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EXCHANGE AND SOCIETY IN
EARLY MEDIEVAL ENGLAND 400-700 AD

(Volumes I-III)

by

CHRISTOPHER PAUL LOVELUCK

Submission for the degree of Doctor

of Philosophy at the department of

Archaeology, University of Durham

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Abstract

This work examines the role of different kinds of exchange activity within Anglo-Saxon societies in early medieval England between the fifth-early eighth centuries AD. Current theories on the part played by exchange in this period have focused on long-distance trade in exotic luxuries imported from continental Europe and beyond. The majority of these imports have been recovered from graves. Their uses in mortuary practice and prior to burial have been suggested from social anthropological theory. While often unproven, the procurement of luxuries has been related to control and conversion of agricultural surpluses but only in the most general terms.

Due to the inability to assess trade in perishable surpluses, the approach followed in this research attempts to investigate any relationship between production and exchange of certain non-perishable raw materials and procurement of luxuries together with other influences on exchange in different parts of England. Indications of production and exchange of indigenous raw materials and exchange of exotica are derived from the study of artefact distributions in relation to their circumstances of deposition. Fifth-early eighth century remains from East Yorkshire, the upper Thames valley and the Peak District are examined. A number of themes are discussed relating to the society and economy of each study area including the impact of the Anglo-Saxon settlement; evidence for acculturation or cross-cultural exchange between native and Germanic immigrants in the formation of Anglo-Saxon societies; exchange of raw materials in relation to exchange of luxuries and the direction and importance of regional and longer distance exchange links.

Using the information from the three study areas general conclusions on the motivation for commodity movement and exchange are drawn alongside a consideration of exchange mechanisms and media necessary for the facilitation of exchange transactions.

EXCHANGE AND SOCIETY IN
EARLY MEDIEVAL ENGLAND, 400-700 AD

VOLUME 1

Submission for the Degree of
Doctor of Philosophy at the
University of Durham

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Christopher Paul Loveluck

1994

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Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION

The role of trade and exchange has held a central place in explanations of the development of north-western Europe during the early middle ages since the pioneering work of Henri Pirenne (Pirenne 1925; Pirenne 1936, p1-15; Pirenne 1939). During the late 1970s anthropological models of interpretation backed up with historical evidence, became predominant in reconstructing exchange activity. The application of social anthropological theory to early medieval studies must be distinguished from its use in interpretation of early medieval archaeological evidence. Early medieval texts have been used to provide examples of anthropologically-defined forms of exchange activity since the 1920s. Mauss' example of early medieval Germanic societies using 'gift exchange' is one example (Mauss 1925/1954 - English translation, p59). Modern historians have also cited the use of gift exchange in Anglo-Saxon societies (Charles-Edwards 1976, p180-181).

The application of anthropological models of interpretation to early medieval archaeological data did not occur until the mid 1970s. Characteristic types of exchange, based on analysis of contemporary primitive societies and historically described societies, were extrapolated into the early medieval period (Odner 1974, p104-112; Stjernquist 1974, p114-115). This practice was extended when social evolutionary theory was applied to archaeological evidence. Anthropologists such as Friedman, Rowlands and Smith suggested that certain types of exchange would be specific to societies of different levels of complexity (Smith 1976, p317; Friedman and Rowlands 1978, p205-206). Colin Renfrew had also suggested similar models with which to analyse social development from the archaeological record (Renfrew 1975/1984, p94-102).

The practice of identifying particular forms of exchange with specific degrees of social complexity was first applied to British early medieval archaeology by Richard Hodges. He attempted to explain the development of coastal and riverine artisan and trading settlements (emporia) from the seventh-ninth centuries in northern Europe. The specific example discussed was (Hamwic) - middle Saxon Southampton. The development of specific forms of exchange were suggested to have stimulated different types of trading centre, based on Renfrew's work (Hodges 1979, p211). Further anthropological exchange theories were added to this framework. The emporia were reclassified as 'ports of trade' using Polanyi's classification (Polanyi 1957, p 263; Hodges 1978, p97-106; Dalton 1978, p105-106). Geographical analysis was applied to the emporia sites in an attempt to relate the 'ports' with hinterlands. Historians also illustrated a strong link between kingship and control of trade in the eighth and ninth centuries (Sawyer 1977, p139-158). The end result was a very structured model accounting for the development of trade, exchange and the social development of early medieval Europe. This followed a line of explanation centred on a post-collapse development from the fifth-ninth centuries in north-western Europe (Renfrew 1979/1984, p385). The argument was based on the Pirenne thesis and anthropological models. Its premise was that the development of the Carolingian 'empire' stimulated the growth of trade and urbanisation in 'Kingdoms' on the empire's periphery (Hodges 1982, 7-28; Hodges and Whitehouse 1983, p103-111; Randsborg 1991, p179-182).

General explanations of social and economic development were subsequently criticised for a lack of detailed regional study to test the general hypotheses (Astill 1985, p227-229). Attempts were then made to investigate regional exchange to rectify this shortcoming. The case studies undertaken, however, involved the examination of a very limited range of archaeological evidence - primarily ceramics (Brisbane 1981, p237-241; Arnold 1981, p245-251; Russell 1984, p569-576). Unfortunately, ceramic production and use in early medieval north-western Europe

is highly variable both in the scale of use, the level of production, its chronological range of use and its recovery. Ceramics, therefore, cannot be used as a universal form of evidence to study exchange relations in early medieval Britain. Using Carol Smith's anthropological framework to explain types of exchange relating to distribution of social elites, Hodges tried to explain the regional exchange networks behind imported pottery distribution in the area surrounding the monastery of San Vincenzo-al-Volturno in Italy (Hodges 1985, p260-268). The relevance of this approach to Britain is limited by the following factors:- Its limited category of evidence, its geographical location in southern Europe and its over reliance on a structured anthropological framework. It is difficult to assess the relevance of this method of studying regional exchange with regard to how far the pottery distributions reflect overall levels of exchange.

The anthropological explanations of social evolution, long-distance and regional exchange use the notion of recurrent 'laws', for example, given a specific form of society specific forms of exchange will exist (Smith 1976, p317; Hodges 1979, p211;). On application to the early medieval period in Britain, anthropological explanations have also required a 'collapse' event when the vast majority of administrative functions and exchange relations collapsed as a result of a disaster or some other sudden stimulus. The collapse or withdrawal of the late Roman central administration from Britain has been viewed in this light (Renfrew 1979/84, p372 and 385). Following this collapse the Anglo-Saxon migrations occurred, one of the results of Germanic settlement being a superimposition of Germanic fashions of dress and speech on the native populations. It has been suggested that social collapse and Germanic immigration caused such disruption that Anglo-Saxon and native groups were reduced to small scale societies which underwent a renewed social evolutionary development from simple tribal groups along the road to 'statehood' (Arnold 1988, p195-196; Hodges 1989, p17-20).

Little account has been taken of the dimensions of variation between observance of

exchange and social change in contemporary primitive societies and the reconstruction of exchange relations and reasons for social change in past societies from their material remains (Hodder 1986, p134-135). Specific human organisations are influenced by different preceding societies. They may have used material culture in different ways. Ideas of unilinear or epigenetic social evolution may also oversimplify the reality of the development of societies. The most dramatic oversimplification is the way in which archaeological remains have been seen as a passive material reflection of anthropological theory, a view illustrated by Hodges' quotation that 'archaeology is the past tense of anthropology' (Hodges 1979, p211). Due to the influence of post-collapse social evolutionary frameworks study of indications of production and exchange in early Medieval England has focused on evidence from the seventh, eighth and ninth centuries. Work has concentrated on the identification of increasingly ranked societies from the end of the sixth century and as a corollary increased social complexity. Increased levels of exchange have been seen as a reflection of this change (Arnold 1982, p126-12; Arnold 1988a, p114-118). In contrast, exchange activity in the fifth and sixth centuries is assumed to have been small due in part to the influence of social evolutionary models, the majority of which rely on ideas of unilinear progress (Arnold 1988, p195).

The study of exchange from the fifth-ninth centuries in north-western Europe has been based on the study of imported artefacts. These imports tend to be relatively rare among respective early medieval populations, though distribution varies regionally. These imports were provenanced and 'trade' routes were plotted (Werner 1961, p307-46; Christlein 1979, p94-111; Hodges 1982, p32). Anthropologists suggested that rare imports could be 'prestige goods' and these were linked with historical references to 'gifts'. Gift exchange of prestige goods has been seen as one of the primary methods of exchange for the period from the fifth-seventh centuries (Odner 1974, p108; Stjernquist 1974, p114-115; Alexander 1973, p44). Quantification of these imports has been carried out with some attempt to

differentiate importation of goods by date (Huggett 1988, p63-76). Gift exchange was seen as the main way of maintaining social relations, eg alliances between groups or different ranks in society.

A subsistence or utilitarian level of production was also identified for most early medieval settlements based on a notion of self-sufficiency where individual communities catered for their own needs in relative isolation (Arnold 1988, p50-51). As a result, the 1980s saw the development of a dualistic notion of early medieval production and exchange based on both a subsistence and social economy. The two were related in vague terms, assuming that agricultural surpluses were converted into gifts to maintain social relations. The exchange transactions necessary to convert surpluses into gifts, however, were largely ignored. The role of control of universally needed raw materials such as iron in relation to wealth creation was not considered in detail. A raw material like iron may not have been viewed as a 'prestige material', however, control of access to iron sources may have been of great value due to the universal demand for iron created by the population at large. This division between a subsistence and a social economy must therefore be questioned. Social importance of exchange may vary according to the degree of access to a commodity, be it a rare import or a universally needed raw material.

The mechanisms for the conversion of agricultural surpluses and raw materials into other objects and vice versa deserve greater attention. The concentration on gift exchange may be limiting our scope of interpretation. Conversion of the *former* materials into exchangeable objects or commodities would have involved the operation of systems of value assessment of a complex or 'ad-hoc' nature. As such, indications of both inalienable exchange (exchange entailing some social obligation, eg. gift exchange) and alienable exchange (exchange without social obligation, eg. barter) must be studied. The development of media of exchange must also be assessed set against these exchange mechanisms. It would be a mistake to eliminate a possible exchange practice because an anthropological

model suggested it should not have taken place.

Mauss saw gift exchange as a method of maintaining social alliances within and between groups holding the same notions of value towards those gifts (Mauss 1925/1954., p59). All the structured anthropological theories demand this uniformity in value systems. This may not lend itself well to early medieval Britain where there may have been multiple value systems relating to the native British population and different Germanic immigrant groups. Acculturation or cross-cultural exchange of ideas, values and fashions must have been a key form of exchange in fifth and sixth century England. It has largely been ignored. The repercussions are far reaching for the use of exchange mechanisms defined by anthropological theory. In the 1980s it was fashionable to identify social evolutionary progress towards kingdom formation from evidence of increased social ranking. This was achieved by identifying prestige goods as an index of status. If notions of value toward imports varied, however, a prestige good to an Anglo-Saxon Germanic immigrant may not be viewed in the same way by an Anglicised native. Multiple value systems toward objects and their use would complicate identification of social rank and evolution of social complexity. This process of value changes resulting from Anglicisation of the native population may have occurred at different times in different regions. Exchange of ideology may also have had a direct effect on exchange of objects or raw materials. As such the role of the change in styles of display promoted by the Christian Church in the seventh century must also be studied.

This work sets out to examine these complexities within exchange relations between 400-700 AD. The study is based on a detailed quantification methodology analysing a wide range of artefact forms and raw materials in relation to their circumstances and dates of deposition. Three regional study areas are examined in order to take full account of regional variation within what became Anglo-Saxon England. Conclusions are drawn on the nature, scale and importance of exchange relations to those regions between 400-700 AD, where general conclusions are

possible they are derived from recurrent observations from the regional study areas. Thus, exchange activity will be studied from the micro - to the macro level, reversing the trend of the 1980s.

The thesis begins with a brief discussion of the frameworks of interpretation in which exchange has been placed and their shortcomings. It is then followed by a critique of the current methods used to study exchange at the regional and inter-regional level. The methodology utilised in this thesis is then outlined, together with the sampling strategy for the three study areas. The results from each study area are presented in individual chapters and are also interpreted individually. Where general conclusions are possible, they are discussed on a thematic basis dealing with the motivations for exchange, exchange mechanisms and exchange media. The final chapter summarises the conclusions for the purpose of clarity.

Chapter 2

FRAMEWORKS OF INTERPRETATION, ASSUMPTIONS AND SHORTCOMINGS

2.1 Introduction: migrations, trade and exchange to the advent of 'New Archaeology'

The transfer of human and material resources between groups has historically been viewed as of prime importance in the development of human societies (Smith 1776, p12; Ricardo 1817, p1-2). The use of such a social dynamic has changed radically with developments in archaeological thought and methodology. Diffusionist ideology, promoted in Childe's ideas of the Neolithic revolution and the spread of agriculture from the cradles of civilisation - 'ex oriente lux' led to theories that migration and trading contact had a direct impact on social and technological change in ancient societies (Childe 1928, p2-3; Childe 1956, p36; Trigger 1980, p65). Reflecting attitudes of the end of the colonial era the diffusionists suggested an exploitative relationship between more advanced and primitive societies (Elliot Smith 1915; Childe 1928, p221-222). Very little time was given to how one would actually distinguish a migration from long term trading contacts.

Evidence of 'trade', its scale and the people involved in the practice was compiled from historical, epigraphic and pictorial sources. The nature of the transactions and any possible social role behind them were not examined. Classical sources were gleaned for information on trade, eg. Strabo's list, noting exports and imports into late pre-Roman Iron Age Britain. The influence of this list has only declined in the past fifteen years (Haselgrove 1982, p70-88). In the same way early medieval Saints' lives, clerical texts and sagas were examined for the evidence they could yield (Alexander 1973, p53; Magnusson and Palsson 1966, p91-92; Farmer 1983, p194). The historical sources provided the only information on which to base

expectations of the potential archaeological evidence. The use of historical frameworks alone, however, were unable to examine the concept of 'trade' and the complexities of exchange interaction which may have existed. This is not to say that they do not have highly relevant applications in the light of different theoretical approaches.

It is to the work of the 'New Archaeologists' of the 1960s and early 70s that we owe the debt of clarification of archaeological terms together with the incorporation of theoretical ideas from other social sciences. The ideas of 'New Archaeology' developed by Lewis Binford and his colleagues owed much to the North American trend of subsuming the study of archaeology within the overall subject of anthropology. In particular, social anthropological theories together with ethnographic studies of contemporary primitive societies indicated that the blanket term 'trade' for the transfer of material sources was not appropriate in all cases in pre-industrial societies. The term 'trade' has certain connotations which link it to modern economic systems. Transfer of material resources could involve a multiplicity of social relations. "New archaeology" sought to investigate the potential complexities exhibited in contemporary 'primitive' societies, in the archaeological record. Such goals needed a redefining of the way archaeologists viewed the archaeological record. With this redefinition the study of the place of 'exchange' within pre-industrial societies and its potential material traces evolved (Binford 1983, p83).

2.2 Social anthropology, ethnography and Universal Laws

Since Morgan's 'Ancient Society' of 1877, social anthropologists have been trying to characterise the way in which contemporary primitive societies functioned with regard to strategies for their survival. An important constituent of such strategies were systems of social relations within and between social groups. Succeeding

generations of anthropologists such as Malinowski, Mauss and Levi-Straus have produced detailed studies of various primitive societies involving description and analysis of exchange mechanisms bound within social relations (Malinowski 1922, p350-365; Gregory 1982, p18-22). The ethnographic studies and typological characteristics they offered provided much of the basis on which 'New Archaeology' was built (Binford 1973, p248-253).

Binford and his colleagues sought to investigate the complexity of social relations that could be represented by the artefacts in the archaeological record. This aim was supported by an empiricist hypothetico-deductive methodology. The reasoning of the latter worked on the basis that hypotheses generated in the present from observation of contemporary primitive societies could be tested against artefact distributions in the archaeological record (Binford 1973, p253). For this methodology to work it was necessary to construct a set of universal laws or 'norms' of human behaviour (Binford 1973, p252). These encapsulate the idea that given a certain set of situations human societies will act in a set predictable fashion. If human actions were not predictable it would be impossible to generate hypotheses from the present and test them against archaeological remains. Alongside this series of universal laws, attempts were made to explain the relationship of behaviour with archaeological discard patterns in the formulation of 'middle-range theory', involving considerations of depositional and post-depositional processes (Binford, McAnany and Sabloff 1987, p204).

The importance of Binford's contribution is that he attempted to take account of the complexities of the exchange relationships which may have existed and to hypothesise on how these may have manifested themselves in the archaeological record.

It may seem surprising that the development of 'new archaeological' theory and practice has been discussed before the fundamental work which established the basis from which most modern archaeological studies on exchange begin - that of

Karl Polanyi. Binford's ideas, however, had more impact on the study of exchange by archaeologists before Polanyi's ideas were utilised extensively. Binford introduced many archaeologists to anthropological theory. As a result, Polanyi's ideas on economic anthropology, written between the 1950s and the 1970s started to be used widely by archaeologists (Polanyi 1957, p243-270).

Polanyi's attitude towards the study of the 'economy' in pre-industrial societies was based on the study of past societies. The evidence came from historical sources. He did not concentrate on the role of material culture but on general ways to approach the classification of economic interaction in pre-industrial societies. In this respect it may be hard to predict the archaeological expression of his classifications. Polanyi was concerned with the inadequate definition of the word 'economic' in describing aspects of social relations. It is a contemporary term which he saw as inapplicable to exchange practices in pre-industrial societies. Two approaches to the study of 'economic' activity were defined - 'substantivism' and 'formalism'. The substantivist view of the economy refers to Man's 'interchange with his natural and social environment' (Polanyi 1957, p243-245). The 'formalist' view in contrast, defines the contemporary philosophy towards economic relations - notions of supply and demand. In the analysis of early societies, emphasis was put on the 'embedded' nature of the transfer of material resources within constraints not related to the modern notion of the intrinsic value of objects.

Polanyi was also the first to attempt to give definition to exchange mechanisms within early societies. Mauss' earlier work on gift exchange isolated one mechanism and attempted to show its importance to various societies but he could not define its importance alongside other mechanisms of dispersion. Polanyi managed to isolate two such mechanisms - reciprocity and redistribution (Polanyi 1957, p253-254). Reciprocity may be defined as the exchange of human or material resources between individuals of a symmetrical level within a society or between societies. Redistribution implies centralised allocation or re-allocation of

resources by virtue of custom, law or de facto control of those resources.

Types of 'trade' expected in different pre-industrial societies were also defined (Polanyi 1957, p256; Polanyi and Polanyi 1978, p92-46). Many of these terms were later developed by Colin Renfrew who gave them predicted archaeological correlates (Renfrew 1984, p100-101 and 121-128). Polanyi, in contrast, was not concerned with the material expression of types of 'trade' but the social organisation necessary for their existence. In order to define 'types' of interaction which took place between societies of specific organisation, he had to give certain characteristics to 'types' of society. Examples include 'savage' societies; 'feudal' societies and 'floodwater empires'. These descriptive terms are not well defined but they do provide an early example of the idea that specific types of society are characterised by particular types of exchange transaction.

2.3 Social evolutionary theory and processualism

With a typological background in the classification of human societies, more recent social anthropological work has sought to explain the evolution of human societies from 'hunter-gatherer' to 'state' organisation. Polanyi had not gone into the question of change and social evolution. He had concentrated more on description and definition of types of exchange and societies (Polanyi 1957, p262-264). By the 1970s, Service, Claessen and Skalnik laid greater emphasis on what they saw as the necessary pre-requisite for the evolution of complex societies. This concentrated on ideas of progressive ranking and stratification (Claessen 1978, p649). In broad terms 'ranked societies' displayed differential access between individuals which may be represented by access to certain objects or rights to take part in legal and religious activities. Stratified societies exhibit a more rigid differential between levels within a society, sometimes with institutional backing to maintain these differences. An often quoted example of such a society is the 'caste'

system in India where birth into a particular social group conditions all activities in later life.

Carol Smith's work also offered a typological scheme for societies and their associated mechanisms of distribution on a regional level (Smith 1976, p309-364). The application of some of her ideas in archaeology has recently become popular in studying exchange within regions (Hodges 1985, p259-260; Hodges 1987, p123-127). It is important to remember, however, that along with most social anthropological work, many of her conclusions are based on observations of contemporary primitive societies for which there are good documentary sources (Smith 1976, p324-356).

In a series of publications through the 1970s Colin Renfrew applied many social anthropological ideas to archaeological problems, together with an empiricist approach complemented by new scientific developments. He paid particular attention to interaction between societies at the level of materials and information. Contributions from the 'scientific revolution', eg. the sourcing of obsidian by neutron activation analysis (Renfrew, Dixon and Cann 1968, p319-31) could prove how far objects had moved and statistical models of dispersion could be used to examine the data (Renfrew 1977, p71-90). Relating deposited artefacts to anthropological definitions, however, proved to be more difficult. It is perhaps only with hindsight that this can be seen to be the case.

Renfrew also modified the social evolutionary models to forms which he judged were applicable to archaeological investigation in early civilisations, eg. the 'early state module' (Renfrew 1975/1984, p91-103). At the same time that Renfrew was tackling these problems from the perspective of the archaeologist, Friedman and Rowlands were examining social evolutionary frameworks and their archaeological manifestations from the anthropological viewpoint (Rowlands 1973, p589-600; Friedman and Rowlands 1978, p201-207). Friedman and Rowlands stated quite clearly that they were making tentative suggestions. Unfortunately, this has not been

remembered by all archaeologists who have used their ideas.

Working in collaboration they appreciated many of the shortcomings of current social evolutionary theory; for example, they clearly identified the problem of perceived inevitability in one social form changing into the immediate more complex successor in social evolutionary typologies (Friedman and Rowlands 1978, p205-206). They discussed the potential for cyclical appearance of certain forms of social organisation when particular forms of social force were acting upon societies. The result was the development of an 'epigenetic' theory of the evolution of human societies where different defined social structures recurred at different times; the structure could evolve into a number of different defined structures of a more complex or simple nature. This theory did succeed in removing the notion of inevitability of development along a complexity scale in social evolution, however, fundamentally, it was still a structured theory where specific exchange forms were expected at defined levels. They used Chinese, Meso-American and South American archaeological case studies with which to illustrate aspects of epigenetic theory. This was accompanied by utilisation of long timescales. A long timescale is very useful in a general model where individual difference and regional complexity can be rendered less significant if long term correlates of a general model can be found.

Core-periphery models have also proved an important influence in understanding the scale and directional flow of exchanged commodities. As social anthropology was providing a theoretical basis for the study of economies in early societies and scientific techniques and empirical data collection helped in the field of methodology, core-periphery models helped illustrate these analyses at a spatial level in archaeology. A combination of the three approaches can be defined as the processual school of archaeology (Clarke 1968, p408). Although these ideas were developed and in widespread use in the 1970s, they still have a major impact in all fields of contemporary archaeology (Clarke 1968, p408). This is especially the case

in the archaeology of exchange if, indeed it can be compartmentalised in such a way. An example from the Roman period comes from Hopkins' work (Hopkins 1981, p101-125) on his complementary flows of taxes and trade between the Mediterranean core and the newly conquered north-west peripheral territories. The adoption of core-periphery theory has also had a long lasting impact on studies of social and economic development in north-west Europe during the late Pre-Roman Iron Age and the early medieval period (Bradley 1984, p144-154; Haselgrove 1982, p81-87; Cunliffe 1988, p2-11; Hedeager 1992, p243-245; Fulford 1985, p104-106). It can be argued, however, that the latter period has a longer tradition of viewing economic development in terms of expansion from a 'core' area - seen in the early twentieth century work of Henri Pirenne (see below).

2.4 The application of social anthropology and processual theory to the archaeology of the early medieval period in north-west Europe

A division can be drawn between the application of social anthropological theory to early medieval studies and its application to the archaeology of the early medieval period. Early medieval case studies were used by Mauss (Mauss 1925/1954, p59-60) in his analysis of the role of gift exchange in archaic societies. The case studies were taken from historical sources. He was concerned with showing the importance of gift exchange to early medieval Germanic societies. He used examples from the Norse 'Havamal' and terms from old English heroic poetry describing different kinds of gifts eg Beowulf (Alexander 1973, p82). While the importance of gift exchange cannot be denied, Mauss was perhaps guilty of choosing terms and examples out of context. The background to the historiography of his sources and their time of writing was not discussed. It is important to note that Mauss did not suggest any theories on how such practices would be detected in the archaeological record. This was not a concern of his work.

Mauss was not concerned with ideas suggesting that certain types of exchange were characteristic of defined societies along an evolutionary scale. The first archaeological exponents of these theories for the early medieval period were Richard Hodges in Britain and Knut Odner in Scandinavia. Both seem to have been influenced by the widespread adoption of social anthropological and processual theory into contemporary prehistoric studies - especially in Britain. It is interesting to note that Polanyi himself was becoming interested in the application of his ideas to the European Middle Ages at the same period in the mid 1970s, indeed his last article on the subject appeared posthumously in 1978 (Polanyi and Polanyi 1978, p92-96).

Knut Odner was the first to place archaeological evidence into an anthropological framework of interpretation using sites dating from 300-700 AD in western Norway. The very title of his paper of 1974 - 'Economic Structures in western Norway in the Early Iron Age' - indicates his debt to structuralist social anthropology. In this work he used a possibly anachronistic analogy where he assumed that the social and economic forms described in thirteenth century Icelandic sagas mirrored those of western Norway at an earlier period (Odner 1974, p105). From these sources he defined what he called the 'economic structures' of society with regard to production, reciprocal and redistributive relations and that they were subsumed within a bilateral kinship structure. Odner then tried to use this model to examine the fourth-eighth century archaeological evidence in western Norway. The use of this framework was innovative but weaknesses were evident in the anachronistic use of Icelandic sagas. The indirect relationship between archaeological evidence and the assumed forms of social organisation was also clear. In her comments on Odner's work Stjernquist criticised Odner for his imprecise use of anthropological terms such as 'gift exchange' and 'gift trade' (Stjernquist 1974, p115). While correct in her analysis concerning social anthropology, it is my personal opinion that Stjernquist missed the point with regard to how archaeologists are expected to

recognise the material representation of such exchange activity, especially when the difference may be negligible.

Richard Hodges' utilisation of social anthropology for the interpretation of archaeological data began with the investigation of the character of the coastal and estuarine proto-urban centres being discovered in the 1970s in Britain and Europe eg Hamwih/Hamwic - early medieval Southampton. Bearing in mind his work on the Hamwic material, it is not surprising that this type of site should prove the first to be analysed within new frameworks of interpretation (Hodges 1980, p40-59 and Hodges 1981). From the archaeological evidence it was clear that these sites were involved in long-distance exchange, indicated by imported objects and that a high degree of craft specialisation was exhibited in production activity on such sites (Hunter 1980, p59-72; Hinton 1980, p73-77).

Hodges first tried to define the forms of society characterised as undertaking certain forms of exchange. Here social evolutionary models were utilised, seemingly based on Renfrew's scheme (Hodges 1979, p211). This was coupled with the application of substantivist ideas. In subsequent work, sites of exchange of different kinds were fitted within an anthropologically structured typology. The early medieval coastal and estuarine proto-urban centres such as Hamwic became seen as 'Ports-of-Trade', as defined by Polanyi (Polanyi 1957, p263; Hodges 1978, p98). Hodges modified Polanyi's identifications and further clarified the definition eg leaving centres like Dorestad and Hedeby out of the 'Port-of-Trade' designation, (Hodges 1978, p98). He preferred to use Renfrew's framework in seeing the latter settlements involved in 'middleman trading', somehow divorced from the social and economic relations of the ports' immediate hinterland and their elites (Renfrew 1975/1984, p121; Hodges 1978, p99-102).

With regard to the relationship of these settlement forms with their hinterlands, Hodges sought to amend the 'ports of trade' theory by combining it with economic geographical work on so-called 'gateway communities'. In this respect he borrowed

from the work of Kenneth Hirth (Hirth 1978, p37). 'Gateway communities' are defined by Hirth as a settlement form commanding long-distance trade using natural corridors of communication and placed at critical passages between areas of high mineral, agricultural or craft productivity. It is suggested that these 'gateway communities' are located at the interface of different levels of social development. Hodges also put emphasis on the theory that these settlements were originally designed by elites to reinforce their social positions by controlling access to resources which were unavailable within their native territories (Hodges 1982, p118). The usefulness of the idea of the 'gateway community' was that it allowed for the investigation of suggested relationships between coastal sites linked with long-distance exchange and hinterlands. More importantly, Hodges thought he could identify the archaeological representations of such sites and link them with other resource exploitation mechanisms such as peripatetic kingship. The founding of such 'gateway communities' by potentates in north-west Europe was viewed as a way of maximising control over rare commodities. This was reinforced by historical studies of the importance of gift exchange in early medieval Germanic societies (Hodges 1982, p122, Charles-Edwards 1976, p180-187).

The culmination of Hodges' ideas on trade, exchange and its close correlation with the development of urbanism in early medieval north-west Europe appeared in his work 'Dark Age Economics' in 1982. The work proposed to deal with the period 600-1000 AD. It incorporated Hodges' earlier work together with the presentation of a general model of north-west European social and economic development. This model was not only influenced by current social evolutionary theory but also by the general model of economic development for this period put forward by the Belgian historian Henri Pirenne. His ideas appeared in a number of great works - in particular, 'Medieval Cities' and 'Mohammed and Charlemagne' (Pirenne 1925 and Pirenne 1939). Hodges was not alone in the use of social evolutionary theory in explaining social change. CJ Arnold was also examining the ideas of 'stress'

caused by rapid social stratification, its manifestation in the control of access to resources and the role this had on kingdom formation in the seventh century (Arnold 1982, p125-129). Arnold's model, however, was restricted to Anglo-Saxon England, while Hodges tried to provide a new theoretical basis for the social and economic development of early medieval north-western Europe.

2.5 Core periphery and the World system explanation of early medieval social and economic change

Pirenne had been concerned with accounting for the social and economic development of north-western Europe culminating in what he termed the 'Carolingian renaissance' associated with the re-appearance of urban settlements, religious foundations and an increased impetus in scholarship. He also sought to examine the role of trade and exchange in this development. Pirenne produced a model based on a collapse of trading contact between the Mediterranean and north-west Europe by the turn of the eighth century. Consequently, he suggested that the Frankish economy and society, in particular, was forced to develop via a re-organisation of its own resources and by establishing new trading relationships with other non-Mediterranean regions (Pirenne 1925, p26-36). His views on the chronology of these changes can be summarised as follows:- the classical economy of the Mediterranean continued, albeit on a smaller scale, into the early medieval/late antique period with Merovingian Gaul (modern France and Belgium) linked to it via Provence and the Alpine passes into Italy. This link was cut, however, with the Arab conquests and their domination of the Mediterranean sea routes by the early eighth century. As a result, the Frankish kingdoms under the new Carolingian dynasty were forced to undergo social and economic development in isolation. The development and expansion of the Carolingian empire and the foundations of emporia (coastal and estuarine trading centres) was seen as a

corollary and important part of that development (Pirenne 1939, p284).

The scale of the new trading links established included links with Anglo-Saxon, Baltic and Slavic kingdoms. Via the Baltic, relations were established with the Muslim caliphates. As well as external trading relations, great use was made of the resources available within the 'empire' vis-a-vis the construction of new buildings, etc. Pirenne then attributed the dislocation of these new trading links with the advent of the Scandinavian and Magyar invasions (Pirenne 1936, p7). It is Pirenne who is responsible for this 'Frankish' and in particular, the 'Carolingian-centric' view of socio-economic development for early medieval north-west Europe. Hodges abided by Pirenne's guidelines with revisions where Pirenne has been shown to be incorrect. Hodges paid detailed attention to developments of the eighth and ninth centuries but scant consideration was given to the movement of objects and raw materials from the Mediterranean into north-western Europe between 400-600 AD. Summarised as directional gift exchange networks, the unsupported assumption is made that imports moved into north-west Europe as a result of the social demand for exotic luxuries created by the Merovingian Frankish courts. It is suggested that the latter were then responsible for further dispersion of exotic materials to Anglo-Saxon England. This creates the illusion of demand created at a core area (Hodges 1982, p32). Evidence for the existence of other trade networks was mentioned, eg. Mediterranean contact with 'Celtic' areas of Britain, but overall emphasis was given to the importance of the Northern Frankish areas - Neustria and Austrasia.

Modern archaeological work has shown that Pirenne's chronology for social and economic change is inaccurate in a number of respects but his results can still be regarded as broadly valid if the following caveats are noted. Contrary to Pirenne's claim, long-distance exchange networks were seen to collapse due to the seventh century Sassanian Persian invasions of the Byzantine empire rather than Arab conquest (Foss 1975, p246-247). The result is that economic and social changes

are now identified as having occurred a hundred years earlier than Pirenne envisaged.

The importance of the 'Carolingian empire' and the Carolingian 'renaissance' are stressed as representations of the importance of this area in the development of trade and urbanisation in north-western Europe (Hodges and Whitehouse, 1983, p124-126). The end result of this trend can be seen in the very general thematic modelling of the development of Europe and the Mediterranean in the first millennium AD by Klaus Randsborg. The latter work required strict typological definitions and in some cases themes are examined out of regional and cultural context, eg. it may be erroneous to give specific attention to pottery and coins in discussing trade without mention of their *representativity* of possible exchange relations in the archaeological record (Randsborg 1991, p127-138). General thematic modelling has also led to an application of Wallerstein's ideas with the notion of a 'world system' of trade and exchange being put back into earlier societies than Wallerstein intended (Kohl 1989, p220-231). The distribution of 'Roman' objects in south and south-west Asia during the Roman period is therefore seen by Randsborg as evidence of 'closer economic ties between 'East' and 'West' than in earlier periods' (Randsborg 1991, p145). Such an interpretation is subsumed with modern concepts of trading areas which must be anachronistic. Hodges and Moreland have also applied Wallerstein's theory to the working of the Carolingian empire and its relations with contemporary Anglo-Saxon England, stressing the importance of core-periphery relations during the eighth and ninth centuries in north-western Europe (Hodges and Moreland 1988, p84).

2.6 The study of regional exchange within a general model

Within the general model of the explanation of socio-economic development in early medieval Europe discussed above, relatively little attention was placed on

regional exchange relationships outside of a framework proposed by Carol Smith. She suggested a series of typological systems of distribution correlating with particular types of society - uncommercialised, partially commercialised and fully commercialised societies. As noted earlier this is an anthropological work and in my view does not lend itself well to the possible identification of a number of exchange mechanisms working concurrently within the same society.

Hodges used Smith's ideas to examine the stages at which an elite would possess -

'authority over regional resources, manifested in the settlement form, in settlement hierarchy, in the distribution and scale of production and in the character and size of commerce' (Hodges 1985, p260).

The testing of Smith's model was one of the reasons for the San Vincenzo project in Italy, involving the study of an important monastery and its immediate region. As Smith's typologies suggested the distribution systems linked to specific settlement hierarchies, it was felt that her models would be of great use to archaeology where field surveys could cover regions, backed up with selective excavations. The archaeological correlates of Smith's typologies had to be predicted (Hodges 1985, p262). The aim of the San Vincenzo project was to investigate the growth of the monastery from the late Roman period to the eleventh and twelfth centuries, relating it to its region. Following this work Hodges realised some of the limitations of Smith's ideas, eg. the need for the expansion of the rigid typologies which were inapplicable to non Meso-American case studies. Hodges also saw the need for Smith's framework to be reconsidered more in materialistic terms if they were to have a use in modelling regional exchange networks (Hodges 1987, p126).

The investigation of intra-regional and inter-regional exchange using specific case 'regions' is the only way that the general theory of social and economic development can be refined. As Astill commented-

' the numerous field surveys taking place over many areas of Europe may eventually provide some data for this huge enterprise, provided the information is viewed in the context of the functioning of the medieval economy (Astill 1985, p229).

2.7 The necessary components of a new approach

The importance of the role of social anthropological theories in the interpretation of archaeological evidence for the early medieval period cannot be denied. Their use, however, must be qualified. As a general simplification of reality they may be useful. At the general level anthropological theory has provided a basis for interpretation where archaeological evidence has sometimes been lacking. Where archaeological evidence is scarce, however, great care should be taken to differentiate between interpretations derived from physical evidence and interpretations derived from hypothetical models. It is also necessary to guard against overemphasis of the importance of 'type' sites. Where only one or a small number of high quality excavations of a similar type of archaeological site exist (eg. a 'high-status' settlement), it is inevitable that this small number of sites will attract a lot of attention in the relevant literature. A lack of excavation or survey in a region surrounding a 'type' site, however, may give rise to its importance being overstressed. The validity of the use of generalising anthropological models and 'type' sites must be tested at the regional level.

Any new approach proposed to investigate the complexity of exchange relations in early medieval England must be flexible enough to take account of the following dimensions of variation:-

- i) The differing influence of the preceding societies in different areas of

England;

- ii) It must incorporate the possibilities for different notions of value with regard to commodities - in unfabricated or artefact form;
- iii) The approach must allow for the potential effect of multiple migrations at different times with regard to exchange relations and social development;
- iv) A number of distribution mechanisms may operate within a region at the same time relating to immediate access to resources, clan interaction or differential ranking within societies;
- v) Attention must be given to the different sites of commodity appropriation, whether by direct acquisition or via transient or permanent settlement forms;
- vi) Awareness must be shown of the role of the individual in exchange relations and socio-economic change.

It is only with the appreciation of the potential effects of the above factors at the regional level that a greater understanding of inter-regional and long-distance exchange can be gained.

Chapter 3

CURRENT METHODS FOR THE RECONSTRUCTION OF EXCHANGE NETWORKS WITHIN AND BETWEEN 'REGIONS' IN EARLY MEDIEVAL ENGLAND, 400-700AD

3.1 Introduction

In outlining any new approach it is fundamentally important to develop the appropriate methodology. In a study of exchange in early medieval England through regional case studies it is first necessary to appreciate current methods used to study exchange within a regional context. The most widely used methods come from the fields of artefact studies discussed below.

3.2 Ceramic studies

One of the most often used forms of archaeological remains for the reconstruction of local exchange links in early Anglo-Saxon England has been stamp-decorated pottery. This pottery has mainly been derived from excavated assemblages, either from cemeteries or settlements. These ceramics are hand-made and do not survive in large numbers in the ploughsoil due to their poorly fired nature and the quality of the pot fabrics (Schofield 1989, p462). Both decorated and plain forms of early Anglo-Saxon pottery are found. The stamp-decorated examples, however, have been used most intensively in the reconstruction of exchange links to date. Hypotheses ^{relating to} ceramic exchange have been put forward based on very close similarities between decorative stamp motifs on pottery found on archaeological sites in the same locality or even in different regions. In an attempt to explain similarities in stamp motif use in certain parts of eastern England Noel Myres suggested that similarly decorated pottery may have originated from a common

source. As a result Myres tried to identify potters' workshops. He suggested that use of specific decorative stamps provided evidence for the existence of 'workshops' of potters who produced similar ceramic forms for a number of different sites or regions (Myres 1977, p68-69).

The term workshop is very misleading, however, as it implies some sort of specialised site of manufacture of a temporary or permanent nature. It also implies organisation of individual craft specialists - in this case, potters - producing ceramic forms decorated with unique designs. This term may not be appropriate for the production and exchange of hand-made stamped pottery. It may be more appropriate to view stamp-linked groups as indications of itineraries of travelling potters producing for a number of sites.

Myres noted that in most cases stamp-linked groups indicate small scale operations of production rather than exchange (Myres 1977, p68).¹ He also noted their small proportion of overall ceramic assemblages. This varies depending on the region. Certain areas seemed to be more closely bound in terms of stamp-linked groups than others. In particular, Myres noted that half of the workshops supplying two or more cemeteries operated within the area of 'middle Anglia' running from Northamptonshire through Cambridgeshire into the western parts of Norfolk and Suffolk. Long-distance exchange contacts in ceramics were noted between middle Anglia and other parts of Eastern England and animal-stamped pottery was interpreted as a product for a commercial market (Myres 1977, p69). Moving away from this functionalist market-orientated approach, Catherine Hills has stressed the likely symbolic role of animal stamps (Hills 1983, p107-108).

Significant problems exist, however, with the itinerant potter and 'works' p' hypotheses. As most stamp-linked groups were identified from cemetery assemblages, Arnold suggested that the burial pattern may be a stronger force in determining the dispersal pattern of stamp-linked ceramics than the 'system' of exchange (Arnold 1981, p246). Arnold also noted that it is unclear to what extent

1. However, indications from the stamped cremation urns at the large cemetery of Spong Hill, in Norfolk, show that the size of stamp-linked groups may have been under-estimated. More than a hundred stamp-linked pot groups have been identified at this cemetery (Hills, Penn and Rickett 1987, p.1-12). Myres' conclusion that stamp-linked groups reflected small scale operations of production could reflect the fact that he was forced to use evidence from incompletely excavated sites.

stamp linked groups may be the products of one potter or a workshop.

These observations raise the question of validity of the concept of the stamp-linked workshop and itinerant potters. Stamp-linked pottery cannot be dated with any precision (Arnold 1981, p245). The assignation of a stamp-linked pottery group to a particular potter or workshop may be giving an erroneous interpretation tacitly forgetting our inability to date the pottery accurately. Despite this problem, Arnold produced a study of stamp die groups giving a minimum number of dies needed to produce a stamp-linked group. It was then hoped to assess whether stamp-linked groups were the products of a single potter or a workshop. This analysis involved making casts of stamps from given 'workshops', eg. the Illington-Lackford group, and the Sancton-Baston group, in order to examine whether the same stamp dies had been used at different sites. It was hoped that this would then lead to proof of the existence of itinerant potters or workshops (Arnold 1988, p433). Arnold first used this methodology on products of the 'Sancton-Baston workshop' in East Yorkshire and Lincolnshire. The approach seemed to work well, although his sample size only involved nine vessels (Arnold 1988, p 345). Great difficulty was encountered, however, in determining stamp links for the Illington-Lackford group centred on Suffolk, Norfolk and the Fens. Here the sample size was much larger. He tried to account for the failure of the technique by noting that stamp shape alone is an unreliable test of similarity given the potential variability resulting from either fouling or wear of pottery stamp dies which were cut as positive templates into antler or wood or the variability resulting from shrinkage of a pot in drying and firing (Stokes 1984, p27-30; Riddler 1986, p17-20; Arnold 1988, p350). Following this logic, the same potential for variation may apply for the Sancton-Baston and all other workshops.

General similarity of stamps with slight differences in detail can be attributed to reasons other than those above. Standardization in the use of specific designs can act as visual markers of social identity within a group (Welbourn 1985, p124).

Hodder gave an example of this standardization phenomenon in his early work in the Baringo district of Kenya, where decoration of pottery was highly standardized in relation to tribal groups (Hodder 1979, p10). A universal law equating standardization among social groups in contemporary Africa with decorative standardization among early Anglo-Saxon social groups may be highly inappropriate. Nevertheless, it is possible that the general similarity in stamp links represents an expression of group identity and not the work of an itinerant potter or workshop. At the same time, the possibility that unique motifs are used to express group identity does not necessarily indicate that specialist potters did not exist. Group motifs may have been known over the whole group area resulting in widespread standardization without the necessity for an itinerant potter. It is also possible that beliefs are symbolised in the stamps as well as group identity.

Myres' workshop idea is also anachronistic in his specific use of 'modern' economic terms to discuss exchange of early Anglo-Saxon ceramics. His ideas of production for a commercial market may also be inapplicable to the social relations of early medieval societies. Since his work, largely based on cremation urns, stamped pottery has been found on settlement sites - for example, 'Illington-Lackford' stamp motifs have been found on some of the West Stow settlement ceramics (Green, Milligan and West 1981, p199-205; West 1985, p130-135). This has raised the question of whether the presence of stamped pottery on settlement sites represents exchange in the contents of the pots rather than the ceramics themselves. With the discovery of the same stamp-linked groups within cemeteries and associated settlements it is less easy to claim that a ceremonial level of production existed, distinct from a domestic level of production, though this may differ regionally (Brisbane 1981, p231-236). The use of the same motifs in both domestic and funerary contexts lends credence to the hypotheses that they may be an expression of social identity and belief.

John Walker suggested an alternative approach to the study of early Anglo-Saxon

pottery as an indicator of exchange. This involved a petrological analysis of the ceramics from Orton Hall Farm, Peterborough (Walker 1978, p224). The results suggested that certain fabrics had their source in the Charnwood Forest area west of Leicester and around Nuneaton. Petrological analysis has since been carried out by Alan Vince on early - late 'Anglo-Saxon' pottery fabrics from London and by Andrew Russell on the West Stow settlement fabrics (Vince 1984, p34-36; Russell 1985, p130). This technique may produce a greater understanding of either exchanged clays and exchanged ceramics or of the distances potters were prepared to go to obtain the appropriate clays. The potential for complexity in acquisition mechanisms is great. At the moment, however, petrological analysis programmes have not sourced enough early Anglo-Saxon ceramic assemblages to provide a picture of the exchange mechanisms which may have operated.

The applicability of ceramics in investigation of exchange relations is also affected by the amount of pottery in circulation and its survival rate. Hodges applied Smith's model to the area around the Italian monastery of San Vincenzo al Volturno because he felt that he could reconstruct settlement hierarchy and exchange patterns from pottery dispersal vis-a-vis the monastery and its surrounding region. The important point to note is that Hodges chose to investigate patterns of pottery distribution within a region that used well fired wheel-made ceramics from the fifth - eleventh centuries, a large proportion of the pottery wares recovered being examples of mass produced wares such as late red slip wares and red painted wares. This distribution pattern was obtained largely from fieldwalking assemblages and limited excavation (Hodges 1985, p260). The use of the above research design in Britain would have a number of shortcomings. One drawback is the apparent regional difference in pottery use in Britain in the early medieval period, eg. Vince has noted that the Welsh marches and the West Midlands were virtually aceramic from the fifth - eleventh centuries (Schofield 1989, p460). As a result, Hodges' methodology could not be applied to every region of Britain for the

study of the early medieval period though in Hodges' defence he did not suggest that his methodology should be transferred to a British case study.

Schofield also noted that the quality of the pottery and landuse factors would also affect any reconstruction of exchange links through the use of hand-made pottery scatters from surface collection (Schofield 1989, p461-462). Early medieval grass-tempered and calcite-gritted wares tend to be soft and poorly fired and are therefore physically and chemically weathered to the extent that they are largely unrecognisable when fieldwalking. With a comprehensive research strategy, however, ploughsoil distributions can still give significant information. The south-east Suffolk pilot field survey of the East Anglia Kingdom survey set out to study development of the settlement pattern in the area around Sutton Hoo from the prehistoric to the high medieval periods. Iron Age and early Anglo-Saxon hand-made pottery from this study area was indistinguishable in many cases (Newman 1985, p23; Newman 1988 p10-11; Newman 1989, p 17). They were poorly fired and made from the same fabrics. Both the Iron Age and early Anglo-Saxon pottery wares would have been physically and chemically weathered in the same way. It might have been predicted that archaeological sites from both these periods would have been rendered invisible in the ploughsoil in a similar manner. This was not the case, however, early Anglo-Saxon pottery survival clustered along the Deben river valley while Iron Age pottery distribution was more widespread (Newman 1985, p23). It would therefore appear that in this regional example surface collection was providing a relatively accurate indication of early Anglo-Saxon site location. If early Anglo-Saxon sites had been more widespread a wider distribution of early Anglo-Saxon ceramics would have been expected using Iron Age pottery survival as an analogy. As the occurrence and survival of hand-made Anglo-Saxon pottery in the ploughsoil is extremely localised, however, generally the use of field survey is very limited in the reconstruction of exchange patterns.

Surface collection is extremely useful in identifying exchange links where well fired

slow-wheel produced pottery occurs. The obvious example is that of 'Ipswich ware' produced from the mid seventh century. Distributions of this pottery ware have been plotted for the East and Middle Anglian areas (Russell 1984, p584). There may have been a number of distribution and exchange mechanisms operating on its dispersal. The East Anglian Kingdom survey, in particular, is providing a detailed picture of regional distribution in south-east Suffolk (Newman 1989, p19). Numerous smaller scale surface collections and excavations have also illustrated the widespread distribution of Ipswich wares at both a regional and inter-regional level indicating exchange of Ipswich wares up the east coast of England as far as the Humber estuary (Vince 1990, p100; Leahy pers comm; Armstrong, Tomlinson and Evans 1991, p71-72).

Differences in landuse also cause recognition and comparability problems concerning archaeological remains. The potential for the use of ceramics as indicators of exchange depends on their recovery from excavation and survey. The importance of pottery from excavated sites can only be appreciated if there are sufficient excavated sites for comparison or if there is associated surface collection. Surface collection can only be undertaken in areas of arable cultivation. This obviously creates a recognition and comparability bias with areas practising pastoral farming where surface collection is impossible. Distribution of ceramics cannot be readily compared in pastoral farming areas due to recovery problems. Modern pastoral landuse is potentially masking archaeological sites in areas which were under arable cultivation at some time between the prehistoric and high Medieval periods. As a result, potential indications of exchange patterns are also being masked and this drastically limits the use of ceramic distributions in reconstructing exchange networks. Regional variability in use of pottery in early medieval Britain, the problem of physical and chemical weathering of hand-made Anglo-Saxon pottery and differences in modern landuse therefore render ceramics an unreliable form of evidence on which to base a study of exchange in early

medieval England. An approach applicable to all areas of England would have to be based on other categories of evidence.

3.3 Non-ceramic artefact studies

The role of non-ceramic artefact studies in the illustration of exchange mechanisms must be set within a brief description of the changing aims of this field. In its infant years early medieval archaeology within 'Anglo-Saxon' areas of England was dominated by the excavation of cemeteries (Leeds 1913, p24). With the latter providing the largest data source most interpretative work concentrated on the artefacts associated with inhumation or cremation graves. Heavily influenced by the legacy of middle and late Anglo-Saxon textual sources, interpretation focused on establishing the ethnic divisions of the early Anglo-Saxon settlers. A use of Bede can be seen as particularly to blame for this. Bede noted that chief among the Germanic settlers of Britain were the Angles, Saxons and Jutes. He also gives a rough geographic location of their ancestral homelands (Bede, trans Colgrave and Mynors 1969, p51; Leeds 1913, p42). The archaeological correlations of these descriptions were sought in England and on the continent. Copper-alloy dress accessories in female graves soon became fundamental in an attempted mapping of ethnic settlement patterns. These dress fittings comprised different forms of brooches and wrist clasps. Deposition of these accessories was not uniform in every grave but the practice was widespread enough to be used to illustrate deposition patterns of particular types of artefact.

The designation of areas settled by different ethnic groups was mainly based on stylistic similarity between brooch forms. Studying recurrent distributions of particular brooch types in England and on the continent, together with their purely insular developments, produced a picture of the Germanic settlement of England which superficially gave credence to Bede's description. The area between the

rivers Elbe and Weser in northern Germany was equated with the area Bede described as ancestral continental 'Saxon' lands. Schleswig-Holstein - the southern half of Jutland - was identified as 'Angulus' the original homeland of the Angles and northern Jutland as the area from which the Jutes derived. From the fourth and fifth century evidence in these areas some archaeological grouping could be identified. Saucer brooches seemed to be characteristic of the Elbe-Weser area though their numbers were small (Leeds 1945, p66; Dickinson 1993, p11). Equal-armed brooches were also almost exclusive of this Elbe-Weser 'Saxon' area, while Tutulus brooches occurred mainly in the latter area but also in some parts of Schleswig-Holstein (Bohme 1974, Karte 5). Cruciform brooches were common to both the supposed 'Saxon' and 'Angle' European homelands (Leeds 1945, p79) and in the fourth and fifth centuries Great square-headed brooches and bracteate pendants have a distribution centring on the supposed Jutish homelands and Scandinavia (Leeds 1947, p35-36). After migration to England, however, it is impossible to identify separate areas of Angle, Saxon and Jute settlement as the majority of fifth century Anglo-Saxon remains exhibit a mixed material culture (Leeds 1936, plate XI; Leeds 1945, p78). Bede's description of the areas settled by the Angles, Saxons and Jutes in England is not reflected in the earliest Anglo-Saxon remains. The superficial correlation between Bede's descriptions and patterns of dress accessory deposition were with sixth century Anglo-Saxon remains (Leeds 1945, p79-84).

It is from the sixth century artefact deposition patterns that types of dress accessory were given ethnic labels. The 'Anglian', 'Saxon' and 'Jutish' labels assigned to these groups of artefacts in Anglo-Saxon England did not necessarily relate to the artefact groups present in fourth and fifth century Angle, Saxon and Jute areas in northern Germany and Jutland. From both the sixth century distributions in England and examples in the Elbe-Weser area of Germany, Leeds suggested that saucer brooches were indicative of 'Saxon' areas of Anglo-Saxon England (Leeds 1913,

p63; Leeds 1933, p229). Very small saucer brooches or 'button' brooches and disc brooches are also seen as Saxon dress accessories. The latter type of brooch together with the saucer brooch were seen as particularly indicative of Saxon areas, the disc brooch being especially common in the upper Thames valley.

Dress accessories seen as characteristic of 'Anglian' settlement areas include annular brooches, small-long brooches and cruciform brooches (Leeds 1945, p46). Wrist-clasps for female dresses have also been identified as 'Anglian' dress accessories. It would appear, however, that the use of wrist-clasps was a fashion imported from southern Scandinavia rather than Schleswig-Holstein (Hines 1984, p102), the first examples appearing in England in the late fifth century. Square-headed brooches, while present in small numbers in 'Saxon' areas were noted in greater numbers in 'Anglian' areas. The major concentration of square-headed brooches, however, lies in Kent and the Isle of Wight - areas associated with Jutish settlement - a distribution which reflects the fifth century clustering of square-headed brooches in Jutland and Scandinavia (Leeds 1947, p35).

A number of factors, however, argue against the designation of a simple ethnic label to material culture patterning. Taking disc brooches as an example, two points can be made. First, disc brooches are unknown in the supposed Saxon continental homeland and while small numbers appear in northern France in late fifth - sixth century contexts, they can be interpreted as the result of Anglo-Saxon emigration from areas of Britain or movement through exogamy (James 1979, p64; Morris 1973, p287-288). Disc brooches are an insular development and they should not be used as an indicator of 'Saxon' identity based on continental antecedents (Dickinson 1976, vol 1, p119). It would appear that indigenous native styles played a more important role in their development. The 'Bull's eye' decoration with which many are decorated may have its ancestry in designs used on Romano-British plate brooches, conventionally dated to the second and third centuries (Dickinson 1979, p49). The possible significance within a context of acculturation between native

and immigrant populations relating to this brooch type will be discussed in reference to the upper Thames Valley in chapter 7. The second point concerns the distribution of disc brooches. Small but significant numbers occur in South Cambridgeshire, Bedfordshire, Buckinghamshire and Northamptonshire. These areas have been described geographically and archaeologically as 'Middle Anglian' (Leeds 1933, p242). If traditional ethnic attributions to dress accessories were applied, however, this area would be said to contain both 'Anglian' and 'Saxon' forms. If dress accessories buried with graves are to be seen as indicators of some sort of social group based on 'ethnic' identity, burial assemblage patterns exhibiting mixed social and cultural traits are very difficult to interpret.

The above illustration concerning the distribution of disc brooches brings awareness of the problem of attaching traditional 'ethnic' labels to material culture as well as the inadequateness of universal laws of cultural representation in archaeological deposits. Middle Anglia can be used as a case study to illustrate these shortcomings with reference to expression of identity. If 'Middle Anglia' is viewed as a 'cultural' boundary zone between 'Saxon' and 'Anglian' areas, it has been suggested that one might expect an accentuation of expressions of identity either side of this boundary (Hodder 1979, p10-11). This would seem entirely inappropriate to 'Middle Anglian' female graves which often exhibit both Anglian and Saxon dress accessories in the same grave. Examples of such graves can be seen in the cemeteries of Luton, Bedfordshire (Austin 1928, p182) and Nassington, Northants (Leeds and Atkinson 1945, p106-109). It would therefore appear that the same material culture items may be used to express different things at different levels of intensity depending on geographical area and the attitude of individual social groups (Hodder 1979, p11). It may be less important for 'Middle Anglian' social groups to express themselves through a peculiar series of dress accessories. This does not mean that they were any less distinct as social groups in reality. The study of dress accessory patterning and changing views of what artefact

deposition patterns represent have had a profound effect on the study of exchange at the level of exchange of commodities and exchange of social information. It is clear that an area such as 'Middle Anglia' may not have used material culture as a clear expression of ethnic identity at burial. The mixed burial assemblages may indicate exogamy, ie. the large scale movement of women as brides between two areas. Alternatively, it may indicate that 'itinerant smiths' from different artefact usage areas were providing dress accessories for a region where peculiar expression of identity in exclusive material terms was not of fundamental importance. With evident links with a number of 'material culture provinces', the likelihood of an area such as 'Middle Anglia' acting as a thoroughfare for exchange seems highly probable. It is necessary to be aware, however, that it is inaccurate to describe 'Middle Anglia' as a single area in the early Anglo-Saxon period. If the document the 'Tribal Hidage' can be trusted as a late seventh century Mercian or Northumbrian tribute assessment, it is clear that Middle Anglia incorporated a large number of 'tribal' groups (Davies and Vierck 1974, p281-285; Scull 1993, p68-69). The example of 'Middle Anglia' with regard to copper-alloy dress accessories may seem to argue against the idea of the expression of group identity through recurrent form and stylistic similarity of dress accessories, however, this is not the case. Using the example of Middle Anglia, I have tried to indicate that expressions of group identity may vary between different areas. It would seem very unlikely that peculiar dress accessory categories did not express group identity where they occur in relative isolation. Even in the latter areas, there are always isolated exceptions. These exceptions - usually female graves - may be regarded as evidence for exchange of women possibly via marriage outside their social groups. A likely example has been discovered at the Buttermarket cemetery in Ipswich where a woman wearing dress accessories described as 'Alamannic' has been found (Scull pers comm.). The latter were generally found in southern Germany (Christlein 1979). Mixed material culture depositions on the scale of Middle Anglian examples,

however, would seem to argue for a distribution mechanism other than exogamy. Study of the methods and level of production of copper-alloy dress accessories also have implications for their exchange. It has proved difficult to assess the level of production at particular Anglo-Saxon settlement sites. The general lack of evidence for copper-alloy working on the scale of contemporary non-Anglo-Saxon sites such as the Broch of Birsay (Curle 1982, p26-29 and 40-92) has given credence to the suggestion of an 'itinerant fine metalworking smith' method of production in Anglo-Saxon areas from the fifth - seventh centuries, only changing to specialized production on a larger scale at certain monastic and probably 'royal' workshops during the seventh century (Arnold 1988, p84-85). It must be remembered, however, that there is a dichotomy in the archaeological evidence influencing this theory. In non-Anglo-Saxon areas of the British Isles, there is evidence of relatively large-scale specialized production of copper-alloy artefacts at certain settlement sites, eg. Dunadd, the Broch of Birsay, Dinas Powys, Moynagh Lough and Lagore Crannog (Lane 1984, p43-62; Campbell and Lane 1993, p54-55; Curle 1982, p26-29; Alcock 1987, p122-125; Bradley 1989, p180-184; Hencken 1951, p235-237). They seem to produce for the needs over and above that of the individual settlement and are therefore assumed to be produced for exchange. At the same time, relatively few examples of post-Roman British dress accessories are found on sites of the fifth - seventh centuries.

In Anglo-Saxon areas during the same period, production evidence from settlements is very scarce. Only a few sites have produced copper-alloy metalworking debris. Part of a single clay mould for a brooch was found at the settlement of Mucking in Essex (Jones 1975, p407-8) and fragments of clay crucibles for melting copper-alloy or other fine metals (gold, silver, tin and lead) were found in a sunken-featured building at the settlement of Sutton Courtenay in the upper Thames valley (Leeds 1923, plate xviii). The level of production of copper-alloy objects is indicated, however, by the large number of artefacts

recovered from Anglo-Saxon cemeteries.

This discrepancy in distribution of production evidence and deposition of copper-alloy objects in early Anglo-Saxon and post-Roman British areas may relate to both the mode of production and the production sites in Anglo-Saxon areas. Metalworking may have been carried out on the periphery of settlements or in close proximity to a fuel source, ie near woodland. Anglo-Saxon settlement excavations would, therefore, not produce evidence of metalworking as it would have been performed outside the area of most settlement excavations. It is noteworthy that evidence for iron working on early Anglo-Saxon sites has tended to come from large area excavations of settlements such as West Heslerton in the Vale of Pickering (Powlesland and Cowgill pers comm), Mucking in Essex (Wilson 1976, p262-263; Hamerow pers comm) and West Stow in Suffolk (West 1985, p 57). Furnace and smelting remains are located towards the periphery of their main settlement areas. Late Saxon calendar illuminations illustrating seasonal activities of rural communities also illustrate metalworking away from settlement centres, located instead near fuel resources (M.S. Cotton Tiberius BV; Loveluck forthcoming). While the evidence is lacking, fine metalworking hearths may also have been located on the peripheries of Anglo-Saxon settlements. The scarcity of early Anglo-Saxon metalworking debris on settlement sites may therefore be attributed to extra-settlement activity or archaeological retrieval bias.

Such an explanation may be augmented by a consideration of the mode of production of early Anglo-Saxon metalwork. The hypothesis of the itinerant fine-metalworking system of production for copper-alloy dress accessories has largely come about from the negative evidence for fine metalworking on many Anglo-Saxon settlement excavations together with the occurrence of identical brooches in different cemeteries. The latter appear to support the conclusion that permanent fine-metalworking 'workshops' were absent from early Anglo-Saxon settlements and that identical brooches must have been made by the same itinerant craftsmen.

The identical saucer brooches from Cassington and Abingdon in the upper Thames valley illustrate the latter part of this conclusion. These brooches could even have been cast from the same mould (see Volume 2, appendix 3). Alternatively, the same 'pattern' ie model, could have been used to make the moulds for both brooches (Lamm 1973, p5; Holmqvist 1975, p 128).

There is a flaw to the itinerant production hypothesis for metalworking, however, and this flaw has particular significance relating to use of copper-alloy metalwork as an indicator of exchange. As it stands, the itinerancy model fails if it is accepted that early Anglo-Saxon society was a kin-based society (Vinogradoff 1911, p135-142). Itinerant smiths would have had their own kin groups. As a member of such an extended family group, an itinerant smith may have had a place of permanent residence at the kin settlement. Since travelling ability may have been limited by seasonal weather conditions, a permanent place of residence might have been advantageous, for example, in winter. With permanent places of residence, smiths are likely to have had permanent or semi-permanent working areas. Having a seasonal base with their extended family groups would also have limited the extent of seasonal itineraries.

If a smith was resident at his native settlement for at least part of a year it is as likely that members of other communities, without access to a smith, would travel to the smith rather than vice-versa. The lack of identified smiths' working areas may be due to the factors noted earlier. A part sedentary, part itinerant smith hypothesis would allow for the full integration of these craftsmen into current ideas of early Anglo-Saxon kin-based society (Charles-Edwards 1972, p28-33). Permanent itinerant craftsmen would have been extremely vulnerable as they would have been effectively kinless and therefore liable to exploitation.

A smith must have been constantly involved in exchange transactions, presumably exchanging skills for other commodities. The setting of a 'price' for the production of an artefact is likely to have been set by 'ad hoc' bartering. The copper-alloy raw

material may have been provided by the smith or the client. Scrap copper-alloy seems to have been re-used for new artefacts. Recycling has rendered the copper-alloy impossible to source with significant variation in alloy composition (Mortimer 1991, p107). If smiths were part itinerant and part sedentary, with clients moving to the smith as well as vice versa, identical brooches previously seen as evidence of itinerant production can equally be interpreted as evidence for regional exchange of brooches from the native settlement of a particular smith. Organisation of production of copper-alloy artefacts in Anglo-Saxon areas from the fifth-seventh centuries therefore has a direct potential impact on the reconstruction of regional exchange networks using dress accessories. Itinerant production presumably involved the exchange of a service in return for goods while dispersal of artefacts from a single settlement would have involved exchange of a service for goods as well as the provision of a mechanism for dispersing artefacts. This would have required clients to carry their new artefacts back to their native settlements. Alternatively, finished objects produced at one centre could have been traded by a craftsman or his kin group, thus a regional exchange network would have been created as opposed to a regional production network.

Copper-alloy dress accessories have been the main non-ceramic artefact form used to illustrate regional and inter-regional exchange. Other artefact forms have been used to illustrate 'long-distance exchange' links from the fifth-seventh centuries (Olausson 1988, p15). This has generally involved the identification of 'imports' not indigenous to the British Isles and the plotting of their distributions. The majority of these imports come from grave assemblages. Fifth and sixth century import distributions may not necessarily provide evidence for long-distance exchange contacts, however, since objects of foreign provenance may have been carried to England through migration. Both mechanisms for the importation of objects could have worked in a complementary fashion with links between England and ancestral Germanic homelands being maintained through exchange contact after migration to

England. The observed links between Kent (supposedly an area of Jutish settlement) and Jutland and southern Scandinavia in the late fifth-early sixth centuries may reflect this phenomenon (Leeds 1947, p35-36).

It has been argued that less debatable evidence of long-distance exchange contacts can be gleaned from mid sixth-seventh century import distributions as the Anglo-Saxon migrations to England had already occurred by this date. The second half of the sixth and seventh centuries also saw an increase in the number of identifiable imports deposited in Anglo-Saxon graves (Arnold 1988, p175-181). Due to the perceived unambiguity in the evidence for exchange, the latter period has provided the main focus for the study of long-distance exchange in the early Anglo-Saxon period.

In the study of exchange links between early Anglo-Saxon England, Europe and the Mediterranean, it has long been noted that Kent (especially East Kent) had far greater access to imports from these areas compared to other Anglo-Saxon territories (Leeds 1936, p55-58; Leeds 1945, p78). After the initial maintenance of contact between the Anglo-Saxon people of Kent and southern Scandinavia in the late fifth and early sixth centuries, this pattern of contact seems to have been rapidly replaced by exchange relations between Kent and the Merovingian Frankish kingdoms, situated in modern-day France, Belgium and Germany (Hawkes 1982, p72-74). This change in direction of contacts seems to have taken place by the mid sixth century. It is observable in the large quantities of imported objects from Gaul and the Mediterranean, funnelled through the northern Merovingian kingdoms. Links with southern Scandinavia may not have ceased but the relative importance of long-distance contacts shifted from Scandinavia to Frankish Gaul. If the imports seen in Kentish graves are the end result of exchange transactions, however, it is very difficult to suggest the objects or commodities exchanged in return.

Leeds also suggested that Kent had a role in dispersal of foreign imports to other Anglo-Saxon peoples in England and that this control of trade led to a degree of

Kentish dominance over them (Leeds 1945, p78). This argument was supported and perhaps based on historical evidence from Gregory of Tours and Bede. Kent seems to have been the first Anglo-Saxon kingdom to emerge and King Aethelbert of Kent (died 616 AD) was among the first Anglo-Saxon kings who had, at least, nominal influence over the other Anglo-Saxon people south of the Humber estuary. Gregory also records Aethelbert's marriage to the Frankish princess Berta, some time in the late sixth century (Gregory of Tours, Thorpe translation, 1974, p513; Yorke 1990, p28). This marriage alliance between the northern Frankish and Kentish ruling lineages has been seen as a reflection of the close trading and cultural links between the two areas and even of possible Kentish allegiance to a Merovingian Frankish 'Over King' (Wood 1983, p15-16; Wood 1990, p96; Scull 1990, p200). Leading on from Leeds' hypothesis, study of both the archaeological and limited historical evidence led Sonia Hawkes to suggest that Kent had a monopoly control of overseas trade between Anglo-Saxon England and Europe in the sixth and seventh centuries, with subsequent dispersal of imports to the rest of England being the prerogative of the ruling lineages of Kent (Hawkes 1982, p76). With the use of anthropological theories of social evolution, control of trade and access to luxury imports has been further bound with theories of Anglo-Saxon kingdom formation. On occasions the desire for access to imports and raw materials has been seen as a reason for social change (Hawkes 1982, p77; Arnold 1988, p 167).

While the importance of Kent in the long-distance exchange of luxuries was undoubted, until the late 1980's a systematic quantification and study of distribution of imports in Anglo-Saxon graves had not been attempted. Without such a quantification, the assumed importance of luxuries distributed via Kent could not be assessed. The first systematic quantification of import distributions was carried out by Jeremy Huggett. He performed this analysis on a set number of early Anglo-Saxon cemeteries. The imports studied included amber beads, amethyst beads,

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ivory rings, crystal beads, crystal balls, cowrie shells and glass vessels, together with wheel-thrown pottery. He noted two clearly cut distribution zones. Amethyst beads, crystal balls, glass vessels, wheel-thrown pottery and Indian Ocean cowrie shells were noted as having their major concentrations in Kent. Amber beads, ivory rings and crystal beads were noted as having a more widespread distribution with their greater numbers outside Kent (Huggett 1988, p76). The different distributions were put down to different exchange patterns.

Different commodities were 'fashionable' for varying lengths of time in the early Anglo-Saxon period, however, no provision was made for dating deposition contexts in Huggett's work. Any distinction between exchange patterns and their mechanisms for dispersal must be based on a firmer chronological basis; for example amber beads are deposited from the fifth-seventh centuries; the numbers deposited vary within that time. Taking their overall quantified number from the entire date range and comparing their distribution with artefacts such as amethyst beads current from the early-mid seventh century is inappropriate. Far more could be learned of potential exchange mechanisms and their control if there was more differentiation within the quantification. Huggett's observation that amber beads, ivory rings and crystal beads were more common outside Kent is of great significance, however, since this distribution indicates that Kent is unlikely to have had monopoly control of the exchange of all imported raw materials. The distribution of the above artefacts is concentrated in eastern England, ⁱⁿ areas identified as 'Anglian'. The sources of these raw materials would indicate exchange links with southern Scandinavia and the Baltic area (Huggett 1988, p 78).²

Exchange of luxuries through Kent remained the main focus of Huggett's study, however. Clear concentrations of Frankish and Mediterranean imports in Kent with fewer examples in other Anglo-Saxon areas allowed the development of a core-periphery model of import distribution and inter-regional exchange in Anglo-Saxon England. Numbers of the latter import types were seen to decline quickly

2. The identification of the ivory found in 'Anglian' cremation cemeteries as elephant ivory and the recognition that a purse ring from an inhumation at Staxton (Yorkshire) is also made from elephant ivory suggests that Anglian England also enjoyed exchange links with the Mediterranean, and hence Africa (Hills pers comm; Foxon pers comm). These links could have been independent of Kent.

with increased distance from Kent (Huggett 1988, p80). A 'core' area could not be found for the distribution of Baltic imports.

In a consideration of the role of long-distance exchange of imported luxuries Huggett bound control of access to imports with the development of nascent Anglo-Saxon kingdoms in the sixth and seventh centuries, particularly the kingdoms of Kent and the East Angles (Huggett 1988, p92-94). This bias ignores the fashion for the use of different imports in other Anglo-Saxon areas before the mid seventh century. The smaller total number of imported objects outside Kent and East Anglia may argue for a weaker link between long-distance exchange in luxuries and kingdom formation in other parts of Anglo-Saxon England.

Without systematic regional study of import distributions together with indications of smaller scale exchange activity, it proved impossible to link long-distance exchange networks with regional and inter-regional exchange mechanisms. Huggett was forced to speculate on the methods of dispersal of imports after arriving in England, suggesting gift exchange and the activities of itinerant traders as two mechanisms (Huggett 1988, p94). This was done in the absence of any suggestions on how to integrate research evidence for production, regional exchange and long-distance exchange. The challenge in the study of exchange and its effects on early Anglo-Saxon societies is therefore to find an approach which allows the linkage of different spheres of exchange activity, whether it be exchange of social information; movement of individuals through marriage; regional exchange of objects and skills or long-distance trade of luxuries and raw materials.

Chapter 4

AN ALTERNATIVE APPROACH FOR THE STUDY OF EXCHANGE IN EARLY MEDIEVAL ENGLAND

4.1 Principles of a new methodology

The previous chapter has shown that approaches to the study of exchange in early medieval England have been biased towards specific levels of exchange activity or specific forms of evidence. Attention of Anglo-Saxon scholars has also tended to focus on south-east and central-southern England. In an attempt to redress this bias, a method of collecting information on a broad range of exchange activities is put forward that is suitable for uniform application in different areas of Britain.

General theories on the nature and scale of exchange in early Anglo-Saxon areas of England have been advanced through the study of import distributions emanating from Kent into East Anglia and the Thames valley (Hawkes 1982, p76-77). In order to gain a more balanced picture of the importance of exchange in what became Anglo-Saxon England by AD 700, areas outside the south-east of England will be examined in this work. Raw material and artefact distributions are analysed within case study regions. For the purpose of this thesis a 'region' can be defined as an area defined by relief, topographical features and in some cases, modern county boundaries. Three regional study areas have been chosen - East Yorkshire, the upper Thames valley and the Peak District (see figure 4.1 - all figures are located in Volume 2). The latter have been selected for two sets of reasons. The first relate to the strategic location of these areas within fifth to early eighth century England and the second relate to the concentrations of excavated early medieval sites in these regions.

With regard to the significance of the location of these areas, East Yorkshire is

ideally situated to investigate exchange links along the east coast of England north of the more thoroughly investigated areas of Kent, Essex and East Anglia. Location adjacent to the Humber estuary with its riverine links with central England to the north, south and east also allows for the study of potential inter-regional exchange contacts along these routes.

Import distributions in the upper Thames valley have previously been studied in the context of illustrating exchange links with Kent (Hawkes 1986, p82-83; Scull 1990, p197). As well as providing the opportunity for studying links with the latter area, however, the large river basin of the upper Thames valley also allows for the observance of any exchange links with what would have been Anglo-Saxon areas to the north and south and also Celtic British areas to the west.

The Peak District is located in an upland region immediately to the north of the western extreme of the Trent valley. One of the major interests in this study area is that clearly identifiable Anglo-Saxon artefacts do not appear until the end of the early Anglo-Saxon period in the mid seventh century. As a result, within the period from 400-700 AD this area may provide evidence for exchange between Celtic British areas and between British and Anglo-Saxon territories. There is also potential for investigating links with both the western and eastern seaboard of Britain as the Peak District is geographically close to the western coast and is immediately to the north of the eastward running navigable river Trent which terminates in the Humber estuary.

Moving to the second set of reasons for the choice of the above study areas, each one has a large number of excavated early medieval sites. The reason for the site concentrations in these areas relates to the activities of local antiquarians and early archaeologists. In the case of the upper Thames valley the Ashmolean museum and the university of Oxford have also played an important part in the extensive excavation within this area.

The largest and best published collection in East Yorkshire was compiled by J R

Mortimer from the 1860's to the 1890's. His work was published in 1905 under the title 'Forty Years' Researches in British and Saxon Burial Mounds of East Yorkshire'. The original drawings of the finds from Mortimer's excavations drawn by his wife, Agnes Mortimer and some original photographs are in the Hull and East Riding museum. The collection itself is also housed in this museum. There have also been a number of more recent excavations in East Yorkshire carried out through rescue or research work, some of which are as yet unpublished.

In the upper Thames valley, most of the excavations were carried out under the guidance of a small number of antiquarians and archaeologists. These include Stephen Stone, J Y Akerman, G Rolleston and E T Leeds. There are, again, a large number of more recent excavations to supplement the archaeological remains collected by the above. The majority of finds from this area are housed in the Ashmolean and British museums.

The sites in the Peak District study area were mainly excavated by William and Thomas Bateman between the 1820's and 1860's, with a smaller number of sites in the Staffordshire part of the Peak District excavated by Samuel Carrington (Bateman 1848 and Bateman 1861). Certain recent excavations also supplement this data source, eg John Collis' work at Wigber Low (Collis 1985). The Bateman collection and more recent finds from the Peak District are housed in Sheffield City museum.

Having chosen three study areas outside the south-east of England to balance out the bias in attention given to that area in studying exchange in England from 400-700AD, it is now necessary to consider how to examine the archaeological evidence in a way that will give indications of different levels of exchange activity. The particular regional circumstances of each study area are very different. Differences in relief and topography in the three areas and degrees of access to essential raw materials and communication routes would have conditioned the relative importance of exchange and 'trade' to individual societies. The social role of exchange at a ceremonial level may also have varied depending on the cultural

background of the early medieval populations in East Yorkshire, the upper Thames valley and the Peak District.

The following null hypotheses may be advanced. Where communities in a region all had abundant access to the same raw materials and the skills to work them one would not expect exchange of raw materials to have been exceptionally important to those societies. If raw materials and skills were concentrated in particular locations within a region it might be expected that the regional exchange of those resources would have been very important, allowing the controllers of those resources to benefit. Depending on the regularity of contact between regions, attitudes towards the same artefacts and luxuries may have varied. When there were regular contacts between regions, evidence for inter-marriage and other exchange links might be expected. A regular degree of contact between groups may also have promoted a common awareness and a common set of values towards luxury imports. If access to luxuries was restricted to higher ranks in societies and possession of imports became a sign of rank, the desires of elites to mark themselves out in specific ways would have created a social demand for certain types of import. If, however, the inhabitants of a particular area were relatively isolated and were unaware of certain imports and the ways they were used, a demand for these imports might not be created. Other forms of exchange or interaction would have been more important to these societies. Conversely, in areas where inter-regional and long-distance contacts were so common that luxuries were obtainable to a broader section of society than in other areas, the role of luxuries in marking social rank may also have been less important.

There is also likely to have been considerable inter-dependence between regional, inter-regional and long-distance exchange activities. Unfortunately, when the distributions of luxury imports in the Anglo-Saxon areas of fifth-seventh century England are discussed in relation to long-distance and inter-regional exchange little attention has been paid to what might have been exchanged or given in return.

This phenomenon is not peculiar to early Anglo-Saxon studies. Peter Wells has noted the same practice in late prehistoric studies, with particular reference to an absence in the consideration of non-luxury exchange (Wells 1984, p28). It is inadequate to accept an explanation that only perishable materials were exchanged for luxuries, thereby leaving an invisibility in the archaeological record except in water-logged or dessicated conditions. The possibility that non-perishable raw materials, such as metals formed commodities for exchange must be investigated. It is conceivable that regional and inter-regional exchange of raw materials formed a basis for wealth accumulation, indicated indirectly by luxury artefact distribution.

In summary, therefore, it might be expected that the importance of exchange in raw materials would vary according to the degree of regional or inter-regional access to them. Differences in attitude to the use and demand for luxury imports may vary depending on the regularity of contact between regions and there is likely to have been a direct relationship between control and exchange of raw materials and the ability to obtain luxury imports if desired. The latter relationship, however, may not be directly reflected in the archaeological remains.

The challenge for the method of study outlined below is to provide indications of exchange activity from fifth-seventh century England which allow consideration of the above dimensions of variation (Hodder 1986, p134-135). Indications of the operation of any of the stated hypotheses on exchange activity in different regions can only be investigated with detailed information on how, where and in what quantities artefacts and raw materials were deposited. Information on the deposition contexts of artefacts can only be obtained from excavated remains. The proposed methodology is therefore based on analysis of quantified distributions of artefacts from excavations rather than field survey data.

In order to study indications of exchange through the quantified distributions of artefacts and raw materials, however, it is necessary to consider how to differentiate

between the two forms of distribution from archaeological remains. Distributed raw materials only exist in artefact form - as finished objects or, very rarely, in intermediate forms of storage eg ingots of metal. Artefacts therefore provide the information on both distributions of raw materials and particular forms of artefact.

It is possible to devise a method for study of both forms of distribution using the same form of evidence. This method is based on a quantification of artefact and raw material frequencies. Artefacts can be ascribed to distributions of particular forms of artefact and to general frequency distributions of individual raw materials within a region. Distributions of individual artefacts can then be given detailed attention and a seemingly unimportant object, such as an iron knife can be examined within a distribution of all iron objects within a region. Within raw material frequency totals, seemingly unimportant objects may take on new significance if raw material distribution is seen to cluster, etc. Quantified distribution patterns therefore have the potential for indicating levels of access to artefacts and raw materials and by implication to indicate different scales of exchange activity, ranging from local to long-distance contacts.³

To make comparisons between the importance of similar exchange activities in different areas, however, a uniform procedure for the study of artefact and raw material distributions must be adopted. This involves the examination of the same raw materials and the artefacts made from them in each study area. Due to regional differences in the degree of ceramic use and survival from this period, non-ceramic forms of artefacts and raw materials comprise the categories of evidence examined in this work. A series of indigenously derived and worked raw materials and artefacts are studied alongside certain imported artefacts and raw materials. By examining the distributions of both series of raw materials, the relative scale of exchange in indigenous products and imports in different regions can be assessed. Quantified distribution patterns of artefacts and raw materials can only be used to provide indications of a wide range of exchange activities, however, if a number of

3. Consideration was also given to the possibility of examining the spatial distribution of raw materials by weight, following Myhre's method for studying the quantified distribution of gold in southern Norway in the Migration period (Myhre 1987, p.174). The application of this approach for weighing quantities of individual raw materials was rejected because many artefacts are composite constructions of more than one raw material. The desire to weigh raw materials would have rendered the destruction of artefacts necessary. This was not a practical option.

additional considerations are incorporated into the method of producing the distribution patterns.

The first caveat for inclusion into the proposed quantified distribution methodology relates to the need to differentiate quantities of artefacts by date. Attempts to interpret the nature and scale of exchange activity treating the fifth-seventh centuries as a single time period may camouflage great changes in exchange activity over three hundred years. It is therefore necessary to qualify quantified patterns of artefacts and raw materials by making an assessment of when they were deposited. By giving an indication of when artefacts were taken out of circulation, fluctuations in distribution patterns over time can be studied.

It is also essential to consider the nature of the deposition contexts which provide the artefacts for study. Cemetery remains have been the main source of evidence for exchange in Anglo-Saxon areas of fifth-seventh century England. Dress accessories and imported objects in graves have provided evidence for the movement of individuals via migration or marriage and indications of regional and longer distance exchange networks. Examination of cemetery evidence alone, however, does not allow for an appreciation of the control of resources and skills necessary to manufacture artefacts. It is also possible that cemetery evidence gives an unrepresentative picture of the importance of certain levels of exchange due to the ceremonial nature of furnished burial practices - cremation and inhumation.

To produce a more balanced assessment of the relative importance of different levels of exchange activity artefacts from settlements must also be studied. Compared with the probable ceremonial nature of cemetery depositions, artefacts from settlements are more likely to reflect a combination of deliberate and accidental discard patterns. They are the end result of a range of production and exchange activities relating to 'domestic' and ceremonial use of artefacts among living early medieval populations. A study of settlement and cemetery artefact and raw material distributions alongside each other may provide indications of

concurrent regional and longer distance exchange mechanisms. As a corollary, they may give indications of the potential relationship between regional production and exchange activity and long-distance exchange contacts.

A final caveat must also be added relating to the extent that artefacts from cemeteries and settlements provide representative indications of exchange activity in early Anglo-Saxon areas of England. While the proposed approach suggests a way to investigate levels of raw material and finished artefact exchange in a way not previously attempted, it is necessary to admit that this only allows for the study of indications of exchange in non-perishable raw materials and artefacts. In this respect, the methodology used in this work does not supply evidence for the totality of exchange relations from 400-700 AD. It does, however, allow for an assessment of the relative importance of exchange of some raw materials in relation to imported goods and therefore has potential to give a partially integrated view of the importance of different levels of exchange in early Anglo-Saxon societies.

In summary, therefore, the following principles have been laid down for the method of study of exchange in Anglo-Saxon areas of England from 400-700 AD. The subject will be examined through the selection of three regional study areas located outside the south-east of England in order to redress the bias in attention given to that area and also to attempt to assess regional difference in the importance of exchange in areas with different relief, topography and varying access to lines of communication. Quantified distributions of non-ceramic raw materials and artefacts will provide the data to study exchange. Both indigenous and imported raw material and artefact distributions will be studied in order to investigate the relative importance of exchange in indigenous and imported products in different parts of England. Changes in spatial distributions and quantities through time will be clarified with an assessment of when each artefact was deposited. To gain a comprehensive view of exchange activity, artefacts from cemeteries and settlements are to be analysed for the information they may provide on different levels of

exchange working within the same Anglo-Saxon societies.

4.2 Problems in the comparability of evidence for the reconstruction of exchange activity

In putting the principles of the above approach into practice one is first faced with the problem of comparability of artefact distributions from different kinds of deposition context. Three main types of deposition context provide artefacts for study - settlements, inhumation graves and cremation graves. The different circumstances lying behind the deposition of objects in each of these categories have a number of effects on the ability to compare quantities of artefacts and raw materials in circulation at a contemporary time.

i) Comparability of data from settlements and cemeteries

It was deemed important to study artefact and raw materials from settlements and cemeteries in order to investigate different levels of exchange in the same societies. Unfortunately, however, a particular problem exists in comparing contemporary artefact distributions from settlement and burial contexts. To understand this problem it is necessary to discuss the circumstances behind the formation of these deposits.

Artefacts from settlements may have been deposited as a result of accidental discard, deliberate discard of rubbish or ritual deposition. In addition, settlement features also tend to have been subject to contemporary post-depositional activity, for example, the demolition of an old building in which artefacts had accumulated. Post-depositional activity such as demolition may have resulted in the mixing of deposits originally formed at different times. As a result, disturbed deposits are often exceptionally difficult to date. When dealing with settlement evidence from

400-700 AD, it may only be possible to ascribe a general early Anglo-Saxon date. Aside from depositional and post-depositional problems in ascribing deposition date ranges for artefacts, problems in dating also arise from the nature of settlement features and the nature of the artefacts themselves. If a ditch fill, stretching over a wide area, was open to the air for an extended period of time artefacts of widely different dates of manufacture may be stratified in the same layer. A wide date range must therefore be given to artefacts found in this sort of deposit. Similarly, most artefacts found on settlements do not tend to be accurately datable, for example, knives, nails, querns and weaving tools etc. The majority were made for 'everyday' activities and the forms of these artefacts remained almost identical throughout the early Anglo-Saxon period.

When dates have been given to settlement deposits this has been achieved due to the presence of artefacts usually found in cemeteries, for example, dress accessories. Even then however, it has proven difficult to produce more than a general phasing of the development of settlements from their ceramic and non-ceramic artefacts (Hamerow 1987, p257).

In contrast to settlement deposits, graves are not subject to the same potential variation in the reasons for their deposition. Each burial was the result of one event at a specific time. Many of the graves were furnished with grave-goods. They were intentional depositions of artefacts which were in current use at the time of interment of the dead individuals. As outlined in the previous chapter, furnished early Anglo-Saxon graves have formed the main category of evidence for the dating of early Anglo-Saxon artefacts. Chronologies have largely been formed with typological studies of the development of female dress accessories. Ultimately, the relative chronologies established from typological study have been fixed to absolute calendar date ranges with reference to Anglo-Saxon, Frankish, Scandinavian and Mediterranean artefacts dated by association with coins minted in the Eastern Mediterranean, Visigothic Spain or Frankish Gaul (Brulet, Coulon, Ghenne-Dubois

and Vilvorder 1988, p39; Vallet 1988, p54; Arrhenius 1985, p70 and Arrhenius 1990, p134). Radio-carbon dating of skeletons has also been used successfully for providing deposition date ranges for burials of suspected early medieval date without grave-goods (Haddon-Reece 1988, p58; Brulet, Coulon, Ghenne-Dubois and Vilvorder 1988, p44).

While graves were often disturbed by the cutting of later graves when cemeteries were in use, the nature of their deposition and of the artefacts placed in graves has resulted in the attribution of narrow date ranges for their deposition when compared to the wider date ranges associated with settlement remains. Carbon dated skeletons do produce wider date ranges at greater levels of reliability but they are certainly more accurately datable than settlement deposits (Aitken 1990, p105-107). As a result of the difference in our ability to date artefact and raw material distributions from settlements and cemeteries it is necessary to compare like distributions - settlement distribution with settlement distribution and cemetery distribution with cemetery distribution. Changes in raw material and artefact distribution through time on settlement sites can be observed using a broad timescale. Within and between cemeteries, changes in distribution patterns can be dated with a greater degree of precision within the period 400-700 AD. Despite not being directly comparable in chronological terms the two types of artefact distribution still have the potential to shed light on different exchange activities.

The ability to make qualitative comparisons between information from the two forms of evidence would be governed, however, by the *representativity* of a settlement distribution in the degree that artefacts from an excavated area of a settlement reflected levels of access to artefacts and raw materials in the settlement population as a whole. Since the majority of Anglo-Saxon settlement excavations have only tended to cover small areas it is often impossible to assess the *representativity* of a sample of settlement artefacts. Where objects made from the same raw materials are found in settlement and cemetery contexts in the same locality, however, it may

be possible to make a qualitative assessment on overall levels of use and working of certain raw materials.

ii) Comparability of mortuary data

A further problem exists in the comparability of artefact distributions from inhumation and cremation graves. The problem is two-fold. Assigning deposition dates to cremation burials can be obstructed by the lack or complete distortion of dress accessories due to the burning of the artefacts in the cremation rite. The second problem relates to the extent that artefacts in cremation graves are representative of true levels of access to artefacts and raw materials prior to burial.

Urned and un-urned cremation burials only represent a proportion of skeletal and artefact remains collected and deposited after the cremation rite. Artefacts associated with the burial practice are unlikely to be representative of funeral goods which accompanied an individual. Only certain objects seem to have been picked up and subsequently buried. This may have been influenced by visibility of remains of objects in a pyre. Burning of fully dressed and furnished individuals also affected what could be removed from pyre ashes. Any organic materials such as bone, ivory, leather, wood or amber could have been destroyed in burning. Cremation burials do not, therefore, give a true reflection of access to artefacts and raw materials from which to reconstruct exchange links. Further to the problems of dating from badly distorted metal artefacts, dating of cremations is also hampered by the possibility of having the remains of more than one individual housed within the same cremation urn alongside other ritual inclusions (Timby pers comm). There may have been a considerable time difference between the placing of cremated remains in urns and the burial of the urns in the ground.⁴

Unlike cremation burials, furnished inhumation graves contain a wide range of artefacts which had not been subjected to ritual destruction. Again it is unclear to

what extent grave-good association in death reflected level of access to them in life. Grave-goods in inhumation graves do, however, provide a wide indication of artefacts in circulation, including organic materials. The presence of undistorted dress accessories also makes it possible to give more accurate dates to artefact and raw material distributions.

Cremation and inhumation forms of mortuary data are only comparable in two circumstances. First, when the site of the cremation rite and burial practice occur in the same place and secondly, when unburnt grave-goods are placed with cremated skeletal remains. An example of the former occurrence comes from Asthall in the upper Thames valley in Oxfordshire. A richly accompanied individual had been cremated in the early-mid seventh century. A barrow had then been raised over the site of the cremation pyre (Leeds 1924, p115-116; Dickinson and Speake 1992, p98-100). An example of the second phenomenon comes from Cold Eaton in the Peak District, where unburnt grave-goods were placed with cremated skeletal remains in a barrow (Bateman 1861, p179-182).

As a final caveat on the use of both inhumation and cremation grave-goods to reconstruct artefact and raw material distributions, the ceremonial nature of the deposits should never be forgotten. Differences in individual beliefs may have influenced attitudes towards the furnishing of graves. Individual clans with access to luxuries may have chosen not to deposit them with dead members of their family groups. In certain cases difference in belief may also have governed the choice of burial practice, whether cremation or inhumation (Arwidsson 1983, p82).

In summary, therefore, when considering the use of mortuary artefact and raw material distributions to provide indicators of exchange, two sets of factors must be borne in mind. First, differences in belief within and between early Anglo-Saxon groups may have influenced the extent to which graves were richly accompanied. As a result, grave-goods may not be a reflection of true levels of access to artefacts and raw materials in circulation within early Anglo-Saxon areas of England.

Secondly, differences in cremation and inhumation burial practice structure the extent of survival of artefacts which accompanied dead individuals. Unlike dressed and furnished inhumation burials where grave-goods were deposited with the body, selective retrieval of artefacts after cremation does not allow for an assessment of the full funeral accoutrements of a cremated individual, other than in exceptional circumstances. In most cases comparison of distributions of artefacts between cremation and inhumation graves is not possible because of the different use of artefacts in mortuary ceremony.

The above problems in the use of mortuary evidence for the study of exchange cannot be circumvented. A partial solution to the comparability problem of cremation and inhumation remains has already been offered in the consideration of the methods necessary to study artefacts from settlements in relation to artefacts from cemeteries. Comparison can only be made between artefact and raw material distributions from the same kind of depositions. Distributions from inhumation and cremation cemeteries must therefore be analysed separately. The nature of inhumation deposits makes quantitative analysis of grave-goods possible, while only qualitative observations on access to certain types of artefact can be made from cremation remains due to partial recovery of funeral goods.

Quantified artefact and raw material distributions generated from furnished inhumation graves would still incorporate the bias created by potential differences in attitudes to the provision of grave-goods. The quantified distributions would, therefore, be potentially unrepresentative of true levels of access to ceremonial items. The extent that differences in belief influenced quantities of artefacts deposited in inhumation graves can be investigated, however, through the examination of a large sample of inhumation cemeteries from each of the study areas outlined earlier. If patterns in grave-good deposition are very similar in most cemeteries in a particular region it is possible to use the distributions derived from them as indicators of the direction and levels of exchange necessary for the

maintenance of mortuary practice ceremonial. The extent to which exchange can be studied depends on the degree of variation in mortuary practice in an individual region.

4.3 Approaches to quantification

Introduction

The principles of a new approach to the study of exchange in Anglo-Saxon areas of England between 400-700 AD have been advanced and the limitation in the use of archaeological remains to provide indications of exchange has been discussed. Having considered the latter in relation to the former it is now appropriate to describe how the principles are put into practice.

The quantification strategy must incorporate the ability to assess all the degrees of variation noted in the previous sections of this chapter. This demands a quantification procedure which allows for the consideration of both quantitative and qualitative data, for example, the number of objects made from a raw material on a specific site can be expressed as a discrete total figure - it is quantifiable; while descriptions of deposition contexts in which artefacts were placed cannot be expressed in a numerical form. The latter type of description is nonetheless essential for understanding the social context of deposition of artefacts and by implication the reasons for exchange. It can therefore be described as qualitative information.

A sample strategy is also required to select excavated sites for analysis from each study area since an examination of all excavated remains would be too vast an undertaking within the time limits allowed for this research (Read 1978, p50). The series of sites selected should form a representative sample of the excavated sites in each study area. Each sample will be weighted to provide as wide a

geographical coverage of each area as possible. The samples will also be weighted to include categories of site which need to be studied to fulfil the stated aims of the methodology, for example, settlement and cemetery sites will be chosen in each study area subject to the limitations of the evidence.

The quantification strategy is therefore built on three levels. First, the sites for analysis in each study area are chosen via a sampling strategy. Secondly, it is necessary to devise a method of noting both the quantitative and qualitative data on artefacts which will form part of raw material and artefact distribution patterns generated on a site by site basis. This involves the invention of a fixed format to describe information on artefacts. Thirdly, raw material and artefact distributions are quantified from the described data. They are quantified on the basis of frequency. Raw material and particular artefact totals are produced for each site studied. Depending on the influence of the context of deposition of artefacts, these totals form regional raw material and artefact distributions. The provision of individual site totals give indications of intra-regional difference in deposition patterns and possibly access to different raw materials and artefacts. Regional distribution patterns can be compared between study areas. Differences in the distribution of raw materials and artefacts may indicate different levels of inter-regional and long-distance exchange or differing demand between regions.

Sampling strategy

Before outlining the methods by which sites were selected for analysis from each study area it is first necessary to define the spatial limits of these regions. Relief, topographical and modern administrative boundaries form the perimeters of the study areas.

East Yorkshire is bounded to the north by the northern edge of the Vale of Pickering ie the beginning of the North Yorkshire moors. The line of the Humber estuary

running into the river Ouse is the southern boundary. The North Sea forms the eastern perimeter and the limit to the west is marked by the river Derwent and its feeder rivers - the westernmost being the Rye. The East Yorkshire study area therefore comprises the modern Yorkshire regions of Holderness, the Wolds and the Vale of Pickering (figure 4.2)

The northern edge of the Cotswolds and the north Oxfordshire county border form the northern boundary of the Upper Thames valley study area. The Marlborough and Berkshire Downs mark the line of the southern boundary. The modern Oxfordshire-Buckinghamshire county border and the Chiltern hills form the eastern perimeter and the Cotswolds form the western limit (figure 4.3).

The Peak District study area of Derbyshire and Staffordshire is bounded on its north, east and western sides by the modern boundary of the Peak District national park. The area of Derbyshire around Buxton has also been included within the study area despite being outside the national park because of its role as a historic centre in the Peak region. Where the eastern national park boundary meets the Derbyshire Derwent, the eastern boundary follows the line of the Derwent until it meets the river Trent. The river valley of the latter river forms the southern boundary as it curves round the southern edge of the limestone White Peak (figure 4.4).

The size of the samples from the study areas relate directly to the number of well recorded and published early Anglo-Saxon excavated sites in each area. Due to the activities of antiquarians and early archaeologists such as Akerman, Bateman and Mortimer there are a large number of excavated early medieval sites in each of the above regions. The works of the latter provide excellent information on both the artefacts they recovered and the circumstances in which they were found. The large corpus of sites excavated by antiquarians are supplemented by a smaller number of higher quality modern excavations.

There are, however, different numbers of sites from each study area and many sites cluster in individual parts of these areas. The variation in the overall numbers of

excavated sites and in their spatial distribution could have been produced by three phenomena. First, they may represent the activity biases of individual antiquarians or research institutions. Secondly, they could be a real reflection of early medieval site numbers and site distributions in each region and thirdly, they could reflect site visibility.

The degree of representivity of excavated sites in relation to overall regional site distribution can only be tested with widescale systematic survey and sample excavations (Reed 1978, p53). Since the extent of regional surveys in each study area differ, it is not possible to reflect on the *representativity* of the excavated material from each of the study areas. Excavated sites may therefore provide either a representative or unrepresentative sample of early Anglo-Saxon finds with which to construct raw material and artefact distributions in each study area. Due to site visibility, a highly visible type of site, with a large number of excavated examples, may provide a reliable reflection of distributions of that site type within a region. Conversely, less visible sites with a small number of excavated examples may provide a less reliable reflection of regional distribution.

Since there is a possibility that the number of excavated early Anglo-Saxon sites could reflect real spatial distributions and site densities in each study area, the respective sample sizes must reflect the number of excavated sites from each region. Examination of county sites and monuments records, published site gazetteers, excavation reports and unpublished museum and excavation records produced a figure for the total number of well published and recorded sites in each study area (Humberside, Derbyshire and Oxfordshire sites and monuments records; Meaney 1964; Hull and East Riding museum records; Ashmolean museum records; Sheffield City museum records; British museum records et al). It was then necessary to decide the fraction of sites to be examined in each study area. A balance had to be reached between studying a number of sites large enough to provide a useful reflection of raw material and artefact distributions on excavated

sites and a number small enough to be practical within the time constraints of this research project.

It was decided to examine approximately thirty percent of the well recorded and published early Anglo-Saxon excavations in each study area. Examination of an equal percentage of sites for all three regions would reflect the different number of excavated sites in each area. In order to be certain that the sites in each sample reflected the nature of the archaeological remains in each region, however, site selection had to be structured. Methods had to be devised to ensure selection of sites over the entire geographical extent of each study area, subject to their availability. This would allow for observation of differences in distribution patterns between like types of site within a region. At the same time, it was also necessary to produce a selection method for studying particular clusters of sites within each region. These may be the result of bias in antiquarian attention or site visibility but they also provide an opportunity to study raw material and artefact distribution patterns within micro-regions of each study area.

The latter procedures for ensuring that distribution patterns of sites are reflected in the samples had to be qualified in turn with a method for selecting different types of site. Where possible cemetery and settlement remains were chosen because of the different kinds of exchange activity they may indicate. Subjective choice of the types of site for study had to be balanced, however, by a desire to reflect the overall nature of the archaeological remains in each study area (Chenhall 1978, p3). Settlements only represent a small proportion of excavated early Anglo-Saxon sites. Deliberate analysis of settlement remains to act as a comparison with cemetery remains could result in a bias which discounts the potential importance of the much larger number of excavated cemeteries. As a result, an additional method of selection that reflects the overall character of early Anglo-Saxon remains in each study area must also be created.

5. After study of the County sites and monument records for the areas within the defined study areas, examination of the published reports on the archaeological sites and study of museum records, it was decided that it would be practical to examine only a 30% sample (approx) of the excavated and well recorded sites in each study area. It was hoped that this sample size would provide sufficient coverage of the archaeological remains to provide representative results and at the same time it would be of a manageable size for the time constraints of the research. An arbitrary decision was taken to select 60% of the total sample from each study area by judgement sampling techniques in order to ensure a wide geographical coverage of sites in each area and to provide the opportunity to choose the best excavated and recorded sites for analysis. In an attempt to counter any potential distortion of trends caused by sites selected via judgement sample methods, another arbitrary decision was taken to select 40% of the sites from each study area on a random basis. The random samples should reflect the overall nature of Anglo-Saxon sites in each study area. They may incorporate retrieval biases, such as concentration of archaeological work in certain parts of each study area or they could reflect site visibility in the landscape. At the same time, however, in the absence of evidence, it may be a mistake to assume that site distributions are only the result of visibility and retrieval bias. The 40% random samples are therefore important in case archaeological site distributions are representative of site distributions that existed in reality.

Judgement and Random samples

Each study area sample can only incorporate sites which allow for a consideration of the above factors if a combination of judgement and random sample techniques are used for site selection. Sixty percent of the sites for each study area were selected by judgement sample techniques and forty percent on a random basis.

The figures for thirty percent of well recorded and published sites from each of the study areas therefore provided the total number of sites for analysis in each region. These totals were then sub-divided by the above percentages to select the number of sites for judgement and random samples (see figure 4.5).⁵

a. The Judgement samples

Judgement sample techniques were used to ensure a wide geographical coverage in site selection and to enable study of raw material and certain artefact distributions in site clusters within each region (Shennan 1989, p317). Judgement sampling was also used to ensure inclusion of different kinds of site for analysis. Two forms of judgement sample were utilised, a density sample to examine access to commodities on a micro-regional level and a systematic sample using transects enabling wide geographical coverage of each region. Fifty percent of sites selected by judgement techniques in each study area were selected by density sampling and fifty percent by transect sampling.

ii) Density judgement sample

Clusters of sites within each study area were examined on a site density basis. Two density clusters provided sites for analysis per region. Each density cluster area covered twenty square kilometres. The shape of these areas varied according to

relief and visible site concentrations (figures 4.2 - 4.4). The number of sites within the two defined areas vary and as a result the figures for the number of sites per square kilometre in each area are also different. The latter figures provide a numerical indication of the densities of sites within each twenty square kilometre block.

The total number of sites to be chosen by density sample for each study area had already been calculated (figure 4.5). To make up the above total, the number of sites chosen for analysis from each twenty square kilometre area depended on the site density figures. Both site density figures were expressed as a ratio of each other. The ratio differences between the site density figures can then be used to choose the number of sites analysed from each twenty square kilometre block. The number of sites to be chosen by density sample from each study area is sub-divided according to the ratio difference in site densities between the two designated clusters. If site density in one area is twice that in another, twice the number of sites from the area of higher site density would be chosen in relation to the area of more dispersed sites.

As this is a complex selection procedure it has been summarised with reference to the East Yorkshire study area below:

- i Two 20km² areas were chosen and labelled - 'Garton-Driffield' and 'Sancton-Hayton'.
- ii In density sample 1 - 'Garton-Driffield', there were 15 sites in 20km².
Ratio - 1 site every 1.3 km².
In density sample 2 - 'Sancton-Hayton', there were 6 sites in 20km².
Ratio - 1 site every 3.33km².
- iii By dividing the lower density figure by the higher density figure it can be seen that for every 1 site in the Sancton-Hayton sample there are 2.5 in the Garton-Driffield sample. Therefore, within a set total of sites to be

examined by density analysis the number of sites examined from the Garton-Driffield sample will be 2.5 times as great as the number of sites examined from the 'Sancton-Hayton' sample.

- iv The total number of sites to be chosen via density selection in East Yorkshire is 9.

The ratio of densities

is 2.5 : 1

or 5 : 2

Therefore the number of sites examined from the Garton-Driffield sample will be

$$\text{Total Sample } 9 \times 5 = 6.42$$

—
Total Ratio 7 (proportion of ratio for Garton-Driffield)

- Rounded this figure gives a total of 6 sites to be examined from the Garton-Driffield group.

The number of sites examined from the Sancton-Hayton cluster will be

$$9 \times 2 = 2.57$$

—
7

Rounded this figure gives a total of 3 sites to be examined from the Sancton-Hayton sample.

ii) The systematic judgement sample

The systematic judgement sample was constructed by splitting each study area into three transects by means of two division lines drawn along particular national grid lines of latitude. The divisions were equally spaced to provide three transects of

equal width. The length of the transects varied in relation to the defined boundaries of each study area (figures 4.2-4.4).

b. The Random sample

As the judgement selection methods were designed to ensure selection of different types of early Anglo-Saxon site they may not have produced a representative reflection of the character of excavated early Anglo-Saxon sites in each study area. Randomly selected sites, however, are more likely to reflect the overall character of excavated early Anglo-Saxon sites in each study area (Chenhall 1978, p3). If the majority of sites in a particular region are inhumation cemeteries the random probability of selecting an inhumation cemetery for study is far higher than the probability of randomly selecting one of a small number of settlements for analysis. Forty percent of the sites from each study area are selected on a random basis and were chosen with the aid of randomly generated numbers.

A site could not be chosen twice by different selection techniques. To avoid duplication, density sample sites were selected prior to selection of sites from transects. The random sample sites were chosen after those selected by both judgement sample methods. Once a site had been chosen by one selection strategy it could not be considered for selection by another.

The study area samples

i. East Yorkshire

The first of the two density blocks was located at the concentration of sites at the headwaters of the river Hull. This site concentration has been called the 'Garton-Driffield' group. The second was placed at the south-western edge of the Wolds,

approximately on the line of the Roman road leading from Brough-on-Humber to York. This block was named 'Sancton-Hayton' group, after the sites at the pivotal ends of the twenty square kilometre block. The two division lines forming the three transects were placed at the following national grid coordinates.

1. Northern division line SE 800 733 - TA 200 733
2. Southern division line SE800 466 - TA 200 466

The locations and shapes of the two density sample blocks and the position of the two transect division lines can be seen in figure 4.2.

The approximate thirty percent sample of excavated and well recorded sites from East Yorkshire comprised thirty sites.

With the above number acting as an overall sample total, the sites to be sampled were selected via the techniques outlined in the previous section. This produced the sample structure shown below:

'Garton-Driffield' density sample sites

- | | | |
|----|-------------------------------|--------------|
| 1. | Elmswell | - settlement |
| 2. | Garton 2 | - cemetery |
| 3. | Garton Station | - cemetery |
| 4. | Eastburn | - cemetery |
| 5. | Driffield 1 - Kellythorpe | - cemetery |
| 6. | Driffield 3 - Cheesecake Hill | - cemetery |

'Sancton-Hayton' density sites

- | | | |
|----|-----------|------------|
| 7. | Sancton 1 | - cemetery |
|----|-----------|------------|

- | | | |
|----|-----------|------------|
| 8. | Sancton 2 | - cemetery |
| 9. | Hayton 2 | - cemetery |

The sites selected from the transects are as follows - the transects are numbered going from the south to the north of the study area (see figure 4.2).

Transect 1

- | | | |
|----|---------------|------------|
| 1. | Londesborough | - cemetery |
| 2. | Elloughton | - cemetery |
| 3. | Everthorpe | - cemetery |

Transect 2

- | | | |
|----|-------------------------------|------------|
| 4. | Acklam Wold | - cemetery |
| 5. | Sewerby | - cemetery |
| 6. | Garton Slack - Tatton Sykes 1 | - cemetery |

Transect 3

- | | | |
|----|---------|--------------|
| 7. | Wykeham | - settlement |
| 8. | Seamer | - cemetery |
| 9. | Staxton | - cemetery |

Sites selected on a random basis:-

- | | | |
|----|--------------------|--------------|
| 1. | Painsthorpe Wold 1 | - cemetery |
| 2. | Hayton 1 | - settlement |

- | | | |
|-----|--------------------------------|--|
| 3. | Uncleby | - cemetery |
| 4. | Hornsea | - cemetery |
| 5. | Garton Slack - Tatton Sykes 2 | - cemetery |
| 6. | North Ferriby | - site of exchange/periodic settlement |
| 7. | Shiptonthorpe | - cemetery |
| 8. | Driffield 2 - King's Mill Road | - cemetery |
| 9. | Crambeck | - cemetery |
| 10. | Driffield 4 Cake Hill | - cemetery |
| 11. | Hayton 3 | - cemetery |
| 12. | Driffield 5 'Moot Hill' | - cemetery |

See Footnote 6

ii. The upper Thames valley

The upper Thames valley density sample blocks were placed around Dorchester-on-Thames in the east of the study area and around Stanlake in the west of the Study area. The sites in these areas contain depositions from the fifth-late seventh centuries.

The two dividing lines forming the three transects were placed along the following lines of latitude:-

Northern division line SP100 130 - SP 690 130

Southern division line SU100 960 - SP 745 960

The location of the two density samples and the transect lines can be seen in figure 4.3. The approximate thirty per cent sample incorporated 38 sites. The site selections can be seen in the sample list below:-

6. The finds from the excavations at West Heslerton in the Vale of Pickering were not available for analysis during the time period given for the production of this research due to extreme pressure of work (Haughton pers comm).

Dorchester-on-Thames density sample

- | | | |
|----|--------------------------------|--------------|
| 1. | Dorchester - Queenford Farm | - cemetery |
| 2. | Dorchester - Beech House Hotel | - settlement |
| 3. | Dorchester - Berinsfield | - cemetery |
| 4. | Dorchester - Amey's Pit | - cemetery |
| 5. | Dorchester - Bishop's Court | - cemetery |
| 6. | Dorchester - associated coins | - uncertain |

Stanlake density sample

- | | | |
|----|---------------|--------------|
| 1. | Brighthampton | - cemetery |
| 2. | Ducklington | - cemetery |
| 3. | Stanlake 1 | - cemetery |
| 4. | Stanlake 2 | - cemetery |
| 5. | Yelford | - cemetery |
| 6. | Yelford | - settlement |

Systematic judgement sample sites:-

Transect 1

- | | | |
|----|-------------|--------------|
| 1. | Shakenoak | - settlement |
| 2. | Chadlington | - cemetery |
| 3. | North Leigh | - cemetery |

Transect 2

- | | | |
|----|----------|------------|
| 1. | Wheatley | - cemetery |
|----|----------|------------|

- | | | |
|----|-------------------------|------------------------------|
| 2. | Abingdon - Staxton Road | - cemetery |
| 3. | Asthall | - cremation burial in barrow |
| 4. | Radley | - settlement |

Transect 3

- | | | |
|----|-------------------|--------------|
| 1. | Long Witthenham 1 | - cemetery |
| 2. | Sutton Courtenay | - settlement |
| 3. | Wallingford | - cemetery |
| 4. | Long Witthenham 2 | - cemetery |

Random sample

- | | | |
|-----|---------------------------|--------------------------------|
| 1. | Barton Court Farm | - cemetery |
| 2. | Cassington - Purwell Farm | - cemetery |
| 3. | Cassington - Smith's Pit | - cemetery |
| 4. | Chavenage | - cemetery |
| 5. | Crawley | - inhumation burial in barrow |
| 6. | Cuddesdon | - inhumation burials in barrow |
| 7. | Eynsham | - cemetery |
| 8. | Milton | - cemetery |
| 9. | Stanton Harcourt | - cemetery |
| 10. | Sutton Courtenay | - cemetery |
| 11. | Wytham | - cemetery |
| 12. | Yarnton | - cemetery |
| 13. | Barrow Hills - Radley | - settlement |
| 14. | Cassington - Purwell Farm | - settlement |
| 15. | Yarnton | - settlement |

iii The Peak District

The Peak District density samples were placed in the northern and central areas of the Peak. One was placed around Hartington and the other in the Tissington-Kniverton area. The majority of the sites date to the seventh century, where dating is possible.

The transects were divided by the following latitudinal divisions:-

Northern division line SK000 670 - SK 330 670

Southern division line SK000 530 - SK 330 530

The location of the density samples and transect lines can be seen in figure 4.4.

The thirty percent sample amounted to 30 sites. The structure of the sample is as follows:-

Hartington density sample

- | | | |
|----|--------------------------|------------------------|
| 1. | Benty Grange | - inhumation in barrow |
| 2. | Hurdlow/East Sterndale 1 | - inhumation in barrow |
| 3. | Brundcliff | - inhumation in barrow |
| 4. | Pilsbury | - inhumation in barrow |
| 5. | East Sterndale 2 | - inhumation in barrow |
| 6. | Waggon Low | - inhumation in barrow |

Tissington-Kniverton density sample

- | | | |
|----|------------|------------------------------------|
| 1. | Wigber Low | - inhumations in and around barrow |
|----|------------|------------------------------------|

- | | | |
|----|------------------|------------------------|
| 2. | Stand Low | - inhumation in barrow |
| 3. | Bower's/Rose Low | - inhumation in barrow |

Systematic judgement sample sites:-

Transect 1

- | | | |
|----|---------------------------|------------------------|
| 1. | Cow Low | - inhumation in barrow |
| 2. | Lapwing Hill - Brushfield | - barrow cemetery |
| 3. | Grind Low | - inhumation in barrow |

Transect 2

- | | | |
|----|---------------------|--------------------------|
| 1. | Cold Eaton | - cremation in barrow |
| 2. | White Low | - inhumation/s in barrow |
| 3. | Galley/Callidge Low | - inhumation in barrow |

Transect 3

- | | | |
|----|------------|------------------------|
| 1. | Wyaston | - inhumation in barrow |
| 2. | Barlaston | - isolated flat grave |
| 3. | Willington | - settlement |

Random sample:-

- | | | |
|----|---------|--------------------------|
| 1. | Cauldon | - inhumation/s in barrow |
|----|---------|--------------------------|

2.	Forsbrook	- isolated find
3.	Rusden Low	- inhumation in barrow
4.	Garratt's Piece	- inhumation in barrow
5.	Middleton	- inhumation in barrow
6.	Alsop-en-le-Dale	- inhumation in barrow
7.	Musden 4	- inhumations in barrow
8.	Kenslow Knowll	- inhumation in barrow
9.	Brassington Moor 2	- inhumation in barrow
10.	Chelmorton 2	- inhumation in barrow
11.	Borough Fields, Wetton	- inhumation in barrow
12.	Middleton Moor-Wirksworth	- inhumation in barrow

Database format

Having chosen the sites for analysis from each study area, all artefacts from each individual site had to be described in an identical manner so that information on them could be quantified to produce raw material and artefact distribution patterns. Artefacts provide the evidence for both distribution patterns of raw materials and particular artefacts. Information on artefact forms and their constituent raw materials must therefore be described. The social contexts of deposition of artefacts must also be recounted ie whether artefacts came from grave or settlement deposits etc. They provide evidence for the final use of exchanged artefacts and may therefore indicate different levels of exchange activity within fifth-seventh century Anglo-Saxon England. Social contexts of deposition of artefacts must be described in a way that allows for the identification of associated artefacts. Intra-site distributions of raw materials and artefacts can then be produced if desired. It is also essential to date the artefacts deposited. The extent to which artefacts can be dated depended on the kind of deposition context. The difference in our ability to date artefacts from

settlements, cremation and inhumation cemeteries has already been noted. An assessment of the date of artefacts must be given where possible, however, in order to allow for the study of change in artefact and raw material deposition patterns through the early Anglo-Saxon period.

In order to describe this range of information, catalogues were constructed for each site. Each artefact was described according to a fixed spread sheet. Site catalogues are preceded by title sheets on which the following information is noted:-

- i The name of the study area.
- ii The name of the site.
- iii The site code by which all artefacts from a particular site are identified (- discussed with reference to the individual artefact spread sheet below).
- iv The ordnance survey national grid reference (unless the coordinates are unknown).
- v The nature of the site - settlement, cemetery or other. If the site is a cemetery then the type is indicated.
- vi Brief information on the excavation of the site.
- vii Information denoting whether the site has been selected for sampling via judgement or random techniques. If the site has been chosen by a judgement technique, then the particular form of technique will be noted. The two techniques will be indicated either by noting a transect number or a density sample number.
- viii The museum where the material is housed - if applicable.

The individual artefact data spread sheet is designed to collate the necessary information as indicated. Each heading is discussed on an individual basis in the following sections but in the database the spreadsheet will conform to the layouts shown below:-

Site Reference Code+Site artefact number+description

Museum Accession Number:

Commodity Number/s:

Context of Deposition:

Date of Manufacture:

Date of Deposition:

Notes:

For terms of speed the titles of the variables from 'Museum accession number' onward will be shortened to the following:-

Acc No:

Commod No:

C of D:

D of M:

D of D:

Notes:

a. Site reference code

Each site is given a reference code for use of identification on a shorthand basis. The code ranges from three to five letters and is written in bold capital letters.

b. Site artefact number

The site artefact number identifies an artefact within a whole site assemblage. It also enables a figure for the total number of data entries per site to be produced in

relation to the number of deposition contexts.

c. Description

This involved a short description of the artefact limited to a description of the form, type or function of the artefact only. This is written in bold type script but not in capitals.

d. Museum accession number

Where possible a museum accession number has been given for each data entry. This has been supplied not only with a view to indicate where the artefact is housed but also so that future researchers will be able to identify the artefact quickly and if it is deemed necessary, to question or revise a particular artefact description or date range.

e. Commodity number/s

The commodity number classification has been developed so that the raw materials which constitute an artefact can be identified and noted down. Every commodity used on a regular basis for manufacture of objects during the period 400-700 AD has been given a 'commodity number'. This shorthand scheme is quicker than physically writing down all constituent raw materials making up an artefact. A particular number is fixed to represent a particular commodity. The commodity number classification list is shown in figure 4.6.

f. Context of deposition

The purpose of noting the context of deposition has been discussed earlier. Artefacts from the same deposition contexts are noted sequentially within the individual site catalogue. The context of deposition description notes the structural entity in which an artefact or artefact assemblage had been deposited eg grave or sunken feature building etc. Where applicable the structural entity will be given a number for the purposes of differentiating deposition contexts. In this practice the numbers given to these features by their original excavators or by the individuals who accessioned the artefacts in museums have been respected.

g. Date of manufacture and date of deposition

The dating of early Anglo-Saxon artefacts has been based on the formation of relative chronologies of artefact development from typological study and dating of artefacts by association, relying eventually on coin dated graves. The dates ascribed to artefacts tend to vary, however, depending on the views of individual scholars. This variation does not tend to be extreme but it has produced odd results in some cases.

An example of such a result can be observed in the dating of the early Anglo-Saxon cemetery at Alton in Hampshire. Vera Evison came to the conclusion that the cemetery was in use in two phases, first from 425-525 AD and secondly from 600-650 AD with a gap in use between 525-600. Depending on individual interpretation, the proposed gap in the use of the cemetery could be the result of giving certain artefact groups too limited a series of date ranges. The artefacts from the cemetery do not justify the idea of such a short period of use in the sixth century. Certain graves could be dated to the mid-late sixth century, eg. grave 12 (Evison 1988, p93) and grave 23 (Evison 1988, p96). The gap in occupation is therefore likely to reflect the construction of overprecise artefact-based chronologies.

As a result of the, albeit limited, differences in dating early Anglo-Saxon artefacts, this work has relied on dating schemes devised by a number of scholars, including Leeds, Dickinson, Evison and other specialists (Leeds 1913; Leeds 1936; Leeds 1945; Leeds 1949; Evison 1955, p22-45; Evison 1965; Evison 1982, p7-21; Evison 1988, p237-245; Dickinson 1974; Dickinson 1976; Dickinson 1979, p39-56; Dickinson 1982, p41-67; Dickinson and Harke 1992; Dickinson and Speake 1992, p95-123; Dickinson 1993, p11-44; Hines 1984; Hines 1992, p81-93; Palm and Pind 1992, p50-80; Hirst 1985, p62-85 et al).

Where appropriate two date ranges are ascribed to artefacts, a date of manufacture range and a date of deposition range. The date of deposition range is concerned with the problem of noting a 'terminus ante quern' for an entire group of artefacts in a particular deposit, ie the time after which no further objects could have been added. The date of manufacture description allows for the identification of artefacts that were old when buried or discarded. It is appreciated, however, that in most cases differentiation between the two variables is not possible. In these cases only a date of deposition will be attributed to an artefact. Both chronologies established from artefact studies and stratigraphic relationships on different kinds of site were considered when establishing date ranges. The breadth of the date ranges depend on the length of time that the latest artefacts in particular deposits were in use.

Manufacture and deposition date ranges are noted using the fixed shorthand below:-

C5 equals 5th century

C6 equals 6th century

C7 equals 7th century, etc.,

The century date is further qualified by the following terms:-

Early

Mid

Late

A combination of these terms can be used together to form particular date ranges eg 'Mid-late C6' would correspond to a date of manufacture or deposition range from the mid-late sixth century AD. It would not matter if the qualifying terms came before or after the century figure. If an artefact cannot be dated it will be given the shorthand 'EAS' for 'early Anglo-Saxon'.

In order to compare dates ascribed to artefacts in this work with other dating schemes, artefacts from all three study areas have been photographed and labelled with their contexts and dates of deposition in volume 2, appendix 3.

h. Notes

The 'notes' section provides free text space for a more complete artefact description which would be inapplicable to the 'description' heading. Details on decoration of artefacts are noted when necessary. Further information may also be added in this section eg whether an artefact is identical to another artefact in the same grave. The dimensions of artefacts are also listed under the notes heading - where the taking of measurements is possible. Obviously, if a published artefact has since been lost and the exact dimensions are not described they cannot be given.

The production of site catalogues noting the above information on all artefacts deposited resulted in the formation of three regional databases. Because of their large size they have been put on to microfiche and together constitute volume 3 of this thesis.

7. The distribution of artefacts made from the four metals, iron, copper-alloy, silver and gold were examined in each study area. They were chosen on a subjective basis. All are commodities indigenous to Britain, although x-ray fluorescence analysis of gold objects and the presence of imported gold coins indicates that gold was imported in the early Anglo-Saxon period (Ager and Gilmour 1988, p. 19). The distributions of four commodities of proven or probable imported derivation were also selected for analysis in each study area: - amber, rock crystal, vessel glass and amethyst. General distributions of these imports from early Anglo-Saxon cemeteries in England have been produced by Huggett from his study of a series of published cemeteries (Huggett, 1988, p. 63). They were arbitrarily chosen for analysis in this work so that it would be possible to investigate their detailed distributions in different regions and to assess whether quantities deposited varied between 400-700 A.D. The two remaining commodities to be studied in each area were subjectively selected with a view to identifying indications of exchange of commodities derived from within the study areas or from regions adjacent to them, for example jet in the East Yorkshire sample. The only commodity selected for analysis for reasons other than those outlined above was garnet, in the Peak District sample. Garnet was selected after initial preparatory research on the character of the remains from the area. Many of the artefacts composed of gold and silver in the Peak District are also composed of garnet. Since the distributions of both gold and silver were being studied, it was also decided to analyse garnet distribution as well. Ignorance of its presence could have seriously hampered discussion of the derivation of imported commodities in this region.

Quantification

The different categories of information held on artefacts in the databases enabled the production of a series of regional quantified distribution patterns. Quantification of different variables relating to raw materials and artefacts was carried out on the basis of frequency. Raw material distributions were calculated by quantifying the number of artefacts made from a particular raw material and distributions of a specific form of artefact could be produced by analysing its frequency of occurrence. A single artefact could therefore be a constituent part of a specific artefact distribution and however many raw material distributions necessary to account for all its raw material components.

Quantification was carried out in two stages. First, individual site distributions were quantified in each study area. Secondly, the individual distributions were compared on a regional scale. Regional and later, inter-regional comparisons between distribution patterns could only be carried out, however, if the same raw material distributions were analysed in each study area. The number of raw materials making up the artefacts studied in this research can be seen in figure 4.6. It would not have been possible to analyse the distributions of all objects made from these raw materials, therefore, ten raw materials were chosen for analysis from each study area.

In order to fulfil the aims laid down earlier in this chapter, a selection of indigenous and imported raw materials were chosen to maximise the potential of providing evidence for regional and longer distance exchange activities. One, or in the case of the Peak District two, of the ten raw materials for analysis could vary for each study area. This was necessary when the non-inclusion of a particular raw material could have seriously undermined any conclusions on the nature, scale and direction of exchange links.⁷ The raw materials quantified in each study area are listed below:-

East Yorkshire

1. Iron
2. Copper-alloy
3. Gold
4. Silver
5. Tin
6. Amber
7. Rock Crystal
8. Amethyst
9. Vessel Glass
10. Jet

Upper Thames valley

1. Iron
2. Copper-Alloy
3. Gold
4. Silver
5. Tin
6. Amber
7. Rock Crystal
8. Amethyst
9. Vessel Glass
10. Antler

Peak District

1. Iron
2. Copper-alloy
3. Gold

4. Silver
5. Amber
6. Rock Crystal
7. Amethyst
8. Vessel Glass
9. Antler
10. Garnet

In the first stage of quantification - the intra-site analysis , five categories of information on raw material distribution and use were quantified when artefacts made from the above raw materials were present:-

i) Quantification of raw material distributions divided by date of deposition. Trends in use and deposition of artefacts made from specific raw materials were illustrated. The breadth of the date ranges used to illustrate chronological trends in deposition depended on the circumstances of deposition of artefacts - whether they were retrieved from settlement, cremation or inhumation cemetery sites.

ii) The number of contexts of deposition containing artefacts made from a raw material. If the site was a cemetery this would entail noting the number of graves with artefacts made from the raw material being analysed. If the site was a settlement the contexts of deposition would be structural features.

iii) The percentage of contexts of deposition from a particular site containing objects made from a raw material.

iv) The number of types of object made from a specific raw material.

v) The total number of objects made from a raw material This figure gives an

overall expression of levels of use or access to objects made from individual raw materials throughout the period of use of a particular site.

All quantified information on commodity/raw material distribution and use has been presented in tabular form for every site examined in the three study areas. The 98 tables produced are located in volume 2, appendix 1.

The second level of analysis - the regional comparison of distribution patterns - is presented separately for each study area in the following chapters. Distribution patterns are discussed chronologically. All figures illustrating these patterns are located in volume 2. Data from different kinds of site are compared individually, bearing in mind their different circumstances of deposition. The *representativity* of quantified results from individual sites is also considered in relation to the proportion of those sites excavated.

Changes in distribution and use of raw materials and certain artefacts are then interpreted in relation to their contexts of deposition for the evidence they provide on different levels of exchange. Discussion of indications of regional and longer distance exchange contacts provided by the distributions are set within an analysis of social forces with potential influence on exchange activity between the fifth and seventh centuries. An appreciation of these influences illustrates contexts for the operation of different kinds of exchange. They include a consideration of the following:-

- i) Any continuity of late Roman regional production and exchange patterns into the post-Roman period.

- ii) The impact of the Anglo-Saxon settlement in each of the study areas with regard to its effects on any evidence for post-Roman regional production and exchange networks and the formation of new inter-regional and long-distance exchange

contacts.

iii) The effect of acculturation or cross-cultural exchange of attitudes between native and immigrant populations in relation to exchange and use of raw materials and artefacts.

iv) The relationship between indigenous raw material commodity exchange and import procurement.

v) Change in the forms in which raw materials were exchanged and deposited.

Conclusions on exchange activity drawn from each study area are then used to examine current general hypotheses on the role and facilitation of exchange in early Anglo-Saxon societies between 400-700 AD. Themes discussed include motivations behind exchange; the relationship between exchange of raw materials for the maintenance of the agricultural economy and ceremonial exchange of luxuries in the maintenance of inter-group relations; impact of new ideologies on commodity movement; exchange mechanisms and the development of exchange media.

Chapter 5

COMMODITY DISTRIBUTION IN EAST YORKSHIRE FROM 400-700 AD

5.1 The character of sites providing evidence for commodity distribution from East Yorkshire

a. Cremation cemeteries

The earliest evidence of an Anglo-Saxon presence in East Yorkshire comes from the large cremation cemetery called Sancton 1 in this work. It is located at the southernmost tip of the Yorkshire Wolds not far from the north bank of the Humber estuary. The artefacts from the cemetery suggest that it was founded in the fifth century. Sancton 1 would seem to have been the early burial focus for the initial Anglo-Saxon settlers on north Humberside. The cemetery may originally have been the size of the Cleatham cremation cemetery in South Humberside where six hundred urned cremations have been discovered (Leahy pers comm). The Sancton 1 cemetery, however, has been known since the mid nineteenth century and had been extensively ploughed by the time any systematic excavation was carried out. The results from the quantification in this thesis were based on 259 urned cremations excavated by Myres and Southern and those held in the Ashmolean museum (Myres and Southern 1973 p29). The number of individual burials this represents is unknown.

b. Mixed cemeteries

The two published mixed burial practice cemeteries at Sewerby and Driffield Cheesecake Hill have been studied in the East Yorkshire sample. Other possible

examples exist, however, at Nafferton and Rudston. The pattern of burial practice at these cemeteries seems to be one of a small number of cremations with up to seventy or more inhumations. There were additional unexcavated inhumations at Sewerby (Hirst 1985, p26), while a number of inhumations at Cheesecake Hill were disturbed by workmen or ploughing prior to the excavations of 1845 and 1871 (Akerman 1855, p13; Mortimer 1905, p289). As a result, the grave totals for the cemeteries do not reflect the total complement of the cemetery populations but they do seem to be large samples of them. They were founded in the early-mid sixth century, at a time when burial practice was in transition from cremation to inhumation. Many of the 'inhumation' cemeteries of East Yorkshire may also have been mixed burial practice cemeteries but were not recognised as such at the time of excavation. On present dating conventions, they seem to have been in use from the early-mid sixth - early seventh centuries. After the mid sixth century cremation burial stopped. From this time these cemeteries should be regarded as directly analogous with other inhumation cemeteries which are geographically widespread throughout the region.

c. Inhumation cemeteries

By far the largest proportion of sites from East Yorkshire are inhumation cemeteries. Examples date from the mid sixth century - early eighth century. The number of graves recovered from the inhumation cemeteries vary. In some cases the cemeteries were completely excavated, in others they have only been partially investigated. The use of individual cemeteries for the study of commodity distributions is discussed when relevant in the course of the chapter.

d. Settlements

Three settlements were studied in East Yorkshire. They form ten percent of the total number of sites in the sample. All are located in different parts of the study area: Elmswell, near Drifffield; Wykeham in the Vale of Pickering and Hayton 1 on the south-eastern edge of the Vale of York. None of the settlements are completely excavated. Their potential use for the study of commodity distributions may therefore be very limited, however, evidence for production or use of different types of artefact in these settlements may further inform commodity distribution patterns derived from cemetery remains.

e. Periodically occupied sites/transient settlements

Early medieval archaeologists are now becoming more aware of the existence of periodically occupied sites or transient settlement forms with regard to transhumance and sites of exchange. The beach and its immediate hinterland from Welton through North Ferriby to the Redcliff area of the Humber shoreline may have been such a periodically used site. In the face of our limited knowledge from metal detector finds, it is possible that this area of coastline is a likely contender for an early medieval 'site of exchange'. There may have been a permanent settlement in the area which took on the characteristics of a beach trading site at periodic intervals. The site is represented by a scatter of at least eleven silver coins called sceattas. A list of the sceattas present together with photographs can be seen in volume 2, appendix 2.

5.2 Geographical patterning in the distribution of commodities through time

i) The fifth-early sixth centuries

The lack of evidence for fifth century Anglo-Saxon settlement, other than from the immediate hinterland of the north bank of the Humber, would suggest that the Anglo-Saxon presence in East Yorkshire was very limited during the fifth century. The only evidence for an Anglo-Saxon presence at this time comes from the large cremation cemetery at Sancton 1 (Myres and Southern 1973; see figure 5.1). No datable evidence for Anglo-Saxon settlement north of Sancton has been indicated before the first half of the sixth century. The only other evidence for a possible fifth century Anglo-Saxon burial comes from Swine to the east near Beverley (Elgee and Elgee 1993, p180; Hull museum records). Evidence of the activities of the indigenous population at this time are indicated from finds in stratigraphic sequences on a number of sites within the study area, however, the absence of radio-carbon dates and other absolute chronological markers for the fifth century meant that the dating of post-Roman phases came from relative chronological sequences.

Dealing with the Anglo-Saxon evidence first, the Sancton cemetery has indicated that the Anglo-Saxon population of the area had access to a range of imported commodities. It has already been made clear that the distribution of commodities at cremation cemeteries such as Sancton cannot be compared with those from inhumation cemeteries, however, a number of trends may be noted with regard to the presence of certain kinds of non-combustible artefacts. Of the 259 urned cremations studied, only six percent contained any iron objects, while twenty percent contained remains of copper-alloy objects (see Volume 2, appendix 1). This may, of course, be a reflection of the preferential recovery of copper-alloy dress accessories from the cremation rite rather than iron artefacts. The use of this comparative set of distributions is therefore very limited in assessing levels of access to iron and copper-alloy. A more significant observation can be made, however, concerning the presence of fused glass vessels at Sancton. The cremation cemetery at Sancton 1 is the only Anglo-Saxon cemetery (from the fifth-

eighth century) in East Yorkshire with depositions of complete glass vessels. Two complete vessels and a fragment of a third were recovered (SANC 24 and SANC 39 in volume 3). Unfortunately, it is very difficult to identify the original forms of the glass vessels. The artefacts associated with them only make it possible to date their deposition to within the period of use of the cemetery, from the fifth to the first half of the sixth century. The glass vessels may have been either, late Roman indigenous or imported products or they may have been post-Roman imports. A cone beaker and palm cup of the sixth and seventh centuries respectively, have been associated with the cemetery of Acklam Wold but the association is tentative (Eagles 1979, p71 and 421). Other than the latter two possibilities, vessel glass is not found again in settlements or in cemeteries until the mid seventh century when four inhumation cemeteries contained female graves with glass vessel fragments deposited as 'curios'. They had been obtained from vessels which had been broken at an unknown time before burial. This seems to indicate a greater availability of glass vessels to the Anglo-Saxon groups of the primary settlement phase - the fifth-early sixth centuries, than to their mid sixth and seventh century successors.

When looking at trends visible in British areas of East Yorkshire from the fifth-early sixth centuries, it is necessary to deal with evidence from contexts which are not directly comparable to those from the Sancton 1 cemetery. The evidence comes from two settlement sites and a cemetery. The two settlements are located at Elmswell and Wykeham, the former is situated at the headwaters of the river Hull, on the edge of the Wolds near Driffield and the latter in the Vale of Pickering (see figure 5.1). It is impossible to compare commodity distributions on these sites with settlement assemblages in the primary Anglo-Saxon settlement zone since fifth century Anglo-Saxon settlement sites have not been identified on Humberside. The dating of activity at Elmswell and Wykeham to the fifth century is based on stratigraphic sequences and relative associations of artefacts.

At Wykeham there seems to be continuous occupation from the late Roman to

Anglo-Saxon periods, ie. from the late fourth-sixth centuries. The settlement consists of a series of approximately circular, semi-sunken huts in which evidence for working raw materials and production of artefacts was found (Moore 1965, p406-429) Within the huts many of the lower strata have broken but unabraded Crambeck and Huntcliff wares, while the upper strata of the same structures contain Anglo-Saxon material culture. Some of the huts contain non diagnostic artefacts which could have been used from the fourth-sixth centuries and some purely 'Anglo-Saxon' artefacts. The working of copper-alloy and the production of blue glass beads are indicated from hearth areas on the site (Moore 1965, p408).

At Elmswell there are also large assemblages of Crambeck and Huntcliff wares. As the use of these wares can be dated on stratigraphic grounds, into the fifth century, there is no necessity for a break in occupation on this site between the end of the fourth and the sixth century. Sometime in the latter century Anglo-Saxon artefacts started to be deposited. Anthony Congreve and Phillip Corder opened up a series of trenches at Elmswell between 1935 and 1938 (the exact locations of which have recently been rediscovered by the author). They excavated a series of buildings, indicated by chalk cobbled floors and uncovered a series of iron-smelting furnaces, hearths and possible pottery kilns. Half a ton of iron slag was recovered and the site of a bloomery was identified (Smythe 1938, p15-18). Some enclosure ditches were also sectioned in areas around the buildings and industrial remains (Corder 1940, p10). Recent aerial photographs of the site housed in the Humberside Archaeology Unit indicate that the settlement comprised of a series of adjacent enclosures with buildings in their interiors (Humberside SMR; Teel pers comm).

During the excavation of the site Congreve and Corder uncovered a large quantity of Anglo-Saxon artefacts from the ploughsoil or disturbed subsoil contexts. Mortimer had noted large amounts of Anglo-Saxon pottery in the ploughsoil from this area in the 1870s and had suggested the existence of an Anglo-Saxon settlement at that time (Mortimer 1905, p257). The largest concentration of Anglo-

Saxon finds came from the east of the site (Congreve 1937, p11; Congreve 1938, p7; Corder 1938 - site notebook). Further Anglo-Saxon settlement remains from this area were recovered by the Granthams in 1952, stratified above what they considered to be a late Roman pottery kiln (Mellor 1953, p263-264). The distribution of finds and structures would suggest that the Elmswell settlement was migrating eastwards towards the area of the medieval village through the Roman and early Anglo-Saxon periods.

Since there is no evidence for a break in occupation on the settlement between the end of the Roman period and the adoption of Anglo-Saxon material culture, there is no reason to suppose an end to the production and working of iron at Elmswell. The population of the settlement quite clearly had access to an iron source, probably of local derivation, at the end of the Roman period and into the fifth century. The number of furnaces suggest the production of iron at a level above the needs of the local community and it can be seen as a probable commodity for exchange. Exchange of iron would account for the ability to acquire luxuries such as glass vessels in the late Roman period (Congreve 1938, p33; Corder 1940, p54). There is no reason to suppose a collapse in the demand for iron in post-Roman East Yorkshire, it is therefore conceivable that iron continued to be exchanged on a local or regional basis during the fifth century (Congreve 193, p21; Corder 1940, p34).

At Crambeck, near Castle-Howard in the Vale of Pickering, the remains of part of a fifth century British cemetery have been recovered. At least five inhumation burials in limestone cists were found between 1856 and 1927, stratified above two Crambeck ware kilns (Corder 1928, p10-20; Corder 1937, p392-397; Meaney 1964, p284). The Crambeck pottery kilns were still in large scale production until the early fifth century on a regional basis, though they may have lost their long-distance links with Hadrian's Wall (Evans 1989, p80). There was a thick layer between the end of use of the kilns and the placing of the inhumation cemetery. It has been suggested that the kilns were only partially visible as covered 'immature barrows' on

8. The possibility that the unique Crambeck forms in the cist graves were made in the fifth century rests on the fact that the Crambeck kilns into which they were cut were associated with mass-produced Crambeck forms produced until the end of the fourth century (Corder 1928, p.44; Corder 1937, p.408). Corder suggested that the stratigraphy indicated that the kilns had been abandoned for some time prior to the use of the area as a cemetery. On these grounds the cists would date to the fifth century. While the unique forms could have been made in the fourth century, there is absolutely no evidence for their production. There is therefore a significant possibility that the accessory vessels were made at a time contemporary with the lives of the individuals interred in the cists.

foundation of the cemetery (Meaney 1964, p284). It certainly seems that the cemetery was founded either at the end of the Roman period or in the post-Roman period sometime in the fifth century.

The burials consisted of both male and female graves. There were extended inhumations within well made limestone cists accompanied by ceramic accessory vessels. These accessory vessels are wheelmade in Crambeck fabrics, but in unparalleled forms (Corder 1928, p19). There was also a wheelmade blue grey vessel with decoration which was heralded as 'unique' (Corder 1928, p20; Ramm 1978, p134). The ceramic assemblage from the cemetery seems to indicate continued production of Crambeck wares and the acquisition of other wheelmade wares during the fifth century. The individuality of the forms suggests production on a smaller scale.⁸

In conclusion the British areas appear to be well integrated on a regional basis during the fifth century. Pottery production was scaled down but production of wheelmade wares still continued. There seems to be no break in the working of raw materials and production of artefacts. In short, while there is evidence for a contraction in the scale of production and exchange of products such as Crambeck ware pottery at an inter-regional level during the fifth century, there is no evidence for collapse in the production and exchange of essential raw materials such as iron, on a local or regional level.

ii The mid sixth-early seventh centuries

By the mid sixth century, the whole of the population within the East Yorkshire study area had adopted Anglo-Saxon fashions of dress, indicated by the material remains from both cemeteries and settlements. The mid sixth century also saw change in the predominant burial practice from cremation to inhumation. Instead of using a large 'central' cemetery, the inhumation cemeteries of the early-mid sixth century

9. The extent of excavation of the cemeteries within Transect X varies. As a result, the degree of confidence in the representativity of the commodity distributions from each cemetery also varies. When the extent of excavation of cemeteries has a potential effect on interpretation, this influence is clearly stated in the discussion relating to distributions from individual cemeteries. The largest numbers of excavated graves from burial grounds of this period come from the cemeteries focussed on barrows at Driffield-Kellythorpe, to the west of modern Driffield and at Driffield-Cheesecake Hill, to the east of modern Driffield, and from the cemetery at Sewerby on the coast. At Kellythorpe, Albert Conyngham-Lord Londesborough recovered the remains of an uncertain number of Anglo-Saxon inhumation graves and J.R. Mortimer and a team of workmen excavated forty-one inhumations (Mortimer 1905, p.283). All the graves were recovered from within the area of a large Bronze Age barrow. Mortimer's excavation recovered the entire plan of the barrow. No trace of further graves were found on its margins. The graves were laid out in a radial fashion inside the barrow itself. The possibility that this barrow formed the focus for a larger cemetery cannot be ruled out but no finds have subsequently come to light in the vicinity of the barrow since its excavation (Humberside SMR). Cemeteries of under a hundred graves may not be exceptional for the area. Two phases of excavation at the Anglo-Saxon cemetery of Hornsea on the Holderness coast have yielded under fifty inhumations, despite the apparent identification of the edges of the cemetery on several sides (Sheppard 1913; Evans pers comm). It may be a mistake to assume that all cemeteries in East Yorkshire are of an analogous size to that discovered at West Heslerton, in the Vale of Pickering, with its 125 graves (Powlesland 1986, p.163). Thirty-five inhumations and several urned cremations were found within a Bronze Age barrow at Cheesecake Hill. All the graves appear to have come from within the area of the barrow but Mortimer's plan of the site only relates to the part excavated by him and not the areas investigated in 1845 and 1849 (Mortimer 1905, p.293). While Mortimer tended to excavate beyond the edge of barrows and so provide an indication of the possibility of further remains, the quality of the earlier 'investigations' at Cheesecake Hill make it impossible to speculate whether it was the focus of a larger cemetery. Sixty graves were excavated at Sewerby - fifty-eight inhumations and two urned cremations. It is not completely excavated, however, since certain burials were covered by a modern house (Hirst 1985, p.26). Neither the coastal cemeteries at Sewerby nor Hornsea appear to have been sited on barrows.

onwards were smaller and geographically widespread throughout the region (see figure 5.2). Bearing in mind the large number of complete furnished inhumation graves and their wide geographical distribution, trends of access or use of commodities can be generated with a large number of comparable data sets.

During the second half of the sixth century, the distributions of the commodities outlined earlier fall into two broad zones:- a coastal zone with its immediate hinterland and an inland zone. The dividing line between these observed zones is unlikely to have been finite in reality, therefore to express these zones via a dividing line on a map would be inappropriate. It is possible, however, to give certain geographical indications for the existence of two zones of distribution. The coast zone extends around the East Yorkshire coast and along the north bank of the Humber into the area of the earliest Anglo-Saxon settlement in the region. The immediate hinterland areas incorporated into this zone include the eastern parts of the Wolds and the eastern end of the Vale of Pickering. The inland zone consists of the majority of the Wolds and part of the Vale of Pickering stretching as far as the western boundaries of the study area at the river Derwent and the Howardian hills.

The deposition of the commodities amber, rock crystal and jet concentrates in the coast and hinterland zone. Figure 5.3 shows a transect from the east coast running west along the southern edge of the Wolds scarp, extending as far south as Hornsea in the east and Londesborough in the west. This transect was not one of the sample transects and has been labelled 'transect x'. It has been constructed because it makes distribution trends among contemporary sites more easy to illustrate. Broadly contemporary sites of mid sixth-early seventh century date are indicated.⁹ Figure 5.4 shows the number of amber objects in each cemetery. The position of the relevant histogram bar for each site reflects its distance from the coast in the transect illustrated in figure 5.3. Figure 5.5 shows the number or absence of rock crystal and jet objects from the same cemetery sites.

These commodity totals can be compared with the number of contexts of deposition

10. At a superficial level the regression graphs do indicate a drop in the number of iron and copper-alloy in cemeteries towards the coast. However, this correlation is not clear. As explained on p.97, both the graphs are influenced by partial excavation, especially Londesborough. If the variables from Londesborough are removed, any trend is more difficult to identify. The quantified commodity distributions were used to provide indications of commodity use and exchange. Due to different circumstances of artefact recovery which could have influenced the distributions, use of statistical methods of presentation, such as regression graphs, were not pursued further as they do not take into account artefact recovery influences.

in which these objects occur on different sites within the transect. The latter are shown in figure 5.6. It can be seen from figures 5.4 and 5.5 that the total numbers of amber, rock crystal and jet objects increase going east towards the coast. The exception in the distribution of amber and rock crystal comes from the cemetery of Hornsea. The cemetery was partially excavated by Sheppard in 1911 and the small number of remaining graves have recently been excavated by the Humberside Archaeology Unit (Sheppard 1913, p258-272 and p315-317; Baldwin Brown 1915, p269; Evans pers comm; Head forthcoming). The comparatively large number of jet objects at Hornsea, however, indicates that it does share a characteristic of coastal zone distributions. The number of deposition contexts in which amber, rock crystal and jet are found also seems to increase towards the coast, however, here the difference is not as pronounced compared with the object totals (see figure 5.6). Rock crystal and jet objects are only available to a very small percentage of the population in the above inhumation cemeteries - less than five percent of the population, in the case of rock crystal. All graves with the latter commodity are materially rich female graves.

This distribution contrasts completely with the pattern of deposition of artefacts made from the raw materials iron, copper-alloy and silver. During the second half of the sixth century, individual cemetery populations further inland seem to have had far greater access to objects made from the above commodities per individual, as figures 5.7 and 5.8a indicate. The percentage of graves with access to these raw materials in individual cemeteries (figure 5.7 top) seems to illustrate this trend far better than individual object total in the case of iron and copper-alloy. The number of graves in each of the five cemeteries can be seen in figure 5.8b. Trends in deposition of iron and copper-alloy in relation to site location are also illustrated in the form of regression graphs in figure 5.9. The production of 'lines of best fit' produce a strong correlation with regard to distribution of iron and copper-alloy. One could claim that access increases the further inland one travels.¹⁰ This, however,

would render access to the latter raw materials dependent on a normative mathematical observation. As a general trend the observation stands, but the variations in access to commodities within the general trends are likely to reflect social phenomena working within early medieval society within east Yorkshire during the second half of the sixth century. Variation from general trends may not only be the result of reality. It may be the result of method of recovery and interpretation of the data. Two of the cemeteries, among the five discussed above in transect x, show the effects of partial excavation, or excavation and publication long after the original contextual information had been lost. The two examples are Londesborough and Hornsea at the western and eastern ends of the transect respectively. In the case of Hornsea, Sheppard did not attribute all the finds from the cemetery to his grave-groups. This would suggest that some of the artefacts were recovered from disturbed graves (Hull museum records). This has caused a problem in assessing the number of graves possessing different kinds of commodities. The remainder of the graves excavated in 1982 were materially much poorer than those excavated by Sheppard (Head forthcoming). The artefacts from Sheppard's excavation therefore form the focus of attention in this work. Londesborough was 'investigated' in the nineteenth century and reference to some of the finds was made by Baldwin Brown (Brown 1915, p268). It was not fully catalogued and published however, until 1964 (Swanton 1964, p262-286). The result of this interpretation of a large group of unassociated material was a catalogue of ten graves. The reconstructed grave inventories are materially very wealthy for East Yorkshire. This leads one to suspect that a great deal more than ten graves are indicated by the Londesborough remains. As a result, figures for the percentage of the cemetery population with access to different commodities may be spurious with regard to Londesborough

This problem also occurs with the material from the inhumation cemetery at Staxton in the east of the vale of Pickering. This seems to have a mid sixth-early seventh

century period of use. Distribution of commodities, in terms of artefact totals from the site, indicates access on a par with sites in the coastal and hinterland zone (see volume 2, appendix 2). This series of grave finds include quite a large number of amber beads and copper-alloy artefacts, with a small quantity of silver objects and a very small number of iron objects. This pattern is similar to those at both Sewerby and Driffeld-Cheesecake Hill. At Staxton, Sheppard also attempted to reconstruct the number of graves represented from this large material assemblage discovered in quarrying (Sheppard 1938, p16-24). Sheppard, like Swanton after him, seems to have had a tendency to reconstruct very wealthy individual grave assemblages - suggesting four very rich female graves with other unassociated material. In all likelihood the assemblages represent a greater number of buried individuals. As a result, one cannot draw conclusions with regard to access to commodities from this type of data on a detailed level.

Even if the values of Londesborough and Hornsea are removed from the histograms and regression graphs, however, the general trend is still the same, though the differences in level of access to the commodities are slightly less marked. This does not mean that the differences in distribution of commodities do not reflect the work of important social and economic forces within East Yorkshire from the mid sixth-early seventh centuries.

Settlement site commodity distribution

The range of commodities other than pottery deposited on settlement sites is much more limited when compared with cemeteries. The settlement sites shed light on production of artefacts made from commodities available within the region. They therefore provide an essential counter-balance to the cemetery assemblages.

Only the settlements of Elmswell and Wykeham provide the information on artefact quantities, types and deposition contexts necessary for the study of settlement

distributions within the region. Even then, however, the information they provide is limited because neither site was completely excavated. The date ranges of the excavated Anglo-Saxon deposits are broadly analogous - dating from the sixth-early seventh centuries - so some comparison of the types of activity on these sites can be made. The only commodity distribution studied from East Yorkshire for which comparison was possible, however, was that of iron because the deposition contexts of other commodities were so uncertain at Elmswell (Congreve 1937, p11). Forty-four iron objects came from ten deposition contexts (all sunken floored huts) at Wykeham. This contrasts with twenty-seven iron objects coming from four deposition contexts at Elmswell (see figure 5.10). The deposition contexts from the latter comprised pits associated with iron working and an occupation scatter. Another indication of levels of production of certain raw materials and the skills to work them comes from a study of the number of types of artefact made from iron on each site. At Elmswell sixteen object types are represented whereas at Wykeham only ten are present (shown on figure 5.10). Large amounts of slag all over the Elmswell settlement also seem to indicate that iron was worked in both a more extensive and intensive manner at the latter compared with Wykeham (Congreve 1938, p15-19; Corder 1940, p6). The significance of the evidence for iron working at Elmswell will be seen in the discussion relating to exchange in universally needed raw materials in chapter six.

iii) The mid seventh-early eighth centuries

Sometime during the first half of the seventh century there was a change in location of inhumation cemeteries in East Yorkshire. All the cemeteries discussed in the above section went out of use in the early seventh century. In their place, a new series of inhumation cemeteries were founded (figure 5.11). Fourteen sites, of a total sample of thirty in the East Yorkshire study area, comprise inhumation

cemeteries with deposition date range from the mid seventh-early eighth centuries. This may represent a genuine population expansion within the region or a retrieval bias.

'Coastal' and 'inland' zones of commodity distribution are not suggested by the distribution patterns from inhumation cemeteries during this period. The examination of the distribution of imported items illustrates this point. One such imported commodity which first appears in East Yorkshire at this time is amethyst. It is generally buried in the form of 'pear-shaped' beads during the mid-late seventh century. The distribution is geographically widespread throughout the region. This is not to say, however, that access to items such a amethyst was widespread among all social ranks within early medieval society. Silver was also distributed widely throughout the region in the form of dress accessories, however, levels of access to silver do seem to vary between communities. Figure 5.12 shows the total number of amethyst and silver objects from nine broadly contemporary cemeteries with mid-late seventh century date ranges. The high silver object totals from the Uncleby, Garton Station and Garton 2a cemeteries can be balanced against figures for the percentage of graves containing silver artefacts in each cemetery (see figure 5.13). This comparison is possible because of the complete excavation of the two Garton cemeteries (Mortimer 1905, p247-257; Stead 1987, p235-237; Evans pers comm; British museum records) and the large scale excavation of the Uncleby cemetery (Smith 1912, p147-148). Even though there is a marked difference between the Uncleby and Garton totals, there is very little difference in terms of the percentage of graves with silver in the individual cemeteries.

It is not possible to compare these percentage figures with a number of the other contemporary cemeteries for three reasons. First, on certain sites such as Eastburn and Seamer, the original deposition contexts of the artefacts were destroyed and subsequently several artefacts have been lost. At Eastburn, grave assemblages were discovered on a spoil heap during airfield construction in 1938 (Sheppard

1939, p44-47) and at Seamer many grave associations were disturbed and not well recorded, subsequently the finds were widely dispersed (Elgee and Elgee 1933, p182-183; Meaney 1964, p300; British Museum Records). The second, complicating factor relates to very limited excavation of parts of cemeteries. This is likely to have occurred at Acklam Wold (Mortimer 1905, p94-94; Ager and Gilmour 1988, p13-22), Everthorpe (Hull Museum records) and Elloughton (Sheppard 1940, p161-164). The third problem affecting comparison of percentages of cemetery populations with commodities is the practice of isolated burial, often in a reused bronze age barrow. An example can be seen at Painsthorpe Wold, near Uncleby (Mortimer 1905, p117). Mortimer found no indications that the barrow burial was part of a larger cemetery. Obviously it would be spurious to compare percentage access to commodities with other cemetery populations when the total sample in an isolated burial is one individual.

It has been assumed that silver was imported into the region during the early medieval period, though this may not have been the case in every instance. There is always the likelihood of a residual pool of silver circulating in the region from earlier periods.

Bearing in mind the almost total lack of gold in early medieval contexts from the sixth century, it is also fair to assume that the gold deposited in graves of the seventh century arrived in the region as an imported commodity. The same can be said for the appearance of vessel glass fragments in certain female graves of the mid-late seventh century (see fig 5.14). Vessel glass, in fragments or as complete vessels, is absent from the inhumation cemeteries from the mid sixth-early seventh centuries in the region. This contrasts with the fifth-early sixth centuries and the mid-late seventh century. In the latter period, however, there is a distinct difference in the form that the vessel glass was deposited. The fused glass vessels at Sancton 1 were complete, but in the mid seventh century cemeteries, vessel glass fragments accompanying the graves seem to have been broken before interment. This can be



interpreted as indicating that vessel glass was a greater rarity and therefore a greater 'curio' in the mid seventh century than in the fifth century.

It is a matter for conjecture whether the glass vessel fragments were procured in fragment form for grinding into glass studs, present on sites such as Garton 2a (GAR8, 40 and 41 in Volume 3) or whether complete vessels were imported, the fragments being the remains of their breakages. It is noticeable that gold and vessel glass tend to occur on the same sites during this period (see figure 5.14). In terms of contexts of deposition, both commodities occur in wealthier graves. With regard to gender distribution, gold in East Yorkshire predominantly accompanies female burials in the form of bullae/shield pendants or in one case, at Uncleby, as part of a gold cloisonne garnet ornament (Smith 1912, p153). The only context where gold is present in a male grave is in sword grave 2 at Acklam Wold, in which gold formed part of the decoration for the sword hilt (Ager and Gilmour 1988, p13).

Evidence from the gold decoration of the above sword hilt was analysed by x-ray fluorescence. The spectrum template of constituent components was then compared with templates derived from English, Frankish and Byzantine gold coinage. The components of the gold from the hilt decoration most closely matched the template from mid seventh century Frankish gold coinage (Ager and Gilmour 1988, p19-21). The gold content is relatively low in relation to deliberately added impurities such as silver and copper in this type of coinage. The observation that almost all gold objects in East Yorkshire were deposited from the mid seventh century is highly significant and will be discussed in more detail in the following chapters.

With regard to commodities derived from sources within the region, eg iron and jet, and commodities with a wide circulation such as copper-alloy, there are distinct distribution patterns in the mid-late seventh century. The method of recovery of artefacts at certain sites and the incomplete excavation of others renders comparison of artefact totals inappropriate in many cases. With three contemporary

cemeteries, however, comparison of the percentage of graves with iron and copper-alloy and comparison of artefact totals was possible (see figure 5.15). The occupants of the Garton Station inhumation cemetery had far greater access to iron and copper-alloy objects in terms of the proportion of the population possessing them and in the total number of objects, compared with the Uncleby and Garton 2a cemeteries. One must beware of drawing too clear a distinction between distributions in the Garton Station and Garton 2a cemeteries, however, as they are geographically so close together - a matter of metres (see figure 5.21). It is impossible to tell whether they represent different parts of the population of a single settlement or whether the populations of the cemeteries lived at different sites in the area.

It is clear that specific areas within East Yorkshire seem to have had greater access to certain raw materials throughout the early medieval period, for example, the Garton-Driffield area. This area is rich in iron, copper-alloy and imported commodities during the mid seventh-early eighth centuries. As will be illustrated, it is unlikely that the correlation of a high degree of access to indigenous products and foreign imports is a coincidence. This is discussed in greater detail in the presentation of the results from the density sample in the Garton-Driffield area. It would appear from the results that the greater the access to iron, the greater the access to copper-alloy and imported luxuries in this part of East Yorkshire.

The third commodity of local derivation - jet - shows a difference in distribution in the mid seventh century when compared with its distribution in the sixth century. During the sixth century, jet seems to have been worked and distributed along the east coast of England, near to its source along the Yorkshire coast (Elgee 1930, p108-109; Brewster 1963, p118; Hornsby 1913, p134; Gallagher 1987, p11-13). By the seventh century, however, jet is found in wealthy female graves further inland, at Uncleby, Eastburn and Seamer. It is very difficult to interpret this distribution as a true reflection of the use of jet due to the paucity of mid-late seventh century

cemeteries near the east coast. At Seamer and Eastburn the jet had been worked into a ring and bead respectively. At Uncleby, a piece of unworked jet formed part of a burial assemblage (Smith 1912, p154). The latter deposition would suggest that jet was buried as a 'curio' in the same way as vessel glass. The distribution of jet does not indicate that it was widely worked in the second half of the seventh century. It would appear that after the Roman period, jet was not worked or distributed on a large scale until the ninth century (Mann 1982, p11). The distribution of jet objects in sixth century Anglo-Saxon cemeteries on the East Yorkshire coast can be explained by their proximity to jet sources on the north-east Yorkshire coast.

Distributions from cemeteries of the late seventh-early eighth centuries are not directly comparable with those of the mid-late seventh century. At least four and possible six cemeteries of this period were examined. From the end of the seventh century, the number of grave goods deposited declined sharply. This may be due to the influence of the Christian religion on burial practice. This is not to say, however, that all deposition of grave goods ceased, but it would be unwise to use the artefact distributions from this period in the same way as those of the mid-late seventh century. In exceptional circumstances, certain artefacts deposited shed light on exchange within and outside the region. At Garton Slack-Tatton Sykes 2, a male burial was accompanied by a purse containing eight early secondary series 'sceattas' - small silver coins (Grantham and Grantham 1965, p356-358; Rigold and Metcalf 1984, p252). These sceattas are the only examples of this date found in a grave in East Yorkshire and date the deposition of the individual to approximately 725 AD (Blackburn 1984, p167). The location of these sceattas may be linked to the introduction of the use of small silver 'sceatta' coinage as a medium of exchange for certain transactions. It does not seem likely, however, that all exchange transactions were carried out via this medium (Hinton 1986, p26). The sceattas from Garton Slack appear to be English products but this is not the case with all primary and early secondary series sceattas of late seventh and early eighth century date from

the region.

An indication of long-distance exchange contact comes from a late seventh-early eighth century grave from the cemetery of King's Mill Road, Driffield (Driffield 2 - King's Mill Road in Volume 3). This cemetery contained more than twelve inhumations but it may not be fully excavated. The site was excavated by Mortimer in 1893 (Mortimer 1905, p294-295). Most of the inhumations were extended and not accompanied by grave-goods, However, certain graves were interred with single ceramic accessory vessels. The majority were hand-made globular pots but one inhumation was accompanied with a wheel-made pot with 'roller stamp' decoration. The pot seems to have been fired under oxidised conditions as it is reddish in colour. This is in contrast to the handmade globular vessels which are grey-black and therefore fired in reducing conditions. Mortimer identified this vessel as an intrusive product (Mortimer 1905, p294) but it was left to Myres to suggest a source (Myres 1964, p49). He put forward the hypothesis that the vessel originated in northern France on the grounds of form and in particular, the type of decoration. He dated the vessel to the seventh-eighth centuries. The presence of such an object in East Yorkshire at this time suggests continued access to products of Merovingian Frankish derivation, first seen in the region from the mid seventh century. It is not certain, however, that the wheel-made vessel at King's Mill Road was an object of trade in its own right. It may have arrived in East Yorkshire for the substance it contained or it may represent a side transaction during exchange of other commodities.

Other indications of exchange and new methods of storing wealth in the late seventh-early eighth centuries come from two other sites: the settlement on 'Paddock Hill' at Thwing and the sceatta and small find scatter from North Ferriby - Redcliff (see figure 5.16).

The settlement site at Thwing has been excavated by Mr T. Manby since 1973 (Manby forthcoming; Manby pers comm). In 1983 six sceattas were discovered

within a settlement midden layer. Two are primary series sceattas of late seventh-early eighth century date, one having been produced in Frisia (Series D Type 8 - see appendix 2, volume 2). Also found in the same deposit were three Northumbrian sceattas (Series Y), produced during the mid eighth century (Pirie 1984, p264). As the earlier sceattas were found in a deposit containing the mid eighth century Northumbrian sceattas they could have been in residual circulation at that time. It is therefore possible that coinage was not utilised for exchange or wealth storage at Thwing until the middle decades of the eighth century rather than the late seventh century-early eighth century.

The situation seems to have been different at the possible beach trading site on the north bank of the Humber stretching from the shore at Elloughton, through Welton, North Ferriby and reaching as far as Redcliff. This area is referred to as North Ferriby in Volume 3 and on figure 5.16. The site comprises of a scatter of primary and early secondary series sceattas, dating from the late seventh-early eighth century, in different concentrations over the whole area. All the sceattas have been found by metal detector (Hull Museum records; Sitch pers comm; Foxon pers comm; Haldenby pers comm; Hart pers comm).¹¹ No structural evidence dating to the early medieval period has been found in this area but it is possible that certain undated structures found at Redcliff in 1987, date to the early medieval period, though this is highly conjectural (Willis pers comm). No dating evidence or indications of domestic habitation were found in the latter structures. They are merely stratified above late Iron Age and early Roman features in the area. The artefacts found from the features include imported pottery wares and late Iron Age gold staters have also been found on the shore. This indicates that the Redcliff area was used as an entry point for imports and a site of exchange in the first century AD as well as in the late seventh-eighth centuries (Crowther, Willis and Creighton 1990, p178-179; Hull Museum records).

Northumbrian series Y sceattas are completely absent from the North Ferriby-

11. Consideration was given to the possibility that eleven sceattas found at North Ferriby by D. Haldenby were part of a hoard as all seemed to date from the late seventh-early eighth centuries. Further finds of sceattas dating to this period have been found on the shore from Welton to North Ferriby by different metal detectorists. The distance between the Welton and North Ferriby findspots suggests that the sceatta distribution, in this area of the north bank of the Humber, represents more than a hoard. If the metal detectorists are giving false provenances for their finds, it might be expected that the more common Northumbrian sceattas would have been brought in to local museums for identification and attributed to North Ferriby. The close date range of all the sceattas from the North Ferriby - Welton area and the activities of metal detectorists, unknown to each other, together with their independent corroboration of the findspots of the sceattas suggest that the provenances are reasonably accurate.



SCEATTA(SERIES X) FROM NORTH FERRIBY
SCALE X2.5

PLATE 5.1

(PHOTOGRAPH TAKEN BY THE AUTHOR WITH KIND
PERMISSION OF HULL MUSEUMS SERVICE)

Welton concentration; the latter came into production in the 730s. This absence indicates that the primary and early secondary series sceattas were deposited in this area before the 730s. Both English and Frisian sceattas are present. An example of an early secondary series X type 31 sceat, minted in England for Frisia is shown in plate 5.1 (Steward 1984, p19). To date, a problem has existed in giving a chronological range to the North Ferriby sceatta group due to the presence of the two coins inscribed 'Aldfridus' in a combination of runic and latin script (see Volume 2, appendix 2, plate 1). These coins have been identified with two Kings, Aldfrith King of Northumbria from 685-705 AD and Aldfrith King of Lindsey who reigned in the 780s-790s AD (Booth 1984, p72). Analysis of the weights of the Aldfrith coinage, however, and their high silver content seems to place it firmly in the primary series dating to the late seventh-early eighth century. A recent find of an Aldfrith sceat in a deposit dating to around 700 AD from Anglo-Saxon Southampton - 'Hamwic' supports the weight and silver content evidence (Archibald 1991, p66; Archibald pers comm). The Aldfrith sceatta coinage would therefore seem to be attributable to Aldfrith of Northumbria (685-705 AD) and this supports the view that the North Ferriby sceatta group was deposited from the late seventh-early eighth century.

The presence of this scatter of sceattas in this area along the northern shore of the Humber suggests that the beach and its immediate hinterland was used as a site of exchange from the late seventh-early eighth century. Apart from the two Aldfrith sceattas, all the coins are southern English and Frisian issues. The derivation of the sceattas indicates that the beach trading site was a focus for inter-regional exchange with southern England and hence continental Europe. Transient periodic use of the site is suggested by the lack of evidence for permanent structures and long term residence. This is not to say that the provisioning of such a settlement was not closely linked to inland permanent settlement. The absence of a permanent trading site within the region is a matter for discussion in the following

chapter. The only broadly comparable sceatta group to that of North Ferriby comes from Whitby (Allan 1943, p85-86; Rigold and Metcalf 1984, p265). Series Y sceattas are also present at the latter site, however. This is not to suggest any 'monastic' character for North Ferriby, rather the possibility of a pre-existing periodic trading site at the port of Whitby, which may subsequently have become tied with the monastic foundation in some way.

5.3 Commodity distribution within 'micro-regions' within East Yorkshire from the fifth-eighth centuries

The purpose of the density samples was to examine trends in commodity access in micro-regions within each study area. An indication of the degree of integration of individual areas with the rest of their region and beyond can be inferred. The results from East Yorkshire come from the 'Garton-Driffield' and 'Sancton-Hayton' density samples shown in figure 4.2. The 'Garton-Driffield' sample lies at the headwaters of the river Hull on the edge of the Wolds, while the 'Sancton-Hayton' sample lies in the south west of the study area following the line of the Roman road from Brough to York.

i. The Sancton-Hayton group

Three sites were selected for analysis within the area of the Sancton-Hayton sample:-

- a. Sancton 1 - Cremation Cemetery
- b. Sancton 2 - Inhumation Cemetery
- c. Hayton 2 - Inhumation Cemetery

Three other sites lying within the density sample areas were also selected for analysis by the random sample technique. As a result six sites lying within the density sample area were analysed. The sites selected by the random method were:-

1. Shiptonthorpe - probable Inhumation Cemetery
2. Hayton 1 - Settlement
3. Hayton 3 - probable Inhumation Cemetery

It would be foolish to ignore the above sites within the density sample area. The vast majority of the sites are located within one kilometre of the Roman road from Brough to York (figure 5.17). Also striking, especially with regard to the Hayton sites and Shiptonthorpe, is their proximity to the late Roman settlement foci. It seems that the early medieval population was making use of the same settlement zones as their immediate predecessors (see figures 5.18 and 5.19). This is not necessarily an indication of settlement continuity in terms of resource territories and elements of population, but it must be regarded as a possibility.

The Sancton-Hayton sample consists of four inhumation cemeteries, one cremation cemetery and one settlement site. The purpose of the Sancton-Hayton sample was to study commodity access within this small area from the fifth-seventh centuries. The likelihood that the Sancton 1 cremation cemetery was a 'central' cemetery for the primary Anglo-Saxon settlement phase in East Yorkshire renders it unusable as an indicator of commodity access within the Sancton-Hayton area alone. It does, however, provide an indication of certain types of commodity available in the North Humberside and southern Wolds areas such as glass vessels. The trends evident at this cemetery have already been discussed in this chapter. In contrast, the Sancton 2 inhumation cemetery, while probably not fully excavated, seems to follow the pattern of other inhumation cemeteries of mid-late sixth century date within the

region. The cemetery is likely to represent the population of a single settlement in the Sancton area at this time. The exact association of individual artefacts with particular graves is now unclear despite letters to the Ashmolean museum describing the finds and graves (Faull 1976, p229-231; Ashmolean Museum records).

Contextual information is also lacking for the probable inhumation cemeteries at Shiptonthorpe, Hayton 2 and Hayton 3 (Millett pers comm, Sitch and Foxon pers comm, Hull Museum records). All were discovered as metal detector finds. The finds from the cemeteries do provide indications of the availability of certain types of artefact to the roadside communities in the Sancton-Hayton area, however, especially imported objects.

Artefacts of mid-late sixth century date occur at Sancton 2 and Hayton 3. When the range of grave-goods from Sancton 2 is compared to the range of grave-goods from Sancton 1, it is clear that the range of commodities available had declined in the second half of the sixth century. Vessel glass is absent at Sancton 2. When compared with other contemporary cemeteries, the absence of rock crystal and the small amount of amber is noticeable. The fact that the Sancton 2 cemetery remains are relatively poor and unexceptional, set against other contemporary cemeteries in the region, argues against Higham's recent statement that an Anglo-Saxon 'palace' site should be located in the vicinity of Sancton village. Higham's argument relied on the inference that the large Sancton 1 cremation cemetery indicated a centre of political authority within East Yorkshire in the early Anglo-Saxon period (Higham 1993, p81). There is absolutely no evidence for this, and the Sancton 2 remains do not seem to have been considered. To suggest that a 'vill' at Sancton was the main political centre of Deira is not only unacceptable due to the total lack of evidence, but also ignores the role of other royal villas in East Yorkshire such as the vill indicated by the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, located somewhere 'on Driffield' (Garmonsway 1953, p41).

The Sancton-Hayton density sample area also possesses an interesting distribution of 'Coptic' or eastern Mediterranean copper-alloy vessels. Two have been found, one at Shiptonthorpe and one at Hayton 2. Both are metal detector finds from probable inhumation cemeteries. The vessels are of different types: the Shiptonthorpe example is a bowl (much damaged by the plough) identified as Type Biv by P. Richards for Hull Museum (Hull Museum records). The Hayton example is a 'heart' shaped pan and was first identified as a vessel of east Mediterranean manufacture by Tony Gregory (Hull Museum records). The vast majority of copper-alloy vessels of this type in England are products of the late sixth-mid seventh centuries and tend to occur in Anglo-Saxon graves. The only securely dated example from East Yorkshire is a bowl on a tripod stand from grave 31 at Uncleby (UNC 74 in Volume 3). The latter is a rich female grave of the mid seventh century (Smith 1912, p151). The only other indication of a 'Coptic' copper-alloy vessel is a handle found at the seventh century cemetery at Barton-on-Humber in south Humberside from the 1938 excavations (Sheppard 1939, p258-259). The complete copper-alloy vessel found at that time was a hanging bowl of indigenous manufacture. It is not a Frankish vessel as has been quoted (Stafford 1985, p42).

The distribution of these vessels near the Humber and on the arterial lines of land communication may be highly indicative of the area in which the imported artefacts entered the region and the directional flow of these artefacts during the seventh century. Their distribution, shown in figure 5.20, contrasts strongly with the distribution of seventh century hanging howls in the region, with the exception of the Barton example.

There are no excavated seventh century cemeteries within the Sancton-Hayton sample area, however, there is one just outside it at Everthorpe. Both silver and amethyst are represented at this cemetery. Unfortunately, none of the sites has provided evidence to suggest the economic basis behind these distributions, in terms of specialist production. The small-scale excavation of an early Anglo-Saxon

sunken-feature building and several pits, within the area of the disused Flavian Roman fort at Hayton 1, only produced limited evidence for bone working and handmade pottery production (Cook 1978, p103-113).

ii. The Garton-Driffield group

Six sites were chosen for analysis within the twenty square kilometre block of the Garton-Driffield sample area. The sites chosen were as follows:-

- | | |
|--------------------------------|-----------------------|
| a. Elmswell | - Settlement |
| b. Driffield 1-Kellythorpe | - Inhumation cemetery |
| c. Driffield 3-Cheesecake Hill | - Mixed cemetery |
| d. Eastburn | - Inhumation cemetery |
| e. Garton 2a | - Inhumation cemetery |
| f. Garton Station | - Inhumation cemetery |

As with the Sancton-Hayton area a number of other sites lying within the Garton-Driffield sample area were also selected for analysis by the random sampling method:-

- | | |
|-----------------------------------|-----------------------|
| 1. Driffield 2 - King's Mill Road | - Inhumation cemetery |
| 2. Driffield 4 - Cake Hill | - Inhumation cemetery |
| 3. Driffield 5 - Moot Hill | - Inhumation cemetery |

All the sites studied within the Garton-Driffield density sample area are illustrated in figure 5.21. The three randomly selected sites have also been used to illustrate commodity access in this small area through the early medieval period.

The only evidence of fifth century occupation within the sample area comes from the settlement at Elmswell. The evidence suggesting occupation at this date comes from the ceramic assemblages of Crambeck and Huntcliff ware found within the area of the settlement scatter (Congreve 1937, p9; Corder 1940, p32). As already discussed, there are indications that Crambeck and Huntcliff wares were produced well into the fifth century (Corder 1928, p19; Corder 1937, p392-397; Birley 1937, p409-10; Moore 1965, p429; Evans 1989, p80). The large amount of iron slag on the site and indications of its further use in the early medieval period suggest a degree of continuity in craft specialist activity within the area (Congreve 1937, p21-22; Smythe 1938, p15-18).

The only possible evidence of a late fifth-early sixth century Anglo-Saxon population in the area comes from outside the sample boundary, five kilometres further east, at Nafferton. This is likely to have been a mixed burial practice cemetery. Urns and other relics were discovered by Longbottom from 1850-1855 and the finds were subsequently sold and dispersed (Mortimer 1905, p343-344). The site is still known, however, from a ploughsoil scatter (Humberside SMR). While it is possible that these were late fifth-early sixth century depositions, evidence from other cemeteries examined in East Yorkshire suggests they are more likely to have been deposited towards the middle of the sixth century.

Evidence of sixth century activity from the density sample sites comes from the settlement at Elmswell and the cemeteries of Driffield 1-Kellythorpe (Londesborough 1852, p255-256; Mortimer p271-283) and Driffield 3-Cheesecake Hill (Akerman 1855, p11-22; Mortimer 1905, p286-293). The populations buried in these cemeteries were accompanied with what can be regarded as Anglo-Saxon dress accessories.

This evidence from Elmswell came from Congreve's excavations of 1935, 1936 and 1937 and the Corder excavation of 1938. Part of an early-mid sixth century cruciform brooch, a seventh century bone comb and a piece of Anglo-Saxon

stamped pottery were found by Corder to augment a larger quantity of domestic pottery, a bead and some ironwork found by Congreve (Congreve 1937, p15-22; Congreve 1938, p22-23 and Corder 1940, p54). This evidence is concentrated in the eastern part of the settlement area (Congreve 1937, p11; Corder 1938 site notebook).

There are distinct differences in access to commodities between the cemeteries at Kellythorpe and Cheesecake Hill. The latter is located two kilometres east of Kellythorpe on different sides of the tributary confluence forming the river Hull. Aspects of commodity distribution at these sites are already evident from previous figures, however, for direct comparison figures 5.22 to 5.24 summarise the distributions from both sites. Both cemeteries seem to have been founded towards the middle of the sixth century and remained in use throughout the second half of that century. 59% of all graves at Kellythorpe were accompanied with grave-goods, whereas only 46% of graves at Cheesecake Hill were furnished.

In terms of access to metals, the individuals in the Kellythorpe cemetery had a far greater access to iron, silver and copper-alloy when compared with the population at Cheesecake Hill. This difference can be seen in terms of the total number of objects of a particular metal and in the figures showing the percentage of the cemetery population with access to iron, copper-alloy and silver at Kellythorpe (figures 5.22 and 5.23). The greatest differences are seen in the quantities of iron and silver. 59% of graves have iron objects at Kellythorpe producing a total of 63 iron artefacts. At Cheesecake Hill only 29% of graves have iron objects giving a total of 28 artefacts. At Kellythorpe 10% of graves have silver represented in their grave assemblages, while at Cheesecake Hill silver is absent. Kellythorpe is only one kilometre to the south-east of Elmswell. The evidence for intensive iron working at the latter and the high level of access to iron at Kellythorpe may be no coincidence.

With regard to the distribution of amber and rock crystal artefacts, there is a

complete reversal in distribution when compared with metals. At Cheesecake Hill a total of 326 amber beads were deposited in over double the number of contexts compared with Kellythorpe. At the latter only 42 beads were found. Numbers of rock crystal beads are small on both sites but there are still three times the number at Cheesecake Hill (figure 5.24). The reasons behind the differences in commodity distribution outlined above are suggested in the following chapter.

After the early seventh century, the location of inhumation cemeteries changed in East Yorkshire. Both Kellythorpe and Cheesecake Hill went out of use in the early seventh century. In their place a series of cemeteries with mid seventh-early eighth century date ranges were founded. Four cemeteries of this date cluster either side of Elmswell in the Garton-Driffield sample area:- Garton Station, Garton 2a and b and Eastburn. Four others (two may be part of the same cemetery) are located in a dense concentration on the easternmost feeder tributary of the river Hull:- Driffield-Moot Hill; Driffield-Cake Hill; Driffield-Gasworks and other isolated burials. Driffield-King's Mill Road lies between the two concentrations (see figure 5.21). All of the Driffield sites appear to be late seventh-early eighth century depositions. This is not the case with the Garton and Eastburn cemeteries which have mid-late seventh century deposition dates, apart from Garton 2b. Three of the cemeteries near the site of the Elmswell settlement are 'string' cemeteries aligned along pre-Roman Iron Age land boundaries, eg. Garton Station and Garton 2a and b (Mortimer 1905, p247-257; Dent 1983, p5 and Evans pers comm; see figure 5.21). Two or possibly one large inhumation cemetery dating to the late seventh-early eighth century also takes this form along a similar boundary at the Garton Slack-Tatton Sykes 1 and 2 cemeteries (Mortimer 1905, p264-269 and Grantham and Grantham 1965, p355-359). All are linear cemeteries with rows three to five burials wide.

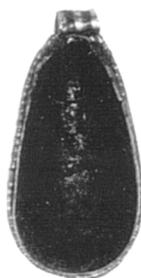
During the mid-late seventh century, a number of distinct trends in commodity distribution are evident from the Garton area. The most obvious has already been illustrated in figure 5.15, concerning the distributions of iron and copper-alloy. In

terms of detailed information on deposition contexts, the Uncleby cemetery on the western edge of the Wolds is the most comparable with the Garton cemeteries. In the Garton-Elmswell area considerable numbers of iron and copper-alloy artefacts were available:- 78% of individuals had iron artefacts at Garton Station, giving a total of 108 objects; at Garton 2a, 63% of individuals had iron artefacts - 51 objects. The two cemeteries are only metres apart. Taken together, the total number of graves from both cemeteries is 67. These contemporary graves yielded 159 iron artefacts and 74 copper-alloy artefacts. The 71 inhumation graves at Uncleby contained only 84 iron and 39 copper-alloy artefacts.

Gold, silver and vessel glass are also present at all three mid seventh century cemeteries in the density sample area (Garton Station, Garton 2a and Eastburn). In relative terms, there are a large number of gold objects among the population buried in this small geographical area. Again the only comparative data comes from three mid seventh century cemeteries from the western edge of the Wolds - Uncleby, Painsthorpe Wold and Acklam Wold. Of the latter three cemeteries, gold objects are present at Uncleby and Acklam Wold. The number of gold objects at these sites is similar to the number in the individual cemeteries of the Garton group (figure 5.14). The Uncleby and Acklam cemeteries are five kilometres apart, however, whereas the Garton cemeteries are located within a very small area. Vessel glass is present in all the Garton cemeteries, while only one glass vessel fragment has been found in the western Wolds at Uncleby. A cone beaker and a palm cup have been associated with Acklam Wold but this is highly dubious (Eagles 1979, p71). In relative terms there are also a large number of silver objects in the Garton concentration. Where detailed comparison of percentages of graves with access to silver in mid-late seventh century cemeteries is possible, the difference in access is negligible, eg. the distributions of silver at Garton Station, Garton 2a and Uncleby are very similar. This distribution of silver can be compared with that for gold on the above sites. Double the percentage of graves in the Garton cemeteries



GOLD BULLA FROM GARTON 2
(SCALE X1.35)



GOLD AND LIGNITE CABACHON PENDANT FROM GARTON 2
(SCALE X 1.5)



GOLD BULLA FROM GARTON STATION
(SCALE X1.35)

PLATE 5.2

(PHOTOGRAPHS TAKEN BY AUTHOR WITH KIND
PERMISSION OF HULL MUSEUMS SERVICE
AND THE BRITISH MUSEUM)

had gold objects compared with Uncleby (see figure 5.25 and Plate 5.2).

A number of very important conclusions can be drawn from the examination of commodity distributions from the sites in the Garton-Driffild concentration. It would appear that the population in the west of the density sample area had access to very large quantities of iron, copper-alloy and silver objects from at least the mid sixth-late seventh centuries. Indeed, this is likely to have been the case in the fifth century and probably in the eighth century as well; however, burial practice in the latter periods would not allow for the illustration of these trends. The evidence of intensive iron working at Elmswell during the Roman period and into the fifth century and the high levels of access to iron in the same area during the sixth and seventh centuries suggests an element of continuity of population and specialist skills throughout the period from 400-700 AD. It is unlikely to be a coincidence that imported commodities also cluster in this area. The possibility that control of iron exchange produced the wealth to procure these imports is discussed in the following chapter.

5.4 Summary

The fifth century saw the De-Romanization of the native population in East Yorkshire rather than large scale Anglo-Saxon invasion. The evidence for this period comes from three sites: two settlement sites - Elmswell and Wykeham and the cemetery site at Crambeck. From the unique fifth century Crambeck ware vessels in the Crambeck cist graves, it can be inferred that the production of Crambeck ware had contracted to provide for a local population only. There is no evidence for collapse of the rural economy, however. The production and probable exchange of universally needed raw materials such as iron can be inferred at Elmswell.

The mid-late fifth century saw the arrival of the first Anglo-Saxon settlers in the area of north Humberside and the southernmost extension of the Wolds. They

established a large cremation cemetery at Sancton 1. This seems to have acted as a central cemetery for the primary Anglo-Saxon settlement area. No intra-regional exchange links can be inferred from the Sancton cremation remains. It is difficult to judge whether the exotic artefacts at Sancton 1 arrived as a result of exchange or migration. The cemetery appears to have gone out of use by the mid sixth century. The mid sixth century saw a change in the Anglo-Saxon burial practice from furnished cremation to furnished inhumation. This also coincided with the foundation of small Anglo-Saxon inhumation cemeteries over all of East Yorkshire, into the Vale of Pickering.

Two zones of commodity distribution can be identified for the period dating from the mid sixth-early seventh centuries:- an inland distribution zone and a coast and immediate hinterland zone. The differentiation is best seen from grave depositions. Cemeteries from inland areas eg Driffield-Kellythorpe have far greater access to metals, in particular, iron, copper-alloy and silver. Cemeteries in the coast zone tend to have far more amber, jet and rock crystal (in female graves) but the levels of access to iron, copper-alloy and silver are far below that of the inland zone.

The continuity of the specialist working of iron in the Elmswell area and its proximity to an iron source may be the reason behind the differentiation in access to iron between Kellythorpe and the coastal cemeteries. Exchange of this raw material may be the reason behind the wealth in other metals, such as silver.

By the mid-late seventh century, Anglo-Saxon material expression in terms of dress at death had become more uniform. A coastal and inland zone of material culture use can no longer be identified. There is a denser concentration of imported artefacts in the Garton-Elmswell area than in the rest of East Yorkshire. The percentage of the population in this area with access to iron objects is double that of other contemporary cemeteries in the region. The deposition of tools in male graves in the Garton Station cemetery and the discovery of coal in one of the grave fills suggests that specialist iron working and its exchange was one of the reasons

behind the wealth of this area (British Museum records).

By the late seventh-early eighth century, a probable beach trading site was founded in the North Ferriby area of the northern shore of the Humber estuary.

¹²The site is indicated by a scatter of small silver coins known as sceattas. They are all sceattas of the primary and intermediate series dating to the late seventh-early eighth century. The site would appear to go out of use by the mid eighth century as series Y Northumbrian sceattas are completely absent from the site.

12. Deletion of reference to seasonal trading due to lack of evidence, though bearing in mind winter conditions in the North Sea and seasonal tidal conditions on the Humber estuary it remains a possibility.

Chapter 6

THE NATURE, SCALE AND DIRECTION OF EXCHANGE RELATIONS IN EAST YORKSHIRE FROM 400-700 AD

6.1 Introduction - The late Roman period

It would not be appropriate to write a detailed account on settlement and society in East Yorkshire during the late Roman period in this thesis, however, in order to gain a better understanding of society and economy in this region during the immediate post-Roman centuries, it is necessary to give a summary of current interpretations of the late Roman social and economic infrastructure. All aspects of late Roman activity in the region are currently open to debate.

i) The environment

The subject of relief and topography forms the first point of divergence in opinion. Following interpretation of evidence from sites along the waterfront at York and Faxfleet, Herman Ramm advanced the hypothesis that increased flooding rendered Brough on Humber - the civitas capital of the Parisi, the Hull Valley and large parts of the Vale of York, increasingly waterlogged during the late Roman period. The suggested result was the large scale loss of large tracts of land which had previously been utilised for agriculture and settlement (Ramm 1978, p124). It was argued that this coincided with a cyclical change in currents around the Humber estuary shifting the navigable channel along the Humber to the southern bank. This has recently been stressed by Whitwell and could be used to support Wachter's argument that the decline of Brough was due to the silting of its harbour and the end of its role as an arterial ferry crossing by the mid fourth century (Whitwell 1988, p51;

Wacher 1969, p49-55; Van de Noort and Davies 1993, p74).

Recent archaeological fieldwork, however, would seem to indicate that Ramm over-emphasised the extent and effect of flooding in his hypothesis. Working on the low lying area in the environs of Holme-on-Spalding Moor and Shiptonthorpe, Halkon and Millett have provided detailed evidence of a range of settlement forms, mixed agricultural practices and industrial production on land below fifteen metres above sea level (Millett and Halkon 1988, p42-47; Halkon 1990, p148-154). The occupation of the sites in this area - in particular Shiptonthorpe, continued into the reign of Honorius and may well continue into the fifth century after the supply of Roman coinage had ceased (Millett forthcoming; Taylor pers comm). Peter Didsbury has also produced evidence for occupation of the low lying flood plain and delta of the Hull valley during the Roman period (Didsbury 1990, p204-208). From an environmental perspective, therefore, it is clear that while the low lying areas along the Humber and Vale of York may have been prone to flooding, they were not subject to massive waterlogging and hence the permanent loss of agricultural land. This is not to say that previously high quality arable land did not become more marginal over the fourth and fifth centuries.

ii) The settlement pattern and related social and economic infrastructure

As well as fluctuating environmental conditions, scholars have also become aware of increased complexity in the late Roman settlement pattern since the mid 1970s. In her study of Roman and Anglian settlement patterns in the whole of Yorkshire, Margaret Faull concluded that the late Roman settlement pattern consisted of major towns, ie 'civitas' capitals eg Brough and Aldborough; villas; native farmsteads and 'squalid' hamlets (Faull 1974, p4-6). She also noted the existence of a number of other important sites 'which cannot be classified as towns'. It is the better understanding of the latter sites that has led to the recognition of greater complexity`

within the settlement hierarchy of late Roman East Yorkshire in recent years. Faull based her interpretation mainly on the work of Corder, Wachter and Brewster, working from the late 1930s to the 1960s. Survey work and sample excavation carried out in the late 1980s and early 1990s, however, has produced a far more detailed picture of the density of occupation of different environmental zones and the nature of the overall settlement pattern (see figure 6.1).

a) Single farmsteads and hamlets

Of the many single farmsteads and hamlets identified from the air, only a small number have been excavated. Two of the best known include Staxton - 'Newham's Pit', excavated by Brewster between 1947-48 and Crossgates - Seamer, excavated first by Rutter and Pike and then Pye between 1958 and 1966 (Brewster 1956-58, p193-223 and Pye 1966, p10). Both of these sites are located in the Vale of Pickering. In the late Roman period the farmstead at Crossgates consisted of a number of round houses, with at least stone foundations, within an enclosure ditch. A large amount of Crambeck and Huntcliff ware pottery seems to indicate occupation of this site until the end of the fourth century and possibly into the fifth century (Ramm 1978, p135). At 'Newham's Pit' a double-ditched, enclosed farmstead was excavated. Only a small amount of late Roman material was found, however, notably an Argonne ware bowl. A further farmstead, possibly the late Roman farm, has been noted on aerial photographs just to the south of Brewster's excavation (Brewster 1956-58, p196). Anglo-Saxon artefacts have been recovered from post-Roman features on both of these sites.

The best excavated Roman farmstead south of the Vale of Pickering comes from East Halton Skitter on the south bank of the Humber. Although on the south bank it provides an example of a low lying settlement in the late Roman period. Most of these sites are noted as pottery scatters between the high and low tide mark. The

East Halton Skitter farmstead was excavated by J. Monahan of British Gas, prior to the installation of a pipeline in 1985. The settlement was not established until the third-fourth centuries. It consisted of a small number of enclosures, re-aligned twice, with associated field systems and can be regarded as a small hamlet on the banks of the Humber (Whitwell 1988, p65-66). Subsequent Anglo-Saxon occupation in the area was not indicated.

b) Roadside nucleated settlements - 'villages'

Terminology has proved imprecise in the description of this settlement form. These sites seem to comprise of a number of enclosures surrounding buildings which lie along road systems, however, not all do so. Two examples have been excavated, one knowingly at Shiptonthorpe, near Market Weighton (Millett and Halkon 1988, p 39-40) and one unknowingly at Elmswell near Driffield. Recent aerial photographs from Elmswell show that the settlement consists of a number of adjacent enclosures to the south of Elmswell Beck (Humber-side SMR).

Shiptonthorpe lies along the Roman road from Brough to York on low lying land which would have been relatively marginal in the late Roman period. Although largely unpublished at present, the Shiptonthorpe settlement seems to have operated a mixed farming regime. There are indicators that the Shiptonthorpe community, or a certain part of it, had access to fine wares imported from the Nene Valley and Oxfordshire ware. It also has a Crambeck ware assemblage, including late painted forms (Evans 1989, p80) and a coin assemblage extending into the reign of Honorius, 395-402 AD (Millett, Taylor and Sitch pers comm). The settlement would therefore seem to have been occupied into the fifth century. Another similar nucleated settlement seems to exist along the same Brough to York road at Hayton, indicated by aerial photograph and fieldwalking (Johnson 1978, p59 and Sitch forthcoming). Both the above sites have later Anglo-Saxon

successors adjacent to the late Roman settlement foci (see figures 5.18 and 5.19). The Elmswell settlement was first noted by Mortimer (Mortimer 1905, p257 and p396), when he noted the regular ploughing out of features containing 'Anglian' pottery. From 1935-37 Anthony Congreve put several excavation trenches in the vicinity of Elmswell Beck and the springs, guided by Mortimer's description. He found traces of enclosure ditches facing a possible track, as well as pits and broadly rectangular cobbled floors from buildings, with several irregularly spaced post-holes (Congreve 1938, p5-22). A large amount of iron slag was found all over the site, including a pile of iron slag in 1937 weighing half a ton (Corder 1940, p6). This was analysed by J A Smythe and was shown to have a high peat content (Smythe 1938, p16). This may indicate that 'bog' iron was the source of iron ore. This may be corroborated by the environmental evidence indicating a large number of low lying lakes or 'meres' in East Yorkshire at this time and in the succeeding period (Gilbertson 1990, p89-90). Many of these wetlands have only been drained in the last two hundred years. The silted peripheries of 'meres' are likely sources for bog iron. One such mere was situated just to the north-west of Elmswell at Sledmere and is a potential source for iron ore. This is of particular significance when one considers the extensive iron working activity exhibited on nearby sites from the Iron Age through to the Anglo-Saxon periods (Stead 1987, p234-237; Congreve 1938, p21; British Museum Records). There is a considerable range of iron, bronze and jet objects from Elmswell. It was also supplied with fine glass vessels, Crambeck and Huntcliff pottery, including very late forms (Evans 1989, p80). The latest Roman coinage recorded by Congreve is that of Gratian dated to 368, but Corder tentatively identified a coin of the House of Theodosius (390-395 AD) in 1938 (Corder 1940, p62).

Congreve thought that a villa possibly existed in the vicinity of the site and that he had found the outbuildings (Congreve 1938, p7). On this assumption Corder laid further trenches to the west of Congreve's sites in 1938. Again he found the

cobbled floors of a number of 'huts', together with evidence of iron working. Both Congreve and Corder found Anglo-Saxon remains on the site, though like much of the Roman material they were not stratified. Corder concluded that -

"The site is that of an insignificant Iron Age village, inhabited apparently without interruption from about the middle of the 1st century AD until at least AD 500"

The 'insignificant village' conclusion is hard to relate to the glass and pottery assemblages. Recent work at Elmswell by John Dent has produced evidence for a stone built religious shrine on the opposite bank of Elmswell Beck from the Congreve and Corder sites. The shrine complex was excavated by the Granthams between 1950-52, but was only published in 1988 (Dent 1988, p898-97).

The religious sculpture can be tentatively dated to the third century. When all the information from the separate excavations at Elmswell is analysed, the evidence suggests the existence of a nucleated settlement complex with a religious focus. The settlement was involved in a mixed farming regime and specialist iron production. The imported artefacts on the site indicate the operation of regional and long-distance exchange contacts, possibly based on iron exchange.

c) Villas

There seem to be two broad concentrations of villas, a group around the civitas capital of the Parisi at Brough and a second concentration on the Wolds and Howardian Hills. This pattern may be biased, however, by the amount of attention given to specific areas. These sites provide an interesting contrast to the nucleated settlements discussed above in terms of character and length of occupation.

Notable examples in the Brough area are the villas of Brantingham, Welton ^{and} South

Newbald. The expression of wealth that these villas represent may not be related to the immediate estate or land unit surrounding the villa (Millett 1990, p91-92). This is due to Roman land holding practices whereby elites may have had land in different territorial areas including different provinces. They may only have chosen to express the wealth from their various estates at one or a small number of their estate centres. This fact is very important when the fate of these sites is considered in the late and post-Roman periods (see below).

Stead's excavations at Brantingham villa indicated that the latest mosaics had been built in the first half of the fourth century and taken in conjunction with the pottery evidence he concluded that occupation ended in the middle of that century. This would have linked with theories on the demise of the town of Brough at the same time. Recent work by John Dent, Peter Armstrong and the East Riding Archaeological Society has indicated that occupation continued to the end of the fourth century, however, the evidence coming from the coin list (Whitwell 1988, p64-65). It would therefore seem that the villa site continued in use while the ability to reproduce Romanized architectural forms declined.

At Welton, on the southern most extension of the Wolds Scarp near Brough, another villa complex has produced evidence of a rather different pattern of occupation. The complex included the villa buildings, field systems and a series of corn drying kilns. Here the distinction between the agricultural estate and the villa is very important. The villa building itself and the associated well seems to have become derelict by the end of the second century. The surrounding field systems and settlement occupation area, however, show signs of occupation through the fourth century. It has also produced unusual indications of small buildings, with partly sunken floors, adjacent to the field systems. These are associated with third and fourth century pottery and burials without grave goods. This has led Whitwell to suggest a slave run estate run by an absentee landlord (Whitwell 1988, p65).

Turning to the Wolds villas, the most extensively excavated example comes from

Rudston. Much of the fourth century evidence would appear to have been truncated by modern disturbance. Despite this truncation of the archaeological deposits, large quantities of Huntcliff ware were found indicating occupation in the late fourth century, if not later. There are a number of excavated villas in the Vale of Pickering and the Howardian Hills including Langton and Beadlam. The Langton villa seems to have continued in occupation well into the fifth century. This is indicated by Crambeck and Huntcliff pottery as well as a large coin assemblage minted in the last decade of the fourth century (Ramm 1978, p131). The coin evidence from the villa at Beadlam again points to occupation at the turn of the fifth century.

d) The public towns and military-related settlements

The public towns (civitas capitals) in the region and the late Roman military sites are discussed in the same section as they form the main physical expressions of Roman administration.

Brough, as well as being the capital for the civitas of the Parisi, is the only walled town in East Yorkshire. Following a series of excavations by Corder and Wacher in the 1950s and 60s, Wacher came to the conclusion that the town was abandoned as an administrative centre around 360 AD, with limited occupation until the late fourth century (Wacher 1975, p397). Recent excavations have indicated that a large extra mural settlement also existed at Brough, although it is not yet clear where this fits into the chronological sequence for occupation of the town. Wacher has also argued that the town had a role as a naval base until the harbour silted up by the mid fourth century. Despite the recent excavations by Peter Armstrong, no evidence has been produced for extensive occupation at Brough in the late fourth century.

The second largest urban centre in the region during the Roman period was Malton. This seems to have been linked to the major late Roman military centre at the Malton Roman fort. The urban focus was based on the vicus of the adjacent fort,

although there are also indications of settlement activity on the opposite bank of the Derwent on the Norton side of the river. The reference in the Notitia Dignitatum, the military roll for the western empire compiled around 395 AD, mentioned a 'numerus supervenientium Petuariensium' at Malton (Casey 1994, p260). 'Petuaria' was the Latin name for Brough and this has led to suggestions that the unit had previous links with Brough. It could have been raised there (Ramm 1978, p129).

At Malton, infant burials, domestic debris and female dress accessories were found within the fort area. While this was seen as unusual and a sign of a decline (Ramm 1978, p129), recent work has shown that forts garrisoned by 'limitanei' troops had their families within their forts as the norm and not the exception, eg. Houseteads (James 1984, p165; Casey 1994, p262). This in itself cannot be seen as a sign of decline or stress in the late Roman period, however, the fort and the vicus did show indications of destruction in the mid fourth century, with the abandonment of a large part of the vicus area. The defences were subsequently repaired and rebuilt with earthwork defences and a wide ditch. The final metalled surface over the north gate was half a metre above the surface dated to the reconstruction of the fort after the mid fourth century. At a later period still, ditches were cut in front of the gates (Casey 1994, p260). There is also evidence for a late defensive ditch cutting through mid and late fourth century buildings for a reduced vicus between the fort and the Roman Bridge (Ramm 1978, p131). Large amounts of Crambeck and Huntcliff pottery were associated with the final defensive sequence and would seem to indicate occupation at Malton well into the fifth century. There are very few coins of the last decade of the fourth century, however, from either the fort or vicus when compared to nearby villas such as Langton and Beadlam.

iii) Settlement pattern, society and economy of the indigenous population of fifth century East Yorkshire

The late Roman evidence from East Yorkshire indicates that the majority of sites in the settlement hierarchy were occupied into the fifth century. The archaeological remains from Brough, however, show that the town had declined and may have been largely abandoned by the late fourth century (Wacher 1974, p397). It is also difficult to regard Malton as an urban settlement in its final phases of occupation in the fifth century (Ramm 1978, p131; Casey 1994, p260). From the late fourth century, it can therefore be assumed that the settlement hierarchy and society of East Yorkshire functioned without an urban focus and after the collapse of Constantine III's regime, without a regional tax collecting centre for the central administration of the diocese.

The usurpation of Constantine and the subsequent inability or lack of will of the western Roman emperor, Honorius, to re-establish direct control in Britain had a devastating effect on the Roman administrative and state infrastructure. The late Roman state still depended to a large extent on taxation in coin to pay and supply state servants such as the army. Direct requisitions from the immediate locality of military installations are unlikely to have supplied all their needs (Esmonde-Cleary 1989, p138-141). The latest coin issues to reach Britain in any quantity were those of Honorius, between 395-402 AD (Casey 1994, p265). After this time no new coinage entered Britain from imperial mints on the continent. Since a mint did not exist in London at this time, the inevitable consequence was the collapse of taxation in coin and the ability to pay for the long-distance movement of commodities to army installations. The Crambeck ware pottery industry at Castle Howard, near Malton was intimately bound up with military supply of Hadrian's wall in the late fourth-early fifth centuries (Birley 1937, p412-413; Evans 1989, p80). After the early fifth century, Crambeck ware no longer reached Hadrian's wall. This can be seen as an

example of the break-down of the state apparatus to supply and pay military commands.

The fate of military posts on Hadrian's wall has been the subject of a recent study by Casey. He suggested that the fort garrisons supported themselves with direct renders in kind from their surrounding populations. Since many needs of garrisons were already catered for by local populations in the late Roman period, this action can be interpreted as a natural extension of late Roman practice (Casey 1994, p262). The fates of individual garrisons may have been very different, however, depending on local circumstances. The native elites on Hadrian's wall may have been subordinate to the military commands but in more Romanized areas, such as East Yorkshire and the Vale of Pickering, the relationship between native elites and the military commands of Malton and the signal stations of the north-east Yorkshire coast is much more unclear.

The lack of coinage at the Malton fort and vicus from the end of the fourth century and the poor quality of the artefact assemblage provides a striking contrast to the pattern of access to coinage and imported artefacts at sites like the villas at Langton and Beadlam and the nucleated settlements at Elmswell and Shiptonthorpe (see figures 6.1 and 6.2). All these sites have produced examples of the last coin issues of the house of Theodosius in Britain (395-402 AD). The supply of larger amounts of this coinage to sites in the settlement hierarchy, other than Malton and coastal military commands suggests that local elites were not supporting their local military installations to any great extent. Casey has suggested the possibility of inter-regimental warfare on Hadrian's wall in the fifth century over control of surrounding populations and natural resources (Casey 1994, p267). Similar friction was also possible between the native elites and military units in East Yorkshire during the fifth century. The post-Roman British 'tyranni' or territorial leaders described by Gildas in the mid sixth century could have emerged from either group (Winterbottom 1978, p29-33).

Despite the possibility of local political friction between military and civilian authorities as a result of the collapse of the state apparatus of the diocese, there is no evidence for the collapse of the regional agricultural economy. Continued fifth century activity on nucleated settlements, such as Elmswell and villas, such as Langton is indicated by the presence of Crambeck and Huntcliff pottery wares and the presence of coins of the house of Theodosius. While these artefact combinations indicate that these sites were occupied in the early fifth century, they do not indicate how long the sites were occupied after that time. There is some circumstantial evidence, however, to suggest that the East Yorkshire villa centres were abandoned in the course of the fifth century, while occupation continued on nucleated settlements.

Anglo-Saxon settlement evidence has been found on the eastern part of the Elmswell site and an Anglo-Saxon cemetery has been indicated immediately adjacent to the late-Roman and probably, post-Roman settlement focus at Shiptonthorpe (Congreve 1937, p11; Corder 1940, p34; Corder 1938, Elmswell site note book; Mellor 1953, p262-264; Hull Museum records - see figure 5.19). Anglo-Saxon cemetery and settlement evidence of sixth-eighth century dates has also been recovered from a number of sites around late Roman pottery scatters and a nucleated settlement, indicated by aerial photography, at Hayton (Johnson 1978, p59; Hull Museum records - see figure 5.18). In contrast, there is no evidence of Anglo-Saxon occupation on late Roman villa sites in the region. This observation suggests that on the Anglo-Saxon take-over of East Yorkshire, during the sixth century, Elmswell, Shiptonthorpe and Hayton still formed settlement foci for their surrounding areas unlike old Roman villa centres. The abandonment of villa buildings need not be seen as an indication of economic decline or the demise of local elites during the course of the fifth century. It can be explained as de-Romanization of building types as a result of the inability to maintain Roman styles of building. Abandonment of villa complexes may have resulted from settlement

shift away from the area of decaying buildings to possible tied settlements of the Elmswell type. The inability to mark themselves out in a Roman manner has possibly resulted in the anonymity of native elite centres in fifth century East Yorkshire.

With regard to fifth century specialist production and exchange within the region, there is no evidence for a break in iron production at Elmswell. Since iron would have been a universally needed raw material for the agricultural economy, there is no reason to suppose that local or regional exchange of pig-iron or iron artefacts ceased. Wheel-made Crambeck ware production also seems to have continued after the collapse of its transport mechanisms to Hadrian's Wall. Evidence for the continued production of Crambeck ware beyond the fourth century must be examined within a discussion of evidence for fifth century British cemeteries in the region, however, as the early-mid fifth century Crambeck vessels are found in graves.¹³

Philip Corder discovered two inhumation burials in limestone cists at Crambeck, near Castle Howard (see figure 6.2). They were stratified above old Crambeck ware kilns (Corder 1928, p19-21). The kilns were associated with late fourth-early fifth century Crambeck forms and they had been abandoned for some time before the deposition of the cist graves (Corder 1928, p19). Three other stone cist burials were also found from this area as a result of ploughing and archaeological investigations between 1856 and 1858 (Corder 1928, p11-12; Kilburn pers comm). This burial practice occurred from the fourth century into the Anglian period in this region - a late example coming from Occaney Beck in West Yorkshire (Waterman 1950, p440). The Crambeck graves, however, are the only examples dated to the fifth century on stratigraphic and artefact evidence. The distribution of this kind of burial seems to cluster in the Howardian Hills and the northern Vale of Pickering, with outliers in the old West Riding of Yorkshire (see figure 6.3).

Pottery vessels accompanied the two cist burials discovered by Corder. Cist I contained a small grey spherical vessel of wheel-made Crambeck ware.¹³ It is

13. The likelihood that the unique Crambeck ware vessel was produced in the fifth century rests on stratigraphic grounds - see Footnote 8, p.94. The scale of production of wheel-made pottery in the Crambeck tradition after the early fifth century is impossible to assess from the ceramic vessels found in the cist graves at Crambeck. At present, it is a matter of conjecture.

unparalleled in any fourth or fifth century late Roman contexts (Corder 1928, p19). Cist II contained a black 'vesicular' cooking pot - probably Huntcliff ware - and a wheel-made 'tumbler-shaped' vessel in smooth blue-grey clay, ornamented by a series of deep girth grooves and with concentric groovings on the base (Corder 1928, p20). This vessel is also unique. There were no other grave-goods.

The unique Crambeck forms can be seen as indications of a continuity of skills to produce wheel-made pottery in this area into the middle of the fifth century. The unique vessels suggest an individual purpose for their construction, possibly specifically for grave accompaniment. As opposed to the mass-produced standardised forms produced for inter-regional export in the late fourth-early fifth century, by the mid fifth century Crambeck potters were producing individual forms for special occasions. Their absence in other areas of East Yorkshire, however, suggests a collapse in levels of production of Crambeck ware to a local level, possibly limited to the Vale of Pickering. When wheel-made pottery production ended is uncertain but by the time of the establishment of Anglo-Saxon settlers in the area in the sixth century, hand-made pottery production was the norm (Moore 1965, p429-431).

Having been made aware of certain aspects of post-Roman British activity in East Yorkshire, it is now essential to study the impact of the Germanic Anglo-Saxon settlers on this native society and its patterns of production and regional exchange. It should then be possible to advance hypotheses on the role of exchange in the composite native and Germanic 'Anglo-Saxon' society which developed over the course of the sixth century.

6.2 The Anglo-Saxon Settlement - Co-existence and Anglicisation

i) The Anglo-Saxon Settlement

In his study on the Anglo-Saxon settlement of Humberside, Eagles concluded that the first indication of substantial Anglo-Saxon settlement in East Yorkshire came from the cremation cemetery at Sancton (referred to as Sancton 1 in this work). Eagles dated the foundation of this cemetery and hence the initial settlement of East Yorkshire or rather north Humberside, to the fifth century. The Sancton cremation cemetery can be seen to be contemporary with the south Humberside cremation cemeteries of Cleatham and Elsham Wold (Eagles 1989, p209 and Leahy pers comm). The scale of the fifth century Anglo-Saxon settlement of North Humberside and the chronological date range of settlement within the fifth century can be questioned, however. Eagles himself concluded that the initial Anglo-Saxon settlement was small scale in comparison with a much larger Anglian settlement in the sixth century. In his view the fifth century settlers were of 'mixed' Germanic ancestry whereas the sixth century settlement was carried out by users of an 'Anglian' material culture (Eagles 1979, p79). Sancton is the only equivalent example to the large cremation cemeteries of south Humberside and it would seem that in the fifth century South Humberside was the heart of the Anglo-Saxon settlement area on the Humber estuary. Since dress accessories and other artefacts are often distorted beyond recognition by heat, cremation graves are difficult to date. As a result it has proven difficult to date the first wave of Anglo-Saxon settlement in the fifth century. A date in the second half of the fifth century seems preferable for the foundation of the Sancton cemetery. There also appear to be sixth century cremations at this cemetery (see Sancton 1 in Volume 3). Cremation burials as indicators of fifth century settlement within the region must therefore be viewed with a certain degree of scepticism due to the fact that the cremation burial practice seems to have lasted into the sixth century in East Yorkshire.

Myres and Southern recorded 240 urned cremations from their excavations at Sancton (Myres and Southern 1973, p11). Reynolds excavated others in the late

1970s (Timby forthcoming) and many are likely to have been destroyed by ploughing. It is likely that the cemetery was originally of a comparable size to Cleatham with five to six hundred urned cremations. It must also be said that many urns are likely to have contained the remains of more than one individual. The size suggests that these cemeteries provided burial foci for a number of settlements. The duration of use of the Sancton 1 Cemetery can be inferred from the evidence of the succeeding burial practice of inhumation which coincides with the more widespread appearance of Anglo-Saxon material culture across East Yorkshire. It is difficult to date the establishment of the smaller, widespread Anglo-Saxon inhumation cemeteries before the early-mid sixth century. Some of them have several cremations which may indicate a period of transition of burial practice eg Cheesecake Hill and Sewerby.

This theory on the chronological establishment and expansion of Anglo-Saxon settlement in East Yorkshire disagrees to some extent with that of John Hines who was concerned with illustrating the south Scandinavian character of Anglian settlement in England in the pre-Viking period. Hines placed the initial small scale Anglo-Saxon settlement in North Humberside relatively early in the fifth century. He then suggested a second migration into East Yorkshire in the late fifth century. He gave a calendar date of 485 AD for this second migration (Hines 1984, p109). This secondary Anglo-Saxon settlement of East Yorkshire is tentatively associated with the change in burial practice from cremation to inhumation. The chronological basis for this argument comes from the 'Anglian' female dress accessory - wrist clasps - the wearing of which originated in western Norway (Hines 1984, p272-275). The chronology of wrist clasp development was based on typological grounds and on association with other specific dress accessory forms, especially 'display' brooches such as square-headed brooches.

In some cases, however, the entire range of associated artefacts in graves does not seem to have been taken into account when substantiating the chronological

indicators of a proposed secondary migration in the late fifth century. A specific example of this early dating of Anglo-Saxon inhumations in East Yorkshire can be seen from burial 35 at Sewerby. Hines dated this female burial to the early sixth century, with a possibility that the burial had been deposited in the late fifth century. This was based on a silver scutiform pendant (Hines 1992, p87). The publisher of the site, writing up her report a year after the publication of Hines' study gave a date of deposition range from 480-550 AD (Hirst 1985, p171). While this does not disagree with Hines interpretation, this date range plainly shows the difficulty of assigning a calendar date to a grave deposition and also the large scope for difference in dating.

The Sewerby grave 35 assemblage consists of over sixty artefacts including a cruciform brooch which could have been made and deposited at any time in the first half of the sixth century. Other artefacts include the silver shield pendant mentioned above, a copper-alloy girdle hanger, buckle and belt appliques, forty-four amber beads from a necklace, together with a series of polychrome glass beads. Hirst drew attention to the similarity between these polychrome glass beads and examples at the cemetery of Schretzheim in southern Germany (Hirst 1985, p66-68). The excavator of the latter cemetery, Ursula Koch, did not date the appearance of these beads until after the mid sixth century. As Hines pointed out, the dating of this bead type also attracted special attention in the dating of this grave at Sewerby (Hines 1992, p88). Other features of the grave assemblage argue for a mid sixth century deposition date, for example, the appearance of a necklace incorporating large numbers of amber beads. Amber beads were worn by women throughout the fifth and sixth centuries, however, they appear to have been worn in increased numbers from the mid sixth century until the dress fashion declined in the first decades of the seventh century (Hawkes and Matthews 1985, p92-93). Other examples can be found associated with mid-late sixth century assemblages in East Yorkshire, eg. Staxton, grave 4 (STA 282-334 in Volume 3) and Driffield-Cheesecake

Hill grave 22 (DRFC 342-567 in Volume 3). In their recent seriation of Anglian grave-goods, Palm and Pind suggest a terminus post quem of 545 AD for Sewerby 35. Their work is a seriation and cannot be taken as a firm chronology (Palm and Pind 1992, p50-80). However, their study of associated grave assemblages and the study of East Yorkshire assemblages in this work, suggest a mid sixth century date of deposition for the burial of the woman in grave 35 at Sewerby.

The above example indicates that certain graves used to date a secondary immigration from south-west Norway to the late fifth century could have been deposited any time in the first half of the sixth century. A secondary migration of Germanic people with a significant element exhibiting cultural traits from south-west Norway, however, is the best explanation for the sudden expansion of the geographical extent of Anglo-Saxon material culture over the course of the sixth century. In this respect, Hines has highlighted an extremely important concept - multiple migration of different Germanic groups over an extended period. This phenomenon could have had a major influence on patterns of exchange between societies within early medieval East Yorkshire as well as beyond the region.

In conclusion, it would appear that fifth century Anglo-Saxon settlement in East Yorkshire was limited to the northern bank of the Humber extending on to the southern-most tip of the Yorkshire Wolds. Settlement does not seem to have been extensive and the chronological date range for this initial settlement is difficult to assess. The cremation burial practice seems to have died out by the mid sixth century. During the early-mid sixth century, small, geographically more widespread inhumation cemeteries were founded over all of East Yorkshire. From this time the same types of dress accessories were worn over the whole region but in different quantities depending on the cemetery. The wide geographical distribution of Anglo-Saxon cemeteries over East Yorkshire by the mid sixth century is indicative of a relatively sudden expansion of Anglo-Saxon settlement in the area over the first half of that century (see figure 5.2). It is likely that it was fuelled by a secondary

migration into East Yorkshire (Hines 1984, p272-273).

ii) Co-existence and Anglicisation: cross-cultural exchange

Anglicisation seems to have occurred at different rates within different parts of East Yorkshire. This is obviously a reflection of the pattern of the Anglo-Saxon settlement. I do not intend to discuss the political or social impetus for the Anglo-Saxon settlement (Eagles 1979 and Faull 1974, p2-4), but it is important to discuss variation within the region from the point of view of Anglicisation of material culture. This does not necessarily mean that the English language was adopted by the indigenous population at the same time as the adoption of Germanic styles of dress. Margaret Faull has argued for extensive survival of the P-Celtic language, at least in place-names, into the seventh century and probably later in certain parts of Yorkshire (Faull 1977, p1-55).

In the area of primary Anglo-Saxon settlement on the north bank of the Humber, the southern Wolds and along the edge of Walling Fen, there seems to be a total superimposition of Anglo-Saxon material culture. Acculturation between native and Anglo-Saxon cannot be inferred from the Anglo-Saxon remains. If it was not for the evidence of Anglo-Saxon settlement location one would assume total social dislocation on the arrival of the Anglo-Saxons in their primary settlement zone. Evidence would now suggest, however, that the Anglo-Saxons used the same settlement zones as their native predecessors. This can be illustrated from aerial photographic, metal detector and excavation evidence from Hayton and Shiptonthorpe (Johnson 1978, p59-113; Millett forthcoming; Sitch pers comm; Hull Museum records).

Moving further north up the Wolds and to the head waters of the Hull valley there is a seemingly sudden expansion of Anglo-Saxon settlement over the course of the sixth century. Mortimer referred to the destruction of urns from a possible cremation

or mixed burial practice cemetery at Nafferton near Driffield at the head of the Hull Valley (Mortimer 1905, p343-344; Elgee and Elgee 1933, p180). The size and nature of the site is hard to assess as no artefacts survive from it. A pottery scatter has also been found at Nafferton suggesting a settlement in the area (Humberside SMR). The Anglo-Saxons may therefore have expanded up the Hull valley from their primary settlement areas over the first half of the sixth century.

The majority of inhumation cemeteries seem to have been founded in the early-mid sixth century. The same can be said for the Anglo-Saxon cemeteries found along the East Yorkshire coast in this period. Examples can also be cited extending up the North Yorkshire coastline to Tees-side, including the cemetery remains from Robin Hood's Bay (Elgee 1933 p180) and Saltburn (Hornsby 1913, p131-136 and Gallagher 1987, p9-27). The Robin Hood's Bay remains consist of a small number of cremation urns associated with sixth century remains and the Saltburn cemetery consisted of cremations and inhumations again of sixth century date. It would appear that the Anglo-Saxon settlement was spreading from the east coast inland over the course of the sixth century in Yorkshire.

Within the East Yorkshire study area, indigenous influence and evidence of interaction between native and immigrant populations can best be observed from mid sixth century inhumation grave assemblages from cemeteries on the southern edge of the Wolds scarp, the Wolds themselves and the Vale of Pickering.

The archaeological evidence for acculturation between the two populations can be seen in four forms:

- a) Anglo-Saxon assemblages with native dress accessories
- b) Native burial assemblages with Anglo-Saxon dress accessories
- c) The use of indigenous and Anglo-Saxon material culture on settlement sites
- d) Use of hybrid building structures at certain settlements

Taking native dress accessories in Anglo-Saxon burial assemblages first, the main dress accessory form of British manufacture deposited is the penannular brooch. These penannular brooches tend to be found in female inhumation graves (Mortimer 1905, p282 and plate C111; Swanton 1964, p272). The majority are copper-alloy and deposited by the mid sixth century (Fowler 1964, p99; Dickinson 1982, p53). The only exception is an early seventh century example made of silver from Sewerby grave 24 (Hirst 1985, p57). Penannular brooches were not necessarily worn by women alone among the British population (Chadwick 1970, p25; O'Floinn 1989, p89), but among Anglo-Saxon graves they are peculiar to female assemblages in East Yorkshire. The distribution of these graves concentrates along the Wolds and into the Vale of Pickering (See figure 6.4). The brooches themselves are very hard to date precisely but fifth-sixth century manufacture date ranges are certain (Dickinson 1982, p53 and 63). The distribution may represent an area of extensive acculturation between the two populations over the course of the sixth century. The penannular brooches in the graves could be heirlooms as indigenous populations became Anglicised or they could represent exogamy. The nature of dress accessories and their potential as group identifiers may argue against exchange of the dress accessories for their own sake, however, this cannot be ruled out entirely.

The identification of native burial practices in early Anglo-Saxon areas of settlement is rarely practised and often regarded with scepticism by Anglo-Saxon scholars, but there are clear examples of native burial practices associated with Anglo-Saxon dress accessories in the East Yorkshire study area. These are distributed in the Vale of Pickering along the edge of the North Yorkshire moors, the Howardian Hills and into the West Riding of Yorkshire. The particular burial practice involved is that of extended inhumation within stone cists - usually made of limestone. As already outlined this practice was current in the regions noted above from the fourth-seventh centuries. The only securely datable fifth century post-Roman examples come from

Crambeck near Castle Howard in the Vale of Pickering (Corder 1928, p10-12). A possible example also comes from Hessle on the north bank of the Humber. The Hessle example consisted of a cist made of chalk slabs housing an inhumation (Elgee and Elgee 1933, p181).

The gradual Anglicisation of the native population in the northern parts of the study area can be seen from the limestone cist burial at Hebden Bank near Easthorpe and at Spaunton (see figure 6.3). At Hebden Bank, on the road between Malton and Coneythorpe, the Elgees described a limestone cist containing a well preserved female burial with a 'pair of gold earrings, an amber necklace, a bone comb and a small food vessel' (Elgee and Elgee 1933, p181). The presence of an increased array of grave-goods, notably the amber necklace and the bone comb, may indicate the gradual taking up of Anglo-Saxon dress styles sometime during the sixth century. The Spaunton example on the limestone hills near Pickering is more difficult to interpret. Within the stone cist a 'male' inhumation with a 'small' Anglian food vessel and beads was discovered (Elgee and Elgee 1931, p181). Here there may be a question regarding the gender association of the artefacts, however, again there seems to be the use of Anglo-Saxon material culture within the context of a native burial practice.

The final example showing the spread of Anglicisation westwards can be seen from the cist burial found at Occaney Beck in the old West Riding of Yorkshire (Waterman 1950, p440-441). The cist was again of limestone. The inhumed individual was identified as a young man but the burial was accompanied by two annular brooches with likely penannular influence. Both terminals were decorated in Style II birds heads and must be dated to the seventh century. They are very similar to the terminals of the silver penannular brooch from Sewerby (Hirst 1985, p57). Again one wonders at the gender association of the brooches but what cannot be doubted is that the burial provides datable evidence for the westward extension of Anglicisation on indigenous populations in the seventh century. Using a historical

model, Waterman liked to see the burial as representative of the 'absorption of the British Kingdom of Elmet' in the seventh century. This may or may not be the case as the merging of the different populations or the change of material expression by indigenous populations is likely to have taken a lengthy period of time.

The third and fourth forms of evidence concerning settlements can be taken together. At Wykeham in the Vale of Pickering there seems to be evidence for the use of British and Anglo-Saxon artefacts sealed within unusual sunken huts which seem to owe more to native influence than Anglo-Saxon (Moore 1965, p430). The sunken huts are in fact circular. Similar examples have been found at other sites in the Vale of Pickering where the latest datable evidence ends in the late fourth century. Examples come from Sherburn and Caythorpe. At the latter, deep ploughing seems to have destroyed a nucleated settlement. Other examples of the same building type have been found at Crossgates - Seamer. Both Seamer and Wykeham contain Anglo-Saxon remains.

At Wykeham, fills from these huts contained *unabraded* Crambeck ware in their lower fills. Sometimes Crambeck and Anglo-Saxon wares were mixed. The Crambeck ware in certain fills does not appear to have been residual (Moore 1965, p410). Post-Roman occupation of the site is certain and it may be that identifiable Anglo-Saxon wares represent the Anglicisation of the native populations in existing settlements. It seems clear that the unusual sunken buildings represent a building form of the native early medieval period in the region which was taken over by the Anglo-Saxons. This is not to say that the native population was living in sunken hovels. At Wykeham these buildings were used for craft working. Indications from Crossgates - Seamer are the same (Rutter 1963, p101; Rutter 1964, p173 and Rutter 1965, p652). The array of buildings at West Heslerton provides an interesting contrast, with a variety of earth-fast timber buildings and sunken-feature buildings of recognisable Anglo-Saxon type (Powlesland 1986, p163; Powlesland 1988, p139-150).

Bearing in mind the evidence discussed above, it is possible to suggest that Heselton is a manifestation of settlement in the region after Anglicisation. This could have taken place at different rates in the same area with the native population gradually taking on the fashions of the Anglo-Saxon newcomers. The cemetery and settlement of West Heselton are not yet published so a detailed discussion of the chronological range of deposition on the site cannot be made. It is intriguing to note that Moore recorded structures very similar to Wykeham at Sherburn, three kilometres east of West Heselton, presumably in the area of the ladder settlement excavated by Powlesland (Powlesland 1988, p140). Powlesland demonstrated that this native settlement was occupied into the Anglian period

with changes in settlement location accompanying the change in material expression of native populations and the influx of Anglian immigrants by the mid sixth century.¹⁴

All the themes in this section have been concerned with cross-cultural exchange of dress fashions, burial practice and the continuity of use of existing settlement zones. The exchange of different cultural facets could have taken place at varying rates eg the adoption of Anglo-Saxon dress accessories at Hebden Bank and Occaney Beck had taken place before the abandonment of the native burial practice of stone cist inhumation. Thus, new hybrid Anglo-Saxon fashions and practices were created. Linguistic change may have occurred much later than adoption of most aspects of Anglo-Saxon dress.

This phase of cross-cultural exchange between Briton and Saxon has a major impact on the way in which exchange relations should be interpreted in early medieval England. This is particularly relevant to the fifth, sixth and seventh centuries. The merger of two different societies may have radically altered the way that objects and raw materials were viewed. The example of the merger of a de-Romanized British society with the Anglo-Saxon immigrants provides an excellent

14. (Amendment of sentences above relating to excavation at Sherburn). The ladder settlement was occupied, with limited settlement shift, from the Iron Age into the post-Roman period. Two Anglo-Saxon Grubenhauser were found in its final phases and also the remains of an oval building similar to those at Wykeham. A fifth century uncalibrated radio-carbon date was produced from a sample from one of the latest stratigraphic phases on the site (Powlesland 1988, p.143-146).

example of this phenomenon. There may have been very little difference in the form of social organisation between the post-Roman British and the Germanic immigrants, but they had drastically different beliefs and ritual practices and as a result, different value systems. The forms of exchange among the British and Germanic peoples may have been similar, however, the material expression of those similar forms of exchange may have been very different.

Archaeologists have used artefact distributions as a direct illustration of particular exchange mechanisms without acknowledging that values placed on artefacts may differ very significantly (Hodges 1977, p211; Arnold 1982, p125; Arnold 1988a, p114; Haselgrove 1982, p81-83). This poses a dilemma for archaeologists. There can be no doubt that there was a lengthy transition period from the fifth-early seventh centuries when the British population became Anglicised in East Yorkshire. During this period a variety of values towards artefacts could have been current in the region depending on the rate of Anglicisation. From the artefact distributions it is clear that not all artefacts were used in a uniform manner throughout the region.

Two zones of artefact usage were identified in Chapter Five - a coastal zone and an inland zone. In terms of the use and take up of Anglo-Saxon dress practices it may be wiser to define three zones. The coastal zone incorporates the primary Anglo-Saxon settlement area in north Humberside and the coast of East Yorkshire with its immediate hinterland. The 'inland zone' should be split into two:- the Wolds and the east of the Vale of Pickering should be seen as a major zone of acculturation where there are Anglo-Saxon and native influences on burial assemblages; the second division of the 'inland' zone can be defined by the northern edge of the Vale of Pickering and the western limits of the study area where Anglo-Saxon dress accessories are deposited in the context of a native burial practice - stone cist graves. If attitudes to Anglo-Saxon material culture varied in these areas, it becomes exceptionally difficult to reconstruct exchange relationships or expressions of social rank based on anthropological ideas.

Import depositions in early medieval grave assemblages are often seen as evidence of exchange to maintain social relations (Mauss 1925/1954, p59). These imports have been seen as 'prestige goods' indicating high social position (Hodges and Whitehouse 1983, p92; Arnold 1988a, p114; Hodges 1989 p55-56; Hinton 1990, p37). If values relating to how status was expressed varied in the same region, it becomes exceptionally difficult to reconstruct social status. Most exchange mechanisms extrapolated back into the early medieval period have been related to status (Smith 1976, p309-313; Hodges and Whitehouse 1983, p91-92; Hinton 1990, p22; Dahlin Hauken 1991, p107), but if artefacts were used and valued in different ways by different groups, other indicators of exchange must be identified. The analysis of indigenous raw materials as well as imported objects has allowed the reconstruction of certain exchange relations within the sixth century phase of acculturation in East Yorkshire. Differences in the relative values placed on artefacts are the best way to explain difference in artefact distributions.

The effect of acculturation on exchange and artefact distributions is best illustrated by discussing trends from Transect X discussed in the last chapter (see figure 5.3). There is a marked difference in the artefact deposition patterns between the Drifffield-Kellythorpe cemetery (Londesborough 1952, p251; Mortimer 1905, p271-283) and the cemeteries going east towards the coast :- Drifffield-Cheesecake Hill, Sewerby and Hornsea (Mortimer 1905, p286-293; Hirst 1985; Sheppard 1938, p7-14). The Drifffield-Kellythorpe cemetery has a high concentration of iron, copper-alloy and silver finds in relation to the cemeteries further east (see figure 5.7). In contrast the cemeteries to the east have large quantities of amber, rock crystal and jet (see figures 5.4 and 5.5).

The Kellythorpe cemetery is very near the Elmswell settlement which seems to have continued in use into the Anglo-Saxon period. Specialist iron working at Elmswell and a high level of access to iron at Kellythorpe may well be related (see figure 5.7). The communities in the Garton-Elmswell area seem to have controlled access to a

bog iron source and practised iron production on a level above the needs of the individual settlements. Direct continuity of iron production from the late Roman into the early medieval period is likely. The high levels of copper-alloy and silver in the Kellythorpe cemetery may be a reflection of the control of regional exchange of iron. Control of a universally needed raw material gave the controllers of the Garton-Elmswell area wealth and probably an important social position within the region. However, large numbers of artefacts seen as indicative of high status in Anglo-Saxon contexts are absent, eg. rock crystal, large quantities of amber beads, etc. Graves in poorer cemeteries do have large quantities of amber and rock crystal, eg. Driffield-Cheesecake Hill (see figure 5.24). The abundance of raw materials at Kellythorpe would suggest that if there had been a demand for large quantities of amber and rock crystal, it could have been obtained easily. The fact that they were not obtained suggests that they were not highly valued in comparison with silver (see figures 5.22 and 5.23).

Difference in the desirability of different imported materials is best explained in relation to the respective backgrounds of the coastal and inland Anglo-Saxon groups on the eastern Wolds during the second half of the sixth century. The earliest Germanic settlement in the study area seems to have been in North Humberside with early sixth century extensions up the east coast of Yorkshire. These Germanic immigrants may have ousted or quickly subsumed the native population in these areas. The areas further inland are likely to have remained in native hands. Relations between the two populations produced a wide degree of cross-cultural exchange, seen in the deposition of British penannular brooches with Anglo-Saxon dress accessories in inhumation cemeteries on the Wolds from the mid sixth century (see figure 6.4).

Native communities became Anglicised over the course of the sixth century, though they need not have adopted all Germanic fashions at once. The suggested selectivity in the adoption of Anglo-Saxon dress fashions at Kellythorpe and the

continuity of specialist iron production in the Elmswell area in the sixth century are best explained as the actions of largely native communities becoming Anglicised. In contrast, the populations of Anglo-Saxon cemeteries in coastal areas show far less evidence of interaction with the native population of East Yorkshire.

The importance of acculturation in the formation of a composite 'Anglo-Saxon' population with Germanic and native components is two-fold. First it provides a mechanism for continuity of specialist production of raw materials and possibly their exchange from the fifth into the sixth centuries in East Yorkshire. If the native population was neither displaced or their skills dispersed, this would have been a great assistance to Germanic newcomers who would not have been familiar with raw material sources in their newly settled regions. As a result of cultural fusion between the two populations there would have been less dislocation in the running of the agricultural economy and exchange networks within the region than if the native population had been totally evicted.

Secondly, acculturation and the adoption of Anglo-Saxon fashions at varying rates by the native population in East Yorkshire causes a problem in assigning social status to individuals from their grave-goods (Arnold 1988a). Expressions of wealth and status from burial practice have often been produced by examining quantities of imports in graves. If, however, different Anglo-Saxon groups had different fashions of expression due to their ethnic background, it becomes very difficult to make assessments of social rank from burial assemblages - witness the differences between the cemetery at Kellythorpe and the cemeteries of Cheesecake Hill and Sewerby. Since exchange mechanisms have often been associated with social status and its maintenance, the process of acculturation in different regions must be considered when suggesting the operation of different kinds of exchange.

6.3 The scale and direction of exchange relations within the region and between East Yorkshire and its neighbours - 400-700AD

a) Regional and inter-regional exchange from the fifth - early seventh centuries

In the fifth and early sixth centuries, there is a dichotomy in the indications of exchange activity. The fifth century native population provide ^{possible} indications of continued production of some wheelmade Crambeck ware after the early fifth century, although the evidence is provided only by the vessels in the cists at Crambeck and the extent of its use is unknown. ¹⁵ (Corder 19 8, p10-21; Moore 1965, p410 and Congreve 1937, p14-15; Congreve 1938, p26-32 and Corder 1940, p50). It would also be unwise to assume a break in iron production ^{and the likelihood of its} exchange at Elmswell, considering the continuity of iron working skills seen throughout the early medieval period in the area (Congreve 1937, p21; Garton Station - British Museum Records).

In contrast to the indications of production and exchange on an inter-community level among the native population, there are indications of inter-regional contact from the primary Germanic settlement zone on the Humber and the southern tip of the Wolds. The fused glass vessels discovered at Sancton are probably of continental provenance. As such, the vessels indicate contact with southern England and the continent. Objects of foreign derivation in late fifth-early sixth century contexts at Sancton, however, are not necessarily indications of inter-regional exchange. At this period migration is as likely a mechanism for object movement as exchange. The glass vessels could have been brought from continental Europe or south-eastern England by the Anglo-Saxon settlers.

There need have been very little contact with the continent and southern England after settlement in Humberside. A hypothesis of very limited contact with southern England and the old Roman provinces of Gaul after migration is supported by the evidence from the mid sixth-early seventh century inhumation cemeteries. All the imported objects in East Yorkshire during this period are to be considered as part of

the 'Anglian' group noted by Huggett. These imports include large quantities of amber beads and rock crystal beads. The former are suggested as Baltic imports and the latter are of unknown continental derivation (Huggett 1988, p78; Meaney 1981, p80). The distribution of these artefacts runs from East Yorkshire, through Lincolnshire, East Anglia, the East Midlands and into the upper Thames valley. Quantities of these objects are not as great in Kent or southern England, neither do objects of Kentish or Merovingian derivation appear in East Yorkshire at this time. During the phase of acculturation these artefacts were not used in the same way throughout East Yorkshire - as the Kellythorpe example has shown. The presence of large quantities of amber and rock crystal, however, indicates contact with northern Europe and southern Scandinavia. These dress accessories were exchanged extensively within the latter areas.

There are also significant quantities of silver artefacts in East Yorkshire during the second half of the sixth and early seventh centuries. Access to this raw material is limited to richer graves. The source of the silver is uncertain, some silver may have been imported but it may also have come from a residual pool of silver in circulation from the late Roman period. Proportionally, there are more silver artefacts at Kellythorpe than at other contemporary sites. As already discussed, this seems to be due to a preferential desire for silver in lieu of other imports within this community.

The second half of the sixth century also saw the appearance of expressions of identity which are peculiar to the eastern Wolds, the headwaters of the River Hull and the eastern Vale of Pickering. This expression takes the form of nearly identical great square-headed brooches - Leeds' C2 Kenninghall type (Leeds 1949, p79-82; Hirst 1985, p60). These brooches seem to be indigenous developments of the mid-late sixth century. Their distribution can be seen in figure 6.5. They are buried in rich female graves from Staxton (Hull Museum Records; Hirst 1985, p60) in the Vale of Pickering to Hornsea (Sheppard 1913; Baldwin Brown 1915, Volume 2, p269;

Sheppard 1938, p10-11) on the coast of Holderness. The Kellythorpe example is the furthest inland of the East Yorkshire examples (Mortimer 1905, p281-282). There are also examples in cemeteries further north along the east coast of England, one at the cemetery of Darlington-Greenbank on the river Tees (Sheppard 1938, p23; Miket and Pocock 1976, p67-68); four examples come from the cemetery at Norton-on-Tees (Sherlock and Welch 1992, p38-40) and one example comes from Benwell near Tynemouth (Baldwin Brown 1915, Volume 3, p269; Sheppard 1938, p23; Hirst 1985, p60). The vast majority of type C2 brooches are buried on the east coast or on river estuaries near the east coast. They appear to have been deposited from the mid-late sixth century with the latest examples coming from early seventh century graves (Leeds 1949, p80-82; Pocock 1971, p407; Hirst 1985, p60; Sherlock and Welch 1992, p38-39). Apart from two examples, the Kellythorpe example is located furthest inland. The two other examples come from Piercebridge on the river Tees (Sherlock and Welch 1992, p39) and from Catterick, in close proximity to the Tees river system (Pocock 1971, p409).

Pocock suggested that this group of square-headed brooches represented a Deiran advance northwards from East Yorkshire, explaining the Catterick example as an example of expansion inland along the lines of the Roman roads through the plain of York to Catterick (Pocock 1971, p408-409). Pocock tried to sub-divide the distribution of C2 brooches into two sub-classes based on coastal and inland types this does not seem to stand up as the Piercebridge and Kellythorpe examples are both attributable to his coastal group, yet they were found inland (Sherlock and Welch 1992, p38). Using Pocock's model based on historical expansion of Anglo-Saxon Kingdoms, particularly Deira, it is possible to come to the opposite conclusion, whereby the C2 brooches in East Yorkshire could represent the establishment of links with East Yorkshire from areas further north on the east coast. There are certainly far more C2 brooches on the Tees than in East Yorkshire.

It is probably unwise to follow the above line of argument based on either the

expansion of Anglo-Saxon groups northwards from Deira or southwards from the Tees. All the C2 brooches north of the Humber appear to have been deposited in the same period. It is not possible to establish whether they were developed or became fashionable in East Yorkshire before the areas further north. The brooch group undoubtedly indicates links and a cultural affinity, however, between the Anglo-Saxon groups on the east coast of England from East Yorkshire to the Tyne (Pocock 1971, p409).

These brooches may indicate membership of an extended kin group or an elite fashion among tribal groups with the same cultural affinities. The geographical distribution of these female graves may reflect exchange of women in the formation of marriage alliances along the north-eastern coast of England. They would have been important for the promotion of social cohesion at the inter-group level. The burials are accompanied by the full range of dress accessories for rich 'Anglian burials'; including rock crystal and large quantities of amber (Huggett 1988, p76).

In their native communities this may have indicated an elite status. If horizontal marriage alliances were made (ie. women married men of equal rank in neighbouring communities) the woman would have maintained an elite status. Where Anglo-Saxon fashions were adopted at different rates due to the effect of acculturation, however, the expressions of status from a woman's native community would not necessarily express the same message in her husband's community. The fact of marriage rather than the way a woman dressed would ensure her status. The exceptional burial at Kellythorpe can be interpreted as evidence of exogamy between areas where wealth was expressed in different ways. The different fashions of expression at death seen between this grave and other female burials in the cemetery are indicative of different values placed on artefacts rather than a great difference in 'status'. The status of a bride from a neighbouring community would be defined by her social relations in life, eg. her marriage. Expression at death could be an expression of her kin origins and its way of sending social messages.

b) The mid seventh-early eighth centuries - Changes in the scale and direction of exchange relations

Accompanying the shift in cemetery location during the first half of the seventh century there was also a change in the dress fashion expressed in the graves. These mid-late seventh century cemeteries are often referred to as 'final phase' cemeteries (Leeds 1936, p 96). The regional characteristics in dress fashion of the sixth and early seventh centuries changed into a more uniform dress fashion (as seen from grave-goods). A smaller number of grave-goods tended to accompany burials when compared with examples from the preceding century - though there are exceptions (Boddington 1989, p188-189).

This change in dress fashion at death may be related to a change in religious belief ie. conversion to Christianity (Leeds 1936, p96-97; Boddington 1989, p177-178). The archaeological evidence suggests, however, that this change of dress fashion occurred in all the Anglo-Saxon Kingdoms during the mid seventh century, including areas within the Mercian confederation. The latter was not even nominally Christian until 655, though British elements of the confederation are likely to have been Christian. The character of some depositions containing 'final phase' material culture also questions any 'Christian' association. Two double burials occur at Garton Station dating to the mid seventh century. Young females accompany rich male interments. The possibility of ritual killing of women to accompany dead men is not best interpreted as a practice with Christian associations (British Museum Records)¹⁶. Despite the varying theories explaining the change in dress fashion, a point that is often forgotten is that the development of uniform use of material culture implies extensive inter-regional interaction. It is important to note, however, that exotic artefacts tend to be the objects used in the most uniform way.

During the mid-late seventh century, there was a great increase in the range of

16. 'British Museum Records' refers to the unpublished grave catalogues from the British Museum excavations at Garton Station. I am very grateful to Angela Evans for giving me access to these records

artefacts and raw materials of foreign derivation in East Yorkshire. Examples include amethyst beads, gold objects, garnet, glass vessels, Coptic copper-alloy vessels and even continental ceramics. It is also possible that the swords, deposited from the mid seventh century, were continental products, however, Ager and Gilmour also highlight the probability of indigenous manufacture of the latter (Ager and Gilmour 1988, p20). Hanging bowls may also be regarded as products imported into the region (see Chapters Nine and Ten) though they are not continental products.

All the above provide evidence for inter-regional exchange contact; the direction of those contacts and the derivation of the imports, however, are very different from those of the sixth and early seventh centuries.

i) Relations with southern England and the Merovingian Kingdoms

Imported raw materials of foreign derivation deposited in the sixth century tended to be objects of Baltic or unknown continental provenance (Huggett 1988, p64 and p68-70). This implies continued links with northern Europe during this period. In contrast, by the mid seventh century, imports from the continent seem to come from or via the Merovingian 'Frankish' kingdoms, in particular, the areas which had been Roman provinces. Amethyst, gold, garnet, glass vessels and Coptic vessels must all have arrived in Britain from the latter areas. Their methods of travel from the continent and up the east coast of England are open to conjecture. The area of England with the largest quantities of the items listed above is undoubtedly Kent (Huggett 1988, p756). Numerous Kentish sites have produced these artefacts from both sixth and seventh century contexts, eg. Wingham (Conyngham 1846, p551); Gilton (Roach Smith 1846, p132-136); Westbere (Jessup 1947, p15-19); Milton Regis (Hawkes 1963, p23-36); Monkton (Hawkes 1947, p15-19); Amherst (Hawkes 1984, p129-151); Finglesham (Hawkes 1958, p1-7) et al. Due to this import

concentration, Sonia Hawkes suggested Kentish control of the exchange of items shipped via the Merovingian Kingdoms during the sixth and seventh centuries (Hawkes 1982, p72; Hawkes 1986, p82). This theory was backed up by a historical argument proposed by Ian Wood. He suggested that certain Merovingian Kingdoms may have held some sort of suzerainty over Kent - especially during the sixth century (Wood 1983, p15-16; Wood 1990, p96).

Whether or not these hypotheses are true, there can be little doubt as to the derivation of the imported artefacts, however, a cautionary note must be sounded against the idea of complete Kentish control of import dispersal within England. The Saints' lives of Saint Wilfrid, Saint Ceolfrid and Bede's lives of the first abbots of Jarrow and Monkwearmouth all indicate direct contact between the Merovingian and the Northumbrian kingdoms from the mid seventh century (Webb 1965, p110-111; Boutflower 1912, p60-61; Farmer 1983, p186-190). The fact that ships had to stop in Kent before crossing the channel may have given Kentish elites the opportunity to impose impromptu 'tolls' in various forms but Carver has also proposed the hypothesis that ships need not have followed the East coast-Kentish route to the continent. He suggested that ships could have sailed directly across the North Sea to the Low countries and Scandinavia (Carver 1990, p119-122).

The important observation with regard to Merovingian contacts with Northumbria is that direct contact took place (Crawford 1933, p38-41). Kent may not have controlled access to exotic imports and precious raw materials outside the possible extortion of some sort of 'toll' for use of a 'port'. Having said this, a bias in the evidence must be admitted; all the references to direct contact between Northumbria and Gaul took place within the context of the movement of clerics. There were extensive inter-kingdom ecclesiastical networks. To some extent they were above the secular political divisions of their time. As such, evidence for their ease of movement may not be applicable to contemporary secular elites.

Suggesting the direction of exchange relations and plotting the derivation of imports

are nothing new in early medieval studies. The extensive quantification applied in this work, however, does allow for innovations. Detailed inter-regional comparison of import distribution in specific periods is one example. During the sixth-early seventh centuries, differences in distribution are due to variation in regional dress fashion and directions of exchange. By the mid seventh century, there is a high degree of cultural uniformity in dress expression - seen especially from wealthy graves. As a result of this growing uniformity, it might be suggested that the distribution of imported products is more likely to reflect the degree of access rather than differences in demand for specific commodities, though it is also clear that this is not the case in every instance.

The quantity and range of imported goods in East Yorkshire from the mid-late seventh century suggests that the region had far greater contact with south-east England and the continent than the upper Thames valley (see Chapters Seven and Eight). This has only become clear after quantification of the relevant assemblages. The observation is clearly illustrated in comparative analysis of the quantities of imports in East Yorkshire and the upper Thames. The range of types of import is very similar but the quantities are smaller in the upper Thames valley. This can be seen in the distribution of gold, silver, amethyst and vessel glass (see figures 5.12, 5.12, 5.14 and figures 7.42 - 7.50). This comparative study should send a note of caution against the acceptance of Sonia Hawkes' hypothesis suggesting close links between the upper Thames valley and Kent at this time (Hawkes 1986, p83).

In comparison with the Peak District, differences in import distribution can be seen in the range and quantity of imports. The distributions of gold and amethyst serve as illustrations (see figures 5.12, 5.14, 9.6 and 9.7). The number of sites on which gold occurs during the mid-late seventh century in the Peak and East Yorkshire are very similar - six in East Yorkshire and five in the Peak. The quantity of gold objects in the Peak District, however, far exceeds that of East Yorkshire. In contrast, amethyst is completely absent from the Peak District whereas amethyst beads have

been recovered from six sites in East Yorkshire. The reason for this discrepancy is discussed in greater detail in Chapters Nine and Ten.

The import distributions in East Yorkshire clearly indicate that this region was the north-eastern extension of the east coast zone where a wide range of imports were deposited in relatively large numbers. This is in stark contrast to the northern Northumbrian kingdom of Bernicia where very few seventh century imports have been recovered. The few examples are the Merovingian copy of a gold tremissis and Frankish buckle from Yeavinger (Lafaurie 1977, p183; Kent 1977, p183 and Hope-Taylor 1977, p185); the Dunbar gold and cloisonne garnet cross (Holdsworth 1992, p43-44); a gilt and garnet cross applique from Bamburgh (Cramp 1984, p19; Brooks 1991, p59) and the Saint Cuthbert gold and cloisonne garnet cross now in the Durham Cathedral Treasury (Kendrick 1937, p283). In several of the latter examples the raw materials are likely to have been imported rather than the finished objects.

This difference between the Northumbrian regions forces the archaeologist to question the value of these imports to their contemporary societies. There is an obvious difference in their use between Bernicia and East Yorkshire, however there need not have been any difference in the structure of society or social relations in these respective areas. This regional variation in the use (and possibly access) to exotic imports and its implication for the reconstruction of exchange relations is dealt with in greater detail in the discussion on the motivations and mechanisms for exchange in Chapter Eleven.

c) Production and exchange activity behind the import concentrations

The spatial and chronological quantification of non-exotic artefacts and raw materials provided indications of the regional production and exchange relations forming the basis for the acquisition of exotica.

The analysis of the mid sixth-early seventh century cemetery assemblages showed that the occupants of the Driffield-Kellythorpe cemetery had greater access to silver, iron and copper-alloy than contemporary communities further east towards the coast. The Kellythorpe cemetery is in the Garton -Elmswell area. The finds from the Elmswell settlement indicate the probability of continued intensive iron working from the late Roman into the early medieval period (Congreve 1937, p21-22). The reason for the high quantities of silver, copper-alloy and iron artefacts at Kellythorpe were explained as a result of control of access to iron by the inhabitants of the Garton-Elmswell area.

The cemetery evidence for the mid-late seventh century also suggests the exploitation of an advantage on behalf of the inhabitants of the Garton-Elmswell area. The cemeteries of this period are shown in figures 5.11 and 5.21. The cemeteries in this small area at Garton 2a, Garton Station and Eastburn all have gold, silver, garnet and amethyst artefacts. Compared to other contemporary cemeteries in the region they have these imports in large quantities. Only the large cemetery at Uncleby (Smith 1912, p146-158; Leeds 1936, p98-99 and plate xxvii) and the disturbed cemetery at Seamer (British Museum Records) can compare with them. It would appear, however, that this concentration of imports in such close proximity is unique in East Yorkshire.

The reason for the ability to obtain exotic imports and high value metals during the mid-late seventh century is suggested from the character and quantities of artefacts made from iron. The Garton Station Cemetery produced a number of male graves with corroded iron 'tools' (British Museum Records). Grave 25 was also accompanied with coal as an intentional or unintentional deposition. The Garton 2a and Garton Station cemeteries also contain a far wider range and a far greater quantity of iron objects than the comparable cemetery at Uncleby (see figure 5.15). The combination of this direct and indirect evidence for specialist iron working, together with the import concentration, suggests that control of iron production and

its exchange was one reason for the evident wealth of the cemeteries in this small area. As such the evidence reflects a continuity and increased specialisation in iron production through the fifth, sixth and seventh centuries.

d) Individual action in the promotion of new media of exchange

The Garton area also has one of the three sites providing the earliest evidence for the use of silver 'sceatta' coinage in East Yorkshire. A small hoard of these silver coins was found in a purse accompanying a male inhumation at the Tatton-Sykes 2 - Garton Slack cemetery (Grantham and Grantham 1965, p356 and Teasdill 1965, p358). It was dated as a deposition of not later than 725 by Mark Blackburn (Blackburn 1984, p167). Only the beach site at North Ferriby and the monastic site at Whitby have also provided evidence for late seventh-early eighth century sceatta deposition. The Thwing examples may be early eighth century depositions, but they may also be residual in mid eighth century deposition contexts - see figure 5.16 (Rigold and Metcalf, p264).

The use of sceattas at specific sites in East Yorkshire and on the Yorkshire coast, as far north as Whitby, occurs almost half a century before their use in the rest of Northumbria. The appearance of sceattas in East Yorkshire is contemporary with the primary and early secondary series phase in south-eastern England. Names of Anglo-Saxon Kings were not struck on any of the sceattas of the primary series except on a series with the name 'Aldfridus' struck on one of the faces of these coins (see Volume 2, appendix 2, plate 1). The coins were regarded as either issues of Aldfrith, the late eighth century sub-king of Lindsey or issues of Aldfrith of Northumbria AD 685-705 (Booth 1984, p72). The weight, high silver content and depositional associations of the coins now indicate, however, that the "Aldfrith" series should be regarded as the product of Aldfrith of Northumbria (Archibald pers comm; Archibald 1992, p66). This provides clear evidence for the promotion of the

use of coinage by the Northumbrian King. (The motivation for this promotion is discussed in Chapter Eleven). Coins of Aldfrith are present at both North Ferriby and Whitby but not at Garton Slack. Despite this absence at the latter site, the use of other early secondary series sceattas in the Garton area may reflect the result of a close proximity to a direct royal stimulus to coinage use.

Circumstantial archaeological evidence and direct textual evidence can be used to support the idea of a direct stimulus in the Garton area. The Anglo-Saxon chronicle has been translated as saying that Aldfrith of Northumbria died at Driffield in 705 AD (Garmonsway 1953, p41). Faull gives the 'Old English' for this entry noting that Aldfrith died 'on Driffield' (Faull 1974, p12). This passage provides a clear indication that Aldfrith was associated with the Driffield area, though it is difficult to assess how often he was there. A criticism must be directed at the translation saying that Aldfrith died at Driffield. The Old English actually says that he died on the topographical area known as 'Driffield'.¹⁷

It has been assumed that Aldfrith had a 'royal vill' at Driffield. This has prompted certain archaeologists to go looking for 'Aldfrith's palace' in the area of the modern town (Eddy 1985, p40-51). This practice is based on the misconception that a 'vill site' equals the 'caput' central settlement, however, a vill - royal or otherwise - was a territorial land unit (Jones 1961, p223; Aston 1986, p49; Loveluck forthcoming). It may have had more than one settlement focus within its confines. Bearing in mind the close proximity of the Garton-Elmswell area to modern Driffield it is quite possible that the Garton communities lived within the royal tenurial unit on Driffield. The concentration and control of specialist iron production, large quantities of imports and precious metals and the early use of sceatta coinage may reflect Aldfrith's influence or the continuation of a tradition promoted by him.

e) The mobility range of different sections of the population and its impact on exchange

17. Margaret Faulk quotes the 'D' and 'E' manuscripts of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle which record the entry relating to the death of Aldfrith, king of Northumbria, in December 705 A.D. The Chronicle manuscripts say that Aldfrith died 'on Driffelda', i.e. on Driffield (Faulk 1974, p.12). Place-names ending in the '-feld' element described areas of open land, often adjacent to woodland. By the eighth century, the term was used to describe open land used for cultivation, many of these '-feld' names were associated with lighter soils such as gravels (Ford 1976, p.289; Hooke 1981, p.176-177). The reference to Aldfrith's death 'on Driffield' could indicate that Driffield was a distinct topographical area, though it is also possible that the term Driffield had become synonymous with the area of a suggested royal vill in the Driffield area by the early eighth century. Thus the placing of Aldfrith's death 'at Driffield' in translations of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle could have been influenced by the theory that Aldfrith died on the royal estate of Driffield. It is unfortunate that this translation has led to the association of the term Driffield in the Chronicle with the later medieval and modern town, rather than the early medieval land unit (Eddy 1983, p.40).

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e) The mobility range of different sections of the population and its impact on exchange

The mid seventh-early eighth century evidence from the Garton-Driffield area also produced indications of the extent and regularity of inter-community contact within different sections of local society. The imported objects and raw materials deposited in the Garton-Driffield cemeteries are likely to have entered this area of East Yorkshire via a harbour at Bridlington or in the Bridlington area. The objects could then have been transported directly westwards to the Garton -Driffield area along the east-west running Roman road from Bridlington across the Wolds. The suggestion that Bridlington was used as a 'port' is supported by reference to the foundation of a double-monastery there in the late seventh-early eighth century (Lamb 1986, p6; Humberside SMR). All the major early Northumbrian monasteries were sited at coastal harbours or on navigable rivers eg Whitby, Jarrow, Monkwearmouth, Tynemouth etc. It is probable that the Bridlington monastery was also sited in the area of a pre-existing harbour.

The description of all associated artefacts in grave assemblages produced indications of the degree of contact between the coast and inland areas. The sections of society moving at the inter-settlement level on a regular basis can also be inferred. The richest burials in the Garton cemeteries and the cemeteries of the western Wolds, such as Uncleby and Acklam Wold, all contain evidence of at least indirect contact with coastal areas. This evidence is provided by the imports deposited in the rich graves. Imports in cemeteries on the western Wolds could have arrived via the Roman road links from the Humber or Bridlington. The cemeteries in the Garton area also contain sea shells deposited in certain graves. At Tatton Sykes 1 - Garton Slack a whelk shell was found at the neck of a female burial (TAT 5 grave 38 in Volume 3 - Mortimer 1905, p268)

and a whelk shell ^{was also deposited} with the female burial in grave 34 ^{at Garton Station} (GARST 187 in Volume 3 - British Museum Records). Shells are only found in relatively poor

grave assemblages. The Garton Slack burial only contained the shell^{and} the Garton Station
burial contained six objects. Sea shells are only
deposited in the Garton area.

A wide range of movement on behalf of members of the elite sections of society can be inferred from the horse riding gear deposited in the wealthy male burial from grave 10 at Garton 2a (Mortimer 1905, p250; Vierck 1972, p191). There is no evidence of coastal contacts on behalf of the less wealthy members of the population except in the Garton area. The unusual distribution of sea shells in graves can be explained as a reflection of the scale of exchange relations between the Garton area and the coast or as the result of greater freedom of movement on behalf of a wider cross-section of society in the Garton area than in other parts of East Yorkshire.

Sea shells are not found in rich graves in the Garton area or further inland. Because of greater access to exotic artefacts, a greater freedom of movement and possibly greater familiarity, sea shells had no value to the elites. To the lower echelons of society, however, they seem to have had a novelty value based on unfamiliarity. For this reason they were kept as pendants and deposited in graves. Shells are totally absent from both rich and poorly furnished graves further inland.

The fact that shells are absent from inland areas and that they appear to have had a novelty value in the Garton area suggests that the lower echelons of society had a very limited mobility range. The shells at Garton do suggest a certain level of direct contact between the lower echelons of society in this area and the coast but the fact that shells seem to have a novelty value suggests that this contact was infrequent. The reasons for travelling to the coast are a matter for speculation. By the early eighth century, wealthier members of the Garton population seem to have travelled to the coast for direct exchange transactions - as seen from the sceattas in the purse of the male grave from Tatton-Sykes 2 - Garton Slack (Grantham and Grantham 1965, p356). The lower echelons of society may have transported raw materials or

finished objects on behalf of elites, accompanying them to coastal trading sites. No equivalent movement is suggested from areas further inland. The increased levels of movement indicated from the Garton area to the coast in the mid-late seventh century may also be a reflection of a royal impetus for increased craft specialisation and exchange in the Garton-Driffield area at that time.

6.4 Summary

Exchange activity in East Yorkshire from 400-700 AD can be set within four simplified phases.

In the fifth century there is a de-Romanization of the native British society. Indications of inter-regional exchange are absent. As such there is a shrinking economy of scale at the inter-regional level after the collapse of the central Roman administration. Indications of exchange at the regional level remain, however. Crambeck ware still seems to be produced on a very small scale well into the fifth century. The same is possibly true of Huntcliff ware. There is also evidence for the continued production of raw materials over and above the needs of individual settlements, eg. at Elmswell, there is a continuation of intensive iron working. Exchange of iron or iron artefacts within the region seems likely.

A primary zone of Anglo-Saxon settlement was occupied from at least the mid-late fifth century on the north bank of the Humber and the southern Wolds. This seems to have expanded gradually over the early sixth century. The only undeniable evidence of an Anglo-Saxon presence in this period comes from the large cremation cemetery at Sancton which seems to have been the main burial focus for the early Germanic immigrants. The objects of foreign derivation - such as the glass vessels deposited at the cemetery are as likely to have arrived via migration as inter-regional exchange.

By the mid sixth century there are hints of a major phase of acculturation between

the native and Anglo-Saxon populations. This cross-cultural exchange resulted in Anglicisation of the native population by the early seventh century. Selectivity in the choice of dress items can be inferred relating to the rate of Anglicisation in certain areas. One such area is the Elmswell area. The nearby Kellythorpe cemetery contains far larger amounts of iron, copper-alloy and silver objects compared with Anglo-Saxon cemeteries further east towards the coast. The coastal cemeteries in contrast, contain more artefacts of amber, rock crystal and jet. Bearing in mind the wealth of the Kellythorpe population indicated in access to metals. It might be expected that if large quantities of amber, jet and rock crystal had been desired at Kellythorpe, then they could have been procured. Their absence is best seen as a lack of demand for the latter commodities. The evidence for continued occupation of the Elmswell settlement through the fifth century and the probability of continued iron production in the area may explain the high access to iron expressed in the Kellythorpe cemetery. The difference in the fashion of grave accompaniment may be due to the influence of a large native component in the Kellythorpe population. This Anglicisation phase is accompanied by the sudden geographical expansion of Anglo-Saxon groups covering the whole of East Yorkshire by the mid sixth century. This may be the result of a large secondary migration. Either way, inter-regional exchange links again become detectable at this time. East Yorkshire holds a common material culture with 'Anglian England' and exhibits exchange links with the Baltic and non-Merovingian Europe from the mid sixth to early seventh centuries.

By the mid seventh century, the area of import derivation had changed. All imported objects and raw materials had also changed. The imported objects and raw materials entering East Yorkshire came from or via Merovingian controlled areas of Europe. There is also a general increase in the range of imports entering the region from this time. Again the production and exchange activity behind exceptional import concentrations can be inferred for one area - the Garton-Driffield area. The

sheer number and range of iron objects, together with evidence for increased specialisation in iron working, indicates that exchange of iron may have remained one of the bases of the wealth of this area from the late Roman period. From the mid seventh-early eighth centuries, there are also other indications showing the greater exchange role of the Garton-Driffield area relative to other parts of East Yorkshire. Indications of a greater level of movement from this area to the coast also provide a context for the very early use of silver sceatta coins as a probable medium of exchange in Northumbria. Contemporary sceatta depositions have only been discovered at port or coastal littoral harbour sites at Whitby and North Ferriby. The promotion of the use of silver sceatta coinage in Northumbria in the late seventh-early eighth centuries seems to have been due to the personal stimulus of the Northumbrian King Aldfrith (685-705 AD). He is recorded as having died on Driffield in 705 by the Anglo-Saxon chronicle. The Garton-Driffield area may well have been part of a block of royal patrimonial lands in this part of East Yorkshire. As such the association with Aldfrith, the early use of sceattas, the high import concentration and evidence for contact with a possible coastal port at Bridlington may reflect a direct royal impetus to increasing levels of production and exchange from the mid seventh to early eighth centuries.

The motivation behind exchange relations, the mechanisms involved and the use of exchange media in East Yorkshire will be discussed in a general analysis on these themes in Chapter Eleven.

Chapter 7

COMMODITY DISTRIBUTION IN THE UPPER THAMES VALLEY FROM 400-700 AD

7.1 The character of sites providing evidence for commodity distributions

a. Mixed burial practice cemeteries

In contrast to so-called 'Anglian' areas, there are no large cremation cemeteries in the upper Thames valley, however, relatively large numbers of cremations were found in a number of large mixed burial practice cemeteries, for example, Abingdon-Staxton Road (Leeds and Harden 1936) and Long Wittenham 1 (Akerman 1860, p331-332; Akerman 1863, p134-142). Small numbers of cremation burials were also found at other predominantly inhumation cemeteries, such as Brighthampton (Akerman 1857, p396-397; Akerman 1860, p84-85) and Wallingford (Leeds 1939, p93-102). The small number of urned cremations at the latter cemeteries may be a reflection of post-depositional disturbance. Cremation burials were not interred at a great depth and as a result many may have been destroyed by ploughing, indeed in the course of his excavations at Long Wittenham 1, Akerman noted that nearly all cremation urns were damaged beyond recovery (Akerman 1863, p139).

The mixed cemeteries tend to be the largest in the study area. They seem to have been used as burial grounds from the fifth-early seventh centuries in most cases. These cemeteries were therefore used over a longer period than any other funerary sites in the three study areas. As a result, it is possible to examine commodity use among individual cemetery populations over a two hundred year timescale. Unfortunately, however, the mixed burial practice cemeteries also pose the greatest

problem in assessing contemporary commodity distributions. They contained contemporary cremation and inhumation graves which were furnished with grave-goods as a result of different funerary rituals. The problems of the comparability of grave-goods from these grave types as indicators of exchange have been discussed in Chapter Four. Where contemporary cremations and inhumations occur in the upper Thames valley, artefacts from both have been quantified together in producing particular commodity totals for each cemetery. When considering patterns of artefact deposition within and between cemeteries, however, the types of grave yielding artefacts are discussed in order to assess influence of burial practice on artefact and commodity distribution.

b. Inhumation cemeteries

The majority of early medieval sites in the upper Thames valley study area are early Anglo-Saxon inhumation cemeteries. This is reflected by the large number of inhumation cemeteries selected in the sample from this region (see Chapter four). Inhumation was practised throughout the period from 400-700 AD. The earliest examples are the post-Roman native burials at the cemetery at Queenford Farm, Dorchester-on-Thames (Chambers 1988, p35) and the two fifth century Germanic burials at Dyke Hills at Dorchester (Kirk and Leeds 1953, p63-77). All the inhumations at Queenford Farm were unfurnished apart from one grave which was accompanied by a bone comb (grave F11). The majority of the individuals at the latter cemetery were also interred in coffins. In contrast, the Dyke Hills burials were fully dressed and furnished with grave-goods, they do not seem to have been interred in coffins. From the late fifth-late seventh centuries, the Anglo-Saxon population of the upper Thames valley interred their dead using this furnished inhumation practice. This type of grave has provided an extensive range of grave-goods which has allowed the study of commodity distribution throughout the region.

In certain circumstances it was then possible to suggest exchange patterns relating to the procurement of artefacts and commodities for use in funerary ritual.

From the early-mid seventh century, barrow burials were also constructed in the upper Thames valley. Both inhumations and cremations were placed in these barrows, eg. Asthall barrow contained a furnished cremation (Leeds 1924, p117-118; Dickinson and Speake 1992, p107-112) and Cuddesdon barrow contained several furnished inhumations (Dickinson 1974, p5-7). It is possible that the range of grave-goods found at Asthall is comparable to that from Cuddesdon in a way that earlier cremation grave-goods were not comparable to those from inhumations. Urned cremations seem to contain only selected remains of funerary goods after their retrieval from a pyre. At Asthall, however, the barrow may well have been constructed over the pyre and as a result, it may have sealed the remains of the full range of grave-goods accompanying the cremated individual. The Cuddesdon and Asthall barrow grave-goods may therefore provide indications of the type and quantity of artefacts associated with barrow burial despite the different methods of funerary treatment.

c. Settlements

Settlements account for just over twenty percent of the total number of sites sampled in the upper Thames valley. Only several of these sites have been extensively excavated, the others are comprised of a single settlement structure or a very small area of domestic occupation. In these circumstances it is very difficult and in most cases inappropriate to compare quantified totals for the presence of artefacts and commodities from the latter sites with the more extensively excavated settlements. Two of the settlements selected did not contain any of the commodities chosen for detailed analysis. They were still included in the sample, however, in the interests of the statistical integrity of the sampling strategy.

18. The figures for percentage confidence levels of radio-carbon dates after calibration with the Stuiver and Pearson curve are quotations from Haddon-Reece's work on the samples from the graves at Queenford Farm (Haddon-Reece 1988, p.58) and from Aitken's discussion of confidence levels and calibration of radio-carbon samples. There is a difference between the quoted confidence levels. At one standard deviation, Haddon-Reece suggested a 62% confidence level. Aitken attributed a 68% confidence level for dates at one standard deviation. Similarly, at two standard deviations, Haddon-Reece gave a 93% confidence level for dates whereas Aitken gave a 95% confidence level (Haddon-Reece 1988, p.58; Aitken 1990, p.96-105).

Due to the relative rarity of datable artefacts from settlement deposits, quantified distributions from settlements are not differentiated by date within the period 400-700 AD. Instead, artefact and raw material quantities are related to the number of deposits from which they were derived. Settlement distributions are analysed separately from the more easily datable cemetery remains. The character of these distributions is discussed with regard to the evidence they provide for any craft specialisation and production which could have underpinned exchange in luxuries, mainly found in cemeteries.

7.2 Geographical patterning in the distribution of commodities through time

i) The fifth century

Seven sites within the sample provide evidence for occupation during the fifth century. Only five of these sites exhibit 'Anglo-Saxon' material culture (see figure 7.1). These sites include the four mixed cemeteries of Abingdon-Staxton Road, Brighthampton, Long Wittenham 1 and Wallingford and the settlement of Sutton Courtenay. None of these sites contain exclusively fifth century material, however. All have a greater quantity of sixth, and in some cases early seventh century remains.

There are also two non-Anglo-Saxon sites with probable fifth century remains (see figure 7.1). The first of these is the cemetery of Queenford Farm at Dorchester-on-Thames. Five radio-carbon accelerator dating samples were taken from skeletal remains from graves at this cemetery. All produced fifth and sixth century uncalibrated dates. After calibration with the Stuiver and Pearson curve a mean date range of AD 530-550, at a 62 percent level of confidence, and an AD 430-630 date range at a 93 percent level of confidence were produced (Haddon-Reece 1988, p58).¹⁸ The fact that five samples were taken and that all the dates were

coherent within two standard deviations (ie. had a 93-95 percent confidence level) suggests that the integrity of these samples and their subsequent dating should be respected (Aitken 1990, p95-96). If contamination of the samples had taken place it would be expected that one or more of the dates would lie outside the 93-95 percent confidence span (Aitken 1990, p107).

The second site that has yielded probable evidence of occupation during the fifth century is that of Beech House Hotel in Dorchester-on-Thames (Rowley and Brown 1982, p1-55). The commodity distributions from this site are presented with those from other settlement remains in a later section, however, it is relevant to discuss certain features of this site below. The excavations yielded evidence of domestic structures, indicating floors and foundations for houses during different post-Roman phases up to the ninth century or later. The first and second post-Roman phases, identified by possible sunken-feature buildings and subsequent floor areas, are likely to date to the fifth and sixth centuries. The so-called 'sunken feature' buildings were extremely irregular in plan and may, in fact, have been pits (Rowley and Brown 1982, p12). There is certainly nothing diagnostically 'Anglo-Saxon' about the assemblages from these phases. Much of the material is residual from the Roman period. It is possible that the settlement evidence from these layers represents occupation by the native British during the fifth-sixth centuries in this part of Dorchester. The coin list from the site shows an unusually high proportion of coins of the House of Theodosius indicating occupation into the fifth century (Nash, King and Metcalf 1988, p49). There is no reason to suppose an end in the occupation of the Dorchester settlement. Beech House Hotel post-Roman phases 1 and 2 could indicate continued native occupation in the area of the old 'town', gradually undergoing a process of de-Romanization.

Looking at the sites exhibiting Anglo-Saxon material culture, it is appropriate to start discussion of commodity distribution with a reminder that quantified data from cremation and inhumation graves are not comparable. As a result, all expressions

of commodity totals for this period must be carefully qualified. Figure 7.2 shows the total number of iron and copper-alloy objects present in cremation graves of fifth century date in cemeteries within the upper Thames sample. These totals are qualified in figure 7.3, which shows the number of cremation graves of this date containing iron and copper-alloy artefacts. Many of the copper-alloy and iron objects have been distorted by heat but a significant number retain datable characteristics. Within three quarters of the cemeteries containing these commodities, cremation graves form a very small minority of the total number of graves.

Gold, silver and tinned objects were absent from all of the fifth century cremation data analysed. This is also the case with amber, however, the absence of this commodity is more likely to be due to its combustible nature. It may, therefore, have been destroyed during the cremation rite.

The distribution of vessel glass is extremely interesting when compared with sixth and early seventh century distributions. All vessel glass occurred in the form of fragments; three quarters of the fragments were subjected to heat and form part of cremation grave assemblages. Figure 7.4 shows the number of vessel glass fragments deposited during the second-half of the fifth century, together with the number of deposition contexts in which they were placed. For this purpose I have included the example from Sutton Courtenay - sunken feature building 106 - as this context is dated by the presence of a large silvered equal-armed brooch of fifth century manufacture (see Volume 2, photograph appendix). There is not much of a distinction between quantity or the number of graves in which vessel glass is found. If the percentage of fifth century sites with vessel glass is examined, however, it is clear that vessel glass was far more frequent during the fifth century than in the sixth and seventh centuries (see figure 7.5). A particular contrast can be observed in the distribution of vessel glass during the sixth century, which saw a sharp decline in deposition and, by inference, access to vessel glass.

Anglo-Saxon communities could have acquired vessel glass in two ways, either in the form of complete glass vessels or as glass fragments which may have acted as curios or provided a basic raw material for bead working. Unfortunately, all the vessel glass fragments from fifth century deposits were either too small to be classified by form or were without diagnostic decoration. As a result, suggested sources for the glass fragments in cremation graves are hypothetical. The first possibility is that the majority of the fragments found in fifth century graves were manufactured in the late Roman period before AD 400. The glass of this period may have been a native or continental product. The second possibility is that some of the vessel glass arrived in the form of complete vessels from the continent during the fifth century. No other commodities selected for analysis were present in datable fifth century Anglo-Saxon graves in the upper Thames sample.

At a different level, the analysis of the distribution of specific artefact types deposited or produced in the fifth century may shed light on specific issues relating to exchange, eg. transport within the region. Evidence for the ability to move around the landscape on horseback has only come from Beech House Hotel at Dorchester-on-Thames. An almost complete iron snaffle bit (BEEC 1 in Volume 3) and two other pieces of possible horse harness (Henig 1988, p45-47) were found associated with the house occupation spreads. There is no reason to suppose that these objects were residual from an earlier period or that they were not used for the purpose for which they were made. Horse riding gear has only been found elsewhere in a probable seventh century ditch deposit at Shakenoak.

A second specific set of artefacts which shed light on exchange or population movement from the mid fifth-early sixth centuries can be seen in the deposition of imported swords in a small number of male inhumation graves in the upper Thames valley. Their distribution can be seen in figure 8.4. Elements of the sword or scabbard fittings can be directly paralleled with examples buried in male graves in the Low countries and northern Germany, eg. the anthropomorphic sword chapes at

Abingdon-Staxton Road are almost identical to an example from Krefeld-Gellep in northern Germany (Bohme 1974, plate 77). Other male graves with sword burials in the upper Thames valley come from Long Wittenham 1 (Clutterbuck 1848, p291-294; Akerman 1860 p87), Brighthampton (Akerman 1860, p87), Fairford (Roach-Smith 1853, p79), Eynsham (Ashmolean Museum records) and Watchfield (Scull 1993, p161-162).

Male inhumation graves are notoriously difficult to date. In the past the swords have been used to give chronological markers for the particular male graves in which they occur. The recurrent pattern of at least two sword burials in the larger mixed burial practice cemeteries in the upper Thames region has been dated between the mid fifth and the first half of the sixth century. When the swords were deposited within this period, however, is uncertain. It is reasonable to suggest that the swords were exclusive to males of high social status and that they would have stayed in circulation while their use was functionally beneficial to its user and his community for practical and display purposes in life. Once these roles became less essential, they may have become more important for displays of wealth and social status in death (James 1979, p77; Vallet 1986, p53-54). The swords may have been procured by Anglo-Saxon groups on the continent before migration to Britain or via exchange contacts after settlement in the upper Thames valley.

ii) The sixth century

Sixth century sites form the largest component of the upper Thames sample, as they did in East Yorkshire. Figure 7.6 shows their distribution within the region. Among the cemeteries with graves dating from this period, inhumation was the universal burial practice. This allowed direct comparison of a range of commodities from furnished graves. There were also a significant number of graves without grave-goods in the Anglo-Saxon cemeteries, however. The percentage of burials with

grave-goods in each cemetery analysed is noted in the tables summarising commodity distributions in Volume 2, Appendix 1. The radio-carbon dated graves from the Queenford Farm cemetery also indicate that native unfurnished inhumation burial continued at this cemetery in the sixth century.

Figures 7.7 to 7.10 show the distribution of iron and copper-alloy in Anglo-Saxon cemeteries with early-mid sixth century graves. The histograms showing commodity quantities are qualified in each instance with a histogram indicating the number of graves in which iron and copper-alloy were found in each cemetery. The quantities of iron and copper-alloy artefacts correspond with the number of graves dating from this period ie the greater the number of graves, the greater the number of copper-alloy and iron artefacts recovered. The distributions from the cemetery at Berinsfield on the outskirts of Dorchester-on-Thames, however, provide an exception to the above pattern. In comparison with cemeteries of similar size at Abingdon-Staxton Road and Long Wittenham 1, the Berinsfield graves contain almost twice the number of iron objects, yet the number of graves dating from the early-mid sixth century are very similar (see figures 7.7 and 7.8). At the same time, there are far fewer copper-alloy objects at Berinsfield in comparison with graves from Abingdon and Long Wittenham (see figures 7.9 and 7.10).

This discrepancy at the Berinsfield cemetery is best explained by the large number of male graves compared to female graves (nineteen male burials to seven female burials). The large number of iron objects can be related to the large number of male graves from this period accompanied with spearheads, knives and, in many cases, shield bosses. Since female graves tend to contain more copper-alloy artefacts, in the form of dress accessories, than male graves, the small quantity of copper-alloy objects at Berinsfield may be related to the small number of female graves.

The different distribution patterns of iron objects between Abingdon, Long Wittenham and Berinsfield may also be influenced by two further factors, however.

First, Berinsfield was excavated more recently than the two other cemeteries of comparable size. As a result of modern recording and storage techniques more of the iron artefacts may have survived from Berinsfield, whereas artefacts from Long Wittenham and Abingdon could have decayed. The second factor which could affect interpretation of iron and copper-alloy distributions from Berinsfield is the problem of dating male Anglo-Saxon graves in the sixth century. To a certain extent the large number of male graves dated to the first half of the sixth century at Berinsfield may be the result of the dates attributed to the graves in this thesis. The difference between the number of male and female graves interred during the early-mid sixth century in reality may not have been as great.

Figures 7.11 to 7.14 show the distribution of iron and copper-alloy objects in relation to the number of graves containing them in cemeteries with mid-late sixth century depositions. Again the number of iron and copper-alloy objects reflects the number of graves in each cemetery from this period. It is not possible to suggest that any cemetery population deposited significantly greater quantities of iron or copper-alloy artefacts than their contemporaries in the course of funerary ritual, during the second half of the sixth century. If different communities in the upper Thames valley did have different levels of access to iron and copper-alloy, this is not indicated in the cemeteries.

The percentage of sites with vessel glass declined sharply over the sixth century in comparison with the fifth century (see figure 7.5). The total number of depositions can be seen in figure 7.15. With one exception all the vessel glass was deposited in the form of fragments in female graves. Vessel glass only occurred in five sixth century contexts (see figure 7.16). A complete glass vessel has been recovered from one of the sites examined, in the west of the valley at the small cemetery called Cassington-'Smith's Pit'. This cemetery may have been larger, the analysed grave group was found during gravel extraction (Ashmolean Museum records; Leeds and Riley 1942, p61-62; Leeds 1944, p193-196). A cone beaker accompanied a sixth

century male burial together with a spear, knife, shield-boss and bronze-bound bucket. The beaker could be a product of the second half of the fifth century or the sixth century. However, there is no doubt that it is an import from the continent, whether it was produced in France, the Low countries or the Rhineland. The only other imported glass vessel found in the upper Thames valley comes from the cemetery at Fairford (Roach-Smith 1853, p79-80). This cemetery is also located in the west of the upper Thames basin.

Gold artefacts were entirely absent from the upper Thames valley during the sixth century, however, significant quantities of silver and tin were present. The number of objects incorporating silver and tin are not large, nor are they found in a large number of deposition contexts, yet their geographical distribution is quite widespread (see figures 7.17 and 7.18). In the upper Thames valley, tin was used as a decorative embellishment on certain copper-alloy dress accessories. Silver was also used to decorate copper-alloy, and in some cases iron artefacts but solid silver artefacts occur in their own right as well.

Figures 7.19 to 7.23 illustrate the trends in the distribution of tinned and silver or silvered artefacts during the sixth century in the upper Thames valley. In cemeteries with early-mid sixth century graves, the number of tinned objects was greater than the number of silver or silvered artefacts (see figure 7.19). During the second half of the sixth century silver/silvered and tinned objects were distributed widely throughout the upper Thames basin. In the majority of cases, silver and tin were found in the same cemeteries but in contrast to the distribution pattern from the first half of the sixth century, the number of tinned objects relative to the number of silver or silvered objects had declined by the mid-late sixth century (see figure 7.21). This may reflect a genuine decrease in the use or demand for tinning at this time. Alternatively, the use of tin may have remained static while access to silver increased.

The figures showing the number of silver or silvered artefacts deposited in

cemeteries understate the increase in access to a greater volume of silver from the mid sixth century. From this time a greater number of solid silver artefacts were deposited in graves eg armlets, 'earrings', etc. It would appear that there was a real increase in the quantity of silver deposited in the upper Thames valley from the mid sixth century. This can be inferred from the larger number of cemeteries containing graves with silver and from the forms in which silver was deposited. The source of the silver for the inhabitants of the upper Thames basin in the sixth century is not known, however.

Tinning was mainly used as a form of decoration for two types of 'Anglo-Saxon' brooch in the upper Thames valley - disc brooches and broad-banded flat annular brooches. Both were female dress accessories. The disc brooch is the most common form of brooch found in the upper Thames valley. Dickinson estimated that 48 percent of the disc brooches from the region were tinned (Dickinson 1976, volume , p119). She also suggested that the upper Thames valley was one of the main areas of manufacture of disc brooches (Dickinson 1979, p52). This brooch type is unknown in the Anglo-Saxon homelands; its form, incised 'bull's eye' motif decoration and the use of tinning as an embellishment led Tania Dickinson to the conclusion that disc brooches were an Anglo-Saxon adaptation of a brooch form current among the post-Roman native population (Dickinson 1976, volume 1, p122). The broad or wide-banded flat annular brooches, found in smaller numbers than disc brooches, were also thought to have evolved as an Anglo-Saxon adaptation of a native brooch type - the quoit brooch, however, a detailed study by Barry Ager has suggested that their origin lies in northern Europe alongside other Anglo-Saxon dress accessories (Ager 1985, p8). He suggested that the broad-band flat annular brooches should be seen as a particular regional variant of the wider range of annular brooches, analogous with the narrower flat annular brooches found in eastern England. While this form of brooch may owe its origins to northern Europe and its subsequent development to Anglo-Saxon regional dress styles once in

England, the use of tin decoration implies native British influence, as well. The source of the tin used to decorate these brooches was not considered in the course of analysing their decorative styles, however.

A small number of tinned objects found in graves do not indicate possible native influence on their decoration. This group of artefacts is comprised of highly tinned 'speculum' objects, often in the form of belt fittings and in one case, a ring from Brighthampton. A recently excavated set of speculum tinned copper-alloy belt fittings came from a wealthy male grave at the cemetery at Watchfield in south-west Oxfordshire (Scull 1986, p127-128; Scull 1993, p173-182). In comparison with the quantity of tinned disc and broad banded annular brooches, their number is very small. They are significant, however, for the indication they provide of long distance contacts with areas outside the Thames valley rather than for their numbers. They have been regarded as 'Frankish' products, manufactured in the Low countries, northern France or northern Germany (Scull 1986, p127), though they may not have been obtained via direct links with the continent.

While the tin for the 'speculum' decorated artefacts was probably derived from a continental European source, the insular development of the disc and broad banded flat annular brooches and their decorative schemes, suggests that a native British source of tin was utilised in their production. This tin source is best assumed to have been Cornwall (Hill 1981, p111). There is limited archaeological and some historical evidence for tin having been mined and exported from Cornwall between the fifth and early eighth centuries. The regular use of tin on disc and annular brooches would suggest a consistent demand for the raw material. The use of tin on insular developments of Anglo-Saxon dress accessories and the probability of exchange between the British controlled areas of Cornwall, Devon and Somerset and the Anglo-Saxon upper Thames basin are analysed within a detailed consideration of cross-cultural exchange between native and immigrant populations in the fifth and sixth centuries in the following chapter.

During the sixth century, rock crystal appeared for the first time, in the form of spherical beads in necklaces or in the form of large faceted 'beads' which may have been worn as charms at the hip, eg. Brighthampton grave 22 (Akerman 1860, p86). All the rock crystal objects in the upper Thames valley were in female burials, as is the case in other Anglo-Saxon areas of Britain at this time. A significant proportion of cemeteries with sixth century graves contained rock crystal. The geographical distribution of rock crystal on sites sampled, is shown in figure 7.24. Like silver objects, they occur in very small numbers among a very small proportion of female graves. Seven cemeteries contain rock crystal. The quantities and number of graves in which they occur can be seen in figures 7.25 and 7.26. The majority were deposited from the mid-late sixth century. The overall number of rock crystal objects deposited in each cemetery were surprisingly similar despite large variation in the number of sixth century graves between cemeteries. They also occur in a very similar number of graves in the range of seven cemeteries. As a result, figure 7.27 showing the percentage of graves with rock crystal objects in each cemetery is heavily biased. The larger the cemetery, the smaller percentage of graves with rock crystal and vice versa. The similar figures for the number of rock crystal objects per cemetery and the number of graves in which the commodity was deposited are likely to be the more useful statistics in illustrating the deposition pattern of rock crystal (see figures 7.25 and 7.26). It is fair to assume that rock crystal deposition, and by assumption access to rock crystal, was confined to a very small section of Anglo-Saxon communities. The commodity only tends to be found in very rich female graves during the sixth century.

While the source of the rock crystal is unknown, Huggett suggested that it could have been derived from British sources, at least for the smaller examples (Huggett 1988, p70). Meaney believed, however, that all rock crystal was imported, bearing in mind the direct parallels with continental finds (Meaney 1981, p77-82). Small bound 'crystal balls', derived from 'Frankish' areas, are completely absent from sites

in the upper Thames sample though there is one example from Fairford, which was not in the sample (Ashmolean Museum records and Huggett 1988, p70). The general lack of crystal balls in the region corroborates Huggett's observation that crystal balls were confined almost exclusively to Kent during the sixth century (Meaney 1981, p86; Huggett 1988, p72).

In contrast to rock crystal, amber was found in almost all cemeteries with sixth century graves. It occurs in the form of beads, the majority were incorporated into necklaces in female graves but in rare cases, single large amber beads acted as sword beads in male graves deposited at the latest, during the first half of the sixth century (Akerman 1860, p87). Sword beads from the upper Thames valley were also made of glass, however (Akerman 1860, p88). As Sonia Hawkes has observed, there is a general trend for the number of amber beads deposited in female graves to rise sharply over the course of the sixth century into the early seventh century (Matthews and Hawkes 1985, p93-96). Using the largest cemeteries as examples, however, it can be seen from figures 7.28 to 7.31, that the overall number of graves containing amber did not alter significantly.

The amber beads are likely to have been derived from the southern Baltic Sea area, although there are small sources along the East Anglian coast. The great increase in the quantity of amber beads during the second half of the sixth century, without a significant increase in the number of graves in which it occurred, does suggest an increase in the quantity of amber being exchanged. However, amber is a low bulk commodity. Numbers of beads available could have significantly increased without an increase in frequency or scale of exchange contacts, but the increase might indicate a change in the scale of production on the continent.

iii) The 7th century

The discussion of commodity distribution during the seventh century has been split

into two parts based on chronology:-

- a) The early-mid seventh century
- b) The mid seventh-early eighth century

The division was made because of changes in depositional patterns over the course of the seventh century, relating particularly to inhumation cemetery contexts - although cremation burials did occur, eg. Asthall and possibly Leafield, Chalford and Spelsbury Down (Leeds 1924, p113-125; Dickinson and Speake 1992, p115-116).

The large mixed cemeteries went out of use in the early seventh century. They were replaced by small inhumation cemeteries on different sites founded sometime in the first half of the seventh century. Many of the cemeteries of this date are unlikely to have been completely excavated, therefore, commodity distributions are difficult to interpret. The seventh century also saw the interment of inhumation and cremation burials in barrows. These barrows were constructed in the early-mid seventh century and are not secondary interments in Bronze Age barrows, like the East Yorkshire and certain Peak District examples (Mortimer 1905; Bateman 1848, Bateman 1861).

Figure 7.32 shows the distribution of sites with seventh century depositions in the upper Thames valley sample, including settlements and cemeteries. Analysis of commodity distribution during the first half of the seventh century involved examination of grave assemblages from the final phases of deposition at the large mixed cemeteries and other mainly sixth century inhumation cemeteries, together with the analysis of the inhumation grave assemblages from the earliest phases of the cemeteries founded during the first half of the seventh century. Barrow depositions are also discussed. The analysis of commodity distribution from the mid seventh century- early eighth century is based on data from the inhumation

cemeteries founded in the seventh century, some of which may have continued in use until the early eighth century.

a) The early-mid seventh century

Figures 7.33 and 7.34 show the distribution of iron and copper-alloy objects from cemeteries and barrow burials and the number of graves influencing this distribution during the first half of the seventh century. The information which can be drawn from these figures is very limited. Only Yelford and Stanlake 1 contain over twenty graves from this period probably deposited nearer the middle of the seventh century than the beginning (Ashmolean Museum records - Stephen Stone donation). The small number of iron and copper-alloy objects deposited at this time may either be related to a change in fashion of burial, change in the style of dress or the developing influence of the Christian church at this time (Boddington 1990, p177-178). The cremation burial at Asthall should also be dated towards the middle of the seventh century. The latter produced a large assemblage of heat damaged artefacts. Figure 7.33 clearly indicates the bias that rich single barrow burials can have when artefact totals are compared, however, with use of figure 7.34 the richest depositions can be differentiated.

Figures 7.35, 36 and 37 show the distribution of silver and tinned objects in cemeteries with early-mid seventh century depositions. A distinction must be drawn between the sites of Abingdon-Staxton Road (Leeds and Harden 1936), Cassington-Purwell Farm (Leeds and Riley 1940, p62-70) and Wheatley (Leeds 1917, p48-65) and the sites of Stanlake and Asthall. The depositions from the three former sites represent the final phase of deposition at cemeteries used over the course of the sixth century, and in the case of Abingdon from the fifth century. The Stanlake cemetery was founded in the seventh century, while the Asthall cremation was placed in an isolated barrow during the early-mid seventh century. The types of

artefact incorporating silver or tin in the early seventh century graves from Abingdon, Cassington and Wheatley are very similar to those of the second half of the sixth century eg tinned copper-alloy dress accessories and silvered accessories with a small number of solid silver artefacts. In contrast, silver was deposited in the Asthall barrow in the form of a silver vessel. Only several fragments were recovered, however. The one tinned object found at Stanlake is very unusual since it was probably deposited towards the middle of the seventh century. It marks the final decline in the use of tinning as a form of decoration on Anglo-Saxon dress accessories in the upper Thames valley. Only a single grave in each of the cemeteries with graves from this period contained artefacts incorporating silver or tin (figure 7.36). The percentage of the cemetery populations which these graves represent is shown in figure 7.37. The Asthall result should be disregarded since it would appear that only one individual was interred within the barrow (Leeds 1924, p117-118).

Only one site within the sample contained an artefact incorporating gold from this period. This artefact was found in a grave at the cemetery of Chadlington on the borders of Wychwood (Leeds 1940, p23-30). The gold forms part of the decoration of a composite copper, gold, shell and lead bead. As it is an isolated example, it will be discussed in relation to the gold depositions of the mid-late seventh century later in this section.

Three sites with early-mid seventh century depositions contained vessel glass within their artefact assemblages. Complete vessels have only been found at Cuddesdon. The latter was a barrow cemetery or a single barrow which contained a number of inhumations (Akerman 1855, p11-12 and p28-29; Dickinson 1974, p5-25). Vessel glass fragments were also found in graves at Abingdon-Staxton Road and Stanlake 1. The distribution of vessel glass at this time can be seen in figure 7.15. The Abingdon grave should be dated to the early seventh century, whereas the Cuddesdon and Stanlake examples are best dated towards the middle of the

century. The forms in which the vessel glass was deposited are different at each site. The examples from Abingdon are pieces of yellow and green vessel glass, cut and incorporated into a heart shaped cloisonne applique. The glass fragment at Stanlake is deposited in the form reminiscent of the sixth century, as a curio in a female grave, while at Cuddesdon, at least one and possibly two blue glass bowls were deposited with their male or female inhumations in a barrow or barrows. The one example that survives is decorated with white marvered glass trails. It is either an import from Frankish areas or it may be a product of glass workers from Anglo-Saxon Kent.

The first half of the seventh century also saw the demise of the use of amber beads as dress accessories. Amber only occurs on five sites falling within this date range. They are shown in figure 7.38 together with the number of graves containing amber in figure 7.39. The commodity only occurs in two cemeteries founded in the seventh century - at Stanlake 1 and Yelford.

A new commodity appearing in the region during the first-half of the seventh century is amethyst. This is thought to be ultimately derived from Egypt (Huggett 1988, p66; Campbell 1982, p64), however, Meaney also suggested that the amethyst in Anglo-Saxon graves may have originated in India (Meaney 1981, p75-77). Whichever the source, the amethyst artefacts in Anglo-Saxon cemeteries were certainly imported from the continent. Amethyst was usually deposited in female graves in the form of 'pear-shaped' beads, though the example shown in plate 7.1 comes from a settlement deposit at Radley (Leeds, Ashmolean Museum records). Evidence from graves in the upper Thames valley at Stanlake and Yelford suggests that amethyst beads did not start to be deposited in the upper Thames valley before the middle of the seventh century. They are thought to have been obtained via Kent where large numbers have been found, deposited from the end of the sixth century (Huggett 1988, p66). The upper Thames trend, however, is directly comparable to the deposition of amethyst in East Yorkshire. The distribution of this commodity is best



AMETHYST BEAD FROM RADLEY
(SCALE X1.25)



GOLD AND CABOCHON GARNET PENDANTS FROM STANLAKE 1
(SCALE X2)



GOLD BULLA FROM DUCKLINGTON
(SCALE X1.5)

PLATE 7.1

(PHOTOGRAPHS TAKEN BY AUTHOR WITH KIND
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discussed in the context of other amethyst depositions in the mid-late seventh century below.

b) The mid-late seventh century

The majority of cemeteries with graves dating from the mid-late seventh century are only partially excavated, for example, the cemeteries at Milton, Ducklington, Long Wittenham 2 and North Leigh. As a result, examination of the regional distribution of quantities of artefacts made from different raw materials has a limited use in suggesting regional differences in access to certain commodities. The artefacts that were recovered, however, do indicate changes in the level of access and deposition of certain types of imported artefact and raw material despite the small sample of graves.

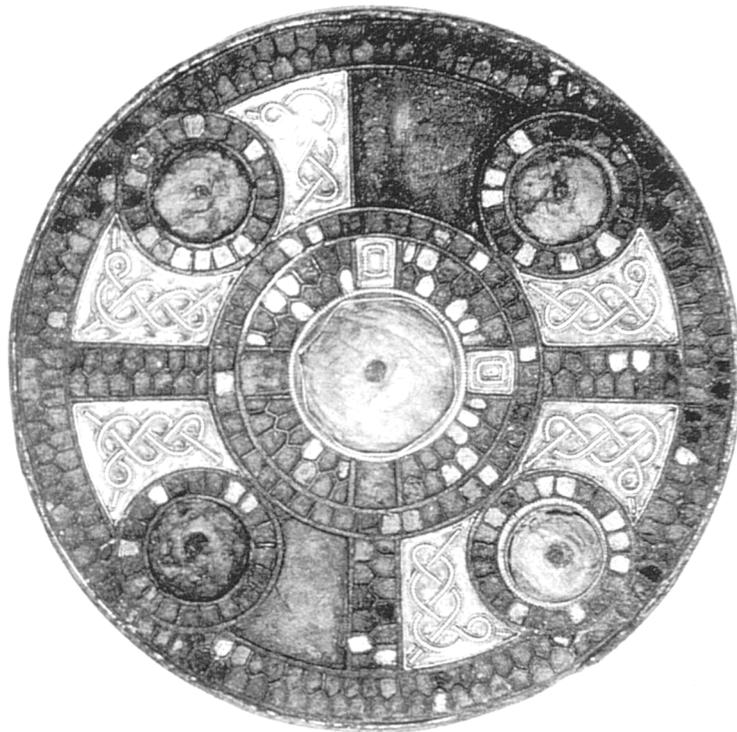
Figures 7.40 and 7.41 show the distribution of iron and copper-alloy in cemeteries with mid-late seventh century graves. The only significant figures are those for Chadlington and Stanlake 1 where reasonably large cemetery populations were recovered (Leeds 1940, p23-40; Ashmolean Museum records - Stephen Stone donation; Brown 1973, p223-238). The histograms show the small number of iron and copper-alloy objects deposited and the small number of graves in which they were found. These graves can be compared with the total number of excavated graves from each cemetery shown on the tables in Appendix 1, Volume 2). Iron was deposited in the form of knives, belt fittings, dress accessories and box fittings, while in certain male graves seaxes are deposited, eg. at North Leigh (Leeds 1940, p21-23). Copper-alloy was interred in the form of dress accessories or as binding for other objects.

From the mid seventh century, gold objects were placed in Anglo-Saxon graves for the first time in the upper Thames valley. They have also been recovered as a result of chance finds. Gold is found in forms common to other parts of mid-late seventh

century Anglo-Saxon England, for example, gold bound cabachon garnet pendants at Stanlake (plate 7.1), a gold bulla or shield pendant from Ducklington (plate 7.1) and as gold sheet and filigree decoration on composite jewellery such as the Milton brooch (plate 7.2). The distribution of gold artefacts on sites within the upper Thames sample, together with the number of graves and percentage of cemetery populations with gold artefacts are shown in figures 7.42-7.44.

Access to gold was exceptionally limited. All gold objects found in cemeteries came from female graves. The gold and cloisonne garnet pyramid stud found as a chance find at Dorchester-on-Thames in 1776, however, would best be attributed to a male grave or a chance loss from sword or scabbard fittings (Dickinson 1974, p25-30; Rutherford-Davies 1982, p45). Three gold coins found at Dorchester may also have been associated with the pyramid stud. They are the only gold coins which have been found in the upper Thames valley. Coinage was the probable source of gold for the gold artefacts deposited from the mid seventh century. It would all appear to have been imported into the region. The three gold coins from Dorchester were not all minted in the seventh century, however. One of the coins was minted in the late fourth century, in the reign of the western Roman emperor Valentinian I; the second coin was a tremissis of the Byzantine emperor Mauricius Tiberius (582-602 AD), or a contemporary Merovingian copy of his tremissis coinage. The third coin was a seventh century Anglo-Saxon gold shilling with direct parallels with coins from the Crondall hoard in Hampshire. This hoard is thought to have been deposited in the mid seventh century (Dickinson 1974, p25; Appendix 2, Volume 2). If the earlier coins were associated with the seventh century example, all can be regarded as mid-seventh century depositions, however, it is not possible to tell when the earlier coins began circulating in the upper Thames Valley.

Artefacts incorporating silver were present at five cemeteries with graves deposited during the mid-late seventh century (see figure 7.45). Silver is either found as a decorative embellishment on composite jewellery, for example, the Milton brooch



THE MILTON COMPOSITE DISC BROOCH
(SCALE X1.35)

PLATE 7.2

(PHOTOGRAPHS BY AUTHOR WITH KIND
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and the Frankish silver-leaf decorated iron cross from Stanlake (plate 7.3), or in the form of solid silver dress accessories, such as the chain-linked pins from Long Wittenham 2 (plate 7.3). Since most of the cemeteries containing silver objects are only partially excavated, however, it is not possible to make comparisons relating to levels of access to silver within the upper Thames valley from cemetery evidence at this time. The figures for the percentage of graves with access to silver in each cemetery are unreliable due to the small number of excavated graves at Ducklington, Milton and Long Wittenham 2 (see figure 7.46).

From the late seventh-early eighth century, silver was deposited in non-cemetery contexts in the form of the primary silver sceatta coinage. Figure 7.47 shows the distribution of primary and early secondary series sceattas in the upper Thames region. The single largest deposition of primary series sceattas in Britain comes from the hoard found at Aston Rowant, on the edge of the Chilterns near the Icknield Way on the eastern edge of the upper Thames study area. At present, this hoard is one of a few identifiable deliberate depositions of these coins. Other finds in the upper Thames valley either appear to be unassociated accidental losses or components of settlement assemblages, such as Shakenoak (Brodrigg et al 1972, p35). Aston Rowant is also exceptional because of its scale. 324 sceattas were recovered. It is thought that the hoard was deposited in the first decade of the eighth century. A full breakdown of the sceatta types from this hoard is based on the work of Kent, Rigold and Metcalf and can be seen in Appendix 2 in volume 2 (Kent 1972, p243-4; Rigold and Metcalf 1984, p246 and Archibald 1991, p65). A range of Anglo-Saxon primary series sceattas were found in the hoard but by far the largest constituent consisted of Type D Frisian Runic sceattas minted in the Netherlands. There were 162 examples. There were also a large number of 'Porcupine' series E sceattas, produced in both Frisia and England. The Aston Rowant examples are more likely to be Frisian. Only 8 examples of Frankish denarial coinage were found. The location of the hoard on the northern edge of the Chilterns on the 'Icknield Way'



CHAIN-LINKED SILVER PINS FROM LONG WITTENHAM 2
(SCALE X1.35)



IRON CROSS PENDANT WITH SILVER INLAY DECORATION
FROM STANLAKE 1 (SCALE X1.35)

PLATE 7.3

(PHOTOGRAPHS BY AUTHOR WITH KIND
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AND THE BRITISH MUSEUM)

and its composition are discussed in the following chapter when considering patterns of inter-regional exchange between the upper Thames valley and its neighbours.

Only two other commodities designated for study were found in the archaeological deposits dating to the mid-late seventh century - vessel glass and amethyst. Both were found in very small quantities. Two sites produced glass vessel fragments. A broken palm cup in blue glass was found in grave 8 at Stanlake 1 and two fragments of a green glass vessel with white 'feathered' marvered glass trail decoration, were found in a broadly datable seventh-early eighth century ditch deposit at Shakenoak (see figure 7.48). The palm cup could have been manufactured in the Merovingian Frankish kingdoms or possibly Kent (Wilson 1971, p111). Whether it was made in Kent or on the continent, the palm cup was probably imported into the upper Thames valley via Kent. Harden found the Shakenoak vessel glass very difficult to source, though he suggested that the style of decoration was northern French (Harden 1972, p68). This vessel must also have been imported.

Only three amethyst beads were recovered from the entire upper Thames sample. Two of the three were found in graves dating to the mid-late seventh century, the other was found in a sunken-feature building at Radley by E T Leeds (Ashmolean Museum records). The two graves containing pear-shaped amethyst beads were found in cemeteries in the west of the upper Thames valley at Yelford and Stanlake 1 (see figures 7.49 and 7.50). The most important comment on the distribution of amethyst is the extreme rarity of the commodity in the upper Thames valley. Far more amethyst beads were found in East Yorkshire.

iv) Commodity distribution in settlements from 400-700 AD

As a result of the difficulty in dating the majority of settlement deposits in anything

but the broadest terms within the period 400-700 AD, the commodity distributions from settlements warranted a separate section from the discussion of commodity distribution within more defined chronological phases. Artefacts from eight settlements were studied in the upper Thames sample. Figure 7.51 shows their location within the study area. Unfortunately, the information on commodity distribution yielded from the settlement remains was limited by two factors. First, the range of artefacts recovered merited comparison of the distributions of only four commodities. Secondly, the likelihood of these distributions reflecting regional trends in use and access to these commodities on settlements is severely limited by the varying extent of the excavated areas of settlements.

Figures 7.52 to 7.55 show the distribution of iron, copper-alloy, antler and vessel glass objects among the settlements. It is best to discard the evidence from the settlement deposits at Yelford, Cassington-Purwell Farm and Yarnton as only a small number of settlement features were excavated from each site. The settlement deposit from Yelford was disturbed by chance while excavating the nearby Anglo-Saxon cemetery (Ashmolean Museum records). The Cassington-Purwell Farm finds were also obtained from a small number of structures. Only bone artefacts were found, however, so they are not represented in the distributions shown in the above figures. The Yarnton settlement remains may have come from a disturbed sunken-feature building (Ashmolean Museum records). It may have been part of the settlement currently being excavated at Yarnton, however, this is not certain.

Before discussing the distributions, it is also necessary to note two further points on the nature of the settlement features containing artefacts. The first point relates to the sites of Barrow Hills, Radley and Barton Court Farm. All three sites were excavated at different times, hence the different names, however, since all the sites are immediately adjacent to each other they may be different parts of the same settlement inhabited at different stages in its development from the late fifth-seventh centuries (Miles 1984, p2). The vast majority of the artefacts from Barton Court Farm

have been represented in the figures illustrating commodity distribution within cemeteries. Since the commodities analysed from settlement deposits were absent from the settlement structures, the site has not been included in the separate analysis of settlements. When examining the distributions from Radley and Barrow Hills, however, it is important to remember that they could come from the same settlement. The second point concerning the deposits yielding artefacts on settlements relates to the site at Shakenoak. The large group of finds came from a very limited number of deposits. The vast majority came from one small area of a ditch deposit dating from the seventh-early eighth century (Brodrigg, Hands and Walker 1972, p14).

The distribution of iron artefacts from the settlements is likely to bear little relation to the use of iron on these sites in reality. Only three of the distributions merit comparison, the Barrow Hills, Sutton Courtenay and Shakenoak artefact groups (see figure 7.52). The Sutton Courtenay iron artefacts were recovered from over twenty-seven sunken-feature buildings and pits. The Barrow Hills group were all recovered from a large number of sunken-feature buildings, 'hall' foundation layers and other features. The iron objects found on these settlements contrast with those from Shakenoak in that all the iron artefacts from the latter site were recovered from one part of a ditch deposit.

The range of iron objects deposited in the ditch included iron working tongs and awls. The presence of tools and the size of the Shakenoak deposit seems to indicate that it was a rubbish area, associated with ironworking. An iron smelting furnace was also excavated nearby. Clef^e concluded that this was contemporary with the iron debris in the ditch (Clef^e 1972, p117-118). Shakenoak was also located close to an iron source - the Fawler ironstone deposits (Powell 1972, p145). Taken together the evidence suggests that certain inhabitants at the Shakenoak settlement were smiths and that the community had a high level of access to iron. There is an alternative explanation, however, to the discrepancy between the

quantity of iron artefacts at Shakenoak and the more extensively excavated settlements of Sutton Courtenay and Barrow Hills. The ditch deposit, furnace and by inference the ironworking area at Shakenoak, was not associated with any other Anglo-Saxon settlement features. Instead it was adjacent to an early-mid eighth century cemetery. It would therefore appear that the ironworking area was located on the periphery of a settlement area. This location may have been influenced by a desire to avoid unnecessary fire risk to domestic buildings. Ironworking may also have been carried out on the edges of the settlement areas at Sutton Courtenay and Barrow Hills. The difference in the character and quantity of the iron artefacts recovered from the latter sites and Shakenoak may therefore be due to the excavation of domestic structures rather than industrial areas of these settlements.

The distribution of copper-alloy artefacts mirrors that of iron, though the number of objects recovered decreased (see figure 7.53). Again, all the copper-alloy from Shakenoak was recovered from the same ditch deposit. Much of the debris may have been scrap metal for future re-working. As with iron, the difference in the quantity of objects may relate to the excavation of different activity zones within settlements. By good fortune, Brodribb et al stumbled upon an Anglo-Saxon metalworking area, while only the more domestic residential areas of the Sutton Courtenay and Barrow Hills settlements were excavated. Copper-alloy certainly appears to have been worked at Sutton Courtenay, as a crucible fragment was found in sunken-feature building 4. Since evidence for a metalworking hearth and other metalworking debris was absent, however, it must be assumed that the crucible had been transported from its area of use and deposited in an unrelated rubbish context.

The distribution of antler artefacts is also somewhat surprising (see figure 7.54). It might be expected that the largest quantities of antler would be found in areas close to the woodland grazing areas of deer. In the early medieval period, Shakenoak was close to the forest of Wychwood (Hill 1981, p16), however, the number of antler

artefacts recovered was small. In contrast, a larger quantity of antler artefacts and partially worked antler tines were found at Barrow Hills, near Abingdon. The same problems influencing interpretation of the distributions of iron and copper-alloy also affect interpretation of the distribution of antler artefacts. It is uncertain whether the antler distributions reflect different levels of antler working or merely chance excavation of different parts of settlements.

The vessel glass distribution from settlements is also difficult to interpret (see figure 7.55). All the glass vessel fragments from Beech House Hotel, in Dorchester, were late Roman products. The same can be said for the glass fragment from Sutton Courtenay, its deposition can be broadly dated between the mid fifth-early sixth century as it was found in the same deposit as an equal-armed brooch. It is very difficult to assess the Barrow Hills group as the site is unpublished, however, examination of the glass assemblage suggests that a certain percentage of fragments were also residual products of the late Roman period, but this is uncertain. The only clearly identifiable post-Roman glass from any settlement comes from the Shakenoak ditch and associated deposits. Two fragments of the same glass vessel were found in different deposition contexts. A broad date range for the deposition of the fragments can be suggested as one of them came from the seventh-early eighth century ditch deposit. The glass was described in the previous section. Harden suggested that it was possibly manufactured in northern France (Harden 1972, p68).

In conclusion, the distributions of artefacts from settlements seem to shed more light on the different zones of activity on settlements rather than different levels of access to particular commodities. This is not to deny that different communities had different degrees of access to different raw materials. Shakenoak's close proximity to an iron source may be reflected in the large quantity of iron artefacts and evidence for smithing but due to the lack of comparable deposits this cannot be proven. In the Garton-Elmswell area of East Yorkshire, craft specialisation on a

settlement was reflected in immediately adjacent cemeteries, however, this did not occur in the upper Thames valley. As a result, it is not possible to suggest a direct relationship between craft specialisation, regional exchange and distribution of imported commodities in the upper Thames study area.

7.3 Commodity distribution within 'micro-regions' in the upper Thames valley from the fifth-early eighth centuries

The analysis of commodity distributions in micro-regions within the larger study areas was carried out with a view to differentiate between general regional trends and more specific trends in commodity access peculiar to certain parts of the study areas. The upper Thames density samples are located around Dorchester-on-Thames and Stanlake. The overall positioning of the density samples can be seen in figure 4.3. The individual sites examined in both density samples can be seen in figures 7.56 and 7.57.

The types of site examined in each density-sample can be seen in the lists below:-

Dorchester-on-Thames - Density Sample 1

- | | | |
|----|----------------------------------|-----------------------|
| 1. | Dorchester - Queenford Farm | - inhumation cemetery |
| 2. | Dorchester - Beech House Hotel | - settlement |
| 3. | Dorchester - Berinsfield | - mixed cemetery |
| 4. | Dorchester - 'Amey's Pit' | - inhumation cemetery |
| 5. | Dorchester - 'Bishop's Court' | - inhumation cemetery |
| 6. | Dorchester - Isolated gold finds | - NGR SU 57-94 |

Stanlake/Standlake - Density Sample 2

- | | | |
|----|---------------|-----------------------|
| 1. | Brighthampton | - mixed cemetery |
| 2. | Ducklington | - inhumation cemetery |
| 3. | Stanlake 1 | - inhumation cemetery |
| 4. | Stanlake 2 | - inhumation cemetery |
| 5. | Yelford | - inhumation cemetery |
| 6. | Yelford | - settlement |

a) The Dorchester-on-Thames group - Density sample 1

The sites in the Dorchester density sample are located within or in the immediate vicinity of the Roman 'small town' at Dorchester. The Dorchester density sample provides for an appreciation of Anglo-Saxon and native populations living in the same area from the fifth to the mid sixth centuries. The sites of both the native post-Roman cemeteries and the Anglo-Saxon cemeteries of the fifth-mid sixth centuries may reflect continuity of the Roman tradition of placing cemeteries outside the urban settlement area. The position of the late Roman and post-Roman cemeteries of the fifth-sixth centuries are shown in figure 8.3.

Chambers estimated that there may have been two thousand inhumations in the Queenford cemetery (Chambers 1988, p35). The calibrated carbon dates from this cemetery cluster around the middle of the sixth century (Haddon-Reece 1988, p58). Since Chambers thought that this cemetery was late Roman in character he suggested that the Queenford cemetery was used from the end of the fourth-sixth centuries. If the majority of the Queenford Farm burials were interred in the fifth century, their number compared to the few datable fifth century Anglo-Saxon burials, would suggest that the native population remained distinct and far outnumbered the Anglo-Saxons in the vicinity of Dorchester at this time. The potential influence of

this larger native population cannot be overstressed in relation to commodity distribution analysis. The question of who controlled the Dorchester area until the second half of the sixth century must be reinvestigated, as this could have had a profound effect on the nature and scale of exchange relations relating to control of communications and access to certain commodities or specific objects.

The Dorchester Anglo-Saxon cemeteries with graves dating from the fifth and sixth centuries are notable because of the absence of certain objects and commodities which were available in other cemeteries in the upper Thames valley. Despite the large number of male 'Anglo-Saxon' burials dating from the mid-late fifth-late sixth century in the Dorchester density sample, there is a strange hiatus in the occurrence of male burials with swords. This pattern is in stark contrast to the regional trend. Pieces of iron were recovered with the male grave at Dyke Hills but it is uncertain whether they were the remains of a sword (Kirk and Leeds 1953, p63-65). The lack of sword burials at Berinsfield may be especially significant when compared with cemeteries of comparable size at Long Wittenham 1 and Abingdon. Swords even occur in the smaller cemeteries of Brighthampton, Eynsham, Watchfield and Fairford. It is possible that there was active denial of access to swords for the Anglo-Saxon population around Dorchester. Figures 7.19 and 7.22 also show the very small number of silver and tinned objects in the Dorchester Anglo-Saxon cemeteries compared to Anglo-Saxon cemeteries to the south and west. Only Berinsfield has any silver or tin. Similarly, rock crystal was absent from all the Anglo-Saxon cemeteries in the Dorchester density sample.

The only early medieval settlement remains from Dorchester examined in the sample came from Beech House Hotel. This assemblage has already been discussed. There is no need to regard it as an 'Anglo-Saxon' assemblage until well into the sixth century. It has already been argued that the floor layers represent post-Roman native occupation in post-Roman phases 1 and 2 (Rowley and Brown 1982, p10-13).

Two sites within the density sample indicate seventh century Anglo-Saxon occupation within Dorchester. The evidence comes from the late seventh-early eighth century cemetery at Bishop's Court and the chance finds of associated gold coins and a seventh century gold and garnet pyramid stud from the town. The coins consisted of a gold coin of Valentinian struck in the mid-late fourth century, a pseudo-Byzantine coin of Mauricius Tiberius (582-602 AD) and a native gold tremissis with runic decoration of a similar date to the Crondall hoard. The latter have already been discussed in relation to the source of gold for the upper Thames valley, however, it is important to note that gold only remained in coin form at Dorchester in the upper Thames valley during the seventh century. The Bishop's Court cemetery had ten inhumations, two of which had seaxes. Only richer male burials of the mid-late seventh century were accompanied with seaxes. The deposition of a seax at this period can be seen in a similar vein to sword deposition in the late fifth-sixth centuries.

The reasons for marked differences in patterns of commodity deposition in the Dorchester area, compared to regional trends, can be attributed to a variety of social and economic forces from 400-700 AD. As such, they form an integral part in the interpretation of the working of the early medieval economy and exchange in the upper Thames valley, discussed in the following chapter.

b) The Stanlake group - Density sample 2

Like the Dorchester sample, the Stanlake group incorporates remains from the fifth century to the end of the seventh century. In contrast to the Dorchester sites, however, the trends in commodity deposition in density sample 2 tend to mirror trends in deposition at the regional level. Location of the sites in the sample can be seen in figure 7.57.

The fifth century depositions occur in the form of several cremations and possibly a

small number of inhumations at the mixed cemetery of Brighthampton (Akerman 1857, p391-398; Akerman 1860, p84-97). Two cemeteries from the sample contain sixth century interments - Brighthampton and Stanlake 2 (Ashmolean Museum records). It is unclear how many burials were found at Stanlake 2. As a result, only a limited range of information relating to artefact and commodity distribution could be presented in the various figures illustrating commodity distribution in the sixth century. At Brighthampton, the range of commodities present conform with the distributions at the larger cemeteries of this date with regard to copper-alloy, iron, silver, tin and rock crystal. The cemetery also contained two male inhumations with swords, best seen as interments of the late fifth-early sixth century. This again conforms to the more general regional trend. Both the Brighthampton and Stanlake 2 cemeteries went out of use at the turn of the seventh century.

The other three cemeteries within the Stanlake density sample were seventh century foundations. The Stanlake 1 (Brown 1973, p233-238) and Yelford (Ashmolean Museum records) cemeteries were probably founded in the early decades of the seventh century, while the Ducklington cemetery is likely to have been a mid seventh century foundation. In the general discussion on regional trends in commodity distribution through the seventh century it was observed that only three amethyst beads were deposited in the entire sample. Two of the three examples were deposited in the cemeteries at Yelford and Stanlake 1 within the Stanlake density sample. Both are likely to be mid seventh century depositions - the Stanlake example being slightly later. This distribution may be coincidental, but the scarcity of amethyst in the upper Thames valley contrasts sharply with Anglo-Saxon areas in the south-east and eastern coastal areas of England.

The second point of note is the relative abundance of gold objects within the Stanlake density sample area. Stanlake 1 and Ducklington have the largest number of gold objects outside Dorchester. Another site within the sample area which was not selected for analysis - Cokethorpe - also contains a gold bound

beaver tooth pendant, very similar to the two Wigber Low examples from the Peak District (Collis 1985, p9). The Ducklington and Stanlake gold objects can be seen in plate 7.1 in this chapter. Again the concentration of gold objects in this area may be coincidence reflecting bias of archaeological fieldwork, however, there are a significant number of other cemeteries of this date in the upper Thames region without gold. The same can be said for amethyst. The deposition of the Merovingian, silver inlaid iron cross at Stanlake 1 (plate 7.3) also hints at the ability of certain individuals within the Stanlake area to obtain foreign objects of high intrinsic and probably social value.

As with the Dorchester density sample results, the individual irregularities within the Stanlake sample are placed within the context of a detailed analysis of the movement of commodities within early medieval society in the upper Thames valley from the fifth-eighth centuries in the following chapter.

7.4 Summary

By the mid-late fifth century, a Germanic immigrant population had established itself in the upper Thames valley. This is clearly shown from burial evidence in a number of cemeteries and from occasional datable contexts from settlement sites, eg. Sutton Courtenay. The small number of fifth century cremation and inhumation graves indicate that the Anglo-Saxon population must have been very small at this time.

Recent excavation and analytical work has also enabled the identification of a large surviving post-Roman native population in the Dorchester area of the upper Thames valley. The Queenford Farm 'late Roman style' cemetery produced five radiocarbon dates with a mean date range between the fifth and early seventh centuries at two standard deviations from the mean, ie. with a 93% confidence level. These samples were taken from collagen fibres in the skeletons and the dates were calibrated using the Stuiver-Pearson curve. The potential effect of a large surviving

native population on exchange and commodity distribution bears further discussion in Chapter Eight.

Native influence on the insular development of certain Anglo-Saxon dress accessories, such as disc brooches, is suggested by the use of native derived decorative motifs, such as 'bull's eye' circlets. The widespread use of tinning on disc and broad banded annular brooches in the upper Thames valley may also reflect a native fashion. The implications of the use of tin in this study area in the sixth century are considered in the following chapter in the context of exchange between the Anglo-Saxon population of the upper Thames valley and the British of the Devon-Cornwall peninsula.

Analysis of the iron and copper-alloy distributions from cemeteries with fifth-early seventh century graves did not suggest any particular advantage in access to these raw materials in different parts of the region or any changes in distribution within this period. The distribution of silver artefacts from the sixth-early seventh century, however, does suggest that the quantity of silver entering the upper Thames valley increased during the course of the sixth century, though the source of the silver is not known. The number of cemeteries containing artefacts incorporating silver increased significantly during this period. The character of the silver artefacts interred also changed in that a greater quantity of solid silver objects were deposited. Unlike silver, gold is conspicuous by its absence in fifth and sixth century contexts in the upper Thames valley.

Small quantities of imports from the Merovingian Frankish Kingdoms appeared in a very limited number of rich Anglo-Saxon graves in the late fifth and sixth centuries. Eight imported swords were found in rich male graves within cemeteries selected for examination. A further three swords have been recovered from other contemporary fifth-sixth century cemeteries. The examples from Abingdon and Brighthampton were probably manufactured in northern France, the Low countries or northern Germany. It is unclear whether the swords arrived as a result of

exchange or migration. Other sixth century imports derived from the Frankish Kingdoms include a crystal ball from Fairford, two cone beakers, tinned speculum dress accessories and a small selection of copper-alloy vessels. All are discussed in greater detail with reference to inter-regional and long-distance exchange links in Chapter Eight.

Large quantities of amber beads and the widespread distribution of rock crystal beads also indicate access to commodities derived from the Baltic Sea coast of northern Europe and Southern Scandinavia. The distribution of these artefacts within the upper Thames valley and neighbouring regions deserve further analysis to identify the areas which could have provided the land-locked upper Thames basin with these imports. The indication of the quantity of artefacts derived from the Merovingian Kingdoms and the Baltic Sea from the late fifth-early seventh centuries will also allow for an assessment of the scale and regularity of inter-regional and long-distance exchange between the upper Thames valley and its neighbouring regions.

During the first half of the seventh century, the large cemeteries used from the fifth century were replaced by new inhumation cemeteries. Barrow burials were also constructed within the region in the early-mid seventh century, containing both furnished inhumation and cremation graves. While barrow burial seems to have ended in the mid seventh century in the upper Thames valley, the inhumation cemeteries remained in use until the late seventh century and possibly later.

The seventh century saw a change in the range of imported commodities entering the upper Thames valley. Tin was no longer imported. This may be related to the adoption of a more uniform set of dress accessories in Anglo-Saxon England during this period. As with the sixth century imports were only interred with a small number of graves, although isolated examples have been found associated with settlement debris. Gold appeared for the first time in the mid seventh century, in the form of pendants, studs, coins and as an embellishment to brooches. Solid silver artefacts

were also found in most of the cemeteries dating to this period. Other imports seen for the first time in deposits of the middle decades of the seventh century were 'Coptic' copper-alloy bowls and amethyst beads. In addition a new range of glass vessels entered the upper Thames valley at this time.

By the late seventh century, primary silver sceatta coinage was also imported into the region. The distribution of the coins belonging to this series suggests that they were being imported along the Icknield Way from Middle and East Anglia. A large percentage of the coins themselves were ultimately derived from Frisia (the Netherlands).

Like the artefacts and commodities imported into the upper Thames basin during the sixth century, the seventh century imports can also be used to suggest the scale and direction of exchange relations with neighbouring regions. Unfortunately, however, analysis of the distributions of artefacts made from indigenous raw materials, found in settlements and cemeteries, did not identify any regional exchange or craft specialisation which could have provided wealth to facilitate exchange in imported luxuries.

The commodity and artefact distributions illustrated in this chapter will now be considered within an analysis of different aspects of exchange activity in the upper Thames valley from 400-700 AD. The indications of exchange which they provide are set within the context of social and political influences affecting the region during these centuries.

Chapter 8

THE NATURE, SCALE AND DIRECTION OF EXCHANGE RELATIONS IN THE UPPER THAMES VALLEY FROM 400-700 AD

8.1 The late Roman and post-Roman native background

i) Introduction

It would be inappropriate to discuss exchange relations in the upper Thames valley between 400-700 AD without a preliminary discussion of late Roman and immediate post-Roman social and economic conditions in the region. This introduction therefore provides the background for an assessment of the impact of the Anglo-Saxon settlement in the area and a consideration of native and immigrant influences on patterns of exchange in the fifth and sixth centuries.

ii) The late Roman settlement pattern

The upper Thames valley was not the central area of a Romano-British civitas and, as such, there are no major 'Public towns' in the region (Millett 1986, p45). Instead, the region contains several small urban centres which have become known as 'small towns' (Frere 1975, p4-7; Frere 1987, p230). In general, these small or minor urban centres started to develop in the second century, but they expanded rapidly in the third and fourth centuries. Some of the so-called 'small towns' developed into walled urban settlements larger than certain cantonal capitals (Rivet 1970, p83-85). This is particularly the case when comparing the central midlands 'small towns' with civitas capitals such as Caerwent (Venta Silurum), Petuaria (Brough-on-Humber) and Venta Icenorum (Caister St Edmunds). The 'small towns' of the upper Thames

valley fall within the central Midlands group. The two examples in the region are Dorchester-on-Thames and Alchester (see figure 8.1). Other examples in this group are Water Newton, Great Chesterford and Towcester (Rivet 1970, p85).

Frere suggested a military or infra-structure related origin for the development of these small urban centres (Frere 1975, p5; Frere 1987, p230). A much more plausible explanation, however, has been advanced by Millett leading on from Ian Hodder's earlier work on the spatial distribution of Roman towns (Hodder 1975, p67-73). From a systematic analysis Hodder showed that the vast majority of 'small towns' grew up in boundary zones on the borders of 'civitates' (Hodder 1975, p68; Millett 1986, p46). It was argued that the expansion of the 'small towns' in boundary zones was due to a lessening of restrictions on production and exchange by civitas elites at the farthest extent from civitas capitals. As such, peripheral areas were able to grow economically providing the basis for the expansion of 'small towns' (Millett 1990, p148).

This seems to be the most plausible reason for the expansion of the series of 'small towns' in the central Midlands belt, though the two walled 'small towns' of the upper Thames valley, Alchester and Dorchester, have been seen as developing from redundant forts (Rowley 1975, p115-123; Young 1986, p59). Evidence for these forts is lacking at both sites. Both the towns are situated on the Roman north-south road from Towcester in the north to Silchester in the south. As well as being in prime locations for the facilitation and control of production and exchange, the expansion of the urban centres may have been assisted by the Roman state infrastructure. The towns are likely to have acted as posting stations for the 'cursus publicus' housing fresh horses (mutationes) and accommodation at 'mansios'. The chief stimulus for development, however, must have come from changes in the method of payment and collection of taxation. With the increase in taxation in kind over the course of the third century, new points of collection would have been needed. This role seems to have been filled by many 'small towns'. In regions far

from civitas centres, the small urban centres like Dorchester and Alchester may therefore have gained administrative functions. An altar put up by an official involved in tax collection was found at Dorchester, though it is now lost (Young 1986, p60).

The Alchester urban settlement was far larger than Dorchester. Neither of the walled areas at both towns enclose the entire settlement area. Alchester covered 43 hectares but only 10.5 hectares were walled. Dorchester in comparison enclosed only 5.5 hectares, but also had extra-mural occupation (Rowley 1975, p115 and 118). Dorchester-on-Thames has received extensive archaeological attention in the past thirty years and has produced indications of early medieval occupation within the walled area of the Roman town. Limited excavation at Alchester has indicated occupation into the fifth century from coins of the eastern and western Roman emperors Arcadius and Honorius - the latest coin issues to have reached Britain from imperial mints from AD 395-402 (Rowley 1975, p123). Further study at Alchester would provide a much needed comparison to the late and sub-Roman evidence from Dorchester (Chambers 1988, p1-69; Rowley and Brown 1982, p1-55).

The 'walled towns' may not have been the only settlements displaying urban characteristics. Significant functions as nodes of exchange may also have been played by nucleated roadside settlements. This form of settlement seems to have developed over the course of the Roman period and is now recognised as one of the most important settlement forms in the late Roman landscape. One example in the upper Thames valley comes from Wilcote on Akerman Street, running from Cirencester to Verulamium (see figure 8.1). The Wilcote settlement extends along the road for nearly a mile (Young 1986, p60). Other excavated examples include Catsgore in Gloucestershire (Leech 1983, p13 and Ellis 1984, p2) and the already discussed examples from East Yorkshire at Shiptonthorpe (Millett forthcoming) and Elmswell (Congreve 1937, p21; Corder 1940, p30-31 and Dent 1988, p89). An

artefact scatter, extensive survey and limited excavation also indicates a large nucleated settlement at 'the Chessalls' near Kingscote in Gloucestershire (Eagles and Swan 1973, p60-91).

This settlement form seems to have had an agricultural base, however, evidence for specialist craft working and access to luxury goods is also evident at certain excavated examples. The individuals living at these sites may or may not have been tied to certain 'villa' estates (Millett 1990, p210). The size and quality of some of the houses in the upper Thames valley, as seen from aerial photography is such that some of the houses in these settlements would be defined as small villas if they were isolated (Young 1986, p60).

Villas were located in zones throughout the upper Thames valley but the vast majority, like the recently excavated examples at Barton Court Farm (Miles 1984, p14-16) and Shakenoak (Brodrigg, Hands and Walker 1972, p13) are simply Romanized houses of modest proportions with several ancillary buildings. They need not have been centres of expression of the wealth of large estate units. The largest villas are located in the Cotswold foothills on the west and north-west fringe of the upper Thames valley. Other wealthy villas are located in certain valleys in the Chilterns and at Verulamium. The concentration of villas between Alchester and Dorchester are modest in aspiration. The same can be said for the few examples identified west of Dorchester (Young 1986, p60).

Other settlement forms occupied from the early to the late Roman period are isolated farmsteads housed within enclosures. In the case of Barton Court Farm and Shakenoak, the villas developed from these farmsteads (Miles 1984, p7; Brodrigg, Hands and Walker 1972, p13), however, others may have remained in their un-Romanized form. The majority have been identified on the gravels, though, this may be a reflection of the bias related to the usefulness of aerial photography in discovering sites in the latter soil type.

iii) Exchange relations between the upper Thames valley and neighbouring areas in the late Roman period

The inhabitants of the upper Thames valley practised a mixed farming strategy during the late Roman period, relying mainly on cattle, sheep and spelt wheat, supplemented by hunting and the presumed cultivation of crops for exchange such as flax (Jones 1984, p38-42). Interwoven with the working of this 'subsistence' economy other commodities were extracted, produced and exchanged across the region. One commodity extracted on the periphery of the upper Thames, in the Cotswolds, was stone. Cotswolds slate, Taynton stone and Oolite have been found in Silchester, Verulamium, Colchester, London and Richborough (Young 1986, p61). The Thames has been suggested as the likely transport route on which this bulk commodity was moved. The upper Thames valley would have acted as an exchange 'corridor' running east-west. This was closely supported by a complex road network traversing the region. The pre-Roman trackways may also have remained significant lines of communication, eg. the Icknield Way.

The major industry in the upper Thames valley, for which we have the most evidence, is the late Roman 'Oxfordshire' fineware pottery industry, with its production zone between the centres of Dorchester and Alchester. From second-third century beginnings, the 'Oxfordshire' potters started to produce finewares in the early fourth century. By the middle of that century they were one of the chief producers of finewares in Britain. Reasons for the industry's development can be suggested by using the model already alluded to in the development of 'small towns'. Located on civitas boundaries the Oxfordshire potters had access to a number of markets. They were able to operate with less social pressure from civitas elites. It is also possible that the industry was supported by adjacent 'small towns' (Millett 1990, 210). The industry was also able to use the Thames for exporting in bulk. Oxfordshire ware is distributed all along the Thames valley,

however, the Cotswolds seem to have been a block to distribution to the north-west. There is also a distribution on the lower Severn valley. This might suggest a transshipment to the navigable river Avon, giving access to the Severn estuary on a small scale (Millett 1990, p172-173).

Other bulk commodities may also have been shipped along the Thames during the Roman period. Examples of such commodities are Mendip lead and silver, Cornish tin and pewters, as well as iron from sources at the western edge of the upper Thames valley in the Cotswolds and the Forest of Dean. To these commodities it may be possible to add corn and wool (Fulford 1989, p198-199). It is important to draw the distinction, however, between the transport and exchange of commodities at the level of the individual, or small social group, and the transport of commodities which had been requisitioned by the state as taxation.

It seems likely that the vast majority of commodities travelling via the Thames valley, in the late Roman period, were doing so as part of the state taxation system. But it is important not to limit the scope of the individuals who transported these goods. It is likely that they indulged in other exchange activity on an individual basis at different points along their journeys, exchanging luxury imports (Fulford 1980, p69). This may have been one of the mechanisms for the distribution of continental imports arriving in the upper Thames valley during the fourth century (Fulford 1978, p61). The main range of objects identified as continental imports are pottery finewares eg Argonne, Mayen and A'l'eponge wares. In comparison to imported ceramic ranges from the first-third centuries, their numbers are very small. The numbers are more akin to the level of Mediterranean pottery importation seen in western Britain from the fifth-seventh centuries (Thomas 1981, p4).

The De-Romanization of the native, post-Roman society and economy in the upper Thames Valley

A detailed assessment of the transition of native society in lowland southern Britain, after the collapse of the late Roman 'state' apparatus and before the 'adventus Saxonum', is absolutely crucial in the study of early medieval society and related exchange activity in the upper Thames valley. Hodges suggested an 'astonishing decline' in the social and economic fabric of Roman Britain over the second half of the fourth century (Hodges 1989, p16). Millett in contrast, is far less of a catastrophist, identifying signs of decline in certain areas only eg long-distance exchange (Millett 1990, p227).

The collapse of a centrally administered taxation system in both coin and kind and the withdrawal of all infrastructural support is likely to have been the major force in the sudden change in the way societies supported and expressed themselves. Esmonde Cleary and Hodges suggested that landowners would be the section of society worst affected by collapse of the state infrastructure, as they were more dependent on the productive capacity of a large number of subservients (Esmonde Cleary 1989, p173; Hodges 1989, p 16). We need not envisage a change of personnel, however, among the leaders of British society in the fifth century. It is not necessary to see the British estate system dissolving in a very short period of time. It is more sensible to see the fifth century as a period of collapse in economies of scale in extractive industries which relied on the state infrastructure for movement. One can therefore envisage an end to transport of bulk commodities. This is not to deny that extreme social and political pressures were at work in the fifth and sixth centuries (the influx of the Anglo-Saxons will be dealt with in the following sections). Gildas noted the emergence of British territorial leaders or 'tyranni', exerting control over regional socio-political units in the fifth and sixth centuries (Gildas, De Excidio, ch 28, Winterbottom translation 1978, p29-33). It seems likely that they

emerged out of the late Roman elites, with individual power becoming ascendant over 'civitas' council authority. This has been argued as a continuation of the fourth century trend in the increased importance of personal power (Millett 1990, p219). As discussed in Chapter Six, however, it is unclear how the relationship between post-Roman elites and surviving military posts changed with the collapse of the Roman state apparatus. Both 'limitanei' military commanders, with their garrisons and local elites, with their personal retainers, provide a context for a nascent warband-based British society. John Casey has argued that fifth and sixth century northern Britain was dominated by the former rather than the latter (Casey 1994, p266-267).

Aside from the obscurity of the issue of native socio-political development, an appreciation of changes in demography, settlement pattern and levels of production and exchange are essential in understanding the process of de-Romanization.

The issue of demographic change is one of the most contentious. Hodges saw the social changes from Roman to early medieval Britain as inextricably linked with a significant population decline from 300 AD onwards. He cited field survey evidence to support this claim, with particular reference to areas of marginal land that were abandoned for settlement purposes at the end of the Roman period, eg. the Lincolnshire Fens (Hodges 1989, p20-21). Two factors question the conclusion of population decline drawn from this evidence. The first relates to the problem of identifying late Roman occupation on many Romano-British settlements from field survey data.

Settlements occupied in the late Roman period are often identified by the presence of late Roman pottery finewares within a ploughsoil scatter. They are found in far smaller numbers than late Roman grey wares, though the latter are far harder to date than late Roman finewares since they were produced over a longer time period with little change in forms from the third century onwards. The finewares were predominantly native products, eg. Oxfordshire, New Forest and Nene valley wares

(Fulford 1989, p194). Gaulish and German finewares only entered Britain in small quantities in the late Roman period (Fulford 1978, p61). Despite the native fineware industries, the total quantity of finewares distributed seems to have fallen in the late Roman period. Sites which had possessed imported finewares in the earlier Roman period may not have had access to them in the later fourth century. Since occupation of settlements in the later Roman period is often corroborated by the presence of finewares, this availability problem may be having an undue effect on late Roman sites identified from field survey. The regional distributions of late Romano-British finewares may also have influenced their scarcity in Hodges' example of the Lincolnshire Fens. The latter area lies outside the main distribution areas of the late Roman fineware industries (Fulford 1989, p194). As a result of this lack of supply over much of the Lincolnshire Fens, it is perhaps not surprising that few late Roman sites have been identified. More settlements could therefore have been occupied in the later fourth century than has been realised.

The second factor which could question the validity of viewing the abandonment of marginal land as an indicator of population decline relates to the issue of agricultural strategies and the reasons behind them. One of the motivating factors for cultivation and settlement of marginal land may have been production for taxation in kind and subsequent state redistribution. Once long-distance transport systems had declined with the collapse of the central Roman administration in the early fifth century, there may have been no incentive to cultivate marginal land on a permanent basis. Communities placed on marginal land such as the Lincolnshire Fens may have moved further inland or coalesced into a smaller number of settlements, reverting to agricultural regimes such as pastoralism (Higham 1987, p43). In these circumstances, settlement abandonment would not necessarily indicate population decline but rather the operation of seasonal landuse patterns, such as transhumance.

The other major issue regarding population decline and its effect on native society

is the possible occurrence of plague in the mid sixth century. Esmonde Cleary stated that there is no evidence for the bubonic plague of the mid sixth century extending beyond the Mediterranean countries (Esmonde Cleary 1989, p174). In contrast, Higham quoted the 'Annales Cambriae', noting the death of Maelgwyn of Gwynedd dying from a 'pestilence' in 547 AD, as did Cadwaladr in 682. This need not have been bubonic plague but other circumstantial evidence does suggest that plague did reach Britain. The Yarrowkirk stone in upper Tweeddale noted the deaths of the two sons of Liberalis who died from plague (Higham 1986, p245) and references in British and Irish Saints' lives to British Saints fleeing Wales for Brittany in the mid sixth century, to escape plague in Wales, suggests that plague was a reality (Fitzgerald 1989, p76). John Morris' suggestion that 'the enfeebled economy of Britain was wasted by the great plague' is stretching the very patchy evidence noted above (Morris 1973, p222). At present, it is not possible to reach any conclusion on the effect of disease epidemics on the post-Roman population.

Undoubtedly, when searching for archaeological evidence of the post-Roman native population we are faced with a recognition problem. Hodges and Esmonde Cleary noted the material poverty of the evidence (Hodges 1989, p20; Esmonde Cleary 1989, p186). Esmonde Cleary, however, put the material poverty into context by showing the probable unrepresentativity of the archaeological record. He pointed out that the British monk Gildas wrote in a style based on late Roman secular forms, not on contemporary ecclesiastical styles. Sixth and seventh century charters in the Llandaff collection from south-east Wales also record transmission of landholdings in latin, which owe their legal concept, form and terminology to late Roman law albeit adopted to Celtic practices (Davies 1982, p42). The fact of the continuity of late Roman secular education into the sixth century in some form, together with the existence of charters based on late Roman law, describing complex estates and a sophisticated society clashes markedly with the lack of recognition in the archaeological record (Esmonde Cleary 1989, p187).

An attempt must be made to redress the balance in recognition of the post-Roman native population. We should expect as much regional difference between post-Roman native regions as we see between different Anglo-Saxon areas. Hodges drew attention to the hillfort society that developed in the Devon and Cornwall peninsula (Hodges 1989, p32). The development of a settlement pattern with re-occupied or newly built hillforts was repeated in western Britain along the Irish sea; indeed it may be a response in part to Irish raiding, however, there is no evidence of an adoption of hillfort settlements on the south Devon coast around Exeter. Recent evidence from the areas within old Roman walled towns suggests that fortified centres became important to the post-Roman native population in other areas as well as the Irish Sea coast. Occupation of these walled areas was not urban in character, however, evidence from the amphitheatre at Cirencester (Wacher 1964, p18; Heighing 1987, p8); from within the walls at Gloucester (Heighing 1987, p6-7; Hurst 1985, p35), from Exeter (Fox 1955, p64), Caerwent (Alcock 1971, p237) and Dorchester-on-Thames (Chambers 1988, p36), provides an indication that settlements within walled enceintes were important (see figure 8.2).

Evidence for the transmission of the old names of the Roman centres can be used to support this interpretation. In contrast to Gaul, where tribal associations of towns are passed down in their names, in Britain the tribal names of the towns are dropped. They merely have the name of the town with the 'ceaster' addition - the notion of the old tribal administrative settlement had changed to that of a fortified centre (Millett 1990, p223). The British settlements within the old walled centres may still have been 'central settlements' for their surrounding regions. Hinton has suggested that they may have been centres of taxation in kind at the regional level (Hinton 1990, p7).

If it is correct to regard these 'castella' settlements as an integral settlement form within the post-Roman native landscape, it is difficult to envisage how they related to the surrounding settlement pattern and which sections of society resided in them. If

they can be taken as a parallel form of settlement to the hillforts of western Britain, there may have been elite settlement foci within the fortified areas of old Roman towns. They may also have acted as bolt-holes for their surrounding populations at times of unrest. Circumstantial evidence for fortified settlements acting as elite centres may be provided by the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle. Cirencester, Gloucester and Bath are noted as having been taken by the West Saxons in 577 AD after the battle of Dyrham (Yorke 1990, p135). Since the names of three British leaders at this battle are also recorded, it is possible that the Chronicle reference to Cirencester, Gloucester and Bath as British centres was based on an earlier annal or oral tradition. It is also possible that the three centres were associated with the three British leaders.

While there is evidence for post-Roman native settlement in old fortified centres, it is less easy to identify rural settlement. Villas at Frocester Court in Gloucestershire (Gracie and Price 1979, p17-19) and Latimer in the Chilterns, certainly remained occupied during the fifth century (Branigan 1971, p95-99; Rutherford Davies 1982, p116). The collapse in the ability and possibly the wish to maintain a Roman facade for social display, however, does not mean that villa estates collapsed. The use of handmade pottery in the latest phases of these sites is not a sign of the decline of the agricultural economy. The size of the estates being transferred in south-east Wales in the sixth century suggests that the structure of rural landholding in lowland Britain may not have changed significantly from the late Roman period (Davies 1982, p42). What is less clear is the continuity of use of late Roman estate centres. Villas may have remained occupied into the fifth century, but they may not have remained centres of tenurial units. The relationship between old villa estate centres and the fortified 'castella' settlements of the fifth and sixth centuries may be of significance in this context. If elites resided at settlements within the walled areas of old Roman towns, they would have become divorced from their estate residences - old villa sites - unless a degree of itinerancy was practised, maintaining the direct

relationship between estates and their owners. If, however, the 'castella' settlements acted as the permanent residences of a military elite formed from old tribal aristocracies and as local collection points for taxation in kind, the role of villas as estate centres would have declined as would the necessity for estate owners to maintain residences on old villa sites.

Archaeological evidence for occupation of fortified centres and villa sites during the fifth century in areas adjacent to the upper Thames valley, together with historical evidence for the maintenance of large estates in nearby south-east Wales in the sixth century therefore suggests that the agricultural economy had not collapsed at the end of the late Roman period. Production of artefacts such as wheel-made ceramics did collapse, however, in the early fifth century. This suggests the collapse of long-distance bulk transport in inland areas and also change in the demand for such products.

De-Romanization in the areas immediately adjacent to the upper Thames valley seems to have involved change in methods of expression resulting from a re-organisation of production and a re-structuring of the settlement pattern over the course of the fifth century. Estate structures may have survived while villa buildings designed for display were abandoned. The decline of rural elite residences can be viewed within a longer term perspective of the changing location of social elites throughout the history of Roman Britain. In the early Roman period in lowland Britain, their activity focused on civitas towns. With pressures and tax burdens on leading tribal families serving on town councils in the late Roman period, tribal aristocrats tried to avoid service in towns and expressed their wealth on their rural villas. With the political and social change of the fifth and sixth centuries, elites again seem to have resided in the fortified centres which had once housed Roman towns.

The nature of the native settlement pattern in the upper Thames valley in the immediate post-Roman period is unclear. Evidence for continued occupation of old

villa sites comes from areas on the periphery of the upper Thames basin, such as the Chilterns and the Cotswolds. There are also indications of post-Roman occupation within the walls of the old Roman town at Dorchester-on-Thames but they are very difficult to interpret. It is uncertain whether occupation continued within the wall of the larger Roman town at Alchester but the discovery of coins of Honorius and Arcadius indicates that it was certainly occupied in the early fifth century (Rowley 1975, p123).

Post-Roman native occupation at Dorchester or its immediate environs was indicated as a result of radio-carbon dates taken from five graves from the cemetery of Queenford Farm on the outskirts of Dorchester (see figure 8.3). On excavation, it was thought that this cemetery was one of the late Roman cemeteries serving the late Roman town. Approximately three hundred inhumations, buried on east-west alignments, were excavated from the western, south-western and south-eastern zones of the cemetery. The burial ground was originally housed within a rectangular ditch but it extended to the south of this ditch after it silted up. Based on the concentrations of excavated graves, the excavator estimated that there may have been as many as two thousand graves in the cemetery as a whole (Chambers 1988, p35). At a 93 percent level of confidence, the radio-carbon samples taken from the five graves in different parts of the cemetery indicated that the burials had been deposited between AD 430-630 (Haddon-Reece 1988, p58). The cemetery may have been founded in the late Roman period or sometime during the fifth century.

The lesson from the Queenford Farm graves is that the late Roman and immediate post-Roman native graves may be indistinguishable. Other cemeteries of the same type as Queenford Farm have been identified at Overy, east of Dorchester (Miles pers comm, see figure 8.3) and at Beacon Hill-Lewknor in Oxfordshire (Hinton 1990, p18), however, neither have been excavated or dated with radio-carbon methods. A possible fourth example in Oxfordshire comes from Frilford. Leeds noted that a

small group of Anglo-Saxon cremations of fifth century date were buried in the same cemetery as a presumed late Roman population at Frilford (Leeds 1922, p237-238). If the Queenford Farm graves are representative of the burial practice of the post-Roman native population in the upper Thames valley, it is possible that the Frilford examples were native inhumations contemporary with the Anglo-Saxon depositions. There may well be other unrecognised post-Roman native cemeteries or late Roman cemeteries with continued fifth century use in this region and in other parts of Britain. The graves from the Queenford Farm cemetery suggest continuity of occupation by the native population in the Dorchester area in the fifth and sixth centuries. More significantly, they interred their dead in a distinct native manner, not according to Anglo-Saxon fashion.

Post-Roman habitation of the area within the walls of Dorchester-on-Thames is more difficult to interpret. Possible evidence comes from the series of settlement features excavated at Beech House Hotel in 1972. A number of post-Roman phases of occupation were suggested after a demolition of late fourth century metal-working hearths (Rowley and Brown 1982, p8-10). The configurations of the phases dated between the fifth-seventh centuries have been discussed in the last chapter. In summary, layers five and six contained stone, artefact and bone concentrations. These were interpreted as the areas of six buildings which had possessed wooden sill-beam foundations (Rowley and Brown 1982, p12). The excavators were uncertain whether pits were also associated with this phase. The latter were originally identified as Anglo-Saxon sunken-feature buildings but the excavators themselves questioned this identification due to their irregular shape and small size (Rowley and Brown 1982, p10-12).

The stone and artefact concentrations and the pits were followed by the construction of at least two buildings on stone sills in layer four. These buildings were then replaced by another stone sill building which contained a silver penny of Burgred, King of Mercia (852-874 AD), associated with the stone foundations.

Anglo-Saxon pottery was found with the stone sill buildings. Most of the pottery from the occupation areas of layers five and six, however, was late Roman, though Anglo-Saxon pottery was also found (Rowley and Brown 1982, p13). Nothing identifiable as Anglo-Saxon was present among the other artefacts found from this phase, instead Henig commented on the high level of use of Roman artefacts in (Henig 1982, p44-45). It is possible that the occupation areas indicated in layers five and six represent house forms current in Dorchester during the fifth and sixth centuries. While 'Anglo-Saxon' pottery was present in this phase, there is no reason to suggest that these buildings were founded by Anglo-Saxon settlers. They could have been native dwellings whose inhabitants showed signs of adopting Anglo-Saxon methods of pottery manufacture. Freda Berisford noted a number of trends concerning the 'Anglo-Saxon' hand-made pottery from these layers. A large number of sherds were made from a hard sandy fabric. Only a very small percentage of pottery had grass temper in this phase. The sandy fabric pottery was described as harder, better fired and of better quality than other Anglo-Saxon pottery in the upper Thames valley. Berisford suggested that this difference in pottery quality was due to a native influence on Anglo-Saxon traditions of hand-made pottery manufacture (Berisford 1982, p40). The buildings and artefacts associated with subsequent occupation phases, however, indicate the presence of an Anglo-Saxon population at Dorchester-on-Thames. It is unclear whether that Anglo-Saxon population had elements of native ancestry.

The carbon-dated post-Roman graves from Queenford Farm, the possibility of other post-Roman graves at similar cemeteries, such as Overy and Beacon Hill-Lewknor and the likely presence of a post-Roman British population within the walls of the old Roman town of Dorchester suggest that post-Roman native settlement in Dorchester and its environs could be characterised in a similar way to non-urban settlement within the walls of other ex-Roman towns, such as Cirencester. The significant difference between the upper Thames valley and adjacent areas is that

Anglo-Saxon settlement occurred earlier in the upper Thames valley than in areas on the periphery of the Cotswolds or in the Chilterns. For much of the fifth and sixth centuries, however, the native population may have been much larger than the Anglo-Saxon population. The impact of cross-cultural exchange between the native and Germanic populations and the adoption of Anglo-Saxon cultural practices by the native inhabitants must therefore be considered when studying evidence for exchange and trade in the first post-Roman centuries in the upper Thames valley.

8.2 The Anglo-Saxon settlement and the impact of acculturation on exchange

i) The scale of the Anglo-Saxon settlement in the upper Thames valley during the fifth and sixth centuries

The extent of Anglo-Saxon settlement in the upper Thames valley during the fifth century is uncertain. Hawkes observed that the number of securely datable fifth century Anglo-Saxon burials is small, though larger than the number of dated post-Roman native burials at present (Hawkes 1986, p74). The majority of fifth century Anglo-Saxon burials are cremations, though there are also a smaller number of inhumations. Fifth century graves often formed a proportion of later inhumation cemeteries, eg. Abingdon-Staxton Road (Leeds and Harden 1936), Long Wittenham 1 (Akerman 1860, p331-332; Akerman 1863, p135) and Brighthampton (Akerman 1857, p396-397; Akerman 1860, p84). If the total number of graves dated to this century are seen as depositions of over half a century, the fifth century Anglo-Saxon population which they represent must have been small in numerical terms. Dickinson noted a concentration of the earliest cemeteries around Dorchester-on-Thames (Dickinson 1976, Volume 1, p408). Hawkes, working from the latter, then identified a rapid build up of Germanic settlement over the course of the fifth century (Hawkes 1986, p75). At the time these observations were made the radio-carbon

dates from the Queenford Farm cemetery were not available. As a result, a proposed Anglo-Saxon settlement of the Dorchester area, indicated by the cemeteries (see figure 8.3), could not be balanced against the potential for continuity of occupation by a large native population alongside the Anglo-Saxons around Dorchester in the fifth-sixth centuries. Both Hawkes and Dickinson favour a 'federate' theory for the foundation of the Anglo-Saxon presence in the region. Foundation by some sort of agreement with the native population may indeed be correct. It is a logical explanation for the Anglo-Saxons being so far inland at such an early period.

It is necessary to take issue, however, with the idea that control of Dorchester and the upper Thames valley soon passed to the Anglo-Saxon population during the second half of the fifth century. Following a fifth century 'federate rebellion', Dickinson suggested that the area controlled by the Saxons, based at Dorchester, was equivalent to the territory allegedly captured by Caewlin and colleagues in the late sixth century (Dickinson 1976, Volume 1, p425). Hawkes attributed the easy conquest of the majority population by a small number of 'Anglo-Saxons' to the analysis of John Morris where a British population, unused to the bearing of arms after centuries of Roman law forbidding it, were overawed by well-armed Anglo-Saxons (Hawkes 1986, p74; Morris 1973, p58).

The hypothesis that a minority Anglo-Saxon population could take political control of the upper Thames valley because of a long tradition in the use of weapons in contrast to the native population must be set within a more balanced context. First, there is no evidence that *limitanei* forces were withdrawn from Britain, so armed and trained British forces may have existed in some shape or form. Secondly, local elites are likely to have had large numbers of personal retainers, who if even poorly armed could have been able to overpower the small number of Anglo-Saxons by weight of numbers. It is possible that Anglo-Saxon groups were brought in as 'pseudo-federates' but it is more sensible to envisage them being used alongside

British forces initially, rather than viewing them as the only form of the region's defence.

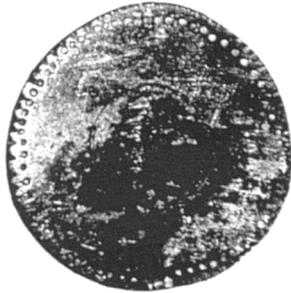
The evidence therefore suggests that the fifth century Anglo-Saxon population of the upper Thames valley was small. Some of the earliest material was old when buried; for example the tutulus brooch at Abingdon grave 106 - (see Volume 3 and plate 8.1). It is impossible to suggest how long the small number of early fifth century objects remained in circulation before burial. This phenomenon may also be relevant to sword burial in the upper Thames valley (discussed later in the chapter). The period of great Anglo-Saxon expansion, in terms of numbers, came in the sixth century in the upper Thames valley. This was probably due to increased immigration - whether controlled or not - and significant Anglicisation of elements of the native population. The process of Anglicisation, however, need not have been uniform across the region.

Cultural exchange between Briton and Anglo-Saxon

In a similar way to East Yorkshire, the rate of adoption of Anglo-Saxon fashions of dress and cultural practices in the upper Thames valley could have an effect on the reconstruction of exchange relations. As discussed earlier, exchange of rare commodities, such as imports, has often been equated with status-related exchange (Hinton 1990, p22). It has been suggested that higher ranking members of early Anglo-Saxon societies provided a demand for rare imports to express their social status by displaying the ability to acquire luxuries (Hodges and Whitehouse 1983, p92-93). Imports and other rare items in Anglo-Saxon graves have therefore been identified as indications of social status (Arnold 1984, p278-279). The native population, however, may not have shared the same methods of displaying status and may have adopted Anglo-Saxon fashions at varying rates over the sixth-seventh centuries. Hypothetically, therefore, a large section of the early medieval



TUTULUS BROOCH FROM ABINGDON
(SCALE X1.35)



TINNED DISC BROOCHES FROM ABINGDON
(SCALE X1.35)

PLATE 8.1
(PHOTOGRAPHS TAKEN BY AUTHOR WITH KIND
PERMISSION OF THE ASHMOLEAN MUSEUM)

population of the upper Thames valley could have practised a mixture of cultural fashions until they became fully Anglicised.

A further, and equally fundamental problem is that there may also have been different methods of displaying status among contemporary Anglo-Saxon groups of Germanic ancestry. The above factors result in a great difficulty to identify expressions of status during the fifth and sixth centuries when there was considerable regional variety in burial furnishing. Since the identification of exchange relations has also been related to identifying status, variation in methods of display may also limit the scope to assess the true extent of exchange relations. Regional variations in burial practice in the upper Thames valley together with evidence for cross-cultural exchange must therefore be discussed in order to illustrate their effects on exchange and early Anglo-Saxon society in this region.

The predominant burial practice in 'Anglo-Saxon' cemeteries in the upper Thames valley changed to furnished inhumation from the end of the fifth-early sixth century. It is from these inhumation cemeteries that inferences on social status and exchange have been based in the majority of cases. It may be possible to see the gradual transfer of Anglo-Saxon fashions to the native population at the small inhumation cemetery of Stanton Harcourt. All the burials were interred on east-west alignments, as at Queenford Farm. From the burial alignments, Harden and Treweeks suggested that Stanton Harcourt was a Christian Anglo-Saxon cemetery dating to the seventh century, despite the fact that the small number of Anglo-Saxon objects associated with the burials are best dated to the sixth century (Harden and Treweeks 1947, p41; see Volume 3). The native burial alignment, together with a small number of 'Anglo-Saxon' objects in sixth century contexts may be one example of exchange of fashions from Anglo-Saxon to native in the upper Thames valley.

Cultural exchange from the native population to the Germanic population can be seen in the development of new dress accessories among what became the Anglo-

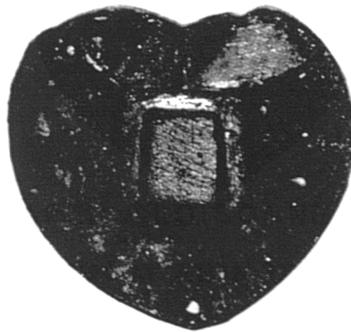
Saxon population, as well as the re-use of native decorative methods and motifs. The most widespread example of this cultural borrowing in the upper Thames valley can be seen in the distribution of copper-alloy disc brooches in Anglo-Saxon female graves. Disc brooches were worn in pairs like saucer brooches. The upper Thames valley provides the largest concentration of these brooches in Britain, leading to the assumption that this area was their main zone of manufacture (Dickinson 1976, Volume 1, p52).

Tania Dickinson estimated that 45 percent of the surviving examples were tinned as a form of decoration (Dickinson 1976, Volume 1, p119). This form of dress accessory was not utilised among the Germanic immigrants until after the Anglo-Saxon settlement of the upper Thames valley. In addition to the native style of tinning, many disc brooches also possessed Romano-British styles of incised decoration - 'Bull's eye' circlets. The form of these brooches and their native decorative styles led Dickinson to see them as an adoption of a brooch form current among the native population (Dickinson 1976, Volume 1, p122; see plate 8.1). Ultimately they were viewed as based on third century Roman plate brooches.

This native influence on Anglo-Saxon material culture in the upper Thames valley may also be seen in the use of tinning to decorate the incised wide band annular brooches of the upper Thames valley (examples are shown in plate 8.2). Barry Ager has suggested that these incised 'wide band' annular brooches should be seen as regional variants of the northern European and Scandinavian annular brooch tradition rather than successors to 'sub-Roman' or late antique quoit brooches from southern England (Ager 1985, p8). His analysis of their decoration, however, considered all possible Germanic and ex-Roman provincial influences on incised stamp motifs but he did not consider the source of the tin used to decorate the Anglo-Saxon examples (The source of the tin is discussed within the context of exchange between British-held areas and the upper Thames valley later in this chapter).



TINNED FLAT ANNULAR BROOCHES FROM CHAVENAGE
(SCALE X1.35)



HEART-SHAPED CLOISONNE APPLIQUE WITH
TIN FOILING FROM ABINGDON (SCALE X1.35)

PLATE 8.2
(PHOTOGRAPHS TAKEN BY AUTHOR WITH
KIND PERMISSION OF THE ASHMOLEAN MUSEUM)

The relative influence of the native and Anglo-Saxon populations on patterns of exchange is most likely to be related to political and social control within the upper Thames valley. The manifestation of such control may have varied significantly and may have changed from the native to the Anglo Saxon population at different rates within the region during the sixth century. The above point could be illustrated by certain artefact and commodity distributions. One example can be seen in the fashion of sword burial in a small proportion of Anglo-Saxon male graves from the end of the fifth century. Their distribution can be seen in figure 8.4. There is a regional trend for the occurrence of at least two sword graves at the largest Anglo-Saxon cemeteries of late fifth-sixth century date, however, there is an unusual 'gap' in the distribution from the Anglo-Saxon cemeteries in the environs of Dorchester-on-Thames. This is especially surprising since Dorchester has been suggested as one of the earliest political centres of the Anglo-Saxons in the upper Thames valley (Dickinson 1976, Volume 1, p424). This gap is not influenced by the absence of a large, predominantly sixth century cemetery. As noted in Chapter Seven, the Berinsfield cemetery outside the Roman town walls, to the north of Dorchester, has over 160 burials with an unusually high number of male burials in relation to females (Ashmolean Museum records). The vast majority of males were armed, at least with knife and spear. Many also had shields, indicated by their shield bosses but swords were absent.

Other artefacts and commodities, seen as luxuries or 'prestige goods' in current anthropological exchange models, are also absent from the Dorchester Anglo-Saxon cemeteries but are available on a wider regional basis. The distribution of rock crystal objects illustrates this point. Rock crystal beads are probable foreign imports (Huggett 1988, p70) and tend to be found in several of the richest female graves of sixth and very early seventh century date (see figures 7.24-7.27). Again, this is a widely recurrent geographical pattern in the upper Thames valley, the exception being the Anglo-Saxon cemeteries immediately around Dorchester. The

distribution lies on the southern side of the River Thames and west of Dorchester (the examples at Wheatley come from a seventh century inhumation - Leeds 1917,p52). Similar shortage can be seen in the quantities of silver and tin in the Dorchester cemeteries (see figures 7.19, 7.23 and 8.5). They are found in very small quantities when compared with regional trends of access (see figure 7.18).

The reason for the commodity and specific artefact shortage among the Anglo-Saxon cemeteries around Dorchester in the fifth and sixth centuries may relate to the presence of a large native population in this area. Dorchester had certainly ceased to be an urban centre by this time but it may still have remained a 'central settlement'. It has been suggested that Dorchester could be viewed as a 'castella' type settlement where a community may have settled or simply carried on living within the walled area of the old town, with possible elite and craft specialist elements within its population. A native political authority and a potentially large native population (bearing in mind the Queenford Farm and Overy cemeteries) could have resulted in exclusion of objects, such as swords and luxury commodities, from nearby Anglo-Saxon communities during the first half of the sixth century. With regard to continuity of native political authority at Dorchester, it is also interesting that all the fifth-sixth century Anglo-Saxon and late-post-Roman native cemeteries are located outside the walled area of the old town. The location of the cemeteries outside the walls may be a reflection of respect for Roman funerary law banning burial within urban limits (Paulus 'Opinions', chapter xxi, in Lewis and Reinhold 1955, p546-547; see figure 8.3).

A more dispersed pattern of settlement further away from Dorchester and increased distance from a potential native political authority housed there, may have resulted in less resistance or the lack of any desire to control access of goods to the Anglo-Saxon population. The Anglo-Saxons could have gained pre-eminence over the indigenous population at different rates in different parts of the upper Thames basin. The late fifth-sixth century Anglo-Saxon inhumation cemeteries on the south bank of

the Thames and west of Dorchester follow the regional trends of access to the commodities discussed above. This suggests less inhibition of exchange patterns in these areas. The above hypothesis, suggesting a native role on restriction of exchange in certain items and raw materials is an attempt to account for the poverty of the Dorchester Anglo-Saxon cemeteries. It is possible that this theory will have to be changed if a rich Anglo-Saxon cemetery of this period is discovered at Dorchester. The observation of commodity shortage, however, was made through detailed analysis of the two largest Anglo-Saxon cemeteries at Dorchester - Berinsfield and Amey's Pit - and by detailed reference to the finds from the other two Anglo-Saxon cemeteries of this period - Dyke Hills and Minchin (Baldwin Brown 1915, Volume 4, p647-648; Leeds 1936, p19; Kirk and Leeds 1953, p63-77; Clutterbuck and Akerman 1863, p209). The observance of commodity shortage is not due to a lack of excavated Anglo-Saxon cemeteries in the area. If a more wealthy Anglo-Saxon cemetery of the fifth-sixth centuries is not found the combination of the material poverty of the Anglo-Saxon cemeteries and the potential for a large surviving native population, even a native political authority, might necessitate some revision to Dickinson's theory that Dorchester was the early centre for a nascent Anglo-Saxon political unit from the fifth century.

There is no doubt, however, that by the end of the sixth century the native population of the upper Thames valley had become Anglicised. The only cemetery with dated post-Roman native burials - Queenford Farm may have remained a burial focus until the early seventh century but the radio-carbon date calibration only suggested possible use at this time at the widest extent of confidence levels (Haddon-Reece 1988, p58). The dated graves may have been deposited in the sixth century. Abandonment of this type of cemetery over the course of the sixth century would have coincided with the widescale adoption of Anglo-Saxon methods of cultural expression across the upper Thames valley. The ultimate Anglicisation of the native population resulted in the formation of a new 'Anglo-Saxon' society - a composite of

the Germanic and native populations. The scale and direction of exchange links between the upper Thames valley and its neighbours is a reflection of the native and immigrant components of Anglo-Saxon society in the region.

8.3 The scale and direction of exchange relations between the upper Thames valley and its neighbours

The 'Anglo-Saxon' population of the upper Thames valley had access to commodities and artefacts from the Merovingian Frankish kingdoms of modern day France, Germany and the Low countries; the Baltic Sea area and British areas to the west and north of the upper Thames valley. The purpose of this section is to assess the relative importance and the regularity of exchange with these respective areas, either directly or through 'middleman' regions.

i) British Areas

In assessing the scale of exchange relations with British areas, especially the south-west peninsula, the evidence for the use and exchange of tin deserves detailed discussion for the light it sheds on British and Anglo-Saxon relations over much of the upper Thames valley. The context in which tin is found on Anglo-Saxon dress accessories has already been discussed. In particular, it is associated with native decorative motifs. Its use follows a native fashion and it is inherently likely that a British tin source was used. There are a small number of 'white metal' tinned speculum objects in the upper Thames valley, imported from the Merovingian Rhineland (Scull 1986, p126-127) but their number is so small and the character of decoration is so different that it seems extremely unlikely that tin was imported from continental Europe.

The nearest, and indeed only, extensive tin reserves in Britain are in Cornwall.

Cornish tin is known to have been exploited throughout the Roman period for pewter industries (Fulford 1989, p198). It was probably mined as early as the Bronze Age in the region. As a result, it is the occurrence of this commodity in the upper Thames valley, rather than isolated objects of British manufacture, that provides the main evidence for exchange relations between this area and the British south-west peninsula.

The mechanisms for the procurement of tin have not received any academic study. Attention has previously concentrated on the native influence it shows on Anglo-Saxon material culture (already discussed) and on its possible use as a cheaper decorative commodity than silver, though with a similar finish. Unfortunately, due to lack of archaeological attention, only one site in Cornwall has produced evidence of early medieval tin working - Chun Castle in the Landsend peninsula. The site is a stone ring fort or 'rath' and was excavated by Leeds from 1925 to 1930 (Leeds 1931, p38-40) and was reassessed by Charles Thomas in 1956 (Thomas 1956, p75-78). Leeds assumed that the site was occupied in the Iron Age and that it was abandoned shortly before the Roman conquest. Thomas, however, also noted undoubted evidence of occupation in the post-Roman period. This may either be an example of reoccupation of an Iron Age defended site or continued occupation of the site from the Iron Age into the post-Roman period. The excavations produced evidence of a tin and iron working hearth or furnace (Thomas 1956, p77). This furnace was associated with a spread of sixth century 'B' ware Mediterranean amphora sherds and a sherd of sixth-seventh century 'E' ware. It would appear that the metal working evidence is post-Roman (Thomas 1956, p78).

The evidence from Chun Castle is the only direct archaeological evidence that tin was being mined in Cornwall during the post-Roman period. Perhaps it is not surprising that evidence of post-Roman mine workings has not been discovered for the following reasons. First, the study of tin mining has not received much attention for the pre-modern era. Secondly, the vast majority of eighteenth and nineteenth

century mines are likely to have been located at bases of earlier tin extraction; therefore the archaeological evidence would have been destroyed. The discovery of the bronze age copper mines at the Great Orme Head in Llandudno, however, may hold out some hope for research into metal ore extraction (Hammond 1992, p409). The nineteenth century copper mine did not destroy all evidence of the earlier workings. Archaeological survey and carbon-dating of organic evidence may produce some results at other mines that extracted resources first mined in antiquity.

The form in which tin was transported is also conjectural, however, 'ingot' form is likely (Thomas 1990, p13). Historical corroboration for the continued production and export of tin from the south-west peninsula in the early medieval period has come from the seventh century Saint's Life of St John the Almsgiver, who was patriarch of Alexandria between 611-619 AD. A passage from this work described a merchant from Egypt sailing with a cargo of corn to relieve a famine in Britain. In exchange the merchant returned with a cargo of tin (Fox 1955, p64). This passage might be used to suggest large scale production and export of tin from the south-west peninsula from the fifth-seventh centuries. This would ignore the problem of assessing the frequency of bulk tin export, however. Shipment of tin to the Mediterranean may have been rare. The scale and frequency of the tin trade has special relevance in relation to exchange between the British and 'Saxon' populations in the upper Thames valley. The amount of tin necessary to decorate the copper-alloy objects would have been quite small but the wide geographical access to tin seen in the Anglo-Saxon cemeteries of the region from the end of the fifth to the early seventh century, does imply a regular supply of the commodity. This small but regular supply of tin suggests transport by land from the south-west peninsula (see figure 7.18). The mechanisms by which tin may have been exchanged are discussed in Chapter Eleven.

In recent years it has often been assumed that continental imports in the upper

Thames valley have arrived via Kent, as the latter has the largest concentration of Merovingian imports in sixth and seventh century 'Anglo-Saxon' England. There is a significant possibility, however, that there were other sources for certain continental imports. The distribution of gold coinage in the fifth and sixth centuries in Britain (figure 8.6) indicates an eastern and western zone in contact with the continent - the south-west peninsula and Kent. Such a zonation has been noticed before, with regard to ceramics, since the work of Radford, Rahtz and Thomas (Rahtz 1974, p99-103; Thomas 1959, p89-111; Thomas 1981, p3-4; Evison 1974, p82-85; Huggett 1988, p74-76). The distribution of gold coinage, however, has not been discussed in equal detail. The gold coinage indicates contact with different areas of post-Roman Gaul. The gold coins from the south-west peninsula are exclusively Byzantine; for example, sixth century coins of Justin II and Tiberius Constantinus from Princetown on southern Dartmoor, as well as sixth and early seventh century examples found at Exeter (Fox 1955, p62-63).

The Kentish gold coinage finds are predominantly products of Merovingian mints or Merovingian copies of Byzantine issues (Rigold 1975, p665-666; Roach Smith 1845, p187-191; Hicks 1991, p24). The number of gold coins is greater in Kent than in the south-west peninsula, however, such a difference in quantity recovered may be more to do with the context of deposition than a reflection of the amount of gold coinage entering the respective areas. In the south-west peninsula all the finds are either isolated or from presumed settlements. They may be regarded as likely candidates for 'accidental' loss, unlike the gold coinage in Kent which is found mainly in grave assemblages. These deliberate depositions, often used the coinage in pendant form, eg. the examples from the St Martin's, Canterbury Hoard (Roach Smith 1845, p187-191; Hicks 1991, p23-24) and Faversham (Rigold 1975, p668-671; Hicks 1991, p53-54).

In contrast with the south-west peninsula and Kent, there are no undoubted depositions of gold coins in the upper Thames valley before the seventh century. A

gold coin of the mid fourth century, Roman emperor Valentinian and a coin of the sixth century Byzantine emperor Mauricius Tiberius were found as chance finds in Dorchester-on-Thames but they seem to have been found with a seventh century coin, contemporary with the Crondall hoard, dated at 640 AD approximately (Rutherford-Davies 1982, p145). If this later coin was associated with the earlier coins, all three are seventh century depositions, however, the fourth and sixth century coins may have arrived in the upper Thames valley in an earlier period. Other than these two examples, gold as a commodity, was absent in the upper Thames valley during the fifth and sixth centuries, apart from the very small amounts used in gilding on Anglo-Saxon saucer brooches. In the light of the probable links with the south-west peninsula seen as a result of tin exchange, the small quantities of gold are as likely to have been imported from the south-west peninsula as Kent during the fifth and sixth centuries.

Kent is assumed to have had its main contacts with north-west France and the Low countries (Hawkes 1982, p76; Hodges 1982, p32). The south-west peninsula, in contrast, is best seen as integrated within the sea routes of the western French seaboard (Thomas 1990, p3-4). The recognition of exchange routes from Cornwall to the upper Thames valley, seen through the importation of tin and possibly gold, suggests the likelihood that other continental imports could have been imported from the west rather than the east.

So-called 'Germanic' fifth and sixth century vessel glass has been found at a number of sites in western Britain and around the Irish Sea littoral. Examples come from South Cadbury, Somerset (Price and Cottam forthcoming); Dinas Powys, South Glamorgan (Harden 1963, p179-181); Whithorn, Dumfries and Galloway (Hill 1991, p7); Dalkey Island, Dublin Bay (Griffiths 1992, p63); the Breiddin hill fort in Powys (Musson 1991, p194) and the Mote of Mark in Galloway (Harden 1956, p150). The vast majority of vessel glass from these sites has been recovered in the form of beaker fragments. In the majority of cases these are cone beakers

manufactured during the fifth and sixth centuries. It had been assumed that this Germanic glass was obtained via Anglo-Saxon areas (Price 1992, p136), however, the recent publication of the quantity of early medieval glass vessels from the fifth-sixth century site at Cadbury-Congresbury, on the River Yeo in Somerset, renders the above conclusion highly improbable. The post-Roman hill top settlement of Cadbury-Congresbury was excavated by Philip Rahtz between 1968 and 1973 but it is only with the recent publication of the site that it has become possible to assess its full role in exchange relations with the continent.

Jennifer Price noted the presence of at least 44 early medieval glass vessels of fifth and sixth century date at Cadbury-Congresbury (Price 1992, p137). She identified fragments of 18 glass beakers - mostly cone beakers. Other probable continental glass vessels of unknown provenance were also identified. It is possible that they are Byzantine or southern Gaulish products. It has also been suggested that the Cone beakers from the 'Celtic West' had a different continental origin than cone beakers in 'Anglo-Saxon' areas, even that the western examples were native products (Hill 1991, p7; Campbell 1993, p45). This argument is based on the fact that many of the cone beaker fragments from western Britain have decorative forms which are exclusive to that area. They tend to be pale yellow or colourless with white marvered glass trails in chevron patterns (Price pers comm; Campbell 1993, p45). Cone beakers from 'Anglo-Saxon' areas tend to be blue, pale green, yellow-green or colourless and white marvered trail decoration is much rarer (Price 1992, p139-141). The forms of the cone beakers, however, do not differ significantly.

The exclusive nature of many of the cone beakers and other glass vessels in western Britain may well indicate a different continental source than so-called 'Anglo-Saxon' cone beakers but their distributions are not exclusive. The types of cone beaker found in Anglo-Saxon areas are also found together with 'Celtic West' type cone beakers on certain western British sites, particularly in the south-west peninsula and Severn estuary. Both types of cone beaker were found at Cadbury-

Congresbury and South Cadbury (Price 1992, p139-143; Price and Cottam forthcoming). A smaller number of examples were found at Dinas Powys and Whithorn (Harden 1963, p179-182; Campbell 1993, p45). Price suggested the likelihood of some trade with 'Anglo-Saxon' England for the procurement of the 'Germanic' glass (Price 1992, p136). This is a possibility, however, when the small quantities of glass vessels in neighbouring Anglo-Saxon areas are analysed (see figure 8.7), this hypothesis does not explain the larger quantities of 'Germanic' glass vessels at Cadbury-Congresbury and South Cadbury in a satisfactory manner.

Only two glass vessels have been found in fifth-sixth century contexts in the upper Thames basin. Both are cone beakers. The two examples come from Cassington, 'Smith's Pit' (Leeds and Riley 1942, p61-62) and Fairford (Roach-Smith 1853, p79; Ashmolean Museum records). Both are located in cemeteries at the western end of the upper Thames valley. The cone beaker from the former cemetery was pale blue-green in colour, while the cone beaker from the latter was yellow. If these vessels had been imported from the south, via the Isle of Wight or from the east via Kent, one would have expected to find glass vessels in pre-seventh century contexts in the central and eastern parts of the upper Thames valley but they are completely absent. It is surprising that glass vessels are completely absent from comparable cemeteries to Fairford and Cassington-'Smith's Pit' in the latter parts of the valley, such as Abingdon-Staxton Road and Long Wittenham 1. Bearing in mind the similar deposition patterns in these cemeteries it would be strange if there had been a demand for glass vessels imported via Kent or the Isle of Wight in the west of the upper Thames valley and not in its central and eastern areas.

Since the cone beakers from Fairford and Cassington are in the west of the Thames valley, it seems more sensible to suggest the south-west peninsula as their source. Rather than seeing these glass vessels as imports from other 'Anglo-Saxon' areas, the above examples can be seen as indicative of the extensive contacts between the south-west peninsula and the western and southern Merovingian kingdoms in

modern day France. The mixture of so-called 'Celtic West' and 'Anglo-Saxon' types of glass vessel at Cadbury-Congresbury, South Cadbury, Dinas Powys and Whithorn may not reflect exchange relations between different parts of the Merovingian Frankish kingdoms and these western British sites, however. It seems likely that the 'Anglo-Saxon' and 'Celtic West' types of cone beaker were manufactured in different parts of the Frankish kingdoms, however, the finished glass vessels may then have been traded on an inter-regional level between Merovingian areas. As a result, mixed groups of cone beakers manufactured in different areas could have been assembled in northern and western France. The mixed groups of cone beakers at the sites in western Britain may therefore be the result of trade and exchange with limited areas of the western French seaboard, rather than different regions of France and the Low countries.

Inter-regional exchange of glass vessels in northern and western France before export to Britain probably resulted in access to both types of glass vessel at certain western British sites. The two cone beakers in the western part of the upper Thames valley could therefore be explained as the result of exchange with the south-west peninsula of Britain and can be set alongside evidence for exchange of tin and possibly gold from the late fifth-early seventh centuries. In addition to the latter objects and commodities, a late Celtic dress pin made from copper-alloy with red enamel and 'pelta-scroll' decoration from the Anglo-Saxon cemetery at Cassington-Purwell Farm may also indicate links with neighbouring British areas (Leeds and Riley 1942, p63-69). It may also indicate that an element of the Anglo-Saxon population in the Cassington area had British ancestry. The pin could have been an heirloom (see plate 8.3).

Over the course of the seventh century, evidence for the exchange links between the upper Thames valley and the south-west peninsula comes to an end, as does the use of British commodities on Anglo-Saxon dress accessories, eg. tin. Two reasons explain this change. The first is the British loss of political control over



PIN WITH LATE CELTIC PELTA SCROLL RED ENAMEL
DECORATION FROM CASSINGTON-PURWELL FARM
(SCALE X1.35)



NECKLACE OF ROUGH GARNETS FROM BLOODMOOR HILL,
PAKFIELD IN SUFFOLK (SCALE X1.35)

PLATE 8.3

(PHOTOGRAPHS TAKEN BY THE AUTHOR WITH KIND
PERMISSION OF THE ASHMOLEAN MUSEUM)

regions bordering the upper Thames valley from the late sixth century. The second is that the process of Anglicisation seems to have ended the desire to maintain regional dress styles which exhibited influences of native British styles. The change in dress fashion would have removed demand for commodities like tin and political unrest and Anglo-Saxon conquest of areas bordering the upper Thames watershed may have destroyed the motivation behind exchange and trading relationships between Anglo-Saxon and British communities in political border zones. Dispersal of objects and commodities is unlikely to have been formally organised. Instead, objects are more likely to have been exchanged between neighbouring communities at a personal level in most cases (exchange mechanisms are discussed in greater detail in Chapter Eleven). Exchange can be seen as a method of establishing peaceful alliances. Warfare between British and Anglo-Saxon areas would have removed the probable reason for much of the exchange activity.

ii) Kent

During the last two decades Kent has been seen as the source for the vast majority of continental imports in Anglo-Saxon England (Hawkes 1986, p63-95). As early as 1933, however, Leeds pointed out that evidence of dress accessories, eg. female brooches, suggested very limited contact between the upper Thames valley and the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms east and south of the Chilterns (Leeds 1933, p244). This was in direct contrast to the extensive contact noted between 'middle Anglia' and the upper Thames valley. Without a systematic quantifiable basis, Hawkes noted the 'large' number of imported continental 'prestige' objects derived from Kent, in sixth century contexts, in the upper Thames valley. This led her to suggest that the upper Thames valley was important to Kent's internal trade (Hawkes 1986, p83). The evidence from the systematic quantification carried out in this thesis suggests that Leeds' conclusion was more accurate for the period before the seventh century.

Prestige commodities with a certain Kentish derivation are rare in the upper Thames valley during the sixth century, as are Kentish dress accessories. From the extensive sample analysed, the sum total of Kentish imports in the upper Thames valley from the fifth to the end of the sixth century are as follows:- eight swords (of uncertain continental origin) which may have been imported via Kent; a crystal ball from Fairford (see figure 7.24); four buckles, from Long Wittenham 1, Fairford and Watchfield and a very small number of white metal, tinned speculum dress accessories, eg. the buckle in grave 15 at Wheatley (Leeds 1917, p53) and the belt appliques from grave F67 at Watchfield (Scull 1986, p110-111). The latter and Fairford were not in the detailed sample. The very fact that the above imports were rare from the fifth-early seventh centuries may have helped their owners express their social status, however, their number does not suggest large scale or regular contact between Kent and the upper Thames valley during the first two centuries of Anglo-Saxon settlement in the region.

There are also eight 'Vestland' type cauldrons and one 'Gotland' type cauldron in the upper Thames valley, with two concentrations - at Long Wittenham 1 and Fairford (Dickinson 1976, Volume 1, p364-365). These cauldrons may have been imported via Kent. They were manufactured in the old Roman provincial areas of Gaul or Germany and seem to have been produced from the late Roman into the early medieval period. Examples in Anglo-Saxon areas could have been imported from France, the Low countries or Scandinavia, since large quantities of these cauldrons have been found in Norway and Sweden (Dahlin Hauken 1991, p105). There are also a number from western Britain; three Vestland cauldrons were found at Mold, in Flintshire, in north Wales (Banks 1803, p275). It would therefore appear that these objects were not only imported and exchanged via Kent. The same can be said for the Stoup of northern French derivation at Long Wittenham 1 (Akerman 1860, p335). It has already been argued that the sixth century glass vessels in the upper Thames valley are more likely to have come from the south-west peninsula

rather than via Kent. In the same way Vestland cauldrons may have been available via both the eastern and western exchange routes into the upper Thames basin.

During the first half of the seventh century there was a change in the location of cemeteries. The large cemeteries used from the fifth-early seventh centuries went out of use and were replaced by a series of smaller inhumation cemeteries, eg. Long Wittenham 2, Stanlake/Standlake 1, Ducklington, North Leigh, etc. The cremation burial practice also reappeared in association with certain barrow burials at Asthall and Leafield (Leeds 1924, p125-126; Dickinson and Speake 1992, p108). The fashion of interment of cremated and inhumation remains under large barrows first appeared in the region during the first half of the seventh century. Dickinson and Speake have noted a particular concentration in the west of the upper Thames valley, suggesting that cremation was more widely used in barrow burial than has previously been credited in the region (Dickinson and Speake 1992, p119-121). Both Asthall and Leafield are in this western group. In contrast, the Cuddesdon barrow and its associated inhumations, is located in the east of the upper Thames valley (Dickinson 1974, p5-7).

From the early-mid seventh century, evidence for exchange links between the upper Thames valley, British areas and Middle Anglia is no longer detectable. Instead, it would appear that the region looked to the east and south to procure continental imports. While the 'final phase' inhumation cemeteries founded in this period tend to contain fewer grave-goods than their sixth century forebears in the region, they contain a greater number of imports procured via Kent. Imports are not found in a wider number of graves, rather the few graves with imports contained more of them. The early-mid seventh century barrow burials also contained continental imports derived via Kent. Despite the likely display of status exhibited by the construction of barrows at Asthall and Cuddesdon, the number of imports recovered from each barrow did not differ significantly from the richest flat graves in contemporary inhumation cemeteries. The types of import interred in flat graves and barrows were

different, however, though it is unclear whether this difference had any significance (see figure 8.8).

At present, 'Coptic' copper-alloy vessels have only been found with barrow burials in the upper Thames valley. These vessels were manufactured in the eastern Mediterranean. Examples were found at Asthall and Cuddesdon. The Asthall vessel was a bowl, though it only survived in a large number of small fragments (Dickinson and Speake 1992, p101-102). These fragments indicate that the bowl may have been of the same type as the Shiptonthorpe bowl from East Yorkshire (Hull Museum records). The Cuddesdon vessel was an elaborate bucket ('Anon', *Archaeological Journal* 1847, p157-159; Dickinson 1974, p13).

There is also a discrepancy in the distribution of imported glass vessels in barrows and flat graves. Glass vessels were only deposited on one site during the first half of the seventh century, in the barrow burial at Cuddesdon. Two blue glass bowls with marvered glass trail decoration accompanied inhumations placed in the barrow. No exact parallels have been found, though they were probably imported via Kent. Only one of these bowls now survives (see Volume 2, photographic appendix). A complete glass vessel was only interred in one other seventh century grave. A palm cup was interred with a female flat burial at Stanlake 1. It was probably deposited in the mid-late seventh century, possibly some time later than the interment of the barrow burials. The palm cup should also be seen as an import derived from Kent. It could have been manufactured in the Frankish kingdoms or even in Kent itself (Wilson 1971, p111).

A range of other imported objects and commodities have been found in the richest flat graves dating from the middle and later decades of the seventh century. The imported commodities used to make artefacts included gold, amethyst, garnet and silver.

Pear-shaped amethyst beads were deposited in two rich female graves in the mid-late seventh century. This mirrors the date range for their deposition in East

Yorkshire. They were ultimately derived from Egypt, though they were imported into the upper Thames valley from Kent, which possesses the largest quantity of amethyst beads in England (Huggett 1988, p66-67).

Gold objects were also deposited in the region from the mid-seventh century, either in the form of composite dress jewellery or as pendants. The examples from Stanlake, Ducklington, Milton, Chadlington and Cokethorpe have been described in the last chapter. Only a small percentage of graves contained gold artefacts. All were flat grave inhumations. The gold for the jewellery probably came from contemporary gold coinage. Only one mid-seventh century gold coin has been found in the upper Thames valley at Dorchester. It was probably associated with late fourth and late sixth century gold coins (Dickinson 1974, p25). Since evidence for seventh century exchange contacts with the south-west peninsula is absent, it must be assumed that the seventh century coin was obtained through contact with the lower Thames valley and Kent or via links with areas south of the Marlborough and Berkshire Downs.

The number of solid silver artefacts recovered from seventh century cemeteries also suggests that silver continued to enter the region, however, its source is unknown. Unlike gold and amethyst, silver objects have been found in flat inhumation graves and in the barrow burial at Asthall (Leeds 1924, p119).

The very small quantities of garnet in the upper Thames valley could have been imported via Kent or Middle Anglia. Garnet was used to decorate the large saucer brooches of the early seventh century, for example the pair from Wheatley (Leeds 1917, p52). Other examples of this large type of saucer brooch have been found in Middle Anglia at sites such as Puddle Hill, Stone and Kempston in Bedfordshire (Hawkes and Matthews 1985, p93-96). Exchange routes for the procurement of garnets are discussed further below.

While the overall quantity of artefacts imported via Kent had increased in relation to the quantity recovered from sixth century remains, the number of imports in the

upper Thames valley during the seventh century was small compared to other regions of England in the same period, for example, East Anglia, East Yorkshire and the Peak District. Like other areas, however, the imports were concentrated in the graves of a small number of individuals. The inescapable conclusion is that the scale of exchange relations between Kent and the upper Thames valley has been overestimated in recent years. This may have been the result of the detailed study of the Anglo-Saxon remains in the upper Thames basin and Kent at a time when detailed research on other parts of Anglo-Saxon England had not been carried out to the same extent.

iii) Middle Anglia

The distribution of several commodities, together with dress accessories (Leeds 1933, p242-245) and even the distribution of the primary sceatta series coins in the region (Metcalf 1984, p33), illustrates regular exchange between the upper Thames valley and Middle Anglia from the sixth-eighth centuries. Over the course of the sixth century the distribution of rock crystal and amber objects show extensive links with 'middle Anglian' areas. There is also a wide but relatively small distribution of dress accessories of so-called 'Anglian' derivation in the upper Thames valley. In particular, this is seen in the distribution of small-long brooches in female graves of the sixth century, examples came from Abingdon, Brighthampton, Long Wittenham 1, Eynsham, etc (see Volume 3 and photographic index in Volume 2). The latter brooches are likely to represent exchange of people between the two areas. This may indicate exogamy - women marrying outside their native social groups, travelling from the Bedfordshire area into the upper Thames valley. The role of the 'Middle Anglian' groups as intentional or unintentional intermediaries for exchange between larger socio-political units has already been discussed in Chapter Three. This is likely to have been their role in relations with the upper Thames valley.

The fashion of deposition of large numbers of amber beads in female graves reached its peak from the second half of the sixth century until the early seventh century. Similarly, the majority of rock crystal beads are deposited from the mid sixth-early seventh century. Figures 7.24 to 7.26 illustrate this trend for rock crystal. The number of amber beads deposited is so large that a distribution map was inappropriate. Their numbers deposited on individual sites can be seen in Figures 7.28 to 7.30 and 7.39. A Baltic derivation has been suggested for the amber in Anglo-Saxon England, while the source of crystal beads is thought to have been continental Europe but its location is uncertain. The upper Thames valley and East Yorkshire are at the extreme ends of a zone of large-scale amber deposition, extending through the East Midlands into East Anglia. This amber distribution suggests that the so-called 'Anglian' areas were maintaining exchange contacts with the Baltic Sea area during the sixth century. East and middle Anglia are the areas with greatest amber deposition (Huggett 1988, p65). It is likely that amber was imported into these regions and subsequently dispersed.

The problem of the scale and regularity of exchange in amber is difficult to assess. Amber is not a bulk commodity in terms of amounts used in Anglo-Saxon England, however, there does seem to have been an increase in the social demand for its use and by implication, an increase in its importation during the second half of the sixth century. The concentration of amber in the richest female graves of the upper Thames valley reflects this fashion among the 'Anglo-Saxon' population of the region. The route for its movement into the upper Thames basin must have been along the 'Icknield Way' route along the Ouse-Chilterns corridor into the Thames valley. It is difficult to suggest what went into the Middle Anglian areas in return.

The distribution of crystal beads mirrors the amber concentration:- a north-east to south-west concentration, from East Yorkshire, Middle Anglia and Norfolk across the East Midlands into the upper Thames valley. Again Huggett's general trend for the distribution of crystal beads picks this out well (Huggett 1988, p71). The conclusion

must be that crystal beads (as opposed to crystal balls) in the upper Thames valley were obtained via exchange links with Middle Anglian groups.

It is also possible that the small quantity of garnet, used on upper Thames valley saucer brooches in the early seventh century, could have been obtained via its Middle Anglian exchange routes rather than Kent. Raw garnets were certainly imported directly into East Anglia in the seventh century. There is a complete necklace of uncut garnets from 'Bloodmoor Hill' near Pakefield in northern Suffolk (Ellis 1848, p65; Ashmolean Museum records). This is shown in plate 8.3. The Middle Anglian areas could have acted as a 'middle-man' zone in the exchange of small quantities of garnet from East Anglia.

During the mid-seventh century there are no objects or commodities of identifiable middle Anglian derivation in the upper Thames valley. This may reflect a temporary closing of this exchange route but this conclusion is likely to give too much credence to the study of imported commodities. By the end of the seventh century and the turn of the eighth century, evidence for the use of the Middle Anglian - upper Thames valley exchange route re-appears. The Aston Rowant primary series sceatta hoard and other finds spots of primary series sceattas along the great Ouse - Chilterns corridor through which the Icknield Way passes, attest to the use of this zone as a corridor for exchange at this time (Metcalf 1984, p33-66 and 246). The Aston Rowant hoard, on the edge of the upper Thames valley, represents the earliest evidence for the use of primary series sceattas, dating from the late seventh-early eighth century in the region. The adoption of the use of silver sceattas as a medium of exchange in the upper Thames valley occurred during the first half of the eighth century (see figure 7.47). It is interesting that the Aston Rowant hoard has a very high percentage of Frisian runic coins (Series F) indicating links with the Low countries rather than Merovingian Gaul. Links with the Frisians and, via them the Baltic, may represent a continuation of the exchange routes of the sixth century between East and Middle Anglian areas and non-Merovingian continental Europe

(see figure 8.9). The upper Thames valley formed the south-western extension of these exchange routes.

iv) South of the Berkshire and Marlborough Downs

The Berkshire and Marlborough Downs form the southern boundary of the defined upper Thames valley study area. They also seem to have been a significant boundary to exchange relations between the upper Thames valley and the Hampshire and Wiltshire areas. The latter areas have traits in common with the upper Thames valley, Surrey and Sussex, in that saucer brooches and other so-called 'Saxon' dress accessories are most common from the fifth-seventh centuries, however, disc brooches are rare. These traits can be seen in the most recently published cemetery from the area, at Alton in Hampshire (Evison 1988, p8-11). The southern Wiltshire and Hampshire areas also show links with the Isle of Wight. Brooch forms, such as radiate-headed brooches, current at the cemetery of Chessel Down on the Isle of Wight from the late fifth through the sixth century, were found at the Harnham Hill cemetery in Salisbury (Akerman 1854, p278; Arnold 1982, p13-72 and Figures 50-52). Southern Hampshire has traditionally been seen as a 'Jutish' area together with the Isle of Wight. Cemeteries such as Alton and Harnham Hill may therefore have been located on the interface between different 'Anglo-Saxon' groups.

Apart from material culture similarities, however, there is no undoubted evidence of exchange activity between the populations south and north of the Berkshire, Marlborough and Hampshire Downs from the fifth-seventh centuries. The distribution of early-mid eighth century secondary series sceattas, thought to have been minted south and north of the Downs also suggests very limited contact between these regions. The distributions of H, K and U series sceattas are mutually distinct (see figure 8.9 and Metcalf 1984, p37-39).

8.4 Exchange of indigenous resources within the upper Thames valley

In contrast to East Yorkshire, distributions of indigenous raw materials and imported luxuries in the upper Thames valley did not provide any indication that regional raw material exchange was a basis of wealth creation behind the luxuries seen in cemetery remains. Evidence for the scale and nature of exchange or movement of resources on an intra-regional level can only be tentatively suggested via analysis of settlement remains. Large quantities of artefacts were recovered from five excavated settlements examined in this study: Beech House Hotel - Dorchester-on-Thames (Rowley and Brown 1982, p10-17); Sutton Courtenay (Leeds 1936, p21-28; Leeds 1947, p79-93 et al); Shakenoak (Brodrigg, Hands and Walker 1972, p24-31); Barton Court Farm (Miles 1984, p16-19) and Barrow Hills, Radley (Chambers 1984, p26-28). Only the settlements at Sutton Courtenay, Barton Court Farm and Barrow Hills, however, have been extensively excavated. It is therefore difficult to compare indigenous raw material distributions from extensively excavated sites with distributions from settlements with a small number of excavated features since artefacts from the latter sites need not provide a representative reflection of deposition of different raw materials.

Despite the small scale of excavation, however, the largest body of evidence for specialist working of raw materials, such as iron and copper-alloy, was retrieved from a single ditch deposit at Shakenoak. The objects from Sutton Courtenay and Barrow Hills came from a large number of sunken-feature buildings and earth-fast timber building floor and foundation levels (see figure 7.52 and 7.53). The quantity of iron and copper-alloy artefacts from the 'F4' fill of the ditch at Shakenoak far exceeds the iron and copper-alloy totals from the more extensively excavated sites. Since this discrepancy cannot be put down to limited excavation at Sutton Courtenay and Barrow Hills, the distribution may reflect a real difference in access to iron and copper-alloy.

The types of iron artefact found at Shakenoak, including metalworking tongs, horse bits, bucket mounts and various bladed implements suggest that the localised ditch deposit represents the rubbish area associated with specialist metalworking - probably iron working. The remains of an iron smelting furnace and work area were found nearby. Shakenoak is also located close to ironstone deposits at Fowler, these deposits have been suggested as the probable source of iron for the area (Powell 1972, p145). The increased availability of iron at Shakenoak compared with the settlements further south east may therefore be the direct result of proximity to the iron ore source.

It is possible that Shakenoak possessed a local ironworking specialist who may have produced artefacts at a level above the needs of the Shakenoak community. Provision of a specialist service for a number of communities might explain the high number of copper-alloy objects at Shakenoak, since scrap copper-alloy could have been exchanged as a raw material in return for production of iron artefacts. If copper-alloy was worked at this site, the evidence may remain in an unexcavated part of the settlement. Direct evidence for copper-alloy working has been found on very few sites in the upper Thames valley. A possible failed saucer brooch casting was found in a sunken-feature building at Cassington-Purwell Farm (Dickinson 1993, p 35) and crucible fragments were found in sunken-feature building 4 at Sutton Courtenay, though the associated objects do not suggest that this building was a workshop (see volume 3).

While the quantity of iron and copper-alloy artefacts and the tongs suggest specialist iron-working at Shakenoak, the character of the deposition contexts at Shakenoak, Sutton Courtenay, Barrow Hills and Barton Court Farm may distort any conclusions drawn as a result of quantification alone. The absence of any indications of iron and copper-alloy working on many excavated early Anglo-Saxon settlements was noted in Chapter Three. In many cases this lack of evidence may relate to the limited size of settlement excavations in Britain, however, it may also

reflect iron and copper-alloy working on the periphery of settlements, in areas which archaeologists might consider as outside settlement sites. Furnaces and other structures using fire and high temperatures would have posed less of a threat to domestic buildings in peripheral areas. The distribution patterns of iron and copper-alloy from the settlements at Shakenoak, Barrow Hills and Sutton Courtenay may therefore reflect zones of activity rather than the level of access to iron, copper-alloy and the skills to work them.

Unlike the Garton-Elmswell area of East Yorkshire, the Shakenoak settlement did not possess a cluster of early Anglo-Saxon cemeteries in its immediate vicinity, which could have provided indications of the level of access to iron and copper-alloy objects associated with funerary ritual. Though not as concentrated as the Garton-Elmswell cemeteries, there are cemeteries near to the Barton Court Farm-Barrow Hills settlement agglomeration. Several furnished inhumations came from Barton Court Farm itself (Miles 1984, p18-19), while the much larger cemetery at Abingdon-Staxton Road is located two kilometres to the south-west (Leeds and Harden 1936). However, neither of these cemeteries show indications of greater access or use of iron and copper-alloy artefacts when examined alongside comparable cemeteries in the region, nor do they contain any tools or any other evidence for the presence of craft specialists. This is not to deny that they existed, however. Several inhumations from part of a cemetery were also discovered at a different location from the settlement at Sutton Courtenay (see Volume 3). The number of graves was too small for analysis (Oxoniensia, 'Notes' 1944, p200-201). The combination of nearby settlement and cemetery remains in the upper Thames valley do not, therefore, indicate long standing foci for raw material production.

The artefact groups from this region also shed little light on the mode of production of iron and copper-alloy artefacts. Metalworking is indicated on the settlements, though it is unclear whether permanent specialists resided at every settlement. Because of the lack of evidence for metalworking from most early Anglo-Saxon

settlements, itinerant production has been suggested as the mode of manufacture for metal artefacts in early Anglo-Saxon England (Arnold 1988, p85).

Groups of nearly identical brooches in the upper Thames valley, such as the 'swastika and radial bar' decorated saucer brooches suggest a degree of limited itinerancy (Dickinson 1993, p22). Examples of this nearly identical group have been found at the cemeteries of Abingdon, Brighthampton and Cassington-Purwell Farm (see photographic appendix in Volume 2). Dickinson has suggested that central workshops for the production of saucer brooches would run counter to general assessments of the early Anglo-Saxon economy (Dickinson 1993, p38). This conclusion would certainly seem to be appropriate for the evidence, however, as outlined in chapter three, alternative ideas of itinerant or workshop production have implications for current assumptions on the nature of early Anglo-Saxon societies.

Current opinion holds that Anglo-Saxon society was based on extended family or clan units (Charles-Edwards 1972, p31-33 ; Scull 1993, p73). If itinerant smiths had long itineraries, they would have been divorced from their kin groups for long periods and would therefore have been vulnerable to exploitation from hostile individuals or clans. The relatively close distribution of swastika and radial bar-decorated saucer brooches suggests that if itinerant production was practised, it was carried out on a small scale whereby an itinerant smith was always within relatively close proximity to his native community and kin-group. Alternatively, it is possible that members of nearby communities could have travelled to the smith rather than vice versa. In both cases, it can be assumed that artisans exchanged their skills for other commodities.

Moving away from a consideration of the organisation of production, it is also important to give some attention to the possible methods by which regional resources were moved from their source areas in the upper Thames basin. Indigenous resources utilised included iron and antler. Communities living in close

proximity to raw material sources are likely to have had advantageous access to them allowing specialisation in certain craft activities for exchange, however, movement of resources within the region need not have involved exchange transactions in some circumstances. Access to resources may have been guaranteed between different communities, where raw material sources were held in common. Similar common rights of access may also have structured transhumance movement of livestock within the region. The extent of common rights of access to resources may have been limited, however, to communities in relatively close proximity to the raw material sources. With the development of large composite estates with tracts of land in different environmental zones, resources could also have been transferred from different parts of estate units within the region (Hooke 1981, p68-69; Aston 1986, p49; Austin 1986, p96; Jones 1992, p79). It is possible that the development of estate components in different environmental zones was a formalisation of earlier common rights of access to resources. Movement of commodities within estate structures is discussed further in Chapter Eleven.

Evidence for regional exchange within the upper Thames valley between the fifth-early eighth centuries is therefore very limited. The nature of the deposits yielding artefacts from settlements may be an unrepresentative reflection of production practices among early Anglo-Saxon communities. Indications of limited itinerant production were suggested by certain brooch forms from cemeteries not settlements. Extensive exchange of regional resources may have taken place, allowing communities located near to raw material sources to benefit from their exchange. Not all regional movement of resources need have involved exchange transactions, however, common rights of access to raw materials shared by different communities and the development of composite estates by the seventh century (if not earlier), would have removed the necessity for exchange transactions in every case.

8.5 Summary

When considering the evidence for long-distance and regional exchange contacts in the upper Thames valley, a wide range of issues must be considered in order to counter-balance previous interpretations of the levels of exchange activity in this region.

First, it is necessary to consider the effect of the post-Roman native population and their social and economic infrastructure on Germanic settlers and vice versa. By the end of the sixth century, a new regional Anglo-Saxon society had formed from the fusion of the native and Germanic populations. In the course of the adoption of Anglo-Saxon fashions of cultural expression, the native population also seem to have influenced certain decorative styles on forms of Anglo-Saxon dress accessory which developed after the Anglo-Saxons arrived in England, for example, disc brooches. These brooches were often decorated with incised 'bull's eye' circlet decoration which was based on decorative schemes on Romano-British plate brooches. In addition to the use of motifs of native origin, many disc brooches and wide band annular brooches from the upper Thames valley have tin sheet decoration. The use of tin decoration may also have resulted from native influence on the developing Anglo-Saxon population in the upper Thames basin.

The cross-cultural influence or acculturation noted above seems to have resulted in the maintenance of exchange relations with British areas, especially the south-west peninsula - Somerset, Devon and Cornwall - during the sixth century. Unlike the few tinned 'speculum' items in the upper Thames valley which were probably imported from the Merovingian Frankish kingdoms in Gaul, the tin for the upper Thames disc and annular brooches is more likely to have been derived from Cornwall. The latter area is the only part of Britain with tin reserves, which are known to have been worked in the early medieval period. The wide range of female graves with tinned objects in the upper Thames valley until the end of the sixth

century suggests regular, though small-scale contact with the south-west peninsula. It is also possible that other objects such as glass vessels were obtained from exchange links with Somerset to the west. Only two sixth century cone beakers have been found in the upper Thames basin. They were found in the west of the valley. A far larger number of cone beakers of an analogous type have been found at the British sites of Cadbury-Congresbury and South Cadbury in Somerset. The absence of glass vessels in the central and eastern parts of the upper Thames valley and the probable tin exchange routes with the south-west peninsula suggest that glass could have been imported from the latter area as well.

In addition to evidence for exchange with British areas, there are also indications of exchange links with Anglo-Saxon areas to the east and north-east. Links with Kent are suggested by a small range of continental imports probably procured from that region. Their number does not suggest regular or large-scale exchange with Kent, however, rather their number suggests intermittent contact with the upper Thames valley over the course of the sixth century.

In contrast, there would appear to have been more regular contact between the upper Thames valley and Middle Anglia to the north-east, via the Ickniel Way along the edge of the Chilterns and the Ouse valley. The large quantities of amber and rock crystal beads were probably acquired via Middle Anglian areas through the sixth century. Small-long brooches accompanying some female burials in the upper Thames valley from the sixth century may also represent movement of women from Middle Anglian areas into the upper Thames through inter-marriage.

By the middle decades of the seventh century, inter-regional exchange links between the upper Thames valley, British and Middle Anglian areas were no longer detectable. Continental imports in the upper Thames basin at this time seem to have been derived only from Kent. These imports were found in the richest inhumation graves and in barrow burials. The number of imports derived from Kent in the region during the middle and late decades of the seventh century seems to

have increased in relation to the quantity from sixth century remains. Their distribution, however, is still limited to a very small section of the population. The character of the imports does not differ from those found in other parts of England in the same period. The quantity of imports recovered from the upper Thames valley is currently smaller than numbers found in East Yorkshire and the Peak District in mid-late seventh century deposits. It therefore appears that the extent of exchange relations between Kent and the upper Thames valley may have been over-estimated.

From the late seventh-early eighth centuries, the exchange routes between the upper Thames basin and Middle Anglia, and to a certain extent Kent, are again indicated by the distribution of primary and early secondary series sceattas. The primary sceattas are found along the Icknield Way with a smaller number along the upper Thames valley itself. The early secondary series sceattas which are common to Kent, the line of the Icknield Way and the upper Thames valley are not found, however, in the lower Thames valley. This may indicate indirect contact with Kent via Middle Anglia rather than the lower Thames valley in the first half of the eighth century.

Unfortunately, the evidence for inter-regional exchange relations between the upper Thames valley and its neighbours cannot be related to the evidence for production and exchange on an intra-regional basis. The quantification methodology used in this work did not identify methods of wealth creation underpinning the procurement of imports in this region. Perishable agricultural surpluses may have been traded but it would be foolish to assume that non-perishable commodities were not exchanged simply because indications of such actions were not clearly identified.

Chapter 9

COMMODITY DISTRIBUTION IN THE PEAK DISTRICT FROM 400 - 700 AD

9.1 The character of the sites providing evidence for commodity distribution in the Peak District

a) Individual burials in barrows

The vast majority of early medieval sites in the Peak District are individual burials placed either in barrows from earlier periods or deposited in purpose-built early medieval barrows. Barrow burials with recognisable 'Anglo-Saxon' material culture date almost exclusively to the seventh century (Ozanne 1964. p17). There are also a significant number of individual barrow burials which show distinct similarities with the 'Anglo-Saxon' interments in burial practice but they are extremely difficult to date due to a lack of diagnostic Anglo-Saxon artefacts. The barrows were one of the most noticeable types of monument in the landscape, they therefore attracted the attention of antiquarians such as the Batemans, Carrington and Lucas. Unfortunately, however, in the majority of cases only the barrows themselves were excavated and not the areas adjacent to them (Bateman 1848 and Bateman 1861). The barrows may not have been isolated burials in every case. Some may have formed foci for larger cemeteries. There is no way of knowing at the present time, however, without re-excavation or geophysical survey of nineteenth century sites. John Collis' recent work at Wigber Low and the isolated Anglo-Saxon finds from the vicinity of other Peak District barrows suggest that several were foci for, at least, small Anglo-Saxon cemeteries (Collis 1985, p101 and Howarth 1899, p227-228). It is very difficult to assess which section of early medieval Peak society was buried in barrows. Following parallels in other Anglo-Saxon areas it might be expected that barrow burial was the preserve of the highest echelons of society during the

seventh century, as seen in the upper Thames valley and East Anglia (Leeds 1924, p113; Muller-Wille 1983, p114-115; Dickinson and Speake 1992, p95). The majority of barrows with Anglo-Saxon artefacts dating to the seventh century in the Peak District tend to be materially wealthy like examples in southern England. In East Anglia and the upper Thames valley, however, the barrow burial tradition of the seventh century was a new method of social expression at death, not seen since the Bronze Age. In the Peak District it was not a new practice. Barrow burial in the Peak was a phenomenon common to the Neolithic, Bronze Age, Iron Age and the Roman period (Garton 1991, p11; Beswick and Wright 1991, p 45-55). The latest datable Roman barrow burials occur in the late fourth century. A number of suggested Roman barrow burials may be early medieval. A larger number are undatable. In character the latter show some similarities with the barrow burials of the Roman period. They may represent post-Roman native burials. The seventh century 'Anglo-Saxon' barrow interments represent continuity in the barrow burial tradition of the Peak District.

While it may be likely that native elites were buried in barrows, this may not have been so in every case. The relationship between the native and 'Anglo-Saxon' populations is likely to have been influential on seventh century 'Anglo-Saxon' barrow burial in the region. Conclusions on social rank relating to barrow burial are therefore likely to be far more contentious in the context of the Peak District than in other Anglo-Saxon areas. The situation is further complicated by the occurrence of wealthy isolated flat burials such as the example from Barlaston (Hubbard 1898, p 44-45).

Whether the early medieval single barrow burials of the Peak District represent elite individuals or not, this does not influence the fact that the percentage of the early medieval population represented must be very small. It is therefore very difficult to investigate exchange relations between different ranks of society in this area during the early medieval period.

b) Small cemeteries in and around earlier barrows

The only undeniable example of a small, recognisable Anglo-Saxon cemetery in the Peak District was found as a result of John Collis' excavations at Wigber Low. These excavations followed on from a contour and geophysical survey of the area in the vicinity of Lucas' barrow excavations at Wigber Low (Collis 1985, p6-8). Lucas found a very rich mid seventh century female burial as a secondary interment in a barrow. In excavations on the adjacent part of Wigber Low, Collis uncovered a further six graves of Anglo-Saxon date, containing nine individuals. Again interments were secondary in an earlier barrow (Collis 1985, p101). At least one other female Anglo-Saxon grave has subsequently been recovered (Sheffield Museum records and D Barnatt Pers Comm). All the burials date to the seventh century. The majority must be regarded as mid seventh century depositions. It is difficult to assess what section of society this represents for the area.

The only other likely example of an associated flat grave cemetery adjacent to barrow burials comes from the Middleton area. Isolated finds of Anglo-Saxon objects are noted in the 1899 Sheffield Museum catalogue as having been found adjacent to the Middleton barrows, one of which has been analysed in the sample (Howarth 1899, p219-220). The finds may come from disturbed inhumation graves. This cemetery form deserves further investigation in the Peak District in order to set the barrow burials within the context of the wider earlier medieval population of the region.

c) Settlement evidence

Only one settlement assemblage has been studied within the Peak District sample. This settlement, at Willington, lies at the extreme southern edge of the study area on a gravel terrace on the north bank of the river Trent. Willington is located in the

Trent valley rather than the Peak District (Wheeler 1979, p59) but despite the Roystone Grange project, no securely dated early medieval settlement evidence has been recovered from the Peak District at present (Hodges 1991, p116). This settlement from the periphery of the Peak was therefore included in the sample. There are, however, possible contenders for early medieval settlement sites within the Peak region. The county sites and monuments record suggests one example associated with the 'Grey Ditch' in Bradwell parish but again deposits from the site were not datable from their artefact assemblages.

9.2 Geographical patterning in the distribution of commodities through time

i) The late fourth to early seventh centuries

The location of sites dating from the end of the Roman period to the early seventh century are shown in figure 9.1. All the sites are individual burials either in purpose built barrows or in barrows constructed at an earlier period. Nine sites fall into this category - just under a third of all Peak District sites. They are the most problematic in terms of interpretation. Three of the barrow burials at 'Borough Fields' - Wetton (Bateman 1861, p167-168); Kenslow Knoll - Middleton (Howarth 1899, p219-220) and Rusden Low (Bateman 1861, p75; Howarth 1899, p219-220) contain fourth century Roman material. This does not necessarily indicate that they were mid or late fourth century depositions. White's work has recently indicated the quantity of residual Roman material in Anglo-Saxon graves (White 1988, p111 &123). There is no reason why the small amount of Roman material in these graves should not also be residual, though in a native post-Roman context.

The other six sites, some with more than one barrow burial, have recurrent deposition patterns in terms of the type and number of artefacts buried with the dead individuals. Almost all the burials are male - seven burials on six sites. All the

burials were also accompanied by unworked red deer antler tines, which suggests a ritual deposition. The burials were placed in both earlier barrows and barrows specially built for these interments. If it were not for the deposition of mid fourth century copper-alloy coins at Rusden Low and Borough Fields, Wetton, these graves would also be included in the above group, in terms of the recurrent pattern of artefact deposition of one or two knives and antler tines. The six barrow burials devoid of either Roman-British metalwork or ceramics were identified as 'Anglian' barrow burials by Audrey Ozanne (Ozanne 1964, p42-43). They can also be interpreted, however, as native post-Roman barrow burials, with certain ritual deposition practices dating back to the late Roman period. Antler tines are also deposited in seventh century 'Anglo-Saxon' barrows of the Peak District. The distribution of unworked, red deer antler tines in graves from the end of the fourth century - late seventh century can be seen in figure 9.2.

For the study of commodity exchange in the region from 400 - 700 AD the above observations have little use. It would be naive to expect artefact quantifications to produce any indications of the degree of exchange of artefacts and raw materials from a small selection of knives and antlers. For the appreciation of cross-cultural exchange of ideas, beliefs and ritual practices, however, this series of barrow burials are significant in assessing the ancestry of those individuals buried in the 'Anglo-Saxon' barrows of the mid seventh century which provide evidence for extensive inter-regional exchange contacts. This subject is discussed in greater depth in the following chapter.

ii) The seventh century

The first sites with datable Anglo-Saxon artefacts in the Peak District date to the seventh century - the majority to the middle and later decades of that century. The location of the seventh century sites in the study area can be seen in figure 9.3.

Twenty of the thirty sites making up the Peak sample date from the above century. All are burials. The remains of only thirty individuals were recovered from all twenty sites in total.

When considering commodity distribution, the number of iron and copper-alloy artefacts are so small that commodity totals are likely to be totally unrepresentative of access to iron and copper-alloy. Instead, attention will focus on the types of iron and copper-alloy object deposited for the evidence they provide on exchange contacts. The distribution patterns of certain iron and copper-alloy artefacts such as swords, seaxes and hanging bowls are particularly indicative of the ability of certain sections of Peak society to procure rare and imported artefacts made from these materials in the mid-late seventh century, either by inter-regional exchange or by control of the skills and raw materials necessary for their production. The distribution of sword, seax and hanging bowl depositions are shown in figures 9.4 and 9.5.

Five sword burials of mid seventh century date have been recovered from the Peak District:- one from the isolated grave at Barlaston (Hubbard 1988, p44-45); two from barrows at Lapwing Hill, Brushfield (Bateman 1861, p68-70; Howarth 1899, p236-238) and one each from Bower's Low - Tissington and Wigber Low. Only one certain seax burial can be identified at Brassington Moor 2. The latter is not noted in sites and monuments records or the Bateman collection. It is only known from an illustration and article in 'Archaeologia' from 1792 (Pegge 1792, p34-35). This total of sword burials is larger than the totals for contemporary sword burials in both East Yorkshire and the upper Thames valley.

There are four hanging bowls in the Peak District, the examples coming from Benty Grange, Garratt's Piece, Grind Low and Barlaston. As a group they form one of the densest concentrations of hanging bowls in one small area in Britain. All would appear to have been deposited in the middle and later parts of the seventh century. Hanging bowls are thought to have been produced either by Anglo-Saxon

craftsmen using post-Roman Celtic decorative styles or by native British craftsmen working in British areas or for Anglo-Saxon patrons (Romily-Allen 1898, p39-56; Kendrick 1932, p 179-184; Longley 1975, p15; Bruce-Mitford 1993, p45-47). Bearing in mind the geographical location of the Peak District, all the above hypotheses are possible. Hanging bowls could have been procured by exchange or commission.

There would appear to be a distinctive difference in the style of hanging bowl escutcheon decoration, however, dividing hanging bowl distribution patterns into two zones. In the Peak District and from an isolated example in north-east Yorkshire, the hanging bowl/escutcheons are decorated with both yellow and red enamels: examples come from Benty Grange (Bateman 1861, p28-32), Derbyshire; Garratt's Piece (Pegge 1789, p189-191), Derbyshire; and Whitby, in north-east Yorkshire (Youngs 1989, p60; British Museum records; Peers and Radford 1943, p49). In contrast, the hanging bowl escutcheons from southern and eastern Britain - including East Yorkshire - are decorated only with red enamel, eg. the examples from Garton Station, East Yorkshire (Youngs 1989, p47-48); Baginton, Warwickshire (Leeds 1935, p1-11), Winchester, Hampshire (Andrew and Smith 1931, p9) and Sutton Hoo, Suffolk, etc (Bruce-Mitford 1975, p226). The difference may reflect regional fashion or more likely, different cultural influences on decorative styles in different parts of Britain. Yellow and white enamels were used for decoration from the seventh century in Ireland and Wales in addition to red enamel. Copper-alloy objects decorated with these enamels have been recovered from seventh-ninth century sites in these countries, for example, Moynagh Lough, Meath and Llangorse Crannog, Powys (Bradley and Youngs 1989, p201; Campbell, Lane and Redknap 1992, p306). The combinations of red and yellow enamel decoration in the Peak District may represent the cultural influence of decorative styles from Celtic kingdoms bordering the Irish sea or it may represent exchange of objects or importation of craftsmen from these areas. With the Irish influence on Northumbrian

Christianity spreading from Bernicia in the first half of the seventh century, it is perhaps not surprising that an escutcheon decorated in yellow, red and white enamels should come from the Northumbrian royal monastery at Whitby (Peers and Radford 1943, p49). This example, however, is likely to have been made in the eighth century. While other very rare examples of Irish or Irish inspired enamelled metalwork are found in Anglo-Saxon England in eighth century deposits, eg. Breedon-on-the-Hill, Leicestershire (Dornier 1977, p27); the Peak District hanging bowls exhibit the use or importation of Irish decorative styles in the seventh century. Figures 9.6 and 9.7 show the location of sites with gold depositions and the number of gold objects in relation to the number of graves containing them. Comparing current distributions from the three study area samples, more gold objects were deposited in burial contexts from the mid-late seventh century in the Peak District than in East Yorkshire and the upper Thames valley put together. The types of artefact made from gold range from gold and garnet chain-linked pin suites at Cow Low (Bateman 1848, p91-95), gold-bound cabachon garnet pendants at Galley Low (Bateman 1848, p37; Howarth 1899, p222-223), gold wire beads and other pendants. Plate 9.1 shows a gold-bound beaver tooth pendant from Wigger Low directly paralleled at Cokethorpe in the upper Thames valley (Dickinson 1976, volume 2, p73). As with other Anglo-Saxon areas, the raw material form in which gold was imported is likely to have been coin. It may have been Merovingian or possibly Byzantine. Gold remained in coin form in only one instance in the Peak District. A gold solidus of Valentinian II (AD 378-392) was set in a gold and cloisonne garnet pendant found on the edge of the Staffordshire Peak at Forsbrook. It stayed in coin form due to its use as a pendant not because it was a 'medium of exchange'.

Ten seventh century sites contain depositions of silver in the Peak District. This represents a third of all sites in the Peak sample and fifty per cent of all sites datable to the seventh century. Again, the sheer quantity of silver objects in grave contexts



GOLD-BOUND BEAVER TOOTH PENDANT
FROM WIGBER LOW (SCALE X1.35)



CRYSTAL BALL FROM WIGBER LOW
(SCALE X1.35)

PLATE 9.1
(PHOTOGRAPHS TAKEN BY AUTHOR WITH KIND
PERMISSION OF SHEFFIELD MUSEUM)

is far higher than in the upper Thames valley and East Yorkshire (While the number of sites with silver is not significantly larger than in the latter area). Figures 9.8 and 9.9 show the location of seventh century silver depositions and the number of silver objects occurring in relation to the number of individuals buried at specific sites.

The range of objects produced included pendants, pins and escutcheon decorations. All of the artefacts, with two exceptions, are of solid silver. Silvering was only used as a decoration for iron or copper-alloy at Benty Grange (Bateman 1861, p28-32) - on the helmet rivets - and Wyaston (Bateman 1861, p188; Howarth 1899, p194-195) on an annular brooch. This trend in the greater abundance of solid silver artefacts in contexts from the mid seventh century is mirrored in the other study areas albeit in smaller quantities. The source of the silver is conjectural. It need not have been imported from the continent. There is a possibility that it was of relatively local provenance. This possibility needs to be assessed in the context of a more general discussion of production and exchange within the north-west Midlands during the seventh century, in the following chapter.

By the end of the seventh century, silver was deposited in non-burial contexts and in a different form - that of small silver coins or sceattas. Only one primary series sceatta, however, has come from the north-west midlands. This sceatta - a coin of the 'A' series - was found at Compton with a series 'E' 'porcupine' sceatta of the early secondary series - early eighth century (Metcalf 1984, p8-11). The Compton sceattas, on the south-western edge of the Peak District, are the only coins of late seventh - early eighth century date deposited anywhere in the north-west Midlands (see figure 9.10). They may not even have been deposited as early as the first decades of the eighth century. The high quality of primary series sceattas resulted in their circulation well into the period of use of the secondary series in the mid eighth century. Likewise the 'porcupine' series were produced into the mid eighth century. Both coins could therefore have been deposited at this date. The other sceattas from the north-west Midlands all date from this period, with two series J

sceattas and a series T sceat from Repton, several series E 'porcupines' from Manchester to the west and two 'porcupines' from the beach site at Meols on the coast of the Wirral (Metcalf 1984, p63; Rigold and Metcalf 1984, p247 & 260; Hume 1863; Griffiths 1992, p68 and Griffiths pers comm).

Unlike southern England and the east coast of England as far as north Yorkshire, the Peak District and the north-west Midlands did not start utilising silver coinage as a medium of exchange until the mid eighth century. Even then, the number of sceattas recovered are very small in relation to 'Anglo-Saxon' areas further east towards the Humber and further south towards Northamptonshire and Warwickshire (Metcalf 1984, p63). At the time of the greatest expansion of the 'kingdom' of Mercia, therefore, the Mercian heartland was a non-coin using zone.

With regard to the distribution of other 'exotic' commodities, in relative terms there are extremely large numbers of garnet dress accessories in mid seventh century contexts in the Peak District. Twenty-two objects have garnet decoration - most using large cabochon garnets. The geographical distribution of garnet deposition and the number of garnet objects in relation to the number of buried individuals possessing them can be seen in figures 9.11 and 9.12. Garnets were certainly imports from continental Europe, with their main sources in southern Germany and Bohemia and centres of production at a number of locations in Merovingian Kingdoms, eg. Paris, Trier, Tournai, Limoges, Salignac (Arrhenius 1985, p159; James 1988, p204). All garnet depositions, except one, were associated with female burials. The only exceptions are the garnet eye decorations on the boar motif from the Benty Grange helmet.

A small number of glass vessels were also deposited in female graves of mid-late seventh century date. Their geographical distribution can be seen in figure 9.13. Glass vessels occur at Cow Low, near Buxton (Bateman 1848, p91-95; Howarth 1899, p58), White Low - Winster Moor (Mander 1786, p274) and at Standlow. At the latter, however, only a ribbed fragment of a cone beaker was recovered. It is unclear

whether the vessel was complete on burial or whether only a fragment was buried. Where they are identifiable, the Cow Low and White Low examples are 'palm cup' bowls, two from the former site and one from the latter. The largest concentration of these vessels in England is found in Kent. The Peak District examples could be continental imports, redistributed via Kent or they could be Kentish products.

There are also some surprising trends relating to the limited distribution and lack of other imported commodities in the Peak region. The commodities concerned are rock crystal, amber and amethyst. Only one rock crystal artefact has come from the Peak District. It was recently discovered in one of John Collis' excavations at Wigber Low (Sheffield Museum records). It is shown on plate 9.1. The artefact is a crystal ball of a kind imported from the Merovingian Frankish kingdoms. They are almost exclusively deposited in Kent in Britain (Huggett 1988, p73). Based on the overall character of the artefacts from Wigber Low, this example can be seen as a mid seventh century deposition.

Only two sites in the Peak District sample contain amber. Both are situated in the southern half of the sample area nearer the sixth century, diagnostically 'Anglian' areas of settlement in the Trent valley. The fashion for the use of amber as a dress accessory was disappearing in the first half of the seventh century. The two Peak District examples date from this period:- Wyaston, where five or six amber beads were deposited with a female barrow burial and Wigber Low where only one amber bead was discovered (Collis 1985, p101). There is some confusion as to the sex of this burial.

The most surprising commodity distribution or rather the most surprising commodity absence is that of amethyst. The east and south of England had access to varying quantities of amethyst during the seventh century. Amethyst occurs mainly in the form of pear-shaped beads. They are thought to have been imported from their English entrepôts, in Kent, to other 'Anglo-Saxon' areas. There are a relatively large number in East Yorkshire, therefore, the likelihood that amethyst was being

imported to the Humber estuary and the significant number of imported commodities in the Peak District make it doubly surprising that amethyst is completely absent there. Presumably, other imports such as crystal, glass vessels and garnets moved from the Humber up the Trent to the Peak District, however, it would seem that amethyst did not. The very dark purple glass 'toggle' bead found at Wigber Low by Lucas (WIG 9 in database) may be an amethyst imitation (Ager 1985, p82). Ager mistakenly suggested that the Cow Low gold pin suite was found with a large amethyst bead (footnote 1). He suggested that Ozanne noted an amethyst bead in association with the Cow Low pin suite. The pin suite was actually found with a large pear-shaped blue and white marvered glass bead. This is corroborated both by Bateman the excavator, as well as Howarth and Fowler (Ozanne 1964, p28; Bateman 1848, p94; Howarth 1899, p221 and Fowler 1954, p147).

The suggestion of the Wyaston bead as an amethyst substitute is less convincing when it is remembered that no amethyst beads have been recovered from the Peak District at the present time, yet other imports entered the Peak District in large quantities. An argument can be advanced that if the richest elements of the Peak population wanted amethyst, they could have procured it. In view of the large quantities of other imports it seems more sensible to suggest that the absence of amethyst was due to a lack of demand for the commodity within Peak society. Other commodities were utilised for social expression instead.

The final commodity distribution for discussion on a regional level is antler. As with the fifth and sixth centuries, antler is deposited in certain seventh century burials in the form of unworked antler tines. As such, its distribution is significant not in terms of commodity exchange but in the exchange of belief and ritual practice in direct continuity with the native population from the end of the fourth century to what became the 'Anglo-Saxon' population by the seventh century. The distribution of unworked red deer antler tines from the end of the fourth - late seventh century was shown in figure 9.2. In the seventh century 'Anglo-Saxon' barrow burials, there are

only two interments where stag antlers are associated with the inhumations. One is at Brundcliff (Bateman 1848, p101-102), which is a primary interment in a barrow. The other is at Cow Low. The latter was a secondary inhumation in its barrow. The association of red deer antler tines with the burial could therefore be regarded as questionable. It would appear that by the end of the seventh century this ritual practice was dying out, as was furnished barrow burial.

9.3 Commodity distribution within micro-regions in the Peak District from the fifth-early eighth centuries

The purpose of the density samples was to identify any difference between regional patterns of commodity distribution and distributions in specific areas of each study area. The Peak District density samples were located in the Hartington 'middle quarter' - Hartington 'town quarter' parishes and in the Newton Grange - Tissington - Kniverton parishes. The Hartington density sample extends up the Dove Valley, while the - Tissington - Kniverton sample is situated at the southern edge of the 'White Peak' area (Hart 1981, p4-5).

Figures 9.14 and 9.15 show the locations of the sites within the two density samples. Unfortunately, due to lack of choice, all the sites are burial contexts associated with barrows.

The value of the density samples can be questioned for the Peak District. The geographical and chronological distribution of commodities seen from all the sites selected by density, transect and random sample show that the geographical distributions are widespread throughout the Peak District. An analysis of the relevant distribution maps, appendix tables (Volume 2, appendix 1) and database entries (see volume 3 fiche) indicate that the commodity distributions in the two density samples conform with the regional trends outlined in the previous sections which show no differentiation from the general trends within the Peak District.

Senseless repetition has therefore been avoided.

9.4 Summary

The 'Anglo-Saxon' sites of the Peak District are almost exclusively isolated barrow burials. The post-Roman population did not become 'Anglo-Saxon', in terms of material culture until the seventh century. There is an undoubted continuity in the influence of the native population on belief and ritual practice into the 'Anglo-Saxon' phase of the early medieval period, seen in certain artefact depositions eg unworked red deer antlers and in the continued use of barrow burial from the Roman to Anglo-Saxon periods.

Once Anglo-Saxon fashions had been adopted, exceptionally large numbers of precious metals, foreign imports and large numbers of weapons were buried. Like the Bernician part of Northumbria, however, the Peak District and the north-west Midlands did not adopt the use of gold coinage or subsequently silver coinage, as a medium of exchange or wealth storage until half a century later than the south and east of England.

Footnote

1. Ager quotes Ozanne's 'Peak dwellers' article of 1964 in 'Medieval Archaeology for 1962 and 1963'.

Chapter 10

THE NATURE, SCALE AND DIRECTION OF EXCHANGE RELATIONS IN THE PEAK DISTRICT BETWEEN 400-700 AD

10.1 The late Roman background

a) The late Roman settlement pattern

As a result of recent work, Branigan has suggested that the Peak District was sparsely populated in the pre-Roman Iron Age and that a major phase of immigration into the area occurred in the Hadrianic period - the early-mid second century (Branigan 1991, p62). This immigration of 'civilians' into the Peak district is seen as having followed a military occupation of the region from the late first-early second century. This occupation manifested itself in the two forts at Brough-on-Noe and Melandra. Both had associated vici, though the example at the latter site is small. The Melandra fort and vicus were abandoned in the first half of the second century, while the fort at Brough was reoccupied after a period of withdrawal in the mid second century and remained a military installation until at least the mid fourth century (Dearne 1991, p70; Branigan 1991, p 57).

The non-military settlement pattern of the Peak was dominated by isolated farms with a sheep farming base, however, a small number of nucleated settlements also existed (Branigan 1991, p62). Hart's survey and the limited number of excavations in the Peak, eg. Roystone Grange, seem to support a date in the early-mid second century for the foundation of the majority of farmsteads in the region (Hart 1981, p60-95; Hodges and Wildgoose 1980, p48-53). There does not seem to be a typical Romano-British farmstead layout, as seen in the differences in morphology between the Chee Tor, Roystone Grange and Cow Low settlements (Branigan 1991,

p62-63; Hart 1981, p104). The subsistence base behind all three, however, is likely to have been very similar at contemporary phases in their development.

Cave sites also seem to have been utilised for a number of purposes, including burial and domestic habitation, though their main use was as metalworking sites, for example, at Poole's Cavern and at Thirst House Cave in Deepdale (Branigan 1991, p64-65; Branigan and Dearne 1991, p85-110) the majority of the cave sites, however, were not in use by the fourth century.

There was only one truly urban centre in the Peak District at Buxton. The latter was a spa settlement. The proximity of some of the richest cave metalworking sites to the 'town' has resulted in the hypothesis that artisans working in the caves were producing for a 'tourist market' (Branigan 1991, p64). Hart suggested that the foundation of the town of Buxton (*Aquae Arnemetiae*) was due to an initial placing of a Roman fort on the site of a Celtic water cult centre (Hart 1981, p87) and 94). Whether a Roman fort was originally constructed at Buxton or not, by the mid second century an urban focus had developed around the hot and cold springs. It is unknown whether the town played any role in the administration of the Peak District, neither is it known what happened to Buxton at the close of the fourth - early fifth centuries. The lack of information is due to lack of archaeological work since the early twentieth century.

Two sets of excavations have been carried out on nucleated settlements in the Peak District. The first were carried out by Carrington at Borough Fields, near Wetton in the Staffordshire Peak. It recovered finds from what appear to have been a number of stone-walled dwellings which were later disturbed by barrow burials (Bateman 1861, p193-203). Third and fourth century copper-alloy coins were recovered. The second nucleated settlement has been excavated recently at Carsington, on the southern edge of White Peak. There are three and possibly four phases of development on the site. A small number of timber buildings were constructed in the mid second century. In the late second century, at least three 'Romanized' stone

rectangular buildings, with remains of several others were constructed on a small plateau overlooking the Scowbrook (Branigan 1991, p60). By the late fourth century the population of Carsington seems to have returned to building in timber with associated ditch systems (Branigan 1991, p61). At some stage, not earlier than the late third century, a large L-shaped stone building was built half a mile to the south of the settlement. The hearths within the building suggest an industrial function.

The relationship between the fort at Brough-on-Noe, the town of Buxton and the surrounding nucleated settlements and farmsteads is unclear (see figure 10.1 for location of late Roman sites). The milestone found at Buxton, measuring distance from Brough has led Branigan to suggest Brough as the centre for administration in the region - at least in relation to control of lead mining (Branigan 1991, p66). At the end of the Roman period, Buxton and the small 'nucleated' settlements and farmsteads still seem to have been occupied, however, the situation at Buxton is very unclear. Brough may have been abandoned by this time. Unlike East Yorkshire and the upper Thames valley, the Peak District was situated in the upland, 'military' zone of Roman Britain. As a result of the likelihood of military control into the late Roman period and the migration into the Peak from the mid second century, the original native elites of the region do not seem to have had the wish or ability to exercise the widespread adoption of Romanized expressions of wealth. This could account for the total lack of 'villas' in the region.

Two views on the density of late Roman settlement in the region can be put forward. Keith Branigan is of the view that even after the 'colonisation' of the Peak District in the Roman period, the density of settlement in the area was still low in relation to settlement density in the Trent valley or other areas of lowland Britain (Branigan 1991, p62). In contrast, Richard Hodges regards the White Peak, in particular, as a densely occupied area in the Roman period, with conspicuous numbers of farmsteads around the southern edge of the White Peak close to the supposed

settlement of 'Lutudarum' (see below). He sees the history of the Romano-British settlement in the region as one of decline during the third century with fourth century settlement evidence relatively 'impoverished' (Hodges 1991, p113-114). Hodges did note the continuity of certain industrial production, however, eg lead production into the later fourth century.

These two conclusions on the nature, density and character of late fourth century settlement in the Peak District are of particular relevance to transition in the fifth century and will be discussed more fully in that context.

b) Production and exchange within the Peak District and links with neighbouring areas in the late Roman period

At the level of the individual farmsteads a mixed farming regime seems to have been practised, with a special emphasis on sheep rearing (Branigan 1991, p62). While a number of these sites were surveyed by Hart, only two have been excavated with different degrees of intensity - Roystone Grange and Chee Tor. It can be surmised that wool was either collected as a product for exchange or constituted part of the late Roman tax render - the annona. At the same time, small scale lead working may have been practised on certain farmsteads. The Roystone lead working evidence, however, seems to be stratified below and therefore earlier than the laying out of the farmstead. Lead may not have been exploited in the context of the farmstead economy.

The largest scale commodity extraction and industrial production in the Roman Peak District involved lead mining and working from the region's extensive supply of 'galena' lead ore. Lead also provides the largest body of evidence for the inter-regional movement of a Peak District product in the Roman Period, whether by exchange or as taxation. The earliest evidence for lead extraction in the region comes from a lead 'pig' bearing the name of Hadrian (AD 117-138), found at

Cromford Nether Moor (Hart 1981, p106). The control of lead production in the region is suggested as having passed from the military to 'civilian lease holders' and eventually to the 'Lutudarum company' or cooperative in the first two centuries AD. Evidence of lead working from the forts of Brough and Melandra only suggests small scale use of lead in the forts (Branigan 1991, p60). The distribution of lead pigs of Peak derivation from the first and second centuries argues for extensive export of lead along the Trent valley for trans-shipment from Brough-on-Humber, where a large collection of Peak District lead 'pigs' have been recovered (Hart 1981, p106).

Recent discussion of the unpublished Carsington settlement remains (excavated by Ling and Probert) has allowed a greater understanding of lead production from the second - late fourth centuries. The morphology of the Carsington settlement has already been mentioned. Lead was produced in the phase of large Romanized stone building and lead 'pig' ingots have been recovered from contexts associated with the fourth century timber phase of occupation. It seems that lead production continued until the late fourth century, at least (Branigan 1991, p60). Branigan has suggested that Carsington could have been the 'Lutudarum' settlement. He also noted the increased 'agricultural' character of the settlement in the fourth century leading him to suggest seasonal lead production. This observation, together with Hodges' observation of the 'conspicuous' number of farmsteads on the southern edge of the White Peak (near Carsington) might indicate that many may have been connected with lead production and the 'Lutudarum' cooperative until the end of the fourth century (Hodges 1991, p114).

Hart has suggested that small amounts of marble may also have been exported from the Peak District along the Trent to the Humber and subsequently to the south. This is illustrated in the use of Peak marble in the baths at Godmanchester in Cambridgeshire (Hart 1981, p108). At the intra-regional level, there is also evidence of the production and dispersal of millstone grit quernstones within the

Peak and north-west Derbyshire.

The fate of the inter-regional contacts and changes in the scale of production and exchange/movement of commodities during the fifth century must now be examined alongside a discussion of changes in the settlement pattern and functions of settlements in the post-Roman period.

10.2 The post-Roman native Peak District 400-600 AD

Analysis of human activity in the Peak District during the fifth and sixth centuries must be centred on three fundamental questions:-

- 1) To what extent did the fifth century see a 'collapse' in certain aspects of the social and economic infrastructure of the Peak region, for example in inter-regional contact and levels of production, once the incentive to produce for taxation had been removed?
- 2) How is it possible to identify the post-Roman native population?
- 3) To what extent is there evidence for intra and inter-regional exchange contact on behalf of the Peak inhabitants from 400-600 AD?

In addressing the first theme a number of questions need to be asked relating to different components in the social and economic framework of the Peak District as the region went into the fifth century. First, would the removal of the necessity to produce commodities for long distance movement, via the annona, have been perceived as a symptom of 'social' collapse by the fifth century inhabitants of the Peak?

19. Galena lead ore was mined for the small quantities of silver that it also contains, in the Roman period. Silver was extracted by de-silvering the lead. The large lead 'pig' ingots, dating to the late first-early second centuries, found in the Peak District and at Brough-on-Humber are best interpreted as a valuable by-product of silver production (Pegge 1792, p.23; Hart 1981, p.106). The majority are stamped 'EX ARG' - translated as 'from silver works' (Wacher 1979, pp.191 and 195). Analysis of the Derbyshire lead 'pig' ingots, however, suggests that the quantity of silver in Derbyshire lead was very small, far smaller than the silver in Mendip and Flintshire lead (Frere 1987, p.276-278). The small unstamped lead 'finger' ingots from Carsington in the Peak District, dated to the end of the fourth century, have not been analysed. It is therefore unclear whether lead was still being produced as a by-product of silver extraction or as the desired commodity in its own right, by the late fourth century (Branigan 1991, 60).

In answer to this question the absence of villas and the likelihood of military control or overseeing of lead production may be particularly significant.¹⁹ If lead production generated wealth, it did not find its way back to the Peak population. If it had, expressions of wealth and Romanization might have been expected in the form of villas. In this context, it is important to re-state the complete absence of villas in the Peak district. It therefore seems likely that lead production was a tax burden on the civilian population of the Peak, rendering a specialist product overseen by the army. By the end of the fourth century, it is unclear whether a unit was still based at Brough-on-Noe. Either way, with the collapse of the centralised administration and the long distance bulk transport infrastructure, the presumed end of large scale lead production as a tax render may not have been perceived as a calamity by the Peak inhabitants.

In the Peak district, like the upper Thames valley, there seems to have been a contraction in economies of scale. The ability to work lead is unlikely to have disappeared but its large scale production certainly stopped. From the view of an observer in the twentieth century this might be perceived as decline, however this may not have been the perception among the fifth century Peak dwellers. In a similar context the decline in the late Roman settlement of the Peak District from the mid third century, noted by Hodges, may be a twentieth century misconception (Hodges 1991, p114). The so-called 'impoverishment' of the fourth century evidence for settlement in the Peak is due to a 'de-Romanization' of building styles or rather of building materials. The identification of Romano-British settlements in the Peak District has depended in the main, on field survey techniques - earthwork survey, aerial photography and where possible fieldwalking. Very few excavations have been carried out. It may therefore be inappropriate to draw the conclusion of a decline in population of the Peak District over the fourth century without a larger sample of excavated sites. Evidence from Carsington, in its final phase, still shows specialist lead production in the form of 'pig' ingots but also an increased emphasis

on agriculture as well. This should be viewed as a change in the context of lead production over the fourth century rather than evidence of decline in production.

As well as lead, it is likely that wool formed part of the annona tax render 'in kind' for the Peak District. This assumption is not only based on evidence for wool processing but also land-use-potential projections for the period (Hodges 1991, p111). Once the central administration collapsed the need to produce wool at a large surplus level is also likely to have disappeared. Again this may not have been perceived as a disaster by the inhabitants of the Peak District.

In terms of agricultural and raw material production, the Peak District entered a period of contraction in 'economies of scale' in the early years of the fifth century. There is no need to view this transition to smaller levels of production as a 'collapse' or 'decline' for the majority of the Peak inhabitants. They are more likely to have been producing at levels closer to regional needs than they were under the late Roman administration.

It is difficult to suggest the social effects caused by a change in levels of production during the fifth century. The suggested mid second century colonisation of the Peak may have had a number of effects. The mode of Peak colonisation is unknown, the 'colonists' may have been individual family groups or otherwise. As a result of this 'unknown' factor, it may be foolish to suggest a high degree of group cohesion at a level beyond single 'extended family units' at the end of the Roman period. Secondly, because of the inability or choice of Peak inhabitants not to partake in social competition through construction of Romanized buildings such as 'villas', there is no way of reconstructing any social hierarchy that may have existed at the end of the fourth century within the region. With these unknown factors, inferences on the social effect of changes in levels of production are limited.

At the level of the farmsteads and small nucleated settlements there need have been no stress on social units with the end of Roman government. The case of the urban cult centre of Buxton may be somewhat different. Native offerings in the form

of coins were made until the early fifth century (Hart 1981, p 93), however, lack of excavation renders it impossible to assess whether Buxton was still an urban centre at the end of the Roman period. It may have reverted to a smaller nucleated settlement form around the cult centre, losing its urban character. It is impossible to assess the scale of change at Buxton, whether during the late Roman period or in the fifth and sixth centuries. By the time of the compilation of the Mercian or Northumbrian tribute document, the 'Tribal Hidage' during the mid-late seventh century (Brooks 1989, p168; Dumville 1989, p225-230), the Peak District inhabitants regarded themselves or were regarded, as a single social group (Davies and Vierck 1974, p239). At the end of the Roman period there is no evidence to suggest this. The development into an identifiable regional group is likely to have occurred from the fifth-seventh centuries.

As Hodges has pointed out, it is very difficult to suggest when fourth century buildings were abandoned in the fifth century (Hodges 1991, p114). The key problems are to identify where the post-Roman native population were living and burying their dead. This identification problem is the second of the main themes which need examination. At present, archaeologists do not know what they are looking for when trying to identify post-Roman native settlement in the Peak District. It may not be appropriate to expect settlement forms of a distinct post-Roman native type. There is no reason why late Roman settlement sites should have been abandoned. Unfortunately, however, it will not be possible to date activity on these settlement sites, after the arrival of the latest Roman coinage, until more extensive use of radio-carbon dating in the region. Unlike settlement forms, it may be possible to identify post-Roman native burials. In the last chapter, it was noted that the practice of barrow interment of 'Anglo-Saxon' burials should be regarded as a continuation of native burial tradition from the late Roman period (among certain elements of the population). Inhumation burials in barrows with one or two knives and unworked antlers should be regarded as depositions of the fifth and sixth

centuries. The latter burials show a great similarity to the burials with Roman artefacts, eg. Rusden Low and Kenslow Knoll. They should not be regarded as 'Anglo-Saxon'. The distribution of the probable post-Roman native burials can be seen in figure 9.1. They have a particular concentration in the Dove valley, extending to the southern edge of the White Peak. None of these barrow burials show differentiation in rank relating to the wealth of grave goods. The only sign of rank may be the fact of barrow burial itself, however, it is still unclear what proportion of the population received this treatment.

It is unlikely that this was the only method of burial in the post-Roman native Peak, even for elites. The fact that the Roman barrow burials have ritual similarities to potential post-Roman examples with regard to antler deposition suggests that the burial practice was not Christian. Hart, however, pointed out a number of 'eccles' place-names within the Peak District (Hart 1981, p118). This place-name element is generally regarded as evidence of a pre-Anglo-Saxon native Christian centre, Figure 10.2 shows their distribution based on Hart. It is interesting to note their distribution north and east of the Dove valley barrow group. No potential post-Roman native burials have been located in areas associated with the 'eccles' place-names. The combination of the barrow burials and 'eccles' place-names suggest a continuing native population throughout the Peak District during the fifth and sixth centuries. It is also important to note that the post-Roman native populations need not have been Christian in their entirety.

A second tier of place-name evidence can also be used to identify post-Roman British presence in the Peak District but it is very unlikely to give a full picture of British settlement in the region. The evidence is provided by English place-names describing remnant British populations after or during the period of linguistic change from P-Celtic to English. Hart notes seven examples (they are also shown in figure 10.2). They all have the 'wealh' name element, which are likely to describe Welsh / or British settlement units - Bakewell, Bradwell, Tideswell, Wigwell, Ludwell,

Hargatewal and Brookwall (Hart 1981, p 116).

In relation to the third theme - an assessment of exchange relations within the Peak District at this time - nothing can be said. The artefact assemblage from the period from 400-600 AD does not provide any indication of exchange links within the Peak or with neighbouring areas. The only undoubted fifth or sixth century native artefact found within the region is the large penannular brooch from Pikehall (Ozanne 1964, p39). It is impossible to draw conclusions on any aspect of exchange relations from this artefact, especially as it is an isolated find. Inter-regional exchange indicators only become available from the mid seventh century - the period of the Anglicisation of the Peak District.

10.3 The Anglicisation of the Peak District

From the mid seventh century, barrow burials provide the evidence for cross-cultural exchange between native and immigrant in terms of dress fashion, burial practice and belief. At the same time, they provide the first indications of early medieval inter-regional exchange contacts. The only pre-eighth century 'Anglo-Saxon' evidence from the Peak District comes from this series of very rich burials.

The burial practice shows direct continuity with Roman and post-Roman practices, for at least an element of the population. All the barrow burials with 'Anglo-Saxon' grave goods are inhumations, with one exception at Cold Eaton (Bateman 1861, p179; Howarth 1899, p192-194). All the Roman burials are inhumations as are the suggested post-Roman examples. With regard to ritual deposition, certain 'Anglo-Saxon' barrow burials are accompanied by antler tines, as were some Roman and potential post-Roman native burials. In contrast to the earlier barrow burials, the 'Anglo-Saxon' barrows are exceptionally wealthy for their period in terms of grave goods. A range of imported luxuries, weapons and dress accessories are buried with the Anglo-Saxon barrow burials. There is a significant possibility of the

exhibition of social rank through the material wealth of the burial assemblages (Arnold 1991a, p114-118). Three possibilities account for this curious cross-cultural fusion:-

- i) A sudden take up of Anglo-Saxon material culture by the native British population in the second half of the seventh century. This may have arisen from establishment of, at least, nominal Mercian hegemony over the Peak District.
- ii) The imposition of an Anglo-Saxon elite in the Peak District, controlling a newly subjugated British population. The use of native ritual may have been used to legitimise a new authority over the region.
- iii) A combination of the above where there may have been the establishment of new 'Anglo-Saxon' elites alongside survivors of the native elites. This may have resulted in social competition between the elite groups in terms of expression of wealth and rank in mutually understandable forms. Under Mercian Hegemony, the mutually understandable expression of wealth and rank is likely to have been 'Anglo-Saxon' in dress within a very short period time.

My view is that the third option explains the rich barrow group most satisfactorily. It is not enough, however, to see the rich barrow burials of the second half of the seventh century merely as an expression of social competition to legitimise authority. Hodges has suggested that the rich 'Anglo-Saxon' barrow group should be viewed in the latter sense, with new Anglo-Saxon colonist elites emphasising their ethnicity and social dominance by conspicuous deposition of wealth in a newly subjugated territory (Hodges 1991, p114). Such an interpretation ignores the native elements in a number of barrow burials. It also overlooks another fundamentally important issue, social competition by conspicuous deposition of wealth at burial must be funded by significant production and exchange relations with neighbouring regions for the acquisition of luxuries. It is not enough to blandly suggest reciprocal 'gift exchange' or client relationships for the procurement of rare imports. Something must have been exported as a gift, render or trade good in order to

obtain luxury items.

It may also be a mistake to suggest that social competition by acquisition of material wealth was the impetus behind the establishment of inter-regional exchange. Social competition in deposition of conspicuous wealth should be seen as a result of increased movement of commodities between regions rather than a cause of inter-regional exchange. Movement of commodities as tribute may have occurred before the establishment of luxury exchange routes. Potential tribute movement can be seen as a manifestation of Mercian hegemony.

In the context of the Peak District, the sudden demonstration of wealth in barrow burials can therefore be seen as a result of acculturation or Anglicisation not as a result of increased social stratification in the seventh century society of the region. There need have been no great change in the structure of society. The sudden deposition of wealth is a change of expression for surviving native elites in order to maintain their authority alongside new Anglo-Saxon elite groups.

The deposition of high value metals and rare luxuries is the 'effect' of social competition between native and Anglo-Saxon elites in the seventh century. This is not a new observation, however, the 'cause' of this phenomenon and the basis for luxury acquisition has been ignored to date. The cause of the sudden deposition of wealth in the region has been attributed to social competition between surviving native elites and new Anglo-Saxon elite groups displaying wealth in mutually understandable forms - the 'Anglo-Saxon' method of display. It therefore seems that there was a stronger native element to the Anglicisation of the Peak than has previously been suggested by Ozanne and Hodges (Ozanne 1964, p38-39; Hodges 1991, p114). As a working hypothesis it would appear that social competition in expression of wealth was both caused and fuelled by the re-emergence of inter-regional commodity transfer. The identification of these commodities will be discussed in the following section. In the context of this discussion, it is important to note that in contrast to the Roman period, the population of the Peak District

benefited in a material sense from inter-regional commodity movement. The Peak District was getting a 'return' on the export of a certain commodity or certain commodities.

The imposition of Mercian tribute renders has been suggested above as an impetus to the re-emergence of regional exchange. Such 'tribute', however, would have worked in the same way as the Roman *annona*. There need not have been any material benefit to the Peak inhabitants. Tribute renders alone are not sufficient to account for the sudden demonstration of the ability to acquire high value commodities. The inhabitants of the Peak District must also have been trading commodities for which there was a high social demand during the second half of the seventh century. It was this activity that enabled the acquisition of conspicuous wealth and as a corollary competition between native 'Anglicised' elites and 'colonist' Anglo-Saxon elites.

The Anglicised native elites need not have spoken English in the seventh century, although bilingualism must have been an incentive in the maintenance of their positions within the new 'Anglo-Saxon' confederation of 'Mercia'. The modern place-names of Anglo-Saxon descent need not have been established in the seventh century. They may have been imposed over the course of the eighth century. The adoption of English as the 'lingua franca' in the Peak District is likely to have been a long drawn out process. It may have lagged behind the Anglicisation of the population, as seen in material culture, by a significant period. The distribution of place-names of Anglo-Saxon and P-Celtic derivation help to map the progress of linguistic Anglicisation. The majority of surviving P-Celtic place-name elements, not including the 'eccles' element, are located in the north of the Peak District on the 'Dark' Peak, eg. the 'Goyt' valley and Chapel en le Frith. The latter may be a Norman French rendering of the P-Celtic stem 'Capel yr' followed by a topographical name. It indicates a chapel or small ecclesiastical holding.

The main evidence for the English superimposition of names on British communities

is most widespread in the southern part of the White Peak. The area also witnesses a renaming of topographical features with English names (Hart 1981, p116). It therefore appears that the linguistic Anglicisation of the Peak District inhabitants proceeded from the south - the White Peak. This is the area closest to the Anglo-Saxon area of the Trent valley. It is likely to have received the largest number of English incomers. It is in this context that the population as a whole, not just native elites, would have converted to the use of English as a first language.

In summary, the Anglicisation of the Peak region can be seen as a result of social competition between native and new Anglo-Saxon elites attempting to maintain their positions. This must have been based on the previous establishment of inter-regional exchange routes for commodity exchange, stimulated by tribute demands or commodity demand of another nature. The size of the cemeteries discovered suggests that 'Anglian' immigration into the Peak District occurred on a very small scale. As a result, a complete superimposition of English place-names, without reference to the British population, does not occur in the Peak District. As opposed to a very quick cross-cultural exchange in physical expression at elite level, the population as a whole may not have used English as a first language for a considerable period after Anglicisation of dress. A period of bilingualism on behalf of elites and the population at large must have occurred over the later seventh and eighth centuries.

It is now necessary to discuss the scale and direction of exchange links between the Peak and its neighbours. It is particularly important to try to identify the basis of production and commodity exchange which enabled the importation of the large quantities of non-indigenous products.

10.4 The scale and direction of exchange relations between the Peak District and its neighbours

Evidence for inter-regional exchange contacts between the Peak District and other regions of Britain does not appear until the deposition of precious metal objects and other luxury imports from the mid-late seventh century. The context for their deposition has been discussed in the previous section. The analysis of the scale and direction of exchange links at an inter-regional level will be framed in two parts. First, the surviving artefacts will be discussed in illustration of the direction of exchange links; secondly, a hypothesis will be advanced concerning the commodity exchange which must have underlain luxury exchange.

a) Inter-regional contacts

The commodities interred in the Peak barrows of the second half of the seventh century indicate exchange contacts with the east-coast Anglo-Saxon kingdoms and by implication, links with Anglo-Saxon areas to the south and south-west of the Peak District. From the late seventh-early eighth centuries, there is also evidence for links with Irish Sea coastal areas. There may also have been considerable contact between the British inhabitants of the Peak District and their northern and western British neighbours, for example, the 'Kingdoms' of Elmet, Craven and Rheged from the fifth-early eighth centuries (Faull 1981, p171-177; Morris 1973, p238; Higham 1986, p254-261). This contact may have manifested itself through personal alliance and population movement via practices such as inter-marriage but evidence for these links is lacking. Artefact use in the Peak District and the above areas may have been identical, resulting in an inability to identify exchange links between these regions from material evidence. The physical evidence of contact with the areas discussed below may not, therefore reflect all links between

the Peak District and neighbouring regions.

i) Links with the east coast and southern England via the rivers Trent and Humber

The precious metals and garnet jewellery, together with the glass vessels found in the Peak District, must have been imported via the east coast of England. Gold and garnet, in particular, were imported into eastern England from continental Europe. By the second half of the seventh century, all the east coast kingdoms seem to have been in direct contact with their continental neighbours - the Merovingian Frankish kingdoms. South-eastern England was probably in more regular contact with the continent, however, due to the accident of geography. As the life of Saint Wilfrid indicates, Kent was a stopping point for cross-channel travel from the northern-eastern coast of the Kingdom of Northumbria (Life of Wilfred, Webb translation 1965, p108). In this context, the role of kingdoms like Kent as 'middleman regions' for exchange of imports has already been discussed in earlier chapters. The glass vessels of the Peak District are all shallow bowls or 'palm cups'. This form of bowl could have been produced in Kent, as easily as on the continent, during the second half of the seventh century.

It is unclear whether the imported objects were finished before export. The glass vessels were almost certainly finished on export. The gold and garnet jewellery, however, could have been imported in finished or raw material form. Uncut garnets and gold coinage were certainly in circulation in Anglo-Saxon areas in southern England for manufacture into jewellery (see plate 8.3 and Ellis 1848, p65). If gold was transported into the Peak District or the north-west Midlands in coin form, it was soon changed into other objects. *The one gold coin in the region, from Forsbrook, was minted in the late fourth century. It is set into a cloisonne garnet pendant of seventh century date. It may have been exchanged as a complete ornament.*

Selectivity in deposition and by inference, selective acquisition of imported luxuries,

can also be seen in the absence of amethyst in the Peak District. As summarised in the last chapter, this absence must be seen as the result of conscious choice not to procure this commodity. Amethyst was obtained from the same south-eastern Anglo-Saxon regions as garnet, gold, glass vessels and crystal balls. These commodities are likely to have arrived in the Peak from the east coast of England via the Humber estuary and Trent valley. The quantity of amethyst beads from seventh century East Yorkshire indicates that amethyst was available in regions bordering the Humber (see figure 5.12) and if there had been a demand for amethyst in the Peak District the relatively large quantities of gold and garnet jewellery and glass vessels lead one to suspect that it could have been obtained.

While certain elements of the Peak District population had access to luxuries imported from the continent and dispersed via the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms of the south-east of England, it is not possible to tell whether these objects arrived in the Peak exclusively as a result of direct exchange with the south-east of England. The coastal and riverine lines of communication between the Peak and south-eastern England passed through the territories of many different Anglo-Saxon groups (Hart 1971, p134-137; Davies and Vierck 1974, p227-231). The presence of continental luxuries in the Peak District may be the result of 'down-the-line' exchange of objects and raw materials from the initial zone of importation in Kent, Essex and Suffolk (Renfrew 1975/1984, p119). This would have involved the luxuries passing through the hands of different Anglo-Saxon groups along a chain of exchange transactions. The factors which allowed the build-up of large amounts of exotic luxuries at the end of such a chain in the mid-late seventh century Peak District are suggested later in this chapter.

From the early eighth century, imported objects or commodities from eastern and southern England are absent except for one isolated example. The single object derived from the south-east of England is the primary series 'A' sceat found at Compton on the southern edge of the Peak District study area. It is the only primary

series sceat to have been found in the north-west Midlands. The Compton coin was minted in the late seventh century, however, it was found with a series E 'porcupine' sceat which could have been minted any time in the first half of the eighth century (Blackburn 1984, p171; volume 2, appendix 2). This association, together with the fact that no other coins pre-dating the first half of the eighth century have been found in the north-west Midlands suggests that the Compton coin was in residual circulation and was deposited in the early-mid eighth century. As with the seventh century imported commodities derived from the south-east of England, it is uncertain whether the Compton coin arrived in the Peak District via exchange with that area or through exchange with neighbouring regions.

By the early eighth century, therefore, indications of exchange contacts with eastern and southern England had almost entirely disappeared from the archaeological remains of the Peak District. This does not mean that inter-regional contacts decreased in reality. Subsequent historical references and archaeological remains from neighbouring regions to the east of the Peak suggest that the opposite was true.

ii) Links with Anglo-Saxon areas to the south-west, Wales and the Irish Sea

Links with the north-west Midlands, particularly the Cheshire plain to the south-west of the Peak District, are likely to have been established from the mid seventh century if not earlier. There is no clearly identifiable evidence, however, for contact with the Mercian heartland of the north-west Midlands plain during the seventh century. If commodities did move from the Peak District into the latter area, the movement might be suggested as a one sided tribute relationship as a result of the Peak's incorporation into the Mercian 'confederation' (Davies and Vierck 1974, p225-226; Charles-Edwards 1989, p29-31; Dumville 1989, p227; Reuter 1985, p75).

The use of the combination of red and yellow enamel decoration on Peak District hanging bowls buried from the mid-late seventh century reflects cultural influence of Irish decorative styles, if not exchange with Ireland and areas bordering the Irish Sea at this time (Bradley and Youngs 1989, p201, see plate 10.1). The distribution of hanging bowls decorated with both red and yellow enamels and purely red enamel in northern England is shown in figure 10.3. The escutcheon decorated with red, yellow and possibly white enamel from Whitby on the north-east Yorkshire coast is an eighth century deposition, later than all the other hanging bowls which were interred in the seventh century. If the Whitby escutcheon is discounted because of its later date, the use of yellow enamel or acquisition of bowls decorated in this manner in the Peak region can be seen to have been exceptional for this period. Cultural influence or exchange contacts with the Celtic areas to the west are the most logical explanations for the presence of Irish methods of artefact decoration. Subsequent links between the Peak District and Ireland in the eighth century are indicated by the Irish 'pseudo-penannular' brooch found at Bonsall in the Peak (Ozanne 1964, p39; see figure 10.4).

Contact with the Irish Sea during the first half of the eighth century is also suggested from the distribution of early secondary series E 'porcupine' sceattas in the north-west Midlands. Series E 'porcupine' sceattas have both English and Frisian variants and the derivation of certain types is uncertain (Stewart 1984, p10). Two examples come from Meols, a probable beach trading site on the Wirral peninsula (Hume 1863; Griffiths 1992, p68; Griffiths pers comm; Richardson 1984, p218); five examples have been found in Manchester (Richardson 1984, p217-219) and one example was found at Compton in the south of the Peak District study area along with the primary series A sceat. A total absence of series E 'porcupine' or any other primary or early secondary series sceattas between the Peak District and the banks of the Humber suggests that the north-west Midlands 'porcupine' sceattas were obtained via the Irish Sea coast. No other types of early secondary series sceattas



HANGING BOWL ESCUTCHEONS DECORATED WITH RED
AND YELLOW ENAMEL FROM GARRATT'S PIECE
(SCALE X1.4)

PLATE 10.1

(PHOTOGRAPHS TAKEN BY THE AUTHOR WITH
KIND PERMISSION OF SHEFFIELD MUSEUM)

have been found on the north-west Midlands littoral and hinterland. The coins seem to indicate that Anglo-Saxon and possibly, Frisian traders were active along the Irish Sea coast during the first half of the eighth century, alongside Irish and possibly British, Breton and Gaulish seafarers.

The appearance of English or Frisian sceattas on the north-west coast of England in an area which had previously had exclusive contact with the western British, Irish and western French coasts, can be seen as a result of the establishment of Mercian Anglo-Saxon control over this stretch of coast. Being on the periphery of the Peak District, however, it is unclear whether the Compton find should be regarded as an indicator of exchange between the Peak District and the Irish Sea. It may be more appropriate to see the Compton 'porcupine' as an indication of commodity exchange between the Upper Trent - Cheshire plain and Anglo-Saxon or foreign seafarers using the Irish Sea as a communication route. There are certainly two distinct zones of series E porcupine sceatta depositions, one at the Humber estuary and the other on the Wirral and southern Lancashire coast (see figure 10.4). There are no Frisian series E porcupine sceattas along the intervening Trent valley. The sceattas at Repton are mid eighth century depositions and are likely to be significantly later in date than the series E depositions (Rigold and Metcalf 1984, p260; Blackburn 1984, p167). The two distinct concentrations, therefore, seem to indicate two separate zones of contact with maritime communications routes - an east coast-Humber link and an Irish Sea link.

In conclusion, certain inhabitants of the Peak District had the ability to acquire exceptionally large numbers of precious metal and luxury imports via links with the east coast and hence the south of England in the second half of the seventh century. By the eighth century there were also links with the Irish Sea coast to the west. It is now necessary to examine the underlying commodity movement which enabled importation of exotica and the foundation of the exchange routes which made their procurement possible.

b) The re-emergence of specialist commodity production and exchange

The hypothesis advanced below attempts to account for the sudden ability to deposit conspicuous wealth in the Peak District during the second half of the seventh century. Two questions are key to this issue.

- i) What commodities did the inhabitants of the Peak District have access to, for which there was a significant social demand during the second half of the seventh century?
- ii) What was the source and reason behind demand for such a commodity or commodities?

Working from textual evidence and knowledge of metal ore sources, a number of scholars have suggested that lead was the main commodity produced for export from the early medieval Peak District, whether it left the region as a result of exchange or as some form of render.²⁰ The first direct evidence of lead production and export from the early medieval Peak District comes from the eighth century 'life of Saint Guthlac'. In 714 AD monks of the 'Mercian' royal abbey of Wirksworth sent a lead coffin for Guthlac's burial (Hart 1981, p111). At the time of Guthlac's death the royal abbey of Wirksworth, on the edge of the White Peak, was linked with the larger Mercian ecclesiastical centre at Repton in the Trent valley. The next direct evidence for the export of Peak District lead comes from a charter of 835 AD, when abbess Cynewara of Repton granted land to a Mercian nobleman, Humbert, at Wirksworth. The charter stipulates that he should pay an annual rent render of lead worth three hundred solidi (Hart 1981, p111; Lawson 1982, p 226-227; Wormald 1982, p143-144). This rent was to be paid to the Archbishop of Canterbury and his successors in Kent.

20. Deletion of generalizations on wool and lead production in the late Roman Peak. Insertion of introductory sentence relating to the theories of several scholars suggesting that lead became the major commodity for exchange in the early medieval Peak District. (References for sentence:- Tylecote 1962,p.93; Finberg 1976,p.82; Wilson 1976,p.266-267; Hart 1981,p.116).

The historical references noted above may provide clues to the answers to both the questions outlined earlier. The 'Humbert Charter' indicates that in 835 AD the Peak District was the main source of lead in Britain. There is no evidence for Mendip lead production during the seventh, eighth and ninth centuries. It is therefore probable that the Peak District was the monopoly lead supplier during this period.

The Guthlac reference and to a greater extent the 'Humbert Charter', both indicate the stimulus in the demand for lead production and export. That stimulus was the Roman Christian Church with its tradition of building churches and major ecclesiastical buildings in the 'Roman manner'. A specific illustration of this is Benedict Biscop's building of the linked monasteries of Jarrow and Monkwearmouth in 'the Roman manner' ie in the way of the Frankish church - with stone buildings and architectural embellishments such as stained glass windows (Bede, Lives of the abbots of Wearmouth and Jarrow, Farmer 1983, p189). During Biscop's lifetime (the mid-late seventh century), there was a rapid phase of stone church building and monastic foundation. Examples can be seen in Wilfrid's building of Ripon and Hexham in addition to Biscop's constructions, with other Northumbrian examples at Escomb and probably Whitby. This does not begin to count the examples in southern England eg - St Augustine, Canterbury; Brixworth, (Northants) and the Old Minster at Winchester among others (Cherry 1976, p158-173; Dixon 1976, p84-86). Building in the 'Roman manner' also seems to have involved the use of lead roofing tiles, in the case of Monkwearmouth and lead roof flashing and guttering at both Monkwearmouth and Jarrow (Cramp 1969, p37; Cramp 1976, p233 and 237). Jarrow and Monkwearmouth were constructed from 674 to 685. Many other churches of the period may also have had lead roofing tiles and lead flashing but demolition, enlargement or inadequate excavation has rendered this likelihood impossible to prove.

In answer to the two questions posed earlier, therefore, the Roman church provided the demand for lead as a consequence of the desire to construct major

22. There are other lead sources in Britain in addition to the Peak District. These include sources in the Mendips, in Somerset; Flintshire, in North Wales; the southern Pennines, in Yorkshire and Weardale, in County Durham (Hill 1981, p. 111). However, the only part of Britain for which there is evidence for lead production and export prior to the end of the ninth century is the Peak District. This evidence comes from textual sources rather than archaeology. Felix described the monks of Wirksworth, in the Peak District, as sending a lead coffin for the dead Saint Guthlac in 714 (Colgrave 1956). The Humberht Charter, relating to Wirksworth, is the only indication of the regularity of lead production and movement- the charter of 835 described his obligation to send an annual render of 300 'solidi' weight of lead directly to the Archbishop of Canterbury in lieu of any rent to the monastery of Wirksworth and its parent foundation at Repton (Finberg 1976, p. 82). While it is possible that other areas could have been producing lead in the eighth and ninth centuries, it would be unwise to automatically assume that this was the case in the absence of any evidence whatsoever. The only evidence for lead production in any part of Britain other than the Peak District, in the Anglo-Saxon period, is provided in a charter reference from 883 A.D. which lists a lead mine at Stoke Bishop, near Bristol (Hill 1981, p. 111; Finberg 1976, 82). By the time of the Domesday survey of 1086, the only area where lead workings are listed is the Peak District. Seven 'plumbaria' lead workings are noted. If the Peak District was not the monopoly lead producing area, it certainly appears to have been the major lead supplier (Tylecote 1962, p. 93). Although the indications of lead production and export from the Peak District are gleaned from epigraphic sources alone, the evidence for lead working is less slim than anywhere else in Britain. The references to lead products and exports from the Peak District almost two centuries before any evidence for lead production in other parts of Britain may indicate an early monopoly on lead production, which may never have been lost in the early medieval period. However, at present this theory cannot be proved with archaeological evidence and the possibility of lead production from other sources cannot be discounted, but the textual indications of lead production in the Peak District almost two hundred years before evidence for lead production in the Mendips may be highly significant.

'display' ecclesiastical buildings in the 'Roman manner'. The Peak District had the monopoly supply of lead utilised in the early medieval period.

How do these factors relate to the rich barrow burials of the Peak District?

The only area where there is evidence for specialist lead production on a surplus basis at the end of the fourth century is the Peak District. It has been suggested in this chapter that lead working entered a diminishing 'economy of scale' over the fifth, sixth and early seventh centuries, where lead would have been used on a very small scale for dress accessories or dress accessory production templates. It is likely that the tradition and ability to work lead survived. Subsequently, at the time of the loose incorporation of the Peak into the Mercian 'confederation' or slightly later, lead was again required in bulk, for purposes of display, in the Catholic Church. During the second half of the seventh century, building 'monumental' stone churches was a method of displaying a superior technological ability and a superior religion to those of the 'pagan' Anglo-Saxon predecessors (Webb 1965, p123-124). The only historically attested supplier of lead from the early eighth-ninth centuries was the Peak District.

The sudden deposition of large quantities of portable wealth in the Peak District occurs in the mid-late seventh century. Whether the inhabitants of the Peak were wholly Christian or not, from the mid-seventh century, the elites of the region had monopoly control of lead production and supply for the whole of Anglo-Saxon England.²² From this time, the Catholic Church created a demand for lead which had a high social display value on their monumental stone buildings. This demand for a display commodity, on behalf of the church, is likely to have resulted in the increased production and exchange of lead. The lead for Jarrow and Monkwearmouth probably came from the Peak District. In this context the Trent - Humber communication route would have become essential for transport, giving

access to the eastern seaboard of England. Use of this communication route is certainly attested by finds of lead artefacts on either side of the Humber estuary and in East Yorkshire from early eighth-ninth century contexts. An eighth-ninth century hemispherical lead ingot, weighing nine pounds was found alongside lead artefacts and a metalworking hearth at the Anglo-Saxon monastic site at Lurk Lane, Beverley (Armstrong, Tomlinson and Evans 1991, p163); an eighth century inscribed lead plaque and other lead artefacts were found at the materially rich settlement or monastery at Flixborough on the south bank of the Humber (Whitwell and Leahy 1990, p41) and lead ore - galena has been found in ninth century deposits at the settlement of Thwing on the Yorkshire Wolds (Manby pers comm). With regard to the transport of a heavy commodity like lead it is also worth remembering that nearly all of the early major monasteries founded during the mid seventh-early eighth century are located on the coast or on navigable rivers, enabling the receipt of bulk commodities travelling on an inter-regional basis.

Initial exchange relations for lead procurement are likely to have been made on an individual level. The church may have procured through agents eg secular authorities, indeed many of the early monastic founders were themselves, members of the Anglo-Saxon aristocracy. At the individual level, therefore the exchange transactions were merely between different members of the same elite. Any difference in religious belief need not have mattered. Neither need the Peak District elites have viewed lead as having a special display value. The circumstantial evidence does suggest, however, that they produced and exchanged lead in large quantities from the second half of the seventh century, in order to procure commodities and objects which they did value highly.

In contrast to the late Roman period, lead

was a commodity

produced for exchange.²³ The local inhabitants of the Peak District do not seem to have had any use for it. Yet because of the high social value placed on lead for

23. pp.288-289 , Deletion of references to the use of lead as a tax tender in the late Roman period.

ecclesiastical buildings, the Peak elites could make a 'profit' where their late Roman forebears did not. As a result of exchange, the Peak District elites could benefit in a material way from lead production and export.

The one problem with this hypothesis is that by 714 AD one of the main lead producing areas of the Peak District - Wirksworth - was a centre of a Mercian royal estate, linked to Repton. It had been granted to the church. Control of lead production by the Catholic church is not surprising since their institution was the primary benefactor from the use of lead. The granting of a significant proportion of lead producing areas to the church by 714 AD must have had a rather bad impact on the ability of secular elites to profit from lead production and exchange. The demand for lead and its supply were both controlled by the church. As in the Roman period, therefore, by the early eighth century, the secular elites of the Peak could not benefit materially from lead production.

If Wirksworth, its territory and its lead production were under church control, as Mercian 'royal lands' in 714, how can the richness of the Peak elites be accounted for during the second half of the seventh century?

The answer probably lies in the internal development of the Mercian confederation. From the mid-late seventh century the Peak was part of a loose confederation. As such, the Peak elites had a large degree of independence. From the second half of the seventh century, Mercia started to become Christianised by the Catholic church from the top echelons of society downwards. By the end of the seventh century there seems to have been a close relationship between the church and secular kingship, as there was in other kingdoms. This is amply illustrated by Bede and Eddius Stephanus (Bede *Historia Ecclesiastica*, Colgrave and Mynors 1969; Crawford 1933, p38; Webb 1965, p120; Farmer 1983, p185-201; Wallace-Hadrill 1971, p47). The church is likely to have had a formalising role on the Mercian

confederation, helping to enforce the power of the Mercian Kingly lineages.

The Mercian Kings are likely to have acquired land in the Peak by the late seventh century, via extortion, ie. if lands were not transferred to Mercian royal control voluntarily, they could have taken them by force. The close association of the church hierarchy with Mercian kingship then reaped a reward in the donation of lands controlling lead production. The rich barrow burials representing Peak elites are best interpreted as exemplifying the phase when control of lead production and exchange was in secular elite control. This coincides with the period when the Mercian confederation was a loose collection of polities, with little direct Mercian control outside their heartland in the upper Trent valley and Cheshire plain (Charles-Edwards 1989, p29-30; Brooks 1989, p161).

10.5 Summary

The sudden demonstration of wealth in the mid-late seventh century barrows of the Peak District seems to have been the result of three directly related practices. The first relates to the production of a commodity for exchange; the second to the procurement of exotic luxuries as a result of the wealth created from commodity exchange and the third, to social competition between different groups in the Peak District.

From the mid seventh century, the Catholic church provided a demand for lead, for the purpose of stone monumental building construction. This demand stimulated bulk lead production in the Peak District, which seems to have had a monopoly on lead production and supply for the whole of Anglo-Saxon England between the second half of the seventh-ninth centuries. In the mid-late seventh century, the Peak elites were able to benefit from bulk commodity exchange of lead in a way that had not been possible in the late Roman period.

Bulk commodity exchange stimulated the construction of long distance inter-

regional exchange links with the eastern seaboard of England and via this area, the continent. Evidence would also suggest the establishment or maintenance of pre-existing exchange contacts with the Celtic areas bordering the Irish Sea. The large quantities of precious metal and other luxury artefacts bear witness to these exchange links and the wealth created by lead exchange.

The deposition of the imported luxuries in barrows and flat graves can be seen in the regional context of social competition between 'Anglicised' native elites and newcomer Anglo-Saxon elites. Many of the mid-late seventh century barrow burials exhibit a direct continuity of ritual practice with earlier barrow burials in the Peak District. They are likely to be the sepulchral remains of native elites. Other barrow burials, such as the cremation barrow burial at Cold Eaton and other secondary interments around earlier barrows are likely to represent Anglo-Saxon colonist elites. Conspicuous deposition of portable wealth in both is likely to reflect competition to maintain social position by the use of mutually understandable methods of display.

With greater Mercian control of the Peak by the end of the seventh century, the ability to create wealth via lead production was put under church control on behalf of the Mercian dynasty. This is likely to have denied the Peak secular elites their ability to create large amounts of surplus wealth. Changes in burial practice in the early eighth century also obscure the ability to see the consequences of more direct Mercian control on exchange activity.

Chapter 11

MOTIVATION FOR COMMODITY MOVEMENT, MECHANISMS OF TRANSFER AND MEDIA OF EXCHANGE

11.1 Introduction

In the discussion of the character and scale of exchange relations in the three study areas, the motivation behind the exchange of raw materials and artefacts was only suggested in very specific regional circumstances. The commodity distributions and the indications of exchange that they provide were not interpreted within a set of general theories, which assumed that exchange served specific functions in past societies. This chapter will attempt to draw together the various findings from this thesis to examine the validity of our current frameworks of interpretation for exchange activity. Discussion of exchange mechanisms and the development of exchange media, eg. coinage, to facilitate various transactions has also been left to this single chapter for the purpose of clarity and to avoid unnecessary repetition in analysis.

11.2 Division in purposes for production and exchange

The first general topic for discussion set against the evidence from the study areas is the practice of dividing production and exchange activity into two categories, relating to a 'subsistence' economy on the one hand and a 'social' economy on the other. A subsistence level of production and exchange catered for the immediate survival and domestic needs of communities, while 'social' economic activity related to exchange and consumption of wealth to maintain alliances and social rank within society (Hodges 1982, p130-131; Wells 1984, p27-28). This division in the

definition of levels of production and kinds of exchange has come about due to the influence of social anthropological theory on archaeological interpretation. This influence is not confined to the study of the early medieval period. It was also seen in studies of prehistoric exchange and social evolution (Renfrew 1982, p5-6; Haselgrove 1982, p81).

The division of subsistence and social alliance or status-related exchange has also been reflected in the different forms of archaeological deposit which have provided evidence for exchange between the fifth-seventh centuries. Settlement deposits have been perceived as providing indications of activity relating to the immediate rural economy for the survival needs of the population resident on a particular settlement (Jones 1984, p38-40; Arnold 1988, p18-19). In contrast, from the early 1980s the study of rare imports in early Anglo-Saxon graves was related to the anthropological study of 'prestige good' systems. A 'prestige good' was generally a rare object or a rare material which had often travelled a long distance from its place of manufacture. Social elites are suggested to have limited the distribution of these goods to their own social ranks. As such, possession of these goods reinforced identification of high social rank. Archaeologists departed from the technical anthropological definition of a prestige good where possession of a 'prestige good' gave social status to its owner (Friedman and Rowlands 1978, p224-228; Smith 1976, p325). Instead, the term 'prestige good' has been used for exotic artefacts which reinforce and enhance pre-existing social status or legitimate social change after it had occurred in reality (Haselgrove 1982, p81; Arnold 1982, p124-127). As a result, numbers of imports and the wealth of grave assemblages have been linked to ideas of social development and identification of status (Arnold 1982, p124-128; Arnold 1988a p114). The validity of such approaches will be discussed in other sections of this chapter.

The separation of production and exchange activity into subsistence and social economies may initially have been made to look at different aspects of production

and exchange activity within the same societies, however, the separation in the analysis of the two spheres of activity has led to the inability to link subsistence and social economies. Discussion of the former has tended to be the preserve of environmental archaeologists, while artefact-based studies have been used to illustrate the latter (Jones 1984, p38-40; Jones 1986, p148-162; Huggett 1988, p63-94). Where there has been an attempt to relate different levels of production and exchange, mechanisms for conversion of agricultural surpluses into luxuries have been ignored or glossed over. Thus Arnold was able to conclude that:-

'despite their displaying a generalised and largely self-sufficient subsistence economy, precious metals and other valuable goods are known to have moved in such communities' (Arnold 1988, p51)

His discussion of exchange in the early Anglo-Saxon period was then dominated by distributions of imported objects and the social context of their use in society - to reinforce or enhance social position.

The concentration on the study of social exchange relating to social evolution, during the 1980s, has produced some excellent hypotheses on the development of early medieval Europe. Unfortunately, the placement of status-related exchange systems within a general narrative (seen in the work of Hodges, Hodges and Whitehouse, Arnold and more recently, Hinton) identifies the end result of wealth creation only. Hodges gave the subsistence economy and intra-regional exchange some discussion, however, it was not linked with social exchange frameworks, especially at the level of exchange in raw materials (Hodges 1982, p130-144).

Separate study of subsistence and status or alliance-related exchange has resulted in the study of separate types of artefact or commodity when investigating the two defined levels of 'economic' activity. An exotic import in a grave may be seen as a reflection of alliance or status-related exchange, whereas most iron objects in

graves are not seen as indications of ceremonial exchange. In certain circumstances, however, the quantification of raw material and artefact distributions carried out in this work has suggested a direct relationship between exchange of superficially mundane raw materials and the ability to acquire large quantities of imported luxuries. Control of production and regional exchange of iron from the Garton-Elmswell area of East Yorkshire would explain the large quantity of imported precious metals and other luxuries in that area in the sixth and seventh centuries.

The importance of the exchange of essential raw materials such as iron is rarely considered alongside exchange of luxury imports, in the maintenance of social relations, however, iron production and exchange probably had a use at two levels. First, iron production in the Garton-Elmswell area served the immediate needs of the communities controlling the iron source and iron production, ie. it served their subsistence needs. Secondly, iron exchange with other communities in East Yorkshire probably played a role in the maintenance of peaceful social relations with areas without the same degree of access to iron. Control of production and exchange of iron would therefore have provided a source of wealth, reflected by the imports and precious metal artefacts in graves in the Garton area. The dual roles of iron as a subsistence product and a commodity for exchange illustrate a direct link between the subsistence and social economy.

Trade and exchange of commodities such as iron between the fifth-ninth centuries has previously been seen as 'utilitarian' exchange (Hodges 1982, p124). The importance of exchange of iron ore and semi-finished iron products for the functioning of the agricultural or subsistence economy was appreciated but its relationship to ceremonial exchange of luxuries was not considered (Martens 1982, p43-44). The evidence for specialist iron production and the clustering of imported luxuries in the Garton-Elmswell area of East Yorkshire, however, would suggest that it is inappropriate to see exchange of iron as 'utilitarian' subsistence-related exchange, without influence on ceremonial exchange of luxuries.

The importance of raw material exchange has been under-estimated due to the inappropriate descriptive labelling of the exchange of different commodities. This has come about as a result of the desire of archaeologists to characterise artefacts and commodities as indications of different kinds of exchange. This may be an appropriate way to categorise rare imports found in graves but this method of categorisation has limited the appreciation of the roles of raw material exchange. Trade and exchange of raw materials such as iron could have had both a subsistence and a ceremonial use. Commodities of themselves cannot therefore be seen as indicators of particular levels of exchange. The context of use of raw materials in exchange transactions could differ depending on the social circumstances. Ceremonial exchange of iron could have resulted in the creation of wealth, social alliances and access to luxuries in the Garton-Elmswell area of East Yorkshire.

While divisions between subsistence and social economies might have been made for purposes of interpretation of different kinds of exchange activity, it is important to remember that all production and exchange activity relates to the working of the same societies. Different individuals within early Anglo-Saxon societies may have been involved in different kinds of exchange but all were directly or indirectly related. The separation of different levels of exchange activity was the result of rigid classification of the roles of different commodities. It is more sensible to appreciate that different commodities could have had different uses depending on the social occasion. The study of specialist raw material production and exchange provides an essential link between different levels of exchange activity since these commodities could have had a number of roles at both a functional and ceremonial level. It would be foolish to claim that all rich import concentrations are evidence for underlying control of access to raw materials, however, its importance must be considered when studying the development of the early Anglo-Saxon kingdoms and increased levels of production in the middle Saxon period.

11.3 The impact of acculturation and 'Anglicisation' on exchange

The links between the native and incoming Germanic populations have been shown to be of fundamental importance within the three study areas. The input of the native population on what became 'Anglo-Saxon' societies had a different effect varying geographically and chronologically. Much seems to have depended on the mode of Germanic settlement in individual regions. The subject of Anglicisation and cross-cultural exchange is of fundamental importance relating to the adoption of 'Anglo-Saxon' material culture and values by the native population . It has been completely ignored in the discussion of development of 'Anglo-Saxon' social complexity, ie. increased social stratification and 'Kingdom' development. The implications of the impact of acculturation on current interpretations of exchange activity and social development therefore merit detailed discussion.

The first and most obvious evidence of inter-action between native and Germanic immigrant can be seen in cross-cultural exchange at the level of dress accessories. Specific examples can be seen in the use of tin - a native decorative metal and native decorative motifs on brooches, eg. disc brooches, in the upper Thames valley. These were produced by 'Anglo-Saxon' communities after their arrival in the upper Thames valley. Such styles may have been adopted by the 'Anglo-Saxons' to legitimise their presence in specific regions. It also had the additional effect in the upper Thames valley of stimulating tin exchange with Cornwall. Such a link with the native populations to the west is also likely to have offered access to other luxury imports such as glass vessels and gold. In the context of the upper Thames valley, therefore, cross-cultural exchange in dress fashion may have stimulated other commodity exchange.

The rate of adoption of 'Anglo-Saxon' material culture seems to have varied, but it seems likely that a major influence on the speed of adoption of Anglo-Saxon methods of cultural expression was political control. The evidence from the 'Anglo-

Saxon' cemeteries at Dorchester-on-Thames suggests that a strong native population may have been denying their Anglo-Saxon neighbours access to certain luxury commodities during most of the sixth century. It is possible that Dorchester remained under British control at this time. The eventual loss of native political control also raised the likelihood of Anglicisation from the top echelons of society downwards. This is suggested for the Peak District where native elites used 'Anglo-Saxon' material culture and practices of conspicuous wealth deposition to try to maintain their social position against incoming Anglo-Saxon elites.

Perhaps the greatest effect of the 'Anglicisation' of the native population on exchange is the potential for different attitudes towards the desirability of certain artefacts and commodities. The native population may have taken up different aspects of 'Anglo-Saxon' dress and cultural practices at varying rates. It is therefore difficult to identify indications of status in grave assemblages where different value systems structure a ritual assemblage. The Driffield cemeteries in East Yorkshire serve as examples. The two mid-late sixth century cemeteries provide the clearest evidence of different value systems (see Chapters Five and Six). The Driffield-Cheesecake Hill cemetery falls into the coastal group where relatively large quantities of artefacts made from rock crystal, amber and jet were deposited in female graves. Driffield-Kellythorpe to the west, had far less amber, rock crystal and jet. Large quantities of amber and rock crystal have been seen as signs of 'high social status' in sixth century 'Anglian' female graves, therefore, using these wealth indicators, it might be assumed that the Cheesecake Hill community was the wealthier of the two. If the quantities of silver, iron and copper-alloy are compared between the two cemeteries, however, Driffield-Kellythorpe had far high quantities than Cheesecake Hill.

The differences in wealth expression between the two cemeteries are best explained by differences in attitude towards the value of commodities, possibly relating to the process of 'Anglicisation'. As the post-Roman penannular brooch

distribution in East Yorkshire indicates (figure 6.4), the 'Anglo-Saxon' population at Kellythorpe and the iron rich, Garton-Elmswell area are likely to have been more greatly influenced by the native population. This area was some distance away from the primary 'Anglo-Saxon' settlement zone in East Yorkshire. As a result the Kellythorpe community may have adopted 'Anglo-Saxon' methods of expression at a different rate to the coastal zone.

The full implications of the gradual adoption of 'Anglo-Saxon' material culture, value systems and language have dramatic effects on current anthropologically-based exchange frameworks and social evolutionary theory. 'Status-related' exchange has been structured within social anthropological models. Particular forms of exchange and the scale of exchange relations have been seen as indicative of certain forms of social organisation (Smith 1976, p317; Friedman and Rowlands 1978, p268-272). Arnold suggested that increased stratification could be recognised from the mid sixth-seventh centuries from levels of wealth in grave assemblages (Arnold 1988, p163). Identification of increasing social complexity was intimately linked with increased access to prestige goods for certain sections of society. For 'prestige goods' to display 'status' the people who do not have access to such goods must appreciate what their possession represented (Renfrew 1977/1984, p103-104). This requires a uniformity in value systems so that display of material wealth can be understood. If this uniformity existed increased polarisation in access to exotic goods could have indicated increased social ranking and stratification. If an 'Anglicised' native population still existed alongside and among an 'Anglo-Saxon' population, however, residual native value systems could have survived.

The rich barrow burials of the Peak District provide an example where this is the case. The native elements in the ritual deposition practice in a significant number of the barrow burials suggest that certain 'Anglo-Saxon' barrow burials contained Anglicised native elites. The extremely sudden deposition of wealth is best

understood as a reflection of the pre-existing elite structure in competition with the new English elites in the region. Increased social ranking need not have taken place. The basis for the competition in exotic luxury deposition was probably the bulk export of lead (see Chapter Ten, Ozanne 1964, p35; Hinton 1990, p22). The exotic 'prestige goods' deposited are not to be seen as 'prestige enhancing' in themselves, following the anthropological definition. They are better understood as a representation of wealth based on commodity exchange, reinforcing social position not enhancing it.

Emphasis has been placed on differing value systems and methods of physical expression between Germanic Anglo-Saxon and Anglicised native populations, however, it is equally likely that different value systems existed among different elements within the Germanic population. Once all potential complicating factors are put together, it becomes extremely difficult to equate wealth deposition with particular 'rungs' on a ladder of social complexity. As a corollary, it would be a mistake to identify specific forms of exchange which ought to accompany specific social development. This is a fundamental weakness in the work of Smith and Friedman and Rowlands. They do not make provision for a variety of value systems and their effects within an individual society. They are structured to the extent that the context of use of material culture and exchange cannot differ in specific situations within the same system (Smith 1976, p312; Friedman and Rowlands 1978, p204-206).

11.4 Exchange and social evolution

In the Peak District, conspicuous deposition of wealth probably emphasised a pre-existing social hierarchy. The wealth deposition was a social display of a secondary nature to the basis of wealth production which was lead exchange. This conclusion departs quite significantly from the idea of 'prestige good' - based exchange, where

social status was enhanced by the acquisition of rare exotic imports (Hinton 1990, p22; Huggett 1988, p94). In the 'prestige good' model, social display of rare and exotic artefacts could give status to their owner, despite the fact that acquisition of a prestige good could bear no relation to the control of production. Control of 'non-prestige' resources was of secondary importance in enhancing social status (Malinowski 1922, p84-85).

Prestige good - based frameworks of interpretation have been used to explain social and economic development in early Anglo-Saxon England and north-western Europe. Working from Smith and Renfrew, Richard Hodges produced a structured ladder of social complexity with specific types of exchange at each level (Smith 1976, p317; Renfrew 1984, p100-104; Hodges 1979, p211). Arnold subsequently used the model proposed by Hodges, where 'long-distance prestige trade' was an important factor at different stages on the ladder of social development from the 'early state module' to the 'polity' and the 'proto state' (Arnold 1988, p195). The ability to control the importation and distribution of 'prestige goods' was seen as a reason behind the quicker development of more centralised socio-political units or 'kingdoms', in areas with an advantageous geographical position, eg. Kent. It was also suggested that the desire to gain access to prestige goods was the reason behind the aggression of kingdoms like Mercia and Wessex against regions such as Kent and the Isle of Wight (Arnold 1982, p125 and 127). The desire to control 'status'-related exchange was seen as a cause of evolution in social complexity among Anglo-Saxon groups over the seventh century. Arnold contradicted his conclusion, however, when he supported it with references to the earliest Anglo-Saxon law codes. These codes rank society on the basis of landholding (Arnold 1982, p127). It is very difficult to explain this sudden switch to rank definition based on land holding from rank definition based on prestige goods. Models explaining increasing social complexity based on control of prestige exchange show a number of contradictions because of inexact use of terminology.

Both Hodges and Arnold refer to exotic luxury imports as 'prestige goods' or prestige raw materials (Arnold 1982, p125; Hodges and Whitehouse 1983, p92; Arnold 1988, p195-196; Hodges 1989, p55). In Malinowski's observation of 'Kula' gift exchange, a 'prestige good' gave social status by its possession. It has also been defined this way by Smith, leading on from Malinowski's work (Malinowski 1922, p350-365; Smith 1976, p324-325). Hodges and Arnold, however, used the term 'prestige good' or 'prestige' resources erroneously, for imports which reinforced a pre-existing social position. Therefore, social status was not increased by the acquisition of more 'prestige goods'. The possession of exotic imports were an expression of social position but social position was based on control of resources other than exotic imports. This was not made clear by either Arnold or Hodges. It would explain the contradiction in Arnold's argument where competition for acquisition of 'prestige goods' was expressed in control of land in the earliest Anglo-Saxon law codes. The basis of wealth was always control of people, land and raw materials. In their inexact use of very specific terminology, Hodges and Arnold have given too much emphasis to the effect of control of production and raw material exchange ie the ability to acquire exotic imports, rather than study the cause or basis of wealth production - agricultural surplus and raw material exchange.

The notion of the 'prestige good' was taken from 'primitive societies' which have survived into the twentieth century. Those particular societies were situated in the Trobriand Islands and Papua New Guinea (Malinowski 1922). The idea of a 'prestige good' has been utilised outside the specific context for which it was defined. The idea of seeing an exotic import as a 'prestige object' divorced that object from the wealth base by which it was acquired. Exotic imports may have had symbolic value but the term 'prestige good' should not be used when describing an object which reflects wealth and power created by other means.

It does seem likely, however, that the desire for resources was a reflection of social

changes taking place among different 'Anglo-Saxon' groups over the sixth and seventh centuries. This desire for resources should be seen as a desire to acquire control of the bases of production. The control of access to exotic imports follows on as a corollary. The manifestation of such action can be seen in the document called the 'Tribal Hidage' (Hart 1971, p133; Davies and Vierck 1974, p225-230; Brooks 1989, p167-168; Dumville 1989, p225-230). This is a Mercian or possibly a Northumbrian tribute list probably written in the late seventh century. Acquisition of resources was facilitated through the payment of tribute by 'Kingdoms' and sub-groups who acknowledged, at least, nominal Mercian or Northumbrian overlordship at the time the document was compiled. Thus Kent, the East Angles and the Gewissae or West Saxons were listed among the regions paying tribute (Dumville 1989, p227). The 'Tribal Hidage' represents a system of extortion rather than direct control of other large 'kingdoms'. Tribute was paid to stave off war. The 'Hidage' tribute assessments are based on agricultural produce.

Redistribution of resources based on tribute, warfare or exchange need not indicate significant changes in the social ranking within society, whereas it is likely to reflect the internal organisation of Kingdoms. This distinction is very important. At the time of the compilation of the 'Tribal Hidage' there is unlikely to have been a great difference in social rank between the social elites among the tribute collectors and tribute payers. However, there was obviously a disparity in power. Increased ranking within early Anglo-Saxon societies is not, therefore, a pre-requisite to the emergence of Kingdoms. Social rank may not correlate directly with individual power.

Clustering of imported goods may reflect elites with a particular social and economic advantage, for example, there seems to be a distinct clustering of imported goods in two areas of the upper Thames valley (see Chapter Eight and figure 11.1). This is especially the case from the late sixth-seventh centuries (Dickinson 1976, Volume 1, p364-367). In the same way, the Peak District group of

barrows may reflect elite burial within a coherent socio-political unit, known as the 'Pecsaetne', from at least the late seventh century (Davies and Vierck 1974, p280). The acquisition of imported commodities did not necessarily reflect any change in the rank or rather, the difference in social status between different levels of societies. The upper Thames concentrations are evident over the sixth and seventh centuries while the sudden deposition of imports in the Peak District is likely to be a reflection of Anglicisation and the export of lead rather than an increasing division between elites and the rest of the social strata.

In contrast, production for exchange, ie. for surplus wealth creation, did have an influence on the development of internal organisation within 'Kingdoms' and their 'sub-regions'. This is clearly shown in the Garton-Driffield area of East Yorkshire. By the mid seventh century there is clear evidence of specialist iron production, seen in tool deposition, the sheer variety of iron objects and the use of coal. This implies greater organisation of iron production than in the sixth century. The stimulus for the re-emergence of bulk lead production and exchange from the Peak District also occurred in the second half of the seventh century. Increased organisation of the internal resources of the region and increased group cooperation must have occurred at this time within the Peak. Such cooperation would have been a source of social cohesion among the Peak population. It also accounts for the wide distribution of rich burials. They are not limited to known lead producing areas. Changes in the internal organisation of socio-political units and targeting of resources by group cooperation were therefore the result of increased specialisation in production for exchange. Control of agricultural and other raw material resources must have allowed the elites who controlled them to increase their wealth and the size of their allied communities by preferential exchange agreements, inter-marriage and threat of war. As a result, increased group cohesion would have resulted, forming a base for nascent political groupings.

11.5 The effect of change in methods of display on exchange and commodity movement from the mid-seventh century

By the second half of the seventh century, all the nascent 'Kingdoms' in early medieval England were at least nominally Christian. The conversion of the Anglo-Saxons to Christianity was achieved by two ecclesiastical groupings - the Celtic Church and the Roman Church. After the Synod of Whitby in 664 AD (Bede, 'Historia Ecclesiastica', Book III, Chapter 25, Colgrave and Mynors 1969, p299) all Anglo-Saxon kingdoms were nominally ^{followers of the Roman tradition.} The pre-eminence of the Roman Church had a dramatic effect on methods of display. A key feature of the Roman Church was its desire to build churches and ecclesiastical buildings in the 'Roman' or 'Frankish' manner. This was not a coherent policy but rather a method of displaying ideological and social superiority by individuals promoting the Roman Church. Thus, clerics such as Wilfrid built churches in stone at Ripon and Hexham (Eddius Stephanus - Life of St Wilfrid, Chapter 17 and Chapter 22, Webb 1965 p123 and 128) and members of the Anglo-Saxon secular aristocracy, such as Benedict Biscop, founded stone-built linked-monasteries at Monkwearmouth and Jarrow (Bede - 'Lives of the abbots of Wearmouth and Jarrow, Farmer 1983, p188-192).

This change in the form of social display from movable wealth to monumental building had a number of profound effects. Churches, monasteries and their related communities needed raw materials on a large scale for construction. As a result, bulk commodity production and transport was stimulated. The re-emergence of the production and exchange of Peak District lead can be attributed to the stimulus of ecclesiastical building construction. It is highly likely that the lead roof flashing and tiles for both the churches and main buildings at Jarrow and Monkwearmouth came from the Peak District (Cramp 1969, p37; Cramp 1976, p233 and 237). Working of lead is also seen at Lurk Lane-Beverley in association with eighth century monastic

buildings (Armstrong, Tomlinson and Evans 1991, p163) and also at the settlement/'monastery' at Flixborough (South Humberside), where a lead plaque and lead working debris has been discovered (Whitwell and Leahy 1990, p41). This clearly reveals a Trent-Humber-east coast communication link. Lead was just one of the commodities which started to be moved in bulk. Significant amounts of stone may also have been moved long distances. Building in stone and the use of other techniques such as stained glass window construction also implies the large scale movement of skilled artisans, as Bede illustrates (Bede - Lives of the abbots of Wearmouth and Jarrow, Chapter 5, Farmer 1983, p189). In this respect, the advent of monumental church building must have had a dramatic effect on the scale of raw material extraction, production and exchange.

Within the context of building for social display, the commodities used in their construction had different social uses and exchange values to different parties (Gregory 1982, p10). This is particularly relevant with regard to the Peak District elites from the mid-late seventh century. The absence of lead from any grave in the Peak District indicates that the Peak population did not have a use for lead in mortuary practice, however, it did have an exchange value, in the sense that it allowed for the provision of commodities which they did use to accompany graves. In contrast, lead certainly had a display value for the builders of the first stone ecclesiastical buildings. By the early eighth century, there was a change in the control of lead production. Lead was not regarded as a high value commodity by secular Anglo-Saxon elites before the second half of the seventh century. As a result, the local Peak District elites benefited from lead exchange. By 714 at the latest, however, production of lead at Wirksworth in the Peak seems to have passed into the control of a Mercian royal abbey. From this period, lead production and movement was placed in the hands of ecclesiastical elites. The supply of lead via exchange with local elites had been replaced by supply on command of the church (La Lone 1982, p294-295). The need for an exchange transaction had been

removed, as had a significant proportion of the wealth creating ability of the secular elites of the Peak District.

The eighth century saw increased church building, increased donation of large tracts of land to the church and increased re-organisation of resources. The donation of significant raw material sources to the church also meant that a large proportion of inter-regional commodity movement, within Britain and with the continent, need not have involved any exchange activity - especially with secular elements of society. Bearing in mind the 'Tribal Hidage', the vast majority of secular commodity movement should be regarded as tribute extortion in the late seventh and early eighth centuries. The vast majority of inter-regional commodity movement in England need not have involved individual exchange transactions, though it is likely that renders within composite estate structures were still personal exchange relations based on 'ties of dependence' (Bloch 1940, translated by Manyon 1961, p147-150).

During the second half of the seventh and early eighth centuries, the scale of production was undoubtedly increased due to ecclesiastical and secular impetus. The scale of inter-regional exchange relations were both boosted and curtailed, however. They were initially boosted when individual churchmen needed resources outside their landholdings but were subsequently curtailed when the sources and control of production of many raw materials were given to the church, removing the necessity for exchange transactions.

11.6 The development of inter-regional centres of production and exchange

Exchange rather than redistribution 'on command' is more readily detectable from evidence of long-distance and inter-regional exchange, seen at beach 'trading sites', ports near monasteries and at the end of the period of this work - emporia. No emporia were founded before the mid-eighth century in the three study areas

examined. Excavated mid seventh century examples have been discovered, however, at Ipswich, in Suffolk and London (Wade p93-97; Wade 1989, p12-13; Vince 1990, p13-18). Southampton (Hamwic) seems to have been founded at the end of the seventh century (Holdsworth 1980, p1; Hodges 1989, p80).

Production and exchange activity at emporia was primarily a phenomenon of the late seventh-early ninth centuries. Detailed discussion of their nature and place in 'middle Saxon society' is outside the scope of this work. The lack of any defined 'proto urban' centres in the regions studied also renders discussion of emporia development an exercise in secondary source criticism. For the above reasons, the discussion on the development of emporia must be brief. Attention will be focused on their role in the production and movement of commodities on an inter-regional level within England. The emporia have provided evidence for craft specialist activity, long-distance exchange and high population density (Wade 1988, p99; Hodges 1978, p97-99; Hodges 1982, p50-52; Hodges 1982a, p118-121). They are situated at coastal or estuarine locations, in the case of Hamwic and Ipswich, and riverine locations in the case of 'Lundenwic' (London).

Specialist production at these settlements was not only geared to long-distance exchange outside England. Production for inter-regional exchange within England was also important. The mass-produced slow-wheel-made 'Ipswich ware' pottery, manufactured at the Ipswich emporium is known to have moved as far north as the Humber estuary - either for what it carried or for the pottery itself (Wade 1988, p97; Leahy pers comm). The majority of Ipswich ware finds, however, are distributed throughout East Anglia. This could reflect some socio-political influence on its distribution with the framework of the East Anglian Kingdom (Brisbane 1981, p238). The distribution of this slow-wheel-made pottery seems to reflect a pattern of east and southern English coastal communication over the seventh and eighth centuries. The location of Ipswich ware in Middle Anglia and on Humberside follows the path of navigable rivers (Brisbane 1981, p239; Russel 1984, p584). In this respect, the

movement of pottery as a commodity, along the east coast of England mirrors the distribution route of lead along the Trent-Humber east coastal route from the Peak District to Northumbria and the South.

Much attention has been given to the role of 'emporia' as centres for the control of long-distance exchange with continental Europe (Hodges 1982, p53). 'Royal' desire to control this exchange has been suggested as a reason for the foundation of these sites. In this context, the site at Hamwic has been seen as a foundation of the West Saxon King Ine who reigned from AD 688-726 (Loyn 1962, p138; Holdsworth 1980, p1; Biddle 1986, p114). Royal impetus has also been seen behind the foundation of Ipswich (Carver 1990, p119) and later York. The Kentish examples of Sandwich, Fordwich, Sarre and Dover are likely to have been founded in the sixth century, however, the nature of these settlements is uncertain (Hawkes 1982, p76). The observation that a significant number of luxury imports such as glass vessels, were recovered from domestic and craft-working areas in Hamwic should raise questions on the social value of the imports, however. If elites had been so concerned to limit access to luxuries, it might have been expected that they would not be found in large quantities among the artisans in the 'wic' itself (Hunter 1980, p59-67).

The role of emporia as nodes of inter-regional exchange within England also merits further analysis. By the eighth century, royal control of these settlements is not in doubt (Sawyer 1977, p152). The control of the movement and exchange of raw materials and craft specialist products at the inter-regional level may have been more lucrative to the ruling elite than exchange of luxuries. The appearance of tolls in England in the 730s might reflect 'taxation' on inter-regional commodity movement.

Coastal trading sites acting as foci for inter-regional exchange are probably reflected in the archaeological record from East Yorkshire from the late seventh-early eighth centuries. Significantly, however, specialist coastal or estuarine centres

of production, of a semi-urban nature, did not develop in this region in the eighth century, though areas of specialist commodity production for exchange did exist in inland areas, eg. the Garton-Elmswell area. Exchange seems to have taken place at beach sites and ports associated with monasteries. In the case of the latter, this exchange activity may have been in addition to movement of commodities within any ecclesiastical estate network.

The evidence for this exchange activity comes mainly from the small silver coins called 'sceattas'. Three sceatta concentrations are securely dated to the primary and very early secondary phase (late seventh-early eighth century). The three concentrations come from the monastic site at Whitby (Allan 1943, p85- ; Rigold and Metcalf 1984, p265), a hoard from the Tatton Sykes 2 cemetery at Garton Slack (Grantham and Grantham 1965, p356) and a concentration from a beach 'trading' site between Welton, North Ferriby and Redcliff on the north bank of the Humber estuary (Rigold and Metcalf 1984, p257; Hull Museum records; Haldenby pers comm; Sitch and Foxon pers comm). The Whitby and Tatton Sykes-Garton Slack hoard are to be seen as a reflection of exchange activity associated with 'monastic ports'. In Chapters Five and Six it was noted that all the major early Northumbrian monasteries were located at coastal harbour sites or on navigable rivers, eg. Jarrow, Monkwearmouth, Tynemouth, Whitby and Bridlington. The two latter examples are particularly important in the study of inter-regional exchange in East Yorkshire. It would seem sensible to assume that Whitby and Bridlington were sited at pre-existing ports. The use of these ports is likely to have expanded due to the stimulation of bulk commodity movement by the *Roman* church for display in monumental buildings. In the case of Whitby and Bridlington, however, it would be a mistake to see all trade at these harbours as a reflection of church sponsored exchange. Media of exchange, in the form of primary series sceattas, were certainly present at the Whitby monastery, indicating probable exchange activity on the part of the monastic foundation but the ports of Whitby and Bridlington are also likely to

have been the ports of exit and entry for secular commodity movement and exchange.

The Garton hoard is of direct relevance to the above hypothesis. The rich Garton region is adjacent to the main east-west running Roman road leading across the Yorkshire Wolds. It terminates in the east at Bridlington, which had been a Roman port. The logical port for the export of iron and importation of luxuries would have been Bridlington. The exchange of these commodities at a trading site at Bridlington would be a rational explanation for the presence of an early secondary series (early eighth century) sceatta hoard at Garton. The port at Bridlington nor the port at Whitby need have been under monastic control. The primary and early secondary series sceattas found on the monastic site at Whitby need not be a reflection of Church sponsored exchange, rather a constituent part of a large inter-regional exchange network.

The beach and immediate hinterland scatter of sceattas between Welton and North Ferriby can be seen as another manifestation of a regional and inter-regional exchange network in late seventh-early eighth century 'Deira'. This distinction between the northern and southern Northumbrian kingdoms must be made due to an observable time lag between the use of sceattas in Deira and Bernicia. All sceattas which have been found in Bernicia are either secondary series or Northumbrian series Y sceattas, ie. they date from the middle of the eighth century (Metcalf 1984, p35; Rigold and Metcalf 1984, p253). In contrast, the three sceatta concentrations in 'Deira' indicate use of silver coinage from the late seventh century. The North Ferriby sceattas are exclusively examples of the primary and early secondary series, indicating use of the beach site for exchange during the late seventh and early eighth centuries. Two examples of the earliest Northumbrian produced silver sceattas were also found here - coins bearing the name 'Aldfrith' (see figure 11.2). One example was also found at Whitby. Three other Aldfrith series sceattas have been found at Brocklesby (South Humberside), Brandon-

Staunch Meadow (Suffolk) and Southampton (Hampshire). Their distribution seems to reflect their use along the east and south coasts of England during the late seventh and early eighth centuries.

The significance of the 'Aldfrith' coinage has been largely ignored due to a concentration on the social and economic development of the southern 'Anglo-Saxon kingdoms. The Aldfrith silver coinage was the first to bear a king's name in early medieval England. Putting the name of the king on the coinage may have been an emphasis of a personal kingly authority. As a result, it can be regarded as a vehicle for displaying power. The sceatta series also provides the first direct evidence of individual royal control of a medium of exchange. This would have emphasised Northumbrian kingly power over exchange, both within and outside its native kingdom. On Aldfrith's death no further Northumbrian minted coinage has been identified until the Northumbrian base silver series Y sceattas were produced from the 730s. This suggests that the motivation for Aldfrith to put his name on the coinage was an individual decision. It was certainly not emulated by his contemporaries in the rest of England. The small number of Aldfrith sceattas discovered (seven certain examples) and its disappearance on Aldfrith's death, suggests that it was not extensively used as an exchange medium.

It is also significant that the Welton-North Ferriby area provides the first evidence of a coastal or riverine trading site in Northumbria rather than York. The growth of York as a production and trading centre must have resulted from a consolidation of both royal and ecclesiastical centres, at the latter location, over the first half of the eighth century. The significance of the beach trading sites in the late seventh and the first half of the eighth century should not be under-estimated. They should be regarded as second tier inter-regional exchange centres after the emporia. In late seventh century East Yorkshire, however, they were the main trading sites, in the absence of any evidence for a 'proto-urban' focus for craft working and trade.

The beach trading sites were probably of a temporary nature meeting on regular

pre-arranged seasonal occasions. In this sense, trade at beach sites and proto-urban centres may have been no different, since travel by sea would have been governed by seasonal conditions. North Ferriby is one of a very small number of possible beach trading sites in eastern England. Other examples have been discovered, however, in western England, eg. Meols, in the Wirral (Hume 1863; Griffiths 1992, p67-68 and Griffiths pers comm), Bantham in southern Devon (Fox 1955, p61) and Tintagel, though the latter is not technically a 'beach' trading site (Thomas 1989, p429).

The evidence from the East Yorkshire study area therefore allows for an appreciation of inter-regional trading sites other than the emporia. The scale and nature of exchange at beach 'trading sites' and harbours near monasteries need further investigation to gain a better understanding of the interaction between different regional economies and societies at the beginning of the eighth century.

11.7 Exchange mechanisms and media

a) Inalienable and alienable exchange mechanisms

The aim of the concluding section of this chapter is to explain the mechanisms for the procurement of objects and commodities and the development of media of exchange.

The bias in favour of the use of exotic imports to study exchange between the fifth-eighth centuries has focused attention on exchange mechanisms for what might be described as display objects and commodities associated with dress and public activities. The most often suggested exchange mechanism for the movement of display objects is 'gift exchange'. The identification of rare artefacts as gifts has come about as a result of historical evidence for gift giving in early medieval north-western Europe and due to the influence of social anthropological theories on

exchange (Grierson 1959, p137).

Philip Grierson first related historical references to gift exchange of luxuries in early medieval Europe with anthropological observations of its importance in non-European primitive societies (Grierson 1959, p138). He suggested that the primary role of exchange of luxuries was the maintenance of social stability and the social hierarchy within early medieval Germanic societies, not the desire for material profit. His interpretation of the function of gift exchange was based on Marcel Mauss' study of gift exchange. Mauss' conclusions on the importance of gift-giving were based on the study of non-European clan-based primitive societies from Papua New Guinea and the Pacific rim (Gregory 1982, p18). He noted that the main mechanism by which these societies maintained social cohesion within and between tribal groups was gift exchange. Searching for evidence of similar forms of exchange, he observed that early medieval Germanic societies also practised gift giving at social occasions such as feasts and weddings (Mauss 1925, 1954 translation, p59; Alexander 1973, p82).

Mauss noted that gift exchange was primarily used in intra-clan relations and personal relations of domination between clan or tribal groups (Mauss 1925/1954, p59; Gregory 1982, p19). This system was based on reciprocity - exchanging gifts of equal worth between the same social ranks - and on clientage. In the case of the latter, a gift may be given for which a counter gift cannot be provided. The recipient would therefore be in social debt to the gift provider. This debt may be paid as a service. A key concept is also the 'inalienability' of a gift' (Mauss 1925, p9-10). Possession of a gift denoted a continued social obligation to the 'giver' rather than ownership of the object.

Using ideas of reciprocity and gift exchange, Polanyi developed the theory of substantivist economics where forms of production and exchange are not based on neoclassical economic notions of supply and demand (Polanyi 1957, p234-270). Production and exchange were completely subsumed in the social relations of

society. Thus the social role that an exchanged artefact or raw material may play could be completely disproportionate to what modern economists would view as an item's production and distribution costs. Polanyi developed a structural framework to explain the situation in which forms of exchange and social integration took place. This was linked to a basic typological framework of evolutionary forms of society (Polanyi 1957, p256).

His ideas were first applied to early medieval archaeology in the early 1970s in the work of the Scandinavians, Odner and Stjernquist (Odner 1974, p108; Stjernquist 1974, p114). Polanyi himself then used early medieval Europe to illustrate his substantivist interpretations (K Polanyi and I Polanyi 1979, p92-96) though he did so at a general level without detailed regional study. At the same time anthropologists were also extending Polanyi's ideas with regard to definition of specific forms of exchange within particular forms of society (Smith 1976, p317).

Since the late 1970s, the substantivist theory of social and economic development has been used widely in the analysis of early medieval archaeological remains. The identification of exotic imports as 'gifts' has resulted in the view that reciprocal gift exchange was the most important and most common exchange mechanism (Hodges 1982, p119; Hodges and Whitehouse 1983, p92; Arnold 1988, p50; Hinton 1990, p21-22; Samson 1991, p90-92; Vestergaard 1991, p97-99; Dahlin Hauken 1991, p105-112, etc). The importance of gift exchange in early medieval England has also been reinforced by historical evidence. Charles-Edwards has illustrated the contexts in which the exchange of gifts occurred eg the maintenance of friendly alliances with neighbours, marriage and also seigneurial relations (Charles-Edwards 1976, p180-181).

The application of Maussian 'gift exchange' to exchange in early medieval Europe has been questioned by Astill, however. Criticism was specifically levelled at the problem of assessing 'worth' or 'value' when the objects in a specific gift exchange were very different in nature (Astill 1985, p221). This observation leads on directly

to the issues raised in this thesis over the nature of exchange in non-display raw materials and objects.

Quantities of raw materials were certainly given as gifts, for example, the cleric Alcuin gave one hundred pounds of lead to the Archbishop of York for the roofing of the bell tower of York Minster in the late eighth century (Grierson 1959, p139). Lead, however, may have had a display use in the monumental ecclesiastical architecture of the time. In contrast, gift exchange need not have been the only mechanism for the exchange of all raw materials. The type of transaction chosen may have related to the nature of the raw material, its use and the procurement of social advantage. Gift exchange involved a personal exchange transaction between individuals or clans, resulting in social alliances and mutual obligation. If an individual or clan wished to gain access to an essential, though non-display raw material, but had no desire to enter a relationship of obligation, a direct alienable exchange transaction may have been carried out involving a direct reciprocal swap of artefacts or commodities (Samson 1991, p93-94). In an alienable transaction social obligation was avoided by both parties. Sahlins and Gregory suggested that the choice of exchange mechanism for non-display raw materials, was influenced by 'kinship' distance (Sahlins 1972, p185). Gift exchange tended to be observed between relatives or between leaders and their personal followers (Grierson 1959, p137-139). As kinship distance increased and the degree of familiarity between individuals lessened alienable commodity exchange without mutual social obligation emerged (Gregory 1982, p23).

Different uses for the same raw materials among different sections of a society may also have resulted in the use of different kinds of exchange transaction. Since the inhabitants of the late seventh century Peak District do not seem to have had a display use for lead, they may have exchanged the raw material as an alienable commodity in return for luxuries. They may then have used the luxury imports as gifts between different clans within the Peak District. In contrast, historical evidence

indicates that lead was used as a gift in exchange relations between clerics and ecclesiastical establishments, for whom lead had a use in monumental display (Grierson 1959, p139).

Exchange of iron from the Garton-Elmswell area of East Yorkshire could have been carried out via alienable or inalienable methods of exchange, depending on the reason behind a transaction. Unfortunately, however, it is not possible to differentiate between the two types of exchange mechanism from archaeological remains. It is possible to identify the end result of raw material exchange in certain areas, however. One would expect a community or communities, controlling access to an essential or highly valued raw material to be indicated by concentrations of exotic luxuries as a result of the centrifugal direction of exchange relations. Provision of a raw material to supply a regional or inter-regional demand would pull luxuries towards the source of that raw material, whether they were acquired as gifts or via direct alienable exchange. The Garton-Driffield and Peak District import concentrations provide examples of the centrifugal pull of imports as a consequence of the probable control of iron and lead sources, respectively.

Gift exchange and alienable reciprocal exchange or 'barter' should be seen as reflections of different social relations within and between Anglo-Saxon societies from the fifth-early eighth centuries. As a corollary to the emphasis on inalienable forms of exchange during this period, the possibility of making material profit divorced from social profit has not been explored. Recognition of the probable existence of barter exchange suggests that it was possible to make profit divorced from social relations. The value placed on commodities may have varied according to their scarcity, enabling an exchange party to inflate a 'barter price' at a time of shortage. In such a way, a 'profit' could be made using formalist economic principles of supply and demand.

It would appear, however, that maintenance of social relations, via embedded inalienable exchange, was more important to the working of Anglo-Saxon societies

from the fifth-eighth centuries than alienable exchange. The change in the relative importance of the two types of exchange took place from the ninth-fourteenth centuries, helped by the development of a hierarchy of markets and a merchant class (Pirenne 1936, p162-168; Platt 1976, p92-96).

The possibility of making a material profit divorced from social relations would also help to explain the reasons behind the mercantile activity of the Frisians in Anglo-Saxon England and continental Europe from the late seventh-ninth centuries (Lebeccq 1985, p254-258; Ellmers 1990, p91-92). The Frisians are described as agents or tied-traders for Frankish Kings or ecclesiastical establishments from the seventh-ninth centuries (Sawyer 1977, p150-151). The suggestion that their role may have been limited to tied-trade directly controlled by royal or ecclesiastical patrons, however, may limit any attempt to understand the motivation for the Frisians to undertake long-distance exchange. A role as agents or middlemen for powerful sections of society in early medieval north-west Europe may not have been the only reason behind the undertaking of high risk seaborne commodity movement. Trade on behalf of sponsors may not have produced material benefit for middlemen, additional alienable transactions undertaken outside sponsored trade, however, could have produced a material profit for traders such as the Frisians. The potential for gaining wealth outside social relations could therefore have been an important additional incentive to take part in long-distance exchange with England and Scandinavia.

In areas of England not controlled by the Anglo-Saxons there are also indications of alienable exchange outside social relations. As discussed in Chapter Eight, the Saint's Life of Saint John the Almsgiver of Alexandria described a merchant ship travelling from Egypt to south-west Britain with a cargo of grain to relieve famine. This cargo was exchanged for a cargo of tin, (Fox 1955, p64). The regularity of exchange between Mediterranean merchants and south-western Britain is uncertain. The exchange of grain for tin is best seen as an alienable transaction

without the Mediterranean merchant entering any relationship of social obligation towards the British population of Cornwall or Devon. It is also possible that the value of grain in relation to tin was not fixed. Since the Saint's life stated that there was a famine at the time of the exchange transaction, one might expect that the Mediterranean merchant was able to procure more tin for his grain than he might have in times of relative plenty.

It is instructive to note that alienable trade for profit existed alongside inalienable exchange within social relations in at least one of the sixth century Germanic kingdoms bordering the Mediterranean. Cassiodorus' administrative letters from the early-mid sixth century Ostrogothic kingdom of Italy specifically record gift exchange between the Ostrogothic kings and the kings of the neighbouring Germanic 'kingdoms' of the Franks, Burgundians, Thuringians and Varni (Barnish 1992, p24, 74 and 83). At the same time Cassiodorus recorded a letter from Theodoric the Great to the Roman patrician Boethius, discussing trading of goods by buying when cheap and selling when dear (Barnish 1992, p14). This would appear to be a clear reference to alienable exchange for profit. No comparable evidence is available for early Anglo-Saxon kingdoms or their contemporary British kingdoms from the fifth-eighth centuries, however, these references do provide information on the exchange systems within which the Mediterranean merchants, trading with western Britain, may have operated.

Long-distance traders, such as the Frisians and Mediterranean merchants probably operated on an interface between regions where exchange was largely embedded within maintenance of social alliances. While also acting as tied-traders moving commodities within a controlled exchange network, their potential for practising alienable trade outside social control may be reflected in the distribution of imports and in the location of the earliest sceatta coinage in certain regions of England.

The large quantity of imported artefacts found in rubbish pits, associated with domestic and craft working at Hamwic (Southampton), dating from the late seventh-

ninth centuries, may be a reflection of alienable exchange outside social relations (Hunter 1980, p59-68). Imported glass vessels have been seen as luxury objects (Huggett 1988, p72-74). Their rarity outside Hamwic suggests that access to glass vessels and their movement was limited by inalienable exchange among elites. The emporium itself, however, would appear to have existed outside the limits of socially-controlled exchange to a certain extent. The Hamwic inhabitants who formed the rubbish deposits containing glass are not likely to have been high ranking members of Anglo-Saxon society. This suggests that the Hamwic settlement was an area where alienable exchange was carried out outside normal social relations, while movement of luxuries to the population outside the emporium was controlled. The authority in charge of the settlement probably benefited from this centre of uninhibited exchange by exacting tolls (Attenborough 1922, p79).

Alienable exchange on the fringes of societies operating within embedded systems of exchange is also suggested by the distribution of primary series sceattas on the foreshore and immediate hinterland of the north bank of the Humber estuary between Welton, North Ferriby and Redcliff in East Yorkshire. The sceattas found from this area are the earliest from East Yorkshire, dating from the late seventh to the turn of the eighth century. Sceattas of this date have not been found further inland. They appear to have been used for a specific purpose on the Humber shore and do not seem to have been exchanged via inalienable exchange mechanisms to other parts of the region. Since they did not move away from this area within social relations, the coins should be interpreted as indications of inter-regional or long-distance exchange via alienable mechanisms. The use of the coins as exchange media is discussed below.

b) Systems of value assessment

Inalienable gift exchange and alienable commodity exchange, involving very

different objects or types of raw material, require 'systems of value assessment' in order to work. Gifts are less likely to have been subject to a formal assessment of value than alienable commodities for direct reciprocal exchange. Wrangling over the precise value of respective gifts would have been socially insulting and damaging to the maintenance of a social alliance. Direct value assessment is better seen as a feature of alienable reciprocal exchange where social obligation on the exchanging parties was absent. There need not have been any difference, however, in the objects or materials exchanged via alienable or inalienable transactions.

From the sixth century among the Anglo-Saxon population and from the Roman period onwards in British areas, systems of value assessment are indicated by the presence of small weighing scales and weights. They were used to weigh quantities of specific raw materials, whose relative values had already been decided (Smith 1923, p122-128; Christlein 1979, p109-111; Steuer 1987, p407 and 443-450). Chris Scull has suggested that balances, and particularly the weights associated with them, are best seen as an indication of bullion transactions, related to the weights of sixth century continental gold coinage (Scull 1990, p199). He associates their use with inter-regional or long-distance exchange. These conclusions were drawn as a result of a study of sets of balances and weights associated with male inhumation graves, dating from the sixth century. They were concentrated in Kent, with one example in the upper Thames valley, at Watchfield (Scull 1990, p206; see figure 11.3).

Balances without weights or single balance pans from broken balances, have also been recovered from four other cemeteries in the upper Thames valley. They were found in sixth century inhumation graves at Abingdon-Staxton Road, Long Wittenham 1, Wheatley and Lechlade. All the latter graves contained female burials. This difference between the provision of weights in male graves with balances and their absence in female graves has been ascribed to the different

roles of the sexes in exchange relations (Scull 1990, p205). The men buried with balances and weights are thought to have been involved in inter-regional and long-distance exchange. It would appear that women did not have a role in these levels of exchange in these areas during the sixth century, however. Using the example of the broken balance pan which had been reused as a pendant from grave 118 at Abingdon, Scull suggested that balances or single balance pans were used in ways unrelated or secondary to their initial use when deposited in female contexts. The deposition of a weight in a separate female grave from the balance at Wheatley, may support this conclusion. It appears to have been buried as a 'curio' (Leeds 1917, p55; Arnold 1988, p60, see plate 11.1).

There is also an alternative interpretation for the deposition of balances in sixth century female graves in the upper Thames valley. Only the Abingdon example gave an indication that the balance pan was being used in a way for which it was not intended (as a pendant). The other examples were buried as discrete artefacts. It is therefore inappropriate to suggest a change in use of balance pans from an exceptional example. It is equally likely that the balances were used for assessing value equivalences in small scale alienable exchange transactions. These transactions may have been based on 'impromptu' value assessments produced on a personal basis at the time of exchange.

The difference in deposition of balances and weights should not be seen as a reflection of male monopoly over exchange transactions. The difference probably reflects male and female participation at different levels of exchange. Small scale alienable barter transactions carried out by women would be best placed in the context of regional exchange at the inter or even intra community level. A female role in balance related exchange has also been demonstrated in Viking Age Scandinavia (Stalsberg 1991, p76-78). In contrast, male use of weights and balances should be seen in the context of inter-regional and long-distance exchange as Scull suggested. This exchange is also likely to have involved



BALANCE PAN FROM
ABINGDON-STAXTON ROAD
(SCALE X1.35)



BALANCE PAN FROM
WHEATLEY
(SCALE X1.35)



WEIGHT FROM
WHEATLEY
(SCALE X1.4)

PLATE 11.1

(PHOTOGRAPHS TAKEN BY THE AUTHOR WITH KIND
PERMISSION OF THE ASHMOLEAN MUSEUM)

alienable transactions witnessed by the system for judging value which the weights represent. The participation in different levels of exchange activity relating to gender may have been a regional rather than a national phenomenon.

The deposition of balances and weights in graves was an 'Anglo-Saxon' practice during the sixth and seventh centuries. Only two other sites in Britain have produced remains of balances dating from the sixth century, outside the upper Thames valley or Kent. One fragment from a balance beam was found at the British hillfort settlement at Cadbury-Congresbury, in Somerset (Rahtz 1992, p126 and 339) and a balance suspension loop was found at the settlement of Wykeham, in East Yorkshire (Moore 1965, p422 and 424). Cadbury-Congresbury was a native British site, while Wykeham shows strong native influences on the morphology of the settlement, to the extent that it is reasonable to assume that the Wykeham community housed 'Anglicised' native inhabitants. Both the examples may have been deposited as a result of accidental or deliberate discard.

c) Media of Exchange

Closely allied to the use of balances and weights for exchange transactions is the development of the use of gold coinage as a medium of exchange. In a recent work on gold bracteates and their links with the use of gold coinage as 'money' or exchange media, Marit Gaimster made the observation that gold 'functioned' as an active means of exchange in gift exchange systems whether in the form of bracteates, items of jewellery or gold coinage. She also suggested that gold coin could be utilised in alienable exchange transactions (Gaimster 1992, p23). The extent to which gold coinage was used as an exchange medium, ie. as an equal value substitute for another object or raw material, is difficult to assess, however. Regional difference in the use of gold coinage within England appears to have been considerable.

For the sixth century a distinction should be drawn between the use of gold coinage as an exchange medium and use of gold coinage weight as a measure of value assessment. Following Scull's work on weights associated with balances, it seems clear that the weights reflect the weight of contemporary continental gold coinages (Scull 1990, p183-204). The weights reflect a value assessment system based on gold coinage weights rather than the direct use of gold coins as exchange media in every transaction.

Exchange based on coinage weight appears to have been geographically limited to southern England in the sixth century. In the second half of the sixth century, Kent was the major recipient of this coinage with outliers in East Anglia (Arnold 1988, p57). It may be a mistake, however, to limit the use of this weight-based system to the south-eastern Anglo-Saxon kingdoms. The occurrence of Byzantine sixth century coinage in the south-western peninsula might also suggest the use of gold coinage as an exchange medium in south-western England - in British areas (see figure 8.6). With both the south-east and south-western zones of England using gold coinage as a limited exchange medium, the location of the isolated Watchfield balance and weights makes better sense. It would have been located between the two zones using gold coinage during the sixth century. Set against the other evidence for exchange between the upper Thames valley and the south-west peninsula, a knowledge of coin-related gold bullion transaction and weight assessment would have been necessary.

It is very difficult to suggest the extent to which gold coin-related transactions were used. Their regularity of occurrence is impossible to reconstruct. Grierson suggested that gold coinage had a social rather than an exchange role (Grierson 1961, p341-385). Gold coinage was seen as a form of wealth storage and also as a medium of paying social debts, illustrated in the earliest Anglo-Saxon and Frankish lawcodes (Stubbs 1913, p66-68; Fischer Drew 1991, p45-49). Hodges also saw gold coinage as a 'primitive valuable' for social inalienable exchange (Hodges

1982, p109-110).

By the early seventh century, larger quantities of gold coinage entered England. The vast majority of this coinage was imported into Kent and East Anglia from the Merovingian Frankish Kingdoms. From the mid seventh century the gold coinage became debased with the gold content decreasing in relation to silver and copper intrusions. The first 'Anglo-Saxon' gold shilling coinage was produced at this time. By the end of the seventh century, this Anglo-Saxon coinage had further degenerated into the base 'pale gold' issues such as the 'Pada' coinage (Rigold 1975, p661; Hodges 1982, p109-110; Steward 1984, p5).

The x-ray fluorescence carried out on the gold decoration from the Acklam Wold sword hilt, discussed in Chapter Five, showed that the Merovingian Kingdoms remained the source of gold through the seventh century (Ager and Gilmour 1988, p19-20). As a result, the debasement of the Merovingian gold coinage which occurred over the course of the seventh century, was directly reflected in the gold content of the English gold coinage. This debasement has been attributed to the decline in the supply of gold to the Merovingian kingdoms from the mid seventh century due to decline in Byzantine trade routes (Hodges and Whitehouse 1983, p90-91). It may also have been due, in some measure, to the desire to strike more coins for use in exchange transactions out of an increasingly limited gold supply. Debasement may therefore reflect the increased use of gold coinage in exchange. In Anglo-Saxon England, however, gold was too rare and had too high an intrinsic value to be used as a large scale exchange medium. Its use was limited due to the problem of divisibility. Gold coinage was too valuable to be of great use in small scale exchange transactions. Attempts to make gold coinage a more divisible exchange medium do seem to have been attempted by clipping coins into halves or quarters. An example of a clipped Merovingian tremissis quarter has recently been discovered at Coddendam in Suffolk (Suffolk SMR; Sothby's catalogue 1992, Archibald pers comm). Despite these efforts, however, the use of gold coinage as

an exchange medium remained limited. The amount of gold coinage exchanged for specific commodities may still have been assessed with the use of balances and weights.

While gold coinage had a role as a limited exchange medium in southern Britain, this may not have been the case in central and northern England. No unmounted gold coins have been found in the seventh century Mercian heartlands of the north-west Midlands (though there is a fourth century gold coin in the pendant from Forsbrook). Five gold coins have come from Northumbria, however, four shillings or tremisses from York and one base gold-washed Merovingian tremissis copy from Yeavinger - see figure 11.4 (Booth 1984, p72; Archibald pers comm; Kent 1977, p183; Lafaurie 1977, p183).

The first three York tremisses were discovered at York in 1846 (Sutherland 1948, p18-19; Booth 1984, p72; see Appendix 2 in Volume 2). All three coins were struck with the same die. Examples of the tremisses found at York have not been discovered in continental Europe, as a result the York tremisses were either thought to be Anglo-Saxon products minted at York or fakes. The fact that the York tremisses are significantly lighter than southern Anglo-Saxon gold shillings also suggested that they may have been fakes. Two further York-type tremisses have been found since 1846, however, and this suggests that they were a genuine gold coinage struck in Northumbria. The first of the additional examples was apparently found in York sometime before 1979. The style of decoration and the motifs used on this example are identical to the three examples found in 1846 but the overall design is different - see plate 1 in Appendix 2, Volume 2 (Sotheby's Catalogue, October 9th, 1979; Archibald pers comm). Again this coin is lighter than southern Anglo-Saxon gold coins. The fifth example of this coin series was recently discovered by metal detector on the outskirts of Lincoln at Burton-by-Lincoln. As with the other examples it is decorated with the same motifs and has a similar weight (Blackburn 1993, p87).

It has been suggested that the York-type tremisses were struck in the mid-seventh century at the same time as the southern Anglo-Saxon gold issues. Since they have only been found at York and Lincoln, however, it would appear that they had a very limited use (Blackburn 1993, p87; Blackburn, Bonser and Chick forthcoming). The find from Burton-by-Lincoln in 1991 may reflect the fact that the Kingdom of Lindsey was a Northumbrian satellite in the mid-seventh century, before falling under Mercian domination during the closing decades of that century (Eagles 1989, p212; Dumville 1989, p227). Gold certainly did not stay in coin form in other parts of seventh century Northumbria. The Yeavinger example may have remained a coin due to its extremely base nature. The use and presumed production of the York-type gold coinage at York in the mid-seventh century may be related to its role as a growing ecclesiastical and royal centre at that time. The occurrence of a 'York-type' tremissis at Lincoln may also be a reflection of its role as an administrative and ecclesiastical centre (Steane and Vince 1993, p77).

There was therefore a north-south divide in the use of gold coinage over the course of the seventh century. In the south, gold coinage was used for wealth storage, legal redress, inalienable exchange in object form and as a limited medium of exchange in coin form. In contrast, in the Northern Midlands and beyond the Humber, gold was used for inalienable or alienable exchange in object or ingot form. Where gold coinage did exist, it was lighter than southern examples and its use was extremely limited. It should be seen as an expression of the desire of the Northumbrian monarchy to dominate methods of wealth storage. The specific use of coin in York and Lincoln may reflect emulation of southern and continental practices influenced by the church.

This division was maintained in the later seventh century. No pale gold issues have been discovered, either in the north-west Midlands or Northumbria. Once silver coinage (the primary sceatta series) had been introduced in southern England, however, sceattas appeared in the southern Northumbrian kingdom, Deira, at the

same time, or after a very short time lag (see Chapter Five, Six and earlier sections in Chapter Eleven). Their number is small and they are located at specific sites but their deposition contexts indicate that they were being used as media of exchange. The primary sceatta silver coinage was a much more divisible exchange medium than gold. The high silver content of the early series suggests that there was an intrinsic value system behind them rather than a fiduciary tariff system (Steward 1984, p11). Metcalf has indicated the wide extent of circulation of the primary and early secondary series sceattas, however, they should not be regarded as a universal exchange medium (Metcalf 1984, p31-33). Hinton observed that the quantity of sceattas is not sufficiently numerous to be a direct reflection of the volume of exchange taking place during the eighth century (Hinton 1986, p26). It is even less likely that their distribution reflects the volume of exchange which took place in the late seventh-early eighth centuries. Hinton concluded that sceattas should be seen as 'a large scale currency, not just gift exchange tokens' (Hinton 1986, p26). Sceattas were certainly a large scale currency in the eighth century but their use as 'gift exchange tokens' must be seriously questioned. The sceatta coinage was a quantifiable exchange medium. Its very use implies alienable exchange transactions where coin is exchanged for another object or raw material. Exchange media only become necessary within an alienable exchange transaction. The purpose of gift exchange is to support social cohesion. Hagglng over how many coins a 'gift object' may be worth would not promote social cohesion. The spatial distribution of the primary and early secondary series sceattas supports the conclusion that they were used in the sphere of alienable exchange. Hinton noted their concentration at emporia (Hinton 1986, p11). Van Gelder and Ellmers observed that the distribution of sceattas corresponds with the beach line at Dorestadt (Van Gelder 1980, p221); Ellmers 1990, p92). Sceattas are also concentrated on the beach at North Ferriby in East Yorkshire. They did not move inland at that time. In other words they cluster at the sites where exchange took

place. The fact that the largest numbers (apart from hoards) are found at these sites would suggest that they were not moved as a result of gift exchange. Their deposition was the result of direct alienable transactions at sites of exchange.

d) Gift exchange, commodity exchange and supply on command - object and commodity movement in England from the mid-seventh-early eighth centuries

The archaeological evidence indicates that a variety of exchange and redistributive mechanisms were at work concurrently in England during the second half of the seventh century. The exchange of objects and raw materials was facilitated by systems of value assessment and media of exchange. The use of the latter varied with geography and with the level of exchange transaction.

In the mid-late seventh century, balances without weights were still buried in female graves, indicating a continued role in barter or small scale reciprocal exchange between neighbouring communities and within individual groups. An example can be seen from Desborough in Northamptonshire (Baker 1880, p468). A mid-seventh century interment of a balance and weights in a female grave at Barton-on-Humber also indicates their use in inter-regional exchange in the mid-seventh century (Sheppard 1939, p37-46; Scull 1990, p209-210). This deposition reflects a possible change in the male monopoly of inter-regional exchange seen from sixth century balance and weights depositions. The Barton-on-Humber balance and weights provide the first indication of an acceptance of a southern value assessment system in the northern Midlands.

From the mid seventh-early eighth centuries, a new silver exchange medium was introduced, with a role primarily in alienable exchange. This silver sceatta coinage was far more useful for a wider range of exchange transactions. Systems of value assessment relating to balances still remained important, however, illustrated by the eighth century balance beam from the monastery at Whitby (Peers and Radford

1943, p54-55); a ninth century balance from Beverley-Lurkline (Goodall 1991, p151) and examples from ninth-eleventh century contexts from Ipswich and York-Coppergate (Kruse 1992, p69-70).

Gift exchange also seems to have remained fundamental to the maintenance of personal social relations but there are indications that the inalienable nature of gift exchange changed in certain circumstances. This relates to the practice of granting land to the Church as 'Bookland'. Late seventh century Anglo-Saxon Kings and Queens gave land to royal retainers out of their respective patrimonial lands (Webb 1965, p128; Higham 1986, p287-288). This can be viewed as an inalienable gift relationship - land for service. On a retainer's death that land returned to the royal dynasty. In contrast, the Church came to regard land grants as permanent donations, with rights over land detailed by written charter, hence the designation of such grants as 'Bookland'. (Vinogradoff 1911, p143; Stenton 1971, p307; Loyn

1965, p76). In granting land to the Church on its own terms of landholding, large parts of royal patrimonial lands were given to the Church on an 'alienable' basis. There was no obligation to return the land to the royal clan. The late seventh century ruling dynasties may not have understood the full implications of these land grants at first. This can be seen in the clash between Egfrith of Northumbria and his second wife, Iurminburgh, against Bishop Wilfrid, probably over lands which had been granted to Wilfrid by Egfrith's first wife, Aethilthryth. The second wife wanted her patrimonial lands back, in contravention of the Church's notion of landholding (Webb 1965, p128-130; Higham 1986, p289).

This withdrawal of the inalienable right of ruling dynasties over their patrimonial lands could have an extremely weakening effect on these dynasties. Increased granting of land to the Church meant a diminishing control over the most important commodity - land - on which all social relations were increasingly based. It has been suggested that the weakness of the Northumbrian dynasties in the eighth century was, in part, due to the loss of large parts of their patrimonial lands, and as a

result, their ability to reward followers (Higham 1986, p287). The changing role of gift exchange between elites and the Church can also be seen in the exchange of objects for land. This is illustrated by the exchange of land to the Jarrow Monastery by King Aldfrith of Northumbria, in exchange for a bible, on one occasion, and for two silk cloaks on another (Bede, Lives of the Abbots of Jarrow and Wearmouth, Farmer translation 1983, p194 and 201). This transaction involved the same Aldfrith who introduced the first Northumbrian silver coinage. If this land was exchanged and ratified as bookland the exchange of a bible and silk cloaks for land can be regarded as an alienable exchange transaction.

The increased scale of exchange and commodity movement by the late seventh century and the development of exchange media are likely to have had a stimulating effect on the growth of regional places of exchange, ie. primitive markets. The bringing together of both people and exchangeable items at one location would have made exchange far easier for all parties. The mechanism for bringing people together on a seasonal or a more regular basis is likely to have existed before the seventh century. This mechanism involved gatherings for meetings at 'moot' or 'gemot' sites at regular intervals. These folk meetings have also been seen as occasions for periodic fairs and festivals.

Lawcodes of Wessex from the late seventh-tenth centuries, indicate that royal appointees known as reeves - 'gerefas' administered 'moot' meetings. Their prime role seems to have been administering justice concerning customary law. The royal appointees were probably members of the local nobility. Their legal role seems to have involved the witnessing of wergeld exchange, ie. compensation for crimes and also certain exchange transactions (Attenborough 1922, p23; Stubbs 1913, p67-71). The activities noted at 'moot' sites in ninth and tenth century lawcodes may also reflect much earlier social practices. These later law codes are to some extent compilations of earlier law. In the preamble to Alfred's law codes for Wessex, he stated that he had sorted out many of the earlier law codes and incorporated and

rejected earlier laws set against their reflection of contemporary practices (Stubbs 1913, p70).

Austin has suggested that 'vill' centres should be regarded as centres for folk meetings, seasonal fairs and for witnessing justice and exchange - especially royal vills, where reeves or 'prefects' are noted as royal officers (Austin 1986, p97). In fulfilling the latter periodic functions they could be seen as 'moot' sites. Other 'moot' sites are indicated from place-name evidence. They tend to be located on topographical features - particularly on small hills. There are a number in the Peak District - see figure 11.5 (Hart 1981, p118) and others in East Yorkshire - for example 'Moot Hill' at Driffield. The latter example, however, may be a degenerate form of the Norman 'Motte' (Eddy 1983, p40). The majority of 'moot' sites, indicated by place-names, are not associated with settlement sites.

The increased scale of exchange and a greater number of alienable exchange transactions using new exchange media are likely to have increased the exchange role of 'moots'. They would have gained an administered 'market' function alongside their judicial social functions. "Moot' sites at vill centres would have become more important as regional exchange sites, in preference to more isolated topographical features, such as 'moot hills' or 'moot lowes'. It would have been much more difficult to take commodities for exchange to the latter locations. There may be a direct link between 'moots' and the formation of markets within late Anglo-Saxon England.

The identification of 'moot' sites from archaeological evidence is exceptionally difficult. Indications of exchange activity might be expected, but if the latter were found associated with a 'high status' settlement, it may not be associated with a periodic gathering. In contrast, if indications of exchange were found in isolation from a settlement it is more plausible to suggest a 'moot' identification. Only two possible examples exist to date. One is situated on top of a shallow plateau in Suffolk, at Barham. The other is in North Humberside at North Newbald (Archibald

and Leahy pers comm; Rigold and Metcalf 1984, p246; Webster 1991, p56; Suffolk County Council Sites and Monuments record; Leahy forthcoming; Archibald forthcoming). A Merovingian gold tremissis from Quentovic and an Anglo-Saxon pale gold 'Pada' issue, together with primary and secondary series sceattas and metalwork have come from Barham (Webster 1991, p56; Rigold and Metcalf 1984, p246). This seems to indicate an exchange function for this flat hilltop site. No buildings have been recovered. The range of finds indicate use as a periodic 'market' site from the mid seventh-ninth centuries.

The North Newbald site has produced a large number of sceattas from the Northumbrian Y series, together with metalwork of eighth-tenth century date (Rigold and Metcalf 1984, p261; Booth 1984, p79; Leahy pers comm). It is impossible to prove any relationship between the earlier beach trading area between Welton, North Ferriby and Redcliff and the North Newbald concentration, a few kilometres away. Both sites are chronologically distinct. The former should be seen as an inter-regional and long-distance exchange site, whereas North Newbald should be seen as a nascent inter-regional and regional 'market'.

It is also fundamentally important to assess the scale of movement of commodities and objects within a 'supply on command' framework (La Lone 1982, p291-294), ie. as tribute or as the result of regional or inter-regional movement within estate structures. Tribute as a movement mechanism related more to secular elites, whereas movement within estates could relate to secular and ecclesiastical elites.

The fashion of massive land grants to Church magnates in the late seventh and early eighth centuries has already been noted. The donation of specific raw material producing areas to the Church is also evident, eg. the transfer of the lead producing estate of Wirksworth to the Church sometime before 714 AD (see Chapter Ten, Hart 1981, p111; Derbyshire County Sites and Monuments record). As a result of Church control of raw material production, it is difficult to assess the extent to which bulk commodity movement was carried out by command or as a

result of exchange. Redistribution by command is indicated from charter evidence therefore specialist production under Church control should be seen as production for a taxation render in the majority of cases.

Church prelates are likely to have been the chief movers of bulk commodities on a supply on command basis at the inter-regional level between kingdoms. This resulted from the fact that church prelates were the only elite group to have land grants in more than one Anglo-Saxon kingdom. Wilfrid is one example, holding land in Mercia and Northumbria (Webb 1965, p130 and 157). Not owning land in more than one kingdom, inter-regional bulk commodity movement on behalf of secular elites was likely to involve exchange transactions or tribute relationships, witnessed by the 'Tribal Hidage' document.

From the eighth century, it is exceptionally difficult to assess the relative importance of commodity movement by command set against commodity movement by exchange. At present, it is sufficient to have illustrated the difficulty in identifying the various mechanisms for the movement of objects and commodities from archaeological evidence by the turn of the eighth century.

SUMMARY OF CONCLUSIONS

The quantification methods used in this work allowed for the study of distributions of a selection of imported and indigenously-produced commodities, from the fifth-early eighth centuries in defined regions of England. The commodity distributions were produced via the quantification of artefacts from Anglo-Saxon cemeteries and settlements. Both distributions of certain types of artefact and the frequency distributions of all artefacts made of selected raw materials were examined. In isolated cases, native post-Roman cemeteries and settlements were also studied in order to place the study of Anglo-Saxon artefacts within the context of co-existing distinctive native and immigrant populations in the three study areas, at different times between 400-700 AD.

The choice of the three study areas in different geographical zones of England allowed for the identification of regionally specific trends of artefact and commodity distribution and recurrent trends which seem to have operated at a wider inter-regional level. By differentiating artefact and commodity distributions by their dates and contexts of deposition, it was possible to provide a systematic assessment of changes in the use of different commodities between the fifth-early eighth centuries. The trends in commodity distribution produced from the three study areas must be tempered, however, with the open admission that they were derived via the study of a sample of sites from each region, albeit a large sample. Certain artefacts from sites not studied, may provide exceptions to observed trends in this work. The systematic use of a sampling strategy and uniform method for recording information on artefacts did allow for broad regional coverage, as well as detailed examination of commodity distributions within micro-areas in each study area, however.

Certain comparability problems were encountered when studying artefact and raw

material distributions. These problems related to the different character of archaeological deposits yielding artefacts and the varied extent of excavation of different archaeological sites. Artefact distributions from settlements, cremation and inhumation graves had to be examined separately due to the different circumstances governing deposition of artefacts in each type of deposit. Because of these different circumstances, it was not possible to date distributions from settlements and graves within the same chronological ranges. It was also inappropriate to suggest that the different types of artefact found in cremation and inhumation graves represented different levels of access to commodities, except in exceptional circumstances. Funeral goods seem to have accompanied dead individuals before the cremation rite but once cremation had taken place the range of burnt artefacts interred in cremation graves seems to have been a partial representation of access to different commodities. In contrast, grave-goods were deposited directly in the grave in the inhumation burial practice, providing a more complete indication of artefacts associated with funeral ritual. When examining exchange through the filter of mortuary practice, therefore, inferences on the levels of exchange indicated are always speculative to a certain degree.

The second problem influencing the degree to which distributions were comparable related to the extent of excavation of sites. Partial excavation, disturbed remains and bad recording limited conclusions on the scale of exchange relations at certain periods within the three study areas. The type of artefacts recovered from these sites, however, still allowed for the suggestion of the existence of inter-regional or long-distance links in certain instances. Sites providing indicators of inter-regional exchange links, though partially excavated or badly recorded, included Cassington-Smith's Pit in the upper Thames valley, where one of several inhumations from a partially excavated cemetery yielded an imported cone beaker and the disturbed cemeteries of Staxton and Eastburn in East Yorkshire which contained a range of luxury imports without any reliable information of their

associations.

Despite the comparability problems affecting evidence for exchange, it was possible to relate evidence from fully excavated cemeteries, disturbed cemeteries and settlement remains in exceptional circumstances. In the Garton-Elmswell area of East Yorkshire, a high level of access to raw materials such as iron and copper-alloy from Anglo-Saxon cemeteries, the presence of tools and coal in graves and the indications of iron-working from the Elmswell settlement area suggest that control of iron production and its exchange could have been a reason behind the relatively large quantity of silver in sixth century cemeteries and the concentration of exotic imports in the seventh century cemeteries in this area.

While problems of interpretation relating to data comparability and *representativity* existed, the analysis of commodity and specific artefact distributions did allow the study of several fundamental themes which have not been given sufficient attention in recent work on early medieval exchange. They are summarised below.

The fallacy of the division between subsistence-utilitarian production and exchange and status-related exchange has been clearly exposed. The basis behind exotic import concentrations has been identified as the control of production and exchange of raw materials in the Garton-Driffield area, of East Yorkshire and the Peak District. Control of access to iron and lead seem to be primary reasons for their wealth in imports. Values of commodities are not static, they depended on the use of commodities in specific situations. Lead does not seem to have been highly valued by the Peak District inhabitants in the second half of the seventh century, however, the display fashion of the *Roman Church* (monumental stone church building) resulted in a demand for lead. In the hands of the church lead was put to a 'high status' use. In the same way, control of iron sources and the skills to work iron in large quantities, conferred social advantages on the Garton-Driffield communities. The attribution of social value to a particular raw material depended on the degree of access to it. In this respect social demand for a raw material such

as iron may have been far greater than demand for rare exotic artefacts.

The influence of acculturation and 'Anglicisation' was shown to have had a profound effect on exchange relations from the fifth-seventh centuries in England. The chronological range of its influence varied regionally. The cross-cultural exchange between native British and Germanic immigrants produced highly variable results. The East Yorkshire study area produced indications of variable attitudes towards the use of specific artefacts and raw materials in burial practice. This could have related to the varied adoption of Anglo-Saxon methods of cultural expression by members of the native population or differing values between different Germanic groups. In the upper Thames valley, the native influence on the development of Anglo-Saxon brooch forms and decorative styles attests to the cultural borrowing of both populations. The situation in the Peak District was different again. There was a sudden deposition of intrinsically valuable 'Anglo-Saxon' material culture in the second half of the seventh century. In contrast to the idea that they represent high status English elite colonists (Collis 1985, p102; Hodges 1991, p114), there are significant indications that many of the rich barrow burials should be regarded as Anglicised native elites. This is indicated by the inclusion of native ritual deposits in the burials and the native practice of inhumation barrow burial in the Peak District. An example of continuity in ritual practice can be seen in the deposition of antler tines in barrow burials from the Roman period to the late seventh century. In specific circumstances this exchange in fashion, values and speech led to the establishment of exchange relations between British and Anglo-Saxon areas. Export of Cornish tin into the upper Thames valley is one example. Identification of exchange between British and Anglo-Saxon areas also raised questions relating to the dominance of certain Anglo-Saxon areas in controlling the exchange of exotic foreign imports. Prior to the detailed quantification carried out in this work, a hypothesis was put forward suggesting that Kent controlled exchange of imports into the upper Thames valley (Hawkes 1986, p82-83). Kent certainly has

the largest concentration of Merovingian imports dating from the sixth and seventh centuries in England and seems to have acted as a middleman region for eastern England to a certain degree. The quantification undertaken in this work, however, suggests that exchange links with the upper Thames valley were sporadic and small-scale during the sixth century. It is also possible to question the idea of Kentish monopoly-supply of exotic goods to the upper Thames valley. The large quantities of continental glass and gold in the British south-west peninsula and the attested tin exchange route raises the possibility that British areas also supplied exotic imports to the western area of the upper Thames basin.

Varying attitudes towards artefacts and different methods of material expression also call into question the usefulness of social evolutionary models, which suggest increased signs of 'ranking' from grave assemblages from the late sixth and seventh centuries. In certain regions, such as the Peak District, the sudden deposition of wealth is as likely to reflect the Anglicisation of an existing elite. Increased social stratification was not a pre-requisite of increased deposition of wealth - though they may have been related in certain instances.

Another criticism of unilinear or epigenetic models of social evolution lies in their definition of fixed forms of exchange relating to specific levels of social complexity (Renfrew 1974/1984, p383-385; Hodges 1979, p211; Friedman and Rowlands 1978, p205-206). The impression has been given that simple inalienable forms of exchange developed into alienable forms of exchange with increasing social organisation. Where contemporary 'primitive' societies can be observed these models may be applicable, however, their extrapolation back into the past is questionable. The reliance on the identification of 'gift exchange' as the primary exchange mechanism from the fifth-seventh centuries, may be overstressed - whether used in reciprocal or client relations. The systems of value assessment, which the scales and weights sets represent, suggest the occurrence of barter or direct reciprocal exchange without the formation of social obligation. This alienable

exchange seems to have existed alongside gift exchange relations.

The extent of alienable exchange is hard to assess. The distance of the exchange transaction may be an influence on the development of exchange without obligation on the part of transactors. Sahlins noted that the key variable in the movement from obligation-based gift exchange to obligation-free reciprocal exchange was 'kinship distance' (Sahlins 1972, p185-276). Gregory put the idea concisely - 'as the transactors become strangers, commodity exchange emerges' (Gregory 1982, p23). The archaeological evidence from the study areas supports these hypotheses. The balance and weights sets are best seen as indicators of inter-regional or long-distance exchange (Scull 1990, p199). Their role in fixing comparative values, with a fixed value assessment system, suggests that scales and weights were used in alienable exchange ie exchange without permanent social obligation.

It also seems likely, however, that value assessments were made on an 'ad hoc' basis using weighing scales without weights. At this level, there was a difference in gender role in the upper Thames valley. Balances without weights were deposited in female graves, while weights and balances were deposited in male graves (during the sixth century). The scales in the female graves are best seen as instruments of value assessment for direct barter transaction. They would not be appropriate for gift exchange since assessing the relative value of a gift before acceptance would have been socially insulting. It would have promoted group friction rather than group cohesion. It would seem that once outside kinship relations, exchange could have been alienable at the regional and inter-regional level. The use of these systems of value assessment also varied geographically and chronologically. In Anglo-Saxon areas the use of balances and weights seems to have been restricted to southern England in the sixth century, though balances may have had a wider use in British areas (Rahtz 1992, p239; Moore 1965, p422; Skinner and Bruce-Mitford 1940, p87-102). By the seventh century, their use had extended into the Midlands, as seen in the Barton-on-Humber balance and weights

set. It was buried in a female grave, in contrast to the southern examples (Sheppard 1939, p37-39; Scull 1990, p203). By this time the value system based on continental gold coinages was less reliable due to coinage debasement, therefore, the comparative value systems are likely to have been more variable and 'ad hoc'.

Regional and chronological variation in the use of value systems was also seen in the adoption of 'media' of exchange. Media of exchange can be defined as objects which are exchanged in lieu of a particular raw material, which have the same 'worth' as that material. During the mid seventh century, the people of the upper Thames region and the rest of southern England were using gold coinage as a limited exchange medium. The people of the Midlands and Northumbria, however, do not seem to have been using gold coinage in the same way. In Northumbria, only five gold coins are known. One is a base gold imitation - which may have been a reason for its discard (Kent 1977, p183; Lafaurie 1977, p183). The other four are lighter than southern issues and have all been provenanced to York. This very limited geographical distribution suggests a specific function in the southern part of Deira. In the remainder of Northumbria and the Midlands, gold did not remain in coin form. It was melted down and turned into jewellery and other ornaments.

The situation was slightly different with the introduction of silver sceatta coinage as a medium of exchange in the late seventh century. South-eastern and southern England were the first to utilise these coins, but their use was also quickly adopted in the south-eastern area of the Northumbrian kingdom - East Yorkshire. This is in direct contrast to the remainder of Northumbria and the north-west Midlands where the use of silver coinage was not adopted until half a century later, in the mid decades of the eighth century.

It would be a mistake to view the northern and north-western 'Anglo-Saxon' kingdoms as laggards in the adoption of new ideas. Aldfrith, King of Northumbria from 685-705 AD, was the first English King to put his name on his silver coinage.

While the use of this coinage did not outlive him, the Northumbrian silver coinage was revived in the 730s and it again held the King's name or the name of the Archbishop of York (Booth 1984, p72-73; Blackburn 1984, p171). This practice was not taken up in the rest of England until the introduction of the penny coinages during the second half of the eighth century. The role of the individual in the acceptance of innovations in exchange cannot be over-estimated - especially if that individual happened to be a king of a major kingdom. The production of Aldfrith's coinage and its distribution in East Yorkshire and southern England implies a direct correlation between royal presence and usage of the coinage. In this context, East Yorkshire may have been one of Aldfrith's favoured royal itineraries. The Anglo-Saxon chronicle noted that he died on Driffield in 705 AD (Garmonsway 1953, p41). By the second half of the seventh century, the inter-relationship in the use of different exchange mechanisms and media was very complex. Inalienable gift exchange, alienable exchange based on balance and weights value assessments, and alienable exchange based on coinage, were all in use. During the second half of the seventh century, both debased gold and silver coinage were also utilised. At the same time, there are indications of the re-emergence of the movement of bulk commodities, stimulated to some extent by the Roman Catholic Church. An example can be seen in the movement of Peak District lead to Canterbury and probably the early Northumbrian monasteries. It is also probable that the Church had an inhibiting effect on exchange, however. It does seem to have promoted bulk commodity movement on an inter-regional scale. Individual church prelates were increasingly given estates in more than one kingdom, eg. Wilfrid (Webb 1965 p1777-179). Yet due to this activity, inter-regional commodity movement could have been carried out within the context of redistribution within ecclesiastical estate structures, rather than via exchange. As the extent of church lands grew in size they promoted inter-regional movement but not necessarily inter-regional exchange. Inter-regional movement of resources as secular tribute, however was

also important. This supply on command activity would not have involved any exchange transactions. The 'Tribal Hidage' tribute assessment should be seen as a reflection of such resource extortion (Dumville 1989, p225; Davies and Vierck 1974, p225).

It is fundamentally important to appreciate that by the turn of the eighth century, a plethora of mechanisms for object or commodity movement were in operation. Not all of them involved exchange transactions. This complexity should warn the archaeologist against making bland statements on the operation of exchange mechanisms from anthropological models which are over-simplistic. At the level of interpretation, priority should be given to the complexities evident from the archaeological remains rather than the denial of complexity and variation resulting from the application of structured social evolutionary models.

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