31 Conington
32 Old Fletton
33 Orwell
34 Grantchester
35 Houghton
36 Little Shelford
37 Peterborough Cathedral/ *Medeshamstede*
38 Rampton
39 Stapleford
40 Stretham
41 Whittlesford
42 Willingham
43 Barnack
44 Maxey
45 Ely Cathedral

Fig. 39. ***Distribution map of Late Saxon Sculpture in East Anglia*** **(©Reed, 2007).**

Appendix 1

Gazetteer of Late Saxon Sculpture in East Anglia

This gazetteer employs Fox's sequential identifiers only when referencing those lost monuments from Cambridge Castle, Fulbourn and Peterborough Cathedral (all C);[1] all other sculptures are distinguished by site-name and number (determined by extant evidence). Five sites preserving Late Saxon funerary sculpture—Houghton, St Mary's (Nf); Barnack, St John the Baptist; Conington, All Saints'; Maxey, St Peter's; and Orwell, St Andrew's (all C)—were inaccessible, though they are included here.

A. *Norfolk*

A.i. Barrett or "Little" Ringstead, St Peter's. TF 70554067.

1. Barrett Ringstead 1: Cross-head or grave-marker (fragment) (Pls. 1-3).

PRESENT LOCATION: Norwich Castle Study Centre.

EVIDENCE FOR DISCOVERY: Recovered from the ruins of St Peter's, Barrett Ringstead (donated to Norwich Castle Museum *ca* 1953).

Dia. 37 cm D. 8 cm

STONE TYPE: Barnack shelly oolite (limestone).[2]

PRESENT CONDITION: The carving on both broad faces is well-preserved. The fragment is mounted in a twentieth-century, conjectural, reconstruction.

DESCRIPTION: Faces A and C preserve the vertical and lateral arm of a type "E-6" cross, extending to the stone's edge and delineated by a relief-carved border replicating the "E-6" form.[3]

---

[1] Fox, "Anglo-Saxon Monumental Sculpture", pp. 16, 19-21, 23-27
[2] See Everson and Stocker, *CASSS* vol. 5, p. 47
[3] Cramp, *Grammar of Anglo-Saxon Ornament*, p. xvi, fig. 2.

DISCUSSION: Based on formal and stylistic similarities with the Fenland Group of recumbent and associated monuments, Barrett or "Little" Ringstead 1 is likely a fragment of a monolithic, free-standing cross or grave-marker of modest scale.[4] Evidence from Cambridge Castle suggests that such monuments were associated with cemeteries; though their form and decoration are evocative of Late Saxon eschatological belief, whether they functioned as memorials or boundary markers is unclear (see vol. 1, p. 157). *Domesday* suggests that Ringstead was a wealthy settlement in the eleventh century, supporting many free land-holders.[5] Like Cringleford 1-7 (see below), it is possible that this sculpture is associated with the settlement's tenurial lord or with one or more of his *sokemanii*.

DATE: Mid-tenth to mid-eleventh century.

REFERENCES: Unpublished.

A.ii. Beachamwell, All Saints'. TF 75050538.

2. Beachamwell 1: Grave-marker (fragment) (Pls. 4-5, 7).

PRESENT LOCATION: See **1.**

EVIDENCE FOR DISCOVERY: Recovered in 1989 from the ruins of All Saints', Beachamwell.

H. 28 cm W. 11.5 < 19 cm D. 7.5 cm

STONE TYPE: Barnack shelly oolite (limestone).

PRESENT CONDITION: This semi-circular fragment has been broken along its lower and lateral edge. Its rounded edge is worn, as is the carving on both broad faces.

---

[4] See vol. 1, figs. 14-18, pp. 139, 146, 154-155; and Fox, "Anglo-Saxon Monumental Sculpture", pls. 1-2, 7.

[5] *Domesday Book* (Williams and Martin, eds., 2002), p. 1133.

DESCRIPTION: Face A preserves the vertical and a lateral arm of a type "E-6" cross, executed in low-relief and extending to the stone's edge;[6] the cross is delineated by a relief-carved border, akin to Barrett or "Little" Ringstead 1. The decoration on Face C is particularly worn, though the outline of the vertical and lateral arm of an "E-6" cross is discernible.

DISCUSSION: See **3.**

DATE: Mid-tenth to mid-eleventh century.

REFERENCES: Unpublished.

3. Beachamwell 2: Grave-marker (fragment) (Pls. 4, 6-7).

PRESENT LOCATION: See **1.**

EVIDENCE FOR DISCOVERY: See **2.**

H. 26 cm W. 14 < 18.5 cm D. 7.5 cm

Stone Type: Barnack shelly oolite (limestone).

PRESENT CONDITION: See **2.**

DESCRIPTION: Face A preserves an edge of the vertical and the lateral arm of a type "E-6" cross.[7] The decoration on Face C is badly worn, though the partial outlines of "E-6" cross-arms are visible. See **2.**

DISCUSSION **(2-3)**: Acknowledging consistencies of stone type, decoration and damage, Beachamwell 1-2 likely derive from the same monument. Based on Fox's typology, this sculpture was a "Type B" grave-marker.[8] Evidence from Cambridge Castle, Peterborough Cathedral, Hunston (St Michael's) and Helpston (St Botolph's) suggests that such markers were associated with recumbent monuments, functioning as head- and/or foot-stones (see vol. 1, pp. 141-154). Similar funerary "suites",

[6] Cramp, *Grammar of Anglo-Saxon Ornament*, p. xvi, fig. 2.
[7] *Ibid.*
[8] See vol. 1, fig. 14, p. 139; Fox, "Anglo-Saxon Monumental Sculpture", pl. 7.

comprising recumbent and vertical monuments, are documented from the Anglo-Scandinavian cemetery beneath York Minster. Beachamwell is not recorded in *Domesday Book*, though wealth was obviously concentrated at the site, evidenced by the presence of stone sculpture.

DATE: Mid-tenth to mid-eleventh century.

REFERENCES: Unpublished.

A.iii. Bodney, St Mary's. TL 83269872.

4. Bodney 1: Recumbent monument (fragment) (Pl. 8).

PRESENT LOCATION: Northeast buttress of chancel.

EVIDENCE FOR DISCOVERY: Unknown.

H. 16 < 17.5 cm W. 19 < 21 cm D. (measurable) 2 cm

STONE TYPE: Barnack shelly oolite (limestone).

PRESENT CONDITION: Weathered.

DESCRIPTION: This fragment has apparently been broken or cut along each of its edges. Its decoration comprises a layered register of ?four-cord interlace, positioned horizontally.

DISCUSSION: According to *Domesday Book*, Bodney was a royal *vill* in the mid-eleventh century held by seven *sokemanii*, one of whom is identified as "Bondi".[9] *Domesday* implies that Bodney was a form of royal inland, supplying "H[arold]" (probably King Harold Godwinson, d. 1066) with six days annual produce, likely akin to the "food-rent" programme instituted by Abbot Leofsige of Ely post-1029.[10] Acknowledging its sixteen indentured peasants and the size and diversity of its

[9] *Domesday Book* (Williams and Martin, eds., 2002), pp. 1093, 1150-1151.
[10] *Ibid.*, p. 1150. See vol. 1, pp. 108-109.

agricultural enterprise, Bodney was probably a wealthy *vill.*[11] Thus, Bodney 1 is likely associated with one of its free land-holders; its decoration (consistent with the Fenland Group's) can perhaps be interpreted in the context of royal benefaction of religious houses, manifested at Bodney through the king's possession of *sake* and *soke*.

DATE: Mid-tenth to mid-eleventh century.

REFERENCES: Fox (1920-1921), p. 24, pl. 8 ("Map B"); Everson and Stocker (1999), p. 47, fig. 13.

A.iv. Cringleford, St Peter's. TG 19840586.

5. Cringleford 1: Recumbent monument (fragment) (Pl. 9).

PRESENT LOCATION: Nave interior, west wall.

EVIDENCE FOR DISCOVERY: Recovered in 1898 from the fabric of the rood-loft staircase.

H. 27 cm W. 33 < 37.5 cm D. (measurable) .5 < 1 cm[12]

STONE TYPE: Barnack shelly oolite (limestone).[13]

PRESENT CONDITION: The extant carving is well-preserved with the exception of slight damage to the upper left corner of the right interlaced band and the upper right corner of the central bar.

DESCRIPTION: This fragment's upper and lower edges have been cut; slight tapering and roll-mouldings are visible on its lateral edges. Its decoration comprises two interlaced registers (one four-cord, the other three-) separated by a vertical bar; cord-layering is discernible at crossing-points.

---

[11] *Domesday Book* (Williams and Martin, eds., 2002), pp. 1093, 1150-1151.

[12] According to Cogswell, some of the Cringleford stones (1-3, 5-7) exceed six inches in thickness. See T. Cogswell, "On some Ancient Stone fragments found in Cringleford Church", *Norfolk Archaeology* 14 (1901), pp. 1-4, at 2.

[13] Cogswell terms this "hard sandstone". See Cogswell, "On some Ancient Stone fragments", p. 2.

DISCUSSION: See **11.**

DATE: Mid-tenth to mid-eleventh century.

REFERENCES: See **11.**

6. Cringleford 2: Recumbent monument or monuments (fragments) (Pls. 10-11).

PRESENT LOCATION: See **5.**

EVIDENCE FOR DISCOVERY: See **5.**

H. 19.5 cm W. 23 cm D. (measurable) 2.5 cm[14]

STONE TYPE: Barnack shelly oolite (limestone).

PRESENT CONDITION: Gouges and chips are also visible on the fragment's lower left corner and edge.

DESCRIPTION: The fragment's left edge has been cut, and the upper edge has been broken, resulting in a prominent sloping fracture to its upper left corner. Its decoration comprises a centrally-placed register of (?) four-cord interlace, framed by high-relief, rectangular mouldings on the left edge and base; a shallow-relief rectangular bar (distinct from the lower moulding) frames the register's right edge. Cord-layering is visible at crossing-points.

DISCUSSION: See **11.**

DATE: Mid-tenth to mid-eleventh century.

REFERENCES: See **11.**

7. Cringleford 3: Recumbent monument or monuments (fragments) (Pls. 10, 12).

PRESENT LOCATION: See **5.**

---

[14] See n. 12.

EVIDENCE FOR DISCOVERY: See **5.**

H. 16.5 cm W. 22 cm D. (measurable) 2 cm[15]

STONE TYPE: Barnack shelly oolite (limestone).

PRESENT CONDITION: This rectilinear fragment's upper edge has been broken, and its lateral edges are worn.

DESCRIPTION: Like Cringleford 2, this fragment comprises a centrally-placed register of (?) four-cord interlace framed by rectangular mouldings. Its lateral edges and base may have been cut, though their weathered condition prohibits definitive assessment.

DISCUSSION: See **11.**

DATE: Mid-tenth to mid-eleventh century.

REFERENCES: See **11.**

8. Cringleford 4: Recumbent monument (fragment) (Pl. 13).

PRESENT LOCATION: See **5.**

EVIDENCE FOR DISCOVERY: See **5.**

H. 93.9 cm W. 20.3 < 34.2 cm D. 13.9 cm (measurable) 1.5 < 2 cm[16]

STONE TYPE: Barnack shelly oolite (limestone).

PRESENT CONDITION: This fragment is slightly weathered. Its left edge has been cut, and gouging and chipping are visible along the right edge.

DESCRIPTION: This rectilinear stone preserves roll-mouldings on its upper, lower and right edges and exhibits slight tapering. Its decoration comprises two panels of four-cord interlace (exhibiting cord-layering), delineated from each other and the

---

[15] *Ibid.*

[16] Cogswell records that the fragment's thickness is 5½" (13.9 cm). *Ibid.*, p. 2.

fragment's right edge by low-relief, rectangular borders. The upper panel is surmounted by the right side of a type "B-6" cross, also executed in low-relief.

DISCUSSION: See **11.**

DATE: Mid-tenth to mid-eleventh century.

REFERENCES: See **11.**

9. Cringleford 5: Recumbent monument (fragment) (Pls. 14-15).

PRESENT LOCATION: Chancel interior, south wall.

EVIDENCE FOR DISCOVERY: See **5.**

H. 22 cm W. 17 cm D. (measurable) 1.5 cm[17]

STONE TYPE: Barnack shelly oolite (limestone).

PRESENT CONDITION: This fragment is generally well-preserved, exhibiting only slight evidence of weathering.

DESCRIPTION: This fragment's base and its right edge have been cut; the top and the left edge apparently preserve original roll-mouldings. Its decoration comprises the upper left quadrant of a circular type "E-6" cross, occupying the fragment's lower right corner. Ooliths are prominent on the stone's surfaces.

DISCUSSION: See **11.**

DATE: Mid-tenth to mid-eleventh century.

REFERENCES: See **11.**

10. Cringleford 6: Recumbent monument (fragment) (Pls. 14, 16).

PRESENT LOCATION: See **9.**

EVIDENCE FOR DISCOVERY: See **5.**

---

[17] *Ibid.*

H. 22 cm W. 17.5 cm D. (measurable) 1.5 cm[18]

STONE TYPE: Barnack shelly oolite (limestone).

PRESENT CONDITION: The fragment's upper, lower and left edges have been cut; its right edge is seemingly intact, preserving evidence of a roll-moulding.

DESCRIPTION: This fragment comprises the lower right quadrant of a circular type "E-6" cross, surmounting a rectilinear shaft. A panel of (?) four-cord interlace abuts the shaft, the terminus of which is preserved. Ooliths are prominent on the stone's surfaces.

DISCUSSION: See **11.**

DATE: Mid-tenth to mid-eleventh century.

REFERENCES: See **11.**

11. Cringleford 7: Recumbent monument (fragment) (Pl. 17).

PRESENT LOCATION: See **9.**

EVIDENCE FOR DISCOVERY: See **5.**

H. 29.5 cm W. 25.5 cm D. (measurable) 2 cm[19]

STONE TYPE: Barnack shelly oolite (limestone).

PRESENT CONDITION: The fragment's condition is generally good, though evidence of gouging and chipping is visible on its upper, lower and right edges.

DESCRIPTION: This fragment's upper, lower and right edges have been either broken or cut. A vertical bar, executed in low-relief, delineates the fragment's right edge. A wedge-shaped projection extends from the bar, with adorsed "step"-patterns on either side.

---

[18] *Ibid.*
[19] *Ibid.*

DISCUSSION **(5-11)**: Based on formal and decorative evidence (including spatial relationships), the Cringleford fragments likely comprise four or five recumbent funerary monuments characteristic of the Fenland Group. In Fox's typology, Cringleford 1 is representative of Types "2"-"4" and "6".[20] Cringleford 2-3 are probably remnants of the same monument (also corresponding to Fox's Types "2"-"4" and "6") and could, conceivably, derive from the same monument as Cringleford 1. Cringleford 4 is a "Type 4" recumbent monument, analogous to Little Shelford 1,[21] whereas Cringleford 5-6 (probably from the same monument) are examples of "Type 6" stones, akin to Cambridge Castle 1, Whittlesford 1 and Willingham 1.[22] Cringleford 7, with its distinctive adorsed "step"-pattern, is seemingly derivative of "Type 5" slabs and is related to Little Shelford 2 and Aldham 1.

As discussed in Chapters 4-5, the Fenland Group is characterized by a limited repertoire of motifs and motif-combinations which seemingly evoke tenth- and eleventh-century eschatology. Its associated monuments are probable expressions of lordly status and tenurial privilege and may represent founder- or dynastic-burials associated with manorial churches. Acknowledging the paucity of workable stone in East Anglia, oolite was probably imported from the Barnack quarries through the Fenland waterways, though Cringleford's isolation from the Barnack region *vis à vis* riverine communication suggests that stone was also trans-shipped (using both riverine and sea routes) via the Wash.[23] Such importation undoubtedly increased both the cost and prestige of stone sculptures in East Anglia. *Domesday* records that Cringleford was a wealthy settlement in the eleventh century with "Alfred" (a

[20] See vol. 1, figs. 11-13, pp. 136-138; Fox, "Anglo-Saxon Monumental Sculpture", pls. 3-5.
[21] *Ibid.*, fig. 12, p. 137; pl. 4.
[22] *Ibid.*, fig. 13, p. 138; pl. 5.
[23] Everson and Stocker, *CASSS*, vol. 5, pp. 48-49.

sokeman priest) holding one carucate of land.[24] Twenty-four other *sokemanii* are also recorded at Cringleford with various holdings.[25] It is possible that the Cringleford fragments are associated with the settlement's tenurial lord or with one or more of these free land-holders.

DATE: Mid-tenth to mid-eleventh century.

REFERENCES **(5-11)**: Cogswell (1901), *passim*. Fox (1921-1922), p. 24, pl. 8 ("Map B"). Everson and Stocker (1999), p. 47, fig. 13.

A.v. Houghton, St Mary's. TF 871052.

12. Houghton 1: Recumbent monument (fragment) (Unillustrated).

PRESENT LOCATION: North face of church tower.[26]

EVIDENCE FOR DISCOVERY: Unknown.

H. ? W. ? D. ?

STONE TYPE: Unknown.

PRESENT CONDITION: Weathered.[27]

DESCRIPTION: According to Davey, the fragment comprises a partial panel of four-cord interlace.[28]

DISCUSSION: Though Houghton is mentioned in *Domesday*, no reference to its pre-Conquest tenurial history is recorded.[29] One *sokeman* with thirty acres and six indentured peasants is recorded in 1086, as is a landless church (presumably, St Mary's) held by "Ralph".[30] Ralph was probably a lord, as *Domesday* mentions that

---

[24] *Domesday Book* (Williams and Martin, eds., 2002), p. 1076.
[25] *Ibid.*
[26] R. Davey, per. com. 15/10/06.
[27] *Ibid.*
[28] *Ibid.*
[29] *Domesday Book* (Williams and Martins, eds., 2002), p. 1095.
[30] *Ibid.*

he "holds" nine other *sokemanii* in the area.[31] It is possible that a similar organization of land-holding existed in the pre-Conquest *vill*; if so, then Houghton 1 could be associated with either a wealthy *sokeman* or a lord, perhaps a relative of Ralph.

DATE: Mid-tenth to mid-eleventh century.

REFERENCES: Unpublished. Personal reference from R. Davey (15/10/2006).

A.vi. North Pickenham, St Andrew's. TF 86560694.

13. North Pickenham 1: ?Recumbent monument (fragment) (Pl. 18).

PRESENT LOCATION: East face of west tower.

EVIDENCE FOR DISCOVERY: Unknown.

H. (approx.) 10.16 cm W. (approx.) 30.48 cm D. (measurable, approx.) 1.27 cm

STONE TYPE: Barnack shelly oolite (limestone).

PRESENT CONDITION: Badly weathered.

DESCRIPTION: This fragment has been broken or cut along each of its edges. Its decoration seemingly comprises a horizontal, interlaced register of indeterminate form and cord-number.

DISCUSSION: *Domesday* records that North and South Pickenham were a *berewick* of Sporle, a manor in the *demesne* of King Edward in the mid-eleventh century.[32] Twenty-six free land-holders are recorded in the *berewick*, including "Godwine" and "Asforthr".[33] Its thirty-eight indentured peasants, coupled with its diverse economy (including agriculture, milling and fishing) suggest that the *berewick*'s land-holders were considerably wealthy.[34] North Pickenham1 is possibly a manifestation of that

[31] *Ibid.*
[32] *Ibid.*, p. 1059.
[33] *Ibid.*, pp. 1059-1060, 1077, 1093-1094, 1150.
[34] *Ibid.*

wealth. Though its apparent interlaced decoration could be derivative of the Fenland Group, its weathered condition prevents definitive association.

DATE: ?Mid-tenth to mid-eleventh century.

REFERENCES: Fox (1920-1921), p. 24; Everson and Stocker (1999), p. 47, fig. 13.

A.vii. Norwich, St Martin-at-Palace. TG 23470916.

14. Norwich, St Martin-at-Palace 1: Recumbent monument (fragment) (Pl. 19).

PRESENT LOCATION: Norfolk Archaeology.

EVIDENCE FOR DISCOVERY: Recovered in 1987 from a post-hole during excavation of St Martin-at-Palace.

H. 16 < 31cm W. 5.5 < 22 cm D. 13 cm

STONE TYPE: Barnack shelly oolite (limestone).

PRESENT CONDITION: This fragment is broken on each edge; a deep gouge extends diagonally across the upper right corner of the decorated surface.

DESCRIPTION: See **16.**

DISCUSSION: See **16.**

DATE: *ca* early eleventh century.[35]

REFERENCES: See **16.**

15. Norwich, St Martin-at-Palace 2: Recumbent monument (fragment) (Pl. 19).

PRESENT LOCATION: See **14.**

EVIDENCE FOR DISCOVERY: See **14.**

H. 11 < 12 cm W. 7.5 < 9.5 cm D. 13 cm

STONE TYPE: Barnack shelly oolite (limestone).

---

[35] See Beazley and Ayers, *Two Medieval Churches in Norfolk*, pp. 1-14.

PRESENT CONDITION: This fragment is broken on its upper and lateral edges; its lower edge may have been cut.

DESCRIPTION: See **16.**

DISCUSSION: See **16.**

DATE: *ca* early eleventh century.

REFERENCES: See **16.**

16. Norwich, St Martin-at-Palace 3: Recumbent monument (fragment) (Pl. 19).

PRESENT LOCATION: See **14.**

EVIDENCE FOR DISCOVERY: See **14.**

H. 13 < 14 cm W. 4 cm D. 13 cm

STONE TYPE: Barnack shelly oolite (limestone).

DESCRIPTION: See **vol. 1, p. 277.**

DISCUSSION **(14-16)**: The fragments' interlace, analogous to "Type F", is similar to Granchester 1 and Cambridge, Little St Mary's 1.

DATE: *ca* early eleventh century.

REFERENCES **(14-16)**: Beazley and Ayers (2001), p. 5; Reed (2007), pp. 131-132, pl. 3.

A.viii. Norwich, St Vedast's. TG 23740859.

17. Norwich, St Vedast 1: Cross-shaft (Pls. 20-24).

PRESENT LOCATION: Norwich Castle Museum.

EVIDENCE FOR DISCOVERY: Recovered from the fabric of a house on Rose Lane, Norwich, in 1896.[36]

H. 88 cm W. 30.5 < 43 cm D. 21 < 30 cm

STONE TYPE: Barnack shelly oolite (limestone).

PRESENT CONDITION: The upper shaft has been broken, and the base and lateral edges exhibit gouging and chipping. Face A preserves evidence of polychrome, and Face B is badly weathered.

DESCRIPTION: See **vol. 1, pp. 172-173, 275-276.**

DISCUSSION: The St Vedast Cross had been built into the fabric of a house on Rose Lane, approximately 310 m northwest of Norwich Castle. Antiquarian accounts describe the stone positioned horizontally in one of the building's exterior walls, heavily whitewashed, and resting on what is now its narrow, undecorated face.[37] The house had been erected on the site of the Church of Sts Vedast and Amant (demolished in 1540) and had incorporated part of the churchyard wall into which the stone had been built.[38] When Rose Lane was widened in 1896, the architectural fabric preserving the St Vedast Cross was demolished; the monument was recovered by Mr. F.B. Crowe who subsequently donated it to the Norwich Castle Museum.[39] See **vol. 1, pp. 276-279.**

DATE: *ca* mid-tenth to mid-eleventh century.

REFERENCES: Hudson (1898), *passim*; Brøndsted (1924), pp. 213-214; Cozens-Hardy (1934-1935), p. 320; Brown and Sexton (1937), pl. 119; Margeson (1997), pp.

---

[36] W. Hudson, "On a Sculptured Stone recently removed from a House on the Site of the Church of St Vedast, Norwich", *Norfolk Archaeology* 13 (1898), pp. 116-124, at 117.
[37] *Ibid.* It is likely that the St Vedast Cross was sculpted on each of its sides; those faces which no longer exhibit decoration were re-cut, facilitating the stone's use as building material. The modification of the shaft's undecorated broad face (together with the sides of its two narrow faces) was observed in May, 2006 when the monument was inspected and photographed by the author.
[38] Margeson, *Vikings in Norfolk*, p. 24.
[39] Hudson, "On a Sculptured Stone", p. 117.

24-25, fig. 30; Margeson, Seillier and Rogerson (1994), p. 3, fig. 2; Reed (2007), pp. 122-124, 132-134, pls. 1-2.

A.ix. Rockland, All Saints'. TL 99439607.

18. Rockland 1: Recumbent monument (Pl. 25).

PRESENT LOCATION: Built into the chancel floor.

EVIDENCE FOR DISCOVERY:Recovered in two pieces *ca* 1860 from beneath the porch floor and from the south side of the tower.[40]

H. 161.29 cm W. 38.10 < 53.34 cm D. 10.16 < 12.7 cm

STONE TYPE: "Coarse strong sandstone".[41]

PRESENT CONDITION: The monument's carved surface is weathered.

DESCRIPTION: This slab is tapered and preserves a subtle coped ridge. It exhibits a centrally-placed cross-shaft, the ends of which terminate in circular, type "E-6" cross-heads. Panels of four-cord interlace are disposed on either side of the cross-shaft at the narrow end; panels of similar size and proportion seemingly framed four quadripartite knots at the slab's wider end. According to Fox's typology, this monument is a "Type 6" slab; its closest parallels are Whittlesford 1 and Willingham 4.

DISCUSSION: According to *Domesday Book*, the *soke* of Rockland (All Saints' or St Andrew) was held by the royal manor of Buckenham (near Attleborough) in the mid-eleventh century.[42] Ten free land-holders (one identified as "Broddi") and twenty-seven indentured peasants are recorded in the *vill*, participating in diverse agricultural enterprise.[43] The *vill*'s size and prosperity, coupled with its

---

[40] J. Romilly Allen, "On Recent Discoveries of Pre-Norman Sculptured Stones", *Journal of the British Archaeological Association* 41 (1885), pp. 267-277, at 270.
[41] *Ibid.*, p. 271.
[42] *Domesday Book* (Williams and Martin, eds., 2002), p. 1091.
[43] *Ibid.*

commendation to a royal manor, suggests that Rockland 1 is associated with one of the *vill*'s free land-holders and is likely informed, stylistically, by traditions of royal benefaction of religious houses.

DATE: Mid-tenth to mid-eleventh century.

REFERENCES: Allen (1885), pp. 269-272 (and unnumbered figure); Fox (1920-1921), p. 24, pl. 8 ("Map B"); Everson and Stocker (1999), p. 47, fig. 13.

A.x. Thetford, ?St John's. TL 865828.

19. Thetford 1: Recumbent monument (Pls. 26-29).

PRESENT LOCATION: Norfolk Museums and Archaeology Service, Gressenhall.

EVIDENCE FOR DISCOVERY: Recovered in 1963 from the grounds of Queensway Primary School, Thetford, then displayed in Charles Burrell High School, Thetford, until 2002 when it was donated to the Norfolk Museums and Archaeology Service.

H. 230 cm W. 57 cm D. 17 cm

STONE TYPE: Barnack shelly oolite (limestone).

PRESENT CONDITION: The monument's general condition is excellent, though a prominent, diagonal fracture is visible on one narrow face.

DESCRIPTION: This monument exhibits a centrally-placed cross-shaft, the ends of which terminate in circular, type "E-6" cross-heads. Panels of four-cord interlace are disposed on either side of the cross-shaft, and weathered, roll-mouldings are visible on each edge.

DISCUSSION: Stylistically, Thetford 1 is an example of Fox's "Type 6" recumbent monuments; its closest parallels are Cambridge Castle 1, Whittlesford 1 and Willingham 1, demonstrating that this form circulated widely throughout East

Anglia. As recounted in *Liber Eliensis*, Ælfwaru bequeathed lands and fisheries at Thetford to the monks of Ely *ca* 1007.[44] Fairweather has observed that the "Thetford" mentioned in Ælfwaru's bequest is ambiguous, perhaps referencing Thetford, Nf, or Little Thetford, C.[45] *Domesday* records that both Thetfords were dependencies (either whole or in part) of Ely *ca* 1086. Three churches, a house and two *messuages* in Thetford (Nf) are attributed to the Abbot of Ely, while Little Thetford is identified as a *berewick* (outlying estate) of the monastery.[46] Thus, Thetford 1 is a possible manifestation of Ely's cultural influence in a specific hinterland, perhaps acquired in the early eleventh century.

DATE: Mid-tenth to mid-eleventh century.

REFERENCES: Everson and Stocker (1999), p. 47, fig. 13; NPS Property Consultants Ltd. (2003), n.p.

A.xi. Whissonsett, St Mary's. TF 91902336.

20. Whissonsett 1: Cross-head and -shaft (Pls. 30-32).

PRESENT LOCATION: East nave wall, South side.

EVIDENCE FOR DISCOVERY: Excavated in 1902 from St Mary's churchyard.

H. 64.5 cm W. (shaft) 28 < 28.2 cm D. (shaft) 12 < 14 cm Dia. 43 cm D. (Head) 9 < 12 cm

---

[44] *Liber Eliensis*, II.61 (Blake, ed., 1962), p. 133; *Liber Eliensis*, II.61 (Fairweather, trans., 2005), p. 159. Ælfwaru's benefaction, including land at Hingham, Weeting, Rattlesden and Munford, included two gold crosses, supporting the author's contention that precious objects—especially altar crosses—signified tenurial privilege through gifts of land. See vol. 1, p. 113. "*Insuper addidit Hengeham et Vetinge et Ratlesdene et Mundeford et scrinium cum reliquiis, quod gradatum feretrum vocabant, et duas cruces operatas ex auro et argento et gemmis pretiosis, quas Nigellus episcopus postea tulit atque contrivit.*"/"She further added Hingham and Weeting, and Rattlesden and Mundford, and a shrine with relics which they called a 'stepped reliquary', and two crosses wonderfully crafted from gold and silver and precious jewels, which Bishop Nigel later removed and broke up". *Liber Eliensis*, II.61 (Blake, ed., 1962), p. 133 (text); *Liber Eliensis*, II.61 (Fairweather, trans., 2005), p. 159 (translation).

[45] *Liber Eliensis*, II.61 (Fairweather, trans., 2005), p. 159, n. 294

[46] *Domesday Book* (Williams and Martin, eds., 2002), pp. 1059, 525.

STONE TYPE: Barnack shelly oolite (limestone).

PRESENT CONDITION: The cross-shaft has been broken or cut. The carving is well-preserved, exhibiting slight abrasions and chipping on raised surfaces and edges.

DESCRIPTION: See **vol. 1, pp. 155-156.**

DISCUSSION: See **vol. 1, pp. 302-304.**

DATE: Mid-tenth to mid-eleventh century.

REFERENCES: Collingwood (1904), *passim*; Fox (1920-1921), pp. 16-19, pl. 2; Cozens-Hardy (1934-1935), p. 330, pl. 16; Plunkett (1984), pp. 172, 358, pl. 56.

B. *Suffolk*

B.i. Aldham, St Mary's. TM 04084445.

21. Aldham 1: Recumbent monument (fragment) (Pl. 33).

PRESENT LOCATION: Internal splay of the second window in the south wall of the nave.

EVIDENCE FOR DISCOVERY: Recovered *ca* 1881-1891 during restoration of the tower, nave and chancel.

H. 26 < 33 cm W. 30 cm D. (measurable) 2.5 < 3.5 cm

STONE TYPE: Barnack shelly oolite (limestone).

PRESENT CONDITION: The carved surfaces exhibit slight weathering and are generally well-preserved.

DESCRIPTION: The top, right and bottom edges of this fragment have been cut, the latter probably to facilitate its positioning in the window splay in the nineteenth century. The fragment's decoration comprises a centrally-placed bar, semi-circular in profile and executed in high relief, with rectilinear panels of four-cord interlace

disposed on either side. A compressed step-motif, akin to Cramp's "Step 1", is visible at the base of the left interlaced register, suggesting that Aldham 1 is an inverted example of Fox's "Type 5" recumbent monuments.[47] A flat moulding is discernible on the fragment's left edge.

DISCUSSION: See **22.**

DATE: Mid-tenth to mid-eleventh century.

REFERENCES: Pevsner (1961; 1974), p. 74; Plunkett (1998), pp. 324, 345, pl. 13 (2a).

22. Aldham 2: ?Architectural detail (fragment) (Pl. 34).

PRESENT LOCATION: Exterior southwest corner of nave.

EVIDENCE FOR DISCOVERY: See **21.**

H. 50 cm W. 18 cm D. (measurable) 8.5 cm

STONE TYPE: Barnack shelly oolite (limestone).

PRESENT CONDITION: The fragment's carved decoration is weathered.

DESCRIPTION: This rectilinear stone's upper edge has been cut; its lateral edges have been broken. The relief-carved decoration, comprising a median-incised two-strand "twist" with cord-layering at crossing-points, is displayed in a rectangular panel, demarcated by a plain, raised moulding, distinct from the monument's edges.[48] This is the only example of ribbon ornament with median-incision in Suffolk.[49] Plunkett suggests that Aldham 2 derives either from an architectural context or from a recumbent monument.[50]

---

[47] This contention is supported by the fragment's upward tapering. See Cramp, *Grammar of Anglo-Saxon Ornament*, p. xlv, fig. 27; and Fox, "Anglo-Saxon Monumental Sculpture", pl. 5.
[48] Plunkett, "Appendix: Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture", p. 324.
[49] *Ibid.*
[50] *Ibid.*

DISCUSSION **(21-22)**: Aldham 1, with its high-relief, central bar, rounded in profile, is analogous to Blaxhall 1 and Grantchester 1-2, while its compressed step-motif is characteristic of Little Shelford 1-2, perhaps demonstrative of experimentation within the formal and stylistic parameters of the Fenland Group. Aldham 2 is unique among East Anglia's Late Saxon sculpture. Its median-incised, two-strand "twist" and its "foreshortened" moulding have no exemplars among the Fenland recumbent monuments, perhaps suggesting that the fragment derives from an architectural context.[51]

According to *Domesday Book*, Aldham was a wealthy manor in the mid-eleventh century held by Wulfwine, though by 1086, it had apparently become a dependency of Bury St Edmunds.[52] It is likely that Aldham 1-2 are associated with the lordship of Wulfwine, perhaps remnants of his or his family's interments and Aldham's manorial church. With the ascendancy of Bury St Edmund's jurisdiction at Aldham sometime in the late eleventh century, it is also possible that Aldham 1-2 are manifestations of Bury's influence in its hinterlands.

DATE: Mid-tenth to mid-eleventh century.

REFERENCES: Pevsner (1961; 1974), p. 74; Plunkett (1998), p. 324, 345, pl. 13 (2b).

B.ii. Blaxhall, St Peter's. TM 35675698.

23. Blaxhall 1: Recumbent monument (fragment) (Pl. 35).

PRESENT LOCATION: West nave wall, south side.

---

[51] Median-incised interlace is discernible, however, on one upright slab (Helpston 2) and one small cross (Whissonsett 1).

[52] *Domesday Book* (Williams and Martin, eds., 2002), p. 1281.

EVIDENCE FOR DISCOVERY: Unknown (perhaps associated with restoration work in 1863).

H. 33 cm W. 35 < 42 cm D. (measurable) 6 cm

STONE TYPE: Barnack shelly oolite (limestone).

PRESENT CONDITION: Much of the carved decoration is badly damaged.

DESCRIPTION: This fragment's upper and, possibly, left edges have been cut; severe gouging and chipping is visible on the lower edge and on the central and left portions of the carved surface. The right edge preserves an apparent chamfered moulding. The fragment's decoration comprises two rectilinear panels of four-cord interlace, disposed on either side of an incised—or very low-relief—bar. The stone slab mounted above Blaxhall 1, with a prominent rounded edge, is of unknown date and function.

DISCUSSION: Though Blaxhall 1 exhibits formal and stylistic elements associated with the Fenland Group (moulded edges—usually rounded—and interlaced panels arranged on either side of a centrally-placed bar), its damage prohibits definitive identification *vis à vis* Fox's typology. *Domesday* records that the Half-Hundred of Parham (in which Blaxhall is located) was held by Ælfric, a thegn of King Edward, in the mid-eleventh century.[53] By 1086, the Abbot of Ely held the *soke* of Blaxhall, though when this was acquired is unclear.[54] *Domesday* also mentions numerous *sokemanii* at Blaxhall in the mid-eleventh century, many with substantial holdings. Thus, Blaxhall 1 is probably attributable to the thegn Ælfric of Parham or to the various freemen mentioned as land-holders at Blaxhall ("Brothir", "Eadric" "Grim", "Wulfric" or "Huna").[55] Acknowledging Blaxhall's subsequent association with the

[53] *Ibid.*, pp. 1198-1199.
[54] *Ibid.*, p. 1205.
[55] *Ibid.*, pp. 1198-1199, 1205, 1228, 1234, 1257, 1289.

Abbot of Ely, its form and decoration are perhaps illustrative of contact with, and/or the influence of, Ely *ateliers*.

DATE: Mid-tenth to mid-eleventh century.

REFERENCES: Pevsner (1961; 1974), p. 101; Plunkett (1998), pp. 324, 345.

B.iii. Bury St Edmunds, St Edmund's Abbey. TL 85886428.

24. Bury St Edmunds 1: ?Recumbent or composite monument (fragment) (Pls. 36-37).

PRESENT LOCATION: Outer wall of the ambulatory of the eleventh-century crypt.

EVIDENCE FOR DISCOVERY: Recovered in 1955 during site clearance.

H. 33.5 < 40 cm W. 24.5 cm D. (measurable) 8.5 cm

STONE TYPE: Barnack shelly oolite (limestone).

PRESENT CONDITION: The carving is well-preserved.

DESCRIPTION: The upper and lateral edges of this stone have been broken. Its decoration comprises a panel of three-strand interlace, delimited by a roll-moulding on one longitudinal edge and a strip-moulding on the other. An *in situ* iron fitting is visible in the stone's strip-moulding.

DISCUSSION: Plunkett suggests this fragment derives from a recumbent monument, of indeterminate form, whereas Gem and Keen posit that it is a remnant of a composite object, possibly a screen.[56] Stylistically, the fragment is consistent with the Fenland Group. For a discussion of Bury St Edmunds in the Late Saxon period, see **vol. 1, pp. 116-119.**

DATE: Mid-tenth to mid-eleventh century.

---

[56] Plunkett, "Appendix: Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture", p. 325; Gem and Keen, "Anglo-Saxon Finds from St Edmund's Abbey", p. 20.

REFERENCES: Gem and Keen (1981), pp. 19-20, fig. 14; Plunkett (1998), p. 325, 345.

B.iv. Framsden, St Mary's. TM 20045980.

25. Framsden 1: Figural plaque (Pl. 38).

PRESENT LOCATION: Internal splay of northwest chancel window.

EVIDENCE FOR DISCOVERY: Unknown.

H. 24.5 cm

STONE TYPE: Barnack shelly oolite (limestone).

PRESENT CONDITION: The carving is well-preserved; some chipping is visible on the panel's edges.

DESCRIPTION: See **vol. 1, pp. 168-169**.

DISCUSSION: See **vol. 1, pp. 187-188, 200**.

DATE: ?Eleventh or twelfth century.[57]

REFERENCES: Pevsner (1961; 1974), pp. 221-222; Plunkett (1998), pp. 326, 347-348, pl. 20 (2).

B.v. Great Ashfield, ?All Saints'. TL 99536783.

26. Great Ashfield 1: Cross (Pls. 39-44).

PRESENT LOCATION: Garden of Great Ashfield House.

EVIDENCE FOR DISCOVERY: See **vol. 1, pp. 162-163**.

H. 320.04 cm W. 35.56 cm D. 30.48 cm

STONE TYPE: Barnack shelly oolite (limestone).

[57] Plunkett, "Appendix: Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture", p. 326.

PRESENT CONDITION: The cross was repaired and relocated to Great Ashfield House in the nineteenth century. Further repairs were undertaken *ca* 1984.

DESCRIPTION: This monolithic cross exhibits relief-carved asymmetrical vinescroll on its narrow faces, characterized by plain pendant leaves, analogous to the "half-moon" variety.[58] One broad face exhibits the vestiges of a more complex foliate scroll, possibly with zoomorphic elements.[59] The decorative programmes of both broad faces are badly worn through deployment of the upper portion of the monument as a footbridge.[60] Ornament is preserved, however, on those sections that escaped this secondary use (the lower third of each).

The Great Ashfield cross-shaft is surmounted by a circular, unpierced head. Both faces of the cross-head have been worn smooth and hollowed through the aforementioned secondary use; thus, the equilateral cross carved in low-relief on one face might be a recent addition (*cf.* Kedington 1).[61] Beneath the cross-head are a series of three graduated imposts. These project laterally from the shaft's narrow faces, forming a distinct transition between the cross-head and the shaft's chamfered edges. See **vol. 1, p. 159**.

DISCUSSION: See **vol. 1, pp. 159, 162-164, 304-305**.

DATE: ?Mid to late tenth century.[62]

REFERENCES: Martin [1740], n.p.; Copinger Hill (1930a), *passim*; Plunkett (1984), pp. 166, 168, 359, pl. 57; Scarfe (1986), pl. 23; Plunkett (1998), pp. 324, 346-347, pl. 15.

---

[58] Cramp, *Grammar of Anglo-Saxon Ornament*, p. xxvi, fig. 11.
[59] Plunkett, "Appendix: Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture", p. 324.
[60] *Ibid.*, p. 324; T. Martin, "Church Notes (Badwell Ash)", Suffolk Record Office (Bury St Edmunds *ca* 1740), E2/41/8A, n.p.; Copinger-Hill, "Great Ashfield Cross", p. 280.
[61] Plunkett, "Appendix: Anglo-Saxon Sculpture", p. 324.
[62] *Ibid.*, p. 324.

B.vi. Hunston, St Michael's. TL 97586806.

27. Hunston 1: Grave-marker (Pls. 45-46).

PRESENT LOCATION: South transept, east wall.

EVIDENCE FOR DISCOVERY: Unknown.

H. 37 < 48 cm W. (shoulder) 6 < 28.5 cm Dia. 31 cm D. 6.5 < 7.5 cm

STONE TYPE: Barnack shelly oolite (limestone).

PRESENT CONDITION: The carving is well-preserved; some chipping is visible on the stone's edges.

DESCRIPTION: One of the monument's lateral edges (including both shoulder and rounded head) has been broken; its base has been cut diagonally. Its head exhibits a low-relief type "E-6" cross, extending to the monument's edge, embellished with a second, incised cross, replicating the internal contour of the type "E-6" form. This decoration is preserved on both broad faces.

DISCUSSION: See **32.**

DATE: Mid-tenth to mid-eleventh century.

REFERENCES: See **32.**

28. Hunston 2: Recumbent monument or grave-marker (fragment) (Pl. 47).

PRESENT LOCATION: South transept, west wall.

EVIDENCE FOR DISCOVERY: Unknown.

H. 47 < 54 cm W. 33 < 43 cm D. 8 cm

STONE TYPE: Barnack shelly oolite (limestone).

PRESENT CONDITION: The stone is badly weathered; most of the carving is eroded.

DESCRIPTION: This fragment has been broken along its lower and right edges. The upper edge is seemingly rounded, and the left edge might preserve evidence of a roll-moulding. The vestiges of a relief-carved cruciform (of indeterminate type) are preserved on the fragment's broad face.

DISCUSSION: See **32.**

DATE: Mid-tenth to mid-eleventh century.

REFERENCES: See **32.**

29. Hunston 3: Recumbent monument or grave-marker (fragment) (Pl. 48).

PRESENT LOCATION: See **28.**

EVIDENCE FOR DISCOVERY: Unknown.

H. 4.5 < 44 cm W. 8 < 31 cm D. 9 cm

STONE TYPE: Barnack shelly oolite (limestone).

PRESENT CONDITION: Like Hunston 2, this fragment is badly weathered.

DESCRIPTION: This fragment has been broken along its upper and lower edges, though its left edge preserves evidence of a roll moulding. The stone might preserve evidence of relief-carved decoration, demarcated by the lower edge of a rectilinear border. Its pattern of breakage is consistent with Hunston 2, perhaps suggesting they derive from the same monument.

DISCUSSION: See **32.**

DATE: Mid-tenth to mid-eleventh century.

REFERENCES: See **32.**

30. Hunston 4: ?Recumbent monument (fragment) (Pl. 49).

PRESENT LOCATION: See **28.**

EVIDENCE FOR DISCOVERY: Unknown.

H. 48.3 < 55.9 cm W. 21.6 < 30.5 cm D. 3 < 3.5 cm

STONE TYPE: Barnack shelly oolite (limestone).

PRESENT CONDITION: The stone's surfaces are badly weathered.

DESCRIPTION: This fragment has been broken along each of its three edges, though its longest exhibits apparent evidence of partial oblique cut; it has no discernible decoration or finished edges.

DISCUSSION: See **32.**

DATE: Mid-tenth to mid-eleventh century.

REFERENCES: See **32.**

31. Hunston 5: Recumbent monument or grave-marker (fragment) (Pl. 50).

PRESENT LOCATION: See **28.**

EVIDENCE FOR DISCOVERY: Unknown.

H. 18.5 < 23 cm W. 24.8 < 25.5 cm D. 5 < 6 cm

STONE TYPE: Barnack shelly oolite (limestone).

PRESENT CONDITION: Like Hunston 2-4, this stone is badly weathered.

DESCRIPTION: This fragment has been broken along its upper and lateral edges. Its lower edge is not moulded, though it does appear finished. The stone's broad surface is uneven; this might constitute eroded, relief-carved decoration.

DISCUSSION: See **32.**

DATE: Mid-tenth to mid-eleventh century.

REFERENCES: See **32.**

32. Hunston 6: Grave-marker (fragment) (Pl. 51).

PRESENT LOCATION: See **28.**

EVIDENCE FOR DISCOVERY: Unknown.

H. 13 < 26.5 cm W. 14 < 25 cm D. 4.5 cm

STONE TYPE: Barnack shelly oolite (limestone).

PRESENT CONDITION: This stone is weathered; its edges are chipped and gouged.

DESCRIPTION: This fragment has been broken or cut along its upper and left edges. Its lower and right edges are apparently finished though it exhibits no discernible decoration; however, its form is suggestive of the shoulder of an upright monument (akin to Hunston 1).

DISCUSSION **(27-32)**: As discussed in Chapter 5, upright slabs with cruciform decoration are characteristic of the Fenland Group and were likely erected in association with recumbent monuments. Evidence of such funerary "suites" is suggested at Hunston, Cambridge Castle, Helpston and Peterborough Cathedral. The Anglo-Scandinavian cemetery beneath York Minster preserved evidence of similar memorial traditions (see **vol. 1, pp. 149-150**). According to *Domesday*, Hunston was held in the mid-eleventh century as a manor by Edith, possibly in *demesne* of the Abbot of St Edmund's.[63] Hunston 1-6 could, therefore, be associated with Edith or, perhaps, with one of the seven *sokemanni* in her commendation; if Bury can, indeed, be associated with Hunston in the mid-eleventh century, then Hunston 1-6 might also be manifestations of the abbey's artistic and religious influence.

DATE: Mid-tenth to mid-eleventh century.

REFERENCES **(27-32)**: Plunkett (1998), p. 327.

B.vii. Huntingfield, St Mary the Virgin. TM 33617436.

---

[63] *Domesday Book* (Williams and Martin, eds., 2002), p. 1190.

33. Huntingfield 1: ?Recumbent monument (fragment) (Pl. 52).

PRESENT LOCATION: Internal east wall of tower.

EVIDENCE FOR DISCOVERY: Unknown.

H. 20.5 cm W. ? D. ?

STONE TYPE: Barnack shelly oolite (limestone).

PRESENT CONDITION: The carving is generally well-preserved, though some surface abrasions are discernible.

DESCRIPTION: This fragment has been cut along its lower and left edges; its upper edge may have been broken. Its decoration comprises the end closure of a continuous panel of three-strand interlace demarcated by a square moulding.

DISCUSSION: See **35**.

DATE: Mid-tenth to mid-eleventh century.

REFERENCES: Lang (1991), n.p.; Plunkett (1998), pp. 328, 345, pl. 12 (5c).

34. Huntingfield 2: Recumbent monument (fragment) (Pls. 52-53).

PRESENT LOCATION: See **33**.

EVIDENCE FOR DISCOVERY: Unknown.

H. 33.5 cm W. ? D. ?

STONE TYPE: Barnack shelly oolite (limestone).

PRESENT CONDITION: See **33**.

DESCRIPTION: This fragment has been broken along its lower and left edges; its upper edge may have been cut. Its decoration comprises what is likely a low-relief, type "B-6" cross. Panels of four-cord interlace occupy the interstices formed by the convergence of the cross-arms and –shaft.

DISCUSSION: See **35**.

DATE: Mid-tenth to mid-eleventh century.

REFERENCES: Lang (1991), n.p.; Plunkett (1998), pp. 328, 345, pl. 12 (5a).

35. Huntingfield 3: ?Recumbent monument (fragment) (Pls. 52-53).

PRESENT LOCATION: See **33**.

EVIDENCE FOR DISCOVERY: Unknown.

H. 22.5 cm W. ? D. ?

STONE TYPE: Barnack shelly oolite (limestone).

PRESENT CONDITION: See **33**.

DESCRIPTION: This stone has been cut along its upper edge; its lower edge may have been cut or broken. Its visible face exhibits a panel of three-strand interlace, the lateral edges of which are delimited by plain and squared mouldings.

DISCUSSION **(33-35)**: Though Lang suggests that Huntingfield 2 is an example of Fox's "Type 2" recumbent monuments, its closest parallel is Little Shelford 1, a "Type 4" slab.[64] Plunkett interprets Huntingfield 2's "elegant" and "delicately refined" carving as evidence of early manufacture, contrasting it with the "coarse [delineation]" of Ixworth 1.[65] As mentioned in Chapter 1 (see p. 5, n. 9), such theorization, informed by a linear interpretation of style, is counterproductive concerning the Fenland Group. Plunkett also suggests that Huntingfield 1 and 3 possibly derive from the narrow faces of a free-standing cross.[66] Crosses characteristic of the Fenland Group are not decorated with interlace on their narrow faces; if Plunkett's hypothesis is correct, then the monument from which Huntingfield 1 and 3 derive is unrelated to the Fenland Group and would be anomalous in the East Anglian corpus.

---

[64] J. Lang, per. comm. to J. Griffin, 08/06/91.
[65] Plunkett, "Appendix: Anglo-Saxon Sculpture", p. 328.
[66] *Ibid.*

According to *Domesday Book*, considerable wealth was concentrated at Huntingfield in the mid-eleventh century. "Eadric" held the area as a manor; his jurisdiction included two hundred additional acres (held by twenty-one freemen) and Linstead (Magna and Parva, held as a manor by "Wulfric").[67] Huntingfield is very remote in relation to the Barnack quarries.[68] Thus, importation of stone or finished monuments would have required considerable effort and expense; the subsequent display of such objects would have proclaimed and reinforced their patrons' wealth and status.

DATE: Mid-tenth to mid-eleventh century.

REFERENCES **(33-35)**: Lang (1991), n.p.; Plunkett (1998), 328, 345, pl. 12 (5b).

B.viii. Ipswich, St Nicholas'. TM 16154432.

36. Ipswich 1: Figural plaque (Pl. 54).

PRESENT LOCATION: Internal northeast corner of nave.

EVIDENCE FOR DISCOVERY: Discovered built into the fabric of St Nicholas' in 1848.

H. 53.5 cm W. 86.8 < 88.4 cm D. (measurable) 6 cm

STONE TYPE: Caen limestone.[69]

PRESENT CONDITION: The plaque is weathered, and its edges and carved surface are gouged and chipped.

DESCRIPTION: See **vol. 1, p. 168**.

DISCUSSION: See **vol. 1, pp. 186, 193-196, 199**.

---

[67] *Domesday Book* (Williams and Martin, eds., 2002), p. 1208.

[68] "[Huntingfield] is one of the most remote from the production centres and that in itself is interesting, especially as the other Suffolk examples (at Ixworth) were probably brought there through the Fenland river systems. [The Huntingfield sculptures], however, [are] more likely to have come round by sea as, we presume, did the single example in London". D. Stocker, per. comm. to J. Griffin, 25.06.91.

[69] Plunkett suggests twelfth century. See Plunkett, "Appendix: Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture", p. 328.

DATE: ?Late-eleventh or early twelfth century.[70]

REFERENCES: Drummond (1848), pp. 26-27, pl. 4; Bisshopp (1886), p. 479; Galbraith (1968), pp. 173-176, pl. 24; Kendrick (1949; 1974), p. 123, pl. 87; Zarnecki, *et al.*, eds. (1984), p. 164, no. 122; D'Onofrio, ed. (1994), p. 500, no. 279; Okasha (1970), *passim*; Plunkett (1998), pp. 329, 353-355, pl. 17 (1).

37. Ipswich 2: Tympanum (Pls. 55-56).

PRESENT LOCATION: See **36.**

EVIDENCE FOR DISCOVERY: See **36.**

H. (at apex) 54.5 cm W. (base) 99.5 cm D. 14 cm

STONE TYPE: Barnack or Ancaster limestone.[71]

PRESENT CONDITION: See **36.**

DESCRIPTION: See **vol. 1, p. 168.**

DISCUSSION: See **vol. 1, pp. 184-186, 193, 199.**

DATE: ?Late-eleventh or early twelfth century.

REFERENCES: Drummond (1848), pp. 24-26, pl. 3; Clarke [1848], n.p.; Bisshopp (1886), p. 479; (Galbraith (1968), pp. 178-180, pl. 27; Galbraith (1973), *passim*; Okasha (1970), *passim*; Kendrick (1974; 1949), p. 123, pl. 87; Zarnecki, *et al.* (1984), p. 164, no. 121; D'Onofrio (1994), pp. 481, 500, no. 279; Plunkett (1998), pp. 328, 355, pl. 17 (2).

38. Ipswich 3: ?Frieze or sarcophagus (fragment) (Pls. 57-58).

PRESENT LOCATION: See **36.**

EVIDENCE FOR DISCOVERY: See **36.**

---

[70] *Ibid.*, pp. 328-329, 352-356, esp. 356.
[71] *Ibid.*, p. 328.

H. 35 < 54 cm W. 3 < 25 cm D. (measurable) 6 cm

STONE TYPE: Barnack shelly oolite (limestone).[72]

PRESENT CONDITION: See **36**; traces of original paint are visible.

DESCRIPTION: See **vol. 1, pp. 167-168.**

DISCUSSION: See **vol. 1, pp. 183-184, 191-192, 198-199.**

DATE: ?Late-eleventh or early twelfth century.

REFERENCES: See **40.**

39. Ipswich 4: ?Frieze or sarcophagus (fragment) (Pls. 57, 59).

PRESENT LOCATION: See **36.**

EVIDENCE FOR DISCOVERY: See **36.**

H. 56 cm W. 22.5 < 24.6 cm D. 6 < 7 cm

STONE TYPE: Barnack shelly oolite (limestone).

PRESENT CONDITION: See **36**; traces of original paint are visible.

DESCRIPTION: See **vol. 1, pp. 167-168.**

DISCUSSION: See **vol. 1, pp. 183-184, 191-192, 198-199.**

DATE: ?Late-eleventh or early twelfth century.

REFERENCES: See **40.**

40. Ipswich 5: ?Frieze or sarcophagus (fragment) (Pls. 57, 60).

PRESENT LOCATION: See **36.**

EVIDENCE FOR DISCOVERY: See **36.**

H. 43.5 < 56 cm W. 2 < 21.5 cm D. (measurable) 5 < 5.5 cm

STONE TYPE: Barnack shelly oolite (limestone).

---

[72] Plunkett identifies this as "Barnack" stone. *Ibid.*

PRESENT CONDITION: See **36**; traces of original paint are visible.

DESCRIPTION: See **vol. 1, pp. 167-168.**

DISCUSSION: See **vol. 1, pp. 183-184, 191-192, 198-199.**

DATE: ?Late-eleventh or early twelfth century.

REFERENCES **(38-40)**: Drummond (1848), pp. 24-26, pl. 3; Clarke [1848], n.p.; Bisshopp (1886), p. 479; Galbraith (1968), pp. 178-180, pl. 27; Okasha (1970), *passim*; Plunkett (1998), pp. 328, 355, pl. 17 (2).

B.ix. Ixworth, St Mary's. TL 93167041.

41. Ixworth 1: Recumbent monument (fragment) (Pls. 61-63).

PRESENT LOCATION: Moyse's Hall Museum, Bury St Edmunds.

EVIDENCE FOR DISCOVERY: Found joined beneath the floor of St Mary's church in 1855 and subsequently moved to Ixworth Priory. The stones were acquired by Moyse's Hall Museum in 1958.

H. 88 < 98.5 cm W. 52.5 < 56 cm D. 11.5 < 12.7 cm

STONE TYPE: Barnack shelly oolite (limestone).

PRESENT CONDITION: This stone is weathered; its carved surface is worn and chipped.

DESCRIPTION: This is a "Type 4" recumbent slab. See **vol. 1, pp. 272-275.**

DISCUSSION: See **vol. 1, pp. 272-275.**

DATE: Mid-tenth to mid-eleventh century.

REFERENCES: Warren (1863), p. 298; Plunkett (1998), pp. 329, 345-346, pl. 13 (1b); Reed (forthcoming, 2009), *passim.*

42. Ixworth 2: Recumbent monument (fragment) (Pls. 61, 64-65).

PRESENT LOCATION: See **41.**

EVIDENCE FOR DISCOVERY: See **41.**

H. 81.8 < 90 cm W. 54.8 < 60 cm D. 15.8 < 16.3 cm

STONE TYPE: Barnack shelly oolite (limestone).

PRESENT CONDITION: See **41.**

DESCRIPTION: This is a "Type 5" recumbent slab. See **vol. 1, pp. 272-275.**

DISCUSSION: See **vol. 1, pp. 272-275.**

DATE: Mid-tenth to mid-eleventh century.

REFERENCES: Warren (1863), p. 298; Plunkett (1998), pp. 329, 345-346, pl. 13 (1a); Reed (forthcoming, 2009), *passim.*

B.x. Kedington, SS Peter's and Paul's. TL 70484702.

43. Kedington 1: Cross-head and –shaft (fragment) (Pls. 66-67).

PRESENT LOCATION: Above east window of chancel.

EVIDENCE FOR DISCOVERY: Apparently unearthed in SS Peter's and Paul's *ca* 1230, though this cannot be substantiated.[73]

H. 94.5 cm W. (shaft) 25.4 cm Dia. 45.7 cm D. 15.2 cm

STONE TYPE: Barnack shelly oolite (limestone).

PRESENT CONDITION: Excellent; some minor abrasions are visible on the edges and carved face.

DESCRIPTION: This fragment constitutes the unpierced head and upper shaft of a monolithic cross. See **vol. 1, p. 160.**

DISCUSSION: See **vol. 1, pp. 164, 231-236.**

DATE: ?Mid to late tenth century.

[73] Copinger-Hill, "Kedington Cross", p. 287.

REFERENCES: Copinger Hill (1930b), *passim*; Pevsner (1961; 1974), p. 311; Scarfe (1986), pl. 12; Plunkett (1998), pp. 329, 346-347, pl. 14 (2).

B.xi. Little Wratting, St Mary's. TL 69034764.

44. Little Wratting 1: Dedication stone (fragment) (Pls. 68-69).

PRESENT LOCATION: Above south entrance, functioning as a lintel.

EVIDENCE FOR DISCOVERY: Unknown.

H. (est.) 27.9 cm W. (est.) 111.8 cm D. ?

STONE TYPE: Barnack shelly oolite (limestone).

PRESENT CONDITION: This stone is badly weathered; its inscription is eroded.

DESCRIPTION: See **vol. 1, pp. 173-174.**

DISCUSSION: See **vol. 1, pp. 173-174.**

DATE: ?Twelfth century).[74]

REFERENCES: Dickinson (1955), *passim*; Pevsner (1961; 1974), p. 343; Plunkett (1998), pp. 330, 352, pl. 20 (4).

B.xii. Santon Downham, St Mary's. TL 81648765.

45. Santon Downham 1: Recumbent monument (fragment) (Pl. 70).

PRESENT LOCATION: Moyse's Hall Museum, Bury St Edmunds.

EVIDENCE FOR DISCOVERY: Found *ca* 1985 in St Mary's churchyard, against the east wall of the north porch.

H. 26 cm W. 18.5 < 25.8 cm D. 6 < 8 cm

STONE TYPE: Barnack shelly oolite (limestone).

[74] Plunkett, "Appendix: Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture", p. 352.

PRESENT CONDITION: This fragment is badly weathered; its edges and decorated surface are gouged and chipped.

DESCRIPTION: This stone has been broken along its lower and lateral edges; its upper edge may have been cut. Its decoration comprises a centrally-placed, relief-carved bar which terminates against an apparent square moulding at the lower edge. Two downward-curving bars project from this central upright, forming a semicircular motif. Two panels of four-cord interlace are disposed on either side of the central upright, occupying the interstices formed by its convergence with the semicircular terminus. Cord-layering is visible at crossing points.

DISCUSSION: This fragment's semicircular motif is analogous to Fox's "Type 2" and "Type 5" recumbent monuments.[75] However, the apparent extension of the central upright through the semicircular terminus is not paralleled on other Fenland sculptures. Its closest exemplar is Milton Bryan 1 (Bd; see Appendix 2, pl. 163) and South Elmham 1 (see **46**).

Domesday suggests that the abbots of St Edmund's and Ely held land at Santon Downham in the mid-eleventh century.[76] Based on the extent and diversity of agricultural activity in the manor at the time of the inquest, it is likely that the settlement was also affluent earlier in the century. Thus, Santon Downham 1 is possibly associated with a wealthy freeman or an unnamed lay-elite under commendation to St Edmund's and/or Ely.

DATE: Mid-tenth to mid-eleventh century.

REFERENCES: St Edmundsbury Museum card (1985); Plunkett (1998), pp. 329, 345-346, pl. 12 (3).

---

[75] Fox, "Anglo-Saxon Monumental Sculpture", pls. 3, 5.
[76] *Domesday Book* (Williams and Martin, eds., 2002), pp. 1238, 1256.

B.xiii. South Elmham, St Cross, "Old Minster." TM 30748266.

46. South Elmham 1: Recumbent monument (fragment) (Pl. 71).

PRESENT LOCATION: Suffolk Archaeological Unit Stores, Bury St Edmunds.

EVIDENCE FOR DISCOVERY: Found in 1963-1964 during excavations of the "Old Minster" built into the southeast corner of the nave as a quoin (below ground-level).

H. 43.2 cm W. 15.2 < 17.8 cm D. 10.2 cm

STONE TYPE: Barnack shelly oolite (limestone).

PRESENT CONDITION: Considerably weathered.[77]

DESCRIPTION: This fragment's upper, lower and right edges have been cut; its left edge has been broken. Its decoration comprises a relief-carved bar, positioned at 45° from the stone's lower edge. Two shorter bars, cut into the stone's surface, are positioned at 45° to the diagonal's fragmentary upper terminus, partially bisecting the slab horizontally. The lower bar exhibits two small holes. The terminal of an apparent panel of three-cord interlace abuts the broad edge of the upper horizontal bar.

DISCUSSION: This stone's diagonal bar and its associated interlaced panel are analogous to the motifs and orientation of Milton Bryan 1 (Appendix 2, pl. 163). South Elmham 1, Santon Downham 1 and Milton Bryan 1 seemingly constitute a seventh category of recumbent monument related to the Fenland group, characterized by central cruciforms that extend through their rounded or angular terminals to the monuments' narrow edges.

Domesday records that South Elmham was an episcopal benefice in the mid-eleventh century, though others, including the Abbot of St Edmund's, are listed as

---

[77] N. Smedley and E. Owles, "Excavations at the Old Minster, South Elmham", *Proceedings of the Suffolk Institute of Archaeology* 32.1 (1970), pp. 1-16, at 10.

soke-holders and perhaps vied for jurisdiction in the area.[78] Its various manors supported diverse agriculture, and their value had appreciated from the mid- to late eleventh century.[79] Sufficient wealth was obviously concentrated at South Elmham for sculptural patronage, and considering South Elmham 1's affinity with Santon Downham 1 (both associated with sites linked to St Edmund's Abbey) their decoration might reflect specific monastic influence.[80]

DATE: Mid-tenth to mid-eleventh century.[81]

REFERENCES: Smedley and Owles (1970), p. 10, fig. 4, pl. 3a; Plunkett (1998), pp. 330, 345-346, 350, pl. 12 (1-2).

B.xiv. Wickhambrook, All Saints'. TL 75335448.

47. Wickhambrook 1: Figural plaque (Pl. 72).

PRESENT LOCATION: Exterior southwest wall of nave.

EVIDENCE FOR DISCOVERY: Unknown.

H. 30 cm W. 26 cm D. (measurable) 2 cm

STONE TYPE: Barnack shelly oolite (limestone).

PRESENT CONDITION: Weathered (now protected by a plexi-glass cover).

DESCRIPTION: See **vol. 1, p. 172, 190.**

DISCUSSION: See **vol. 1, pp. 190, 197-198, 203.**

---

[78] The church of Rumburgh is also listed as a land-holder at South Elmham, adding to its modest holdings at Aldburgh and, perhaps, Mundham. See *Domesday Book* (Williams and Martin, eds., 2002), pp. 1081, 1100-1101.

[79] *Ibid.*, pp. 1200, 1236, 1254-1255.

[80] However, the Abbot of St Edmund's is not listed as a land-holder at Milton Bryan in *Domesday Book*. See *Domesday Book* (Williams and Martin, eds., 2002), pp. 563, 572.

[81] Smedley and Owles contend that South Elmham 1 was reused in an architectural context "probably" in the eleventh century. They state that the stone "showed signs of considerable weathering before being broken and put to its present use"; and, therefore, suggest that the stone "could hardly be of earlier date than the 9th century". This assumption is not supported by discourse on the Fenland Group. For example, Kendrick concurs with Fox's assertion that the Fenland Group is a late development, attributing Milton Bryan 1 to "the first half of the eleventh century". See Smedley and Owles, "Excavations at South Elmham", p. 10; Kendrick, *Late Saxon and Viking Art*, p. 82.

DATE: ?Post-Conquest.[82]

REFERENCES: Pevsner (1974; 1961), p. 487; Plunkett (1998), p. 330.

B.xv. Wordwell, All Saints'. TL 82807204.

48. Wordwell 1: Tympanum (Pl. 73).

PRESENT LOCATION: Above blocked north interior nave door.

EVIDENCE FOR DISCOVERY: Unknown.

H. (apex) 52.5 cm W. (base) 105.5 cm D. (measurable) 2 cm

STONE TYPE: ?Caen limestone.

PRESENT CONDITION: The extant carving is well-preserved.

DESCRIPTION: See **vol. 1, pp. 169, 172.**

DISCUSSION: See **vol. 1, pp. 196-197, 200-202.**

DATE: ?Twelfth century.[83]

REFERENCES: See **49.**

49. Wordwell 2: Cushion capital (Pls. 74-76).

PRESENT LOCATION: South doorway, east side.

EVIDENCE FOR DISCOVERY: Unknown.

H. 21 cm W. 13.5 < 14.5 cm D. 5 cm

STONE TYPE: ?Caen limestone.

PRESENT CONDITION: See **48.**

DESCRIPTION: See **vol. 1, pp. 169, 172.**

DISCUSSION: See **vol. 1, pp. 196-197, 202-203.**

DATE: ?Twelfth century.

---

[82] Plunkett, "Appendix: Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture", p. 330.
[83] *Ibid.*

REFERENCES **(48-49)**: Morley (1920), *passim*; Pevsner (1961; 1974), p. 505; Plunkett (1998), p. 330.

C. *North and East Cambridgeshire*

C.i. Balsham, Holy Trinity. TL 58795086.

50. Balsham 1: Recumbent monument (fragment) (Pl. 77).

PRESENT LOCATION: Interior west nave wall.

EVIDENCE FOR DISCOVERY: Found *ca* 1932 at Holy Trinity church (specific context unknown).[84]

H. 109.2 cm W. 58.4 cm D. ?

STONE TYPE: Barnack shelly oolite (limestone).

PRESENT CONDITION: The carved decoration is well-preserved; some chipping and gouging is visible on the monument's edges.

DESCRIPTION: The fragment's decoration is executed in low-relief and comprises a plain cross-shaft which bisects the slab longitudinally and terminates in a circular cross-head of type "E-6" form. Rectilinear panels of four-cord interlace are disposed on either side of the cross-shaft (cord-layering is not visible). The monument's edges are finished, apparently preserving evidence of square mouldings. Typologically, this fragment is an example of Fox's "Type 6" recumbent slabs.

DISCUSSION: As discussed in Chapter 3 (see vol. 1, pp. 108-109), Leofsige initiated a programme of royally-sanctioned "food-rent", in which *vill*s provisioned Ely with agricultural products or their monetary equivalent, following his consecration as Abbot of Ely in 1029. This system and its various participants

[84] C. Fox, "Saxon Grave-Slab at Balsham", *Proceedings of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society* 32 (1932), p. 51, at 51.

(including Balsham) are recorded in *Liber Eliensis*.[85] *Domesday Book*, however, explicitly defines Balsham's association with Ely, identifying it as the abbot's personal benefice;[86] this is corroborated by Edward the Confessor's (1042-1066) charter, also documented in *Liber Eliensis*, which lists those royal endowments (including Balsham) granted to the abbey (see vol. 1, pp. 106-108).[87] It is likely that Balsham 1 is associated with one of the named elite land-holders at Balsham ("Leofflæd" or "Eadgifu") or a wealthy *sokeman*.[88] Acknowledging its similarities of form and decoration with other sculptures (for example, Willingham 4) extant at sites identified as Ely's dependencies, it is probable that the decoration of Balsham 1 is informed by the intellectual *milieu* of eleventh-century Ely.

DATE: Mid-tenth to mid-eleventh century.

REFERENCES: Fox (1932), p. 51 (and unnumbered plate); Everson and Stocker (1999), p. 47, fig. 13.

C.ii. Barnack, St John the Baptist. TF 07930050.

51. Barnack 1: Recumbent monument (fragment). Unillustrated.

PRESENT LOCATION: Unknown.

EVIDENCE FOR DISCOVERY: Unknown.

H. ? W. ? D. ?

---

[85] *Liber Eliensis*, II.84 (Blake, ed., 1962), pp. 152-153; *Liber Eliensis*, II.84 (Fairweather, trans., 2005), pp. 180-181.

[86] "The abbot [of Ely] himself holds Balsham. There are 9 hides. [There is] land for 19 ploughs. In demesne [are] 5 hides, and there are 5 ploughs, and there can be 2 more. There are 12 villans and 12 bordars with 12 ploughs. There are 2 slaves, and 1 mill [rendering] 4S, woodland for 200 pigs, and 12 acres of meadow, [and] 32d. from pasture. In all it is worth £17; when received, £10; TRE £12. This manor pertains and always pertained to the demesne of the Church of Ely ... ". *Domesday Book* Williams and Martins, eds., 2002), pp. 523, 534. The phrase "This manor pertains and always pertained to the demesne of the Church of Ely" is repeated (sometimes in variant form) in *Domesday*'s references to the *vills* named in *Liber Eliensis* as providers of food-rent. See, for example, *ibid.*, pp. 522-525, 539, 545, 553, 983, 1087, 1089, 1131-1132, 1194, 1256-1258.

[87] *Liber Eliensis*, II.92 (Blake, ed., 1962), pp. 161-162; *Liber Eliensis*, II.92 (Fairweather, trans., 2005), pp. 192-193.

[88] *Domesday Book* (Williams and Martin, eds., 2002), p. 534.

STONE TYPE: Unknown.

PRESENT CONDITION: Unknown.

DESCRIPTION: Everson and Stocker (1999) note that a recumbent monument characteristic of the Fenland Group is preserved at Barnack (identified as "Barnack 11"). Unlike the Middle Saxon (see Appendix 2, pl. 158) and Post-Conquest sculpture at the site, this fragment has not been discussed in earlier sources.

DISCUSSION: Barnack is first recorded in 664 when Wulfhere of Mercia granted the *vill* to *Medeshamstede*.[89] *Domesday Book* records that "Bondi" (a Scandinavian name) had held the manor "freely" before "Otbert" in 1086.[90] This implies that Bondi was a lord or a wealthy *sokeman*. Thus, it is possible that the Barnack 1 is associated with Bondi or his family. Though Barnack's "diocesan" affiliation is not recorded in *Domesday*, Baxter suggests that it was still a benefice of *Medshamstede* in 1086.[91]

DATE: Mid-tenth to mid-eleventh century.

REFERENCES: Syers (1899), pp. 13-15; Baxter (2008), n.p.; Everson and Stocker (1999), p. 47, fig. 13.

C.iii. Cambridge, St Benet's. TL 44825804.

52. Cambridge, St Benet's 1: Zoomorphic plaque (Pls. 78-80).

PRESENT LOCATION: Above the left impost of the western tower arch.

EVIDENCE FOR DISCOVERY: N/A (*in situ*).

STONE TYPE: Barnack shelly oolite (limestone).

---

[89] Quoted in C. Syers, "Barnack Church", *Journal of the British Archaeological Association* 55 (1899), pp. 13-28, at 13-15 and R. Baxter, "St John the Baptist, Barnack, Northamptonshire", retrieved 10/02/09 from *The Corpus of Romanesque Sculpture in England and Ireland*, 2008, <http://www.crsbi.ac.uk/search/county/site/ed-nh-barna.html>, n.p.

[90] *Domesday Book* (Williams and Martin, eds., 2002), p. 612.

[91] Baxter, "St John the Baptist, Barnack", n.p.

PRESENT CONDITION: Good.

DESCRIPTION: See **vol. 1, p. 166.**

DISCUSSION: See **vol. 1, p. 166, 199.**

DATE: ?Early eleventh century.

REFERENCES: See **53.**

53. Cambridge, St Benet's 2: Zoomorphic plaque. (Pls. 78, 81-82).

PRESENT LOCATION: Above the right impost of the western tower arch.

EVIDENCE FOR DISCOVERY: See **50.**

STONE TYPE: Barnack shelly oolite (limestone).

PRESENT CONDITION: See **50.**

DESCRIPTION: See **vol. 1, p. 166.**

DISCUSSION: See **vol. 1, p. 166, 199.**

DATE: ?Early eleventh century.

REFERENCES **(52-53)**: Taylor and Taylor (1965), I, pp. 129-132; Plunkett (1984), 114-115, 352, pl. 26.

C.iv. Cambridge, Castle Hill (Cambridge University Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology). TL 44565934.

54. Cambridge Castle 1: Recumbent monument (fragment) (Pl. 83).

PRESENT LOCATION: Cambridge University Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology.

EVIDENCE FOR DISCOVERY: See **vol. 1, pp. 141-147.**

H. 98 cm W. 45 < 46 cm D. 8.3 cm

STONE TYPE: Barnack shelly oolite (limestone).

PRESENT CONDITION: Weathered with chipping and gouging on all surfaces.

DESCRIPTION: This is a "Type 6" recumbent slab. See **vol. 1, p. 137.**

DISCUSSION: See **vol. 1, pp. 141-147, 150-154, 207-228.**

DATE: Mid-tenth to mid-eleventh century.

REFERENCES: Masters (1786a), *passim*; *idem* (1786b), p. 66; Kerrich (1813), p. 228, pls. 15; Fox (1920-1921), pp. 19-21, pls. 5, 8 ("Map A"); Everson and Stocker (1999), p. 47, fig. 13.

55. Cambridge Castle 2: Recumbent monument (fragment) (Pl. 84).

PRESENT LOCATION: See **54.**

EVIDENCE FOR DISCOVERY: See **54.**

H. 177.8 cm W. 48.3 < 55.9 cm D. 15.2 cm

STONE TYPE: Barnack shelly oolite (limestone).

PRESENT CONDITION: See **54.**

DESCRIPTION: This is a "Type 1" recumbent slab. See **vol. 1, p. 135.**

DISCUSSION: See **vol. 1, pp. 141-147, 150-154, 207-228.**

DATE: Mid-tenth to mid-eleventh century.

REFERENCES: Masters (1786a), *passim*; *idem* (1786b), p. 66; Kerrich (1813), pl. 15; Fox (1920-1921), pp. 19-21, pls. 3, 8 ("Map A"); Everson and Stocker (1999), p. 47, fig. 13.

56. Cambridge Castle 3: Cross-head and –shaft (fragment) (Pls. 85-87).

PRESENT LOCATION: See **54.**

EVIDENCE FOR DISCOVERY: See **54.**

H. 39.7 < 44 cm W. 12.2 < 19.8 cm Dia. 36.4 cm D. 10.3 cm

STONE TYPE: Barnack shelly oolite (limestone).

PRESENT CONDITION: See **54**.

DESCRIPTION: See **vol. 1, pp. 155-156**.

DISCUSSION: See **vol. 1, pp. 150-154, 156-157, 228-231.**

DATE: Mid-tenth to mid-eleventh century.

REFERENCES: Fox (1920-1921), pp. 15-17; pls. 1, 8 ("Map A").

C.v. Cambridge, Little St Mary's. TL 44855819.

57. Cambridge, Little St Mary's 1: Recumbent monument (fragment) (Pl. 88).

PRESENT LOCATION: Exterior south wall.

EVIDENCE FOR DISCOVERY: Unknown.

H. 66 cm W. 17.5 < 21 cm D. (measurable) 1 cm

STONE TYPE: Barnack shelly oolite (limestone).

PRESENT CONDITION: Weathered; all visible surfaces are gouged and chipped.

DESCRIPTION: This fragment comprises a single, longitudinal register of four-cord interlace. An apparent square moulding is preserved on its upper, lower and left edges. Cord-layering is visible at crossing-points, as is cutting along the right edge (the monument's upper and lower edges may have been cut, though the left appears intact).

DISCUSSION: See **58**.

DATE: Mid-tenth to mid-eleventh century.

REFERENCES: See **58**.

58. Cambridge, Little St Mary's 2: Recumbent monument (fragment) (Pl. 89).

PRESENT LOCATION: See **57**.

EVIDENCE FOR DISCOVERY: See **57**.

H. 22 cm W. 47 cm D. (measurable) 1.5 cm

STONE TYPE: Barnack shelly oolite (limestone).

PRESENT CONDITION: See **57.**

DESCRIPTION: This fragment has been cut along its upper edge. Its lateral edges may also have been cut or modified, though the lower edge, preserving evidence of a square moulding, appears intact. The fragment's decoration comprises two rectilinear panels of four-cord interlace, disposed on either side of a vertical bar.

DISCUSSION **(57-58)**: Little St Mary's was dedicated by the Bishop of Ely in 1352, replacing the Norman church of St Peter at Trumpington Gate of *ca* 1140.[92] St Peter's remained in private patronage until *ca* 1206 when it was acquired by the Hospital of St John.[93] In 1284, Hugh de Balsham, Bishop of Ely, transferred the church and its benefices to the new foundation of Peterhouse.[94] Little St Mary's 1-2 suggest that a Saxon church (or its cemetery) had occupied the site prior to the construction of St Peter at Trumpington Gate. These fragments, albeit of indeterminate type *vis à vis* Fox's typology, are characteristic of the Fenland Group.[95] They suggest that the site was a monastic dependency in the mid-eleventh century—perhaps of Ely, suggested by its association with the site in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries and by their formal and stylistic affinities with sculpture from other East Anglian sites that have demonstrable pre-Conquest associations with Ely (including Balsham, Little Shelford and Willingham).

DATE: Mid-tenth to mid-eleventh century.

REFERENCES **(57-58)**: Fox (1920-1921), pp. 19, 21, pls. 6, 8 ("Map A"); Owen [1994], *passim*; Everson and Stocker (1999), p. 47, fig. 13.

---

[92] J. Owen, *Little St Mary's Cambridge* (Cambridge [1994]), p. 1.
[93] *Ibid.*
[94] *Ibid.*
[95] Fox, "Anglo-Saxon Monumental Sculpture", pl. 6.

C.vi. Caxton. St Andrew's. TL 30005788.

59. Caxton 1: ?Recumbent monument (fragment) (Pl. 90).

PRESENT LOCATION: West face of tower.

EVIDENCE FOR DISCOVERY: Unknown.

H. (approx.) 5.08 < 10.16 cm W. (approx.) 22.86 cm D. (measurable, approx.) .5 cm

STONE TYPE: Barnack shelly oolite (limestone).

PRESENT CONDITION: Badly weathered.

DESCRIPTION: This fragment has been broken or cut along each of its edges. Its decoration seemingly comprises a horizontal, interlaced register of indeterminate form and cord-number.

DISCUSSION: See **60.**

DATE: ?Mid-tenth to mid-eleventh century.

REFERENCES: See **60.**

60. Caxton 2: ?Recumbent monument (fragment) (Pl. 91).

PRESENT LOCATION: North exterior nave wall.

EVIDENCE FOR DISCOVERY: See **59.**

H. (approx.) 7.62 cm W. (approx.) 20.32 cm D. (measurable, approx.) 1.27 < 3.81 cm

STONE TYPE: Barnack shelly oolite (limestone).

PRESENT CONDITION: Weathered.

DESCRIPTION: This fragment has been broken or cut along each of edges. Its decoration seemingly comprises a horizontal register of either interlace or linear ornament of indeterminate form.

DISCUSSION **(59-60)**: *Domesday* suggests that Caxton was a *de facto* royal *vill*, administered by Thorger, King Edward's thegn.[96] Twenty-two free land-holders are recorded in the *vill* in the mid-eleventh century, four commended to King Edward and eighteen to Earl Ælfgar of East Anglia (d. 1062); the *Domesday* account also suggests that the *vill*'s agricultural enterprise was productive and diverse.[97] Thus, if Caxton 1-2 are fragments of recumbent funerary monuments (perhaps derivative of the Fenland Group), then they are likely associated with the *vill*'s free land-holders, though their weathered decoration prevents definitive association with particular cultural or intellectual *milieux*.

DATE: ?Mid-tenth to mid-eleventh century.

REFERENCES **(59-60)**: Everson and Plunkett (1999), p. 47, fig. 13.

C.vii. Conington, All Saints'. TL 181859.

61. Recumbent monument (fragment) (Unillustrated).

PRESENT LOCATION: Unknown.

EVIDENCE FOR DISCOVERY: Unknown.

H. ? W. ? D. ?

STONE TYPE: Unknown.

PRESENT CONDITION: Unknown.

---

[96] *Domesday Book* (Williams and Martin, eds., 2002), p. 541.
[97] *Ibid.*

DESCRIPTION: Everson and Stocker (1999) record that a recumbent monument characteristic of the Fenland Group is preserved at Conington.[98]

DISCUSSION: *Domesday Book* does not mention a church in Conington (All Saints' is probably a fifteenth-century construction),[99] although it does record twelve pre-Conquest *sokemanni*, three of whom are identified as "the men of King Edward", and a further three were apparently aligned with "Ulf" (a Scandinavian name).[100] It is possible that Conington 1 is associated with one of these wealthy, free-landholders.

DATE: Mid-tenth to mid-eleventh century.

REFERENCES: "Background of All Saints'" (1991; 1999), n.p.; Everson and Stocker (1999), p. 47, fig. 13.

C.viii. Fletton, St Margaret's. TL 19789714.

62. Fletton 1: Cross (fragmentary) (Pl. 92).

PRESENT LOCATION: In St Margaret's cemetery, near the exterior north wall of the nave.

EVIDENCE FOR DISCOVERY: Unknown.

STONE TYPE: Barnack shelly oolite (limestone).

PRESENT CONDITION: Badly weathered.

DESCRIPTION: This monolithic cross comprises a rectilinear shaft with a projecting, chamfered collar, bisecting each of the four faces laterally, and a pierced, circular type "E-6" head. In the zone delimited by the lower edge of the cross-head and the upper border of the chamfered collar is an inscription in Latin capitals: "RADVLF FILIVS WILIELMI" ("Radulf son of William"). Though the carving is

---

[98] Everson and Stocker, *CASSS*, vol. 5, p. 47, fig. 13.
[99] "Background of All Saints'", 1991; 1999; retrieved 10/02/09 from <http://www.holme-parish.org/>, n.p.
[100] *Domesday Book* (Williams and Martin, eds., 2002), pp. 536-537, 541.

badly weathered, a canine or leonine quadruped is discernible in a roundel on the base of Face A, above which, the lower edge of an eroded roundel is also visible. Foliate decoration occupies the surrounding field. The "finial" atop the fragmentary cross-head is not contemporaneous with the monument.

DISCUSSION: Typologically, this cross is analogous to Raunds Furnells 1 (see vol. 1, p. 177, fig. 24; Appendix 2, pl. 165). While these monuments exhibit formal affinities with the crosses characteristic of the Fenland Group, Plunkett contends that Fletton 1 is a "local East Midland [development] of the wheel-head and round-shaft ... type, which may show functional continuity from the older monastic type of standing cross".[101] The cross's inscription and its zoomorphic decoration might also derive from this earlier tradition. *Domesday* records that Fletton was a dependency of *Medeshamstede*, though no specific land-holders are identified.[102] Whether the "Radulf" and "William" named on the monument are contemporaneous with its manufacture is unknown.[103]

DATE: *ca* early to mid-tenth century.[104]

REFERENCES: Plunkett (1984), pp. 166-167, 171-172, fig. 33.

C.ix. Grantchester, SS Andrew's and Mary's. TL 43345548.

63. Grantchester 1: Recumbent monument (fragment) (Pls. 93-94).

PRESENT LOCATION: Exterior south aisle wall.

---

[101] Plunkett, "Mercian and West Saxon Stone Sculpture", p. 166.

[102] *Domesday Book* (Williams and Martin, eds., 2002), pp. 556, 561. Raunds institutional association in the mid-eleventh century is not explicitly identified in *Domesday Book*. It does state, however, that "Gytha" held both *sake* and *soke* of the manor of Higham Ferrers which included Raunds. In 1086, Raunds is identified as a royal *vill*, administered by the Bishop of Coutances. Whether Raunds was associated with *Medeshamstede* in the mid-eleventh century, however, is unclear; considering its geographic proximity to monastery, it is possible that sculpture in the *vill* was influenced by, or a product of, the intellectual and artistic *milieu* of *Medeshamstede*.

[103] Plunkett contends that the inscription is "probably secondary". See Plunkett, "Mercian and West Saxon Stone Sculpture", p. 166.

[104] *Ibid.*, pp. 171-172.

EVIDENCE FOR DISCOVERY: Discovered during nineteenth-century rebuilding.[105]

H. 14 < 15.3 cm W. 29 < 31 cm D. (measurable) 1 cm

STONE TYPE: Barnack shelly oolite (limestone).

PRESENT CONDITION: Weathered.

DESCRIPTION: This fragment has been broken along its upper and left edges,[106] while its lower edge preserves a square-moulding. A low-relief, vertical bar segments the fragment into two discrete units, comprising a remnant of three-strand interlace to its left and two incised bars (with rounded edges) to its right.

DISCUSSION: See **66.**

DATE: ?Mid-tenth to mid-eleventh century.

REFERENCES: See **66.**

64. Grantchester 2: ?Recumbent monument (fragment) (Pls. 93, 95).

PRESENT LOCATION: See **63.**

EVIDENCE FOR DISCOVERY: See **63.**

H. (approx.) 20 cm W. (approx.) 15 < 19 cm D. (measurable; approx.) 1.5 cm

STONE TYPE: Barnack shelly oolite (limestone).

PRESENT CONDITION: See **63.**

DESCRIPTION: This fragment has been cut or broken along its upper, right and left edges. Its lower edge might preserve evidence of a square-moulding. The fragment's decoration comprises an apparent single strand, half-pattern "A" plait, oriented horizontally and delimited by two incised lines.[107]

---

[105] S. Walters, *Grantchester Church and its Churchyards* (1988; Cambridge 1996), pp. 4-5.
[106] Fox contends that the right edge has also been cut. See Fox, "Anglo-Saxon Monumental Sculpture", pl. 6.
[107] Cramp, *Grammar of Anglo-Saxon Ornament*, p. xxxix, fig. 21.

DISCUSSION: See **66.**

DATE: Mid-tenth to mid-eleventh century.

REFERENCES: Everson and Stocker (1999), p. 47, fig. 13; Walters (1988; 1996), pp. 4-5.

65. Grantchester 3: Recumbent monument (fragment) (Pls. 93, 96).

PRESENT LOCATION: See **63.**

EVIDENCE FOR DISCOVERY: See **63.**

H. 23 cm W. 29 < 30 cm D. (measurable) 1 < 3 cm

STONE TYPE: Barnack shelly oolite (limestone).

PRESENT CONDITION: See **63.**

DESCRIPTION: This fragment has been broken or cut along its upper and lateral edges. Its lower edge seemingly preserves an intact square-moulding. Its decoration comprises a horizontal band of three-cord interlace, delimited longitudinally, by a high-relief bar and the apparent square moulding.

DISCUSSION: See **66.**

DATE: Mid-tenth to mid-eleventh century.

REFERENCES: Fox (1920-1921), pp. 19, 21-22, pls. 3, 8 ("Map A"), Walters (1988; 1996), pp. 4-5; Everson and Stocker (1999), p. 47, fig. 13.

66. Grantchester 4: Recumbent monument (fragment) (Pls. 93, 97).

PRESENT LOCATION: See **63.**

EVIDENCE FOR DISCOVERY: See **63.**

H. 25 cm W. 30 < 31 cm D. (measurable) 1.5 < 3 cm

STONE TYPE: Barnack shelly oolite (limestone).

PRESENT CONDITION: See **63.**

DESCRIPTION: See **65.** This fragment's lower left corner, including both the interlaced register and the square-moulding, has been damaged. The fragment is also composite; the high-relief bar positioned above the interlaced register is distinct from the interlaced stone.

DISCUSSION **(63-66)**: While exhibiting stylistic and formal associations with the Fenland Group, Fox identifies Granchester 1 as an anomalous fragment. Its incised bars with rounded edges are not represented in the Fenland typology, though they are suggestive of "Type 5" slabs (*cf.* Little Shelford 2). Grantchester 2's apparent single-strand, half-pattern "A" interlace is also atypical of Fenland sculptures. These fragments, together with Fletton 1 and Raunds 1, are demonstrative of greater diversity and artistic experimentation than Fox's typology. Granchester 3-4 likely derive from the same "Type 2" recumbent monument, comprising sections of the lower interlaced panels and the central cross-shaft.[108]

Acknowledging the apparent conflation of the variant forms of "Cambridge" and "Grantchester" in *Liber Eliensis*, including "*Cantebrigia*", "*Cantebria*", "*Grantecester*", "*Grantancester*", "*Grantabrigge*", "*Grantegregge*", "*Grantebruge*" and "*Grantebrige*",[109] the variant forms may refer to the same place or general location. If these terms are loosely synonymous, then the Abbot of Ely held land at "Grantchester".[110] According to *Domesday Book*, "Grantchester" was, in part, a royal manor in the mid-eleventh century with several other named land-holders in the vicinity.[111] While the apparent conflation of "Cambridge" and "Grantchester" in

---

[108] See vol. 1, fig. 11, p. 136.
[109] See, for example, *Liber Eliensis* II.18-20, 111 (Blake, ed., 1962), pp. 93-96, 193-195.
[110] See, for example, *Liber Eliensis*, II.20 (Blake, ed., 1962), pp. 95-96; *Liber Eliensis*, II.20 (Fairweather, trans., 2005), pp. 118-119; *cf. Liber Eliensis*, II.111 (Blake, ed., 1962), p. 192; *Liber Eliensis*, II.111 (Fairweather, trans., 2005), p. 229.
[111] *Domesday Book* (Williams and Martin, eds., 2002), pp. 528, 531, 534, 543, 545, 548.

Liber Eliensis obfuscates Grantchester's tenurial history, it seems likely that this was a wealthy, perhaps *de facto* royal *vill* in the mid-eleventh century, possibly associated with Ely. Thus, Grantchester 1-4 might constitute evidence of Ely's artistic and intellectual influence.

DATE: Mid-tenth to mid-eleventh century.

REFERENCES **(63-66)**: Fox (1920-1921), pp. 19, 21-22, pls. 6, 8 ("Map A"); Walters (1988; 1996), pp. 4-5; Everson and Stocker (1999), p. 47, fig. 13.

C.x. Helpston, St Botolph's. TF122055.

67. Helpston 1: Recumbent monument (fragment) (Pl. 98).

PRESENT LOCATION: Unknown.[112]

EVIDENCE FOR DISCOVERY: Recovered in 1864-1865 during rebuilding of the church tower.[113]

H. ? W. ? D. ?

STONE TYPE: Unknown.

PRESENT CONDITION: Unknown.

DESCRIPTION: Based on Reid's illustration, Helpston 1 is broken along its narrow edges; parts of its lateral edges are seemingly intact, perhaps preserving evidence of a square moulding. The fragment's decoration comprises a central bar (perhaps rounded in profile), bisecting the stone longitudinally. Panels of four-cord interlace exhibiting cord-layering at crossing-points are disposed on either side of the central bar.

---

[112] According to Reid, Helpston 1-3 were "preserved in front of the Rectory House" in 1889. See Reid, "Wednesday, 17th April 1889", p. 179. Everson and Stocker record that a Fenland recumbent monument is preserved at Helpston, implying that Helpston 1 is still at that site. See Everson and Stocker, *CASSS*, vol. 5, p. 47, fig. 13. Whether Helpston 2-3 are still preserved at or near St Botolph's is unknown.

[113] *Ibid.*, p. 179; "St Botolph's Church, Helpston", n.d., retrieved 10/02/09 from <http://www.botolphsbarn.org.uk/church-church.htm>.

DISCUSSION: See **69.**

DATE: Mid-tenth to mid-eleventh century.

REFERENCES: Reid (1889), p. 179, pl. 1 (B); Fox (1920-1921), p. 24, pl. 8 ("Map B"); Everson and Stocker (1999), p. 47, fig. 13.

68. Helpston 2: Grave-marker (fragment) (Pl. 99).

PRESENT LOCATION: Unknown.

EVIDENCE FOR DISCOVERY: Unknown.

H. ? W.? D. ?

STONE TYPE: Unknown.

PRESENT CONDITION: Unknown.

DESCRIPTION: This stone has been recut longitudinally and laterally; the surviving fragment comprises most of the slab's circular head and the upper portion of its shouldered base. Like Hunston 1, Helpston 2 exhibits a low-relief type "E-6" cross on both of its broad faces.[114] However, unlike Hunston 1, the Helpston 2 cross exhibits two lower arms; on one face, these "arms" are reduced to two pendent scrolls, similar, spatially, to Willingham 2. Furthermore, its shouldered base preserves evidence of median-incised interlace (akin to Whissonsett 1) contrasting with Hunston 1's undecorated base.

DISCUSSION: See **69.**

DATE: Mid-tenth to mid-eleventh century.

REFERENCES: See **69.**

69. Helpston 3: Grave-marker (fragment) (pl. 100).

---

[114] Cramp, *Grammar of Anglo-Saxon Ornament*, p. xvi, fig. 2.

PRESENT LOCATION: Unknown.

EVIDENCE FOR DISCOVERY: Unknown.

H. ? W. ? D. ?

STONE TYPE: Unknown.

PRESENT CONDITION: Unknown.

DESCRIPTION: Based on Fox's illustration, this monument has been broken, diagonally, across its upper, shouldered base; its circular head is apparently undamaged. Like Hunston 1, Helpston 3 is decorated with a relief-carved type "E-6" cross that extends to the monument's edges. Whether this decoration is replicated on its other broad face is unclear from Fox's study.[115] Its shouldered base is apparently undecorated.

DISCUSSION **(67-69)**: Though Helpston is not recorded in *Domesday Book*, its apparent evidence of funerary "suites" (akin to Hunston, Cambridge Castle and Peterborough Cathedral), comprising recumbent and upright slabs characteristic of the Fenland Group, suggests that considerable wealth was concentrated in the *vill* in the Late Saxon period. Its proximity to Peterborough (approximately six kilometres northwest of the city) suggests it was likely influenced by (or was a benefice of) *Medeshamstede*.

DATE (64-66): Mid-tenth to mid-eleventh century.

REFERENCES **(68-69)**: Reid (1889), p. 179, pl. 2 (C1-C2); Fox (1920-1921), p. 27, pls. 7-8 ("Map B").

C.xi. Little Shelford, All Saints'. TL 45375167.

70. Little Shelford 1: Recumbent monument (fragments) (Pl. 101).

[115] Fox, "Anglo-Saxon Monumental Sculpture", p. 27; pl. 7.

PRESENT LOCATION: West exterior wall of south porch.

EVIDENCE FOR DISCOVERY: Recovered in 1878 during church restoration.[116]

H. 155.5 < 166 cm W. 22.5 < 29.7 cm D. (measurable) 1 < 2 cm

STONE TYPE: Barnack shelly oolite (limestone).

PRESENT CONDITION: Weathered.

DESCRIPTION: This stone has been cut along its upper broad edge. Its decoration comprises a low-relief, centrally-placed cross-shaft, either end of which terminates in a type "B-6" head. A third pair of cross-arms, roughly equidistant from either cruciform terminus, bisects the slab laterally. Three- and four-cord interlaced panels occupy the interstices formed by the convergence of the cross-shaft, its termini and the third pair of cross-arms. Square mouldings are visible along the fragments' lower, left and right edges.

DISCUSSION: See **78.**

DATE: Mid-tenth to mid-eleventh century.

REFERENCES: Fox (1920-1921), pp. 19, 22, pls. 4, 8 ("Map A"); Everson and Stocker (1999), p. 47, fig. 13; Hurst (2004), p. 1; Hadley (2006), p. 262.

71. Little Shelford 2: Recumbent monument (fragment) (Pl. 102).

PRESENT LOCATION: East exterior wall of south porch.

EVIDENCE FOR DISCOVERY: See **70.**

H. 139 < 140 cm W. 17 < 23 cm D. 1 < 2 cm

STONE TYPE: Barnack shelly oolite (limestone).

PRESENT CONDITION: See **70.**

[116] K. Hurst, *A History of All Saints' Church Little Shelford* ([Cambridge] 2004), p. 1.

DESCRIPTION: This stone has been cut along its upper broad edge. Its decoration comprises (from left to right): the lower half of a concave semicircular motif, apparently preserving evidence of a geometric form within it; the lower half of an angular concave motif; a rectangular bar with a narrow rectilinear recess; a short, four-cord (layered) panel of median-incised interlace; a broad, rectangular panel, bordered by two others of similar shape and orientation but narrower in width; a second rectangular bar with a narrow rectilinear recess; and a longer panel of four-cord interlace, also exhibiting cord-layering. Evidence of an apparent chamfered moulding is visible on the lower and lateral edges.

DISCUSSION: See **78.**

DATE: Mid-tenth to mid-eleventh century.

REFERENCES: Fox (1920-1921), pp. 19, 22, pls. 5, 8 ("Map A"); Everson and Stocker (1999), p. 47, fig. 13; Hurst (2004), p. 1; Hadley (2006), p. 262.

72. Little Shelford 3: Recumbent monument (fragment) (Pl. 103).

PRESENT LOCATION: South exterior chancel wall.

EVIDENCE FOR DISCOVERY: See **70.**

H. 39 cm W. 10.2 < 11. 4 cm D. (measurable) 1 cm

STONE TYPE: Barnack shelly oolite (limestone).

PRESENT CONDITION: See **70.**

DESCRIPTION: This fragment has been cut along its upper, lower and left edges. Its extant decoration comprises (from top to bottom): a fragmentary three- or four-cord knot or interlaced register; a wedge motif projecting laterally from the cut left edge; a broad rectangular motif; a second, narrower, rectilinear element; and a

second three- or four-cord interlaced knot or register. The fragment's gouged right edge apparently preserves a square moulding.

DISCUSSION: See **78.**

DATE: Mid-tenth to mid-eleventh century.

REFERENCES: See **76.**

73. Little Shelford 4: Recumbent monument (fragment) (Pl. 104).

PRESENT LOCATION: South exterior chancel wall, forming the left jamb of reassembled Saxon window.

EVIDENCE FOR DISCOVERY: See **70.**

H. (approx.) 25 cm W. (approx.) 12.7 cm D. 10.2 cm

STONE TYPE: Barnack shelly oolite (limestone).

PRESENT CONDITION: See **70.**

DESCRIPTION: This rectilinear fragment has been cut along each of its edges. Its decoration comprises a four-cord interlaced panel, delimited on its upper and left edges by a plain broad border. Cord-layering is visible at crossing-points.

DISCUSSION: See **78.**

DATE: Mid-tenth to mid-eleventh century.

REFERENCES: See **76.**

74. Little Shelford 5: Recumbent monument (fragment) (Pl. 104).

PRESENT LOCATION: South exterior chancel wall, forming the right jamb of a reassembled Saxon window.

EVIDENCE FOR DISCOVERY: See **70.**

H. (approx.) 23 cm W. (approx.) 12.7 cm D. 10.2 cm

STONE TYPE: Barnack shelly oolite (limestone).

PRESENT CONDITION: See **70**.

DESCRIPTION: Like Little Shelford 4, this fragment has been cut along each of its edges. Its decoration comprises an incised bar that arcs toward the left edge, forming a concave profile; a vertical bar (also incised) projects from the resultant "bowl".

DISCUSSION: See **78**.

DATE: Mid-tenth to mid-eleventh century.

REFERENCES: See **76**.

75. Little Shelford 6: Recumbent monument (fragment) (Pls. 105-106).

PRESENT LOCATION: South exterior chancel wall.

EVIDENCE FOR DISCOVERY: See **70**.

H. 14 < 16.5 cm W. 45 < 46 cm D. (measurable) 1 < 2 cm

STONE TYPE: Barnack shelly oolite (limestone).

PRESENT CONDITION: See **70**.

DESCRIPTION: This fragment's upper and lower edges have been broken; its lateral edges may have been cut or modified. The stone's decoration comprises a central bar, executed in high-relief, and the remnants of two panels of four-cord interlace, disposed on either side of the central bar and delimited by linear borders.

DISCUSSION: See **78**.

DATE: Mid-tenth to mid-eleventh century.

REFERENCES: See **76**.

76. Little Shelford 7: Recumbent monument (fragment) (Pls. 105, 107).

PRESENT LOCATION: See **75**.

EVIDENCE FOR DISCOVERY: See **70.**

H. 14 < 16.5 cm W. 48.5 < 49.5 cm D. (measurable) 1 < 3 cm

STONE TYPE: Barnack shelly oolite (limestone).

PRESENT CONDITION: See **70.**

DESCRIPTION: See **75.**

DISCUSSION: See **78.**

DATE: Mid-tenth to mid-eleventh century.

REFERENCES **(72-76)**: Fox (1920-1921), pp. 19, 22, pl. 8 ("Map A"); Everson and Stocker (1999), p. 47, fig. 13; Hurst (2004), p. 1; Hadley (2006), p. 262.

77. Little Shelford 8: Recumbent monument (fragment) (Pls. 108-109).

PRESENT LOCATION: See **75.**

EVIDENCE FOR DISCOVERY: See **70.**

H. 12 < 14.5 cm W. 40.4 cm D. (measurable) 1.5 cm

STONE TYPE: Barnack shelly oolite (limestone).

PRESENT CONDITION: See **70.**

DESCRIPTION: This stone has been cut along its upper and lateral edges; its lower edge may have been cut or modified. Its decoration comprises (from left to right): a panel of layered, four-cord interlace; a vertical, broad rectangular bar delimited by two narrower bars; and a four-cord, median-incised, interlaced panel.

DISCUSSION: See **78.**

DATE: Mid-tenth to mid-eleventh century.

REFERENCES: Fox (1920-1921), pp. 19, 22, pls. 6, 8 ("Map A"); Everson and Stocker (1999), p. 47, fig. 13; Hurst (2004), p. 1; Hadley (2006), p. 262.

78. Little Shelford 9: Recumbent monument (fragments) (Pls. 108, 110).

PRESENT LOCATION: See **75**.

EVIDENCE FOR DISCOVERY: See **70**.

H. 13 < 15 cm W. 57.5 < 59.6 cm D. (measurable) 1.5 cm

STONE TYPE: Barnack shelly oolite (limestone).

PRESENT CONDITION: See **70**.

DESCRIPTION: This stone has been cut along its upper and lateral edges; its lower edge preserves evidence of a square- or chamfered moulding. Its decoration comprises (from left to right): an apparent quadripartite knot; a vertical, rectilinear bar delimited by two narrower bars; a second quadripartite knot; and a low-relief curved bar.

DISCUSSION **(70-78)**: Little Shelford 1-9 are all examples of recumbent monuments characteristic of the Fenland Group. Little Shelford 1-2 are illustrative of Types "4" and "5" slabs respectively. Little Shelford 3 is of indeterminate type, but the compressed appearance of its interlace is similar to that of Little Shelford 2 and 9, perhaps suggesting that this fragment also derives from a "Type 5" slab. Little Shelford 5 is also seemingly derivative of a "Type 5" monument; whether Little Shelford 4 is from the same or a similar monument, however, is unclear. Considering the patterns of breakage along their upper and lower edges, Little Shelford 6-7 likely derive from the same monument, though these fragments preserve no distinctive typological characteristics. Little Shelford 8 is equally ambiguous, though Fox suggests it might constitute a variant form.[117]

As discussed above (see vol. 1, pp. 108-109), "Shelford" is identified in *Liber Eliensis* as a dependency of Ely and as a participant in Abbot Leofsige's "food-rent"

[117] Fox, "Anglo-Saxon Monumental Sculpture", pl. 6.

programme. According to *Domesday*, Little Shelford was a particularly wealthy manor in the mid-eleventh century with the Abbot of Ely and three earls ("Gyrth", "Æfgar" and "Harold") identified as *soke*-holders.[118] Hart has observed that Little Shelford might also have been held as an estate by a ninth-century *jarl*, suggested by evidence of minting.[119] Coupled with its abundance of Late Saxon sculpture, Hadley has interpreted Little Shelford as a mercantile centre, influenced by Stocker's contention that exceptional quantities of stone sculpture at specific sites (for example, SS Mark and Mary le Wigford in Lincoln, St Mary Bishophill Senior in York and Yarm, Kirklevington and Lythe, all YN) are perhaps indicative of social competition amongst elite mercantile populations.[120] However, in the context of Little Shelford—specifically identified as a productive agricultural centre in *Liber Eliensis* (see vol. 1, pp. 108-109)—social competition (if it existed) was likely governed by tenurial rather than mercantile interests.[121] While concentration of wealth at Little Shelford in the ninth and tenth centuries is seemingly irrefutable, the *Domesday* reference to a minster at Little Shelford, held by the Abbot of Ely, might explain the particular form and style of sculpture at the site.[122] If Hadley's contention is correct—that the abundance of stone sculpture at Little Shelford is attributable to competing mercantile elites—then it is probable that the form and style of these expressions of elite identity were influenced by Ely's latent or active lordship at the site, particularly in the context of its apparent ownership of the *vill*'s minster. While

[118] *Domesday Book* (Williams and Martin, eds., 2002), p. 539.
[119] C. Hart, *The Danelaw* (London 1992), pp. 11-12.
[120] Hadley, *Vikings in England*, p. 262; Stocker, "Monuments and merchants", pp. 200-206; see also Everson and Stocker, *CASSS*, vol. 5, pp. 76-79.
[121] The assumptions implicit in Hadley's adoption of Stocker's mercantile hypothesis *vis à vis* Little Shelford demonstrate that models of sculptural patronage (often associated with pre-Conquest urbanized settlements such as Lincoln and York) are not readily applicable to East Anglia's agrarian *vills*. While elite status in urban centres was often the product of lucrative trade networks, in agrarian settlements it was seemingly associated with tenurial privilege.
[122] *Domesday Book* (Williams and Martin, eds., 2002), p. 539.

elite competition can potentially explain quantities of sculpture at Little Shelford, its form and style is probably associated with Ely's artistic and intellectual *milieu*.

DATE: Mid-tenth to mid-eleventh century.

REFERENCES: Fox (1920-1921), pp. 19, 22, pls. 5, 8 ("Map A"); Everson and Stocker (1999), p. 47, fig. 13; Hurst (2004), p. 1; Hadley (2006), p. 262.

C.xii. Maxey, St Peter's. TF 119079.

79. Maxey 1: Recumbent monument (fragment) (Pl. 111).

PRESENT LOCATION: Sweeting Museum, St Peter's Church, Maxey.

EVIDENCE FOR DISCOVERY: Excavated from Maxey churchyard in the 1890s.[123]

H. 4.4 < 8.9 cm (max.) W. ? D. ?[124]

STONE TYPE: Unknown.

PRESENT CONDITION: Unknown.

DESCRIPTION: Based on Reid's illustrations (1889), the fragment has been broken along each of its edges, though one lateral edge might preserve evidence of a square moulding. The fragment's decorative programme is difficult to ascertain from Reid's drawings, though it appears to comprise a raised, central bar (bisecting the slab longitudinally) with bordered designs analogous to "Meander 2" disposed on either side.[125]

DISCUSSION: Reid's drawings suggest that the decoration of Maxey 1 is anomalous in the context of East Anglia's Late Saxon recumbent slabs, exhibiting

---

[123] See W. Sweeting, "Maxey Church and Parish", *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, new series 5 (1899), pp. 106-121, at 110.

[124] H.J. Reid, "Wednesday, 17th April 1889", *Journal of the British Archaeological Association* 45 (1889), pp. 179-181, at pl. 1 (A).

[125] See Cramp, *Grammar of Anglo-Saxon Ornament*, p. xlv, fig. 27. Nash-Williams terms this "square T-fret pattern". See Nash-Williams, *Early Christian Monuments of Wales*, pp. 51-52.

few affinities with the formulaic designs of the Fenland Group. Together with other anomalous examples, specifically Cambridge Castle 2 (see below, pl. 84) and Peterborough Cathedral 14 (lost; Fox's identifier),[126] Maxey 1 is seemingly illustrative of greater variety and experimentation in East Anglia's pre-Conquest slab sculpture than has been previously acknowledged.[127] Its closest stylistic exemplar is the font preserved in Penmon Priory Church, Anglesey.[128] Nash-Williams terms the font's decoration "Square T-fret pattern" (Cramp's "Meander 2"), a "Viking Age motif", and suggests the sculpture dates to the late tenth or eleventh century.[129]

Though Maxey is not recorded in *Domesday Book*, Sweeting states (quoting an unnamed source) that Maxey is first mentioned in 1013 when, as a benefice of Peakirk, it was apparently destroyed by Danes.[130] In the mid-eleventh century, *ca* 1048, an "Edmer" or "Edmund" took possession of the *vill.*[131] Whether Maxey 1 is associated with the period predating its purported Danish destruction or with its later history under "Edmer"/"Edmund" is unknown.

DATE: ?Late tenth to eleventh century.

REFERENCES: Reid (1889), p. 179, pl. 1 (A); Sweeting (1899), pp. 106, 110; Everson and Stocker (1999), p. 47, fig. 13.

C.xiii. Orwell, St Andrew's. TL 362504.

80. Orwell 1: Recumbent monument (fragment) (Unillustrated).

PRESENT LOCATION: Unknown.

EVIDENCE FOR DISCOVERY: Unknown.

---

[126] See above, vol. 1, fig. 11, p. 136.
[127] *Cf.*, Fox, "Anglo-Saxon Monumental Sculpture", *passim*; Everson and Stocker, *CASSS*, vol. 5, pp. 46-50; Plunkett, "Appendix: Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture", pp. 345-346.
[128] See Nash-Williams, *Early Christian Monuments of Wales*, fig. 12.
[129] *Ibid.*, p. 51.
[130] Sweeting, "Maxey Church and Parish", p. 106.
[131] *Ibid.*

H.? W.? D.?

STONE TYPE: Unknown.

PRESENT CONDITION: Unknown.

DESCRIPTION: Everson and Stocker (1999) mention that a recumbent monument characteristic of the Fenland Group is preserved at Orwell.[132]

DISCUSSION: Orwell's pre-Conquest tenurial history is mentioned in some detail in *Domesday Book*. It records that *soke* was held in the area by both ecclesiastical and secular interests, including the Church of Chatteris, King Edward, Eadgifu and Earl Harold; eleven *sokemanni* are also mentioned, three of whom are identified by name: "Thorbiorn", "Aki" and "Sigar" (Scandinavian appellations).[133] The presence of such diverse and influential *soke*-holders in Orwell, coupled with the survival of Orwell 1, suggests that sufficient means were concentrated in the *vill* for sculptural patronage, likely proclaiming/reinforcing tenurial privilege either by a lord or a free landholder.

DATE: ?Mid-tenth to mid-eleventh century.

REFERENCES: Everson and Stocker (1999), p. 47, fig. 13.

C.xiv. Peterborough, Peterborough Cathedral. TL 19449867.

81. Peterborough Cathedral 1: Recumbent monument (fragment) (Pls. 112-114).

PRESENT LOCATION: Peterborough Cathedral undercroft.

EVIDENCE FOR DISCOVERY: Found in 1884 during foundation-repair of the lantern tower.[134]

H. 58.5 < 75.5 cm W. 38.5 < 44 cm D. 8.5 cm

STONE TYPE: Barnack shelly oolite (limestone).

---

[132] Everson and Stocker, *CASSS*, vol. 5, p. 47, fig. 13.
[133] *Domesday Book* (Williams and Martin, eds., 2002), pp. 528-529, 531, 535-537, 540, 543, esp. 531, 535, 537.
[134] Irvine, "Account of the Discovery", pp. 45-54, and Irvine, "Account of the Pre-Norman Remains", pp. 277-283.

PRESENT CONDITION: The carved surface is generally well-preserved though chipping and gouging is visible.

DESCRIPTION: One of this fragment's narrow edges has been broken; the other has apparently been cut. Its lateral edges are intact, preserving square mouldings. The stone's decoration comprises a central cross-shaft with arms of type "B-6" form. Bands of layered, four-cord interlace occupy the interstices formed by the convergence of the cross-arms and –shaft.

DISCUSSION: See **84**.

DATE: Mid-tenth to mid-eleventh century.

REFERENCES: Irvine (1884), p. 282; *idem* (1894), pp. 47, 53; Fox (1920-1921), p. 24, pl. 8 ("Map B"); Everson and Stocker (1999), p. 47, fig. 13.

82. Peterborough Cathedral 2: Recumbent monument (Pls. 115-117).

PRESENT LOCATION: See **81**.

EVIDENCE FOR DISCOVERY: See **81**.

H. 101 cm W. 32.5 < 42.5 cm D. 10 cm

STONE TYPE: Barnack shelly oolite (limestone).

PRESENT CONDITION: Extremely weathered; the monument's edges and decorated face are chipped and gouged. The monument is complete, though it exists in two pieces.

DESCRIPTION: This monument's decorative programme comprises a centrally-placed cross-shaft, bisecting the slab longitudinally, terminating in type B-6 heads. A horizontal bar, roughly equidistant from the slab's narrow ends, bisects the decorated face laterally, delineating four rectilinear panels. Registers of three- and

four-cord interlace occupy these interstices. Square mouldings are visible on each of the monument's edges.

DISCUSSION: See **84.**

DATE: Mid-tenth to mid-eleventh century.

REFERENCES: Irvine (1884), p. 282 (and unnumbered plate); *idem* (1894), pp. 47, 53; Fox (1920-1921), p. 24, pl. 8 ("Map B"); Everson and Stocker (1999), p. 47, fig. 13.

83. Peterborough Cathedral 3: ?Recumbent monument, cross-shaft or architectural decoration (fragment) (Pls. 118-119).

PRESENT LOCATION: South face of southwest pier of the lantern crossing.

EVIDENCE FOR DISCOVERY: See **81.**

H. 6 < 15 cm W. 39 < 46.5 cm D. (measurable) 1 cm

STONE TYPE: Barnack shelly oolite (limestone).

PRESENT CONDITION: Weathered; chipping and gouging are visible on the decorated face and along the fragment's edges.

DESCRIPTION: The fragment's right edge is broken; its left edge has apparently been cut. Whether its upper and lower edges have been modified, however, is unclear.[135] The fragment's decoration comprises a single panel of median-incised, six-cord, "Turned Pattern" interlace with a prominent "V-bend", analogous to "Type D".[136] This panel is framed by a plain rectilinear border.

DISCUSSION: See **84.**

DATE: ?*ca* ninth-tenth century.

---

[135] Irvine's description is vague and does not include any hypotheses about the stone's modification. See Irvine, "Account of the Pre-Norman Remains", p. 283.
[136] Cramp, *Grammar of Anglo-Saxon Ornament*," p. xxxiv, fig. 16.

REFERENCES: Irvine (1884), p. 282 (and unnumbered plate); *idem* (1894), pp. 52-53; Fox (1920-1921), p. 24, pl. 8 ("Map B"); Everson and Stocker (1999), p. 47, fig. 13.

84. Peterborough Cathedral 4: Cross-shaft (fragment) (Pls. 120-123).

PRESENT LOCATION: Presently displayed in the nave's north aisle as part of "The Story of Peterborough Cathedral" exhibit.

EVIDENCE FOR DISCOVERY: Unknown.[137]

H. 97 < 98 cm W. 29.5 < 34 cm D. 8 < 23 cm

STONE TYPE: Barnack shelly oolite (limestone).

PRESENT CONDITION: Extant carving is generally well-preserved.

DESCRIPTION: This tapered shaft has been broken along its upper edge; face D has apparently been cut longitudinally. The surviving monument exists in three pieces which have been reassembled. Face A is decorated with a recessed, vertical panel of layered, four-cord interlace (analogous to Stapleford 1) exhibiting a prominent bar-terminal. Face B exhibits a recessed, vertical panel of layered, three-cord interlace, also with a bar-terminal. The decoration on Face C, comprising the outer edges of apparently concentric circles (arranged vertically) is partially preserved. Face D preserves no sculpted decoration, though its surface has been carefully smoothed.

DISCUSSION **(81-84)**: Based on Fox's typology, Peterborough Cathedral 1-2 are examples of "Type 4" recumbent monuments. Stylistically, Peterborough Cathedral 3 is anomalous among Fenland sculptures. Its complex interlace is unparalleled in the region and is likely illustrative of a distinct (perhaps temporal) sculptural

[137] This shaft is not included in Irvine's accounts of the excavation of the Saxon abbey, though he does mention that "one arm of a cross and ... [another] small fragment with interlacing ornament" were recovered; the latter could refer to one of the fragments which now comprise Peterborough Cathedral 4. See Irvine, "Account of the Discovery", p. 52. The exhibit "The Story of Peterborough Cathedral" implies the shaft was associated with *Medeshamstede*.

tradition. Though Irvine observes that Peterborough Cathedral 3 is undecorated on its reverse face and, thus, contends that it cannot derive from a cross-shaft,[138] its refined carving is suggestive of monastic production; acknowledging its fragmentary state and its apparent modification, all contexts for use derivative of monastic *ateliers*, including commemoration and architectural decoration, should be considered.[139] Thus, Peterborough Cathedral 3 could derive from a recumbent monument, a free-standing cross, a screen or an architectural context.

Peterborough Cathedral 4 is an example of a monumental, possibly monolithic, cross. Its size, and its apparent association with the Saxon abbey, seemingly suggests that it, too, is derivative of a monastic *milieu*. Its closest parallel, stylistically, is Stapleford 1, supporting the contention that the Fenland Group is likely a product of monastic *ateliers*.

Fox contends that Peterborough Cathedral 1-2 (discovered, *in situ*, on the north side of the Saxon abbey) demarcated lay-interments, noting that the monks' cemetery was on the south side of the building.[140] Though *Domesday* records that *Medeshamstede* was a substantial *soke*-holder in the mid-eleventh century, with numerous freemen, few are explicitly identified (notable exceptions include "Alnoth", "Eskil" and "Roth").[141] If Fox's contention that Peterborough Cathedral 1-2 commemorated lay-burials is correct, then it is probable that the deceased were either wealthy benefactors of the house (perhaps akin to Bryhtnoth's association with Ely) and/or land-holders within *Medeshamstede*'s jurisdiction.

---

[138] Irvine, "Account of the Pre-Norman Remains", p. 283.
[139] Irvine suggests that Peterborough Cathedral 3 may have formed part of a string-course. *Ibid.*, p. 280.
[140] Fox, "Anglo-Saxon Monumental Sculpture", pp. 23-24.
[141] *Domesday Book* (Williams and Martin, eds., 2002), p. 901.

DATE (Peterborough Cathedral 1-2): Mid-tenth to mid-eleventh century; Peterborough Cathedral 3: ?*ca* ninth to tenth century; Peterborough Cathedral 4: ? Mid-tenth to mid-eleventh century.

REFERENCES: Unpublished.

C.xv. Rampton, All Saints'. TL 42876812.

85. Rampton 1: Recumbent monument (fragment) (Pl. 124).

PRESENT LOCATION: East chancel wall.

EVIDENCE FOR DISCOVERY: Recovered during church restoration, pre-1920.[142]

H. 9.8 < 19 cm W. 9.3 < 16 cm D. (measurable) 1.7 cm

STONE TYPE: Barnack shelly oolite (limestone).

PRESENT CONDITION: Weathered.

DESCRIPTION: This wedge-shaped fragment has been broken along its diagonal edge. Its right edge preserves evidence of an apparent roll-moulding and a low-relief rectilinear border, from which projects an arced bar, terminating at the diagonal break. The corner of an interlaced register (of indeterminate cord-number) is preserved in the interstice formed by the convergence of the vertical border and the arced bar.

DISCUSSION: See **95.**

DATE: Mid-tenth to mid-eleventh century.

REFERENCES: See **88.**

86. Rampton 2: Recumbent monument (fragment) (Pl. 124).

PRESENT LOCATION: See **85.**

[142] Fox, "Anglo-Saxon Monumental Sculpture", p. 22.

EVIDENCE FOR DISCOVERY: See **85.**

H. 21.8 < 40 cm W. 8 < 24.2 cm D. (measurable) 1.7 cm

STONE TYPE: Barnack shelly oolite (limestone).

PRESENT CONDITION: See **85.**

DESCRIPTION: This fragment has been broken along its upper and lower edges; its left edge may have been cut, and its right preserves evidence of an apparent roll-moulding. Its decoration comprises a vertical panel of layered four-cord interlace, framed by the apparent roll-moulding on its right and by a broad rectilinear bar on its left.

DISCUSSION: See **95.**

DATE: Mid-tenth to mid-eleventh century.

REFERENCES: See **88.**

87. Rampton 3: Recumbent monument (fragment) (Pl. 124).

PRESENT LOCATION: See **85.**

EVIDENCE FOR DISCOVERY: See **85.**

H. 10 < 21.1 cm W. 21 < 27 cm D. (measurable) 1.7 cm

STONE TYPE: Barnack shelly oolite (limestone).

PRESENT CONDITION: See **85.**

DESCRIPTION: This fragment preserves evidence of an apparent roll-moulding along its upper left edge; its remaining edges have either been cut or broken. Its decoration comprises the terminal of a layered, four-cord interlaced panel, framed by the apparent roll-moulding on its left and by a broad rectilinear bar on its right.

DISCUSSION: See **95.**

DATE: Mid-tenth to mid-eleventh century.

REFERENCES: See **88.**

88. Rampton 4: Recumbent monument (fragment) (Pl. 124).

PRESENT LOCATION: See **85.**

EVIDENCE FOR DISCOVERY: See **85.**

H. 20 < 22.8 cm W. 18 cm D. (measurable) 1.7 cm

STONE TYPE: Barnack shelly oolite (limestone).

PRESENT CONDITION: See **85.**

DESCRIPTION: This fragment preserves evidence of an apparent roll-moulding along its left edge; its remaining edges have been either broken or cut. Its decoration comprises a panel of layered, four-cord interlace, bordered along its left edge by the apparent roll-moulding.

DISCUSSION: See **95.**

DATE: Mid-tenth to mid-eleventh century.

REFERENCES **(85-88)**: Fox (1920-1921), pp. 19, 22, pls. 4, 8 ("Map A"); Everson and Stocker (1999), p. 47, fig. 13.

89. Rampton 5: ?Recumbent monument or cross-shaft (fragment) (Pl. 125).

PRESENT LOCATION: See **85.**

EVIDENCE FOR DISCOVERY: See **85.**

H. 46 cm W. 12 < 14.5 cm D. (measurable) 2 < 3 cm

STONE TYPE: Barnack shelly oolite (limestone).

PRESENT CONDITION: See **85.**

DESCRIPTION: This fragment has been cut along its upper, lower and right edges; its left edge preserves evidence of an apparent square- or roll-moulding. Its

decoration comprises a vertical register of layered, four-cord interlace, framed by a rectilinear border along its left and lower edges.

DISCUSSION: See **95.**

DATE: Mid-tenth to mid-eleventh century.

REFERENCES: Fox (1920-1921), pp. 15, 19, pls. 6, 8 ("Map A"); Everson and Stocker (1999), p. 47, fig. 13.

90. Rampton 6: Recumbent monument (fragment) (Pl. 126).

PRESENT LOCATION: See **85.**

EVIDENCE FOR DISCOVERY: See **85.**

H. 17.7 < 21.5 cm W. 25 < 27.5 cm D. (measurable) 2 cm

STONE TYPE: Barnack shelly oolite (limestone).

PRESENT CONDITION: See **85.**

DESCRIPTION: This fragment has been broken along its right edge; its lower edge has been either broken or cut. Square-mouldings are preserved along the stone's upper and left edges. Its decoration comprises the terminus of a layered, four-cord interlaced register, framed by a rectilinear border.

DISCUSSION: See **95.**

DATE: Mid-tenth to mid-eleventh century.

REFERENCES: See **91.**

91. Rampton 7: Recumbent monument (fragment) (Pl. 127).

PRESENT LOCATION: See **85.**

EVIDENCE FOR DISCOVERY: See **85.**

H. 10.8 < 14.6 cm W. 8.7 < 14.9 cm D. (measurable) 2 cm

STONE TYPE: Barnack shelly oolite (limestone).

PRESENT CONDITION: See **85.**

DESCRIPTION: This fragment has been broken or cut along each of its edges. Its conjectured decoration comprises (from left to right): the outer cord of an interlaced register; a vertical, rectilinear bar; and three cords of a second interlaced panel.

DISCUSSION: See **95.**

DATE: Mid-tenth to mid-eleventh century.

REFERENCES **(90-91)**: Fox (1920-1921), pp. 19, 22, pls. 4, 8 ("Map A"); Everson and Stocker (1999), p. 47, fig. 13.

92. Rampton 8: Recumbent monument (fragment) (Pl. 128).

PRESENT LOCATION: See **85.**

EVIDENCE FOR DISCOVERY: See **85.**

H. 43.3 cm W. 15.8 < 17.3 cm D. 1.8 < 1.9 cm

STONE TYPE: Barnack shelly oolite (limestone).

PRESENT CONDITION: See **85.**

DESCRIPTION: This fragment has been cut along its upper, lower and left edges. Its decoration comprises a layered, vertical panel of four-cord interlace, framed along its right edge by an apparent square-moulding.

DISCUSSION: See **95.**

DATE: Mid-tenth to mid-eleventh century.

REFERENCES: Fox (1920-1921), pp. 19, 22, pls. 6, 8 ("Map A"); Everson and Stocker (1999), p. 47, fig. 13.

93. Rampton 9: Recumbent monument (fragment) (Pl. 129).

PRESENT LOCATION: See **85.**

EVIDENCE FOR DISCOVERY: See **85.**

H. 6 < 16 cm W. 6 < 13.2 cm D. (measurable) 2.5 < 4 cm

STONE TYPE: Barnack shelly oolite (limestone).

PRESENT CONDITION: Badly weathered.

DESCRIPTION: This fragment has been broken or cut along each of its three edges. Its decoration comprises the right half of a layered, four-cord plait, exhibiting a vertical, rectilinear border along its right edge.

DISCUSSION: See **95.**

DATE: Mid-tenth to mid-eleventh century.

REFERENCES: See **95.**

94. Rampton 10: Recumbent monument (fragment) (Pl. 129).

PRESENT LOCATION: See **85.**

EVIDENCE FOR DISCOVERY: See **85.**

H. 18 < 20.1 cm W. 4 < 15 cm D. (measurable) 2.5 < 4 cm

STONE TYPE: Barnack shelly oolite (limestone).

PRESENT CONDITION: See **85.**

DESCRIPTION: This fragment has been broken or cut along its upper, lower and right edges; its left edge preserves evidence of a square-moulding. Its decoration comprises a vertical panel of four-cord interlace, framed by a vertical bar along its left edge.

DISCUSSION: See **95.**

DATE: Mid-tenth to mid-eleventh century.

REFERENCES: See **95.**

95. Rampton 11: Recumbent monument (fragment) (Pl. 129).

PRESENT LOCATION: See **85.**

EVIDENCE FOR DISCOVERY: See **85.**

H. 30.6 < 41.5 cm W. 17 < 23 cm D. (measurable) 2.5 < 4 cm

STONE TYPE: Barnack shelly oolite (limestone).

PRESENT CONDITION: See **85.**

DESCRIPTION: This fragment has been broken along its upper, lower and right edges; its left edge preserves evidence of a square moulding. Its decoration comprises a vertical panel of layered, four-cord interlace, apparently delimited by rectilinear borders along either longitudinal edge.

DISCUSSION **(85-95)**: Rampton 1-4 derive from the same monument, identified by Fox as a "Type 4" recumbent slab.[143] He suggests Rampton 5 is the fragmentary narrow face of a cross-shaft,[144] though crosses characteristic of the Fenland Group do not exhibit interlace on their narrow faces; if this fragment does derive from a free-standing cross, it is typologically distinct from the Fenland Group, perhaps akin to Peterborough Cathedral 3. Rampton 6-7 and 9-11 are examples of "Type 3" recumbent monuments,[145] whereas Rampton 8 exhibits no typologically-distinct characteristics.

Though Rampton is not mentioned in *Liber Eliensis*, *Domesday* records that the Abbot of Ely was the manor's partial *soke*-holder, with five of the manor's six freemen in his commendation (the sixth was commended to "Eadgifu", probably the mother of King Eadred).[146] Rampton is also approximately 3.5 km southeast of

---

[143] *Ibid.*, p. 22; pl. 4
[144] *Ibid.*, pp. 15, 19; pl. 6.
[145] *Ibid.*, pp. 19, 22; pl. 6.
[146] *Domesday Book* (Williams and Martin, eds., 2002), p. 546.

Willingham—a manor identified as a participant in Leofsige's food-rent programme (see vol. 1, pp. 108-109). Based on its location, it is likely that Rampton was also a productive agricultural centre and, thus, possessive of wealth. However, Rampton's apparent absence from the food-rent programme could suggest that its production was temporarily impaired or that its contributions were submitted to, and collected from, Willingham.[147] It is equally possible that Rampton's absence from the *Liber Eliensis*' account is attributable to scribal error or oversight. Nonetheless, Rampton 1-11 are illustrative of the manor's wealth in the mid-eleventh century and its land-holders' apparent association with Ely.

DATE: Mid-tenth to mid-eleventh century.

REFERENCES **(93-95)**: Fox (1920-1921), pp. 19, 22, pls. 4, 8 ("Map A"); Everson and Stocker (1999), p. 47, fig. 13.

C.xvi. Stapleford, St Andrew's. TL 47105212.

96. Stapleford 1: Cross-shaft (Pls. 130-133).

PRESENT LOCATION: On a window-sill in the west wall of the nave.

EVIDENCE FOR DISCOVERY: Unknown (perhaps associated with a restoration campaign in 1866).[148]

H. 53.7 < 56.3 cm W. 31.2 < 33.1 cm D. 10.8 < 17.9 cm

STONE TYPE: Barnack shelly oolite (limestone).

PRESENT CONDITION: Weathered (the carved decoration on Face C is badly eroded).

DESCRIPTION: This monolithic sculpture exhibits relief-carved decoration on each of its four faces, while its base is only decorated on its narrow sides. Faces A and C

[147] If this can be demonstrated, then Rampton could be considered a *berewick* of Willingham.
[148] F. Winter, *St Andrew, Stapleford: An Illustrated Guide*, ed. H. Shackleton (1988; Stapleford, Cambridgeshire 1998), p. 1.

preserve evidence of layered, four-strand interlaced registers, positioned vertically, set against raised, rectangular panels. Faces B and D exhibit vertical "battlement" motifs, framed by plain, rectilinear borders; quadripartite knots, delimited by square borders, decorate the narrow ends of the cross-base.

DISCUSSION: *Liber Eliensis* confirms that Stapleford was a dependency of Ely and a participant in Leofsige's programme of royally-sanctioned food-rent (see vol. 1, pp. 108-109). While *Domesday*'s Stapleford reference is illustrative of the *vill*'s wealth and diverse resources, no free land-holders are recorded.[149] However, acknowledging its twenty indentured peasants and seven slaves, one or more freemen (suggested by Stapleford 1) would have managed the *vill*, including its agricultural production.[150] Though a specific Stapleford charter exists (preserved in *Liber Eliensis* and dated *ca* 956), its authenticity has been challenged by Kennedy, though he does concede that it is likely derivative of an original landbook.[151] According to this charter, Stapleford was granted by King Eadred (*ca* 923-955) and his mother, Eadgifu (d. *ca* 966) to "*Deo sanctoque Petro apostolo necnon et sancte Æðeldreðe virgini et sancte eius prosapie in Elyensi ecclesia*"/"God and St Peter the Apostle, and also to St Æthelthryth the virgin and the progeny of this saint reposing in the church of Ely".[152] The reference in Stapleford's dedication to "*Deo sanctoque Petro apostolo necnon*" is perhaps indicative of an association with Winchester, the Wessex capital and the site of Eadred's burial in the Old Minster of SS Peter and Paul. It also contributes to the literary and artistic evidence of Peter's importance in Late Saxon England (see vol. 1, pp. 217-221), specifically associating the saint with Ely where Cambridge Castle 1 (lost; Fox's identifier; see Appendix 2, pl. 164),

[149] *Domesday Book* (Williams and Martin, eds., 2002), p. 524.
[150] *Ibid.*
[151] Quoted in *Liber Eliensis* (Fairweather, trans., 2005), n. 136, p. 124.
[152] *Liber Eliensis*, II.28 (Blake, ed., 1962), p. 102 (text); *Liber Eliensis*, II.28 (Fairweather, trans., 2005), p. 125 (translation).

apparently exhibiting Petrine iconography, may have been produced. Thus, Stapleford's charter, as preserved in *Liber Eliensis*, is seemingly demonstrative of the *vill*'s relationship with both monastic and royal authority.

DATE: Mid-tenth to mid-eleventh century.

REFERENCES: Benton (1910), pp. 229-230, fig. 1; Fox (1920-1921), pp. 15-17, pls. 1, 8 ("Map A").

C.xvii. Stretham, St James'. TL 51157462.

97. Stretham 1: Recumbent monument (fragment) (Pl.134).

PRESENT LOCATION: West inner wall of south porch.

EVIDENCE FOR DISCOVERY: Unknown (perhaps associated with a restoration campaign in 1874-1876).[153]

H. 31 < 31.2 cm W. 23.3 < 23.5 cm D. (measurable) .9 < 1.3 cm

STONE TYPE: Barnack shelly oolite (limestone).

PRESENT CONDITION: Good; some chipping and gouging is visible on the stone's edges and carved surface.

DESCRIPTION: This fragment has been cut along its lateral edges; its upper and lower edges may also have been cut or modified. Its decoration comprises a single register of layered, four-cord interlace framed by horizontal, rectilinear borders of discordant width. The lower "border" could be a square-moulding, though nineteenth-century mortar partially conceals its outer edge.

DISCUSSION: According to *Liber Eliensis*, both Æthelwold, bishop of Winchester and Abbot Byrhtnoth of Ely acquired land at Stretham in the late tenth century (the account implies that Æthelwold's purchases were either made for Ely or later ceded

[153] A. McClelland, *A Guide to St James' Church Stretham* ([Cambridge] 1991), np.

to the monastery).[154] This is corroborated by *Domesday* which confirms the manor was a dependency of Ely in the mid-eleventh century.[155] Like *Domesday*'s account of Stapleford, no free land-holders are identified at Stretham, though its record of thirty-three indentured peasants and two slaves is indicative of significant agricultural production.[156] It is probable that this enterprise was managed by one or more freemen at Stretham, with whom Stretham 1 is likely associated.

DATE: Mid-tenth to mid-eleventh century.

REFERENCES: Fox (1920-1921), pp. 19, 23, pls. 6, 8 ("Map A"); McClelland (1991) n.p.; Everson and Stocker (1999), p. 47, fig. 13.

C.xviii. Whittlesford, SS Mary's and Andrew's. TL 47374857.

98. Whittlesford 1: Recumbent monument (fragment) (Pls. 135-138).

PRESENT LOCATION: Displayed on the chancel floor, near the north wall.

EVIDENCE FOR DISCOVERY: Unknown (possibly associated with a restoration campaign completed *ca* 1920).[157]

H. 20.0 < 21.0 cm W. 18.0 < 18.5 cm D. 11 cm

STONE TYPE: Barnack shelly oolite (limestone).

PRESENT CONDITION: Weathered (gouging and chipping are visible on the stone's decorated surface and along its edges).

DESCRIPTION: This stone has been broken along its upper, lower and right edges; its left edge appears finished, though a deep gouge is visible along its left narrow edge (Face B). The fragment's decoration comprises the terminus of a layered, four-

[154] *Liber Eliensis*, II.10 (Blake, ed., 1962), pp. 82-84; *Liber Eliensis*, II.10 (Fairweather, trans., 2005), pp. 106-107.
[155] *Domesday Book* (Williams and Martin, eds., 2002), p. 525.
[156] Ibid.
[157] P. Spufford, "St Mary and St Andrew: A Brief History of the Church Building," 2006, retrieved 28/12/07 from <http://www.whittlesford.info/index_files/Page298.htm>.

cord, interlaced panel, framed along its right edge by an apparent cross-shaft, terminating in circular head of type "E-6" form, of which the lower left quadrant is extant.

DISCUSSION: See **100**.

DATE: Mid-tenth to mid-eleventh century.

REFERENCES: See **99**.

99. Whittlesford 2: Recumbent monument (fragment) (Pls. 139-142).

PRESENT LOCATION: See **98**.

EVIDENCE FOR DISCOVERY: See **98**.

H. 22.2 < 23.2 cm W. 20.8 < 22.2 cm D. 11.8 cm

STONE TYPE: Barnack shelly oolite (limestone).

PRESENT CONDITION: See **98**.

DESCRIPTION: This fragment has apparently been cut or modified along each of its edges. Its decoration comprises the terminus of a recessed, layered panel of four-cord interlace.

DISCUSSION: See **100**.

DATE: Mid-tenth to mid-eleventh century.

REFERENCES **(98-99)**: Fox (1920-1921), pp. 19, 23, pls. 5, 8 ("Map A"); Everson and Stocker (1999), p. 47, fig. 13.

100. Whittlesford 3: ?Cross-head (Pls. 143-147).

PRESENT LOCATION: See **98**.

EVIDENCE FOR DISCOVERY: See **98**.

Dia. 17 cm D. 5.4 < 7.0 cm

STONE TYPE: Barnack shelly oolite (limestone).

PRESENT CONDITION: Badly weathered (the carved decoration is eroded).

DESCRIPTION: This stone has been cut along its lower edge. Carved decoration, executed in high relief, apparently ornamented Face A; its remnants are vaguely anthropomorphic and seemingly depict two figures arranged hierarchically (one, possibly, with outstretched arms).

DISCUSSION **(98-100)**: Based on Fox's typology, Whittlesford 1 is a fragment of a "Type 6" recumbent slab. Its interlace is similar in both form and execution to Whittlesford 2's; together with the stones' apparent stratigraphic consistency, this suggests that Whittlesford 1-2 might derive from the same monument. Whittlesford 3 is anomalous among East Anglia's Late Saxon carved stones. Its form and apparent decoration have no parallels in the region, perhaps suggesting that its manufacture might pre- or post-date the Late Saxon period. If, indeed, Whittlesford 3 preserves figural decoration, then its apparent spatial arrangement is suggestive of a Crucifixion, witnessed either by Stephaton or Longinus. However, acknowledging the condition of Whittlesford 3's carved decoration, this hypothesis is entirely conjectural. Whittlesford 3 has apparently been recut, perhaps even machine-tooled.

According to *Domesday Book*, Eadgifu, mother of King Eadred, and Gyrð Godwinson (*ca* 1032-1066), Earl of East Anglia, held land at Whittlesford in the tenth and eleventh centuries respectively.[158] *Liber Eliensis* also suggests that a hundred-court was convened at the site post-975, where "*omnes meliores concionatores de comitatu Grantebrygge*"/"all the more highly regarded spokesmen of Cambridgeshire"[159] gathered to mediate a tenurial dispute. This account also records that the lands in question—Swaffham Prior or Swaffham Bulbeck (both C)

[158] *Domesday Book* (Williams and Martin, eds., 2002), pp. 530, 539, 549.
[159] *Liber Eliensis*, II.34 (Blake, ed., 1962), pp. 109-110; *Liber Eliensis*, II.34 (Fairweather, trans., 2005), p. 132-133.

and possibly Barley (Hrt)[160]—were ultimately ceded to the Abbot of Ely. Though there is no textual evidence of land-ownership at Whittlesford by the Abbot of Ely, the decoration of Whittlesford 1-2 is consistent with the monastery's apparent intellectual *milieu*, and thus, perhaps suggests that a Late Saxon elite held land in the *vill* whose *soke* was retained by the monastery.

DATE (Whittlesford 1-2): Mid-tenth to mid-eleventh century; Whittlesford 3: ?twelfth century.

REFERENCES: Unpublished.

C.xix. Willingham, SS Mary's and All Saints'. TL 40507052.

101. Willingham 1: Recumbent monument (fragment) (Pls. 148-149).

PRESENT LOCATION: Cemented to the inner south wall of the south porch, forming the upper third of a Norman column.

EVIDENCE FOR DISCOVERY: Recovered *ca* 1891-1894 during a restoration campaign.[161]

H. 25.2 cm W. 12.5 < 13.4 cm D. 10 < 10.3 cm

STONE TYPE: Barnack shelly oolite (limestone).

PRESENT CONDITION: Weathered (gouging and chipping are visible along the fragment's edges and carved surface).

DESCRIPTION: This stone has apparently been cut along each of edges. Its decoration comprises a single, vertical register of layered, three-cord interlace; remnants of a longitudinal square border or rectilinear bar are seemingly preserved along the register's left side.

DISCUSSION: See **104**.

---

[160] *Liber Eliensis*, ii.34 (Fairweather, trans., 2005), p. 132, ns. 169-170.
[161] Cited in Fox, "Anglo-Saxon Monumental Sculpture", p. 17, n. 4.

DATE: Mid-tenth to mid-eleventh century.

REFERENCES: Watkins (1894), p. 13; Fox (1920-1921), pp. 15, 18-19, 23, pls. 2, 8 ("Map A"); Everson and Stocker (1999), p. 47, fig. 13.

102. Willingham 2: ?Cross-head (fragment) (Pls. 148, 150).

PRESENT LOCATION: Cemented to the inner south wall of the south porch, forming the central third of a Norman column.

EVIDENCE FOR DISCOVERY: See **101.**

H. 24.4 cm W. 11 < 11.5 cm D. 11.5 < 11.7 cm

STONE TYPE: Barnack shelly oolite (limestone).

PRESENT CONDITION: See **101.**

DESCRIPTION: This fragment has been cut or modified along each of its edges. Its decoration comprises an irregular, two-cord, interlaced pattern, seemingly exhibiting two layered, pendent loops.

DISCUSSION: See **104.**

DATE: Mid-tenth to mid-eleventh century.

REFERENCES: See **103.**

103. Willingham 3: ?Cross-shaft (fragment) (Pls. 148, 151).

PRESENT LOCATION: Cemented to the inner south wall of the south porch, forming the lower third of a Norman column.

EVIDENCE FOR DISCOVERY: See **101.**

H. 24.5 cm W. 11.8 < 12.2 cm D. 11.6 < 12.2 cm

STONE TYPE: Barnack shelly oolite (limestone).

PRESENT CONDITION: See **101.**

DESCRIPTION: This fragment has been cut along each of its edges. It decoration comprises a vertical panel of layered, four-cord interlace.

DISCUSSION: See **104**.

DATE: Mid-tenth to mid-eleventh century.

REFERENCES **(102-103)**: Watkins (1894), p. 13; Fox (1920-1921), pp. 15, 18, pls. 2, 8 ("Map A"); Everson and Stocker (1999), p. 47, fig. 13.

104. Willingham 4: Recumbent monument (fragment) (Pl. 152).

PRESENT LOCATION: Inner south wall of south porch.

EVIDENCE FOR DISCOVERY: See **101**.

H. 14.5 < 26.8 cm W. 16 < 27 cm D. (measurable) 2.6 cm

STONE TYPE: Barnack shelly oolite (limestone).

PRESENT CONDITION: See **101**.

DESCRIPTION: This irregularly-shaped fragment has been broken along its upper, lower and left edges; its upper right edge preserves a worn square- or rounded-moulding. The stone's decoration comprises the terminus of an apparent vertical, recessed panel of layered, four-cord interlace, seemingly delineated along its left edge by a rectilinear bar, a remnant of which is preserved to the left of the interlace. This bar apparently terminated in a circular form, evidenced by what is probably the lower quadrant of a circle, preserved above the interlace.

DISCUSSION **(101-104)**: According to Fox's typology, Willingham 1 (though of indeterminate type) derives from a recumbent monument of the Fenland Group. Willingham 4 is also a recumbent monument, corresponding to Fox's "Type 6" slabs.[162] Willingham 2-3 probably derive from a small, monolithic cross, comprising

[162] Fox, "Anglo-Saxon Monumental Sculpture", p. 23; pls. 2, 5.

the lower "arm" of the cross-head and the interlaced register of the cross-shaft, respectively.[163]

According to *Liber Eliensis*, Willingham was bequeathed to Ely by "Uvi" sometime in the late tenth or early eleventh century.[164] It is confirmed as a dependency of Ely in Edward the Confessor's charter and was also a participant in Abbot Leofsige's food-rent programme (see vol. 1, pp. 106-109). *Domesday* records two free land-holders at Willingham in the mid-eleventh century, one explicitly commended to Eadgifu,[165] perhaps suggesting that she held or managed territory whose *soke* was retained by the abbot (this hypothesis could explain Eadgifu's tenurial role at Whittlesford and Rampton; see above). Thus, acknowledging the form and decoration of Willingham 1-4, it is possible that these fragments are associated with one or more of the *vill*'s named land-holders, "Uvi", "Oswulf" or "Golda", and reflect Ely's tenurial lordship.

DATE: Mid-tenth to mid-eleventh century.

REFERENCES: Fox (1920-1921), pp. 19, 23, pls. 5, 8 ("Map A"); Stocker and Everson (1999), p. 47, fig. 13.

---

[163] *Ibid.*, pp. 17-19; pl. 2

[164] *Liber Eliensis*, II.66 (Blake, ed., 1962), p. 138; *Liber Eliensis*, II.66 (Fairweather, trans., 2005), p. 165.

[165] *Domesday Book* (Williams and Martin, eds., 2002), pp. 524, 532, 546.

Gazetteer Plates

(All images © Michael F. Reed, 2005-2008, unless noted)

All photographs in Appendices 1-2 were taken with an Olympus AF Zoom 5.8-17.4mm 1:2.9-5.0 digital lens, augmented by halogen cross-lighting, and manipulated with *Olympus Master*, version 1.00 © Olympus Imaging Corp., 2004.

A. *Norfolk*

A.i. Barrett or "Little" Ringstead, St Peter's (Norwich Castle Study Centre).

Pl. 1. Barrett or "Little" Ringstead 1. *Face A*

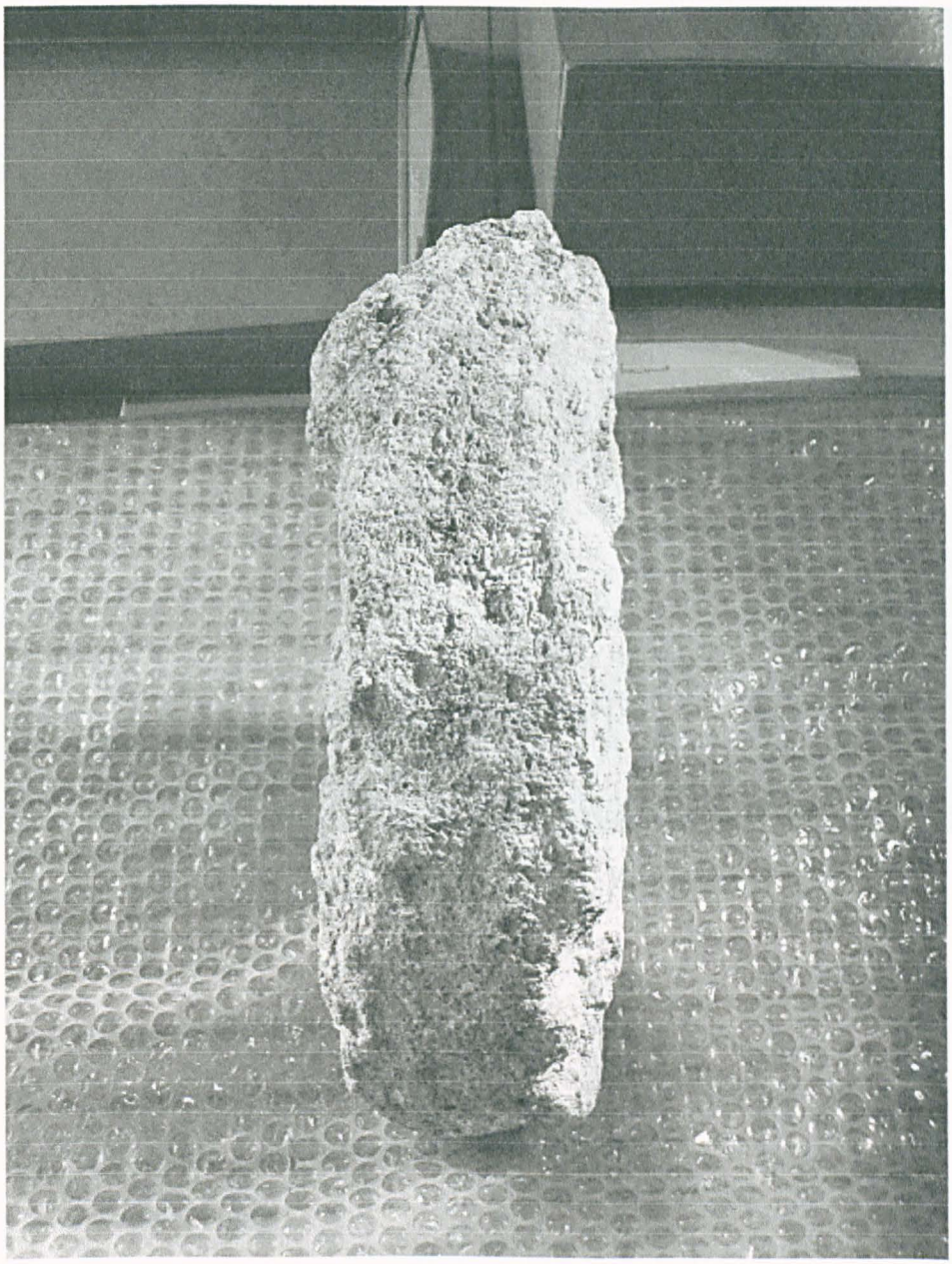
Pl. 2. Barrett or "Little" Ringstead 1. *Face B.*

Pl. 3. Barrett or "Little" Ringstead 1. *Face C.*

A.ii. Beachamwell, All Saints' (Norwich Castle Study Centre).

Pl. 4. Beachamwell 1-2. *Faces A*.

Pl. 5. Beachamwell 1. *Face B*.



Pl. 6. Beachamwell 2. *Face B*.

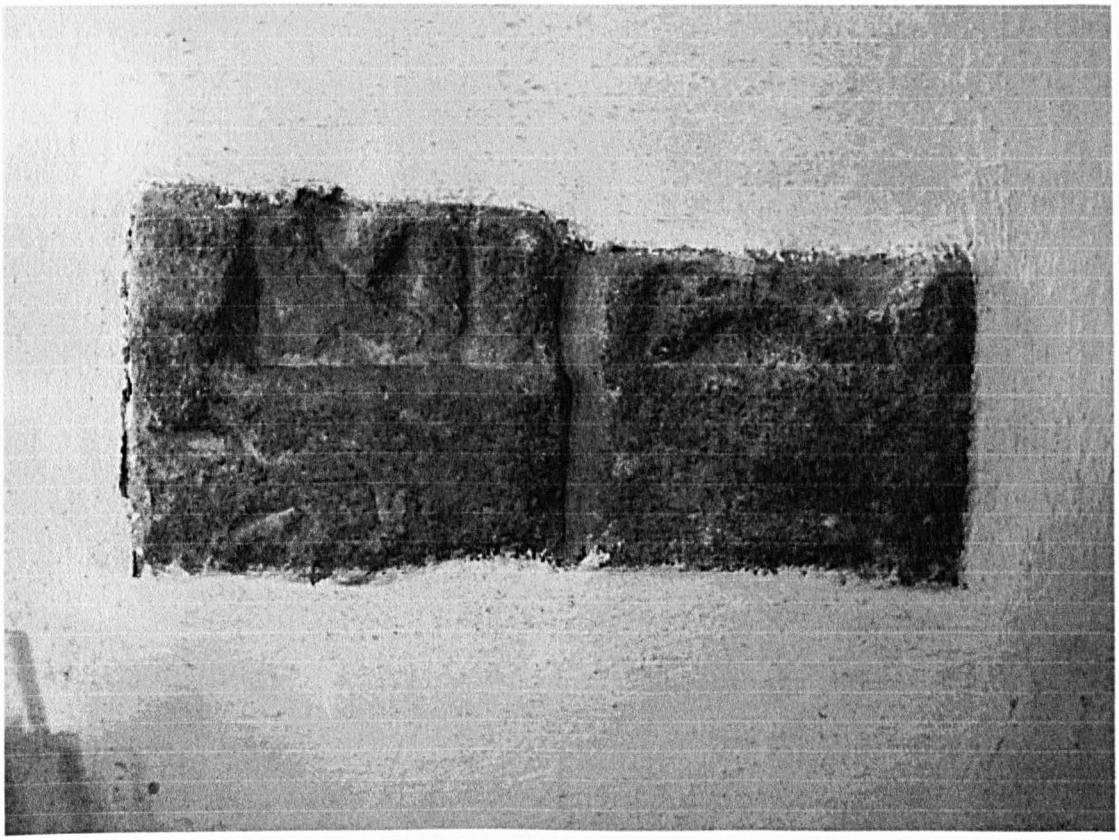
Pl. 7. Beachamwell 2-1. *Faces C.*

A.iii. Bodney, St Mary's.

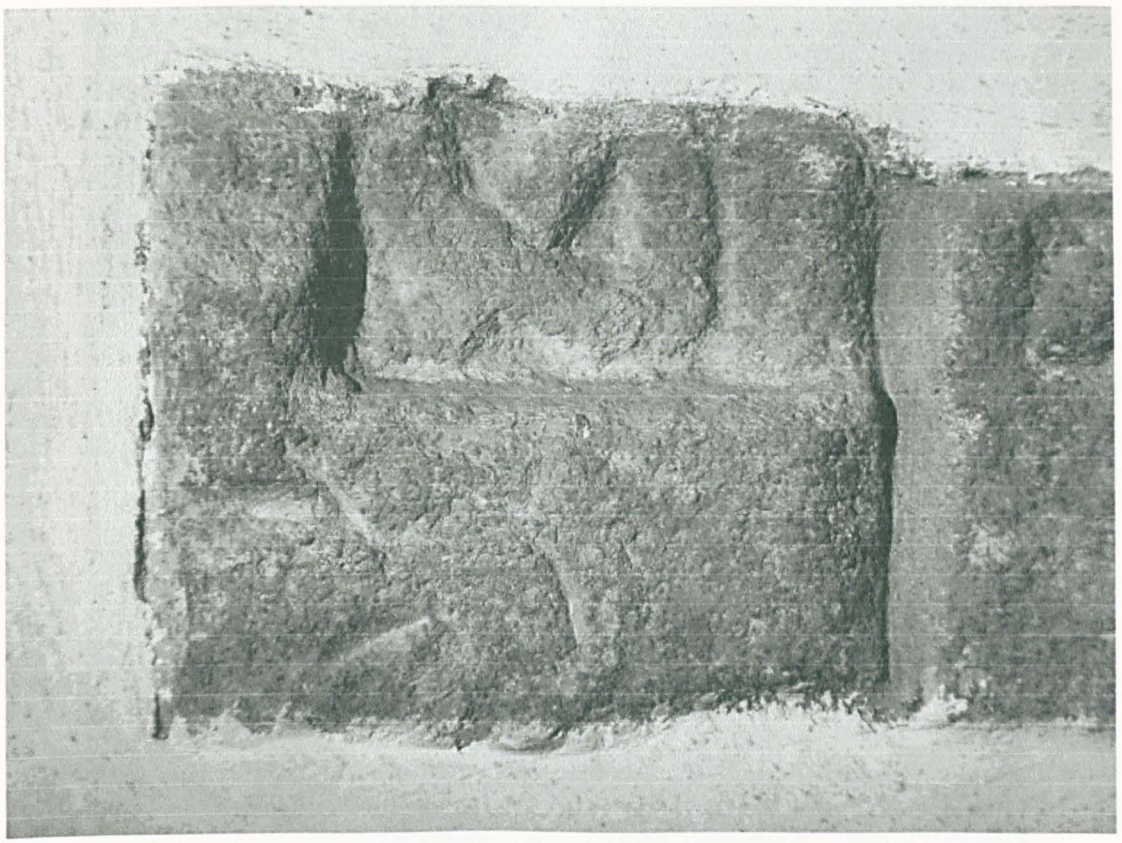
Pl. 8. Bodney 1.

A.iv. Cringleford, St Peter's.

Pl. 9. Cringleford 1.

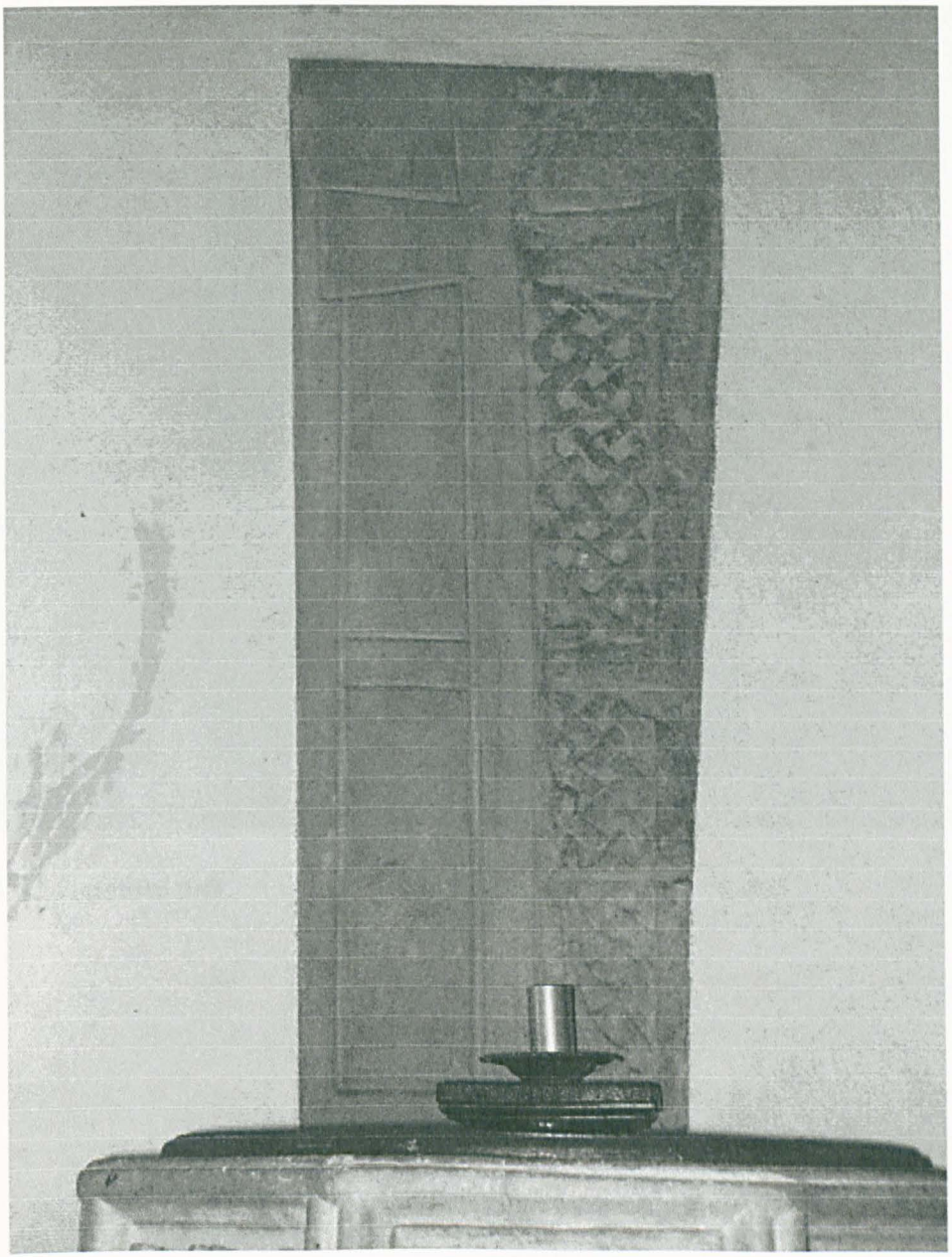


Pl. 10. Cringleford 2-3.



Pl. 11. Cringleford 2.

Pl. 12. Cringleford 3.



Pl. 13. Cringleford 4.

Pl. 14. Cringleford 5-6.

Pl. 15. Cringleford 5.

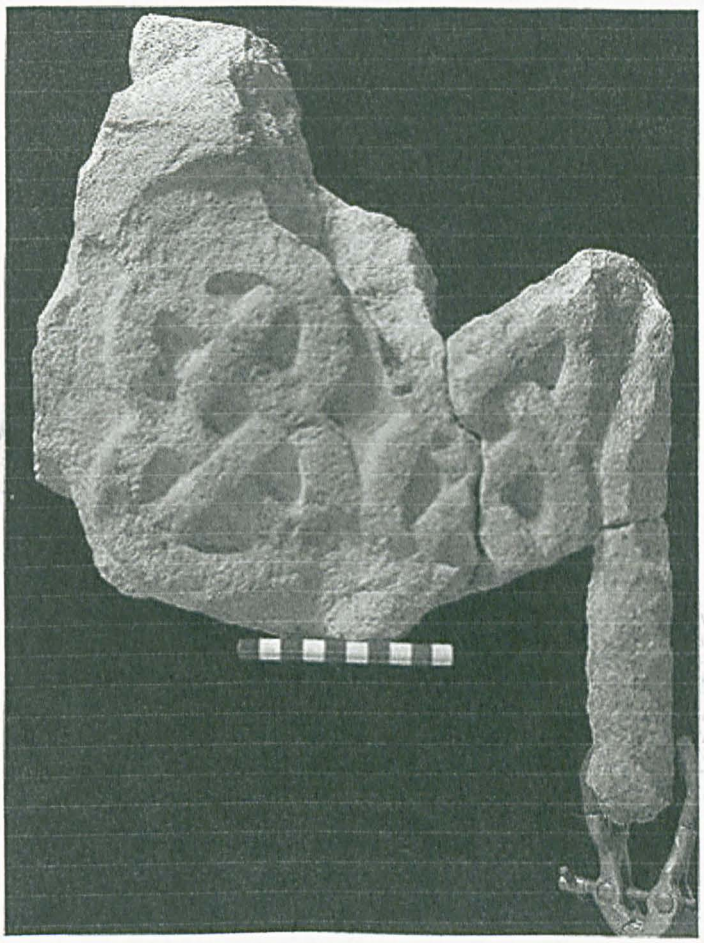
Pl. 16. Cringleford 6.

Pl. 17. Cringleford 7.

A.vi. North Pickenham, St Andrew's.

Pl. 18. North Pickenham 1.

A.vii. Norwich, St Martin-at-Palace (Norfolk Archaeology).



Pl. 19. Norwich, St Martin-at-Palace 1-3. © *Norfolk Archaeology*.

A.viii. Norwich, St Vedast's (Norwich Castle Museum).

Pl. 20. Norwich, St Vedast 1 ("St Vedast Cross"). *Face A*.

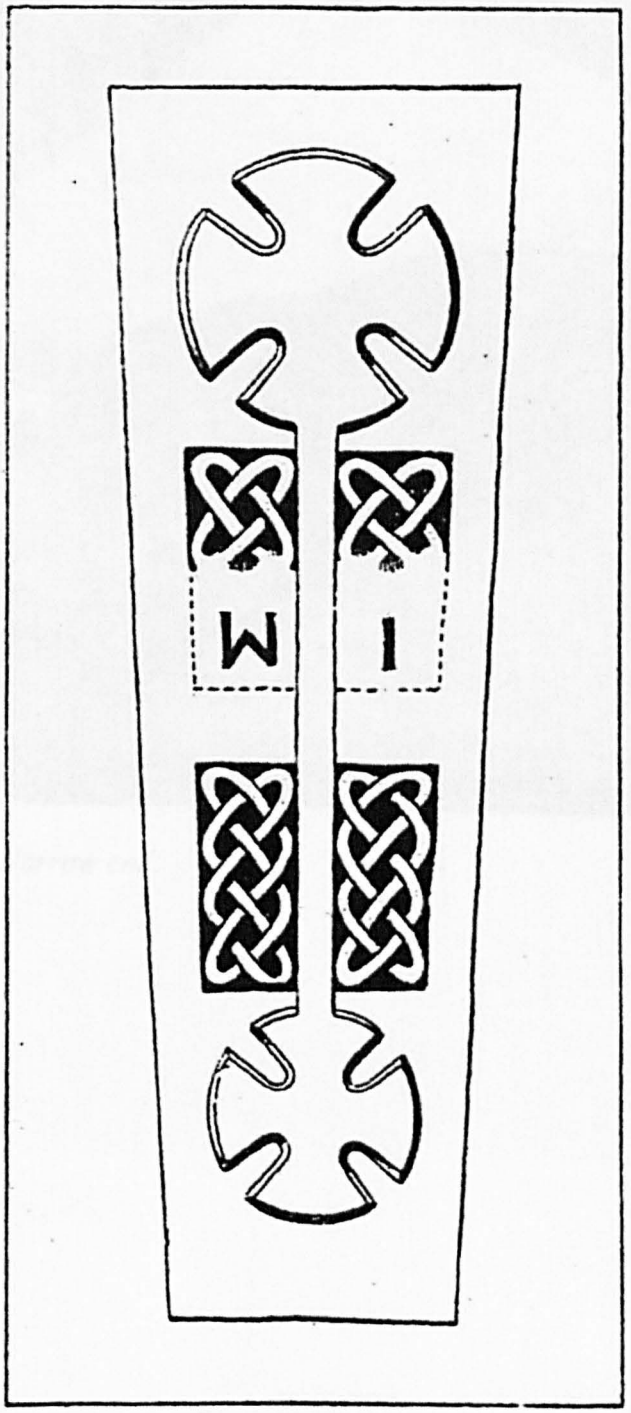
Pl. 21. Norwich, St Vedast 1 ("St Vedast Cross"). *Face A, detail.*

Pl. 22. Norwich, St Vedast 1 ("St Vedast Cross"). *Face B*.

Pl. 23. Norwich, St Vedast 1 ("St Vedast Cross"). *Face D.*

Pl. 24. Norwich, St Vedast 1 ("St Vedast Cross"). *Face D, detail.*

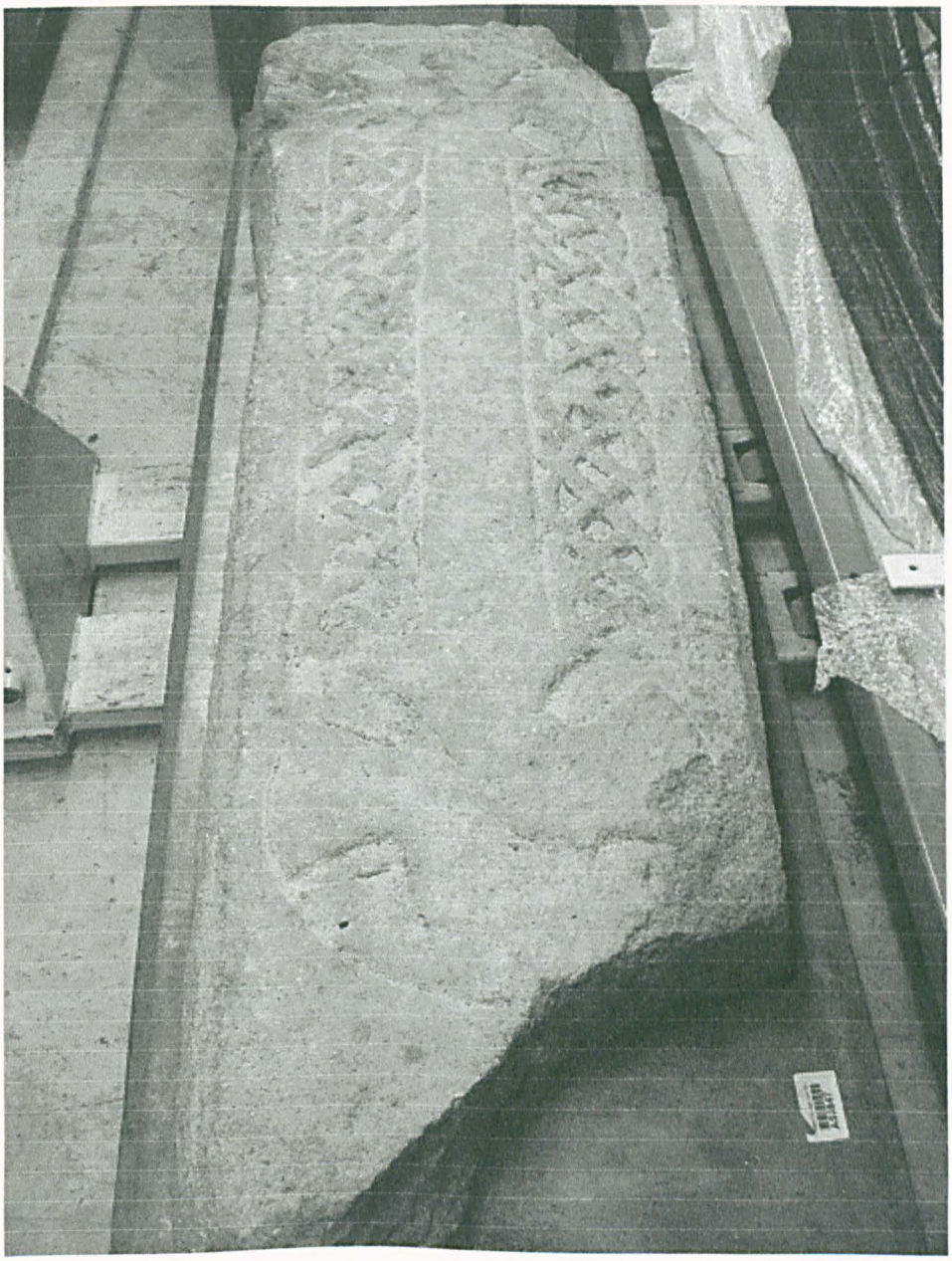
A.ix. Rockland, All Saints'.



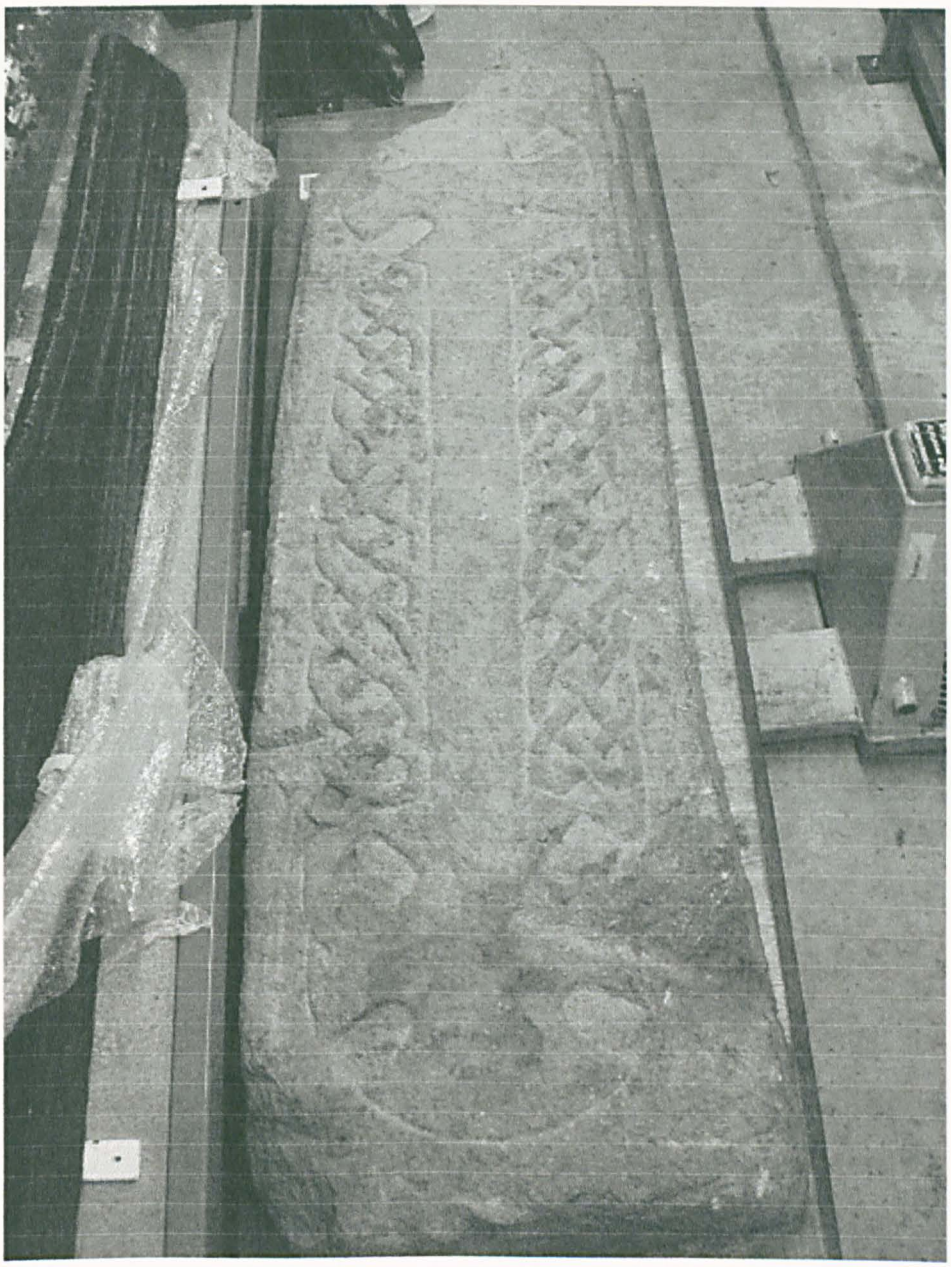
Pl. 25. Rockland 1. © Journal of the British Archaeological Association, 1885.

A.x. Thetford, ?St John's (Norfolk Museums and Archaeology Service, Gressenhall).

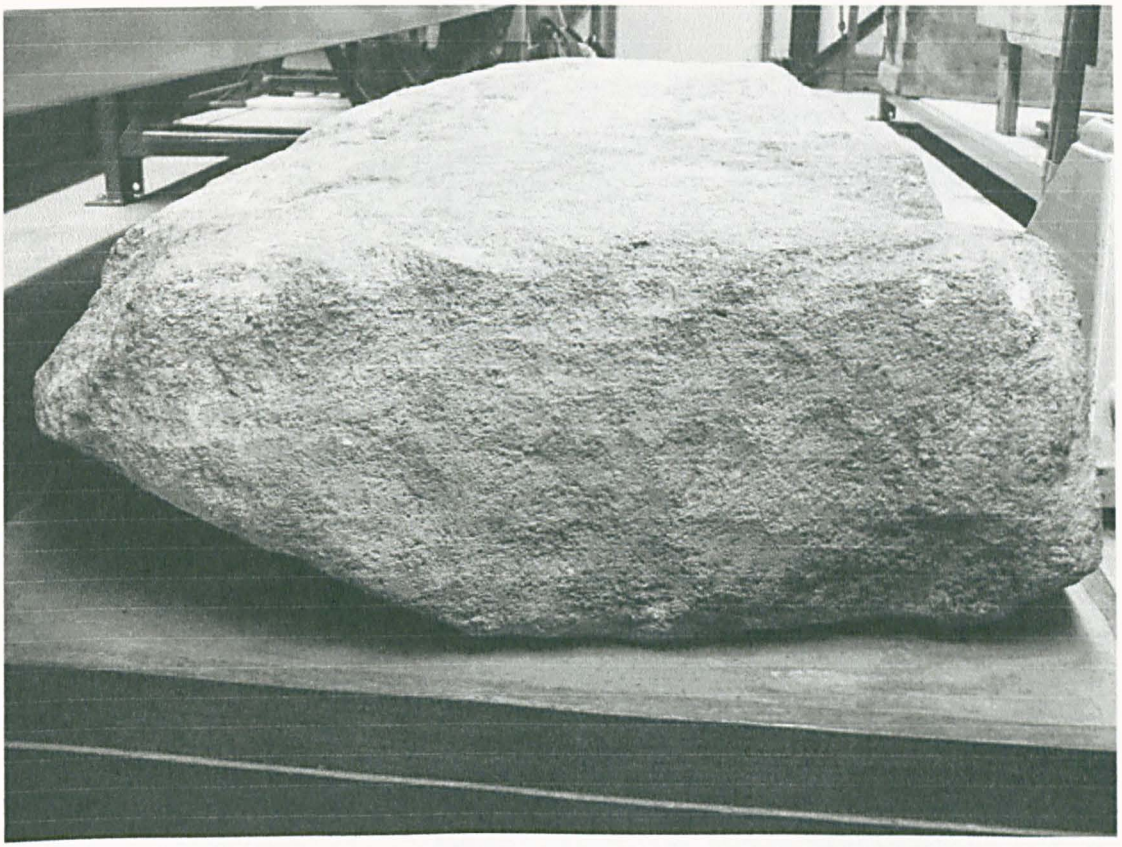
Pl. 26. Thetford 1. *Narrow end.*



Pl. 27. Thetford 1. *Broad face*.



Pl. 28. Thetford 1. *Broad face*.

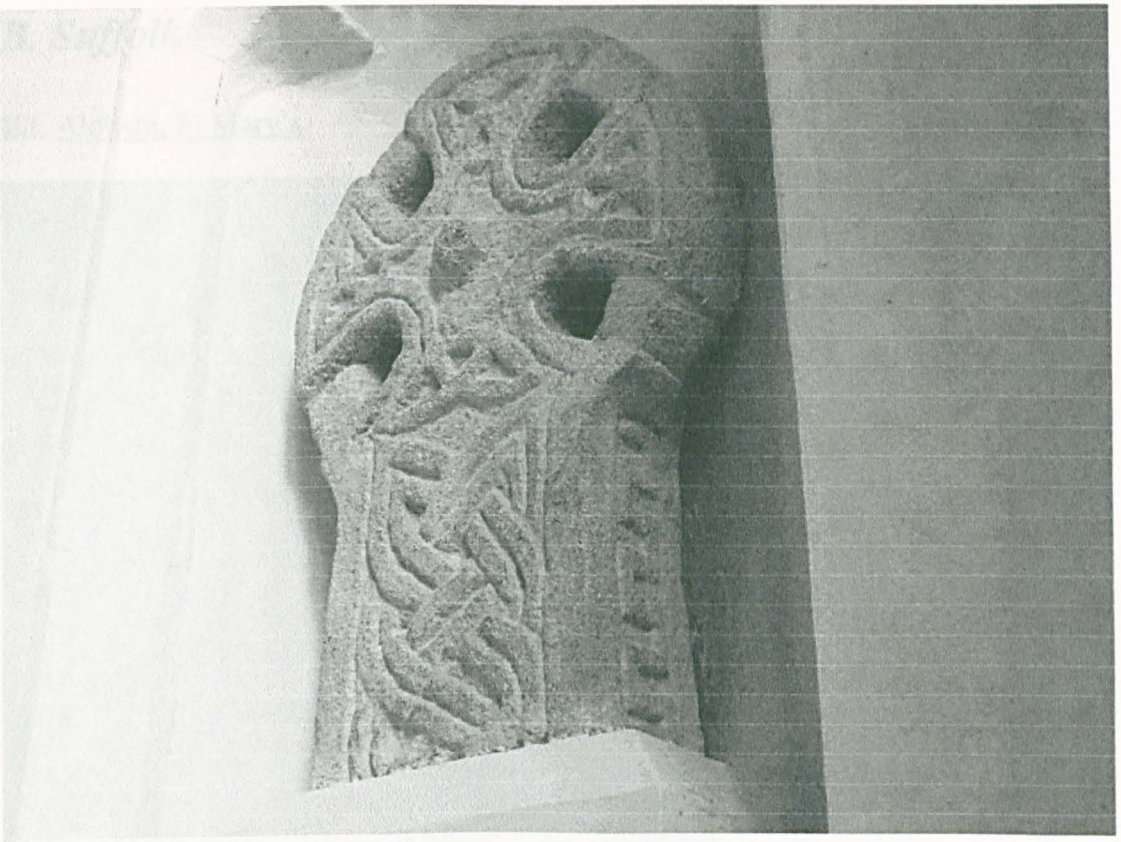


Pl. 29. Thetford 1. *Narrow end.*

A.xi. Whissonsett, St Mary's.

Pl. 30. Whissonsett 1 ("Whissonsett Cross"). *Face A*.

Pl. 31. Whissonsett 1 ("Whissonsett Cross"). *Faces A, B.*

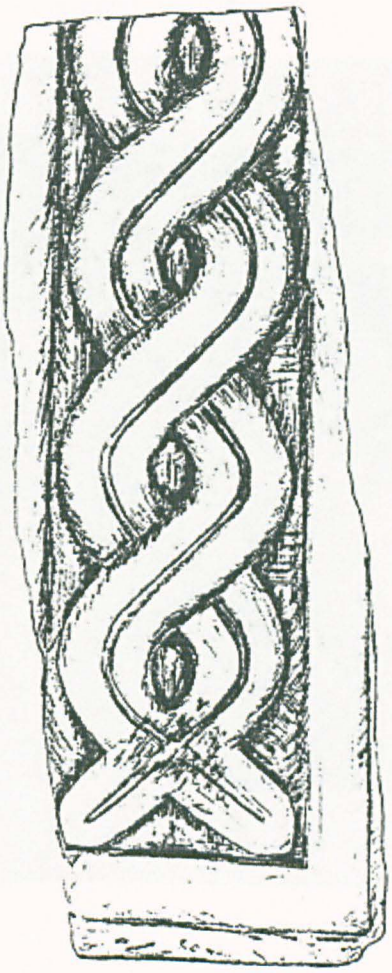


Pl. 32. Whissonsett 1 ("Whissonsett Cross"). *Faces A, D.*

B. Suffolk

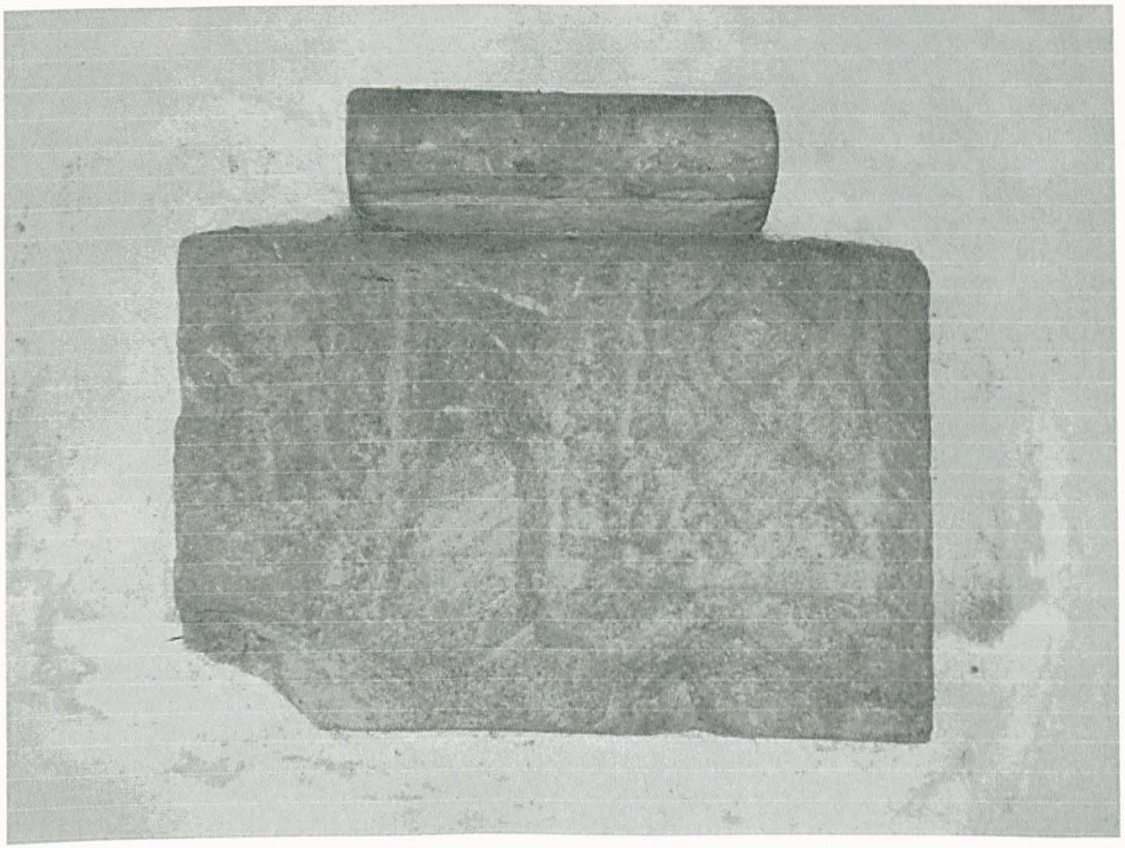
B.i. Aldham, St Mary's.

Pl. 33. Aldham 1.



Pl. 34. Aldham 2. © *S. Plunkett, 1998*.

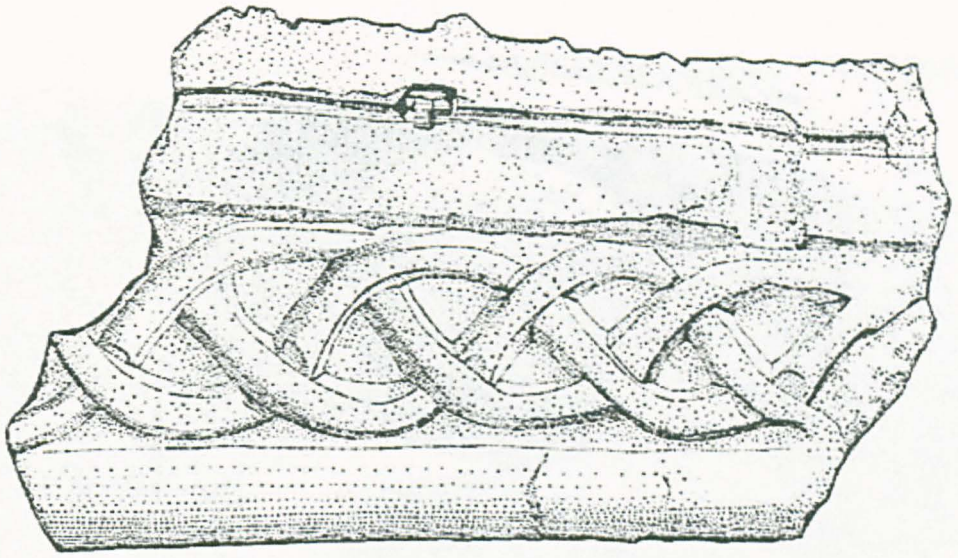
B.ii. Blaxhall, St Peter's.



Pl. 35. Blaxhall 1.

B.iii. Bury St Edmund's, St Edmund's Abbey.

Pl. 36. Bury St Edmunds 1.

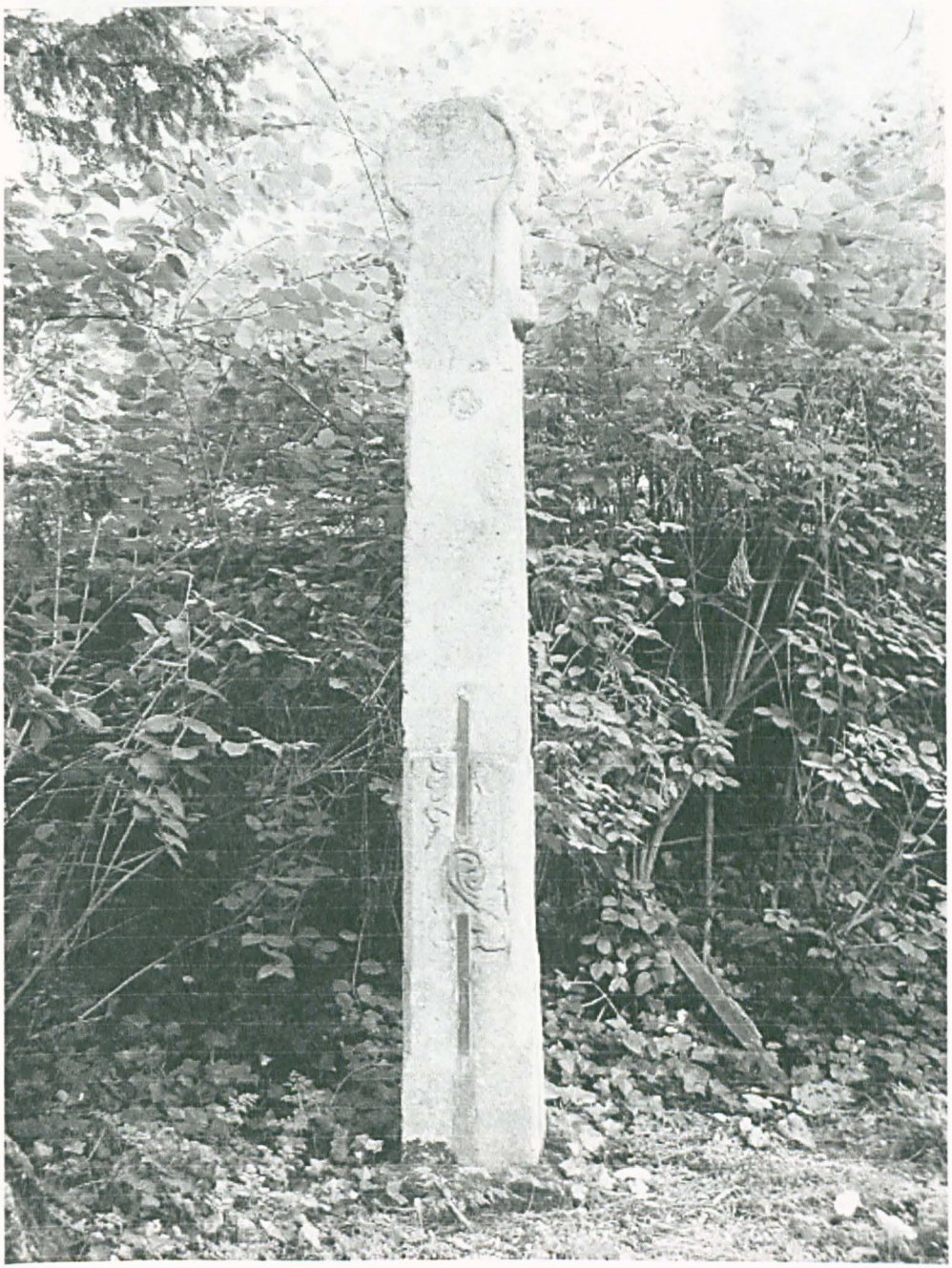


Pl. 37. Bury St Edmunds 1 showing iron fitting. © *R. Gem and L. Keen, 1981.*

B.iv. Framsden, St Mary's.

Pl. 38. Framsden 1. © *S. Plunkett, 1998.*

B.v. Great Ashfield, ?All Saints' (Great Ashfield House).

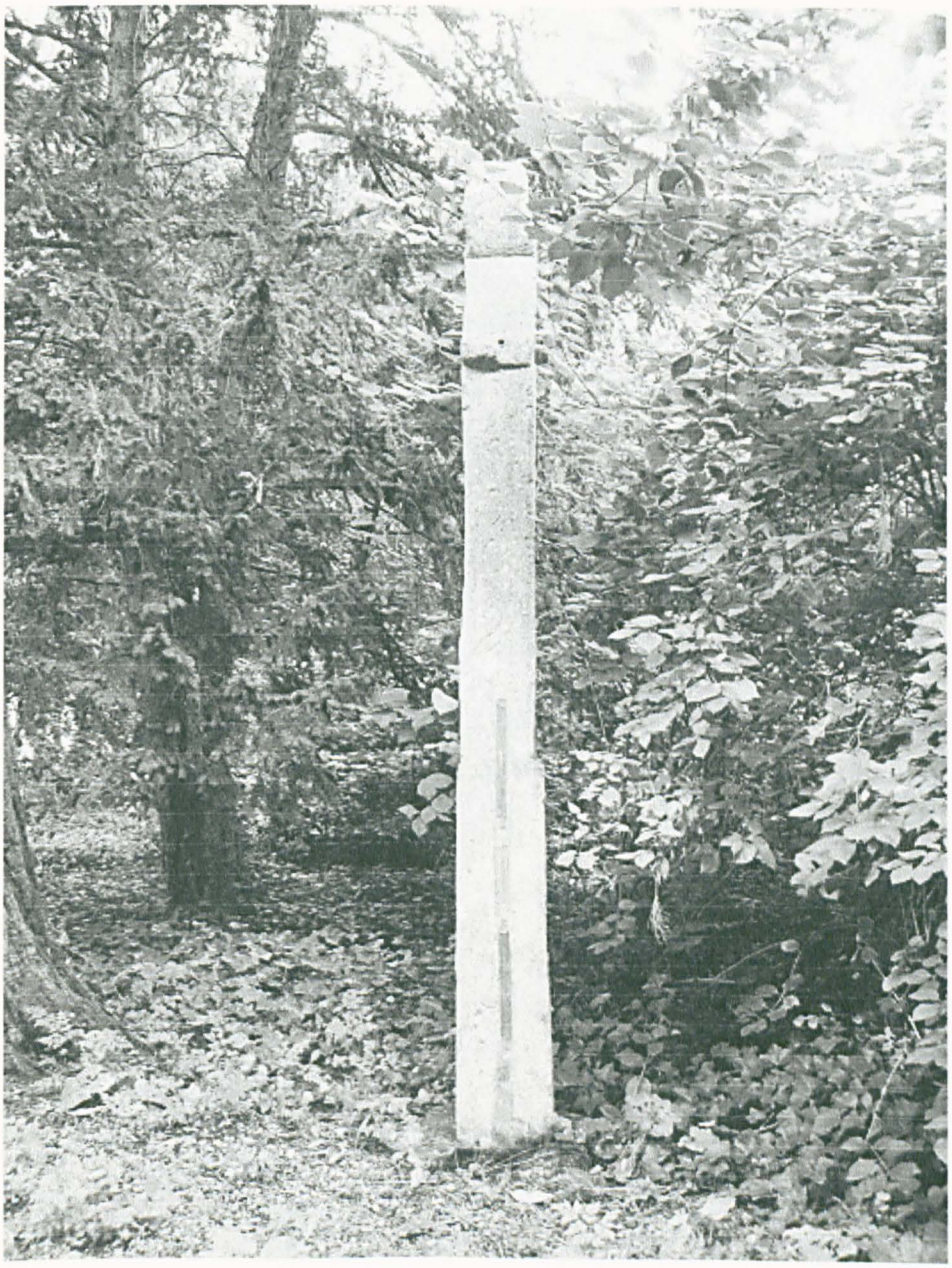


Pl. 39. Great Ashfield 1 ("Great Ashfield Cross"). *Face A*.

Pl. 40. Great Ashfield 1 ("Great Ashfield Cross"). *Face A, detail.*

Pl. 41. Great Ashfield 1 ("Great Ashfield Cross"). *Face B.*

Pl. 42. Great Ashfield 1 ("Great Ashfield Cross"). *Face C, detail.*



Pl. 43. Great Ashfield 1 ("Great Ashfield Cross"). *Face D.*

Pl. 44. Great Ashfield 1 ("Great Ashfield Cross"). *Face D, detail.*

B.vi. Hunston, St Michael's.

Pl. 45. Hunston 1. *Broad face*.

Pl. 46. Hunston 1. *Narrow face*.

Pl. 47. Hunston 2.

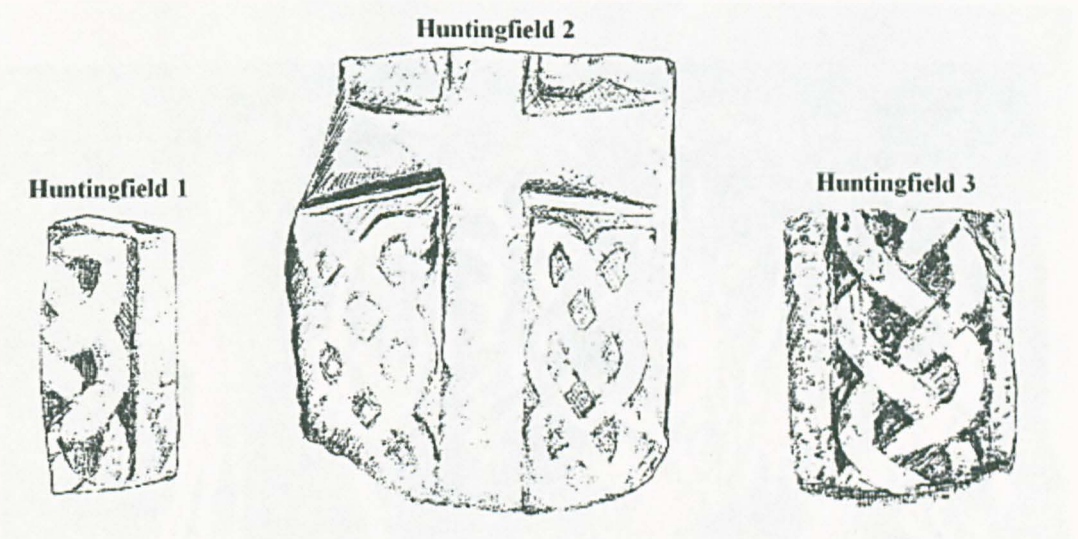
Pl. 48. Hunston 3.

Pl. 49. Hunston 4.

Pl. 50. Hunston 5.

Pl. 51. Hunston 6.

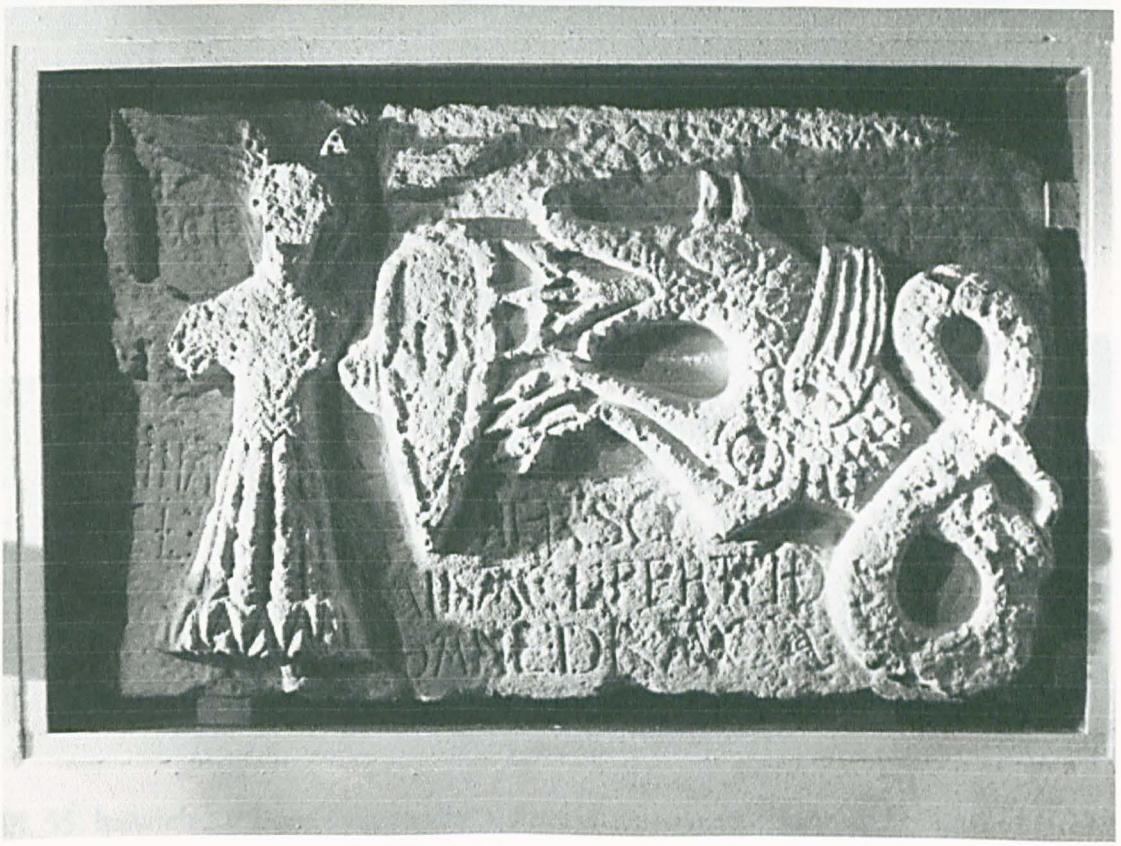
B.vii. Huntingfield, St Mary the Virgin's.



Pl. 52. Huntingfield 1-3. © *S. Plunkett, 1998.*

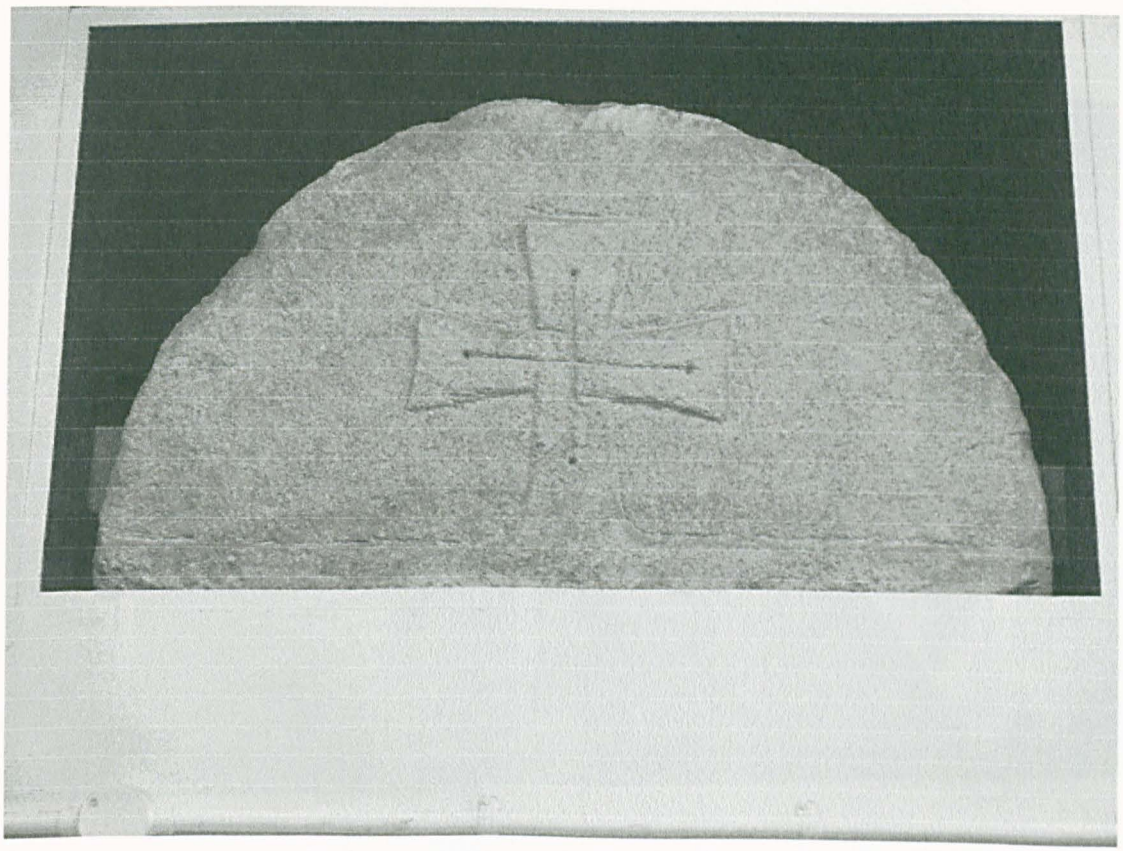
Pl. 53. Huntingfield 2-3. © *F. Griffin, 1991.*

B.viii. Ispwich, St Nicholas'.



Pl. 54. Ipswich 1 ("St Michael and the Dragon").

Pl. 55. Ipswich 2 ("Boar Tympanum"). *Face A*.



Pl. 56. Ipswich 2 ("Boar Tympanum"). *Face B*.

Pl. 57. Ipswich 3-5 ("Apostles").

Pl. 58. Ipswich 3 ("Apostle").

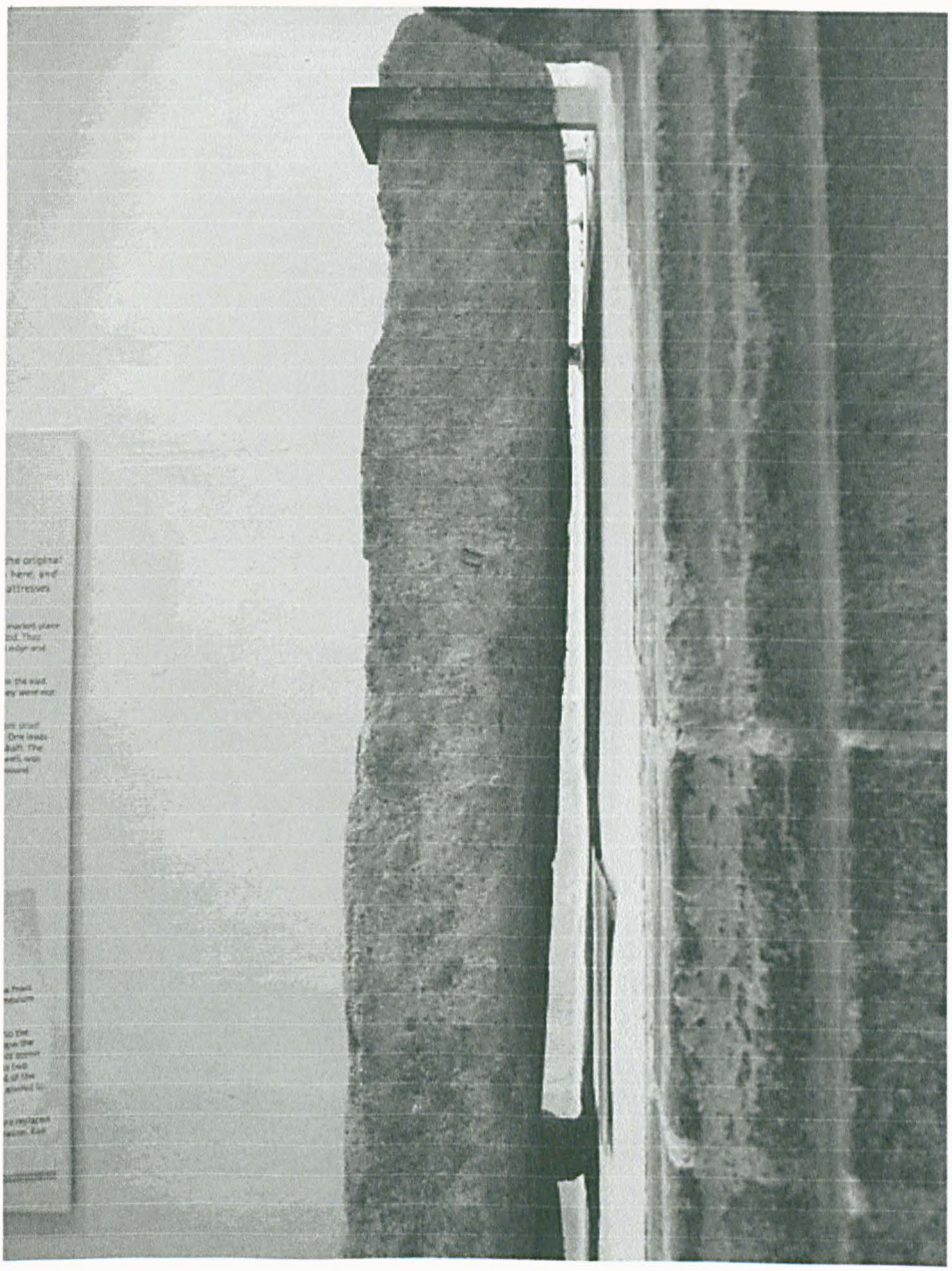
Pl. 59. Ipswich 4 ("Apostle").

Pl. 60. Ipswich 5 ("Apostle").

B.ix. Ixworth, St Mary's (Moyse's Hall Museum, Bury St Edmunds).

Pl. 61. Ixworth 1-2.

Pl. 62. Ixworth 1.



Pl. 63. Ixworth 1. *Narrow face*.

Pl. 64. Ixworth 2.

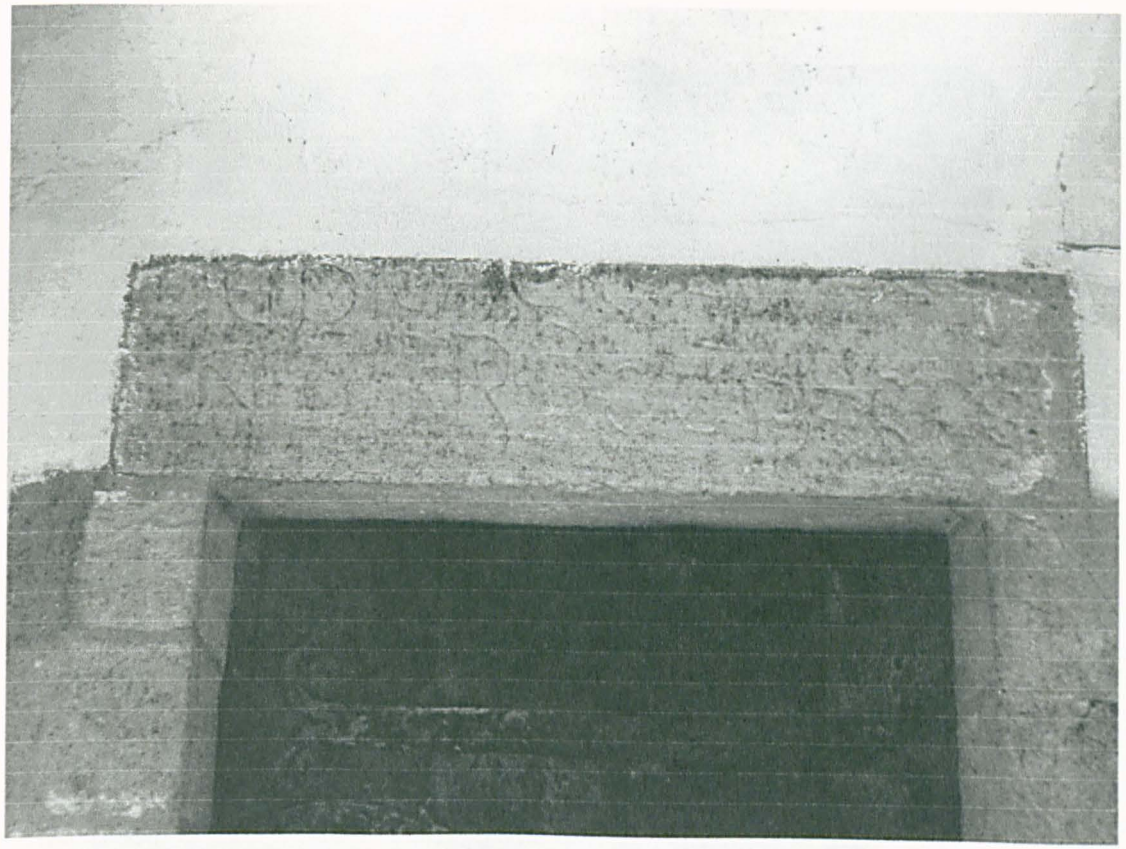
Pl. 65. Ixworth 2. *Narrow face*.

B.x. Kedington, SS Peter's and Paul's.

Pl. 66. Kedington 1 ("Kedington Cross"). *Face A*.

Pl. 67. Kedington 1 ("Kedington Cross"). *Faces A, B.*

B.xi. Little Wratting, St Mary's.



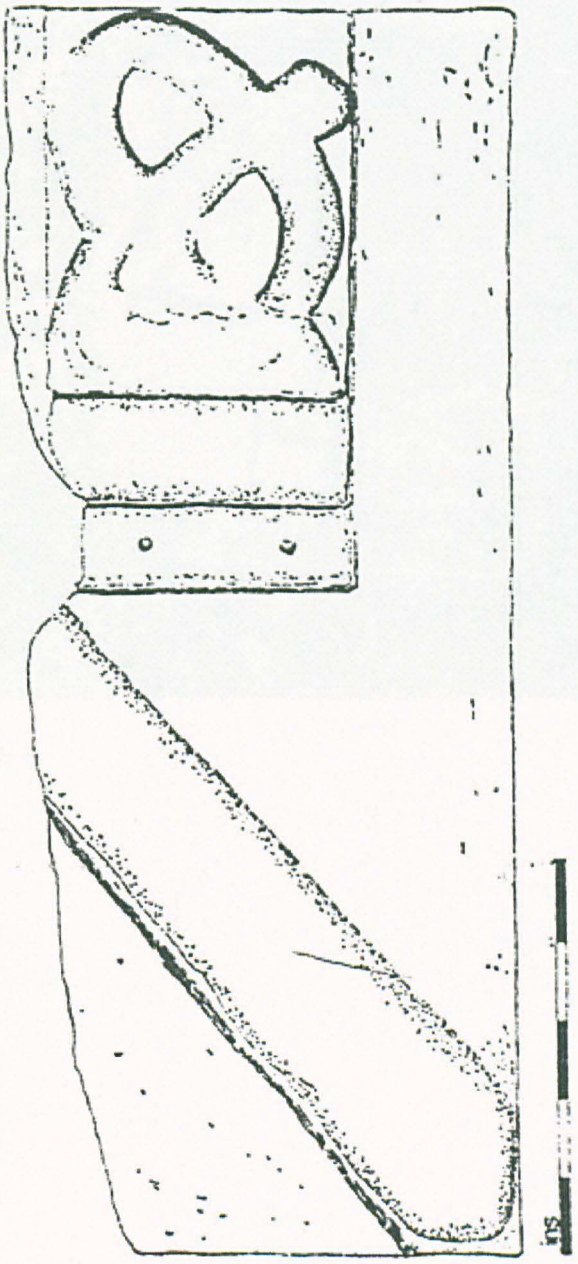
Pl. 68. Little Wratting 1 ("Dedication Stone").

Pl. 69. Little Wratting 1 ("Dedication Stone"). © *D. Atfield, ca 1998.*

B.xii. Santon Downham, St Mary's (Moyse's Hall Museum, Bury St Edmunds).

Pl. 70. Santon Downham 1. © *Moyse's Hall Museum.*

B.xiii. South Elmham, St Cross, "Old Minster" (Suffolk Archaeological Unit Stores, Bury St Edmunds).



Pl. 71. South Elmham 1. © *Suffolk Archaeology*.

B.xiv. Wickhambrook, All Saints'.

Pl. 72. Wickhambrook 1.

B.xv. Wordwell, All Saints'.

Pl. 73. Wordwell 1.

Pl. 74. Wordwell 2. *Broad face*.

Pl. 75. Wordwell 2. *Broad face*.

Pl. 76. Wordwell 2. *Narrow face*.

C. *North and East Cambridgeshire*

C.i. Balsham, Holy Trinity.

Pl. 77. Balsham 1. © *Proceedings of the Cambridgeshire Antiquarian Society*, 1932.

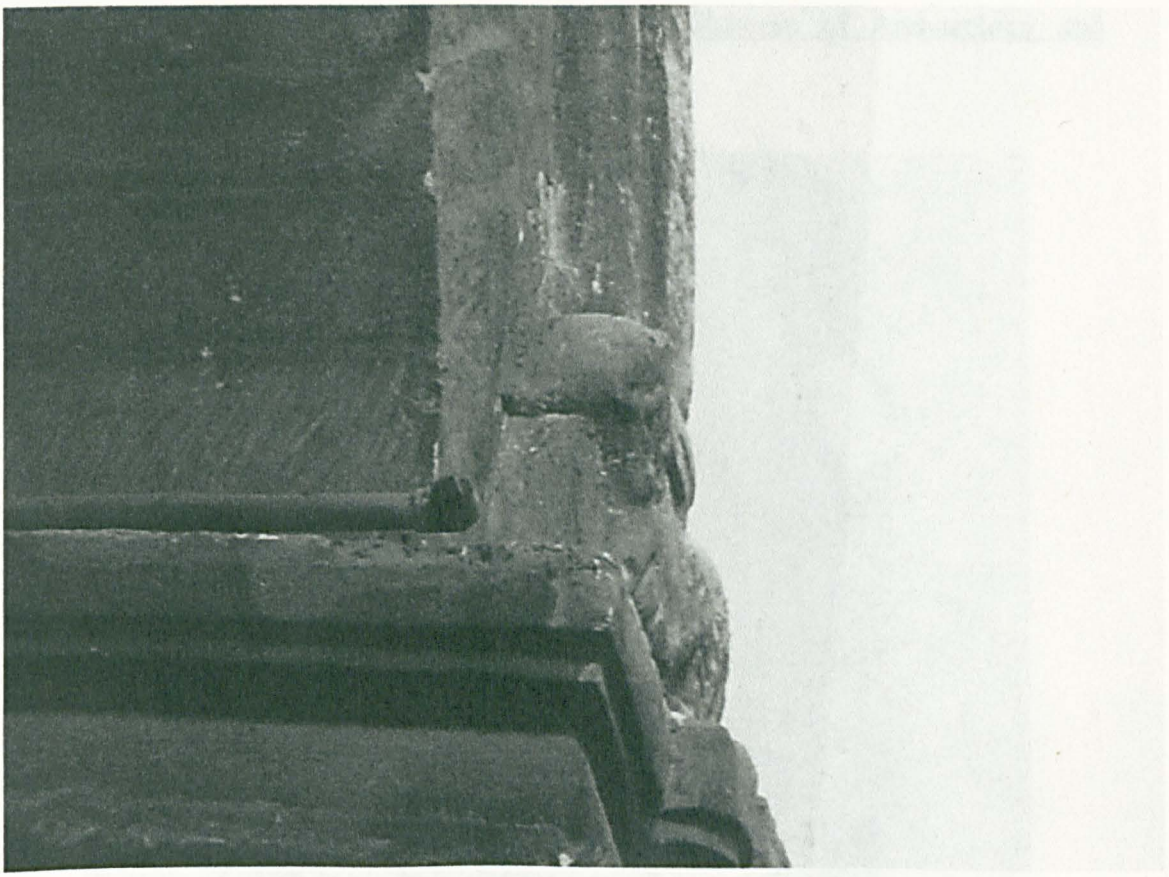
C.iii. Cambridge, St Benet's.

Pl. 78. Cambridge, St Benet's, 1-2.

Pl. 79. Cambridge, St Benet's, 1. *Broad face*.

Pl. 80. Cambridge, St Benet's, 1. *Narrow face from south.*

Pl. 81. Cambridge, St Benet's, 2. *Broad face*.



Pl. 82. Cambridge, St Benet's, 2. *Narrow face from north.*

C.iv. Cambridge Castle (Cambridge University Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology).

Pl. 83. Cambridge Castle 1 (no. "2" in Fox's study).

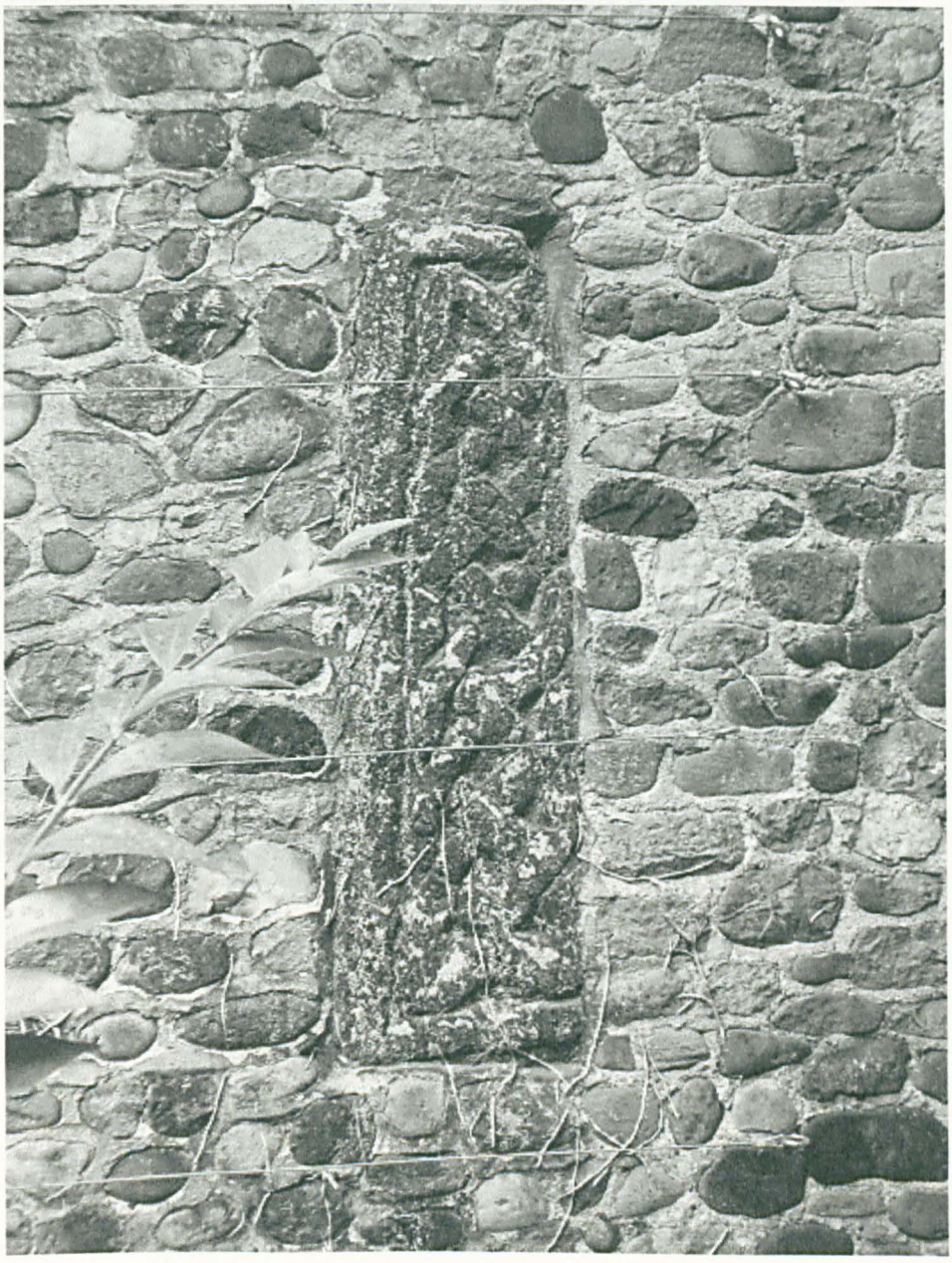
Pl. 84. Cambridge Castle 2 (no. "3" in Fox's typology).

Pl. 85. Cambridge Castle 3. *Face A*. (Identified as "Cambridge Castle" by Fox).

Pl. 86. Cambridge Castle 3. *Face B.*

Pl. 87. Cambridge Castle 3. *From above*.

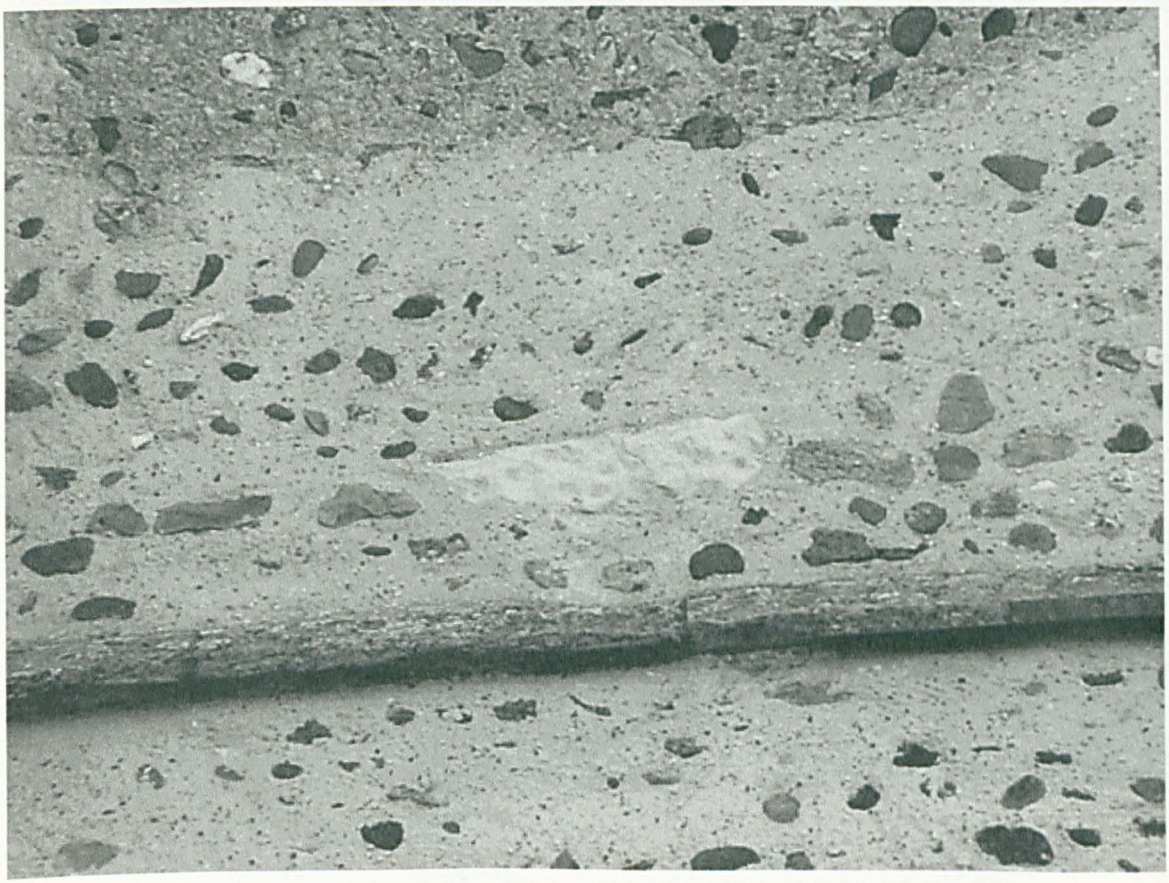
C.v. Cambridge, Little St Mary's.



Pl. 88. Cambridge, Little St Mary's, 1.

Pl. 89. Cambridge, Little St Mary's, 2.

C.vi. Caxton, St Andrew's.



Pl. 90. Caxton 1.

Pl. 91. Caxton 2.

C.viii. Fletton, St Margaret's.

Pl. 92. Fletton 1. *Face A*.

C.ix. Grantchester, SS Andrew's and Mary's.

Pl. 93. North exterior wall. *Various fragments including Grantchester 1-4.*

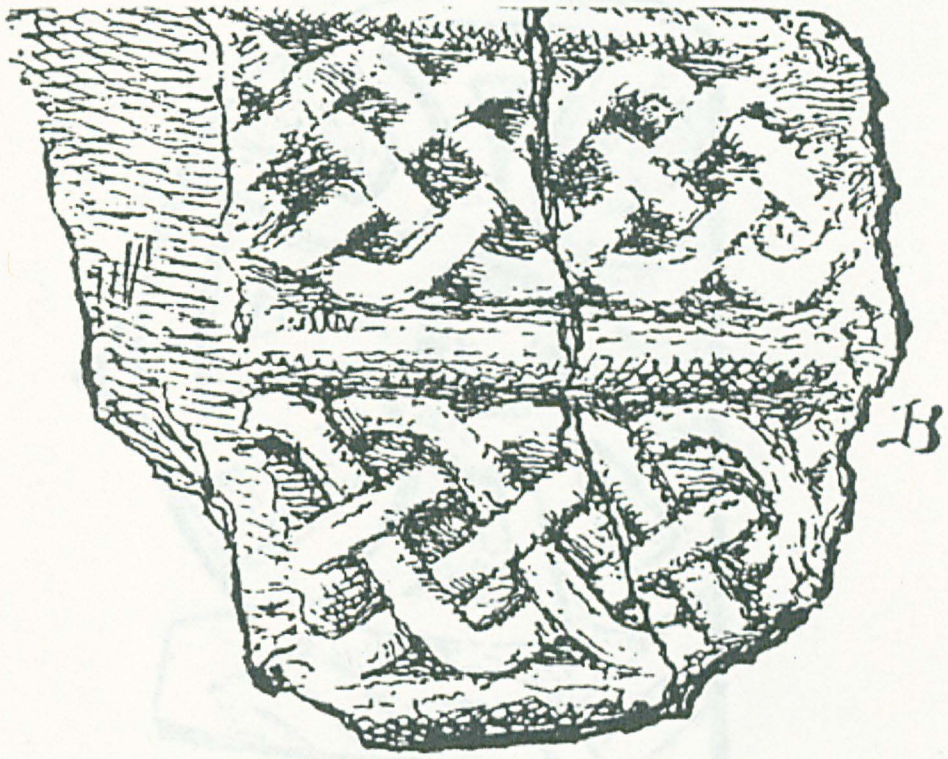
Pl. 94. Grantchester 1.

Pl. 95. Grantchester 2.

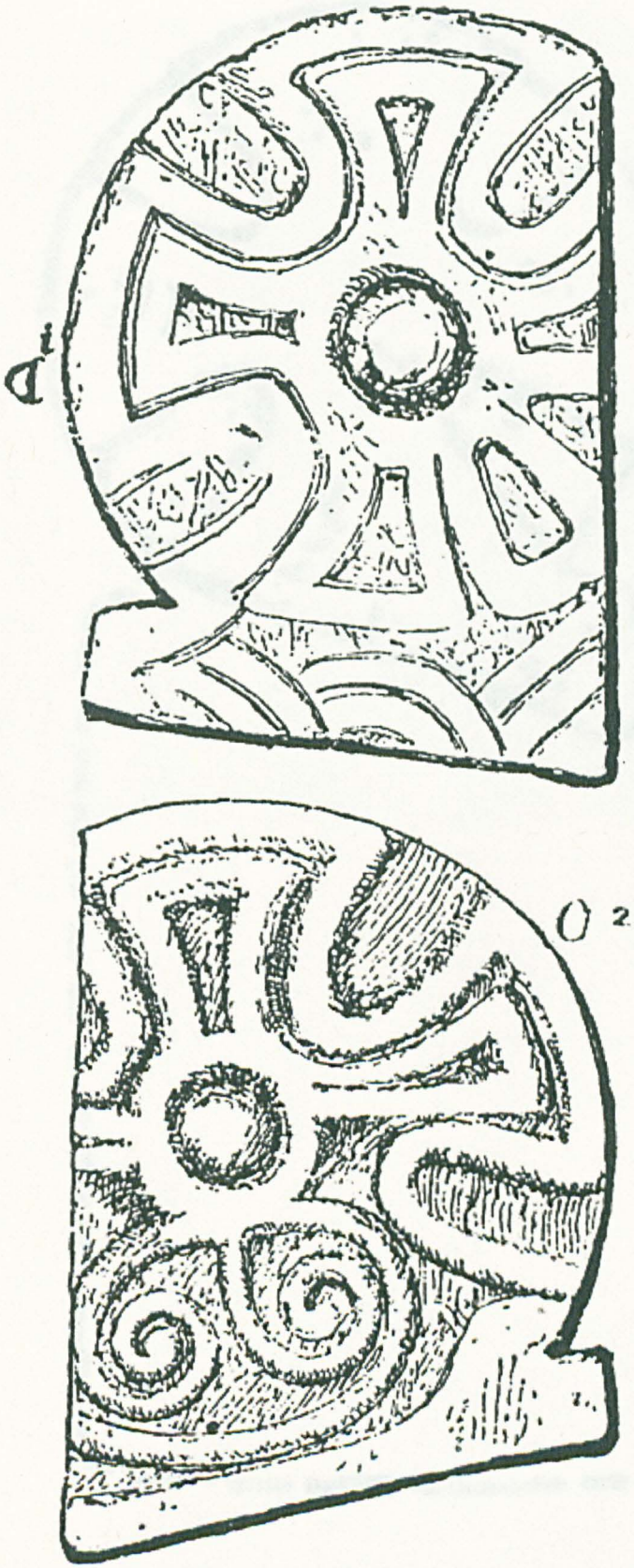
Pl. 96. Grantchester 3.

Pl. 97. Grantchester 4.

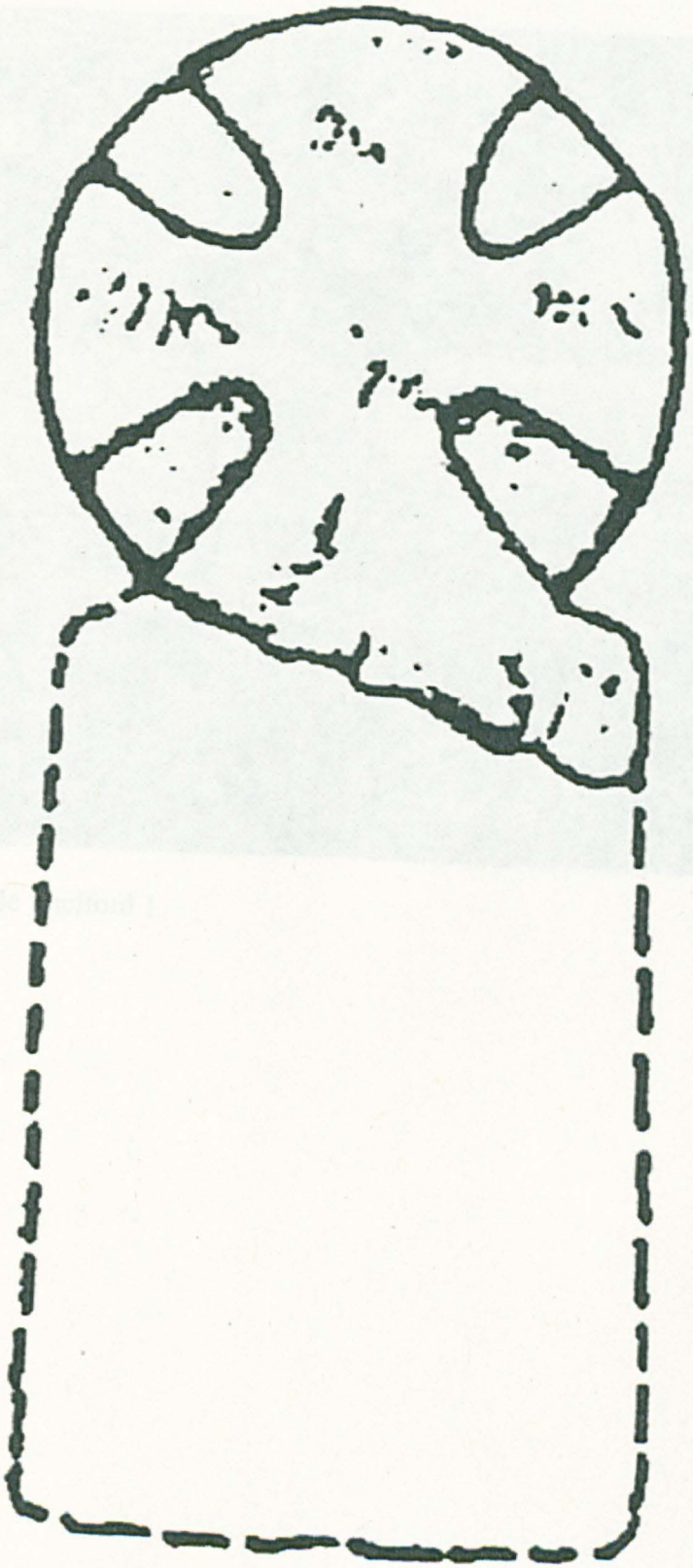
C.x. Helpston, St Botolph's.



Pl. 98. Helpston 1. © *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, 1889.



Pl. 99. Helpston 2. © *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, 1889.



Pl. 100. Helpston 3. © Fox, 1920-1921.

C.xi. Little Shelford, All Saints'.

Pl. 101. Little Shelford 1.

Pl. 102. Little Shelford 2.

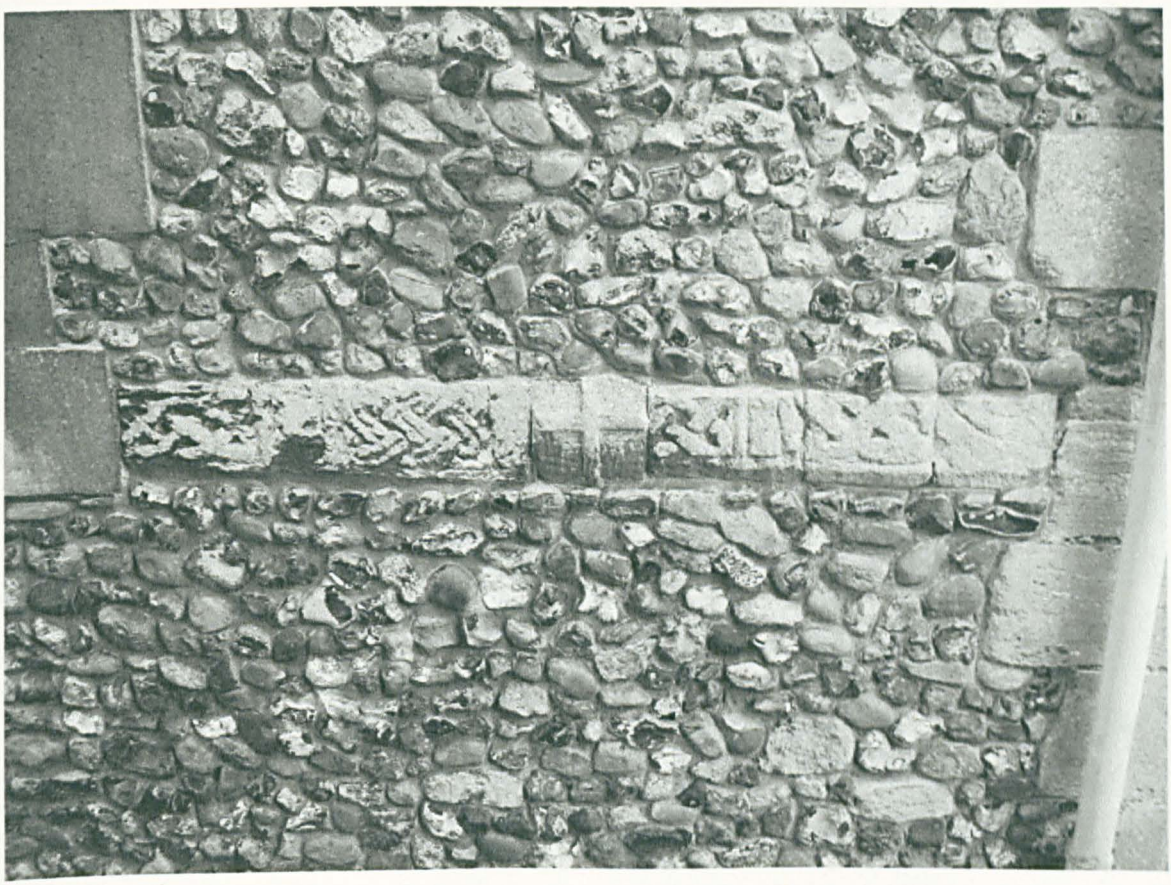
Pl. 103. Little Shelford 3.

Pl. 104. Little Shelford 4-5.

Pl. 105. Little Shelford 6-7.

Pl. 106. Little Shelford 6.

Pl. 107. Little Shelford 7.

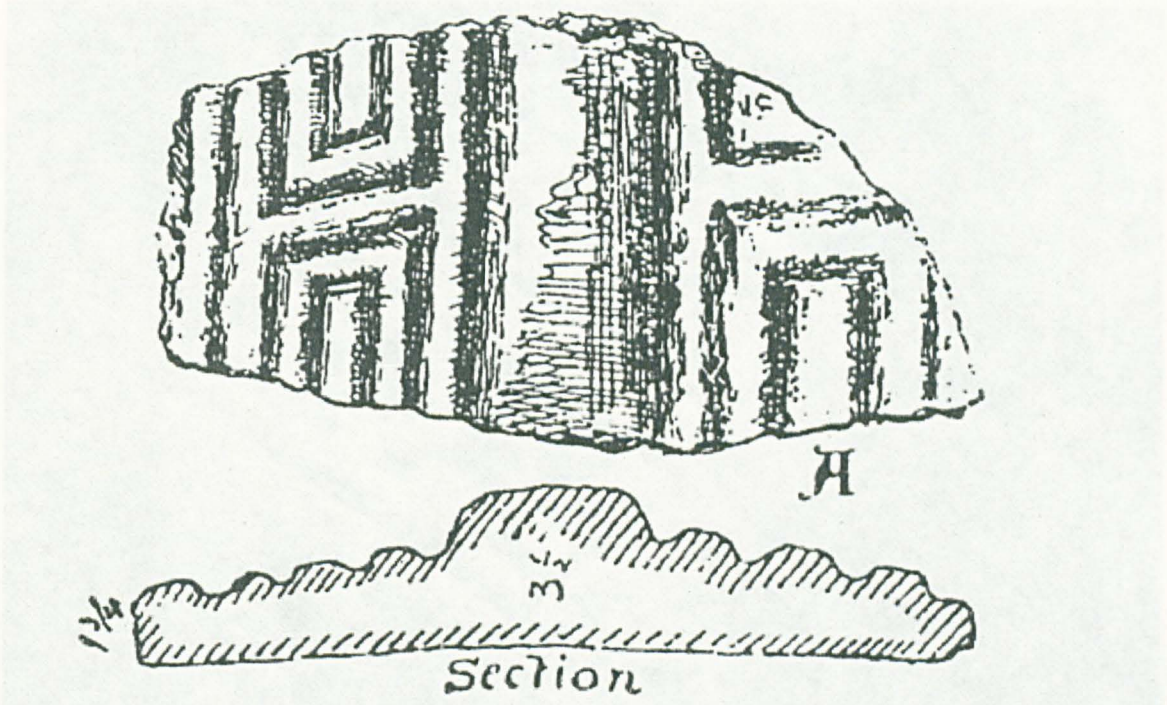


Pl. 108. Little Shelford 8-9.

Pl. 109. Little Shelford 8.

Pl. 110. Little Shelford 9.

C.xii. Maxey, St Peter's.



Pl. 111. Maxey 1. © *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, 1889.

C.xiv. Peterborough, Peterborough Cathedral.

Pl. 112. Peterborough Cathedral 1. *Broad and narrow face.*

Pl. 113. Peterborough Cathedral 1. *Broad and narrow face*.

Pl. 114. Peterborough Cathedral 1. *Broad and narrow face.*

Pl. 115. Peterborough Cathedral 2. *Broad and narrow face.*

Pl. 116. Peterborough Cathedral 2. *Broad and narrow face*.

Pl. 117. Peterborough Cathedral 2. *Narrow face*.

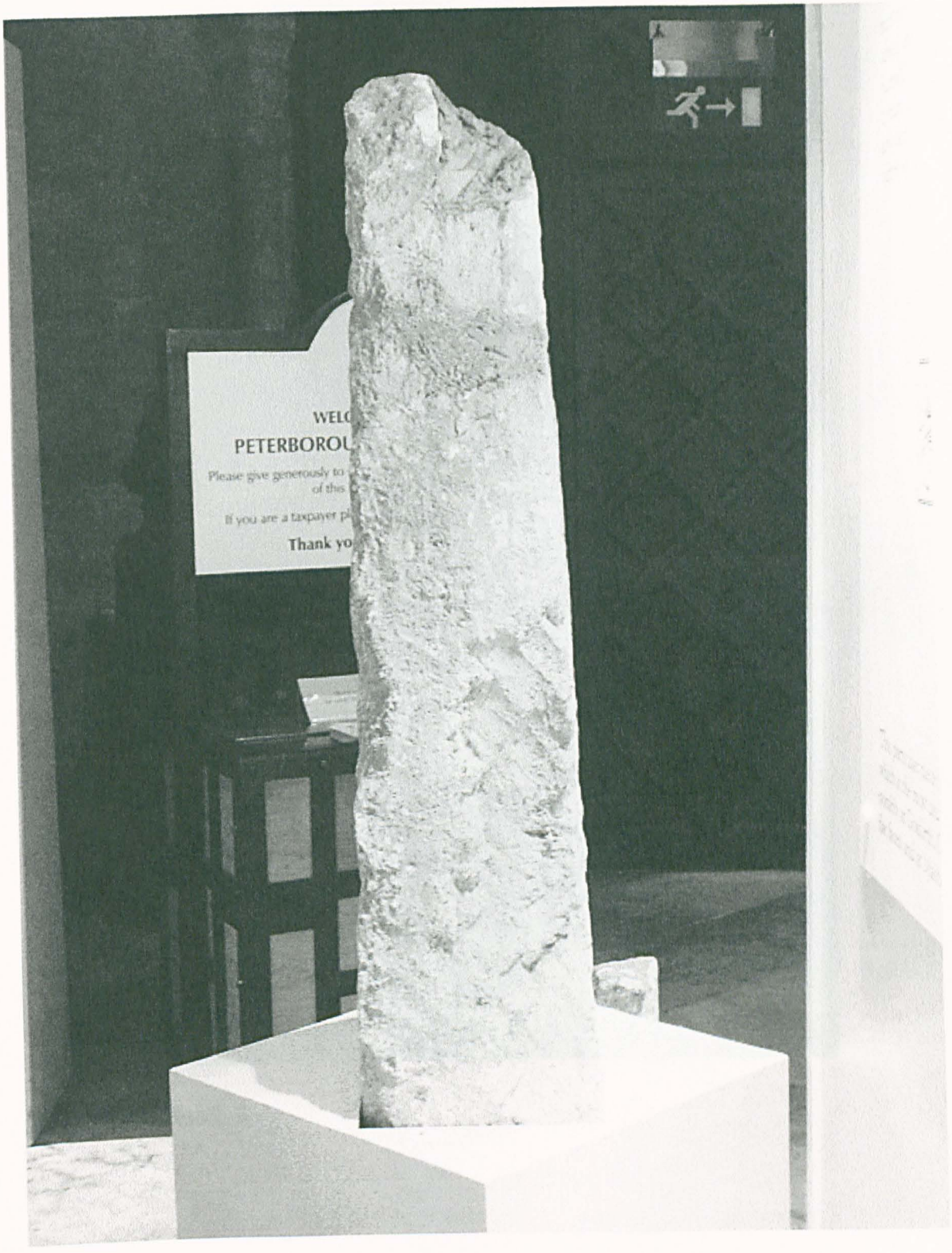
Pl. 118. Peterborough Cathedral 3.

Pl. 119. Peterborough Cathedral 3. *Detail*.

Pl. 120. Peterborough Cathedral 4. *Face A*.

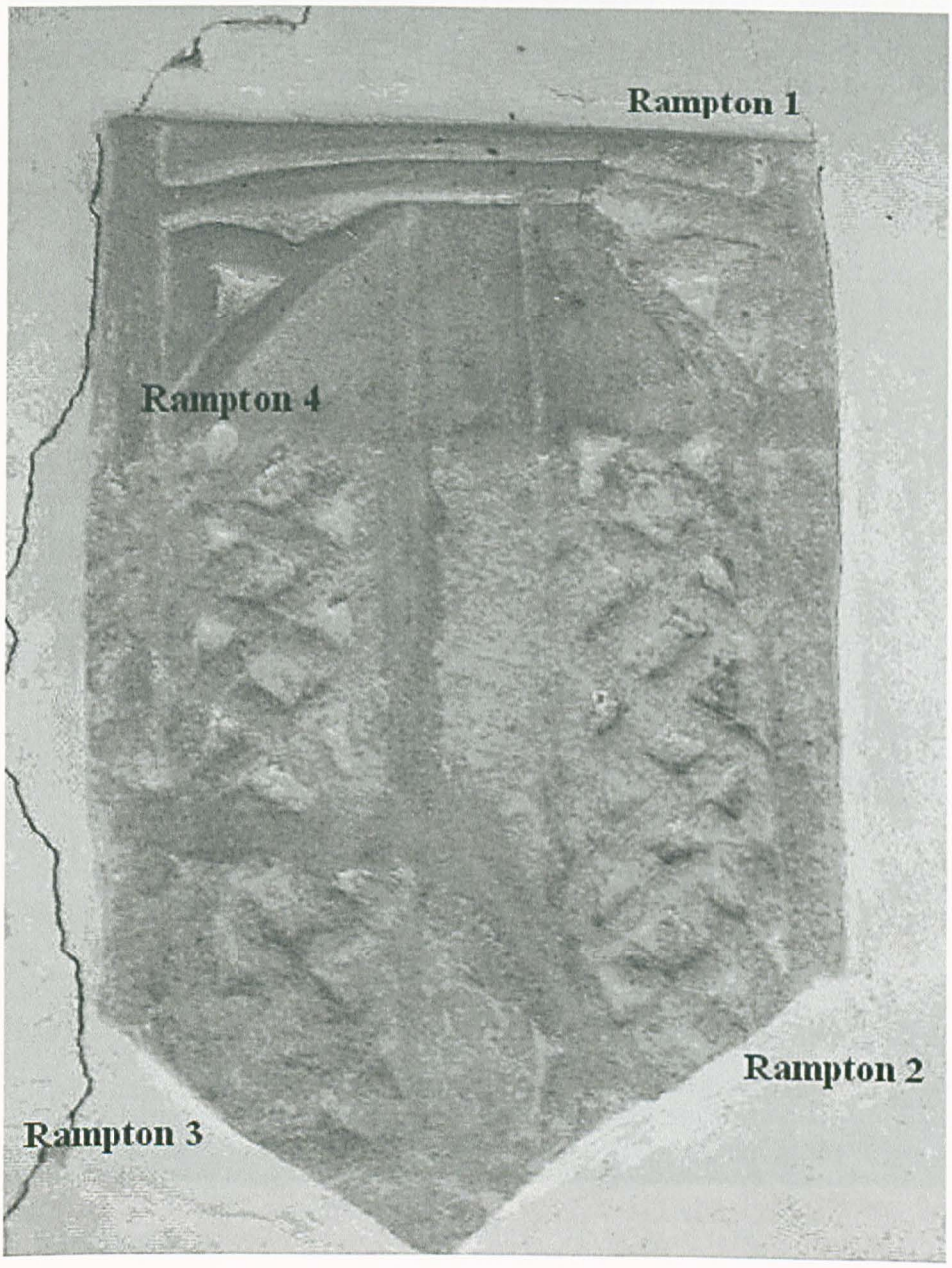
Pl. 121. Peterborough Cathedral 4. *Face B.*

Pl. 122. Peterborough Cathedral 4. *Faces B, C.*

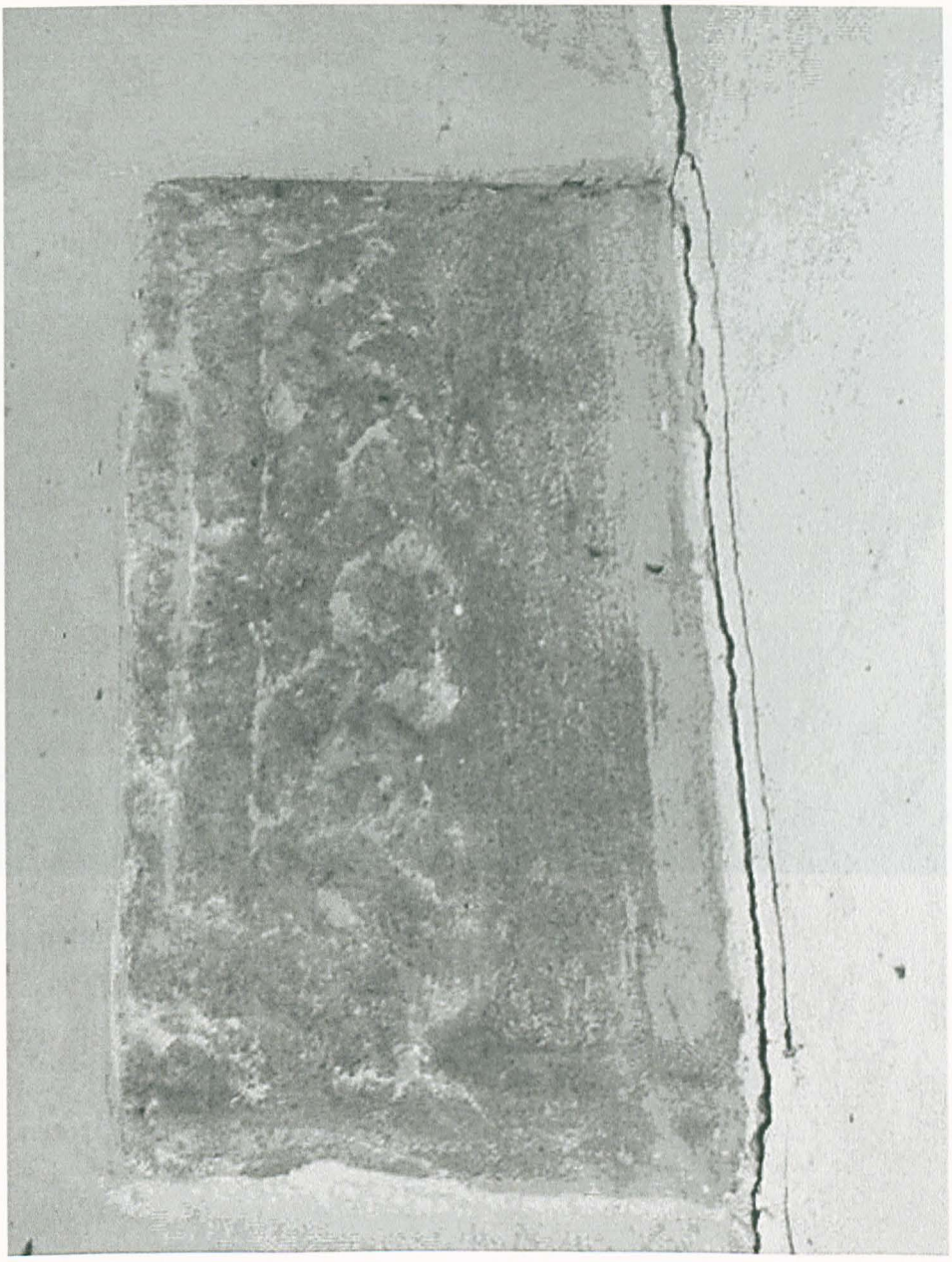


Pl. 123. Peterborough Cathedral 4. *Face D.*

C.xv. Rampton, All Saints'.



Pl. 124. Rampton 1-4.

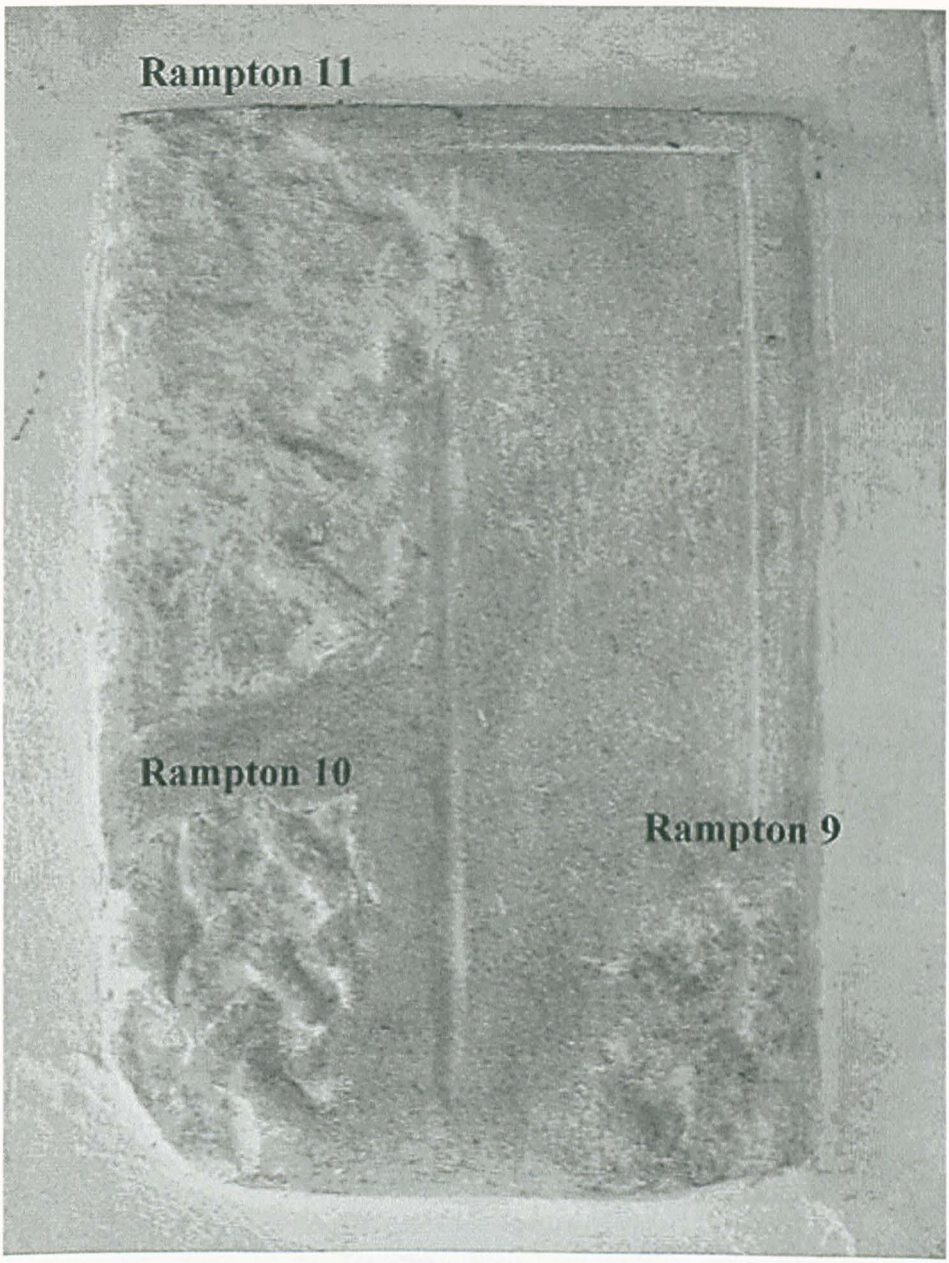


Pl. 125. Rampton 5.

Pl. 126. Rampton 6.

Pl. 127. Rampton 7.

Pl. 128. Rampton 8.



Pl. 129. Rampton 9-11.

C.xvi. Stapleford, St Andrew's.

Pl. 130. Stapleford 1 ("Stapleford Cross"). *Face A*.

Pl. 131. Stapleford 1 ("Stapleford Cross"). *Face B*.

Pl. 132. Stapleford 1 ("Stapleford Cross"). *Face C*.

Pl. 133. Stapleford 1 ("Stapleford Cross"). *Face D.*

C.xvii. Stretham, St James'.

Pl. 134. Stretham 1.

C.xviii. Whittlesford, SS Mary's and Andrew's.

Pl. 135. Whittlesford 1. *Face A*.

Pl. 136. Whittlesford 1. *Face B.*

Pl. 137. Whittlesford 1. *Face C.*

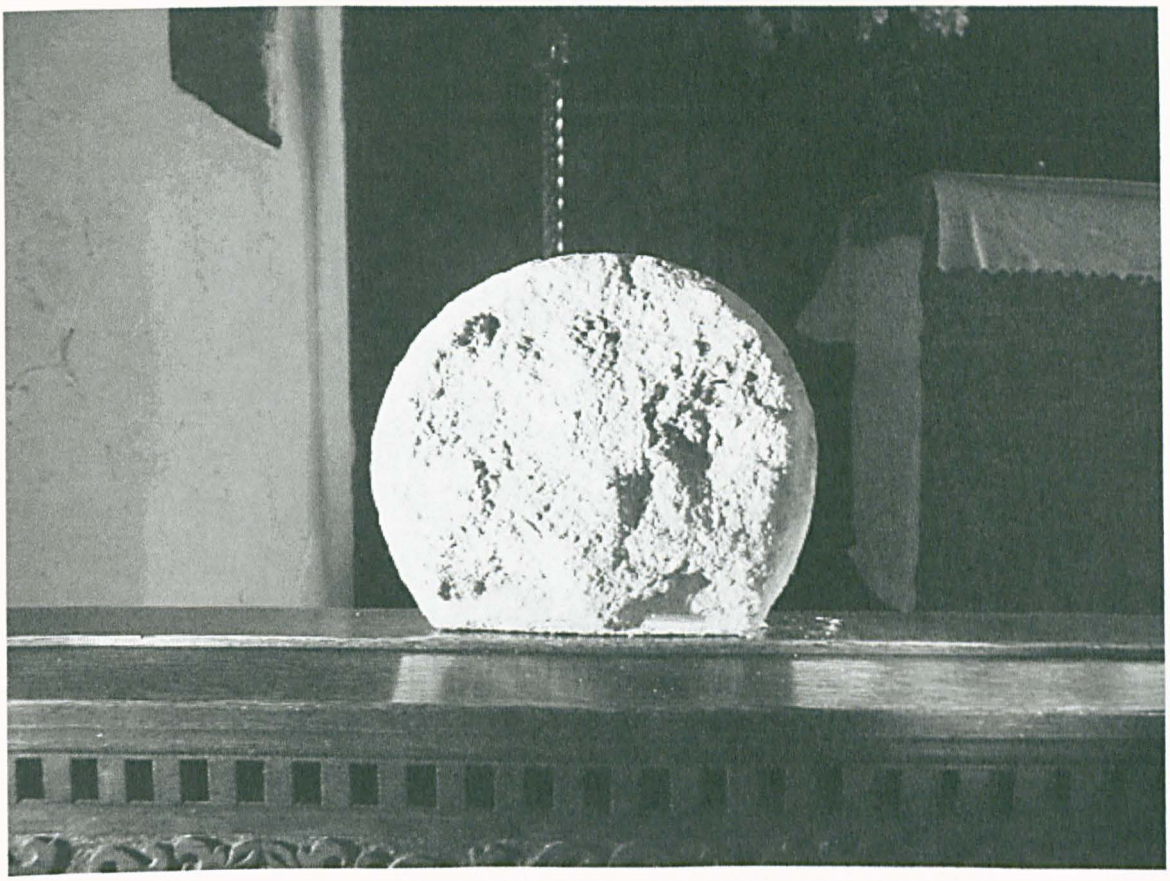
Pl. 138. Whittlesford 1. *Face D.*

Pl. 139. Whittlesford 2. *Face A*.

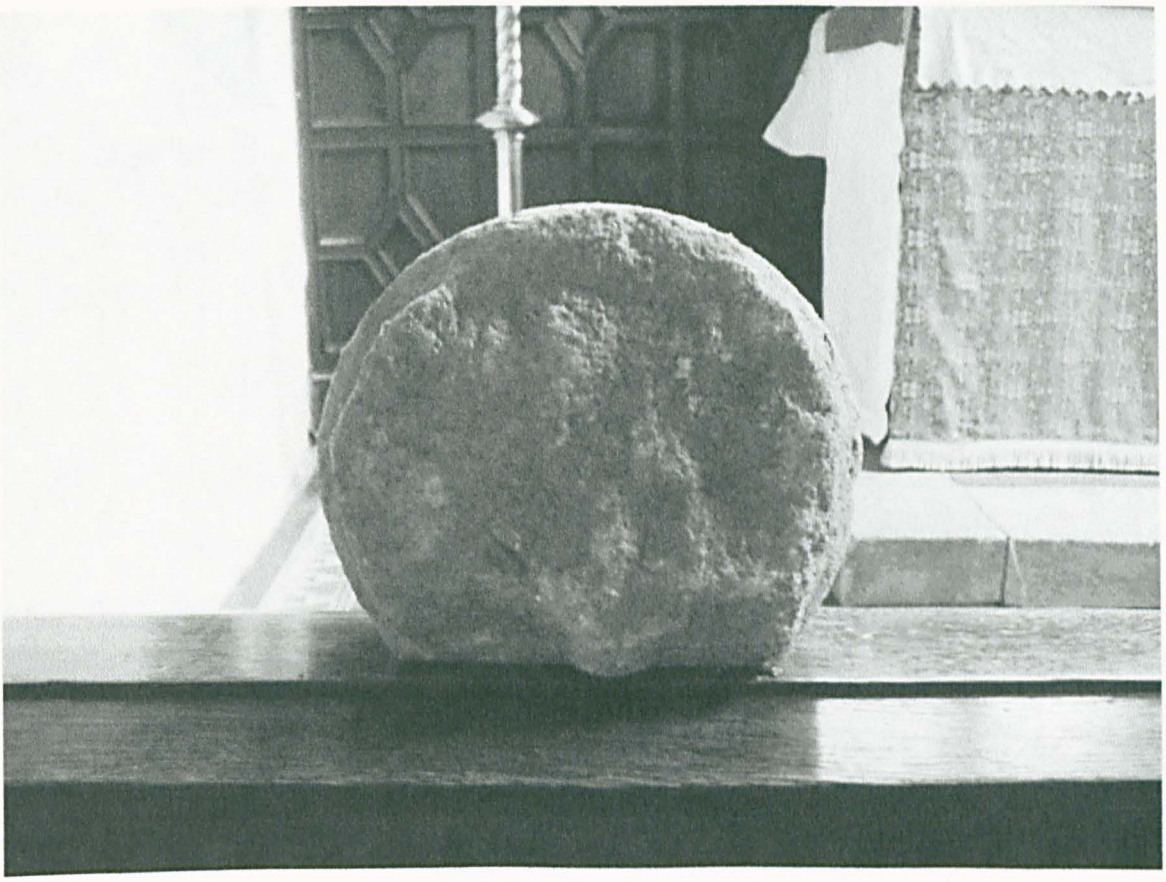
Pl. 140. Whittlesford 2. *Face B.*

Pl. 141. Whittlesford 2. *Face C*.

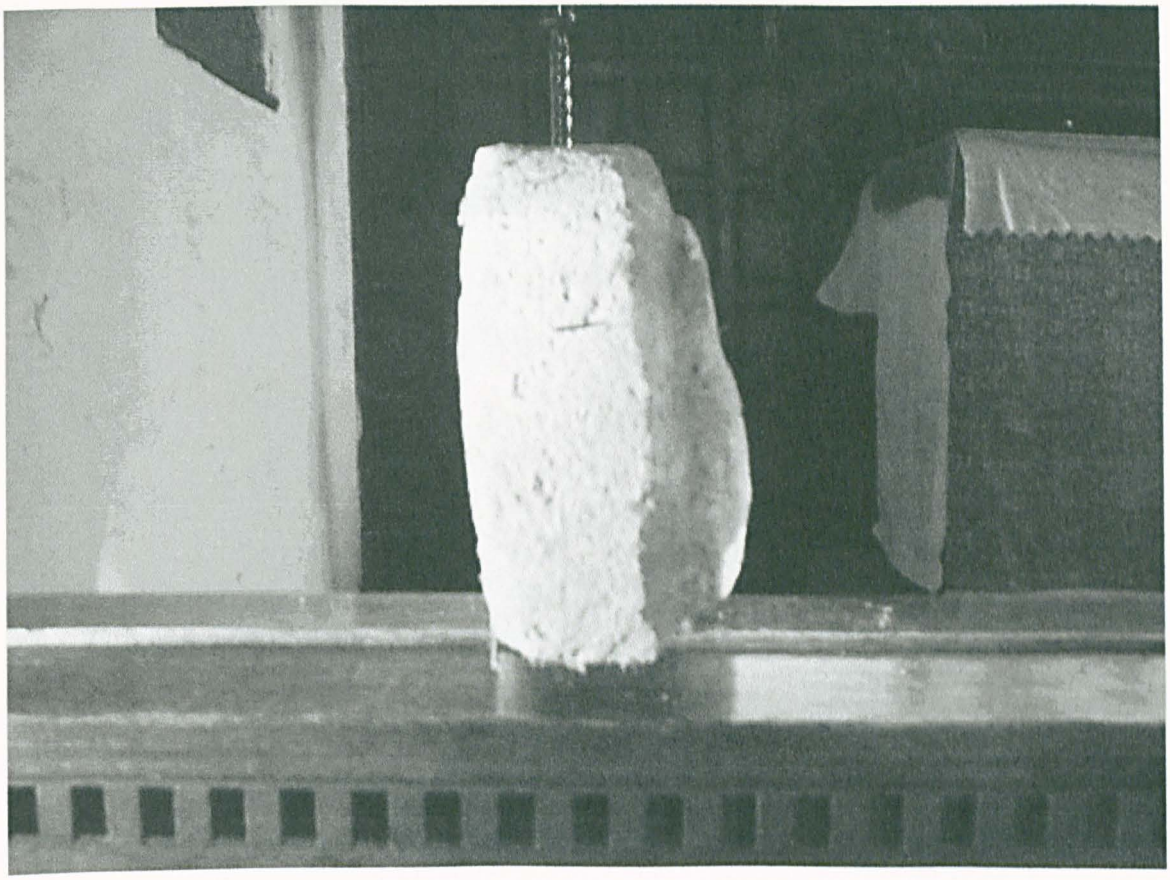
Pl. 142. Whittlesford 2. *Face D.*



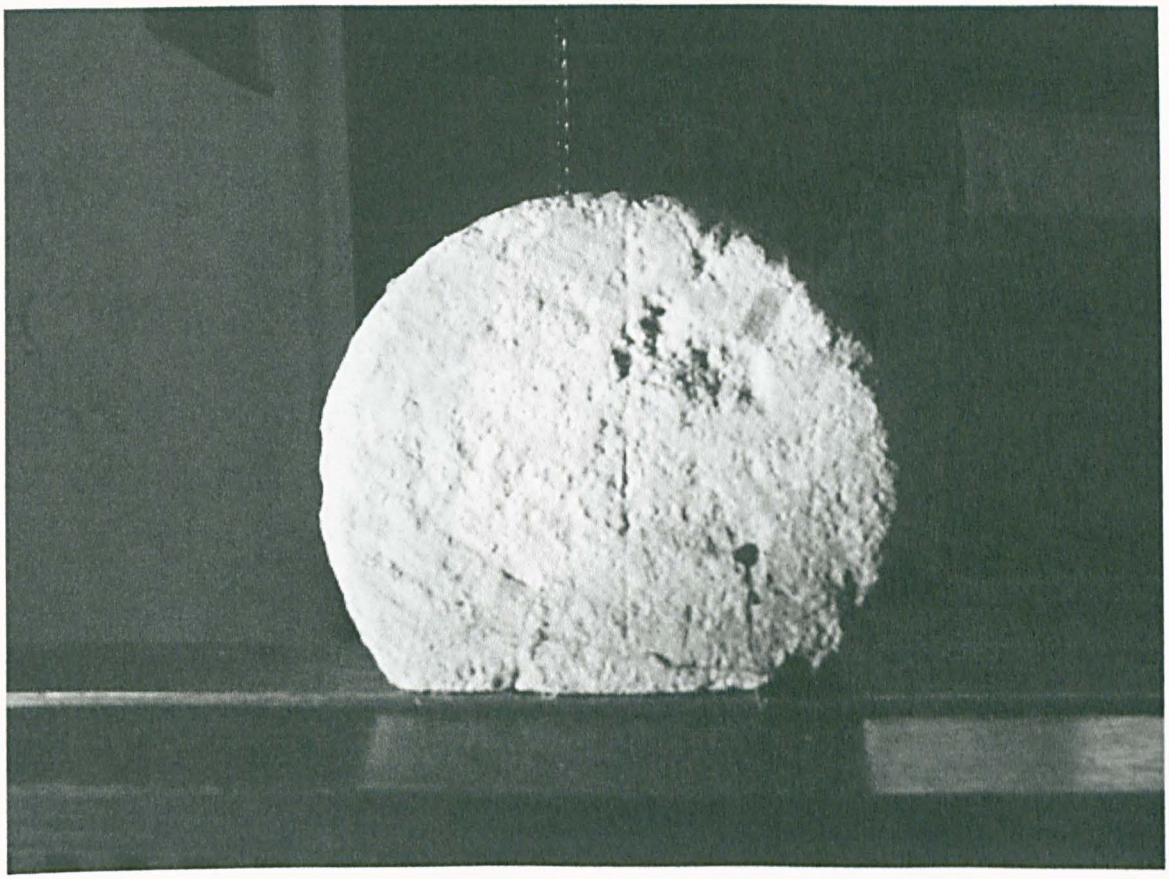
Pl. 143. Whittlesford 3. *Face A*.



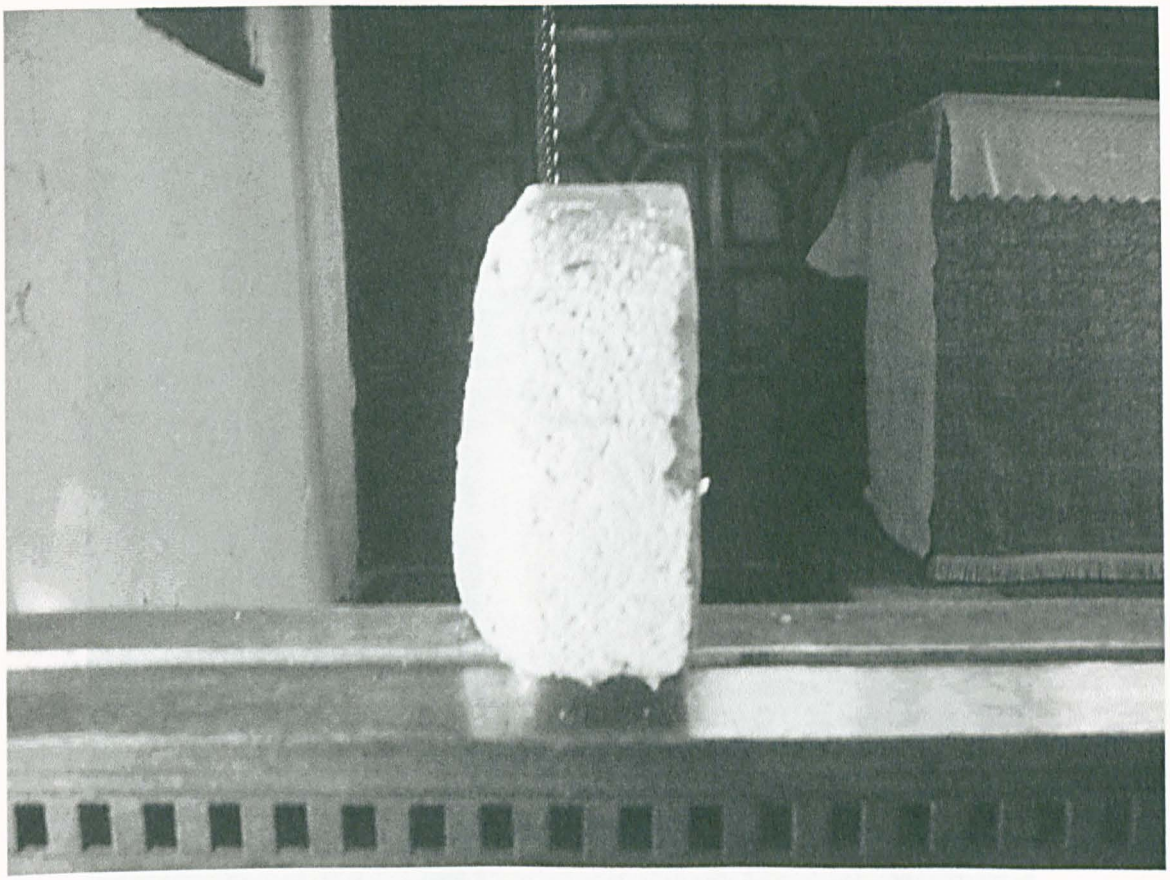
Pl. 144. Whittlesford 3. *Face A*.



Pl. 145. Whittlesford 3. *Face B.*



Pl. 146. Whittlesford 3. *Face C*.



Pl. 147. Whittlesford 3. *Face D.*

C.xix. Willingham, St Mary's and All Saints'

Pl. 148. Obverse face of Norman column preserving Willingham 1-3.

Pl. 149. Willingham 1.

Pl. 150. Willingham 2.

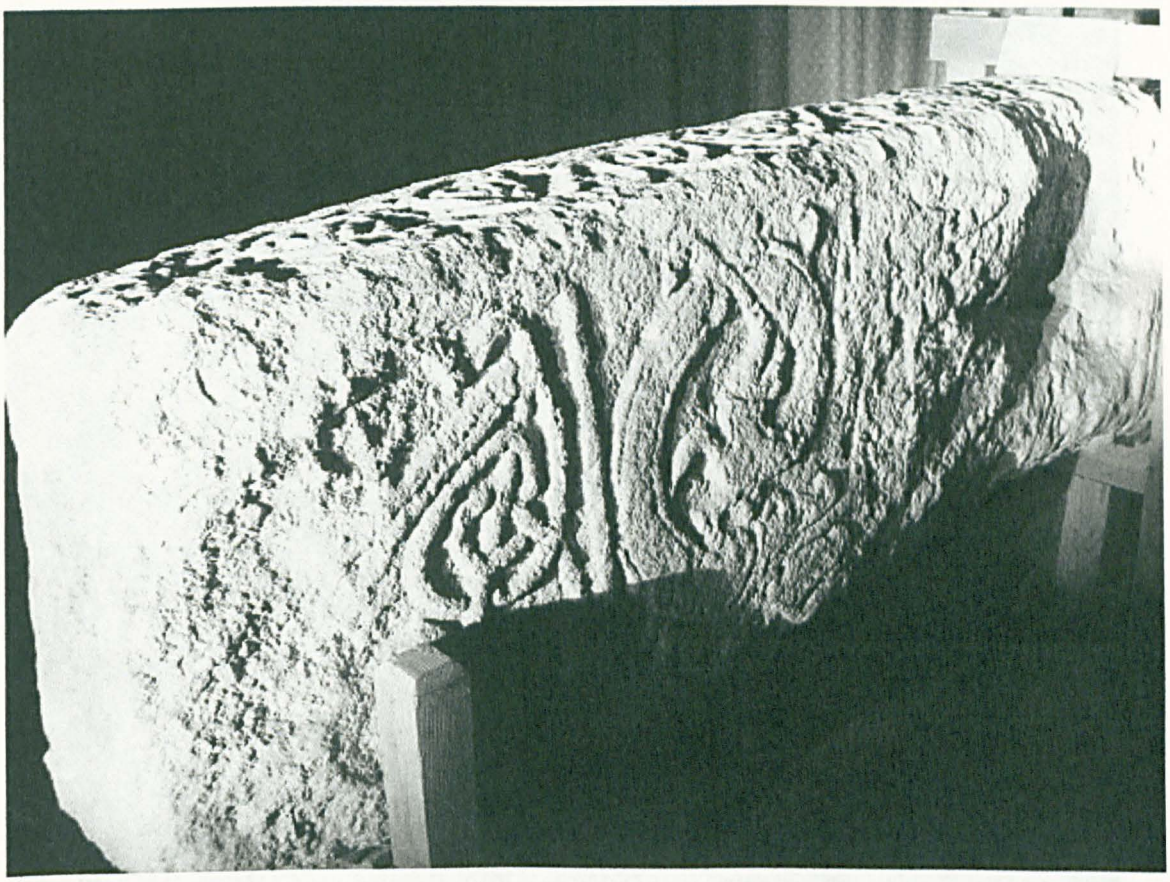
Pl. 151. Willingham 3.

Pl. 152. Willingham 4.

Appendix 2

Comparative Material

Pl. 153. Iken 1. *Face A.*

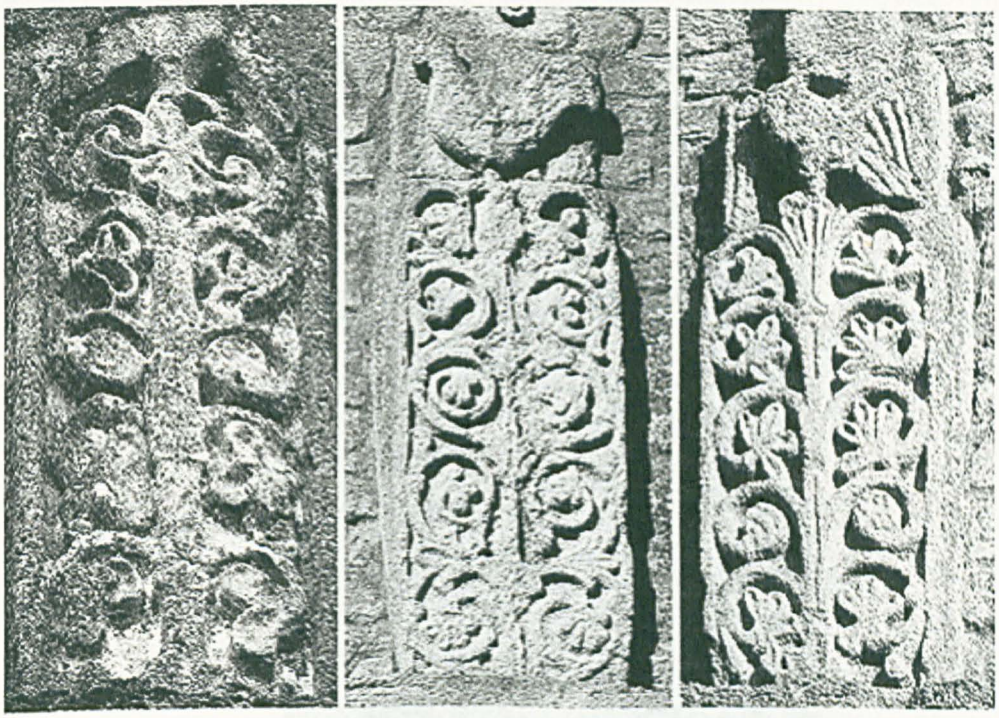


Pl. 154. Iken 1. *Faces B, C.*

Pl. 155. Peterborough Cathedral, *?Two Bishops*.

Pl. 156. Peterborough Cathedral, *"Hedda Stone"*.

Pl. 157. Dalingworth, Holy Rood, *St Peter*. Retrieved 01/01/08 from <http://www.colinfparsons.btinternet.co.uk/twinp/colhome/saxon.htm>.



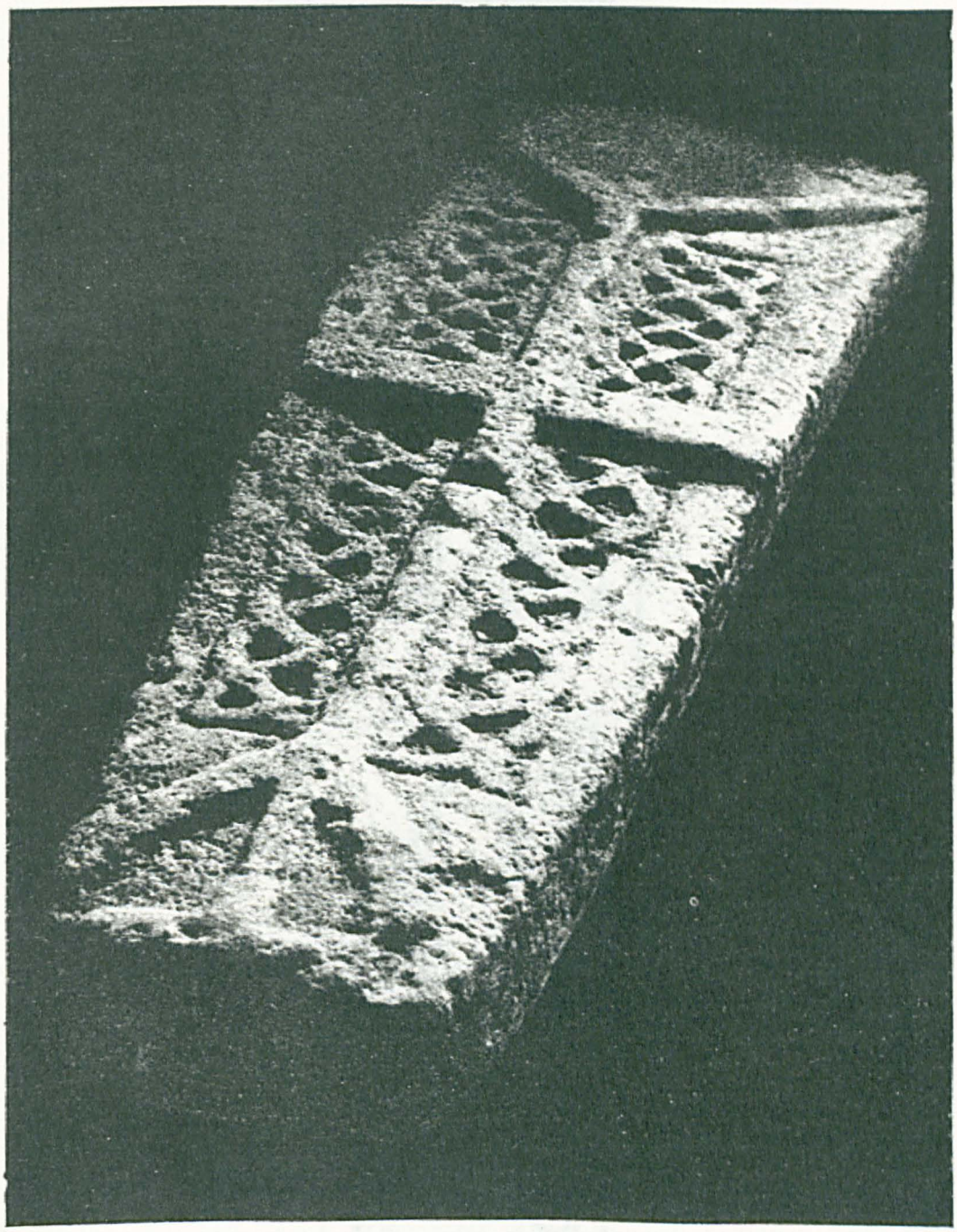
Pl. 158. Barnack, St John the Baptist's, panels (unknown photographer). Retrieved 01/01/08 from <http://www.megalithic.co.uk/article.php?sid=16769>.

Pl. 159. Fletton, St Margaret's, *?St Michael.*

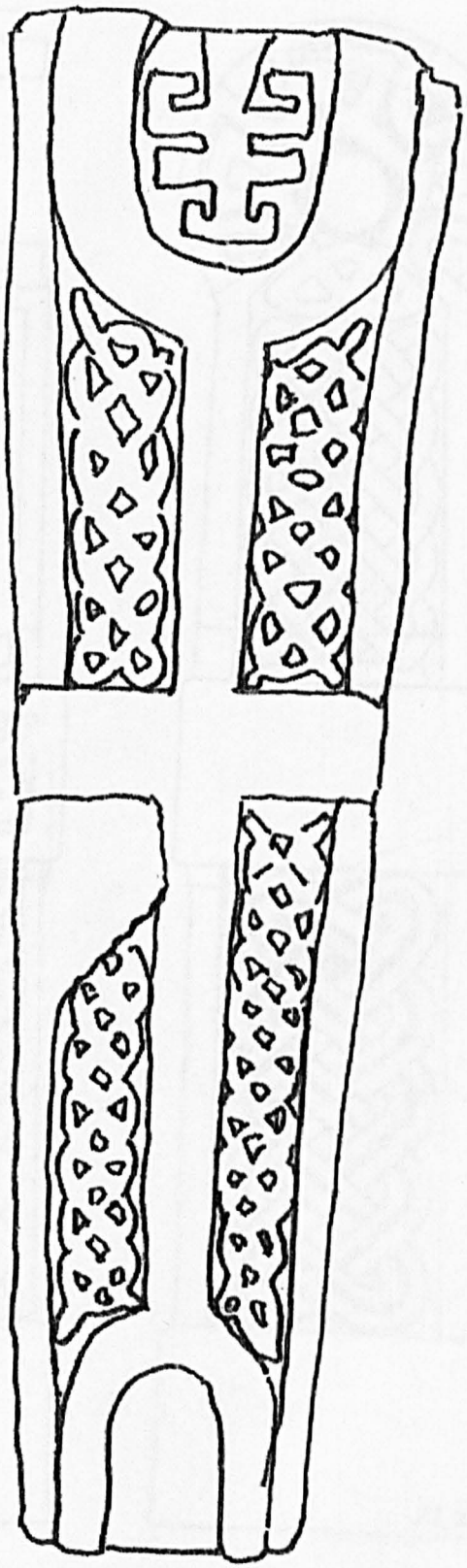
Pl. 160. Castor, St Kyneburgha's, *?Saint or Apostle*. Antiquarian drawing (unknown artist. Retrieved 01/01/08 from <http://www.castorchurch.co.uk/castor_church_notes_and_pics/k_stone_carvings/pages/fig_k1_8th_saxon_sculp_drawing.htm>.

Pl. 161. Breedon, SS Mary and Hardulph, *Lion*. Unknown photographer. Retrieved 01/01/08 from <http://www.btinternet.com/~simonmarchini/History/Breedon_on_The_Hill.htm>.

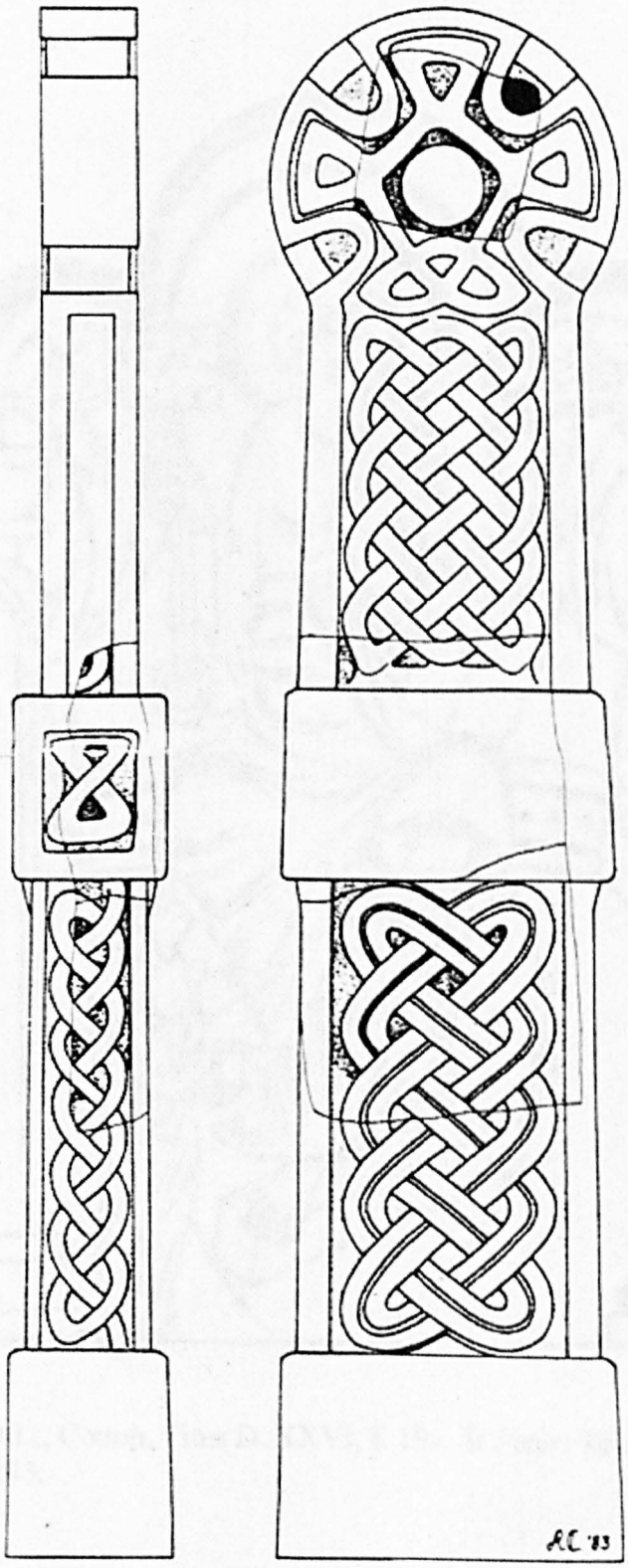
Pl. 162. London, B.L. Stowe 944, f. 6. *Cnut and Ælfgyfu*. Temple, *Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts*, fig. 244.



Pl. 163. Milton Bryan 1. Kendrick, *Late Saxon and Viking Art*, pl. 54.

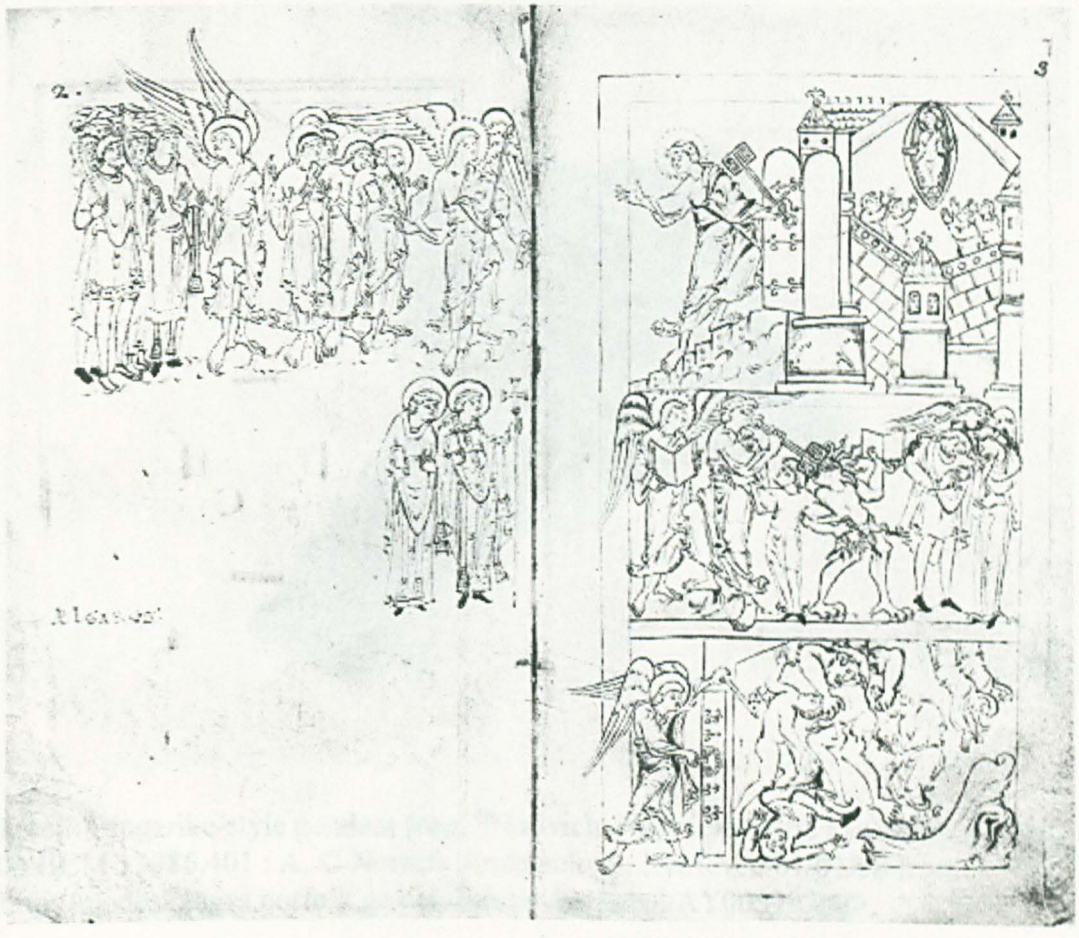


Pl. 164. Cambridge Castle 1 (lost; Fox's identifier). Thompson, *Dying and Death*, p. 130, pl. 3.



Pl. 165. Raunds Furnells 1. Boddington, *Raunds Furnells*, p. 52, fig. 63.

Pl. 166. London, B.L., Cotton, Titus D. XXVI, f. 19*v*. *St Peter*. Temple, *Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts*, fig. 243.

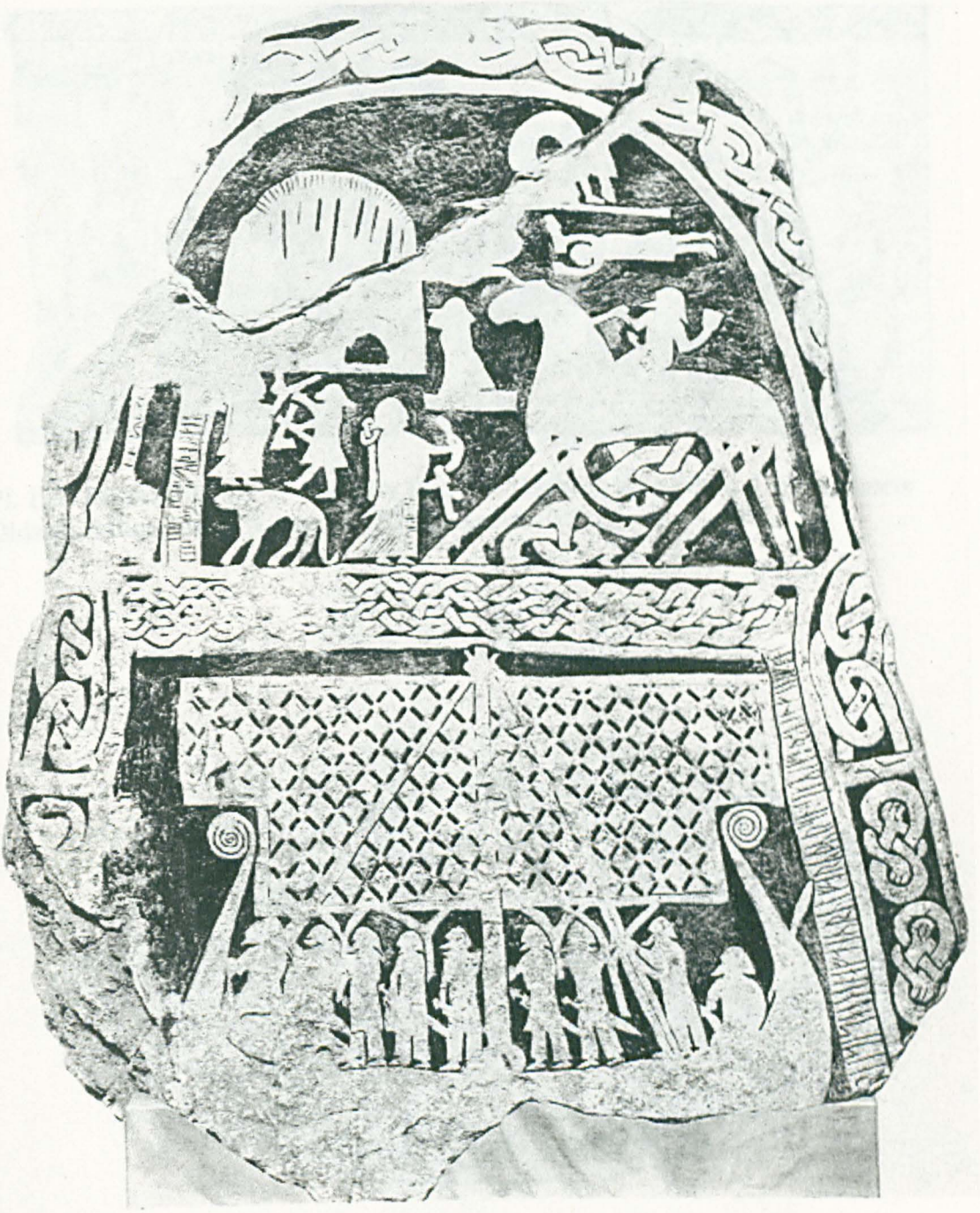


Pl. 167. London, B.L., Stowe 944, ff. 6v-7. *Last Judgement*. Temple, *Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts*, figs. 247-248.

Pl. 168. Ringerike-style pendant from ?Norwich. Norwich Castle Museum, rec. no. NWHCM : 1985.401 : A. © Norfolk Archaeology. Retrieved 01/01/08 from <http://modesimages.norfolk.gov.uk/images/archaeol/AY00599.jpg>.

Pl. 169. Ringerike-style bird brooch from Stoke Holy Cross. Norwich Castle Museum, rec. no. NWHCM : 1990.52.1 : A. © Norfolk Archaeology. Retrieved 01/01/08 from <http://modesimages.norfolk.gov.uk/images/archaeol/AY00578.jpg>.

Pl. 170. Bylaugh mount. Norwich Castle Museum, rec. no. NWHCM : 1990.199 : A. © Norfolk Archaeology. Retrieved 01/01/08 from <http://modesimages.norfolk.gov.uk/images/archaeol/AY00558.jpg>.

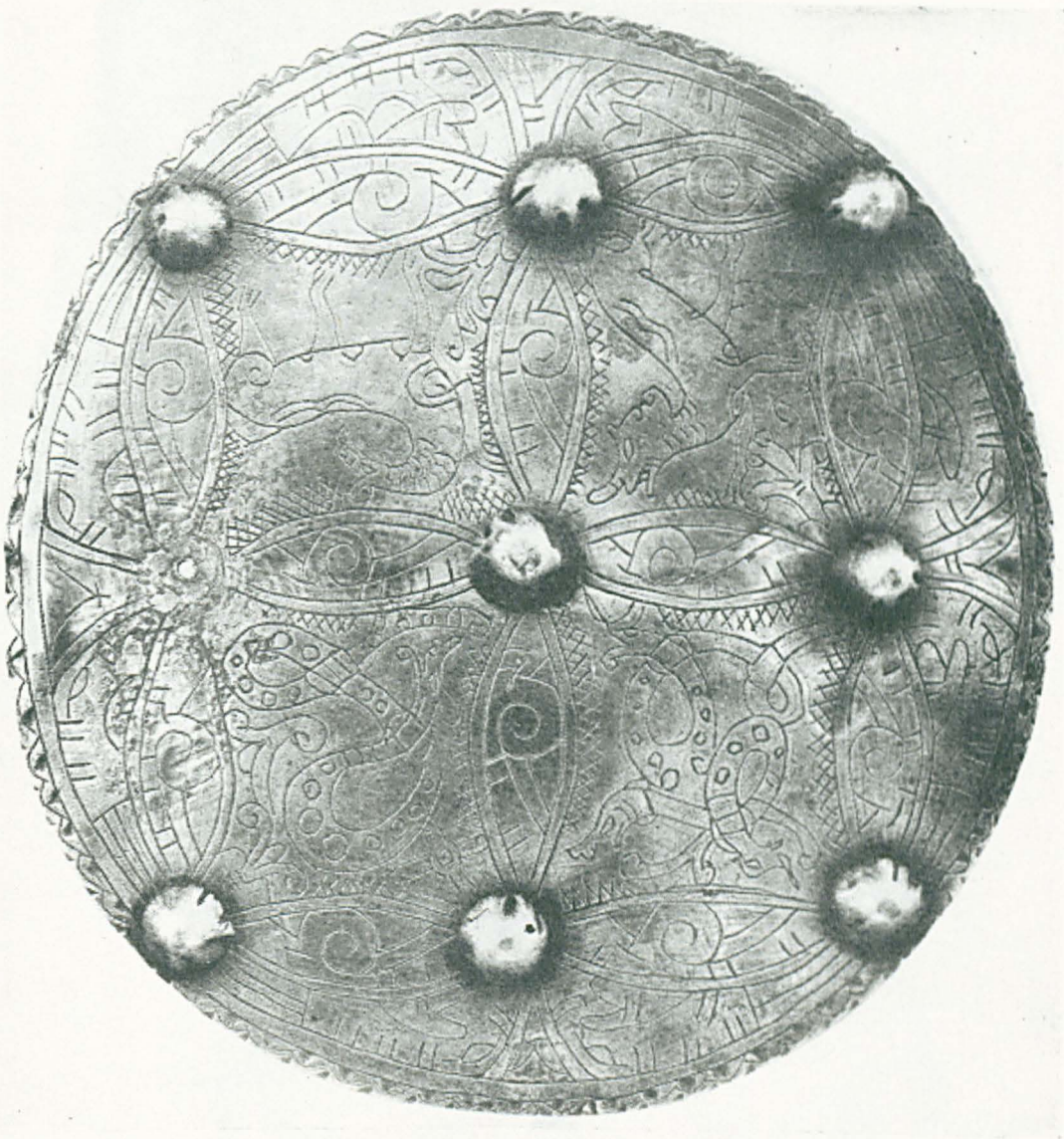


Pl. 171. Picture stone from Tjängvide, Gotland, Sweden. Wilson and Klindt-Jensen, *Viking Art*, pl. 26.

Pl. 172. Reconstruction of a tapestry from the Oseburg ship-burial. Universitetets Oldsaksamling, Oslo. Wilson and Klindt-Jensen, *Viking Art*, pl. 19 a.

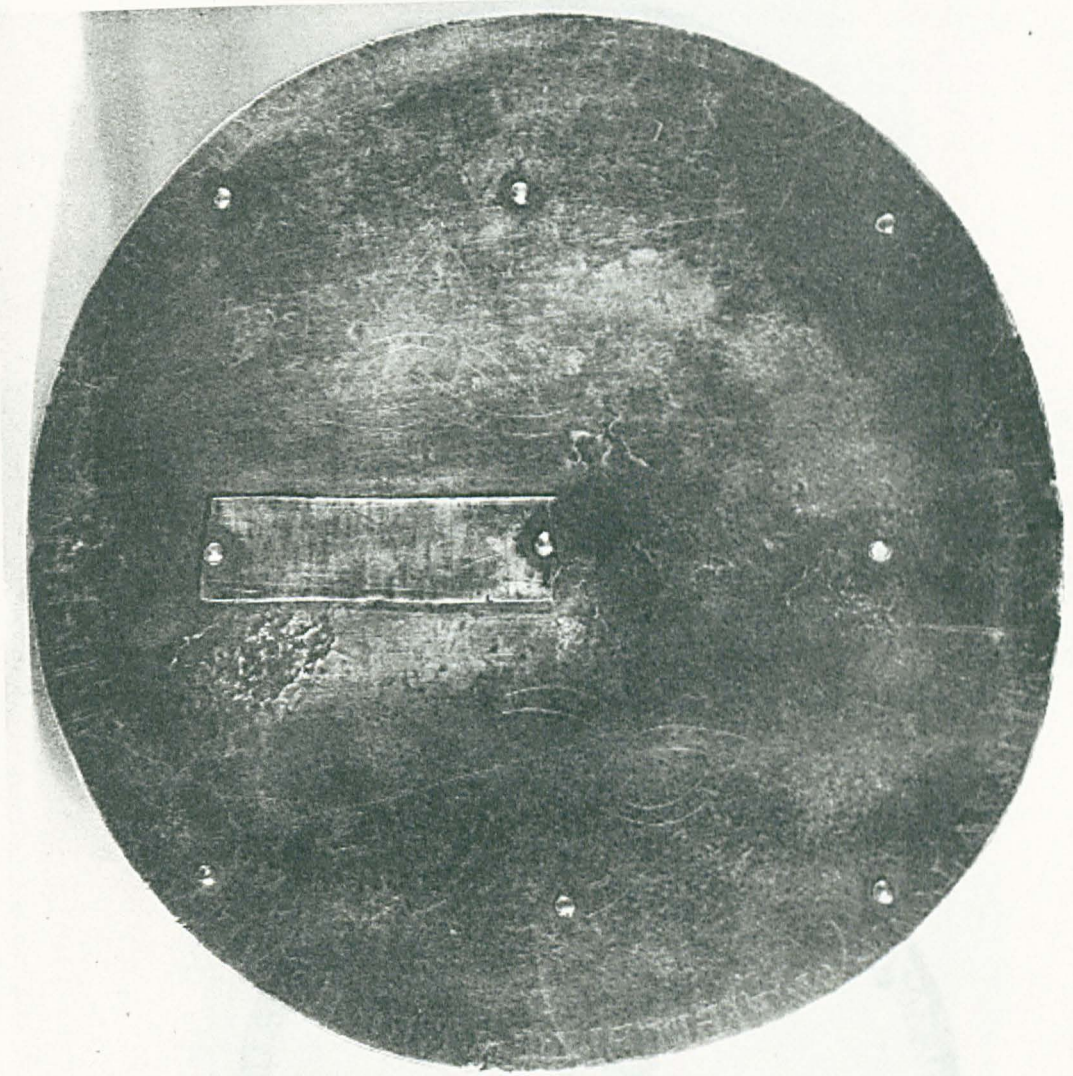
Pl. 173. Bronze "tortoise brooch" from Renålen, Ålen, Norway. Wilson and Klindt-Jensen, *Viking Art*, pl. 28 c.

Pl. 174. Silver, nielloed trefoil brooch from Åserum, Hedrum, Vestfold, Norway. Wilson and Klindt-Jensen, *Viking Art*, pl. 28 b.



Scale $\frac{1}{1}$.

Pl. 175. Silver disc-brooch from Sutton, Isle of Ely. British Museum, reg. no. 1951, 10-11, I. *Obverse face*. Wilson, *Anglo-Saxon Ornamental Metalwork*, pl. 31, no. 83.



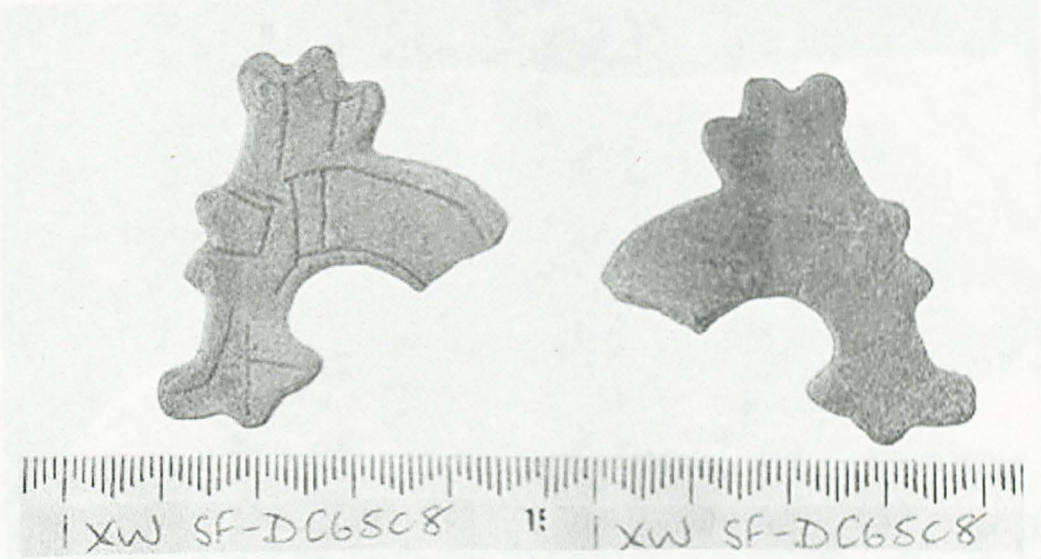
Back

Pl. 176. Silver disc-brooch from Sutton, Isle of Ely. British Museum, reg. no. 1951, 10-11, I. *Reverse face*. Wilson, *Anglo-Saxon Ornamental Metalwork*, pl. 32, no. 83.

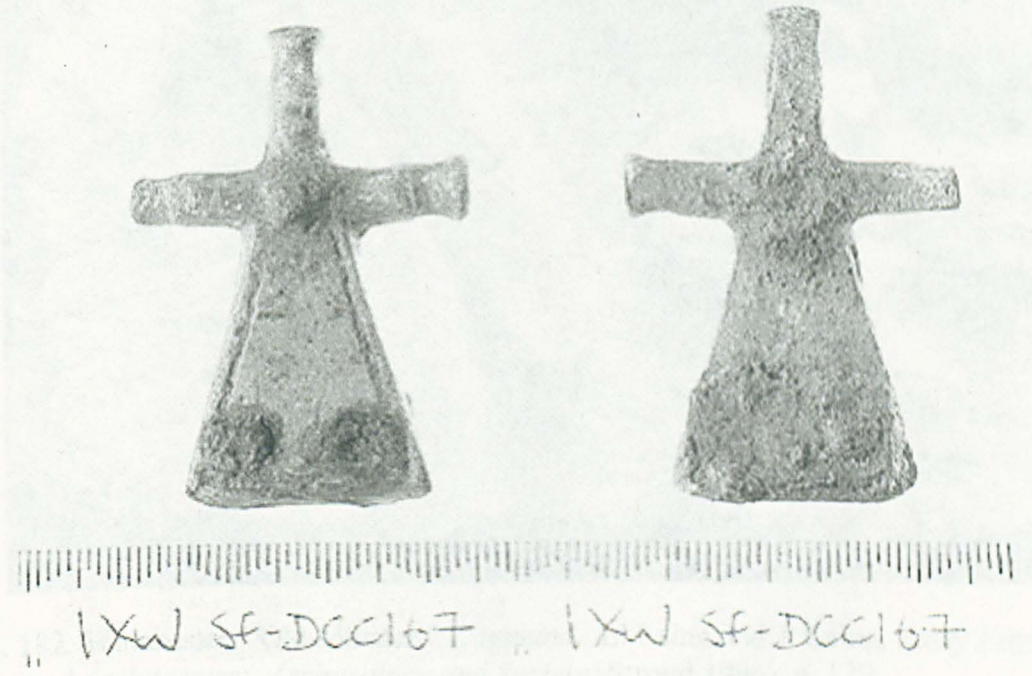
Pl. 177. Silver disc-brooch from Sutton, Isle of Ely. British Museum, reg. no. 1951, 10-11, I. *Obverse and Reverse faces.* Wilson, *Anglo-Saxon Ornamental Metalwork*, p. 175, fig. 34, no. 83.

Pl. 178. Winchester-style strap-end from Oxborough, Nf. Norwich Castle Museum, rec. no. NWHCM : 1985.412 : A. © Norfolk Archaeology. Retrieved 01/01/08 from <http://modesimages.norfolk.gov.uk/images/archaeol/P5190104.jpg>.

Pl. 179. Borre-style copper-alloy disc-brooch from Rose Lane, Norwich. Norwich Castle Museum, rec. no. NWHCM : L2001.1.6348 : A. © Norfolk Archaeology. Retrieved 01/01/08 from <http://modesimages.norfolk.gov.uk/images/archaeol/as00017.jpg>.



Pl. 180. Ringerike-style bridle-fitting from Ixworth, Sf. *Portable Antiquities Scheme*, find identification no. SF-DC65C8. Retrieved 01/01/08 from <http://www.findsdatabase.org.uk/view/imageview.php?imageID=5097>.



Pl. 181. Stirrup-mount from Ixworth, Sf. *Portable Antiquities Scheme*, find identification no. SF-DCC167. Retrieved 01/01/08 from <http://www.findsdatabase.org.uk/view/imageview.php?imageID=5112>.

Pl. 182. Winchester, "Old Minster." *?Sigmund.* L. Laing and J. Laing, *Early English Art and Architecture: Archaeology and Society* (Stroud 1996), p. 179.

Bibliography

A. *Primary Sources*

Alcuin. 1895. *Alcuini Epistolae*. Ed. E. Dümmler. Berlin.

Arnold, T., ed. 1882-1885. *Symeonis Monachi Opera Omnia* 2 vols. Rolls series 75. London.

-----., ed. 1890-1896. *Memorials of St. Edmund's Abbey*. 3 vols. Rolls series 96. London.

Ashdown, M., ed. 1930. *English and Norse Documents relating to the Reign of Ethelred the Unready*. London.

Bede. 1896. *Venerabilis Baedae Opera Historica*. 2 vols. Ed. C. Plummer. Oxford.

-----. 1955. *Bedae Venerabilis Opera homiletica. Opera rhythmica*. Eds. D. Hurst and J. Fraipont. Corpus Christianorum Series Latina 122. Turnhout, Belgium.

-----. 1969. *Historia Ecclesiastica*. Eds. and trans. B. Colgrave and R.A.B. Mynors. Oxford.

Bede. 1991. *Bede The Venerable: Homilies on the Gospels*. 2 vols. Trans. L. Martin and D. Hurst. Kalamazoo.

Bernstein, M., ed. and trans. 1996-2004. *The Electronic Sermo Lupi ad Anglos*. Retrieved 01/05/07 from <http://english3.fsu.edu/~wulfstan>.

Bethurum, D., ed. [1957]; 1971. *The Homilies of Wulfstan*. Oxford.

British Museum. T. Kerrich, B.M. *Addit. MS.* 6735, fols. 50-51.

Blake, E.O., ed. 1962. *Liber Eliensis*. Camden Society, third series 92. London.

"Blickling Homily X—The End of the World is near". Retrieved 10/04/08 from <http://www.apocalyptic-theories.com/literature/blicklingx/meblickx.html>. [Reproducing the Old English text and modern English translation from Morris, R. 1874, 1876, 1880. *The Blickling Homilies of the Tenth Century: From the Marquis of Lothian's Unique MS. A.D. 971*. Early English Text Society, original series 58, 63, 73. London].

Bosanquet, G., trans. 1964. *Eadmer's history of recent events in England: Historia Novorum in Anglia*. London.

Brown, P., ed. 1984. *Domesday Book: Norfolk*. 2 pts. History from the Sources 33. London; Chichester, Sussex.

Cambridge. Downing College Library. J. Bowtell, *MS. Downing Coll.*

Camden, W. 1588; 1607. *Britannia.* [London].

Carroll, R., and S. Prickett, eds. 1997; 1998. *The Bible: Authorized King James Version with Apocrypha.* Oxford.

Clarke, E. [1848]. "Portions of Saxon Sculpture found in St Nicholas Church, Ipswich" [Two supplementary plates to those reproduced in Drummond, 1848]. Collection of Dr. J. Blatchly, Ipswich. N.p.

Cyprianus. 1868-1871. "De Pascha". *Opera.* 3 pts. Ed. W. Hartel. *Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum* 3. 3 pts. [Leipzig, Germany]. III. P. 305.

Daur, K.D., and J. Martin, eds. 1962. *De doctrina christiana. De vera religione.* Corpus Christianorum Series Latina 32. Turnhout, Belgium.

Dugdale, W., and R. Dodsworth. 1655-1656; 1817-1830. *Monasticon Anglicanum.* 3 vols. Eds. J. Caley, H. Ellis, and B. Bandinel. Trans. J. Wright. London

Eadmer. 2006. *Miracula S. Dunstani. Eadmer of Canterbury: Lives and Miracles of Saints Oda, Dunstan, and Oswald.* Eds. and trans. A. Turner and B. Muir. Oxford.

Eddius. 1927. *The Life of Bishop Wilfrid by Eddius Stephanus.* Ed. and trans. B. Colgrave. Cambridge.

Fairweather, J., trans. 2005. *Liber Eliensis: A History of the Isle of Ely from the Seventh Century to the Twelfth.* Woodbridge, Suffolk.

Felix. 1956; 1985. *Vita Sancti Guthlaci.* Ed. and trans. B. Colgrave. Cambridge.

Fischer, B., *et al.*, eds. 1969; 1994. *Biblia Sacra: Iuxta Vulgatam Versionem.* Stuttgart.

Fischer-Drew, K., 1973. *The Lombard Laws.* Philadelphia.

Fitzneale, R. 1902; 1983. *Dialogus de Scaccario and Constitutio Domus Regis.* Ed. and trans. C. Johnson. Oxford.

Foreville, R., ed. 1952. *Histoire de Guillaume le Conquérant.* Paris.

Garmonsway, G.N, trans. 1953; 1977. *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle.* London.

Gregory of Tours. 1965; 1974. *Libri historiarum decem.* Eds. B. Krusch and W. Levison. Trans. L. Thorpe. Harmondsworth.

Giles, J., ed. 1854. *Original Lives of Anglo-Saxons.* London.

Haddan, A. and W. Stubbs, eds. 1869-1871; 1964. *Councils [and Ecclesiastical Documents relating to Great Britain and Ireland]*. 3 vols. Oxford.

Hart, C. 1966. *The Early Charters of Eastern England*. Leicester.

Isidor of Seville. 1964. *De viris illustribus*. Ed. C. Codoñer-Merino. Salamanca, Spain.

Keynes, S., ed. 1991. *Facsimiles of Anglo-Saxon Charters*. Oxford.

-----., ed. 1996. *The Liber Vitae of the New Minster and Hyde Abbey Winchester, British Library Stowe 944, together with leaves from British Library Cotton Vespasian A. VIII and British Library Cotton Titus D. XXVII*. Early English Manuscripts in Facsimile 26. Copenhagen.

Keynes, S., and M. Lapidge, trans. 1984; 2004. *Alfred the Great: Asser's Life of King Alfred and Other Contemporary Sources*. New York.

Krapp, G., and E. Dobbie, eds. 1931-1953. *The Anglo-Saxon Poetic Records*. 6 vols. New York.

Krusch, B., ed. 1888. *Liber Historiae Francorum*. Scriptores Rerum Merovingicarum 2. Hanover. Pp. 241-328.

Liebermann, F., ed. 1898-1916. *[Die] Gesetze [der Anglesachsen]*. 3 vols. Halle, Germany.

McDonnell, J., ed. 1980. "Thomas Parker of Wombleton". *The Ryedale Historian* 10: 4-26. (*Parker MS.*, Ryedale Folk Museum, Hutton-le-Hole).

Migne, J-P., ed. 1844-1864. *Patrologia Cursus Completus: omnium ss. Patrum, doctorum scriptorumque ecclesiasticorum*. Series latina. 221 vols. Paris.

Plummer, C., and J. Earle, eds. 1892; 1965. *Two of the Saxon Chronicles Parallel*. Oxford.

Raine, J., ed. 1879-1894. *The historians of the Church of York and its Archbishops*. 2 vols. Rolls series 71. London.

Rumble, A., ed. 1986. *Domesday Book: Suffolk*. 2 pts. History from the Sources 34. Chichester, Sussex.

Sawyer, P. 1968. *Anglo-Saxon Charters: An Annotated List and Bibliography*, Royal Historical Society Guides and Handbooks 8. London.

Scragg, D.1991. "The Battle of Maldon". *The Battle of Maldon AD 991*. Ed. D. Scragg. Oxford; Cambridge, Mass. Pp. 1-36.

Stenton, F., ed. 1920. *Documents Illustrative of the Social and Economic History of the Danelaw from Various Collections*. Records of the Social and Economic History of England and Wales 5. Oxford.

Strebinger, J.A., trans. 1991. "Homily XV". *The Vercelli Book Homilies: Translations from the Anglo-Saxon*. Ed. L.E. Nicholson. Lanham, Maryland; London. Pp. 97-103.

Stevenson, W., ed. 1929. *Early Scholastic Colloquies*. Oxford.

Stewart, D, ed. 1848. *Liber Eliensis ad fidem codicorum variorum*. London.

Stubbs, W., ed.1887. *Willelmi Malmesbiriensis Monachi de Gestis Regum Anglorum*. 2 vols. Rolls series 90. London.

Sturluson, Snorri. *Gylfaginning, Younger Edda*. 2001. Retrieved 01/06/07 from <http://www.normannii.org/lore/icelandic/prose_edda/gylfaginning.html>. [Reproducing the modern English translation from R.B. Anderson. 1897. *The Younger Edda: also called Snorre's Edda, or The Prose Edda*. Chicago].

-----. N.d. *Skáldskaparmál, Younger Edda*. Retrieved 06/01/07 from <http://www.home.no/norron-mytologi/sgndok/sn-edda/03skal.htm>.

Swaen, A., ed. 1937. *De cura accipitrum*. Afdelung voor moderne Literatur Wetenshap 11. Groningen, Netherlands.

Swanton, M., trans. 1996; 2003. *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*. London.

-----., trans. 1978; 1997. *Beowulf*. Manchester.

Szarmach, P.E., ed. 1981. "Homily xv, fols. 80 *v*-85 *v*". *Vercelli homilies ix-xxiii*. Toronto; London. Pp. 35-41.

Talbot, C., ed. and trans. 1954; 1981. *The Anglo-Saxon missionaries in Germany: being the lives of SS. Willibrord [by Alcuin], Boniface [by Willibald], Sturm, [by Eigil] Leoba [by Rudolf] and Lebuin, together with the Hodoeporicon of St. Willibald [by Huneberc of Heidenheim] and a selection from the correspondence of St Boniface*. London.

"The Vulgate". N.d. Retrieved 10/12/08 from <http://www.sacred-texts.com/bib/vul/rev012.htm#007>.

Thorpe, B., ed. 1844, 1846. *The Homilies of the Anglo-Saxon Church: The First Part, Containing the Sermones Catholici or Homilies of Ælfric*. 2 vols. London.

Thorpe, J., ed. 1769. *Registrum Roffense*. London.

Toulmin-Smith, T., ed. 1909. *The Itinerary of John Leland in England and Wales*. 4 vols. [London].

Ure, J., ed. 1957. *The Benedictine Office: An Old English Text.* Edinburgh.

Whitelock, D., ed. and trans. 1930. *Anglo-Saxon Wills.* Cambridge studies in English legal history. Cambridge.

Whitelock, D., M. Brett and C. Brooke, eds. 1981. *Councils [and Synods with other documents relating to the English Church, I, A.D. 871-1204].* 2 vols. Oxford.

William of Malmesbury. 1887. *Willelmi Malmesbiriensis Monachi de Gestis Regum Anglorum.* 2 vols. Ed. W. Stubbs. Rolls series 90. London.

Williams, A., and G.H. Martin, eds. 1992; 2002. *Domesday Book: A Complete Translation.* London.

B. *Secondary Sources*

Abels, R. 1985. "Bookland and Fyrd Service in Late Saxon England". *Anglo-Norman Studies VI: Proceedings of the Battle Conference 1984.* Ed. R. Brown. Woodbridge, Suffolk. Pp. 16-25.

-----. 1988. *Lordship and Military Obligation in Anglo-Saxon England.* Berkeley.

"About the Portable Antiquities Scheme". 2005. Retrieved 09/10/2005 from <http://www.finds.org.uk/background/aboutus/php>.

Abrams, L. n.d. "The Problem of the Hogback". Unpublished research paper. Retrieved 01/10/08 from <www.nottingham.ac.uk/shared/shared_viking/documents/Abrams.doc>. Pp. 1-12.

Abrams, L. and D. Parsons. 2004. "Place-Names and the History of Scandinavian Settlement in England". *Land, Sea and Home: Proceedings of a Conference on Viking-period Settlement at Cardiff, July 2001.* Eds. J. Hines, A. Lane and M. Redknap. Leeds. Pp. 379-431.

Addleshaw, G. 1954. *The Development of the Parochial System from Charlemagne (768-814) to Urban II (1088-1099).* St Anthony's Hall Publications 6. York.

Allen, J. Romilly. 1885. "On Recent Discoveries of Pre-Norman Sculptured Stones". *Journal of the British Archaeological Association* 41: 267-277.

-----. 1887; 1992. *Early Christian Symbolism in Great Britain and Ireland Before the Thirteenth Century: Norman Sculpture and the Mediaeval Bestiaries, from the Rhind Lectures in Archaeology for 1885.* Felinfach, Dyfed.

Allen, J. Romilly, and J. Anderson. 1903; 1993. *The Early Christian Monuments of Scotland.* 2 vols. Balgavies, Angus.

Almgren, B. 1955. *Bronsnycklar och djurornametik vid overgången från vendeltid till vikingatid.* Uppsala.

Alton, E., and P. Meyer. 1950-1951. *Evangeliorum quattor Codex Cenannensi.* 3 vols. Berne.

Armstrong, A. 1992-1993. "Some Notes on the History of the English Place-Name Society". *Journal of the English Place-Name Society* 25: 1-8.

Armstrong, A., *et al.* 1950-1952. *The Place-Names of Cumberland.* 3 vols. Cambridge.

Armstrong, J. 1982. *Nations before Nationalism.* Chapel Hill, North Carolina.

Aston, T. 1958. "The Origins of the Manor in England". *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society,* fifth series 8: 59-83.

Aston, T., *et al.*, eds. 1983. *Social Relations and Ideas: Essays in Honour of R.H. Hilton.* Cambridge.

Atkin, M., A. Carter and D. H. Evans. 1985. *Excavations in Norwich 1971-1978 Part II.* East Anglian Archaeology Report 26. Gressenhall, Norfolk.

Atkinson, T. 1933. *An Architectural History of the Benedictine Monastery of Saint Etheldreda at Ely.* Cambridge.

Ayers, B. 1994. *Norwich, 'A Fine City'.* Stroud, Gloucestershire.

Ayers, B., *et al.* 1987. *Excavations at St. Martin-at-Palace Plain, Norwich, 1981,* East Anglian Archaeology Report 37. Gressenhall, Norfolk.

"Background of All Saints". 1991; 1999. Retrieved 10/02/09 from <http://www.holme-parish.org/>.

Bailey, R.N. 1978. "The Chronology of Viking-Age Sculpture in Northumbria". *Anglo-Saxon and Viking Age Sculpture and its Context: papers from the Collingwood Symposium on insular sculpture from 800 to 1066.* Ed. J. Lang. Oxford. Pp. 173-203.

-----. 1980. *Viking Age Sculpture in Northern England.* London.

-----. 1997. *England's Earliest Sculptors.* Toronto.

Bailey, R.N., and R. Cramp. 1988. *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture, vol. 2: Cumberland, Westmorland and Lancashire North-of-the-Sands.* Oxford.

Bakka, E. [1959]. *On the beginning of Salin's Style I in England.* Bergen.

"Barnack, St John the Baptist".2007. Retrieved 01/01/08 from <http://www.megalithic.co.uk/article.php?sid=16769>.

Barnard, M. 1996. *Fashion as Communication.* London.

Barraclough, G., ed. 1981. *The Christian World.* London

Barral I Altet, X. 2002. *The Early Middle Ages: From Late Antiquity to A.D. 1000.* Cologne.

Barth, F. 1969. *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries: The Social Organization of Culture Difference*. Bergen; Oslo; London.

Bassett, S. 1982. *Saffron Walden: excavations and research, 1972/80.* Council for British Archaeology Research Report 45. London.

Bateman, T. 1844. "Notes on Saxon remains from Bakewell Church, Derbyshire". *Journal of the British Archaeological Association* 2: 303-305.

Bates, D. 1986. *Domesday Bibliography.* [London].

-----. 1987. "Domesday Book 1086-1986". *Domesday Book Studies.* Cambridgeshire *Domesday* 3. Eds. A Williams and R. Erskine. Cambridge. Pp.1-15

Bateson, M., ed. 1904. *Borough Customs.* 2 vols. London.

Baxter, R. 2008. "St John the Baptist, Barnack, Northamptonshire". *The Corpus of Romanesque Sculpture in England and Ireland.* Retrieved 10/02/09 from <http://www.crsbi.ac.uk/search/county/site/ed-nh-barna.html>. N.p.

Baxter, S. 2001. "The representation of lordship and land tenure in Domesday Book". *Domesday Book.* Eds. Hallam and Bates. Stroud, Gloucestershire. Pp. 73-102.

Beazley, O., and B. Ayers. 2001 *Two Medieval Churches in Norfolk.* East Anglian Archaeology Report 96. Gressenhall, Norfolk.

Beckwith, J. 1964; 1994. *Early Medieval Art: Carolingian, Ottonian, Romanesque.* London.

Benton, G. 1910. "Early Sepulchral Monuments in Stapleford Church, Cambs.". *Antiquary* 46: 229-230.

Beresford, M., and J. Hurst. 1990; 1991. *Wharram Percy: Deserted Medieval Village.* New Haven, Connecticut.

Biddle, M. 1962. "Excavations at Winchester 1961, First Interim Report". *The Archaeological Journal* 119: 150-194.

-----. 1964. "Excavations at Winchester 1963, Second Interim Report". *The Antiquaries Journal* 44: 188-219.

-----. 1965. "Excavations at Winchester 1964, Third Interim Report". *The Antiquaries Journal* 45: 230-264.

-----. 1966. "Excavations at Winchester 1965, Fourth Interim Report". *The Antiquaries Journal* 46: 308-332.

-----. 1975. "*Felix Urbs Winthonia*: Winchester in the Age of Monastic Reform". *Tenth Century Studies: Essays in Commemoration of the Millenium of the Council of Winchester and Regularis Concordia*. Ed. D. Parsons. London; Chichester, Sussex. Pp. 123-140.

-----. 1976; 1986. "Towns". *The Archaeology of Anglo-Saxon England*. Ed. D. Wilson. Cambridge. Pp. 99-150.

Biddle, M., and R. Quirk. 1962. "Excavations near Winchester Cathedral". *Archaeological Journal* 119: 150-194.

Binford, L. 1962. "Archaeology as anthropology". *American Antiquity* 28: 217-225.

-----. 1965. "Archaeological systematics and the study of culture process". *American Antiquity* 31: 203-210.

Binns, A. 1963. *The Viking Century in East Yorkshire*. East Yorkshire Local History Series 15. York.

Bisshopp, E.F. 1886. "Ancient sculptured stones from St Nicholas Church Ipswich from sketches by Mr. E.F. Bisshopp". *The Builder* 2: 479.

Blair, J. 1985. "Secular Minster Churches in Domesday Book". *Domesday Book: a Reassessment*. Ed. P. Sawyer. London. Pp. 104-142.

-----. 1988. "Introduction: from Minster to Parish Church". *Minsters and Parish Churches: The Local Church in Transition 950-1200*. Ed. J. Blair. Oxford. Pp. 1-20.

-----. 1991. *Early Medieval Surrey: land-holding, church and settlement*. Stroud, Gloucestershire.

-----. 1992. "Anglo-Saxon minsters: a topographical review". *Pastoral Care Before the Parish*. Eds. J. Blair and R. Sharpe. Leicester. Pp. 226-266.

-----. 2002. "A Handlist of Anglo-Saxon Saints". *Local Saints and Local Churches in the Early Medieval West*. Eds. A. Thacker and R. Sharpe. Oxford. Pp. 495-565.

-----. 2005. *The Church in Anglo-Saxon Society*. Oxford.

Blair J, and R. Sharpe. 1992. "Introduction". *Pastoral Care Before the Parish.* Eds. J. Blair and R. Sharpe. Leicester. Pp. 1-10.

Boddington, A. 1996. "Part I: An Anglo-Saxon Church and Churchyard". *Raunds Furnells: The Anglo-Saxon church and churchyard.* A. Boddington, *et al.* English Heritage Archaeology Report 7. London. Pp. 5-67.

Bond, C. 1988. "Church and Parish in Norman Worcestershire". *Minsters and Parish Churches: The Local Church in Transition 950-1200.* Ed. J. Blair. Oxford. Pp. 119-158.

Bosworth, J. and T. Toller. 1898; 2001-2003. *An Anglo-Saxon Dictionary based on the Manuscript Collections of the late Joseph Bosworth, D.D., F.R.S., Edited and Enlarged by T. Northcote Toller.* Oxford, 1898. Updated University of Kentucky, Department of English. Retrieved 20/05/05 from <http://beowulf.engl.uky.edu~kiernan/BT/bosworth.htm>.

Bourdieu, P. 1994. *Raisons pratiques. Sur la théorie de l'action.* Paris.

"Breedon, SS Mary and Hardulph". n.d. Retrieved 01/01/08 from <http://www.btinternet.com/~simonmarchini/History/Breedon_on_The_Hill.htm>.

Brøndsted, J. 1924. *Early English Ornament: The Sources, Development and Relation to Foreign Styles of Pre-Norman Ornamental Art in England.* London; Copenhagen.

Brown, G.B. 1930-1937. "Completion of the study of the monuments of the great period of the art of Anglian Northumbria". *The Arts in Early England.* Vol. 6, pt. 1. London.

Brown, G.B, and E.H.L. Sexton.1937. "Anglo-Saxon Sculpture; prepared for the press by E.H.L. Sexton". *The Arts in Early England.* Vol. 6, pt. 2. London.

Brown, M. 1991. *Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts.* London.

Bruce-Mitford, R.L.S. 1956. "Late Saxon disc brooches". *Dark-Age Britain: Studies Presented to E.T. Leeds.* Ed. D. Harden. London. Pp. 171-201.

-----. 1974. *Aspects of Anglo-Saxon Archaeology.* London.

-----. 1975, 1978, 1982. *The Sutton Hoo Ship Burial.* 3 vols. London.

-----. 2002. "Sir Thomas Downing Kendrick, 1895-1979". *Interpreters of Early Medieval Britain.* Ed. M. Lapidge. Oxford. Pp. 399-426.

Brush, K. 1993. "Adorning the dead: the social significance of Early Anglo-Saxon funerary dress in England, fifth-sixth centuries AD". Unpublished Ph.D. thesis, U of Cambridge.

Budny, M. 1991. "The Byrhtnoth Tapestry or Embroidery". *The Battle of Maldon.* Ed. D. Scragg. Oxford. Pp. 263-278.

Burr, G. 1901. "The Year 1000 and the Crusades". *American Historical Review* 6: 429-431.

Butler, L.A.S. 1957. "Medieval Gravestones of Cambridgeshire, Huntingdonshire and the Soke of Peterborough". *Proceedings of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society.* 50: 89-100.

Callmer, J. 1994. "Urbanization in Scandinavia and the Baltic Region c. A.D. 700-1100: trading places, centres and early urban sites". *Developments around the Baltic and the North Sea in the Viking age.* Eds. B. Ambrosiani and H. Clarke. Stockholm. Pp. 50-81.

Cam, H. 1957. "The Evolution of the Medieval English Franchise". *Speculum* 32: 427-442.

Campbell, J. 1975. *Norwich.* London.

Cambridge, E., and D. Rollason. 1995. "Debate: The pastoral organization of the Anglo-Saxon Church: a review of the 'Minster Hypothesis'". *Early Medieval Europe* 4: 87-104.

Cameron, K. 1961; 1969. *English Place-Names.* London.

-----. 1965; 1977. "Scandinavian Settlement in the Territory of the Five Boroughs: The Place-Name Evidence". *Place-Name Evidence for the Anglo-Saxon Invasion and Scandinavian Settlements: Eight Studies Collected by Kenneth Cameron.* Ed. K. Cameron. [Nottingham]. Pp. 115-137.

-----. 1970; 1977. "Scandinavian Settlement in the Territory of the Five Boroughs: The Place-Name Evidence, Part II: Place-Names in Thorp". *Place-Name Evidence for the Anglo-Saxon Invasion and Scandinavian Settlements: Eight Studies Collected by Kenneth Cameron.* Ed. K. Cameron. [Nottingham]. Pp. 139-155.

-----. 1971; 1977. "Scandinavian Settlement in the Territory of the Five Boroughs: The Place-Name Evidence, Part III: The Grimston-Hybrids". *Place-Name Evidence for the Anglo-Saxon Invasion and Scandinavian Settlements: Eight Studies Collected by Kenneth Cameron.* Ed. K. Cameron. [Nottingham]. Pp. 157-171.

Carr, R. 1992. "The Middle-Saxon settlement at Staunch Meadow, Brandon, Suffolk—a final up-date". *Quarterly* 5: 16-22.

Carrington, A. 1996. "The horseman and the falcon: mounted falconers in Pictish sculpture". *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland* 126: 459-468.

Carter, A. 1972. "The Norwich Survey: Excavations in Norwich—1971—an interim report". *Norfolk Archaeology* 35.3: 410-416.

-----. 1978. "The Anglo-Saxon Origins of Norwich". *Anglo-Saxon England* 7: 175-204.

Carter, A., J. Roberts, and H. Sutermeister. 1973. "Excavations in Norwich—1972. The Norwich Survey—Second Interim Report". *Norfolk Archaeology* 35.4: 443-468.

Carter, M. 1990; 1993. *Framing Art: Introducing Theory and the Visual Image.* Sydney.

Carver, M.O.H. 1989. "Kingship and material culture in early Anglo-Saxon East Anglia". *The origins of Anglo-Saxon kingdoms.* Ed. S. Bassett. Leicester. Pp. 141-158.

-----. 1992; 2002. "The Anglo-Saxon Cemetery at Sutton Hoo: An Interim Report". *The Age of Sutton Hoo: The Seventh Century in North-Western Europe.* Ed. M.O.H. Carver. Woodbridge, Suffolk; Rochester, New York. Pp. 343-371.

-----. 1998. "Conversion and Politics on the eastern seaboard of Britain: Some Archaeological Indicators". *Conversion and Christianity in the North Sea World: The proceedings of a Day Conference held on 21st February 1998.* Ed. B. Crawford, St John's House Papers 8. St Andrew's. Pp. 11-40.

-----. 2001. "Why that, why there, why then? The Politics of Early Medieval Monumentality". *Image and Power in early medieval British archaeology: Essays in honour of Rosemary Cramp.* Eds. A. Macgregor and H. Hamerow. Oxford. Pp. 1-22.

Casson, S. 1921. "The Dorian invasion reviewed in the light of some new evidence". *The Antiquaries Journal* 1: 198-221.

"Castor, St Kyneburgha". 2008. Retrieved 01/01/08 from <http://www.castorchurch.co.uk/castor_church_notes_and_pics/k_stone_carvings/pages/fig_k1_8th_saxon_sculp_drawing.htm>.

Cavill, P. 1999. *Anglo-Saxon Christianity: Exploring the earliest roots of Christian spirituality in England.* London.

Chatwin, C. 1961. *British Regional Geology: East Anglia and Adjoining Areas.* 4th ed. London.

Childe, V. 1925; 1927. *The Dawn of European Civilization.* London.

-----. 1929. *The Danube in Prehistory.* Oxford.

-----. 1933. "Races, peoples and cultures in prehistoric Europe". *History* 18: 193-203.

-----. 1956. *Piecing Together the Past: in interpretation of archaeological data.* London.

Clapham, A. 1930. *English Romanesque Architecture Before the Conquest.* Oxford.

Clarke, D. 1968. *Analytical Archaeology.* London.

Clarke, R. 1963. *Grime's Graves, Norfolk.* London.

Clasen, K. 1943. "Die Überwindung des Bösen". *Neue Beiträge Deutscher Forschung, Festschrift W. Worringer.* Ed. E. Figger. Königsberg, Germany.

Clutton-Brock, J., *et al.* 1984-1996. *Excavations at Grimes Graves, Norfolk 1972-1976.* 5 vols. London.

Coatsworth, E. 1991. "Byrhtnoth's Tomb". *The Battle of Maldon.* Ed. D. Scragg. Oxford. Pp. 279-288.

Coatsworth, E., and M. Pinder. 2002. *The Art of the Anglo-Saxon Goldsmith: Fine Metalwork in Anglo-Saxon England: its Practice and Practitioners.* Anglo-Saxon Studies 2. Woodbridge, Suffolk.

Cogswell, T. 1901. "On some Ancient Stone fragments found in Cringleford Church". *Norfolk Archaeology* 14: 1-4.

Collingwood, W.G. 1891. *The Art Teaching of John Ruskin.* London.

-----. 1904. "The Whissonsett Cross". *Norfolk Archaeology* 15: 316-323.

-----. 1907. "Anglian and Anglo-Danish sculpture in the North Riding of Yorkshire". *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal* 19: 267-413.

-----. 1909. "Anglian and Anglo-Danish sculpture at York". *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal* 20: 149-213.

-----. 1911. "Anglian and Anglo-Danish sculpture in the East Riding, with addenda relating to the North Riding". *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal* 21: 254-302.

-----. 1916. "Anglian and Anglo-Danish sculpture in the West Riding, with addenda to the North and East Ridings and York, and a general review of the Early Christian monuments of Yorkshire". *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal* 23: 129-299.

-----. 1927; 1989. *Northumbrian Crosses of the Pre-Norman Age.* Felinfach, Dyfed.

Collins, A. 1913; 2003. *Symbolism of Animals and Birds in English Church Architecture*. Ed. D. Badke. New York. Retrieved 01/05/07 from <http://bestiary.ca/etexts/collins1913/collins1913.htm>.

Comaroff, J. 1992. *Ethnography and the Historical Imagination*. Boulder, Colorado.

Condon, M., and E. Hallam. 1984. "Government printing of the Public Records in the eighteenth century". *Journal of the Society of Archivists* 7: 373-383.

Cook, E., and A. Wedderburn, eds. 1905. *Library Edition: the works of John Ruskin, vol. 16: 'A joy forever' and 'The two paths' with letters on the Oxford Museum and various addresses, 1856-60*. London.

Cook, G. 1956. *The English Medieval Parish Church*. London.

Copinger Hill, H. 1930a. "Great Ashfield Cross". *Proceedings of the Suffolk Institute of Archaeology and Natural History* 20: 280-286.

-----. 1930b. "Kedington Cross". *Proceedings of the Suffolk Institute of Archaeology and Natural History* 20: 287-289.

Corona, G. 2005. "Lives of the Saints". *The Literary Encyclopedia*. Retrieved 16/06/07 from <http://www.litencyc.com>.

Cownie, E. 1998. *Religious Patronage in Anglo-Norman England, 1066-1135*. Rochester, New York.

Cox, J. 1907. "Ecclesiastical History". *The Victoria History of the Counties of England: Suffolk*. 2 vols. Gen. Ed. W. Page. London. II. Pp. 1-155.

Cozens-Hardy, B. 1934-1935. "Norfolk Crosses". *Norfolk Archaeology* 25.2-3: 297-336.

Cramp, R. 1975. "Anglo-Saxon Sculpture of the Reform Period". *Tenth-Century Studies: Essays in Commemoration of the Millennium of the Council of Winchester and Regularis Concordia*. Ed. D. Parsons. London; Chichester, Sussex. Pp. 184-199.

-----. 1977. "Schools of Mercian Sculpture". *Mercian Studies*. Ed. A. Dornier. Leicester. Pp. 191-233.

-----. 1984a. *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture, vol. 1: County Durham and Northumberland*, 2 pts. Oxford.

-----. 1984b; 1991. *Grammar of Anglo-Saxon Ornament: A General Introduction to the Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture*. Oxford.

-----. 1996. "The Monumental Stone". *Raunds Furnells: The Anglo-Saxon church and churchyard*. A. Boddington, *et al.* English Heritage Archaeology Report 7. London. Pp. 102-112.

-----. 2006. Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture, vol. 7: South-West England. Oxford.

Cramp, R., and R. Miket. 1982. *Catalogue of the Anglo-Saxon and Viking Antiquities in the Museum of Antiquities, Newcastle upon Tyne*. Newcastle upon Tyne.

Cronyn, J., and C. Horie. 1989. "The Anglo-Saxon Coffin: Further Investigations". *St Cuthbert, His Cult and His Community to AD 1200*. Eds. G. Bonner, D. Rollason and C. Stancliffe. Woodbridge, Suffolk. Pp. 247-256.

Cross, J. 1962. "Aspects of Microcosm and Macrocosm in Old English Literature". *Comparative Literature* 14: 1-22.

-----. 1965. "Gregory, *Blickling Homily X*, and Ælfric's *Passio S. Mauricii* on the World's Youth and Age". *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen* 66: 327-330.

Crumlin-Pedersen, O. 1998. "Ships as indicators of trade in Northern Europe 600-1200". *Maritime topography and the medieval town: papers from the 5th international conference on Waterfront Archaeology in Copenhagen, 14-16 May 1998*. Eds. J. Bill and B. Clausen. Copenhagen. Pp. 11-19.

Cubitt, C. 2005. "The clergy in early Anglo-Saxon England". *Historical Research* 78: 273-287.

Cunliffe, B. 1976. *Iron Age sites in central southern England*. Council for British Archaeology Research Report 16. London.

Daim, F. 1998. "Archaeology, ethnicity and the structures of identification: The example of the Avars, Carantanians and Moravians in the eighth century". *Strategies of Distinction: The Construction of Ethnic Communities, 300-800*. Eds. W. Pohl and H. Reimitz. Leiden; New York. Pp. 71-79.

Darby, P. 2008. "Bede and Apocalypsy: Eschatological themes in the *Ecclesiastical History*". Unpublished Ph.D. thesis. U of Birmingham.

Davey, R. 15/10/06. Personal Communiction.

Davis, R.H.C. 1955. "East Anglia and the Danelaw". *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, fifth series 5: 23-39.

-----. 1987. "The Warhorses of the Normans". *Anglo-Norman Studies* 10: 67-82.

-----. 1989. *The Medieval Warhorse: Origin, Development and Redevelopment*. London.

Datasheets 1-24: A consolidated reprint of Datasheets issued by the Finds Research Group between 1985 and 1998. 1999. Oxford.

Day, C. 1967. *Quipus and Witches's Knots*. Lawrence, Kansas.

de Paor, M. and L. de Paor. 1958;1960. *Early Christian Ireland.* London.

Department for Culture, Media and Sport. [1996]. "The Treasure Act 1996: Code of Practice (Revised) England and Wales". Retrieved 09/10/2005 from <http://www.finds.org.uk/documents/treasure_act.pdf>.

Deshman, R. 1995. *The Benedictional of Æthelwold.* Studies in Manuscript Illumination 9. Princeton.

Dickinson, P. 1955. "Little Wratting Church". *Proceedings of the Suffolk Institute of Archaeology and Natural History* 27: 34-36.

Dickinson, T. 1993. "Early Saxon Saucer Brooches: a Preliminary Overview". *Anglo-Saxon Studies in Archaeology and History* 6: 11-44.

Dietler, M., and I. Herbich. 1998. "*Habitus*, techniques, style: an integrated approach to the social understanding of material culture". *The Archaeology of Social Boundaries.* Ed. M. Stark. Washington; London. Pp. 232-263.

DiNapoli, R. 1995. "Appendix 3: Checklist of Primary Topics and Occasions". *An Index of Theme and Image to the Homilies of the Anglo-Saxon Church, Comprising the Homilies of Ælfric, Wulfstan and the Blickling and Vercelli Codices.* Thetford, Norfolk. Pp.116-122.

Dixon, P. 2003. "The Monastic Buildings at Ely". *A History of Ely Cathedral.* Eds. P. Meadows and N. Ramsay. Woodbridge, Suffolk. Pp. 142-155.

Dodwell, D. 1989. *Anglo-Saxon Art: A New Perspective.* Manchester.

D'Onofrio, M., ed. 1994. *I Normanni Popolo d'Europa 1030-1200.* Centro Europeo di Studi Normanni. Marsilio, Italy.

Dommasnes, L. 1982. "Late Iron Age in Western Norway: female roles and ranks as deduced from an analysis of burial customs". *Norwegian Archaeological Review* 15: 70-84.

Douglas, D. 1939. *English Scholars.* London.

Douglas, J. 1793. *Nenia Britannica: or, a Sepulchral History of Great Britain.* London.

Drummond, H. 1848. "Sculptures at St Nicholas, Ipswich". *Suffolk Archaeological Association Original Papers* 3: 21-28.

Duczko, W. 1985. *Birka V: The Filigree and Granulation Work of the Viking Period.* Stockholm.

Dumville, D. 1992a. "Ecclesiastical Lands and the Defence of Wessex in the First Viking Age". *Wessex and England from Alfred to Edgar: Six Essays on*

Political, Cultural and Ecclesiastical Revival. Studies in Anglo-Saxon History 3. Woodbridge, Suffolk. Pp. 29-54.

-----. 1992b. "The Treaty of Alfred and Guthrum". *Wessex and England from Alfred to Edgar: Six Essays on Political, Cultural and Ecclesiastical Revival.* Studies in Anglo-Saxon History 3. Woodbridge, Suffolk. Pp. 1-27.

Eaton, T. 2000. *Plundering the Past: Roman Stonework in Medieval Britain.* Stroud, Gloucestershire.

Ekwall, E. 1918. *Scandinavians and Celts in the Northwest of England.* Lund.

-----. 1922; 1972. *The Place-Names of Lancashire.* Wakefield, North Yorkshire.

-----. 1924a. "The Celtic Element". *Introduction to the Survey of English Place-Names.* Eds. A. Mawer and F.M. Stenton. Oxford. Pp. 15-35.

-----. 1924b. "The Scandinavian Element". *Introduction to the Survey of English Place-Names.* Eds. A. Mawer and F.M. Stenton. Oxford. Pp. 55-92.

-----. 1960. *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of English Place-Names.* 4th ed. Oxford.

Engelstad, E. 1991. "Images of power and contradiction: feminist theory and post-processual archaeology". *Antiquity* 65: 502-514.

English Place-Name Society. 2001. "*Our Purpose*". Retrieved 06/04/05 from <http://www.nottingham.ac.uk/english/research/EPNS/purpose.htm>.

Ennen, E. 1964. "Das Städtewesen Nordwestdeutschlands von der Fränkischen bis zur Salischen Zeit". *Das erste Jahrtausend.* 2 pts. Ed. V. Elbern. Düsseldorf. Pp. 800-809.

-----. 1972. *Die europäische Stadt des Mittelalters.* Göttingen, Germany.

Entwistle, J. 2000. *The Fashioned Body: Fashion, Dress, and Modern Social Theory.* Cambridge.

Eriksen, T. 1993. *Ethnicity and Nationalism: Anthropological Perspectives.* London.

Evans, A. 1986; 2002. *The Sutton Hoo ship burial.* London.

Evans, J. 1850. "On the date of British coins". *The Numismatic Chronicle and Journal of the Numismatic Society* 12: 127-137.

Everson, P., and D. Stocker. 1999. *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture, vol. 5: Lincolnshire.* Oxford.

Evison, V. 1957. "A group of late Saxon brooches". *The Antiquaries Journal* 37: 220-222.

Faith, R. 1997; 1999. *The English Peasantry and the Growth of Lordship*. London.

Farmer, D. 1975. "The Progress of the Monastic Revival". *Tenth Century Studies: Essays in Commemoration of the Millennium of the Council of Winchester and Regularis Concordia*. Ed. D. Parsons. London; Chichester, Sussex. Pp. 10-19.

Faussett, B. 1856. *Inventorium Sepulchrale*. Ed. C. Roach-Smith. London.

Fellows-Jensen, G. 1983a. "Anthroponymical Specifics in Place-Names in *–by* in the British Isles". *Studia Anthroponymica Scandinavica* 1: 45-60.

-----. 1983b. "Scandinavian settlement in the Isle of Man and North-West England". *The Viking Age in the Isle of Man. Select papers from the Ninth Viking Congress*. Eds. C. Fell, *et al.* London. Pp. 37-52.

-----. 1999. "Scandinavian Settlement Names in East Anglia: Some Problems". *Nomina* 22: 45-60.

The Fenland Project. 1985, 1987, 1988, 1991-1994, 1996. East Anglian Archaeology Report nos. 27, 35, 45, 52, 55, 56, 61, 66, 70, 78, 79. Gressenhall, Norfolk; Bury St Edmunds; Ipswich; Cambridge.

Fernie, E. 1985. *The Architecture of the Anglo-Saxons*. London.

-----. 1993. *An Architectural History of Norwich Cathedral*. Oxford.

-----. 1995. Ed. *Art History and its Methods: a critical anthology*. London.

Feveile, C., and S. Jensen. 2000. "Ribe in the 8th and 9th Century: A Contribution to the Archaeological Chronology of North Western Europe". *Acta Archaeologica* 71: 9-24.

Filmer-Sankey, W. 1992; 2002. "Snape Anglo-Saxon Cemetery: the current state of knowledge". *The Age of Sutton Hoo: The Seventh Century in North-Western Europe*. Ed. M.O.H. Carver. Woodbridge, Suffolk. Pp. 39-51.

Filmer-Sankey, W., and T. Pestell. 2001. *Snape Anglo-Saxon cemetery: excavations and surveys, 1824-1992*. East Anglian Archaeology Report 95. Ipswich.

Fisher, D. 1973; 1976. *The Anglo-Saxon Age, c. 400-1042*. Hong Kong.

Fleming, R. 1998. *Domesday Book and the Law: Society and Legal Custom in Early Medieval England*. Cambridge.

-----. 2001. "The New Wealth, the New Rich and the New Political Style in Late Anglo-Saxon England". *Anglo-Norman Studies* 23: 1-22.

Fontaine, J. 1959-1983. *Isidore de Seville et la culture classique dans l'Espagne wisigothique: Notes complementaire et supplement bibliographique.* 3 vols. Paris.

Foot, S. 1992. "Anglo-Saxon minsters: a review of terminology". *Pastoral Care Before the Parish.* Eds. J. Blair and R. Sharpe. Leicester. Pp. 212-225.

Foote, P., and D.M. Wilson. 1970; 1980. *The Viking Achievement: The society and culture of early medieval Scandinavia.* London.

Fox, C. 1920-1921. "Anglo-Saxon monumental sculpture in the Cambridge district". *Proceedings of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society* 23: 15-45.

-----. 1923. *The Archaeology of the Cambridge Region: A Topographical Study of the Bronze, Early Iron, Roman and Anglo-Saxon Ages, with an Introductory Note on the Neolithic Age.* Cambridge.

-----. 1932. "Saxon grave-slab at Balsham". *Proceedings of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society* 32: 51.

Frank, R. 1994. "King Cnut in the Verse of His Skalds". *The reign of Cnut: King of England, Denmark and Norway.* Ed. A. Rumble. London. Pp. 106-124.

Frazer, W. 2000. "Introduction: Identities in Early Medieval Britain". *Social Identity in Early Medieval Britain.* Eds. W. Frazer and A. Tyrrell. London. Pp. 1-7.

Fuglesang, S. 1982. "Early Viking Art". *Acta ad Archaeologicam et Artium Historiam Pertinentia,* series altera 8.2: 125-173.

Galbraith, K.J. 1968. "Early Sculpture at St Nicholas' Church, Ipswich". *Proceedings of the Suffolk Institute of Archaeology and History* 31.2: 172-184.

-----. 1973. "Further thoughts on the boar at St Nicholas' Church, Ipswich". *Proceedings of the Suffolk Institute of Archaeology and History* 33.1: 68-74.

Galbraith, V. 1961. *The Making of Domesday Book.* Oxford.

Gale, R. 1722. *Registrum Honoris de Richmond, exhibens terrarum et villarum quae quondam fuerunt Edwini comitis infra Richmondshire descriptionem, ex Libro Domesday.* London.

Garmonsway, G.N. [1964]. *Canute and his Empire.* The Dorothea Coke Memorial Lecture in Northern Studies delivered at University College London, 28 October 1963. London.

Gatch, M. McC. 1977. *Preaching and Theology in Anglo-Saxon England: Ælfric and Wulfstan.* Toronto; Buffalo.

Geake, H. 1992; 2002. "Burial Practice in Seventh- and Eighth-century England". *The Age of Sutton Hoo: The Seventh Century in North-Western Europe.* Ed. M.O.H. Carver. Woodbridge, Suffolk. Pp. 83-94.

-----. 1996. "Finds Report". Norfolk SMR, 29/11/1996. n.p.

-----. 1997. *The use of grave-goods in Conversion-period England, c. 600-c. 850.* BAR, British series 261. Oxford.

Geary, P. 1983. "Ethnic identity as a situational construct in the early Middle Ages". *Mitteilungen der Anthropologischen Gesellschaft in Wien* 113: 15-26.

Gelling, M. 1978; 1997. *Signposts to the Past: Place-Names and the History of England.* Chichester, Sussex.

Gem, R. 1975. "A recession in English architecture during the early eleventh century, and its effect on the development of the Romanesque style". *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, third series 38: 28-49.

Gem, R., and L. Keen. 1981. "Late Anglo-Saxon finds from the site of St Edmund's Abbey". *Proceedings of the Suffolk Institute of Archaeology* 35.1: 1-30.

Gerchow, J. 1988. *Die Gedenküberlieferung der Angelsachsen.* Berlin; New York.

Gibson, M. 1987. "Adelard of Bath". *Adelard of Bath, an English Scientist and Arabist of the Twelfth Century.* Ed. C. Burnett. Warburg Institute Surveys and Texts 14. London. Pp. 7-16.

Gifford, D. 1952. "The Parish in Domesday Book". Unpublished Ph.D. thesis. U. of London.

Godfrey, J. 1962. *The Church in Anglo-Saxon England.* Cambridge.

-----. 1969. *The English Parish 600-1300.* London.

Gough, M. 1973. *The Origins of Christian Art.* London.

Graham-Campbell, J. 1980a. *The Vikings.* London.

-----. 1980b. *The Viking World.* London.

-----. 1987. "From Scandinavia to the Irish Sea: Viking Art Reviewed". *Ireland and Insular Art A.D. 500-1200. Proceedings of a Conference at University College Cork, 31 October-3 November 1985.* Ed. M. Ryan. Dublin. Pp. 144-152.

-----. 1992. "Anglo-Scandinavian Equestrian Equipment in Eleventh-Century England". *Anglo-Norman Studies* 14: 77-89

Grattan, J., and S. Singer. 1952. *Anglo-Saxon Magic and Medicine*. London.

Green, B. 1990. *Grimes Graves*. London.

Greenhill, E. 1954. "The Child in the Tree". *Traditio* 10: 323-371.

Griffith, P. 1995. *The Viking Art of War*. London.

Gullick, M. 1987. "The Great and Little Domesday Manuscripts". *Domesday Book: Studies*. Eds. A. Williams and R. Erskine. London. Pp. 93-112.

Hadley, D.M. 1996. "Multiple estates and the origins of the manorial structure of the northern Danelaw". *Journal of Historical Geography* 22.1: 3-15.

-----. 1997. "'And they proceeded to plough and to support themselves': the Scandinavian settlement of England". *Anglo-Norman Studies* 19: 69-96.

-----. 2000a. "'Cockle amongst the Wheat': The Scandinavian Settlement of England". *Social Identity in Early Medieval Britain*. Eds. W. Frazer and A. Tyrrell. London. Pp. 111-135.

-----. 2000b. *The Northern Danelaw: Its Social Structure, c 800-1100*. London.

-----. 2001a. *Death in Medieval England: an archaeology*. Stroud, Gloucestershire.

-----. 2001b. "In search of the Vikings: the problems and the possibilities of interdisciplinary approaches". *Vikings and the Danelaw: Select Papers from the Proceedings of the Thirteenth Viking Congress*. Ed. J. Graham-Campbell, *et al*. Oxford. Pp. 13-30.

-----. 2002. "Viking and native: re-thinking identity in the Danelaw". *Early Medieval Europe* 11: 45-70.

------. 2006. *The Vikings in England: Settlement, Society and Culture*. Manchester.

Hadley, D.M., and J.D. Richards. 2000. "Introduction: interdisciplinary approaches to the Scandinavian settlement". *Cultures in Contact: Scandinavian Settlement in England in the Ninth and Tenth Centuries*. Eds. D. Hadley and J.D. Richards. Turnhout, Belgium. Pp. 3-15.

Haigh, D. 1877. "On runic inscriptions discovered at Thornhill". *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal* 4: 416-455.

Hall, R. 1989. "The Five Boroughs of the Danelaw: a Review of Present Knowledge". *Anglo-Saxon England* 18: 149-206.

Hallam, E. 1986. *Domesday Book through Nine Centuries*. London.

Hallam, E., and D. Bates, eds. 2001. *Domesday Book.* Stroud, Gloucestershire.

Halsall, G. 1995; 1997. *Early Medieval Cemeteries: An Introduction to Burial Archaeology in the Post-Roman West.* Glasgow.

Hamerow, H. 2002; 2004. *Early Medieval Settlements: The Archaeology of Rural Communities in North-West Europe 400-900.* Oxford.

Hare, M. 1993. *The two Anglo-Saxon minsters of Gloucestershire, the Deerhurst lecture for 1992.* Deerhurst, Gloucestershire.

Härke, H. 2000. "The Circulation of Weapons in Anglo-Saxon Society". *Rituals of Power From Late Antiquity to the Early Middle Ages.* Eds. F. Theuws and J. Nelson. Leiden, Netherlands. Pp. 377-399.

Harrison, M., and G. Embleton. 1993; 2001. *The Anglo-Saxon Thegn 449-1066: Weapons, Armour, Tactics.* Oxford.

Hart, C.R. 1987. "The Ealdordom of Essex". *An Essex Tribute: Essays Presented to Frederick G. Emmison.* Ed. K. Neale. Cambridge. Pp. 57-84.

-----. 1992. *The Danelaw.* London.

Haselgrove, C. 1987. *Iron Age Coinage in South-East England: the archaeological context.* BAR, British series 174. Oxford.

M. Hassett, M. 1911; 2009. "Orans". *The Catholic Encyclopedia,* vol. 11. Retrieved 24/01/09 from New Advent: <http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/11269a.htm>

Hauglid, R. 1970. *Norwegian Stave Churches.* Oslo.

Hawkes, J. 1999. "Statements in Stone: Anglo-Saxon Sculpture, Whitby and the Christianization of the North". *The Archaeology of Anglo-Saxon England: Basic Readings.* Ed. C. Karkov. New York. Pp. 403-421.

-----. 2002a. "The Plant-life of early Christian Anglo-Saxon Art". *From Earth to Art: the Many Aspects of the Plant-World in Anglo-Saxon England.* Ed. C. Biggam. Amsterdam. Pp. 257-280.

-----. 2002b. *The Sandbach Crosses: Sign and Significance in Anglo-Saxon Sculpture.* Dublin.

-----. 2003. "Reading Stone". *Theorizing Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture.* Eds. C. Karkov and F. Orton. Morgantown, West Virginia. Pp. 5-30.

-----. 2007. "Collingwood and Anglo-Saxon sculpture: art history or archaeology?". Making and Meaning in Insular Art: Proceedings of the fifth international conference on Insular art held at Trinity College Dublin, 25-28 August 2005. Ed. R. Moss. Dublin. Pp. 142-152.

-----. 04/03/07. Personal communication.

Hawkes, S. 1990. "Bryan Faussett and the Faussett Collection: an Assessment". *Anglo-Saxon Cemeteries: a Reappraisal.* Ed. E. Southworth. Stroud, Gloucestershire. Pp. 1-24.

Hayeur-Smith, M. 2003. "Dressing the dead: gender, identity and adornment in Viking-Age Iceland". *Vinland Revisited: The Norse World at the Turn of the First Millennium.* Ed. S. Lewis-Simpson. St John's, Newfoundland and Labrador. Pp. 227-240.

Heather, P. 1996. *The Goths.* Oxford.

Henderson, I. 1994. "The Picts: Written Records and Pictorial Images". *Stones, Symbols and Stories: Aspects of Pictish Studies (Proceedings from the Conferences of the Pictish Arts Society, 1992).* Eds. J. Burt, *et al.* Edinburgh. Pp. 44-66.

Henry, F. 1940. *Irish Art in the Early Christian Period.* London.

-----. 1964. *Irish High Crosses.* Dublin.

-----. 1967. *Irish Art During the Viking Invasions, 800-1020.* London.

Henry, F., and G. Zarnecki. 1957. "Romanesque arches decorated with human and animal heads". *Journal of the British Archaeological Association,* third series 20: 1-34.

Hicks, C. 1993. *Animals in early medieval art.* Edinburgh.

Higgitt, J. 1979. "The dedication inscription at Jarrow and its context". *Antiquaries Journal* 59: 343-374.

-----. 1989. "The Iconography of St Peter in Anglo-Saxon England, and St Cuthbert's Coffin". *St Cuthbert, His Cult and His Community.* Eds. G. Bonner, D. Rollason, C. Stancliffe. Woodbridge, Suffolk. Pp. 267-285.

Hill, B. 1968; 1984. *English Cistercian monasteries and their patrons in the twelfth century.* Urbana, Illinois.

Hill, D., *et al.* 1990. "Quentovic defined". *Antiquity* 64: 51-58.

Hills, C. 1980; 2003. "The Anglo-Saxon Settlement of England". *The Northern World: The History and Heritage of Northern Europe, A.D. 400-1100.* Ed. D. Wilson. London. Pp. 71-94.

Hinton, D.A. 1974. *Anglo-Saxon Ornamental Metalwork 700-1100 in the Department of Antiquities, Ashmolean Museum.* Oxford.

-----. 1975. "Late Anglo-Saxon metal-work: an assessment". *Anglo-Saxon England* 4: 171-180.

Hodder, I. 1982. *Symbols in Action.* Cambridge.

Hodder, I., and S. Hutson 1986; 2003. *Reading the Past: Current Approaches to Interpretation in Archaeology.* Cambridge.

Hodges, R. 1989. *The Anglo-Saxon Achievement.* London.

-----. 1991. "Society, Power and the First English Industrial Revolution". *Il secolo di ferro: mito e realtà del secolo X, Settimane di studio del Centro italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo* XXXVII. Spoleto. Pp. 125-150.

Hogarth, M. 2004. "Bede and the dress of the holy, whether biblical or Anglo-Saxon". Unpublished M.Phil. thesis. U of York.

Holländer, H. 1974; 1990. *Early Medieval.* Trans. C. Hillier. London.

Holt, J.C. 2001. "Domesday Studies 2000". *Domesday Book.* Eds. E. Hallam and D. Bates. Stroud, Gloucestershire. Pp. 19-24.

Holton-Krayenbuhl, A. 1997. "The Infirmary Complex at Ely". *Architectural Journal* 154: 118-172.

-----. 1999. "The Prior's Lodgings at Ely". *Architectural Journal* 156: 294-341.

Holton-Krayenbuhl, A., T. Cocke, and T. Malim. 1989. "Ely Cathedral Precincts: the North Range". *Proceedings of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society* 78: 47-69.

Hooke, D. 1995; 2001. "The mid-late Anglo-Saxon period". *Landscape and Settlement in Britain, AD 400-1066.* Eds. D. Hooke and S. Burnell. Exeter. Pp. 95-114.

-----. 1998. *The Landscape of Anglo-Saxon England.* London; Washington.

Hooper, N. 1994. "Military developments in the reign of Cnut". *The reign of Cnut: King of England, Denmark and Norway.* Ed. A. Rumble. London. Pp. 89-100.

Hope-Taylor, B. 1971. *Under York Minster: archaeological discoveries, 1966-1971.* York.

Horn, W., and E. Born. 1979. *The Plan of St Gall. A Study of the Architecture and Economy of Life in a Paradigmatic Carolingian Monastery.* 3 vols. Berkeley.

Howard, I. 2003. *Swein Forkbeard's Invasions and the Danish Conquest of England, 991-1017.* Woodbridge, Suffolk.

Hudson, W. 1898. "On a Sculptured Stone recently removed from a House on the Site of the Church of St Vedast, Norwich". *Norfolk Archaeology* 13: 116-124.

Hughes, T. 1904. No title. *Proceedings of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society* 10: 452.

Hurst, K. 2004. *A History of All Saints' Church Little Shelford.* [Cambridge].

Innes, M. 2000. "Danelaw Identities: Ethnicity, Regionalism, and Political Allegiance". *Cultures in Contact: Scandinavian Settlement in England in the Ninth and Tenth Centuries*. Eds. D.M. Hadley and J.D. Richards. Turnhout, Belgium. Pp. 65-88.

Insley, J. 1994. *Scandinavian Personal Names in Norfolk: A Survey Based on Medieval Records and Place-Names*. Acta Academiae Regiae Gustavi Adolphi 62. Stockholm.

Institute for Name-Studies. N.d. "*Key to English Place-Names*". Retrieved 06/04/05 from <http://www.nottingham.ac.uk/english/ins/epntest/keytoepn.html>.

Irvine, J. 1884. "Account of the Pre-Norman Remains discovered at Peterborough Cathedral I 1884". *Reports and Papers Read at the Meetings—Architectural Societies* [Northampton Architectural Society]. Pp. 277-283.

-----. 1894. "Account of the Discovery of Part of the Saxon Abbey Church of Peterborough". *Journal of the British Archaeological Association* 50: 45-54.

James, S., *et al.* 1984. "An Early Medieval Building Tradition". *Archaeological Journal* 141: 182-215.

Jankuhn, H. 1958. "Die frühmittelalterlichen Seehandelsplätze im Nord und Osterseeraum". *Studien zu den Anfängen des europäischen Stadtwesens*. Konstanz; Lindau, Germany. Pp. 451-498.

-----. 1970. "Spätantike und merowingische Grundlagen für die frühmittelalterliche nordeuropäische Stadtbildung". *Early Medieval Studies* 1: 23-34.

-----. 1971. *Typen und Funktionen vor- und frühwikingerzeitlicher Handelsplätze im Ostseegebiet*. Wien, Austria.

Jansson, I. 1984. "Kleine Rundspangen". *Birka II:1: Systematische Analysen der Gräberfunde*. Ed. G. Arwidsson. Stockholm. Pp. 58-74.

-----. 1985. *Ovala spännbucklor: en studie av vikingatida standadsmycken med utgångspunkt från Björkö-fynden*. Uppsala.

Jensen, R.M. 2000. "Art". *The Early Christian World*. Ed. P.F. Esler. 2 vols. Oxford. II. Pp. 747-772.

Jesch, J. 1991; 2003. *Women in the Viking Age*. Woodbridge, Suffolk.

-----. 2001. "Skaldic Verse in Scandinavian England". The Vikings and the Danelaw: select papers from the proceedings of the Thirteenth Viking Congress, Nottingham and York, 21-30 August 1997. Ed. J. Graham-Campbell. Oxford. Pp. 313-325.

Johnson, M. 1999; 2000. *Archaeological Theory: An Introduction*. Oxford.

Johnson, M.E. 2000. "Worship, practice and belief". *The Early Christian World*. Ed. P.F. Esler. 2 vols. Oxford. I. Pp. 475-499.

Johnson, S. 1980. *Burgh Castle: Excavations by Charles Green, 1958-1961*. East Anglian Archaeology Report 20. Gressenhall, Norfolk.

Jones, G. 1965. "Early territorial organization in Northern England and its bearing on the Scandinavian settlement". *The Fourth Viking Congress, York, August, 1961*. Ed. A. Small. Edinburgh. Pp. 67-84.

-----. 1979. "Multiple estates and early settlement". *English Medieval Settlement*. Ed. P. Sawyer. London. Pp. 9-34.

Jones, S. 1997. *The Archaeology of Ethnicity: Constructing identities in the past and present*. London; New York.

Jones, T.,1999. *The English Saints: East Anglia*. Norwich.

Karkov, C. 2003. "Naming and Renaming: The Inscription of Gender in Anglo-Saxon Sculpture". *Theorizing Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture*. Eds. C. Karkov and F. Orton. Morgantown, West Virginia. Pp. 31-64.

Karkov, C., and F. Orton. 2003. "Preface". *Theorizing Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture*. Eds. C. Karkov and F. Orton. Morgantown, West Virginia. Pp. x-xi.

Kendrick, T.D. 1933. "Polychrome Jewellery in Kent". *Antiquity* 7: 429-452.

-----. 1938; 1972. *Anglo-Saxon Art to A.D. 900*. London; New York.

-----. 1940. "Instances of Saxon Survival in Post-Conquest Sculpture". *Proceedings of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society* 39: 78-97.

-----. 1949; 1974. *Late Saxon and Viking Art*. London; New York.

Kendrick, T.D., *et al.* 1956, 1960. *Evangeliorum quattuor Codex Lindisfarnensis*. 2 vols. Olten; Lousanne, Switzerland.

Kennett, D. 1987. "Scandinavian Settlement in East Anglia (1)-Place-Names in North-East Suffolk". *Yarmouth Archaeology* 2.4: 121-129.

Kerr, M., and N. Kerr. 1983a. "Form and Function". *Anglo-Saxon Architecture.* Aylesbury, Buckinghamshire. Pp. 11-29.

-----. 1983b. "Wooden buildings". *Anglo-Saxon Architecture.* Aylesbury, Buckinghamshire. Pp. 57-63.

Kerrich, T. 1813. "Account of some Lids of Stone Coffins discovered in Cambridge Castle in 1810. By the Rev. T. Kerrick, M.A., F.S.A. Principal Librarian to the University of Cambridge; in a Letter to Nicholas Carlisle, Esq. Secretary". *Archaeologia* 17: 228; pls. 15-16.

Kidder, A. 1924; 1962. *An Introduction to the Study of Southwestern Archaeology with a Preliminary Account of the Excavations at Pecos.* London.

Kimes, T., C. Haselgrove and I. Hodder. 1982. "A method for the identification of the location of regional cultural boundaries". *Journal of Anthropological Archaeology* 1: 113-131.

Kirby, K. 1735; 1761. *The Suffolk Traveller.* Woodbridge, Suffolk.

Kitzinger, E. 1970. "The Threshold of the Holy Shrine. Observations on Floor Mosaics at Antioch and Bethlehem". *Kyriakon. Festschrift Johannes Quasten.* Eds. P. Granfield and J.A. Jungmann. Berlin.

-----. 1974. "A Pair of Silver Book Covers in the Sion Treasure". *Gatherings for Dorothy E. Miner.* Eds. U. McCracken, L. Randall and R. Randall, Jr. Baltimore. Pp. 3-17.

-----. 1993. "Interlace and Icons: Form and Function in Early Insular Art". *Age of Migrating Ideas: Early Medieval Art in Northern Britain and Ireland (Proceedings of the Second International Conference on Insular Art held in the National Museums of Scotland, Edinburgh, 3-6 Jan. 1991).* Eds. R.M. Spearman and J. Higgitt. Edinburgh. Pp. 3-15.

Laing, L., and J. Laing. 1996. *Early English Art and Architecture: Archaeology and Society.* Stroud, Gloucestershire.

Lang, J.T. 1973. "Some late pre-Conquest crosses in Ryedale, Yorkshire: a re-appraisal". *Journal of the British Archaeological Association* 36: 16-25.

-----. 1974. "Sigurd Fafnesbane og V lund smed. Nogle nordengelske stenbilleder [Sigurd the dragon-slayer and Weland the smith. Some northern English stone carvings]". *Den iconographiske Post* 5.3: 13-24.

-----. 1978a. "Anglo-Scandinavian sculpture in Yorkshire". *Viking Age York and the north.* Ed. R. Hall. Council for British Archaeology Research Report 27. London. Pp. 11-20.

-----. 1978b. "Continuity and Innovation in Anglo-Scandinavian Sculpture: A Study of the Metropolitan School at York". *Anglo-Saxon and Viking Age Sculpture*

and its Context: papers from the Collingwood Symposium on insular sculpture from 800 to 1066. Ed. J.T. Lang. Oxford. Pp. 145-172.

-----. 1984. "The hogback: a Viking colonial monument". *Anglo-Saxon Studies in Archaeology and History* 3. Eds. S. Hawkes, J. Campbell and D. Brown. Oxford. Pp. 85-176.

-----. 1990. "The Painting of pre-Conquest Sculpture in Northumbria". *Early Medieval Wall Painting and Painted Sculpture in England Based on the Proceedings of a Symposium at the Courtauld Institute of Art, February 1985*. Eds. S. Cather, D. Park and P. Williamson. BAR, British Series, 216. Oxford. Pp. 135-146.

-----. 08/06/91. Personal communication to J. Griffin.

-----. 1995. "Pre-Conquest sculpture". *Excavations at York Minster*. 3 vols. Eds. D. Philips, *et al.* London. I. Pp. 435-467.

-----. 2001. *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture, vol. 6: Northern Yorkshire*. Oxford.

Lang, J.T., *et al.* 1991. *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture, vol. 3: York and Eastern Yorkshire*. Oxford.

Lapidge, M. 1992. "Artistic and Literary Patronage in Anglo-Saxon England". *Committenti e produzione artistico-letteraria nell'alto medioevo occidentale*, Settimane di studio del Centro italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo 39. 2 pts. i. Spoleto. Pp. 137-191.

Lavell, C., and E. Wood. 1980. "Editors' Foreward". *Viking Age Sculpture*. R.N. Bailey. London. Pp. v-vi.

Leader-Newby, R.E. 2004. *Silver and Society in Late Antiquity: Functions and Meanings of Silver Plate in the Fourth to Seventh Centuries*. Aldershot.

Leahy, K., and C. Paterson 2001. "New light on the Viking presence in Lincolnshire: the artefactual evidence". *Vikings and the Danelaw: Select papers from the proceedings of the Thirteenth Viking Congress*. Oxford. Pp. 181-202.

Lennard, R. 1947. "The economic position of the Domesday sokemen". *Economic Journal* 57: 179-195.

-----. 1959; 1997. *Rural England, 1086-1135: a study of social and agrarian conditions*. Oxford.

Leroy, J. 1964. *Les manuscrits syriaques à peintures conservés dans les bibliothèques d'Europe et d'Orient; Contribution à l'étude de l'iconographie des églises de langue syriaque* Institut Français d'Archéologie de Beyrouth, Bibliothèque Archéologique et Historique 77. Paris.

Lewis, C. 1993. "Domesday Jurors". *The Haskins Society Journal* 5: 17-44.

Locherbie-Cameron, M. 1991. "Byrhtnoth and his Family". *The Battle of Maldon, AD 991*. Ed. D. Scragg. Oxford. Pp. 253-262.

Loyn, H.R. 1962; 1963. *Anglo-Saxon England and the Norman Conquest*. New York.

-----. 1975. "Church and State in England in the Tenth and Eleventh Centuries". *Tenth Century Studies: Essays in Commemoration of the Millenium of the Council of Winchester and Regularis Concordia*. Ed. D. Parsons. London; Chichester, Sussex. Pp. 94-102.

Lubbock, J. 1865. *Prehistoric times, as illustrated by ancient remains, and the manners and customs of modern savages*. London.

Luce, A., *et al.* 1960. *Evangeliorum quattuor Codex Durmachensis. Auctoritate Collegii Sacrosanctae et Individuae Trinitatis juxta Dublin totius codicis similitudinen accuratissime depicti exprimendam curavit typographeum Urs Graf. Prolegomenis auxerunt viri doctissimi Arturus Aston Luce, Georgius Otto Simms, Petrus Meyer, Ludovicus Bieler*. 2 vols. Olten, Switzerland.

Maitland, F.W. 1897. *Domesday Book and Beyond*. [London].

MacGregor, A., and E. Bolick. 1993. Ashmolean Museum, Oxford: *A Summary Catalogue of the Anglo-Saxon Collections (Non-Ferrous Metals)*. BAR, British series 230. Oxford.

Mackreth, D. 1984. "Recent Work on Monastic Peterborough". *Durobrivae* 9: 18-21.

Maddicott, J. 1989. "Trade, Industry and the Wealth of King Alfred". *Past and Present* 123: 3-51.

Magoun, F. 1933. "Cynewulf, Cyneheard and Osric". *Anglia: Zeitschrift für englische Philologie* 57: 361-376.

Margeson, S. 1980. "A Viking Urnes Style Mount from Sedgeford". *Norfolk Archaeology* 37.3: 355.

-----. 1982. "Viking Period Trefoil Brooches". *Norfolk Archaeology* 38.2: 208-210.

-----. 1994. "The Normans in Norfolk". *The Normans in Norfolk*. S. Margeson, F. Seillier and A. Rogerson. [Norwich]. Pp. 2-5.

-----. 1996. "Viking settlement in Norfolk: a study of new evidence". *A Festival of Norfolk Archaeology*. Eds. S. Margeson, *et al.* Hunstanton, Norfolk. Pp. 47-57.

-----. 1997. *The Vikings in Norfolk.* [Norwich].

Margeson, S., F. Seillier, and A. Rogerson. 1994. *The Normans in Norfolk.* [Norwich].

Martin, J. 1954. *The Illustrations of the Heavenly Ladder of John Climacus.* Princeton.

Martin, T. [1740]. "Church Notes". Suffolk Record Office. E2/41/8A. Bury St Edmunds.

Masters, R. 1786a. "An Account of Some Stone Coffins, and Skeletons, found on making some Alterations and Repairs in Cambridge Castle. In a Letter to the Rev. Dr. Lort. By the Rev. Robert Masters, B.D. F.S.A. Rector of Landbeach". *Archaeologia* 8: 63-65.

-----. 1786b. "A second letter from Mr. Masters to George Steevens, Esq. on the Stone Coffins found in repairing Cambridge Castle". *Archaeologia* 8: 66.

Mawer, A. 1920. *The Place-Names of Northumberland and Durham.* Cambridge.

McClelland, A. 1991. *A Guide to St James' Church Stretham.* [Cambridge].

McDonald, J., and G. Snooks. 1986. *The Domesday Economy.* Oxford.

McGuire, R. 1982. "The study of ethnicity in historical archaeology". *Journal of Anthropological Archaeology* 1: 159-178.

McNally, R. 1971. "The Evangelists in the Hiberno-Latin Tradition". *Festschrift Bernhard Bischoff zu seinem 65.* Geburtstag dargebracht von Freunden Kollegen und Schülern herausgegeben. Eds. J. Autenrieth and F. Brunhölzl. Stuttgart. Pp. 111-122.

Mederos, J. 1963. "Influence of Barbarian art on Romanesque art". *Gesta* no vol.: n.p. [Pre-serial issue].

Mellor, V. 2004. *Work undertaken for Broadland Housing Association Limited.* Archaeological Project Services Report 128. [Heckington, Lincolnshire].

Mercer, R. 1981. *Grimes Graves, Norfolk: excavations 1971-1972, etc.* Department of the Environment, Archaeological Reports 11. London.

Merkel, H. 1971. *Die Widerspruche zwischen dn Evangelien: Ihre polemische und apologetische Behandlung in der Alten Kirche bis zu Augustin.* Tübingen, Germany.

Miller, E. 1951; 1969. *The Abbey and Bishopric of Ely: the social history of an ecclesiastical estate from the tenth to the early fourteenth century.* Cambridge studies in medieval life and thought 1. Cambridge.

Moerman, M. 1965. "Ethnic identification in a complex civilization: Who are the Lue?". *American Anthropologist* 67: 1215-1229.

Montelius, O. 1899. *Der Orient und Europa*. Stockholm.

-----. 1903. *Die typologische Methode: Die älteren Kulturperioden im Orient und in Europa*. Stockholm.

Moore, I., J. Plouviez, and S. West. 1988. *The Archaeology of Roman Suffolk*. Ipswich.

Morelli, G. 1890; 1892. *Italian Painters: critical studies of their works*. Trans. C. Ffoulkes. London.

Morley, C. 1920. "Suffolk 'Dane Stones'". *Proceedings of the Suffolk Institute of Archaeology and Natural History* 17.2: 93-96.

Morris, R. 1989. *Churches in the Landscape*. London.

-----. 1991. "Baptismal places 600-800". *People and Places in Northern Europe 500-1600: Essays in Honour of Peter Hayes Sawyer*. Eds. I. Wood and N. Lund. Woodbridge, Suffolk. Pp. 15-24.

Mynor, V. 1994. *Art History's History*. Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey.

Nash-Williams, V.E. 1950. *The Early Christian Monuments of Wales*. Cardiff.

National Council for Metal Detecting. N.d. No title. Retrieved 09/10/2005 from <http.www.ncmd.co.uk/index.htm>.

National Tidal and Sea Level Facility. N.d. No title. Retrieved 05/09/06 from <http://pol.ac.uk/ntslf/>.

Neck, B., S. Margeson, and M. Hurley. 1994. "Medieval Britain and Ireland in 1993". *Medieval Archaeology* 38: 184-308.

Nees, L. 1978. "A Fifth-Century Book Cover and the Origin of the Four Evangelist Symbols Page in the Book of Durrow". *Gesta* 17.1: 3-8.

Neilson, N. 1910. *Customary Rents*. Oxford Studies in Social and Legal History 2. Ed. P. Vinogradoff. Oxford.

Newman, J. 1984. "Archaeology in Suffolk". *Proceedings of the Suffolk Institute of Archaeology* 35: 10-11.

-----. 1985. "Archaeology in Suffolk". *Proceedings of the Suffolk Institute of Archaeology* 36: 49.

-----. 1989. "East Anglian Kingdom Survey—Final Interim Report on the South East Suffolk Pilot Field Survey". *Bulletin of the Sutton Hoo Research Committee* 6: 17-19.

-----. 1993a. "East Anglia Kingdom Survey—Interim Report on the South East Suffolk Pilot Field Survey". *Sutton Hoo Research Committee Bulletins 1983-1993*. Ed. M.O.H. Carver. Woodbridge, Suffolk. Pp. 10-12.

-----. 1993b. "The East Anglian Kingdom Survey: South-East Suffolk". *Sutton Hoo Research Committee Bulletins 1983-1993*. Ed. M.O.H. Carver. Woodbridge, Suffolk. Pp. 29-31.

Nordenfalk, C. 1977. *Celtic and Anglo-Saxon Painting: book illumination in the British Isles, 600-800*. London.

North East Midland Photographic Record. N.d. Retrieved 01/07/09 from <http://www.picturethepast.org.uk/frontend.php?action=zoomWindow&keywords=Ref_No_increment;EQUALS;NCCW000510&prevUrl=ZnJvbnRlbmQucGhwPyZrZXl3b3Jkcz1NYXBfUmVmZXJlbmNlJTNCRVFVQUxTJTNCU0s0NjY1JTNCJmFjdGlvbj1zZWFyY2g=>.

Norwich Castle Museum. [1985a]. Rec. no. NWHCM : 1985.412: A. [Winchester-style strap-end]. Retrieved 01/01/08 from <http://modesimages.norfolk.gov.uk/images/archaeol/P5190104.jpg>.

-----. [1985b]. Rec. no. NWHCM : 1985.401: A. [Ringerike-style pendant]. Retrieved 01/01/08 from <http://modesimages.norfolk.gov.uk/images/archaeol/AY00599.jpg>.

-----. [1990a]. Rec. no. NWHCM:1990.199: A. [Bylaugh mount]. Retrieved 01/01/08 from <http://modesimages.norfolk.gov.uk/images/archaeol/AY00558.jpg>.

-----. [1990b]. Rec. no. NWHCM : 1990.52.1: A. [Ringerike-style bird brooch]. Retrieved 01/01/08 from <http://modesimages.norfolk.gov.uk/images/archaeol/AY00578.jpg>.

-----. [2001]. Rec. no. NWHCM : L2001.1.6348: A. [Borre-style copper-alloy disc-brooch]. Retrieved 01/01/08 from <http://modesimages.norfolk.gov.uk/images/archaeol/as00017.jpg>.

NPS Property Consultants Ltd. 2003. "Report: Castle Museum Norwich". Unpublished surveyor's report. Aylsham, Norfolk.

Ó Carragáin, É. 1978. "Liturgical Innovations Associated with Pope Sergius and the Iconography of the Ruthwell and Bewcastle Crosses". *Bede and Anglo-Saxon England*. Ed. R. Farrell. BAR, British series 46. Oxford. Pp. 131-147.

-----. 1986. "Christ over the Beasts and the Agnus Dei: Two Multivalent Panels on the Ruthwell and Bewcastle Crosses". *Sources of Anglo-Saxon Culture.* Ed. P. Szarmach and V. Oggins. Kalamazoo. Pp. 37-43.

Okasha, E. 1970. "Some lost Anglo-Saxon inscriptions from St Nicholas' Church, Ipswich". *Proceedings of the Suffolk Institute of Archaeology and History* 32.1: 80-84.

-----. 1971. *Hand-list of Anglo-Saxon non-runic inscriptions.* Cambridge.

O'Reilly, J. 1988. *Studies in the Iconography of Virtues and Vices in the Middle Ages.* New York; London.

-----. 1992. "The Trees of Eden in Medieval Iconography". *A Walk in the Garden: Biblical, Iconographical and Literary Images of Eden.* Eds. P. Morris and D. Sawyer. Sheffield. Pp. 167-204.

-----. 1993. "The Book of Kells, folio 114r: a Mystery Revealed yet Concealed". *The Age of Migrating Ideas: Early Medieval Art in Northern Britain and Ireland.* Eds. R.M. Spearman and J. Higgitt. Edinburgh. Pp. 106-114.

-----. 1994a. "Exegesis and the Book of Kells: the Lucan Genealogy". *The Book of Kells.* Ed. F. O'Mahony. Aldershot. Pp. 344-397.

-----. 1994b. "'*Traditio Evangeliorum*' and '*Sustentatio*': the Relevance of Liturgical Ceremonies to the Book of Kells". *The Book of Kells.* Ed. F. O'Mahony. Dublin. Pp. 398-436.

-----. 1998. "Patristic and insular traditions of the evangelists: exegesis and iconography". *Le Isole Britanniche e Roma in età Romanobarbarica.* Eds. A. Fadda and É. Ó Carragáin. Rome. Pp. 49-94.

Orton, F. 1999. "Northumbrian sculpture (the Ruthwell and Bewcastle monuments): questions of difference". *Northumbria's Golden Age.* Eds. J. Hawkes and S. Mills. Stroud, Gloucestershire. Pp. 216-226.

Owen, J. [1994]. *Little St Mary's Cambridge.* Cambridge.

Owen, O., and M. Dalland. 1999. *Scar: A Viking Boat Burial on Sanday, Orkney.* Phantassie, Scotland.

Owen-Crocker, G. 1986; 2004. *Dress in Anglo-Saxon England.* Woodbridge, Suffolk.

-----. 1991. "Hawks and Horse-Trappings: the Insignia of Rank". *The Battle of Maldon AD 991.* Ed. D. Scragg. Oxford; Cambridge, Mass. Pp. 220-237.

Page, R. 1964. "Appendix A: The Inscriptions". *Anglo-Saxon Ornamental Metalwork 700-1100 in the British Museum*. D.M. Wilson. London. Pp. 67-90.

Page, W. 1915. "Some Remarks on the Churches of the Domesday Survey". *Archaeologia* 14: 61-102.

Palliser, D. 1996. "Review article: The 'minster hypothesis': a case study". *Early Medieval Europe* 5: 207-214.

Palmer, J. 2001. "Great Domesday on CD-ROM". *Domesday Book*. Eds. E. Hallam and D. Bates. Stroud, Gloucestershire. Pp. 141-150.

Panofsky, E. 1955; 1982. "Iconography and Iconology: An Introduction to the Study of Renaissance Art". 1939. *Meaning in the Visual Arts*. E. Panofsky. Chicago. Pp. 26-54.

"Parish Church of St Bridget, West Kirby with The Church of the Resurrection and All Saints, Caldy". N.d. Retrieved 10/10/08 from <http://www.stbridgetschurch.org.uk/index.htm>.

Parker, E. 1969. "A Twelfth-century Cycle of New Testament Drawings from Bury St Edmunds". *Proceedings of the Suffolk Institute of Archaeolgy* 31.3: 263-302.

Parsons, D. 08/12/06. "Scandinavians and Gaels in Northern England: Some Reflections". Jim Lang Memorial Lecture, University of York, U.K.

Pestell, T. 2004. *Landscapes of Monastic Foundation: The Establishment of Religious Houses in East Anglia c. 650-1200*. Anglo-Saxon Studies 5. Woodbridge, Suffolk.

-----. 07/05/06. Personal Communication.

Petri, F. 1958. "Die Anfänge des mittelalterlichen Städtewesens in den Niederlanden und dem angrenzenden Frankriech". *Studien zu den Anfängen des europäischen Städtewesens*. Konstanz; Lindau, Germany. Pp. 227-295.

Pevsner, N. 1961; 1974. *The Buildings of England. Suffolk*. 2nd ed. Revised by E. Radcliff. Harmondsworth.

Platt, C. 1981. *The Parish Churches of Medieval England*. London.

Plot, R. 1677. *The Natural History of Oxford-shire*. Oxford.

Plunkett, S.J. 1984. "Mercian and West Saxon Stone Sculpture: Schools, Styles and Patterns of Influence". Unpublished Ph.D. thesis. U. of Cambridge.

-----. 1998. "Appendix: Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture and Architecture in Suffolk". *A Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Material from Suffolk.* S. West. East Anglian Archaeology Report 84. Ipswich. Pp. 323-357.

-----. 2005. *Suffolk in Anglo-Saxon Times.* Stroud, Gloucestershire.

Pohl, W. 1991. "Conceptions of ethnicity in Early Medieval studies". *Archaeologia Palona* 29: 39-49.

-----. 1994. "Tradition, Ethnogenese und literarische Gestaltung: eine Zwischenbilanz". *Ethnogenese und Überlieferung. Angewandte Methoden der Frühmittelalterforschung,* Veröffentlichungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung 31. Eds. K. Brunner and B. Merta. Vienna. Pp. 9-26.

-----. 1998. "Telling the Difference: Signs of Ethnic Identity". *Strategies of Distinction: The Construction of Ethnic Communities, 300-800.* Eds. W. Pohl and H. Reimitz. Leiden; Boston; Köln. Pp. 17-69.

Portable Antiquities Scheme, [2003a]. "Bridle fitting". Retrieved 01/07/07 from <http://www.findsdatabase.org.uk/hms/pas_obj.php?type=finds&id=0013EEDCB5E01955>.

-----., [2003b]. "CLASS A type 14. Strap mount Stirrup". Retrieved 01/07/07 from <http://www.findsdatabase.org.uk/hms/pas_obj.php?type=finds&id=0013EEDD15B013CA>.

Radford, C. 1973. "Pre-Conquest Minster Churches". *Archaeological Journal* 130: 120-140.

Rahtz, P. 1976. "Buildings and rural settlement". *The Archaeology of Anglo-Saxon England.* Ed. D.Wilson. Cambridge. Pp. 52-61.

-----. 1979. *The Saxon and Medieval Palaces at Cheddar: Excavations 1960-1962.* BAR, British series 65. Oxford.

Raw, B. 1990. *Anglo-Saxon Crucifixion Iconography and the Art of the Monastic Revival.* Cambridge.

Reaney, P.H. 1943. *The Place-names of Cambridgeshire and the Isle of Ely.* Survey of English Place-Names 19. Cambridge.

Reed, M.F. 2000. "The Pagan Origins of Anglo-Saxon Monumental Stonework". Unpublished M.A. dissertation. U of Victoria.

-----. 2006 [2007]. "Intercultural Dialogue in Late Saxon Norwich: the St Vedast Cross". *Quaestio Insularis: Selected Proceedings of the Cambridge Colloquium in Anglo-Saxon, Norse and Celtic* 7. Cambridge. Pp. 119-137.

-----. [forthcoming, 2009]. "Sculpture and Lordship in Late Saxon Suffolk, the evidence of Ixworth". *Approaching Interdisciplinarity: Using Archaeology and History Together for the study of Medieval Britain.* Eds. Z. Devlin and C. Smith. BAR, British series. Oxford.

Reid, H.J. 1889. "Wednesday, 17th April 1889". *Journal of the British Archaeological Association* 45: 179-181.

Renfrew, A., ed. 1973. *The Explanation of Culture Change.* London.

Reynolds, A. 1999; 2002. *Later Anglo-Saxon England: Life and Landscape.* Stroud, Gloucestershire.

Reynolds, S. 1992. "Bookland, folkland and fiefs". *Anglo-Norman Studies* 14: 211-227.

Richards, J.D. 1991; 2004. *Viking Age England.* London.

-----. 2005. *The Vikings: A Very Short Introduction.* Oxford; New York.

Richards, J.D., J. Naylor and C. Holas-Clark. Forthcoming, 2008. "Anglo-Saxon landscape and economy: using portable antiquities to study Anglo-Saxon and Viking Age England". *Internet Archaeology* 25: N.p.

Richardson, C. 1993. "The Borre style in the British Isles and Ireland—a Reassessment". Unpublished MLitt thesis. U of Newcastle.

Rigold, S. 1961. "The supposed see of Dunwich". *Journal of the British Archaeological Association,* third series 24: 55-59.

-----. 1974. "Further evidence about the site of Dommoc". *Journal of the British Archaeological Association,* third series 37: 97-102.

Roffe, D. 1990a. "Domesday Book and Northern Society". *English Historical Review* 105: 310-336.

-----. 1990b. "From thegnage to barony: sake and soke, title and tenants-in-chief". *Anglo-Norman Studies* 12: 157-176.

-----. 1994. "The making of Domesday Book reconsidered". *The Haskins Society Journal* 6: 153-156.

Round, J. 1895. *Feudal England.* [London].

Ross, S. 1992. "Dress pins from Anglo-Saxon England: their production and typo-chronological development". Unpublished D.Phil. thesis. U of Oxford.

Salin, B. 1904. *Die altgermanische thierornamentik: typologische studie über germanische metallgegenstände aus dem IV. bis IX. jahrhundert, nebst einer studie über irische ornamentik.* Stockholm; Berlin.

Salway, P. 1981; 1992. *Roman Britain.* Oxford.

Sandred, K.I. 1979. "Scandinavian Place-Names and Appellatives in Norfolk: A Study of the Medieval Field-Names of Flitcham". *Namn Och Bygd* 67: 98-122.

-----. 1986-1987. "The Scandinavians in Norfolk: Some Observations on the Place-Names in *–by*". *Journal of the English Place-Name Society* 19: 5-28.

Sandred, K.I., and B. Lindström. 1989, 1996, 2002. *The Place-Names of Norfolk.* 3 pts. Nottingham.

Sawyer, P. 1957-1958. "The density of the Danish settlement in England". *University of Birmingham Historical Journal* 6: 1-17.

-----. 1962; 1971. *The Age of the Vikings.* 2nd ed. London.

-----. 1982. *Kings and Vikings. Scandinavia and Europe A.D. 700—1100.* London.

Scarfe, N. 1972. *The Suffolk Landscape.* London.

-----. 1986. *Suffolk in the Middle Ages.* Woodbridge, Suffolk.

Schiller, G. 1972. *Iconography of Christian Art.* 2 vols. Trans. J. Seligman. London.

Scragg, D. 1985. "The Homilies of the Blickling Manuscripts". *Learning and Literature in Anglo-Saxon England: Studies Presented to Peter Clemoes on the Occasion of his Sixty-Fifth Birthday.* Eds. M. Lapidge and H. Gneuss. Cambridge. Pp. 299-316.

Scull, C. 1992. "Before Sutton Hoo: Structures of Power and Society in Early East Anglia". *The Age of Sutton Hoo: The Seventh Century in Northwestern Europe.* Ed. M. Carver. Woodbridge, Suffolk. Pp. 3-23.

Seaby, W., and P. Woodfield. 1980. "Viking Stirrups from England and their Background". *Medieval Archaeology* 24: 87-122.

Senecal, C. 2000. "Keeping up with the Godwinesons: In Pursuit of Aristocratic Status in Late Anglo-Saxon England". *Anglo-Norman Studies* 23: 251-266.

Sheehan, M. 1963. *The will in medieval England: from the conversion of the Anglo-Saxons to the end of the thirteenth century.* Toronto.

Shennan, S. 1989; 1994. "Introduction". *Archaeological Approaches to Cultural Identity.* Ed. S. Shennan. London. Pp. 1-32.

Shetelig, H., ed. 1954. *Viking Antiquities in Great Britain and Ireland, Part VI: Civilization of the Viking Settlers in relation to their old and new countries in Scotland.* Oslo.

Sidebottom, P. 1999. "Stone Crosses of the Peak and the 'Sons of Eadwulf'". *Derbyshire Archaeological Journal* 119: 206-219.

Skeat, W.W. 1898-1903. "The Place-Names of Huntingdonshire". *Proceedings of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society* 10: 317-360.

-----. 1901. *The Place-Names of Cambridgeshire*. Publications of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society, octavo series 36.

-----. 1904. *The Place-Names of Hertfordshire*. [Hertford].

-----. 1906. *The Place-Names of Bedfordshire*. Publications of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society, octavo series 42.

-----. 1911. *The Place-Names of Berkshire*. Oxford.

-----. 1913. *The Place-Names of Suffolk*. Publications of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society, octavo series 46.

Sklenár, K. 1983. *Archaeology in Central Europe: the first five hundred years*. Leicester.

Smedley, N., and E. Owles. 1965. "Some Anglo-Saxon 'Animal'-Brooches". *Proceedings of the Suffolk Institute of Archaeology* 30.2: 166-174.

-----. 1970. "Excavations at the Old Minster, South Elmham". *Proceedings of the Suffolk Institute of Archaeology* 32.1: 1-16.

Smith, A. 1986. *The Ethnic Origins of Nations*. London.

Smith, R. 1911. "Anglo-Saxon Remains". *The Victoria History of the Counties of England: Suffolk*. 2 vols. Gen. Ed. W. Page. London. I. Pp. 325-355.

Speake, G. 1980. *Anglo-Saxon Animal Art and its Germanic Background*. Oxford.

Spufford, P. 2006. "St Mary and St Andrew: A Brief History of the Church Building". Retrieved 28/12/07 from <http://www.whittlesford.info/index_files/Page298.htm>.

St Botolph's Church, Helpston". 2006. Retrieved 10/02/09 from <http://www.botolphsbarn.org.uk/church-church.htm>.

St Edmundsbury Museum Card. 1985. L1985-22. Bury St Edmunds.

Stafford, P. 1997. *Queen Emma and Queen Edith: Queenship and Women's Power in Eleventh-Century England*. Oxford.

Stanley, E. 1987. "The Late Saxon Disc-Brooch from Sutton (Isle of Ely): Its Verse Inscription". *A Collection of Papers with Emphasis on Old English Literature*. Ed. E. Stanley. Toronto. Pp. 400-408.

Stenton, F.M. 1910. *Types of Manorial Structure in the Northern Danelaw*. Oxford Studies in Social and Legal History 2. Ed. P. Vinogradoff. Oxford.

-----. 1932; 1961. *The First Century of English Feudalsim, 1066-1166*. Oxford.

-----. 1933; 1970. "Medeshamstede and its Colonies". *Preparatory to Anglo-Saxon England, being the collected papers of Frank Merry Stenton*. Ed. D. Stenton. Oxford. Pp. 179-192.

-----. 1942. "The Historical Bearing of Place-Name Studies: the Danish Settlement of Eastern England". *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, fourth series 24: 1-24.

-----. 1943; 1989. *Anglo-Saxon England*. Oxford.

-----. 1945. "The Scandinavian Colonies in England and Normandy". *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, fourth series 27: 1-12.

-----. 1955. *The Latin Charters of the Anglo-Saxon Period*. Oxford.

-----. 1969. *The Free Peasantry of the Northern Danelaw*. Oxford.

Stephenson, I.P. 2006. *The Late Anglo-Saxon Army*. Stroud, Gloucestershire.

Sterry, J. 2003. *Round Tower Churches: Hidden Treasures of North Norfolk*. [Norwich].

-----. 2005. *Round Tower Churches on the Norfolk and Suffolk Border*. [Norwich].

Stevens, W. 1904. *The Cross in the Life and Literature of the Anglo-Saxons*. Yale Studies in English 23. Yale.

Stevenson, F. 1922. "St Botolph (Botwulf) and Iken". *Proceedings of the Suffolk Institute of Archaeology and Natural History* 18: 29-52.

Stocker, D. 25/06/91. Personal communication to J. Griffin.

-----. 2000. "Monuments and merchants: Irregularities in the distribution of stone sculpture in Lincolnshire and Yorkshire in the Tenth Century". *Cultures in Contact: Scandinavian Settlement in England in the Ninth and Tenth Centuries*. Eds. D.M. Hadley and J.D. Richards. Turnhout, Belgium. Pp. 179-212.

Suffolk SMR OS Card. TL97SW22, n.d. Bury St Edmunds.

Sweeting, W. 1899. "Maxey Church and Parish". *Journal of the British Archaeological Association* 5: 106-121.

Syers, C. 1899. "Barnack Church". *Journal of the British Archaeological Association* 55: 13-28.

Tait, J. 1897. No title. *English Historical Review* 12: 768-777.

-----. 1902. "Large Hides and Small Hides". *English Historical Review* 17: 280-282.

-----. 1936. *The Medieval English Borough: studies on its origins and history.* Manchester.

Talbot-Rice, D. 1952. *English Art 871-1100.* Oxford.

Taylor, A. 1978. *Anglo-Saxon Cambridgeshire.* Cambridge.

-----. 2001. *Burial Practice in Early England.* Stroud, Gloucestershire.

Taylor, C. 1983. *Village and Farmstead: A History of Rural Settlement in England.* London.

Taylor, H., and J. Taylor. 1965; 1978, 1980. *Anglo-Saxon Architecture.* 3 vols. Cambridge.

Temple, E. 1976. *Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts 900-1066.* A Survey of Manuscripts Illuminated in the British Isles 2. Gen. Ed. J. Alexander. London.

The Bayeux Tapestry by Michael Leete. N.d. Retrieved 01/02/09 from <http://www.bayeuxtapestry.co.uk/>.

"The Martyrdom of St. Erasmus: Chippenham, Cambridgeshire (‡*Ely*) C.15". N.d. Retrieved 24/01/09 from <http://www.paintedchurch.org/chippenh.htm>.

Thacker, A. 1983. "Bede's Ideal of Reform". *Ideal and Reality in Frankish and Anglo-Saxon Society.* Ed. C. Patrick Wormald. Oxford. Pp. 130-153.

Thomas, G. 2000a. "Anglo-Scandinavian metalwork from the Danelaw: exploring social and cultural interaction". *Cultures in Contact: Scandinavian settlement in England in the ninth and tenth centuries.* Eds. D.M. Hadley and J.D. Richards. Turnhout, Belgium. Pp. 237-255.

-----. 2000b. "A survey of Late Anglo-Saxon and Viking-Age strap-ends from Britain". Unpublished Ph.D. thesis. U of London.

-----. 2003. "Late Saxon and Viking-Age strap-ends 750-1100: Part 1". *The Finds Research Group AD 700-1700 Datasheet* 32: 1-8. [Calne, Wiltshire].

-----. 2004. "Late Saxon and Viking-Age strap-ends 750-1100: Part 2". *The Finds Research Group AD 700-1700 Datasheet* 33: 1-7.

Thompson, M. 2001. *Cloister, Abbot and Precinct in Medieval Monasteries*. Stroud, Gloucestershire.

Thompson, V. 2004. *Dying and Death in Later Anglo-Saxon England*. Anglo-Saxon Studies 4. Woodbridge, Suffolk.

Thomsen, C. 1836. *Ledetraad til Nordisk Oldkyndighed*. Copenhagen.

Thorn, C. 1987. "Marginal Notes and Signs in Domesday Book". *Domesday Book: Studies*. Eds. A. Williams and R. Erskine. London. Pp. 113-135.

Thurlby, M. 15/03/08. "Dating Saxo-Norman Overlap Churches in Gloucestershire: The Relative Value of Style and Documentation, and Synthesis Versus Analysis". *Sacred Spaces in Medieval and Medieval Revival Art and Architecture*. Canadian Conference of Medieval Art Historians, Mar. 14th-15th, 2008, University of British Columbia, Vancouver.

Tollerton-Hall, L. 2005. "Wills and will-making in Late Anglo-Saxon England". Unpublished Ph.D. thesis. U of York.

Townend, M. 2000. "Viking Age England as a Bilingual Society". *Cultures in Contact: Scandinavian Settlement in England in the Ninth and Tenth Centuries*. Eds. D.M. Hadley and J.D. Richards. Turnhout, Belgium. Pp. 89-105.

-----. 2001. "Contextualizing the *Knútsdrápur*: Skaldic Praise-poetry at the Court of Cnut". *Anglo-Saxon England* 30: 145-179.

-----. 16/05/05. Personal communication.

Trafford, S. 2000. "Ethnicity, Migration Theory, and the Historiography of the Scandinavian Settlement of England". *Cultures in Contact: Scandinavian Settlement in England in the Ninth and Tenth Centuries*. Eds. D.M. Hadley and J.D. Richards. Turnhout, Belgium. Pp. 17-39.

Trigger, B. 1989; 2006. *A History of Archaeological Thought*. Cambridge.

-----. 1991. "Post-Processual Developments in Anglo-American Archaeology". *Norwegian Archaeological Review* 24.2: 65-76.

Tweddle, D., *et al.* 1995. *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture, vol. 4: South-East England*. Oxford.

Van Es, W. 1965-1966. "Friesland in Roman times". *Berichten van de Rijksdienst voor het Oudheidkundig Bodemonderzoek* 15-16: 37-68.

-----. 1973. "Die neuen Dorestad-Grabungen 1967-1972". *Vor-und Frühformen der europäischen Stadt im Mittlealter*. Eds. H. Jankuhn, *et al*. Göttingen, Germany. Pp. 202-217.

Vasiliev, V. 1942-1943. "Medieval Ideas of the End of the World: East and West". *Byzantion* 16: 462-502.

Wade, K. 1988. "Ipswich". *The rebirth of towns in the West, AD 700-1050: a review of current research into how, when, and why there was a rebirth of towns between 700 and 1050, based upon papers presented to the Fourth Joint CBA/DUA International Conference on the Rebirth of Towns in the West, AD 700-1050, held at the Museum of London on 21-23 March 1986*. Eds. R. Hodges and B. Hobley. Council for British Archaeology Research Report 68. London. Pp. 93-100.

Wade-Martins, P. 1980. *Excavations in North Elmham Park 1967-1972*. East Anglian Archaeology Report 9. 2 pts. Gressenhall, Norfolk.

-----., ed. 1983. *Waterfront Excavation and Thetford Ware Production, Norwich*. East Anglian Archaeology Report 17. Gressenhall, Norfolk.

Walters, S. 1988; 1996. *Grantchester Church and its Churchyards*. Cambridge.

Warren, J. 1863. "Stone coffin-lids, Ixworth Church". *Proceedings of the Suffolk Institute of Archaeology and History* 3: 298.

Watkins, J. 1894. "On the History of Willingham Church". *Proceedings of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society* 3: 12-20.

Watson, A. 1934. *The Early Iconography of the Tree of Jesse*. London.

Watts, V. 1988-1999. "Scandinavian settlement-names in County Durham". *Nomina* 12: 17-63.

Watts, L., J. Grenville, and P. Rahtz. 1996-1997. *Archaeology at Kirkdale*. Supplement to the *Ryedale Historian* 18. Helmsley, North Yorkshire.

Wainwright, F. 1962. *Archaeology and Place-Names and History: An Essay on Problems of Co-ordination*. London.

Webster, L. 1980. "An Anglo-Saxon plaque with the symbol of St John". *British Museum Occasional Papers* 10: 11-15.

Webster, L., and J. Backhouse, eds. 1991. *The Making of England: Anglo-Saxon Art and Culture A.D. 600-900*. London; Toronto.

Wenskus, R. 1961; 1977. *Stammesbildung und Verfassung: Das Werden de frühmittelalterlichen Gentes*. Cologne.

Werner, M. 1990. "The Cross-Carpet Page in the Book of Durrow: The Cult of the True Cross, Adomnan, and Iona". *The Art Bulletin* 72.2: 174-223.

West, S. 1985. *West Stow: the Anglo-Saxon Village*. 2 vols. East Anglian Archaeology Report 24. Ipswich.

-----. 1990. *West Stow, Suffolk: The Prehistoric and Romano-British Occupations*. East Anglian Archaeology Report 48. Ipswich.

-----. 1998. *A Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Material from Suffolk*. East Anglian Archaeology Report 84. Ipswich.

West, S., and K. Wade. 1993. "The Origin and Development of the Kingdom of East Anglia Project". *Sutton Hoo Research Committee Bulletins 1983-1993*. Ed. M. Carver. Woodbridge, Suffolk. Pp. 18-20.

West, S., N. Scarfe, and R. Cramp. 1984. "Iken, St Botolph and the Coming of East Anglian Christianity". *Proceedings of the Suffolk Institute of Archaeology and History* 35: 279-301.

Wheeler, R. 1927. *London and the Vikings*. London.

Whitbread, L. 1966. "Judgement Day II and Its Latin Source". *Philological Quarterly* 45: 635-656.

-----. 1972. "Bede's Verses on Doomsday: A Supplementary Note". *Philological Quarterly* 51: 485-486.

White, S. 1989. "Kinship and Lordship in Early Medieval England: The Story of Sigeberht, Cynewulf, and Cyneheard". *Viator* 20: 1-18.

Whitehead, R. 1999a. "Viking Metalwork in England Part 1: The Borre & Jellinge Styles". *Treasure Hunting Magazine* Feb.: 19-24.

-----. 1999b. "Viking Metalwork in England Part 2: The Ringerike and Urnes Styles". *Treasure Hunting Magazine* May: 19-24.

Whitelock, D. 1952; 1991. *The Beginnings of English Society*. London.

-----. 1969. "Fact and Fiction in the Legend of St Edmund". *Proceedings of the Suffolk Institute of Archaeology* 31.3: 217-233.

-----. 1972. "The pre-Viking church in East Anglia". *Anglo-Saxon England* 1: 1-22.

Whitfield, N. 1978. "The original appearance of the Tara Brooch". *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland* 106: 5-30.

-----. 1990. "Round wire in the Early Middle Ages". *Jewellery Studies* 4: 13-28.

-----. 2001. "A filigree panel and a coin from an Irish crannog at Alnwick Castle, with an appendix on the discovery of crannogs at Strokestown, Co Roscommon". *Journal of Irish Archaeology* 10: 49-72.

Wicker, N. 1999. "Archaeology and Art History: Common ground for the New Millennium". *Medieval Archaeology* 43: 161-171.

Wiessner, P. 1983. "Style and social information in Kalahari San projectile points". *American Antiquity* 48.2: 253-276.

-----. 1989; 2001. "Style and changing relations between the individual and society". *The Meaning of Things*. Ed. I. Hodder. London. Pp. 56-63.

Williams, A. 2001. "Little Domesday and the English: the hundred of Colneis in Suffolk". *Domesday Book*. Eds. E. Hallam and D. Bates. Stroud, Gloucestershire. Pp. 103-120.

Williams, A., and R. Erskine. 1987. *Domesday Book: Studies*. Cambridgeshire *Domesday* 3. London.

Williams, D. 1995; 1999. "Stirrup Terminals". *Datasheets 1-24: A consolidated reprint of Datasheets issued by the Finds Research Group between 1985 and 1998*. Oxford. Pp. 1-6.

-----. 1997. *Late Saxon Stirrup Mounts: a Classification and Catalogue*. Council for British Archaeology Monograph 111. York.

Williamson, T. 1993. *The Origins of Norfolk*. Manchester.

-----. 2006. *England's Landscape: East Anglia*. London.

Wilson, D.M. 1959. "Almgren and Chronology: A Summary and some Comments". *Medieval Archaeology* 3: 112-119.

-----. 1960; 1971. *The Anglo-Saxons*. London.

-----. 1964. *Anglo-Saxon Ornamental Metalwork 700-1100 in the British Museum*. London.

-----. 1970. *The Vikings and their origins: Scandinavia in the first millennium*. London.

-----. 1984. *Anglo-Saxon Art: from the seventh century to the Norman Conquest*. London.

Wilson, D.M., and C. Blunt. 1961. "The Trewhiddle Hoard". *Archaeologia* 98: 75-122.

Wilson, D.M., and M. Gaygill. 1981. *Economic aspects of the Viking Age*. London.

Wilson, D.M., and O. Klindt-Jensen. 1966; 1980. *Viking Art*. London.

Winter, F. 1988; 1998. *St Andrew, Stapleford: An Illustrated Guide*. Ed. H. Shackleton. Stapleford, Cambridgeshire.

Wise, T., and G. Embleton. 1979; 2003. *Saxon, Viking and Norman*. Oxford.

Wodderspoon, J. 1850. *Memorials of the Ancient Town of Ipswich*. Ipswich; London.

Wood, J. 1822. "Some account of a Saxon inscription, on a stone found near Falstone". *Archaeology Aeliana* 1: 103–4.

Wormald, C. Patrick. 1982. "Viking studies: whence and whither?". *The Vikings*. Ed. R. Farrell. Chichester, Sussex. Pp. 128-153.

-----. 1992. "Domesday Lawsuits: a provisional list and preliminary comments". *England in the Eleventh Century: proceedings of the 1990 Harlaxton Symposium*. Harlaxton Medieval Studies, new series 2. Ed. Carola Hicks. Stamford. Pp. 61-102.

Worsaae, J. 1849. *The primeval antiquities of Denmark*. Trans. W. Thoms. London.

-----. 1852. *An account of the Danes and Norwegians in England, Scotland, and Ireland*. Trans. W. Thoms. London.

Yorke, B. 1990; 1992. *Kings and Kingdoms of early Anglo-Saxon England*. London.

Zarnecki, G. 1951. *English Romanesque Sculpture 1066-1140*. London.

-----. 1953. *English Romanesque Sculpture 1140-1210*. London.

Zarnecki, G., *et al.*, eds. 1984. *English Romanesque Art, 1066-1200*. London.