

Durham E-Theses

*THE (RE-)MAKING OF THE SOUTHERN NORTH
SEA WORLD: Politics, trade and long-distance
interactions between the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms and
Merovingian Gaul in the seventh century AD*

KELLY MARIE CLARKE-NEISH

How to cite:

CLARKE-NEISH, KELLY MARIE (2021) THE (RE-)MAKING OF THE SOUTHERN NORTH SEA WORLD: Politics, trade and long-distance interactions between the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms and Merovingian Gaul in the seventh century AD. Doctoral thesis, Durham University.

Use policy

The full-text may be used and/or reproduced, and given to third parties in any format or medium, without prior permission or charge, for personal research or study, educational, or not-for-profit purposes provided that:

- a full bibliographic reference is made to the original source
- a <https://etheses.durham.ac.uk/id/eprint/14310/> is made to the metadata record in Durham E-Theses
- the full-text is not changed in any way

The full-text must not be sold in any format or medium without the formal permission of the copyright holders.

Please consult the [full Durham E-Theses policy](#) for further details.

THE (RE-)MAKING OF THE SOUTHERN NORTH SEA WORLD:

Politics, trade and long-distance interactions between the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms and Merovingian Gaul in the seventh century AD

KELLY MARIE CLARKE-NEISH



VOLUME I
of two volumes

A thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

Departments of History and Archaeology
Durham University
2021

Cover Image: *Obverse of the Balthild seal matrix found in Norfolk.*
Image courtesy of the Portable Antiquities Scheme
(PAS-8709C3)

THE (RE-)MAKING OF THE SOUTHERN NORTH SEA WORLD:

Politics, trade and long-distance interactions between the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms and Merovingian Gaul in the seventh century AD

Kelly Marie Clarke-Neish

Abstract:

This study examines the evidence for interactions between the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms and Merovingian Gaul during the seventh century. Following the discovery of a substantial amount of new archaeological and numismatic evidence in recent decades, our understanding of the nature of interaction between different polities and cultures has changed significantly. However, current scholarship has tended to examine individual regions rather than the transnational networks into which they fitted. In addition, research on cultural interaction between these regions has largely overlooked the seventh century, focusing instead on earlier or later centuries, or has disproportionately centred on a few major sites (such as Sutton Hoo) or one form of evidence.

This thesis undertakes an interdisciplinary and transnational approach and provides a richer interpretation of regional relationships in the seventh century through a comparative analysis of textual sources, material culture, numismatic evidence, and other evidence from both regions. This thesis has three parts: Part I concentrates on the political and ecclesiastical connections. Part II focuses on coinage (gold coins and the early series in the sequence of silver sceattas/pennies), their distribution and the evidence for reuse. Part III examines places of trade (the seventh-century *emporía*) and long-distance exchange networks. Part III also comprises of two case studies which attempt to draw together the archaeological evidence in a regional framework for long distance interaction across the region and North Sea.

Far from developing separately, as this study demonstrates, both sides of the North Sea world are inextricably linked and interactions between both areas proved crucial in the development of culture, politics, and the economy of the early medieval period. Additionally, this study prompts a reconsideration of many ideas which have continued to persist within the scholarship including the existence of a Merovingian hegemony first outlined by Ian Wood (*The Merovingian North Sea*, 1983) and provides fresh perspectives to the broader issues of the period including the origins of the European economy, kingdom formation, and the impact of conversion on social structures.

Contents:

Volume I:

<i>Abstract</i>	p. ii
<i>List of figures</i>	p. vii
<i>List of tables</i>	p. xi
<i>List of abbreviations</i>	p. xiii
<i>Format of the thesis</i>	p. xiv
<i>Statement of Copyright</i>	p. xv
<i>Acknowledgements</i>	p. xvi

Chapter 1: Introduction..... pp. 1–23

1.1	<i>Context of study</i>	p. 1
1.2	<i>Research questions and aims</i>	p. 3
1.3	<i>Methodology</i>	p. 6
1.4	<i>Scale of study</i>	p. 8
1.5	<i>Data</i>	p. 10
1.5.1	<i>Historical evidence</i>	p. 10
1.5.2	<i>Archaeological evidence</i>	p. 12
1.5.2.1	<i>Numismatic evidence</i>	p. 12
1.5.2.2	<i>Imported buckles and brooches</i>	p. 14
1.5.2.3	<i>Distribution analysis</i>	p. 17
1.6	<i>Thesis structure</i>	p. 17
1.7	<i>Limitations to the study</i>	p. 18
1.8	<i>A note on terminology</i>	p. 21
1.9	<i>Summary</i>	p. 23

Part I: Ecclesiastical connections across the southern North Sea and Channel

Overview.....	pp. 24–27

Chapter 2: Politics, conversion, and the consolidation of

Christianity..... pp. 28–47

2.1	<i>Introduction</i>	p. 28
2.2	<i>Marriage alliances, conversion, and monastic reform</i>	p. 29
2.2.1	<i>The conversion of Kent and marriage of Æthelberht and Bertha</i>	p. 29
2.2.2	<i>Queen Balthild and the reform of the Merovingian Church</i>	p. 34
2.3	<i>Political connections and conversion</i>	p. 39
2.3.1	<i>East Anglia and Merovingian Gaul</i>	p. 39
2.3.2	<i>The conversion of Wessex</i>	p. 43
2.4	<i>Summary</i>	p. 46

Chapter 3: Ecclesiastical travel and journeys.....	pp. 48–80
3.1 Introduction.....	p. 48
3.2 Monasteries and the maintenance of travel.....	p. 50
3.3 Politics and monastic travel.....	p. 62
3.3.1 Wilfrid the ‘continental bishop’.....	p. 62
3.3.2 The exile and return of Dagobert II.....	p. 70
3.3.3 The disruption and regulation of monastic travel.....	p. 74
3.4 Summary.....	p. 79
Chapter 4: The scale and scope of monastic connections.....	pp. 81–108
4.1 Introduction.....	p. 81
4.2 Monastic contact and the transmission of manuscripts.....	p. 82
4.3 Double monasteries: a seventh-century reality?.....	p. 92
4.4 Summary.....	p. 108
 Part II: <u>Coinage and contacts across the southern</u>	
<u>North Sea and Channel</u>	
Overview.....	p. 109
Chapter 5: The development and use of coinage during the	
 seventh Century.....	pp. 110–130
5.1 Introduction.....	p. 110
5.2 Pre-seventh century coinage.....	p. 110
5.3 The categorisation of seventh-century coins.....	p. 117
5.4 Coin production and connections.....	p. 122
5.5 The use and value of gold coinage.....	p. 125
5.6 Summary.....	p. 130
Chapter 6: Economy, imitation and innovation.....	pp. 131–163
6.1 Introduction.....	p. 131
6.2 Coins and the multi-currency economy.....	p. 131
6.3 Coin imitations and forgeries.....	p. 139
6.4 Repurposed Merovingian coinage in the Anglo-Saxon	
kingdoms.....	p. 148
6.5 Summary.....	p. 163
Chapter 7: The circulation of coinage in the Channel and	
 southern North Sea area.....	pp. 164–206
7.1 Introduction.....	p. 164
7.2 Hoards and single coin finds.....	p. 164
7.3 Anglo-Saxon coin finds in Merovingian Gaul.....	p. 168
7.3 Merovingian coin finds in the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms.....	p. 180
7.4 The coinage of Dorestad and Quentovic.....	p. 198

7.5	Summary.....	p. 205

Part III: Networks of exchange across the southern North **Sea and Channel**

	Overview.....	p. 207
	Chapter 8: The seventh-century <i>emporia</i>.....	pp. 208–241
8.1	<i>Introduction</i>	p. 208
8.2	<i>Emporia overviews</i>	p. 209
8.2.1	<i>York (Eoforwic)</i>	p. 209
8.2.2	<i>London (Lundenwic)</i>	p. 211
8.2.3	<i>Ipswich (Gippeswic)</i>	p. 220
8.2.4	<i>Southampton (Hamwic)</i>	p. 226
8.2.5	<i>Dorestad (Wijk bij Duurstede)</i>	p. 231
8.2.6	<i>Quentovic</i>	p. 236
8.3	<i>Discussion</i>	p. 239
8.4	<i>Summary</i>	p. 241
	Chapter 9: Identity and networks of exchange.....	pp. 242–273
9.1	<i>Introduction</i>	p. 242
9.2	<i>Overview of data</i>	p. 243
9.2.1	<i>Finds from the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms</i>	p. 244
9.2.2	<i>Finds from Merovingian Gaul</i>	p. 251
9.3	<i>Distribution and discussion</i>	p. 254
9.3.1	<i>Finds from the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms</i>	p. 254
9.3.2	<i>Finds from Merovingian Gaul</i>	p. 268
9.4	<i>Summary</i>	p. 273
	Chapter 10: Communities and Contact I: The Humber.....	pp. 274–310
10.1	<i>Introduction</i>	p. 274
10.2	<i>Landscape context</i>	p. 275
10.3	<i>The Anglo-Saxon landscape</i>	p. 280
10.4	<i>Merovingian finds in the region</i>	p. 289
10.4.1	<i>Dress objects</i>	p. 289
10.4.2	<i>Coinage</i>	p. 296
10.5	<i>Summary</i>	p. 310
	Chapter 11: Communities and Contact II: The Old Rhine.....	pp. 311–329
11.1	<i>Introduction</i>	p. 311
11.2	<i>Historical context</i>	p. 311
11.3	<i>Landscape context</i>	p. 313
11.4	<i>Occupation of the landscape</i>	p. 316
11.5	<i>Networks of exchange</i>	p. 321
11.5.1	<i>Anglo-Saxon imports</i>	p. 321

11.5.2	<i>Coinage</i>	p. 324
11.6	<i>Summary</i>	p. 328
Conclusion: The (re-)making of the southern North Sea world in in the seventh century		pp. 330–338
12.1	<i>Summary of findings</i>	p. 330
12.2	<i>Suggestions for future research</i>	p. 337
Bibliography		pp. 340–382
	<i>Primary evidence</i>	p. 340
	<i>Databases</i>	p. 342
	<i>Scholarship</i>	p. 343
	<i>Online resources</i>	p. 381
Volume II: Appendices		
	<i>Contents</i>	p. 385
	Appendix I: Repurposed seventh-century Merovingian coinage from the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms.....	p. 386
	Appendix II: Imported dress objects from the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms.....	p. 396
	Appendix III: Imported finds from (northern) Merovingian Gaul.....	p. 423

List of Figures:

<i>Figure 1:</i>	<i>Monastic foundations and places mentioned in accounts of ecclesiastical travel across the Channel and southern North Sea during the seventh century AD.....</i>	<i>p. 53</i>
<i>Figure 2:</i>	<i>Tremissis minted at Arvernus with additional gold added to reverse found in Dover, Kent (Source: PAS. PAS reference KENT-585A3A).....</i>	<i>p. 133</i>
<i>Figure 3:</i>	<i>Genuine Madelinus issue found at Leiderdorp, Netherlands (Source: NUMIS. NUMIS number 1106398).....</i>	<i>p. 141</i>
<i>Figure 4:</i>	<i>Dorestad Madelinus trial die piece found at Katwijk, Netherlands (Source: NUMIS. NUMIS number 1016253).....</i>	<i>p. 142</i>
<i>Figure 5:</i>	<i>Dronrijp type tremissis (c. AD 620 x 640) found in Burton-in-Kendal (Source: PAS. PAS reference LANCUM-3E51D8).....</i>	<i>p. 143</i>
<i>Figure 6:</i>	<i>Nietap type tremissis (c. AD 630 x 640) found in 'South Lincolnshire' (Source: PAS. PAS reference LIN-0B3EEB).....</i>	<i>p. 144</i>
<i>Figure 7:</i>	<i>Repurposed Merovingian coin finds in the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms by coin type and find context.....</i>	<i>p. 151</i>
<i>Figure 8:</i>	<i>Mounted Solidus minted at Marseilles in the name of Sigebert III discovered in Kent (Source: EMC/PAS. EMC number 2005.0212/PAS reference KENT-22CA70).....</i>	<i>p. 152</i>
<i>Figure 9:</i>	<i>Looped tremissis minted at Huy discovered in the 'Bishop Auckland area' (Source: PAS. PAS reference DUR-EFD9E4).....</i>	<i>p. 152</i>
<i>Figure 10:</i>	<i>Pierced imitative Dorestad tremissis discovered at Rendlesham, Suffolk (Source: PAS. PAS reference SF-59659C).....</i>	<i>p. 152</i>
<i>Figure 11:</i>	<i>Breakdown of suspension type by coin types (solidus, tremissis, and denier).....</i>	<i>p. 153</i>

<i>Figure 12:</i>	<i>Distribution of repurposed seventh-century Merovingian coins.....</i>	<i>p. 154</i>
<i>Figure 13:</i>	<i>Location of Merovingian mints found in the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms.....</i>	<i>p. 158</i>
<i>Figure 14:</i>	<i>Modified pseudo-Madelinus tremissis from Mersea Island, Essex (Source: PAS. PAS reference ESS5D63D4).....</i>	<i>p. 162</i>
<i>Figure 15.1</i>	<i>Breakdown of Anglo-Saxon coin finds in northern Merovingian Gaul (Thrymsas, series A and series B sceattas).....</i>	<i>p. 169</i>
<i>Figure 15.2</i>	<i>Distribution of Anglo-Saxon coin finds in Merovingian Gaul (c. AD 580–710).....</i>	<i>p. 172</i>
<i>Figure 16:</i>	<i>Sites with more than one Anglo-Saxon coin find (Thrymsa, Series A, B and C sceattas).....</i>	<i>p. 174</i>
<i>Figure 17:</i>	<i>Coin finds from the site of Domburg.....</i>	<i>p. 175</i>
<i>Figure 18:</i>	<i>Anglo-Saxon, Frankish and Frisian coin finds in northern Merovingian Gaul, c. AD 580–710.....</i>	<i>p. 178</i>
<i>Figure 19.1:</i>	<i>Breakdown of Merovingian coins collected for study.....</i>	<i>p. 181</i>
<i>Figure 19.2:</i>	<i>Distribution of seventh-century Merovingian coin finds in the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms (C. AD 580–710).....</i>	<i>p. 184</i>
<i>Figure 20:</i>	<i>Circulation of Anglo-Saxon coins compared with distribution of Merovingian coins in the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms.....</i>	<i>p. 185</i>
<i>Figure 21.1:</i>	<i>Sites with three or more Merovingian coin finds.....</i>	<i>p. 188</i>
<i>Figure 21.2:</i>	<i>Location of sites with three or more Merovingian coin finds (inset: figure 19.2).....</i>	<i>p. 191</i>
<i>Figure 22:</i>	<i>Tremissis with additional piece of coin added from Rendlesham, Suffolk (Source: EMC. EMC number 2013.0198).....</i>	<i>p. 193</i>
<i>Figure 23:</i>	<i>Dorestad and Quentovic single coin finds from region under study.....</i>	<i>p. 199</i>
<i>Figure 24:</i>	<i>Breakdown of provenanced Quentovic coin finds by moneyer.....</i>	<i>p. 203</i>

<i>Figure 25:</i>	<i>Distribution of Quentovic single coin finds by moneyer.....</i>	<i>p. 204</i>
<i>Figure 26.1:</i>	<i>Type of find spot (finds from the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms).....</i>	<i>p. 245</i>
<i>Figure 26.2</i>	<i>Context of imported finds from the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms.....</i>	<i>p. 246</i>
<i>Figure 27.1</i>	<i>Age categories of burials with imported buckle or brooch.....</i>	<i>p. 247</i>
<i>Figure 27.2</i>	<i>Gender and biological sex of individuals buried with imported buckle or brooch.....</i>	<i>p. 248</i>
<i>Figure 28:</i>	<i>Total number of buckles and brooches in sample and find context (Anglo-Saxon kingdoms).....</i>	<i>p. 248</i>
<i>Figure 29:</i>	<i>Context of imported finds from northern Gaul.....</i>	<i>p. 252</i>
<i>Figure 30:</i>	<i>Number of finds by find context (northern Gaul).....</i>	<i>p. 253</i>
<i>Figure 31:</i>	<i>Distribution of imported dress objects in the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms.....</i>	<i>p. 255</i>
<i>Figure 32.1:</i>	<i>Distribution of dress objects in the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms by find context.....</i>	<i>p. 256</i>
<i>Figure 32.2:</i>	<i>Number of finds by context and county.....</i>	<i>p. 257</i>
<i>Figure 33:</i>	<i>Distribution of selected imports in (northern) Merovingian Gaul.....</i>	<i>p. 268</i>
<i>Figure 34:</i>	<i>Case study area 1.....</i>	<i>p. 279</i>
<i>Figure 35:</i>	<i>Sites in case study area 1.....</i>	<i>p. 282</i>
<i>Figure 36:</i>	<i>Illustration of settlement classification (table 13).....</i>	<i>p. 286</i>
<i>Figure 37:</i>	<i>Distribution of selected imports in case study area 1.....</i>	<i>p. 290</i>
<i>Figure 38:</i>	<i>Coin totals by type from case study area 1.....</i>	<i>p. 297</i>
<i>Figure 39:</i>	<i>Distribution of coinage in case study area 1.....</i>	<i>p. 301</i>
<i>Figure 40:</i>	<i>Distribution of amethyst and garnet finds compared with distribution of Merovingian coinage in case study area 1.....</i>	<i>p. 309</i>
<i>Figure 41:</i>	<i>Case Study area 2 (roughly within the dotted line area).....</i>	<i>p. 315</i>

<i>Figure 42:</i>	<i>Location of seventh-century sites in case study 2 area.....</i>	<i>p. 317</i>
<i>Figure 43:</i>	<i>Distribution of coinage in case study area 2.....</i>	<i>p. 326</i>

List of Tables:

<i>Table 1:</i>	<i>Places shown in figure 1, the individual(s) involved in the journey and a brief overview of the purpose of the journey.....</i>	<i>pp. 54–56</i>
<i>Table 2:</i>	<i>Overview of the development of Anglo-Saxon and Merovingian coinage during the seventh century (with reference to several key issues).....</i>	<i>pp. 114–116</i>
<i>Table 3:</i>	<i>Balance and scale sets from seventh-century Anglo-Saxon and Merovingian burials.....</i>	<i>pp. 135–136</i>
<i>Table 4:</i>	<i>Stray weights and ingot finds from southern North Sea regions dated to the period c AD 600-725.....</i>	<i>pp. 137–138</i>
<i>Table 5:</i>	<i>Mint and find context of repurposed seventh-century coinage recovered from the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms.....</i>	<i>pp. 155–157</i>
<i>Table 6:</i>	<i>Merovingian minting locations identified in figure 13.....</i>	<i>p. 159</i>
<i>Table 7:</i>	<i>Anglo-Saxon thrymsas found in northern Merovingian Gaul.....</i>	<i>p. 169</i>
<i>Table 8:</i>	<i>Merovingian and Anglo-Saxon primary phase (series A and B) coins from the site at Rendlesham (Suffolk).....</i>	<i>p. 194</i>
<i>Table 9:</i>	<i>Ceramic finds from Period 3 (AD 600-675) at London.....</i>	<i>p. 216–217</i>
<i>Table 10:</i>	<i>Imported ware types recovered from Royal Opera House and St Martin's Courtyard (period 3 AD 600-675).....</i>	<i>p. 218</i>
<i>Table 11:</i>	<i>Seventh-century Anglo-Saxon burials with Byzantine openwork buckles.....</i>	<i>pp. 265–267</i>
<i>Table 12:</i>	<i>Sugar-loaf type shield bosses (umbos) found in northern Merovingian Gaul.....</i>	<i>p. 270</i>
<i>Table 13:</i>	<i>Seventh-century sites identified from case study area 1 (figure 35).....</i>	<i>p. 283</i>
<i>Table 14:</i>	<i>Additional classification of settlements from case study area 1.....</i>	<i>p. 285</i>
<i>Table 15:</i>	<i>Totals and find contexts of selected imported finds found in case study area 1.....</i>	<i>p. 289</i>

<i>Table 16:</i>	<i>Details of the imported buckles from burials at Castledyke and Cleatham.....</i>	<i>p. 292</i>
<i>Table 17:</i>	<i>List of Merovingian coins (c. AD 580–710) found in the area of case study 1.....</i>	<i>pp. 298–299</i>
<i>Table 18:</i>	<i>Seventh-century coin finds from Malton, North Ferriby and Riby (totals as of January 2020 from EMC/PAS databases).....</i>	<i>p. 303</i>
<i>Table 19:</i>	<i>Location and number of amethyst beads from case study area 1.....</i>	<i>p. 310</i>
<i>Table 20:</i>	<i>Seventh century sites identified from case study area 2 (figure 42).....</i>	<i>p. 319</i>

List of Abbreviations:

<i>Electronic Sawyer (S-)</i>	<i>The Electronic Sawyer: The online catalogue of Anglo-Saxon Charters:</i> https://esawyer.lib.cam.ac.uk/searchfiles/index.html
<i>EMC</i>	Corpus of Early Medieval Coin Finds: https://emc.fitzmuseum.cam.ac.uk/
<i>HAb</i>	Bede, <i>Historia Abbatum</i> , ed and trans. Christopher Grocock and I.N. Wood, <i>Abbots of Wearmouth and Jarrow</i> (Oxford, 2013), pp. 21–76.
<i>HE</i>	Bede, <i>Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum</i> , ed and trans. B. Colgrave and R.A.B. Mynors, <i>Bede's Ecclesiastical History of the English People</i> (Oxford, 1972)
<i>LHF</i>	Anonymous, <i>Liber Historiae Francorum</i> , ed and trans. Paul Fouracre and Richard Gerberding, <i>Late Merovingian France: History and Hagiography 640–720</i> (Manchester, 1996), pp. 79–96.
<i>MEC1</i>	Mark Blackburn and Philip Grierson, <i>Medieval European Coinage 1: The Early Middle Ages (5th to 10th Centuries)</i> (Cambridge, 1986)
<i>MEC8</i>	Rory Naismith, <i>Medieval European Coinage 8: Britain and Ireland c.400-1066</i> (Cambridge, 2017)
<i>NUMIS</i>	<i>Dutch Numismatic Information System:</i> https://nnc.dnb.nl/dnb-nnc-ontsluiting-frontend/#/numis/
<i>PAN</i>	<i>Portable Antiquities Netherlands:</i> https://portable-antiquities.nl/pan/#/public
<i>PAS</i>	<i>Portable Antiquities Scheme:</i> https://finds.org.uk/database
<i>VDB</i>	<i>Vita Domnae Balthildis</i> , ed and trans. Paul Fouracre and Richard A. Gerberding, <i>Late Merovingian France: History and Hagiography 640–720</i> (Manchester, 1996), pp. 97–132.
<i>VSW</i>	Stephen of Ripon, <i>Vita Sancti Wilfrithi</i> , ed and trans. Bertram Colgrave, <i>The Life of Bishop Wilfrid</i> (Cambridge, 1927)

Format of the thesis:

This project was undertaken in both the departments of History and Archaeology at Durham University. Though the award of this degree is based in the faculty of Social Sciences at Durham University, since the main supervision was based in the department of History, this thesis follows the format of a thesis undertaken in the faculty of Arts and Humanities at Durham University.

This thesis is 100,000 words long.

Statement of copyright:

The copyright of this thesis rests with the author (K.M. Clarke-Neish).

No quotation from it should be published without the author's prior written consent and information derived from it should be acknowledged.

Acknowledgements:

Firstly, I wish to thank my supervisors, Dr Helen Foxhall-Forbes and Professor Sarah Semple, for their encouragement and unwavering support during my time at Durham. I would also like to extend my thanks to the administrative staff from both the departments of History and Archaeology at Durham for their assistance in resolving the many technical hiccups that occurred along the way.

I am very grateful to the AHRC *Northern Bridge Doctoral Training Partnership* for funding my project. I am also grateful to the department of History at Durham for providing additional funding which enabled me to attend several language courses throughout my studies and travel to several conferences to present my research.

At various points during my studies, several individuals provided their assistance. I extend my thanks to all those who took the time to respond to my queries, discussed their ongoing research, and shared unpublished material. I am especially thankful to Dr Sue Harrington for sharing data from the *Tribal Hidage* and *People and Place* projects.

I wish to also thank my friends (especially Aimee, Abi, Hannah, Jade, Katie, and Nicola) and my postgraduate colleagues at Durham for being a huge source of support over the years. I wish to particularly thank Katie Haworth for spending so much time discussing the seventh century with me. These conversations helped shape many of my ideas along the way.

Finally, the completion of this thesis would also not have been possible without the support of my family (especially mam and dad) who were always there for me during the ups and downs, and my wonderful husband Michael who made sure that I finally reached the light at the end of the tunnel.

This thesis is dedicated to my nieces and nephews, my favourite (now not so)
little people. Never let anything hold you back.

Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1: Context of Study

The seventh century marks a decisive point in the transition from the end of Antiquity to the beginning of the Early Middle Ages and was a period of fundamental change for society in north-west Europe.¹ During this formative period, successor kingdoms were consolidated and notions of kingship and political structures emerged more clearly by the end of the seventh century.² Likewise, the economies of these kingdoms also grew during the seventh century, and a complex web of economic networks and places of trade appeared.³ Political, social, and economic changes were also shaped by another major change during the seventh century, the development of Christianity. The spread of Christianity also visually altered the landscape in north-west Europe, most notably through the construction of churches and sacred monuments alongside the acquisition of land.⁴ Changes in the seventh-century landscape also coincided with broader climatic changes. Notably, there was a shift to warmer temperatures from the middle of the seventh century that resulted in a more favourable climate following the Late Antique Little Ice Age, an extensive period of cooler temperatures brought about by a series of volcanic eruptions during the sixth century.⁵

¹ For a summary of the scholarly debate surrounding the end of Antiquity, see Gillian Clark, *Late Antiquity: A Very Short Introduction* (Oxford, 2011), chapter 1. See also Wickham's in-depth study of the transition, Chris Wickham, *Framing the Early Middle Ages: Europe and the Mediterranean, 400-800* (Oxford, 2005).

² Christopher Loveluck, *Northwest Europe in the Early Middle Ages, c. AD 600–1150: A Comparative Archaeology* (Cambridge, 2013); Nicholas Higham and Martin Ryan, *The Anglo-Saxon World* (London, 2013)

³ Michael McCormick, *Origins of the European Economy: Communications and Commerce AD 300–900* (Cambridge, 2002). Wickham, *Framing the Early Middle Ages*, chapter 11.

⁴ See the essays in Martin Carver (eds.), *The Cross Goes North: Processes of conversion in Northern Europe AD 300–1300* (Woodbridge, 2002) and Tomás Ó Carragáin and Sam Turner (eds.), *Making Christian Landscapes in Atlantic Europe: Conversion and Consolidation in the Early Middle Ages* (Cork, 2016).

⁵ For an overview of climate change during this period, see John Moreland, 'AD536 – Back to nature?', *Acta Archaeologica* 89:1 (2019), pp. 91–111; U. Büntgen et al., 'Cooling and societal change during the Late Antique Little Ice Age from 536 to around 660 AD', *Nature*

Regions in North-west Europe were also closely interconnected during the seventh century. Interactions between the Anglo-Saxon and Merovingian kingdoms were especially numerous and diverse during this period. In both areas, a range of trading places were established to facilitate economic connections, and political alliances were created and maintained. At the beginning of the century, the Merovingians claimed political hegemony over much of Gaul and possibly extended their influence to south-eastern England.⁶ The mid-seventh century saw important changes in the Merovingian realm and was the beginning of the decline for the Merovingian dynasty.⁷ In contrast, Anglo-Saxon kingdoms, such as Northumbria, entered a 'Golden Age' and scholars have shown the importance of interactions with Gaul in this phenomenon.⁸

In recent decades, a substantial amount of new archaeological and numismatic evidence has been discovered and our understanding of the complexity of the early Middle Ages and the nature of interaction between different polities and cultures has changed significantly.⁹ However, despite this, current scholarship has tended to examine individual regions rather than the transnational networks into which they fitted. In addition, research on cultural interaction between regions has also largely overlooked the seventh century, following

Geoscience 9 (2016), pp 231–236; Michael McCormick et al, 'Climate change during and after the Roman Empire: Reconstructing the past from scientific and historical evidence, *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 43:2 (2012), pp. 169–220.

⁶ Ian Wood, *The Merovingian North Sea* (Alingsås, 1983).

⁷ Paul Fouracre, 'Merovingian History and Merovingian Hagiography', *Past and Present* 127:1 (1990), pp. 3–38.

⁸ On Northumbria, see for example, David Rollason, *Northumbria: 500–1100: Creation and Destruction of a Kingdom* (Cambridge, 2003); Rosemary Cramp, 'Monkwearmouth and Jarrow in their continental context', in Catherine E. Karkov (ed.), *The Archaeology of Anglo-Saxon England: Basic readings* (London, 1999), pp. 137–153. See also the essays in Jane Hawkes (ed.), *The Golden Age of Northumbria* (Newcastle-upon-Tyne, 1996).

⁹ For example, see essays in Bonnie Effros and Isabel Moreira (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of the Merovingian World* (Oxford, 2020), see especially Dries Tys, 'Maritime and river traders, landing places, and emporia ports in the Merovingian period in and around the Low Countries', pp. 765–796; Nicholas Higham and Martin Ryan, *The Anglo-Saxon World* (London, 2013); Christopher Loveluck and Dries Tys, 'Coastal Societies, exchange and identity along the Channel and southern North Sea shores of Europe, AD 600–1000', *Journal of Maritime Archaeology* 1:2 (2006), pp. 140–169.

Levison (1946) with a later focus, or has disproportionately centred on a few major sites such as Sutton Hoo.¹⁰ Using new evidence and different methodological approaches, this project aims to address this problem within current scholarship and assess more fully the implications of these seventh-century networks and interactions for the development of the North Sea regions in the early Middle Ages. This study investigates interactions between Anglo-Saxon kingdoms and Gaul through three interlinked perspectives: political connections; trading networks and ecclesiastical ties.

1.2: Research questions and aims

This thesis takes a different approach to the surviving evidence of this period from previous scholarship and systematically integrates archaeological and textual evidence to provide a new comparative narrative of the seventh century. Archaeological evidence of this period is too often treated superficially by historians, whilst the surviving textual evidence is rare and often not fully contextualised in archaeological studies.¹¹ As this thesis will demonstrate, using material evidence and texts together enables novel approaches to the role of regionality in shaping long-distance interactions; the development of long-distance trade and trading routes and their impact on local culture and politics; and the role of conversion in developing political/cultural ties. This thesis also sets out with the broader aim of addressing the following research question:

How far did the intertwining of ecclesiastical, trading, and other interactions contribute to the (re-)making of the North Sea area as a distinctive cultural and economic province?

¹⁰ Wilhelm Levison, *England and the continent in the eighth century* (Oxford, 1946); James Palmer, *Anglo-Saxons in a Frankish World 690-900* (Turnhout, 2009); Joanna Story, *Carolingian Connections: Anglo-Saxon England and Carolingian Francia, C. 750-870* (Abingdon, 2003); Martin O.H. Carver, *Sutton Hoo: A Seventh Century Princely Burial Ground and its Context* (London, 2005)

¹¹ For a criticism of approaches to the evidence, see Guy Halsall, 'Archaeology and historiography', in M. Bentley (ed.), *The Routledge Companion to Historiography* (London, 1997), pp. 805-827.

In order to address this research question, it has been broken down into a more manageable series of questions which, altogether, combine to produce a comprehensive analysis of the connections that existed between the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms and northern Merovingian Gaul during the seventh century.

1. What was the nature of contact during the century, and how did it evolve?
2. How did different regions influence one another socially, culturally, and economically?
3. Where were contacts and connections focused/ were long distance connections directed to particular regions?
4. What kinds of goods were circulating - *who* had access and *how*?

In addressing these questions, this study also reassesses many of the ideas related to connections which have persisted within scholarly discussions of this period. In particular, this study challenges the notion of a Merovingian hegemony existing across the English Channel during the seventh century. The notion of a Merovingian hegemony was first proposed by Ian Wood in a study published almost forty years ago.¹² The existence of this theory rests upon a specific reading of a small number of sixth-century written texts. A passage in Procopius of Caesarea's *History of Wars* referred to a Frankish embassy that travelled to Constantinople declaring overlordship in 'Brittia' which was interpreted by Wood as a reference to Britain.¹³ Alongside this passage, a letter written by Theudebert I to the Byzantine emperor Justinian in AD 534 x 547 also referred to Frankish overlordship in neighbouring territories.¹⁴ Based on these scant textual references, the existence of a hegemony during the sixth

¹² Wood, *The Merovingian North Sea*. Wood furthered this interpretation in his follow-up publication. I.N. Wood, *The Merovingian Kingdoms, 450-751* (Harlow, 1994). See also, Ian Wood, 'Frankish hegemony in England', in M.O.H. Carver (ed.), *The Age of Sutton Hoo: The Seventh Century in North-Western Europe* (Woodbridge, 1992), pp. 235-241.

¹³ Procopius, *History of the Wars*, VIII.20, ed and trans. H.B. Dewing, *Procopius: History of the Wars books VII.36-VIII* (London, 1928), p. 253; Wood, *The Merovingian kingdoms, 450-741*, p. 176.

¹⁴ *Epistolae Austrasicae*, 20, ed. Elena Malaspina, *Il Liber epistolarum della cancelleria austrasica* (sec. V-VII) (Rome, 2001), pp. 136-39; Wood, *The Merovingian kingdoms, 450-741*, pp. 66-67.

century is far from certain. It may be the case that the references to an overlordship represent a Frankish expectation rather than reality, particularly if the broader political context and fraught relationship between the Merovingian and Byzantine royal courts during this period is considered.¹⁵

Though the idea of a hegemony rests on tenuous foundations, Wood's theory proved hugely influential and, problematically, became an assumed reality within much academic discourse, to the extent that it has firmly extended into the analysis of seventh-century connections.¹⁶ Most problematically, this theory has impacted the analysis of the surviving archaeological evidence discovered in south-eastern Britain, particularly in Kent.¹⁷ However, the validity of the hypothesis and the evidence used by Wood to argue for the existence of a hegemony during the sixth century has started to receive more serious questioning in recent years and this study adds to this growing criticism.¹⁸ Rather than the 'Merovingian North Sea', the analysis undertaken in this study demonstrates the emergence of an interconnected North Sea World during the seventh century.

¹⁵ Andrew Gillett, 'Telling off Justinian: Theudebert I, the *Epistolae Austrasicae* and communication strategies in sixth-century Merovingian-Byzantine relations', *Early Medieval Europe* 27:2 (2019), pp. 161–194.

¹⁶ The hegemony was referred to most recently in 2020. See Bonnie Effros and Isabel Moreira, 'Pushing the boundaries of the Merovingian World', in *ibid* (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of the Merovingian World* (Oxford, 2020), p. 4. In the same volume, see also the discussion by Robin Fleming, 'The movement of people and things between Britain and France in the late and post-Roman periods', pp. 377–378.

¹⁷ See especially, Susan Harrington and Martin Welch, *The Early Anglo-Saxon kingdoms of southern Britain AD 450–650: Beneath the Tribal Hidage* (Oxford, 2014), pp. 174–210.

¹⁸ See Irene Bavuso, *The Sixth and Earlier Seventh Centuries: Preconditions of the Rise of the Emporia* (Unpublished PhD thesis: University of Oxford, 2017), esp. chapter 7; Previously, Lebecq questioned the theory and suggested that it was short lived. Stéphane Lebecq, 'Les relations entre royautés et élites Franques et Anglo-Saxonnes au très haut Moyen-Âge (fin VI^e -fin VIII^e Siècle)', in Veronique Gazeau and Jean-Philippe Genet (eds.), *La France et les îles Britanniques: un couple impossible?* (Paris, 2012), p. 20. Collins and McClure also previously challenged Wood. Roger Collins and Judith McClure, 'Rome, Canterbury and Wearmouth-Jarrow: Three viewpoints on Augustine's mission', in Simon Barton and Peter Linehan (eds.), *Cross, Crescent and Conversion: Studies on Medieval Spain and Christendom in Memory of Richard Fletcher* (Leiden, 2008), pp. 17–42, esp. pp. 31–36.

1.3: Methodology

This thesis undertakes both a transnational and interdisciplinary approach. Transnational and maritime connections were crucially important in the development and formation of early medieval European kingdoms and communities. Whilst scholars have examined the significance of such connections in the modern world (c. 1400 onwards), early medieval transnational links and their impact have not been explored to their full potential. Few scholars have approached this period in a meaningfully comparative way and studies which have claimed to look at both sides are often one sided or have tended to look at imports and connections largely one way.¹⁹ As this thesis demonstrates, the lack of communication between scholars across modern boundaries has resulted in many circular arguments and assumptions regarding the nature and importance of interactions during the seventh century. In particular, this study sheds light on the understudied impact of an Anglo-Saxon influence upon the developments in Gaul.

Alongside this transnational method, the thesis also employs an interdisciplinary approach, by combining methodologies from archaeology and history, and undertakes a comparative analysis of the surviving archaeological and historical evidence. Despite the long-standing recognition of the benefits of employing an interdisciplinary approach to the study of the early medieval period given the fragmented nature of the surviving evidence, there is currently no standard or 'correct' methodology to use.²⁰ Whilst the aim of the thesis is not to establish a 'correct' methodology for using archaeology and history, it is important to briefly discuss the limitations of existing interdisciplinary models.

¹⁹ For exceptions, see for example, Johan Nicolay, *The Splendour of Power: Early medieval kingship and the use of gold and silver in the southern North Sea area* (Groningen, 2014); Loveluck, *Northwest Europe in the Early Middle Ages, c.AD 600–1150*; Guy Halsall, *Cemeteries and Society in Merovingian Gaul* (Leiden, 2010); Wickham, *Framing the Middle Ages*.

²⁰ See the essays and discussions in Zoe L. Devlin and Caroline N.J. Holas-Clark (eds.), *Approaching Interdisciplinarity: Archaeology, History and the Study of Early Medieval Britain, c. 400-1100* (Oxford, 2009).

One of the most common interdisciplinary methods is to use the surviving written evidence to provide a backdrop to a period in order to evaluate the archaeological evidence. Whilst this may enhance the discussion of the archaeological material, the context and potential limitations of the surviving written evidence are often overlooked. For example, questions relating to the reliability of the information and the purpose of the written text are rarely discussed. Certainly, one of the main problems in current scholarship discussing the earlier Anglo-Saxon period is the continued use of the eleventh-century *Domesday Book* when there is an absence of contemporary historical data to compare with the archaeological material from earlier centuries.²¹ Whilst there are possible grounds to use later texts to reconstruct earlier scenarios, such as the longevity of organisational structures, extreme caution should be applied when considering whether the arrangements in the *Domesday Book* are truly reflective of earlier practices. There is a significant lapse of time between the seventh and eleventh century and the *Domesday Book* does not provide firm dates of when an arrangement had originally occurred. In the absence of other evidence (such as charters) providing a firm date of a transaction, it can only be assumed that the land-holding practices documented in the text represent an earlier period. Additionally, the *Domesday Book*, as with all historical sources, was written for a specific purpose and includes several inconsistencies and omissions that are frequently not considered by those using the source in passing.²²

Archaeological evidence has also previously been misused and treated superficially. Archaeological evidence has been made to 'fit' the narrative provided by the historical evidence, especially in relation to the events of the

²¹ This is by no means an exhaustive list, and the following scholarship listed are some of the most recent examples of the *Domesday Book* being used as evidence for earlier centuries. Bavuso, 'The Sixth and Earlier Seventh Centuries: Preconditions of the Rise of the Emporia'; Stuart Brookes, 'The Lathes of Kent: A Review of the Evidence' in Stuart Brookes, Sue Harrington and Andrew Reynolds (eds.), *Studies in Early Anglo-Saxon Art and Archaeology* (Oxford, 2011), pp. 156–170; Gavin Smith, '-ingas and the mid-seventh-century diocese', *Nomina* 31 (2008), pp. 67–87.

²² For further reading on the *Domesday Book*, see for example, the essays in Elizabeth Hallam and David Bates (eds.), *The Domesday Book* (Stroud, 2001).

fifth and sixth centuries, the so-called migration period.²³ Bede's account of the *Adventus Saxonum* for instance was once considered historical fact by generations of scholars and subsequently influenced the analysis of the surviving archaeological evidence with the creation of 'Anglian', 'Saxon' and 'Jutish' labels to describe the material culture from different regions.²⁴ This approach is no longer acceptable within scholarship and has largely been dismissed. However, drawing a link between an object and the supposed ethnicity of an individual still exists within some strands of scholarship (see 1.8 below and chapter 9).

1.4: Scale of study

Whilst traditional archaeological studies incorporate a longer time frame to investigate connections and their changes, temporally, this thesis examines the seventh century only. Given the research aims outlined above and the comparative analysis of both archaeological and historical material, a larger temporal frame would not have been manageable within the confines of this study. In addition, the seventh century is a period in which a range of significant changes and developments occurred. The connections during this century are deserving of an in-depth analysis in their own right rather than being viewed within the framework of earlier or later connections between these regions. Discussion of preceding or subsequent centuries is mentioned only where relevant, for example, if a piece of material culture cannot be precisely dated and has been assigned a larger chronological dating range.

The geographical constraints of this study and defining the 'southern North Sea world' also required careful consideration from the onset. This study examines the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms of East Anglia, Kent, Northumbria and Wessex

²³ For an overview of this methodology and the problems, see for example, Halsall, *Cemeteries and Society in Merovingian Gaul*, pp. 21–88; Sian Jones, *The Archaeology of Ethnicity* (London, 2007). See also Heinrich Härke, 'Grave goods in Early Medieval burials: Messages and meanings', *Mortality* 19:1 (2014), pp. 14–60.

²⁴ Florin Curta, 'Some remarks on ethnicity in medieval archaeology', *Early Medieval Europe* 15 (2007), pp. 159–185; Guy Halsall, 'Review Article: Movers and Shakers. The Barbarians and the Fall of Rome', *Early Medieval Europe* 8 (1999), pp. 131–145.

alongside the Merovingian kingdom of Neustria and areas surrounding the Rhine which fell under Merovingian influence during the seventh century.²⁵ In modern geography, this thesis broadly covers the countries of Britain (particularly southern and eastern Britain), northern France (mainly the regions of Picardie, Nord Pas-de-Calais, Ile-de-France and Normandy) and the Netherlands (principally the provinces of Utrecht, Zuid-Holland and Zeeland). Due to the paucity of the surviving evidence and its prominence in scholarly discussions, the English Channel was also incorporated into the 'North Sea world'.²⁶ Importantly, the scale of this study-set is not intended to suggest that other regions considered by scholars as part of the North Sea world and other contacts were not significant to the developments that occurred during this period in the areas under study. For example, previous studies have examined and stressed the link between the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms and Scandinavia, and the finds from Sutton Hoo especially demonstrate a link between the East Anglian kingdom and Scandinavia during this period.²⁷

In addition, whilst incorporating these different kingdoms and regions, it is important to stress here that they are not examined equally throughout, since analysis is influenced by the surviving evidence, research questions (1.3) and limitations to the study outlined below (1.8). However, and crucially, this thesis moves away from the pattern established by previous studies largely following

²⁵ On the geographical extent of Neustria during the early medieval period, see Michel Rouche, 'Remarques sur la géographie historique de la Neustrie (650–850)', in H. Atsma (ed.), *La Neustrie, Les Pays au Nord de la Loire de 650 à 850: colloque historique international vol. 1* (Sigmaringen, 1989), pp. 1–24.

²⁶ The following examples include the English Channel in their definition of the 'North Sea world': Wood, *Merovingian North Sea*; Tom Williamson, 'East Anglia's Character and the North Sea World', in David Bates and Robert Liddiard (eds.), *East Anglia and its North-Sea World in the Middle Ages* (Woodbridge, 2013), pp. 44–45; Nicolay, *The Splendour of Power*. See also the articles in John Hines and Nelleke Ijsseennaggar (eds.), *Frisians and North Sea Neighbours* (Woodbridge, 2017).

²⁷ John Hines, *The Scandinavian Character of Anglian England in the pre-Viking period* (Oxford, 1983); M.O.H. Carver, 'Pre-Viking traffic in the North Sea', in Seàn McGrail (ed.), *Maritime Celts, Frisians and Saxons* (London, 1990), pp. 117–125; E. Bakka, 'Scandinavian trade relations with the Continent and the British Isles in pre-Viking times', *Early Medieval Studies* 3 (1971) pp. 37–51. For a discussion of Sutton Hoo, see Carver, *Sutton Hoo: A Seventh Century Princely Burial Ground and its Context*.

Wood's definition of a 'Merovingian North Sea' and focusing primarily on the links between the Anglo-Saxon kingdom of Kent and Merovingian Gaul across the English Channel.²⁸

1.5: Data

Given that the thesis falls between disciplines, a database of evidence was produced consisting of both archaeological and historical data for this project. The nature, availability, and limitations of the surviving evidence are commented upon throughout the thesis. For this reason, only a summary of the data gathered for this study is presented here.

1.5.1: Historical evidence

The surviving texts were examined for information relating to contact, trade, or travel between the regions under study. Although the surviving written evidence from the seventh century is extremely patchy, crucially, most of the texts that were consulted for this study were composed no later than the mid-eighth century. In the case of later dated sources that are used, the limitations of using these texts to extrapolate information relating to an earlier period is important to acknowledge and is discussed throughout the thesis when and where they are used.

The surviving written evidence evaluated consisted of historical narratives, hagiographical texts, annals/chronicles, and laws. Charter evidence was also considered, though these documents say little about connections between these regions. In general, most of the surviving texts examined were either hagiographical texts or historical narratives. The dominance of these genres can be simply explained by the fact that a greater number of these texts have survived compared to other types of texts. This is likely due to the popularity

²⁸ Recent studies of connections between the Kent and Merovingian Gaul include Soulat, *Le mobilier funéraire de type franc et mérovingien dans le Kent et sa périphérie*; Bavuso, 'The Sixth and Earlier Seventh Centuries: Preconditions of the Rise of the *Emporia*'; Harrington and Welch, *The Early Anglo-Saxon kingdoms of southern Britain*.

and vast production of both during the early medieval period.²⁹ Importantly, these texts are different to one another, and this influences the quality and reliability of the information presented. Historical narratives frame events of the period within a larger narrative and interpretation whilst chronicles and annals recorded significant and important (often, but not always, local) events in chronological order. In both historical texts, the events discussed were specially chosen to be preserved by the author and an intertextual analysis of the surviving evidence is therefore important in evaluating the reliability of information preserved. Hagiographical works can loosely be defined as sacred biographies and were linked to the promotion of a cult of a saint and legitimising the power/influence of a group of followers composed from both ecclesiastical and political spheres.³⁰ The information preserved within this genre of text can be difficult to interpret and even to trust in some cases. Hagiographical texts were composed in order to actively invoke memory and were not produced in a vacuum from contemporary events and opinions. A comparison of some of the events depicted in Stephen of Ripon's *Life of Saint Wilfrid* composed shortly after the death of Wilfrid in AD 709 with other contemporary accounts especially highlights the significance in treating written evidence with caution and questioning why information was preserved.³¹ Throughout this thesis, the versions cited are the best available translations of the evidence. For the reader's convenience, the original language versions of these texts are also listed in the bibliography.

²⁹ For a scholarly discussion of the different genres, see for example, Pauline Stafford, 'Historiography', in Pauline Stafford (eds.), *A Companion to the Early Middle Ages: Britain and Ireland, c. 500–c. 1100* (Chichester, 2009), pp. 9–22; Paul Fouracre and Richard A. Gerberding, *Late Merovingian France: History and Hagiography, AD 640–720* (Manchester, 2004) pp. 26–57; C. Cubitt, 'Memory and narrative in the cult of the early Anglo-Saxon saints', in Y. Hen and M. Innes (eds.), *The uses of the past in the Early Middle Ages* (Cambridge, 2003), pp. 29–66; David Dumville, 'What is a Chronicle?', in Erik Kooper (ed.), *The Medieval Chronicle II* (Amsterdam, 2002), pp. 1–28.

³⁰ David Rollason and Paul Fouracre have especially highlighted the intertwinement of ecclesiastical and political spheres in the early medieval period: David Rollason, 'Hagiography and politics in eighth-century Northumbria' in Paul Szarmach (ed.), *Holy Men and Holy Women: Old English Prose Saints' Lives and their Contexts*, (New York, 1996), pp. 95–114; Fouracre, 'Merovingian History and Merovingian Hagiography', pp. 3–38.

³¹ See chapter 2 (2.2.2) and chapter 3 (3.3.1).

1.5.2: Archaeological evidence

For the archaeological data, a selected number of imported artefacts were carefully chosen for this study. Imports can (for the most part) be typologically distinguished within assemblages. This visibility enables the opportunity to explore the movement of objects and the ability to reconstruct and assess networks of exchange during the seventh century.

This study examines imported coinage, buckles, and brooches from the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms and Merovingian Gaul. The material gathered and examined in this study is presented in appendix I, II and II (volume II). Appendix I provides a list of repurposed seventh-century Merovingian coinage from the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms. Appendix II provides a list of imported buckles and brooches from the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms. Finally, appendix III lists the imported objects from (northern) Merovingian Gaul collated for this study. Despite initially investigating additional forms of archaeological evidence such as ceramics, it was clear at an early stage that it was not possible to manage this material given the scale and approach of this study (1.6) in the timeframe of this project. Ultimately, this study did not set out with the intention to catalogue all the surviving evidence available for this period and present it here. Instead, one of the main purposes of the thesis was to test a different methodology for archaeological and historical evidence and to demonstrate the potential in bringing together different forms of evidence and scholarship from multiple regions in order to examine the early medieval period from a far more enriching perspective.

1.5.2.1: Numismatic evidence

The first dataset created for this study comprised of numismatic evidence and currency-related items such as ingots, weights, and scale sets. A considerable amount of literature has been devoted to the development of the early-medieval North Sea coinage.³² Coins have been examined from a traditional numismatic

³² For a survey of the scholarship, see Mark Blackburn and Philip Grierson, *Medieval European Coinage 1: The Early Middle Ages (5th to 10th Centuries)* (Cambridge, 1986),

point of view as well as from both artistic and economic perspectives. Chapter 5 (5.3) provides a fuller overview of this scholarship and the main developments in coinage during the seventh century.

Given the ever-growing corpus of finds, coinage is an invaluable source for examining connections.³³ The distribution of single coin finds can highlight possible patterns of trade and reveal physical movement, whilst coin hoards and those deposited in graves are more readily used to reconstruct chronologies and provide an indication of the availability of precious metals (gold and silver). Coinage may also be the main form (or only piece) of evidence demonstrating lively activity in a particular area during the seventh century as is the case with early Dorestad and the coins of Madelinus.³⁴ Additionally, alongside its importance in revealing economic contact, coinage can also contribute to examining cultural and social connections in the early medieval period through an examination of iconography and the wear and reuse of coinage.

The study of coinage in Britain has benefited greatly from the introduction of databases, notably the *Corpus of Early Medieval Coins* (EMC), *Sylloge of Coins of the British Isles* (SCBI) and the *Portable Antiquities Scheme* (PAS).³⁵ In contrast, the collation of data and records of finds in other countries proves challenging to examine on the same level due to the limited availability and accessibility to the material. The development of the Dutch *NUMISmatisch Informatie Systeem* (NUMIS) online coin database has hugely benefited the study of coinage in the Netherlands.³⁶ In France, an online database known as NUMMUS has been

hereafter *MEC1* and Rory Naismith, *Medieval European Coinage 8: Britain and Ireland c.400-1066* (Cambridge, 2017), hereafter *MEC8*.

³³ An ambitious project, *Framing the Late Antique and early Medieval Economy (FLAME)*, is currently underway compiling coin data from across Western Afro-Eurasia. *Framing the Late Antique and Early Medieval Economy (FLAME)*: <https://coinage.princeton.edu/>

³⁴ See chapters 7 (7.4) and 8 (8.2.5).

³⁵ *Corpus of Early Medieval Coins (EMC)*: <https://emc.fitzmuseum.cam.ac.uk/>; *Portable Antiquities Scheme (PAS)*: <https://finds.org.uk/database>

³⁶ NUMISmatisch Informatie Systeem (NUMIS): <https://nnc.dnb.nl/dnb-nnc-ontsluiting-frontend/#/numis/>

established but remains largely under-developed and the last major published catalogue was compiled more than a decade ago.³⁷ There is therefore a clear difference in the number of coins recorded from the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms compared to the numbers recorded from Gaul. Perhaps the main contribution to this disparity relates to the rules regarding metal-detecting across countries and their highly restrictive nature in contrast to those in Britain.³⁸

Overall, almost one thousand recorded single coin finds (solidi, thrymsas, tremisses, sceattas and deniers are all represented in the sample) were collected for this study.³⁹ Where possible, the type, mint, moneyer and/or ruler, material, weight, context, find spot was recorded for each coin find. In addition, coins which have been identified as forgeries or have been subject to modification were highlighted and removed to a separate database. Appendix I provides a list of modified seventh-century Merovingian coins found in Britain.

1.5.2.2: Imported buckles and brooches

The second dataset consisted of imported buckles and brooches found in the areas under study. Finds from both open (stray finds) and closed (burial) contexts were included in this dataset. As a starting point, all buckles and brooches categorised as imports and within the date range under study were collected. This initial list was compiled from existing databases, resources and published excavation reports that typologically identified objects as ‘Continental’ and/or ‘Frankish’ from Anglo-Saxon sites, and ‘Anglo-Saxon’ in the

³⁷ NUMMUS: <https://www.unicaen.fr/crahm/Nummus/> For an introduction to the development and aims of NUMMUS, see Pierre-Marie Guihard and Marie Bisson, “‘Nummus’: Outil de recherche et de diffusion en ligne des données numismatiques en contexte archéologique”, in Jérémie Chameroy and Pierre-Marie Guihard (eds.), *Circulations monétaires et réseaux d’échanges en Normandie et dans le Nord-Ouest européen (Antiquité-Moyen Âge)* (Caen, 2012), pp. 229–240; Jean Lafaurie and Jacqueline Pilet-Lemière, *Monnaies du haut Moyen Âge Découvertes en France (V^e-VIII^e Siècle)* (Paris, 2003).

³⁸ The Nation Council for Metal Detecting (NCMD) outlines the current laws regarding metal-detecting across Europe: <http://www.ncmd.co.uk/law.html> (accessed: 10/02/2017).

³⁹ On these coin types, see chapter 5.

case of finds from Merovingian Gaul.⁴⁰ This list was subsequently streamlined until only probable imported buckles and brooches dated more confidently to the period under study remained. The removal of earlier or later dated objects was possible through engaging with several key chronological and typological studies.⁴¹ Overall, the objects collated for the study fall into either the 'Final Phase' or 'MA3–MR3' (Mérovingien Ancien 3–Mérovingien Recent 3) chronological phases.⁴² Whilst it was easier to identify and exclude more distinctive types of objects that are predominantly found in pre-seventh-century contexts, such as radiate-headed brooches, other objects have a longer chronological life span and their deposition in burials continued into the early seventh century. In these cases, the dating of the object and its inclusion in the sample relied upon the dating of other assemblage and context(s) associated with the find. Significantly, such finds stress the question of how imported goods were accessed and engaged with throughout their lifespan.

Importantly, finds collated from these databases that matched the criteria for study were not immediately included in the final sample of objects. Where possible, the original source of information was sought out for entries to confirm the import classification and to also ensure that all relevant details were accurately recorded. Whilst published databases are an invaluable starting point for projects, it is important not to ignore the motivations and

⁴⁰ All resources used for this project are listed in full in the bibliography, however, the following resources/studies provided an essential starting point for the creation of an initial list of artefacts: Susan Harrington, *Beyond the Tribal Hidage* (unpublished version), John Hines and Alex Bayliss (eds.), *Anglo-Saxon Graves and Grave Goods of the 6th and 7th Centuries AD: A Chronological Framework* (London, 2013); Sonja Marzinzik, *Early Anglo-Saxon Belt Buckles (late 5th to early 8th Centuries A.D.)* (Oxford, 2003); Jean Soulat, *Le Matériel Archéologique de type Saxon et Anglo-Saxon en Gaule Mérovingienne* (Conde-sur-Noireau, 2009); Jean Soulat, *Le Mobilier funéraire de type Franc et Mérovingien dans le Kent et sa périphérie* (Drémil-Lafage, 2018); *Portable Antiquities Scheme* (PAS): <https://finds.org.uk/database>.

⁴¹ Notably, Hines and Bayliss (eds.), *Anglo-Saxon Graves and Grave Goods*; R. Legoux, P. Périn and F. Vallet, *Chronologie normalisée du mobilier funéraire Mérovingien entre Manche et Lorraine* (Saint Germain, 2004); Marzinzik, *Early Anglo-Saxon Belt Buckles*.

⁴² For a brief comparison of different chronological schemes, see John Hines and Karen Høilund Neilson, 'The Anglo-Saxon and overseas chronological schemes compared', in John Hines and Alex Bayliss (eds.), *Anglo-Saxon Graves and Grave Goods of the 6th and 7th centuries AD* (London, 2013), pp. 484–485 (figure 8.18).

methodology behind the collection of material and to note how an object is recognised as an import. Indeed, the recent online publication of the data collected for the *Beyond the Tribal Hidage* project demonstrates the crucial need to cross-examine and critically engage with completed datasets. The initial project provided provenance information for every object, but this information has subsequently been removed from the online version of the database recently made available.⁴³ Importantly, as stated in the publication, the provenance of an object was often the 'best available estimate' and the accuracy of each provenance varied greatly.⁴⁴

A notable example is a silver object reworked into a pendant that was deposited in the grave of an adult female at Lechlade (grave 187).⁴⁵ Within the cemetery report, no firm deductions are reached on what the original form the object had taken prior to being recycled and modelled into a pendant. In comparison, the object was previously identified as a possible imported Frankish brooch for the *Tribal Hidage* project.⁴⁶ On the reverse of the pendant, there are concentric circles on the reverse which suggest that compasses were used to create a design.⁴⁷ There is evidence for the use of compasses in the production of composite disc brooches which could strengthen the possibility of the object initially taking the form of a brooch.⁴⁸ However, it remains tenuous to call the object an import and the attribution is based on no secure context. In addition, even if the pendant was indeed made from an imported brooch, it is not certain whether the final owner and wearer of the object recognised the object as an

⁴³ Sue Harrington and Stuart Brookes, *Beyond the Tribal Hidage* database: <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/early-medieval-atlas/map-data/beyond-tribal-hidage-data> (Accessed: September 2020).

⁴⁴ Harrington and Welch, *The Early Anglo-Saxon kingdoms of southern Britain*, p. 33.

⁴⁵ A Boyle, D. Jennings, D. Miles and S. Palmer, *The Anglo-Saxon Cemetery at Butler's Field, Lechlade, Gloucestershire, volume 2: The Anglo-Saxon Grave Goods, Specialist Reports, Phasing and Discussion* (Oxford, 2011), p. 37.

⁴⁶ *Tribal Hidage* unpublished database.

⁴⁷ Boyle, Jennings, Miles and Palmer, *The Anglo-Saxon Cemetery at Butler's Field, Lechlade, Gloucestershire, volume 2*, p. 37.

⁴⁸ See for example, the discussion of the production of the Monkton brooch. Sonia Chadwick Hawkes and A.C. Hogarth, 'The Anglo-Saxon cemetery at Monkton, Thanet', *Archaeologia Cantiana* 89 (1974), pp. 58–59.

import in the first instance. The categorisation of the Lechlade object acutely demonstrates broader problems and potential issues with the identification of imports and the further emphasises the need to continually revisit and refine previous studies.

1.5.2.3: Distribution analysis

As well as cataloguing the objects and examining them individually, this study examines the distribution of these objects. The maps presented in this study were produced using GIS software. Spatial mapping was undertaken in chapters 6, 7, 9, 10 and 11 to address questions 2, 3 and 4 outlined above. Both macro and micro maps were produced in order to examine broader distribution trends (chapters 6, 7 and 9) and to allow close inspection of the connections of particular areas and communities (chapters 10 and 11). Whilst the micro maps are far more detailed, both the macro and micro maps have an overlay of Roman roads alongside topographical features such as major rivers and estuaries.⁴⁹ Mapping the distribution of the collated evidence provided the opportunity to place these objects within their historical landscape and to assess how this may have influenced connections from and within a region. Understanding the topographical and geological features can also explain why there might be omissions or inaccuracies in the archaeological record. Indeed, this is a pertinent issue when examining stray finds of objects and coinage especially (chapters 7, 9, 10 and 11).

1.6: Thesis structure

This thesis undertakes a thematic approach and is split into three parts, with each examining a separate but interconnected contact and/or connection. The chapters in part I (chapters 2, 3 and 4) examine the evidence of ecclesiastical connections. The chapters in part II (chapters 5, 6 and 7) interrogate political, social, and economic links through the evidence of coinage. The final chapters

⁴⁹ The Roman road layer used is from the *Digital Atlas of Roman and Medieval Civilisations* (DARMC) project: <https://darmc.harvard.edu/> (accessed: July 2019).

(chapters 8, 9, 10 and 11) in part III examine places of trade and networks of exchange during the seventh century.

By undertaking a thematic approach, this provides the opportunity to examine both historical and archaeological forms of evidence on an equal footing and the ability to critically compare them both. However, whilst the thesis incorporates both forms of evidence, it is important to stress that there is not an equal weighing between the surviving archaeological and historical evidence used throughout. Given the fragmented nature of the surviving evidence and the questions under examination, certain forms of evidence may dominate the analysis or discussion in each chapter. For instance, the chapters in parts II and III are far more rooted in archaeology due to the scarcity of surviving historical sources referencing trade and trading places. The surviving archaeological data incorporated into these chapters enables close scrutiny of the relationships between regions. In contrast, the three chapters that form part I are primarily orientated around the surviving textual evidence. Throughout the thesis, the nature of the surviving evidence is analysed in greater detail.

1.7: Limitations to the study

As with every thesis, there were several uncontrollable constraints and difficulties that have both shaped and limited study. Whilst limitations and problems with the surviving evidence and analysis are discussed throughout the thesis, major limitations to the study more broadly are outlined in this section.

Perhaps the most difficult obstacle faced from the onset was access to information and the surviving archaeological evidence overseas especially. It is important to stress here that the archaeological frameworks in place across the different areas under study are not the same and have influenced not only availability of material to consult, but also the quality in some cases. The commercial framework in which archaeology operates overseas in particular has shifted the purpose of excavations from being largely research focused to

needing to demonstrate broader benefits and being value for money.⁵⁰ Indeed, many of the Merovingian cemeteries and settlements identified in France were done so through the ‘archéologie préventive’ initiative and, in a majority of cases, only preliminary outlines were made available to consult afterwards due to the limited funding made available for post-analysis.⁵¹ Additionally, excavations across France are not always equal due to the local and regional frameworks in place which has meant that certain regions are underrepresented in the record.⁵²

In the Netherlands, a similar framework to that operating in France exists and the location of excavations are directed by modern needs. Currently, there is a clear gap between the limited number of excavations carried out in the coastal (Dune) area of the Netherlands compared to further inland in more populated provinces such as Utrecht.⁵³ As a consequence, analysis of occupation and activity in this area of the Netherlands is more difficult to undertake. However, even in cases where there appears to be significant investment in an excavation, this does not hasten the speed at which material is made available as the incomplete publication of the Wijk bij Duurstede (Dorestad) excavations from the 1960s and 1970s demonstrate, with the latest volume from the series published in 2015.⁵⁴ In many ways, the situation of archaeology in mainland

⁵⁰ For useful overviews of the different frameworks in place across the study areas, see the essays in Leo Webley, Marc Vander Linden, Colin Haselgrove and Richard Bradley (eds.), *Development-led archaeology in Northwest-Europe* (Oxford, 2012). I am grateful to Dries Tys, Jean Soulat and Henk van der Velde for answering enquiries related to sourcing possible literature relevant to this project and summarising scholarly trends in their respective areas.

⁵¹ INRAP’s definition of Archéologie Préventive’: <https://www.inrap.fr/l-archeologie-preventive-9838> (accessed: January 2019). See also Jean-Luc Collart, ‘L’archéologie préventive en France: Le cadre réglementaire et son application’, in Leo Webley, Marc Vander Linden, Colin Haselgrove and Richard Bradley (eds.), *Development-led archaeology in Northwest-Europe* (Oxford, 2012), pp. 56–99.

⁵² Collart, ‘L’archéologie préventive en France: Le cadre réglementaire et son application’, p. 56.

⁵³ R.M. van Heeringen and H.M. van der Velde, *Struinen door de duinen: synthetiserend onderzoek naar de bewoningschiedenis van het Hollands duingebied op basis van gegevens verzameld in het Malta-tijdperk* (Amersfoort, 2007), pp. 10–11.

⁵⁴ W.A. van Es and W.J.H. Verwers, *Excavations at Dorestad 4: The Settlement on the Riverbank Area* (Amersfoort, 2015).

Europe is parallel to the earlier situation in Britain where antiquarian interests were largely focused in Kent, which have resulted in far more cemetery sites known from the region than elsewhere.

Compared to overseas material, archaeological data from Britain is far more accessible both in print and online through repositories such as the *Archaeology Data Service* (ADS) which provides access to databases created for and by major projects.⁵⁵ In the Netherlands, an increasing amount of data is being readily made available through the Data Archiving and Networked Services (DANS) online repository known as EASY and many reports are published online by the Cultural Heritage Agency of the Netherlands (RCE).⁵⁶ Material from the ADS is complimented with the existence of online public databases, notably the *Portable Antiquities Scheme* (PAS) and *Early Medieval Coin Corpus* (EMC). Whilst the *Portable Antiquities Netherlands* (PAN) attempts to parallel PAS and provide public access to metal-detected archaeological material, the Dutch online database is still in its infancy and currently provides very limited information, though the database demonstrates much potential for the future.⁵⁷ Consequently, despite evaluating and comparing regions across the North Sea, there is an overall imbalance between Anglo-Saxon and Merovingian evidence incorporated into the thesis.

Alongside the limited information that is available to consult, the interests of scholarship has further influenced its quality and accuracy. In the case of Dutch archaeology, there is a continued pre-occupation with the Roman landscape and

⁵⁵ *Archaeology Data Service* (ADS): <https://archaeologydataservice.ac.uk>. Databases archived by ADS and consulted for this project include the *Anglo-Saxon Kent Electronic Database* (ASKED): https://archaeologydataservice.ac.uk/archives/view/asked_ahrc_2008/ and the *Anglo-Saxon Graves and Grave Goods of the sixth and seventh centuries AD: A chronological framework* database: https://archaeologydataservice.ac.uk/archives/view/aschron_eh_2013/ (All sites accessed in January 2019).

⁵⁶ DANS EASY: <https://easy.dans.knaw.nl/ui/home>; Rijksdienst voor het Cultureel Erfgoed (Cultural Heritage Agency of the Netherlands): www.cultureelerfgoed.nl

⁵⁷ *Portable Antiquities Netherlands* (PAN): <https://www.portable-antiquities.nl/pan/#/public>

its reuse at the expense of detailing other finds or contexts from a site.⁵⁸ This can be seen most clearly in the discussions of Merovingian Dorestad and, as chapter 8 criticises, the continuing assumption that the centre was based inside the now-lost Roman *castellum* (Levefanum).⁵⁹ More broadly, it is only recently that more publications of Merovingian cemeteries unearthed in the Netherlands have started to appear following a major project (ANASTASIS) led by Frans Theuws which aimed to revive the study of the Merovingian period in Dutch archaeology.⁶⁰

1.8: A note on terminology

A final point to draw attention to is the terminology incorporated throughout the thesis. Where appropriate, all terminology incorporated into discussion is defined and, in some cases, criticised. However, two particular terms incorporated throughout this study, 'Anglo-Saxon' and 'Merovingian'/'Frankish', require defining from the start. The term 'Anglo-Saxon' especially requires defining in light of the recent problematisation and repeated misappropriation of the term within modern socio-political discourse. Where these terms are used in this thesis, they are to be strictly understood as a geographical and chronological label.

As noted above, this thesis examines the distribution of goods (imports) likely manufactured elsewhere to further understanding of the nature and extent of North Sea contact during the seventh century. Importantly, when describing an object as 'Anglo-Saxon', 'Merovingian' or 'Frankish', this is *not* intended to suggest an ethnic link between an object and individual or community as

⁵⁸ Pers comm. Henk van der Valde. For a general discussion of Dutch archaeology, see Willem J.H. Willems, 'Archaeology in the Netherlands: Recent changes and current organisation', *Archaeological Journal* 165 (2008), pp. 8–16.

⁵⁹ See chapters 6 (6.3), 7 (7.4) and 8 (8.2.5) for further discussion and evaluation of the activity and significance of Dorestad during this period.

⁶⁰ ANASTASIS Project: <https://www.universiteitleiden.nl/en/research/research-projects/archaeology/reviving-merovingian-archaeology-in-the-netherlands> (Accessed: January 2019)

previous scholarship has done in the past.⁶¹ Instead, the description is used as an indicator of the proven or possible/likely geographical origin of the object only.

Though ethnicity is not a major concern or focus of the thesis, the issue warrants a brief discussion due to its continued presence over the period and influence over discussions of contact across the North Sea. As will be shown in relation to the material found in Merovingian Gaul for instance (chapters 8 and 9), ethnically focused interpretations of archaeological material still exist within discussions and have subsequently influenced how connections between the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms and Merovingian Gaul are interpreted.⁶² Ethnicity remains a contentious concept as evidenced by the subsequent redefinitions of the term. Ethnicity is no longer defined as biological or fixed but recognised as a more complex process of self-identification that is grounded within social contexts.⁶³ Crucially, the changing attitudes towards defining and understanding ethnicity impacts how the surviving evidence from the period is engaged with and analysed. Indeed, within English scholarship, 'identity' is often now substituted in the place of ethnicity.⁶⁴ Whilst this removes the immediate assumption of goods representing people, as outlined in chapters 8

⁶¹ See for example Martin Welch, 'The Archaeological evidence for state formation in Southern England: A Comparison of the early Kingdoms of Kent, Sussex and Wessex', in T. Panhuysen (ed.), *Transformations in North-Western Europe (AD. 300-1000)* (Hannover, 2011), pp. 149–159; Martin Welch, 'Cross-channel contacts between Anglo-Saxon England and Merovingian France: An Anglo-French Research Project' in Delestre Ikazanski and Patrick Périn (eds.), *De l'Age du fer au haut Moyen Age: Archéologie funéraire, princes et élites guerrières* (Paris, 2006), pp. 103–111.

⁶² See chapters 8 and 9. For a criticism of this approach within French archaeology, see Guy Halsall, 'Ethnicity and early medieval cemeteries', *Arqueologia y Territorio Medieval* 18 (2011), pp. 15–27.

⁶³ For further discussions and overviews of ethnicity, see for example essays in A. Gillett (ed.), *On Barbarian Ethnicity: Critical Approaches to Ethnicity in the Early Middle Ages* (Turnhout, 2002); Guy Halsall, *Barbarian Migrations and the Roman West* (Cambridge, 2007). See also I.N. Wood, 'Barbarians, Historians and the construction of national identities', *Journal of Late Antiquity* 1 (2008), pp. 61–81; Robert Bartlett, 'Mediaeval and modern concepts of race and ethnicity', *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 31:1 (2001), pp. 39–56.

⁶⁴ For example, see Christopher Scull, 'Foreign identities in burials at the seventh-century English emporia', in S. Brookes, S. Harrington and A. Reynolds (eds.), *Studies in Early Anglo-Saxon Art and Archaeology: Papers in Honour of Martin Welch* (Oxford, 2011), pp. 85–86.

and 9, examining identity still poses a risk of misinterpreting the surviving evidence and leading with theory rather than evidence.

1.9: Summary

This chapter has provided an overview of the research context, purpose, aims and methodology of this study. It has identified problems within current scholarship that examines interactions in the North Sea world and explained how this study addresses these gaps using different methodological approaches and a range of evidence. In part I, focus now shifts to the first type of connection examined in this study, ecclesiastical connections.

Part I: Ecclesiastical connections across the southern North Sea and Channel

The conversion and consolidation of Christianity in North-West Europe remains one of the central developments of the early medieval period.⁶⁵ Part I offers an in-depth analysis of ecclesiastical links and contacts that were established and operating during the seventh century across the Channel and southern North Sea. Chapter 2 re-examines the impact of cross-Channel political connections on the development of Christianity in the seventh century. Chapter 3 analyses the evidence of ecclesiastical travel and journeys during the century. Chapter 4 complements much of the analysis and evidence discussed in the proceeding chapters through an exploration of the materiality and cultural significance of ecclesiastical contacts across the southern North Sea during the century.

The surviving evidence incorporated in the following three chapters is mostly historical rather than archaeological. The surviving written sources from the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms and Merovingian Gaul during this period were created within an ecclesiastical context and therefore prove invaluable in assessing the creation, development, and sustainment of ecclesiastical connections. Whilst these sources are crucial in shedding light on ecclesiastical connections and provide a vital gateway to explore the mobility of monastic communities, information relating to broader political and cultural developments and links can also be extrapolated from them.

Although ecclesiastical connections between the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms and Gaul are well documented within the surviving written record, the narrative presented by the written evidence is largely one-sided and uneven. The surviving Anglo-Saxon texts from the century strongly reveal Merovingian influence and links with ecclesiastical communities across the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms. By contrast, accounts of the Anglo-Saxon ecclesiastical presence in

⁶⁵ See the essays in Carver (eds.), *The Cross Goes North: Processes of conversion in Northern Europe AD 300–1300*; H. Mayr-Harting, *The coming of Christianity to Anglo-Saxon England* (London, 1991).

Merovingian Gaul are brief and mentioned largely in passing or in relation to select individuals. Likewise, the surviving Merovingian sources written from an ecclesiastical viewpoint rarely mention links with Anglo-Saxon kingdoms or communities and the majority instead focus more on the factional politics of the period. This omission may suggest that Merovingian communities were not really interested in Anglo-Saxon affairs and directly challenges the notion of a Merovingian hegemony. More detailed discussions of both the presence and impact of Anglo-Saxon ecclesiastical links only really begin to appear in the surviving records following the instigation of missionary activity overseas such as the efforts of the Northumbrian church led by Willibrord and, later in the eighth century, the missionary activity undertaken by Boniface.⁶⁶ The omission of detail in the surviving record has therefore meant that far more scholarly attention has been devoted to the connections of the eighth century onwards between ecclesiastical communities across the Channel and North Sea.⁶⁷ Even more problematically, the ecclesiastical connections and contact established during the seventh century are framed within this later context and primarily deemed as one-sided. The chapters in Part I explore the understudied impact of Anglo-Saxon ecclesiastical connections in Merovingian Gaul, although this is difficult to examine. Whilst the surviving evidence is extremely difficult to assess with certainty, there are traces in the surviving record that indicate that the narrative of one-sided contact during the century is misleading and that a form of Anglo-Saxon ecclesiastical influence, however small, existed before the later missionary activity was undertaken at the end of the seventh century onwards.

Whilst the chapters in Part I explore the Anglo-Saxon influence in Gaul during the seventh century, it is important to note that this influence followed in the

⁶⁶ Bede, *HE*, V.10–11; *The letters of Boniface*, ed and trans. E. Emerton (New York, 1940); Alcuin of York, *The Life of Willibrord*, ed and trans. Thomas F.X. Noble and Thomas Head, *Soldiers of Christ: Saint and Saints' Lives from Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages*, (University Park, PA, 1995), pp. 189–212.

⁶⁷ For example, see the following detailed studies of Anglo-Saxon influence in Francia during the eighth and ninth centuries: Palmer, *Anglo-Saxons in a Frankish World 690-900*; Story, *Carolingian Connections: Anglo-Saxon England and Carolingian Francia*.

wake of an extensive and long-standing Irish influence on the development of the Frankish Church from the sixth century onwards.⁶⁸ The activities of Irish ecclesiastics were closely entangled with Merovingian factional politics during the seventh century and the success of Columbanian-inspired monasteries in Gaul rested heavily upon the cooperation of the secular elite.⁶⁹ Many of the new Irish (or Irish inspired) monasteries were founded in newly acquired territory and were associated with prominent secular groups including the Faronids who were based in the Marne Valley and extended their sphere of influence across Neustria through the foundation and patronage of Columbanian monasteries.⁷⁰ Importantly, ecclesiastical connections between Merovingian Gaul and the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms in the seventh century were influenced by the links between Ireland and Gaul.⁷¹ For example, the work of individuals like Fursey and Agilbert (chapter 2) for example triangulated connections between these three regions during the seventh century. The exile of Dagobert II in AD 656 and his subsequent return to Austrasia in AD 675/6 (chapter 3) also demonstrates the interwoven links between Ireland, Gaul, and the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms. Finally, as chapter 4 discusses, many of the monastic foundations visited by Anglo-Saxons during the seventh century were founded under this wider context.

Lastly, it should be noted that discussion of ecclesiastical connections or contacts framed within a broader ecclesiastical framework are not solely

⁶⁸ For an overview, see the essays in Rory Flechner and Sven Meeder (eds.), *The Irish in Early Medieval Europe* (London, 2016). See also Yaniv Fox, *Power and Religion in Merovingian Gaul: Columbanian Monasticism and the Frankish Elite* (Cambridge, 2014).

⁶⁹ Jean-Michel Picard, 'De gente Scottorum monachi: The Irish in Merovingian Strategy', in Bonnie Effros and Isabel Moreira (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of the Merovingian World* (Oxford, 2020), p. 389–390; Fox, *Power and Religion in Merovingian Gaul*, pp. 21–26. See also chapter 2 for a discussion of the key elite groups and their activities during the seventh century.

⁷⁰ Fox, *Power and Religion in Merovingian Gaul*, p. 65, p. 81.

⁷¹ For a comprehensive overview of the influence of the Irish on the continent and in England, see Ian Wood, 'The Irish in England and on the Continent in the Seventh Century: Part II', *Peritia* 27 (2016), pp. 189–214; Ian Wood, 'The Irish in England and on the Continent in the Seventh Century: Part I', *Peritia* 26 (2015), pp. 171–198

confined to the chapters in Part I but raised again in subsequent chapters. Moreover, the limited archaeological evidence relating to ecclesiastical North Sea and Channel contacts is discussed elsewhere where this evidence proved more useful in addressing the other research questions. For example, the link between ecclesiastical communities and coinage is considered in chapters 5 to 7 and the link to trading places is explored in chapters 8, 10 and 11.

Chapter 2: Politics, conversion, and the consolidation of Christianity

2.1: Introduction

The conversion and consolidation of Christianity during the seventh century did not occur in a vacuum or remain unaffected by other factors. Its development was intertwined with and heavily shaped by broader events and contacts that existed both in and across regions. This chapter examines how the spread of Christianity during the seventh century was intertwined with political connections and links that existed between the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms and Gaul.

This chapter is divided into two sections which focus on different types of political relationships. The first section considers marriage alliances and discusses two particular examples. The section begins with a discussion of the marriage between Æthelberht of Kent and the Frankish princess Bertha. Much attention has been given to the marriage alliance, particularly in relation to both the spread of Christianity in Kent and the supposed political subordination of the kingdom to Merovingian Gaul. A review of the evidence, however, clearly demonstrates that both the motives and impact of the alliance remains highly speculative and further caution should be applied in future discussions. The uncertain impact of Æthelberht and Bertha's marriage contrasts sharply with the second example discussed in 2.2, the marriage of Balthild to the Merovingian king Clovis. Unlike in the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms, Christianisation was already well underway in Merovingian Gaul by the turn of the seventh century and the Merovingian Church was closely entangled in Merovingian politics throughout the remainder of the century.

Following a discussion of marriage alliances, the analysis then turns to a discussion of the impact of cross-Channel diplomatic links upon the development of Christianity in two other Anglo-Saxon kingdoms, East Anglia and Wessex (6.3). Compared to the relationship between the Kentish and Merovingian royal courts, the nature of these political connections was on a far more informal and personal level. Moreover, unlike in Kent, both kingdoms

directly asked the Merovingian Church for assistance in conversion and paved the way for subsequent ecclesiastical links discussed in chapters 3 and 4.

2.2: Marriage alliances, conversion, and monastic reform

2.2.1: The conversion of Kent and marriage of Æthelberht and Bertha

The obvious place to begin an analysis of the influence of political connections over conversion and the spread of Christianity is with the events of the late sixth century in the kingdom of Kent, the first Anglo-Saxon kingdom documented converting to Christianity. Æthelberht's conversion is depicted by Bede as a definitive moment in the history of the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms and the significance of the event remains undisputed in modern discussions.⁷² Whilst Æthelberht's conversion most likely intensified the presence of and exposure to Christianity, it is important not to overstate the immediate impact. Indeed, Æthelberht's conversion did not signal the inevitable spread of Christianity in the kingdom and conversion was far from an inevitable and seamless process. Following the death of Æthelberht in AD 616, secular attitudes towards Christianity changed and Æthelberht's successor Eadbald initially refused conversion, for example.⁷³ Eadbald's reluctance to convert during the first year of his reign stifled missionary efforts both in Kent and neighbouring territories including the East Saxon kingdom which had been under the influence of the kingdom.⁷⁴ Eadbald's refusal to convert to Christianity also raises the interesting (and well-studied) issue of whether the conversion to Christianity was either a personal or pragmatic decision for rulers.⁷⁵

⁷² Bede, *HE*, I.25.

⁷³ *Ibid.*, II. 5. For further discussion of Eadbald, see chapter 5 (5.4). Tyler's in-depth study elaborates on reasons why several Anglo-Saxon kings were reluctant to convert. D. Tyler, 'Reluctant kings and Christian conversion in seventh-century England', *History* 92 (2007), pp. 144–161.

⁷⁴ Bede, *HE*, II.5, II.15.

⁷⁵ For an overview, see Barbara Yorke, 'The adaptation of the Anglo-Saxon royal courts to Christianity', in M. Carver (ed.), *The Cross goes North: Processes of conversion in Northern Europe, AD 300–1300* (York, 2003), pp. 243–257.

Significantly, within the historiography, the conversion of Æthelberht is viewed within the broader political context and linked especially to his marriage to Bertha, the daughter of Charibert I of Paris.⁷⁶ The exact date in which this alliance occurred remains uncertain due to the scarcity of accounts and brevity of those that do record the alliance.⁷⁷ Indeed, apart from a brief reference in book four of Gregory of Tours' *Ten Books of Histories*, itself a problematic text to examine events of the sixth century given Gregory's broader agenda, no Merovingian perspective of the alliance exists.⁷⁸ The main Anglo-Saxon perspective is provided by Bede in his *Ecclesiastical History* (written over one hundred years later) in which Æthelberht is the king at the time of the marriage alliance compared to Gregory's account which omits the status of Æthelberht.⁷⁹

The uncertain chronology surrounding the alliance is of huge significance since analysis of both the motives and impact of the marriage are shaped by uncertain dates. It is generally accepted that the marriage alliance likely took place later in the sixth century around AD 580.⁸⁰ If the alliance did take place later in the century, the marriage possibly bolstered Æthelberht's own reputation and status amongst his own contemporaries and formed an extension of his

⁷⁶ Bede, *HE*, I. 25; Gregory of Tours, *History of the Franks*, ed. and trans. Ernest Brehaut (London, 1969), IV.26. See for example, discussions by Anton Scharer, *Changing Perspectives on England and the Continent in the Early Middle Ages* (Farnham, 2014), pp. 4–5; Marilyn Dunn, *The Christianization of the Anglo-Saxons, c. 597-700: Discourses of Life, Death and Afterlife*, (London, 2009), pp. 49–51; N. J. Higham, *The Convert Kings: Power and Religious Affiliation in Early Anglo-Saxon England* (Manchester, 1997), p. 71; Barbara Yorke, *Kings and Kingdoms of Early Anglo-Saxon England* (London, 1990), pp. 28–9; Wood, *The Merovingian Kingdoms 450–751*, p. 176; Wood, 'Frankish hegemony in England', pp. 239–240.

⁷⁷ For a more detailed discussion of the date of the marriage alliance, see D. P. Kirby, *The Earliest English Kings* (London, 2000), pp. 24–28.

⁷⁸ Gregory of Tours, *History of the Franks*, IV.26. On Gregory's agenda and the broader debates surrounding *Ten Books of Histories*, see essays in Alexander C. Murray (ed.), *A Companion to Gregory of Tours* (Leiden, 2016).

⁷⁹ Bede, *HE*, I.25.

⁸⁰ Barbara Yorke, *The Conversion of Britain: Religion, Politics and Society in Britain c. 600–800* (Harlow, 2006), p. 122; Higham, *The Convert Kings*, p. 68; Wood, 'Frankish hegemony in England', p. 239. Not all agree with a later date. See Kirby, *The Earliest English Kings*, pp. 26–27.

expansionist policies.⁸¹ The Merovingian perspective, meanwhile, is more difficult to examine since Bertha's status within the royal court in the later sixth century remains uncertain. In his analysis of Anglo-Frankish relations, Wood argued that the marriage alliance weighed politically in favour of the Merovingians since Bertha no longer held a prestigious position in the Merovingian court by this point and the alliance provides evidence for a Merovingian hegemony over Kent.⁸² However, there is simply no firm evidence to substantiate this claim.

However, with balance of power in mind, it is certainly interesting that Æthelberht converted to Christianity following the Gregorian missionary activity led by Augustine from AD 597 rather than from the activities of Bertha's personal bishop, Liudhard, and those that presumably followed him.⁸³ It is not implausible to suggest that Bertha may have attempted to persuade Æthelberht to convert to Christianity given her activity upon her arrival to Kent. Bertha assisted in the restoration of a former Roman church on the outskirts of Canterbury and dedicated the church to Saint Martin, and later strongly supported missionary activity in the kingdom.⁸⁴ Bertha had also received a letter from Pope Gregory I in AD 601 in which he urged her to convert her husband.⁸⁵ Though Bede inserted Gregory's letter to Æthelberht in his narrative, he did not include his letter to Bertha. Its omission from the *Ecclesiastical History* is perceived by some scholars to have been a purposeful decision by Bede to amplify Augustine's mission and downplay the role of others, though there is also the possibility that Bede's informant (Nothhelm) did

⁸¹ Dunn, *The Christianisation of the Anglo-Saxons c.597–c.700*, p. 102; Yorke, *The Conversion of Britain: Religion, Politics and Society in Britain*, p. 122; Higham, *The Convert Kings*, p. 60.

⁸² Wood, 'Frankish hegemony in England', p. 239; Wood, *The Merovingian North Sea*, p. 16.

⁸³ Bede, *HE*, I.25.

⁸⁴ Ibid., I.26; J. L. Nelson, 'Queens as convertors of kings in the earlier Middle Ages,' in C. La Rocca (ed.), *Agire da donna: modelli e pratiche di rappresentazione (secoli VI-X)* (Turnhout, 2007), pp. 95–107; Catherine E. Karkov, 'The body of St Æthelthryth: Desire, conversion and reform in Anglo-Saxon England', in Martin Carver (eds.), *The Cross Goes North: Processes of conversion in Northern Europe AD 300–1300* (Woodbridge, 2002), p. 398.

⁸⁵ Gregory to Bertha (AD 601), ed and trans. John R.C. Martyn, *The Letters of Gregory the Great. Volume 3: books 10–14* (Toronto, 2004), pp. 778–779.

not procure a copy of the letter from the archives in Rome for him in the first instance.⁸⁶

Æthelberht's initial reluctance to convert following the arrival of Bertha and subsequent decision to accept Christianity directly from Rome could potentially demonstrate that Æthelberht was aware of the possible power that conversion could bring another king and that he made a deliberate decision to distance himself from the Merovingian Church.⁸⁷ Certainly, it does not seem wholly implausible to suggest that a greater effort was made by the Merovingian dynasty and/or Church to convert Æthelberht following his marriage since there are instances of marriage alliances between Anglo-Saxon kingdoms influencing conversion during the seventh century.⁸⁸ The appeal and potential power generated from converting another king can also be seen with an examination of the later conversion of several Anglo-Saxon kings. Within the surviving record, there are several instances in which Anglo-Saxon kings were recorded as the sponsor at the baptism of another king, suggesting that there was possibly a general awareness of the potential of religion as a means of enhancing power.⁸⁹ For example, Oswald of Northumbria was recorded as acting as a sponsor during the baptism of Cynegils of Wessex in AD 635/636.⁹⁰ Taking the political context into account, namely the rise of Mercia under Penda, the majority of the recent scholarship has supported the hypothesis that Cynegils had sought a political alliance with another kingdom to protect Wessex.⁹¹ In choosing Oswald, Cynegils would have been able to split Mercian attention between its two major frontiers and possibly slowed the kingdom's

⁸⁶ On the scholarly interpretation(s), see Máirín MacCarron, 'Royal marriage and conversion in Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum*', *The Journal of Theological Studies* 68:2 (2017), pp. 668–669. See also Collins and McClure, 'Rome, Canterbury and Wearmouth-Jarrow', pp. 19–21.

⁸⁷ Bede, *HE*, I.25, II.1–3.

⁸⁸ Both Higham and Yorke have suggested conversion was discussed during the marriage negotiations. Higham, *The Convert Kings*, pp. 66–73; Yorke, *Kings and Kingdoms of Early Anglo-Saxon England*, pp. 28–29.

⁸⁹ Caitlin Corning, 'The baptism of Edwin, king of Northumbria: A new analysis of the British tradition', *Northern History* 36:1 (2000), pp. 8–9.

⁹⁰ Bede, *HE*, III.7.

⁹¹ Barbara Yorke, *Wessex in the Early Middle Ages* (London, 1995), p. 67.

southern expansion in the Thames Valley.⁹² Additionally, the strength of Northumbria more generally and unification of its subkingdoms during Oswald's reign would likely have made an alliance with the kingdom all the more appealing.⁹³

Though sceptical of the possible hegemony hypothesis, importantly, Lebecq still placed cross-Channel links at the centre of Æthelberht's choice of conversion. Based on Æthelberht's decision not to convert through the Merovingian Church, Lebecq argued that any political leverage that may have been held by the Merovingians across the Channel was consequently stifled.⁹⁴ In contrast, in defending the Merovingian hegemony, Wood argued that the Merovingians did not recognise the potential power associated with conversion and did not actively pursue this strategy compared to Anglo-Saxon kings.⁹⁵ Though both Lebecq and Wood offer alternative interpretations, there is a clear consensus that the political context of the later sixth century provides a backdrop to Æthelberht's conversion. The nature of the surviving evidence, however, makes it difficult to determine the exact nature of underlying political manoeuvrings behind Æthelberht's conversion and the evidence ultimately cannot corroborate either the existence or weakening of a Merovingian hegemony over the kingdom of Kent at the end of the sixth century.

What can be treated with more certainty is the impact of the diplomatic alliance between Kent and Gaul upon conversion and the development of ecclesiastical links in the kingdom of Northumbria. Æthelburh, the daughter of Æthelberht and Bertha, had married Edwin of Northumbria in AD 625 and this political alliance contributed to the first conversion attempts in the kingdom under the direction of Paulinus.⁹⁶ That Æthelburh was able to return to Kent and

⁹² Bede, *HE*, III.7.

⁹³ Ibid., III.1, 9. For a discussion of the Oswald, see the essays in Clare Stancliffe and Eric Cambridge (eds.), *Oswald: Northumbrian king to European Saint* (Stamford, 1995).

⁹⁴ Lebecq, 'Les relations entre royautes et élites Franques et Anglo-Saxonnes au très haut Moyen-Âge', pp. 20–21.

⁹⁵ Wood, 'Frankish hegemony in England', p. 240.

⁹⁶ Bede, *HE*, II.9.

subsequently send her children to the court of Dagobert I in AD 633 following the death of Edwin indicates that the alliance established at the end of the sixth century between the Kentish and Neustrian royal courts still remained in place.⁹⁷ Moreover, the event demonstrates that there was potentially a willingness within the Neustrian court to intervene with other Anglo-Saxon royal dynasties earlier in the seventh century. The indirect link established between Northumbria and Neustria via Kent appears to have continued throughout the remainder of the seventh century and influenced ecclesiastical developments in Northumbria as evidenced by the monastic journeys undertaken by Wilfrid and Benedict Biscop which form the focus of chapter 3.

2.2.2: Queen Balthild and the reform of the Merovingian Church

Whilst the impact of Bertha's marriage to Æthelberht upon the development of Christianity in Kent is not so straightforward to examine, the opposite can be said of the impact of Balthild's marriage to the Merovingian king Clovis, around AD 648, upon the consolidation of Christianity in Neustria.⁹⁸ Compared to other early medieval queens like Bertha, far more can be said about Balthild's life and actions due to the availability of evidence. The principle source of information derives from Balthild's *Life*, the *Vita Domnae Balthildis*, composed by an unknown member of the community at Chelles shortly following Balthild's death in AD 680.⁹⁹ Based on the surviving evidence relating to Balthild, it is clear that Balthild used her political authority to interfere in ecclesiastical affairs and strengthened the ties that existed between the monarchy and Merovingian Church.¹⁰⁰ Indeed, that Balthild's biographer chose to focus

⁹⁷ Ibid., II.20.

⁹⁸ Anonymous, *VDB*, chapter 3; *LHF*, chapter 43. The exact date of the alliance remains uncertain but is presumed to have been sometime between AD 648 to AD 651. See Fouracre and Gerberding, *Late Merovingian France*, p. 97.

⁹⁹ Anonymous, *Vita Domnae Balthildis*, ed and trans. Paul Fouracre and Richard A. Gerberding, *Late Merovingian France: History and Hagiography 640–720* (Manchester, 1996), pp. 118–132.

¹⁰⁰ Sarah Tatum, 'Auctoritas as Sanctitas: Balthild's depiction as 'queen-saint' in the *Vita Balthildis*', *European Review of History-Revue européenne d'histoire* 16:6 (2009), p. 824; Rosamond McKitterick, 'Queens as Jezebels: The careers of Brunhild and Balthild in Merovingian history', *Studies in Church History Subsidia* 1 (1978), pp. 71–72.

predominantly on her political career as evidence of her sanctity rather than her period at the monastery of Chelles clearly demonstrates the close intertwining of contemporary politics and ecclesiastical developments during this period.¹⁰¹ More recently, it has even been suggested that through her monastic policy and the development of so-called 'double monasteries' especially, Balthild extended her political authority overseas to the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms (an issue which chapter 4 critiques in greater detail).¹⁰²

According to her biographer, Balthild was a Saxon slave owned by Erchinoald, who was the Neustrian and Burgundian mayor from AD 641 until his death in AD 658.¹⁰³ Since the author also noted that she came from 'lands across the sea', it is usually presumed that Balthild was born in one of the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms rather than neighbouring Saxony.¹⁰⁴ The frequent trading of slaves across the Channel and North Sea is well attested within the surviving record and Balthild herself later purchased and freed many Anglo-Saxon slaves.¹⁰⁵ Not all accounts of Balthild describe her as a low-born individual. The eighth-century *Liber Historiae Francorum* makes no mention of Balthild's slave status and the anonymous chronicler instead described her as a Saxon noble.¹⁰⁶ The discrepancy between the accounts presented in Balthild's *Vita* and the *Liber Historiae* can be explained by the different agendas and genres of each text. Whilst the *Vita* sought to emphasise Balthild's humble origins and piety, the *Liber Historiae* is not a religious text and the author is assumed to have been a noble individual close to the centre of royal power.¹⁰⁷ A middle ground between these texts has been established within the scholarship and it is largely

¹⁰¹ Tatum, 'Auctoritas as Sanctitas: Balthild's depiction as 'queen-saint' in the *Vita Balthildis*', p. 809, p. 824.

¹⁰² Barbara Yorke, 'Queen Balthild's 'monastic policy' and the origins of female religious houses in Anglo-Saxon England', in Gabor Thomas and Alexandra Knox (eds.), *Early Medieval Monasticism in the North Sea Zone* (Oxford 2017), p. 7. See chapter 4 (4.3).

¹⁰³ Anonymous, *VDB*, chapters 1–2.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid.; Yorke, 'Queen Balthild's 'monastic policy' and the origins of female religious houses in Anglo-Saxon England', p. 7.

¹⁰⁵ Anonymous, *VDB*, chapter 9; Bede, *HE*, IV.22.

¹⁰⁶ *LHF*, chapters 43–44.

¹⁰⁷ Philipp Dörler, 'The *Liber Historiae Francorum* – a model for a new Frankish self-confidence', *Networks and Neighbours* 1 (2013), pp. 23–24.

assumed that Balthild was likely a member of an Anglo-Saxon royal court and probably given to Erchinoald as a gift.¹⁰⁸ Erchinoald himself may have held extensive Anglo-Saxon links and scholarship has drawn particular attention to name evidence to suggest this. Many Anglo-Saxon individuals mentioned in the historical record have a similar name to Erchinoald, such as Eorcenwold who was the bishop of London from AD 675 to AD 693.¹⁰⁹ Eorcenwold is the English spelling of Erchinoald and it has been suggested that he was a direct relation of Erchinoald.¹¹⁰ Erchinoald is also presumed to have been the father of Emma who married Eadbald of Kent, for example, although chapter 5 highlights the major flaws of this interpretation and over-reliance on a later body of evidence.¹¹¹

More specifically, it is often suggested that Balthild came from the kingdom of East Anglia.¹¹² The surviving written record, as 2.3.1 discusses in detail below, attests to close political contact between the East Anglian and Merovingian royal courts as well as monastic links operating between these regions throughout the seventh century. Alongside evidence of political and monastic links, the East Anglian identity of Balthild also rests strongly upon a remarkable gold seal-matrix found in Postwick (Norfolk).¹¹³ The obverse of the seal-matrix carries the name 'BALDEHILDIS' which is assumed to be the same Balthild mentioned in the historical record.¹¹⁴ Moreover, the object finds its closest parallels with continental signet rings which strongly suggests that the matrix

¹⁰⁸ Edward James, 'Elite women in the Merovingian period', in Bonnie Effros and Isabel Moreira (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of the Merovingian World* (Oxford, 2020), p. 244; Janet L. Nelson, 'Gendering courts in the early medieval west', in Leslie Brubaker and Julia M.H. Smith (eds.), *Gender in the Early Medieval World: East and West, 300-900* (Cambridge, 2004), p. 188; Fouracre and Gerberding, *Late Merovingian France*, p. 102, p. 106.

¹⁰⁹ Bede, *HE*, IV.6.

¹¹⁰ James, 'Elite women in the Merovingian period', pp. 244–245.

¹¹¹ See chapter 5 (5.4).

¹¹² Catherine E. Karkov, *The Art of Anglo-Saxon England* (Woodbridge, 2011), p. 123.

¹¹³ PAS number PAS-8709C3 (see volume 1 cover image).

¹¹⁴ On this assumption, see Paul Fouracre, 'Balhild and "her" seal ring: text and artefact', in O. Kano and J.L. Lemaître (eds.), *Entre Texte et Histoire: Etudes d'histoire medievale offertes au professeur Shoichi Sato* (Paris, 2015), pp. 129–142.

was manufactured overseas before subsequently ending up in East Anglia.¹¹⁵ That the matrix is made of ninety-eight percent pure gold also suggests that the individual that commissioned and/or used the object was of high standing.¹¹⁶ Unfortunately, it cannot be proven that the object belonged to Balthild or one of her associates and how the find reached East Anglia is ultimately shrouded in speculation.¹¹⁷ What can be said with more certainty, however, is that the find does provide clear evidence of some form of a connection between these regions.

Upon the death of Clovis in AD 657, Balthild became the queen regent of Neustria and intensified her involvement in ecclesiastical affairs and strongly shaped the monastic landscape in Neustria.¹¹⁸ Balthild patronised numerous monasteries and established her own foundations at Corbie, Jumièges and Chelles.¹¹⁹ Additionally, Balthild also asserted episcopal privileges and royal immunity upon many of her associated foundations.¹²⁰ For example, a surviving charter dated to AD 661 signed by Chlothar III and Balthild explicitly outlined Corbie's exemption from the payment of tolls.¹²¹ Alongside Balthild's patronage, these foundations were strongly tied to factional politics and reflect the influence of specific individuals over Balthild and the dominance of their factions within the royal court.¹²² Bertilla, the first abbess of Chelles, belonged to an influential family from the area of Soissons and had been a nun since childhood at Jouarre, a monastery which was closely associated with Balthild's advisor Audoin.¹²³ The monastery at Corbie, meanwhile, was also closely

¹¹⁵ Tim Pestell, 'The kingdom of East Anglia, Frisia and continental connections', in John Hines and Nelleke Ijssennagger (eds.), *Frisians and their North Sea Neighbours from the fifth century to the Viking Age* (Woodbridge, 2017) pp. 197–198.

¹¹⁶ Ibid., p. 198.

¹¹⁷ Fouracre previously stressed the uncertainty over the assumed attribution. Fouracre, 'Balthild and "her" seal ring', pp. 129–142.

¹¹⁸ Anonymous, *VDB*, chapter 5; *LHF* chapter 44.

¹¹⁹ Anonymous, *VDB*, chapters 7–8, chapter 10.

¹²⁰ Ibid., chapter 9.

¹²¹ Chlothar III from AD 661 exempting Corbie from tolls, trans and ed. L. Levillain, *Examen critique des chartes Mérovingiennes et Carolingiennes de l'abbaye de Corbie* (Paris, 1902), pp. 218–220.

¹²² Fox, *Power and Religion in Merovingian Gaul*, p. 39, p. 42.

¹²³ Ibid., p.42; Anonymous, *VBD*, chapters 7 and 8.

affiliated with Audoin and his followers.¹²⁴ In carrying out such actions, Balthild strengthened her position and ability to maintain territorial control as well as closely binding secular and ecclesiastical spheres together. The intertwining of these spheres is also reflected in the appointment of bishops and their subsequent authority.¹²⁵ Balthild installed individuals of her own choosing to several Neustrian dioceses and successfully promoted her own favourites to the bishoprics of Lyon, Autun and Toulouse.¹²⁶ It is also probable that this particular action eventually led to Balthild's retirement to the monastery of Chelles in AD 664.¹²⁷ Rather than personal preference, Balthild may have been coerced into entering Chelles by a political faction led by an individual named Ebroin following her support in installing Sigobrand as the bishop of Paris.¹²⁸ This is also suggested by the fact that another individual known as Agilbert was appointed as the bishop of Paris immediately upon Balthild's retirement.¹²⁹ Moreover, that the nuns at Chelles do not seem to have warmly received her also seems to imply that her retirement was not spiritually motivated.¹³⁰

Crucially, it is likely that Balthild's interference with the appointment of bishops explains the negative depiction of Balthild within contemporary Anglo-Saxon sources. Most notably, Stephen of Ripon's depiction of Balthild as a jezebel in his *Life of Saint Wilfrid* directly contradicts the saintly status of Balthild presented by her biographer.¹³¹ In appointing a new bishop at Lyon, Balthild had removed Wilfrid's ally Aunemund and likely received a great deal of animosity from

¹²⁴ Anonymous, *VDB*, chapter 7.

¹²⁵ Reinhold Kaiser, 'Royauté et pouvoir épiscopal au nord de la Gaule (VII^e–IX^e siècles)', in H. Atsma (ed.), *La Neustrie, Les Pays au Nord de la Loire de 650 à 850: colloque historique international vol. 1* (Sigmaringen, 1989), pp. 143–160.

¹²⁶ Anonymous, *VDB*, chapter 4; Anonymous, *Passio Leudegari*, chapter 2. See McKitterick, 'Queens as Jezebels: The careers of Brunhild and Balthild in Merovingian history', pp. 62–64.

¹²⁷ Anonymous, *VDB*, chapter 10.

¹²⁸ Tatum, 'Auctoritas as Sanctitas: Balthild's depiction as 'queen-saint' in the *Vita Balthildis*', p. 814, p. 823. On the activities of Ebroin, see chapter 3 (3.3).

¹²⁹ On Agilbert, see 2.3.2.

¹³⁰ Anonymous, *VDB*, chapter 10.

¹³¹ Stephen of Ripon, *VSW*, chapter 6. See McKitterick, 'Queens as Jezebels: The careers of Brunhild and Balthild in Merovingian history', pp. 63–64.

Wilfrid and his supporters.¹³² Similarly, Bede does not refer to Balthild's saintly status and instead only mentions the queen in passing in his discussion of Wilfrid's journeys overseas.¹³³ It is generally accepted that Bede drew upon the *Life of Saint Wilfrid* for his discussion of Wilfrid's journeys overseas.¹³⁴ Importantly, as chapter 3 explores in greater detail, the reliability of Stephen's text for examining seventh-century Gaul has long been questioned and whether his views of Balthild were widely shared should be queried.¹³⁵ For example, it would certainly be surprising if Anglo-Saxons who had travelled to Chelles and other foundations associated with Balthild also held these negative views. However, that Stephen of Ripon did incorporate a specific reference to Balthild's policy of installing her own bishops clearly does demonstrate that there was not only an awareness but significantly also a critique of Balthild's monastic policy within certain Anglo-Saxon circles.

2.3: Personal connections and conversion

2.3.1: East Anglia and Merovingian Gaul

Kent was not the only Anglo-Saxon kingdom to establish political connections with the Merovingian kingdoms. The kingdom of East Anglia also had clear political connections with Gaul during the seventh century and these links directly influenced the development of Christianity in the kingdom. Following the death of King Eorpwald, in AD 627, Sigebert ended his period of exile in Merovingian Gaul and returned to East Anglia to succeed to the throne.¹³⁶ During his period in exile, Sigebert had established strong links with the Merovingian court and, perhaps more importantly, converted to Christianity whilst residing there.¹³⁷ Sigebert's name is also taken as an indication of a strong dynastic connection between East Anglia and Gaul since several

¹³² Stephen of Ripon, *VSW*, chapter 6.

¹³³ Bede, *HE*, V.19.

¹³⁴ Tatum, 'Auctoritas as Sanctitas: Balthild's depiction as 'queen-saint' in the *Vita Balthildis*', p. 813.

¹³⁵ Chapter 3, 3.3.

¹³⁶ *Ibid.*, II.15, III.18.

¹³⁷ *Ibid.*

Merovingian kings were also called Sigebert.¹³⁸ It remains uncertain how Sigebert was able to return to the kingdom to succeed Eorpwald, but it is certainly possible that Sigebert received some form of assistance from the Merovingians.¹³⁹ Indeed, Wood suggested that the thirty-seven Merovingian coins deposited in the Sutton Hoo hoard (AD 625 x 635) could potentially represent left-over treasure given by the Merovingians to allow Sigebert to return.¹⁴⁰ There is much debate and uncertainty surrounding Sutton Hoo and Wood's suggestion rests heavily upon a later date range given to the hoard.¹⁴¹

Sigebert was not the only Anglo-Saxon king to convert to Christianity during a period of exile. For example, Oswald of Northumbria similarly converted to Christianity whilst in exile in Ireland.¹⁴² Importantly, there are many parallels between the actions of Oswald and Sigebert following their conversion and return to their kingdoms. Much has been written about Oswald's period in exile and the subsequent impact and influence of his conversion to the ecclesiastical developments and events in the kingdom.¹⁴³ Compared to Northumbria, there is a paucity of evidence relating to the development of Christianity in East Anglia. Most information relating to the kingdom derives from Bede's *Ecclesiastical History* and Bede makes no special mention of an East Anglian source of information in the preface to his text.¹⁴⁴ Some general glimpses of the impact of Sigebert's exile over the kingdom can be observed from the fragments of evidence that Bede did incorporate into his narrative. Sigebert, like Oswald, placed the conversion of his kingdom under direct patronage and had requested

¹³⁸ Pestell, 'East Anglia, Frisia and continental connections', p. 195; Wood, *The Merovingian Kingdoms 450-751*, p. 177.

¹³⁹ Yorke, *Kings and Kingdoms of Early Anglo-Saxon England*, pp. 67–68.

¹⁴⁰ Ian Wood, 'The Franks and Sutton Hoo', in Ian Wood and Niels Lund (eds.), *People and Place in Northern Europe 500-1600: Essays in honour of Peter Hayes Sawyer* (Woodbridge, 1996), pp. 10–11.

¹⁴¹ On the dating of the hoard, see Gareth Williams, 'The circulation, minting and use of coins in East Anglia, c. AD. 580-675', in David Bates and Robert Liddiard (eds.), *East Anglia and its North Sea World in the Middle Ages* (Woodbridge, 2013), pp. 120–122.

¹⁴² Bede, *HE*, II.12, III.3.

¹⁴³ For a detailed study of the kingdom, see David Rollason, *Northumbria, 500–1100: Creation and destruction of a kingdom* (Cambridge, 2006).

¹⁴⁴ Bede, *HE*, preface.

a bishop from the Church associated with his conversion.¹⁴⁵ Felix, a bishop from the Merovingian kingdom of Burgundy, was sent by Archbishop Honorius to East Anglia following Sigebert's request.¹⁴⁶ Sigebert had encouraged bishop Felix to promote the teachings of the Frankish Church across the kingdom and this fostered ecclesiastical contact that continued to develop across the century.

Indeed, the political alliance established between the East Anglian and Merovingian court during Sigebert's lifetime continued to underpin and facilitate other ecclesiastical connections across the century. During Sigebert's reign, around AD 633, an Irish monk named Fursey and his followers travelled from Ireland to the kingdom and established a monastery at *Cnobheresburg*.¹⁴⁷ That Fursey was able to travel to Neustria several years after the death of Sigebert following the beginning of political instability emerging within the kingdom and subsequently found a monastery there demonstrates a continuation of the cultural and political connections established between the two regions.¹⁴⁸

Much of the information relating to Fursey is preserved in the *Vita Sancti Fursei* composed shortly after his death in AD 656 or 657 by an anonymous monk at Péronne, where the cult of Fursey was nurtured following his reinternment at the monastery.¹⁴⁹ The earliest copy of the *Vita* is found in an eighth-century manuscript (London, British Library, Harley MS 5041) and the text largely focuses on Fursey's actions overseas.¹⁵⁰ and the narrative is supplemented by Bede's discussion of Fursey's time in East Anglia and further discussions of

¹⁴⁵ Ibid., III.3 (actions of Oswald), II.15, III.18 (actions of Sigebert).

¹⁴⁶ Ibid., II.15.

¹⁴⁷ Bede, *HE*, III.19. The exact location remains uncertain. See Tim Pestell, *Landscapes of Monastic Foundation: The Establishment of Religious Houses in East Anglia, c.650–1200* (Cambridge, 2004), p. 20.

¹⁴⁸ Bede, *HE*, III.19.

¹⁴⁹ Anonymous, *Vita Prima Fursei*, chapter 24 trans. Oliver Rackham, 'Transitus Beati Fursei' – A translation of an eighth century manuscript *Life of St Fursey* (Lincoln, 2007). On the surviving evidence regarding Fursey, see Michelle P. Brown, *The Life of St Fursey. What we know: Why it matters. Fursey occasional papers 1* (Norwich, 2001).

¹⁵⁰ Brown, *The Life of St Fursey*, p. 16.

Furseay's visions of the afterlife.¹⁵¹ That a detailed discussion of Fursey's visions appear in Bede's *Ecclesiastical History* significantly demonstrates the circulation and availability of 'continental' hagiographical works within Northumbria by the eighth century alongside the broader discussion of ideas of the afterlife across ecclesiastical connections.¹⁵²

Fursey was received by the Neustrian mayor Erchinoald on his arrival at Péronne and Erchinoald assisted Fursey in founding a monastery at Lagny-sur-Marne.¹⁵³ Crucially, Lagny was situated nearby other major monastic foundations with strong ties to the Neustrian elite, notably Jouarre and Faremoutiers, and Erchinoald's patronage of Fursey was therefore likely to have been motivated by political reasons.¹⁵⁴ Moreover, during the century, several members of the East Anglian elite had travelled to these monastic foundations, further attesting to a well-established connection between the region and East Anglia.¹⁵⁵ As already mentioned, Erchinoald may have had established Anglo-Saxon links and his relationship with Balhild and her possible connection to East Anglia may also explain why he acted as a patron on Fursey's behalf.¹⁵⁶

It is likely that Fursey maintained close communication with his foundation in East Anglia. Indeed, following his death around AD 650, another Irish monk named Foillan travelled to Lagny from the monastery in the kingdom to assume leadership of the community there before Erchinoald expelled the community shortly thereafter.¹⁵⁷ The reasoning behind Foillan's expulsion remains uncertain due to the paucity of the evidence. Since his expulsion coincided with

¹⁵¹ Bede, *HE*, III. 19.

¹⁵² For an analysis of the dissemination of information regarding purgatory within ecclesiastical culture, see especially Isabel Moreira, *Heaven's Purge: Purgatory in Late Antiquity* (New York, 2010), chapter 5 and Isabel Moreira, *Dreams, Visions and Spiritual Authority in Merovingian Gaul* (Ithaca, 2000), pp. 155–158 (for a discussion of Fursey). On the circulation of manuscripts across the Channel and North Sea, see also chapter 4 (4.2).

¹⁵³ Anonymous, *Vita Prima Fursei*, chapter 23; Bede, *HE*, III.19.

¹⁵⁴ Picard, 'De gente Scottorum monachi', p. 396.

¹⁵⁵ Bede, *HE*, III.8. See chapter 4 (4.3).

¹⁵⁶ See above (2.2.2)

¹⁵⁷ Bede, *HE*, III. 19.

the marriage alliance between Balthild and Clovis II around AD 648, it has been suggested that Balthild's arrival prompted Erchinoald's actions.¹⁵⁸ If this were the case, it would not only suggest that Erchinoald and the Neustrian royal court were interested in Anglo-Saxon affairs but, more importantly, reacted to them.

2.3.3: The conversion of Wessex

Analysis of the conversion and consolidation of Christianity in Wessex is made difficult by the dearth of surviving evidence. However, as is the case in East Anglia, the snippets of information provided within Bede's narrative suggest that cross-Channel links influenced conversion and the spread of Christianity in the kingdom. More significantly, the kingdom's earliest cross-Channel ecclesiastical links were not established as a direct consequence of existing political connections as seen in East Anglia and Kent. Rather, the kingdom's conversion from AD 634 was the result of missionary activity supported by Pope Honorius I and led by the Frankish missionary Birinus.¹⁵⁹ Importantly, Birinus had to persuade Cynegils to allow him to preach in Wessex, and the king himself did not convert until AD 635.¹⁶⁰ It is possible that part of the initial reluctance of Cynegils, like Æthelberht, was created by a concern about the potential political implications that conversion could create. Little is known of the reign of Cynegils but the fragments of information that do survive seem to suggest that the kingdom was fraught with internal and external political pressures.¹⁶¹ That the activity of Birinus was independent and unaffiliated with other kingdoms evaded the possibility of another king enhancing their authority over Wessex.¹⁶² Interestingly, this independence does not appear to have gone unnoticed. As noted above, Cynegils was baptised in AD 635/636 and Oswald of Northumbria probably acted as his sponsor to serve his own self-interests and

¹⁵⁸ Fouracre and Gerberding, *Late Merovingian France*, p. 104.

¹⁵⁹ Bede, *HE*, III.7.

¹⁶⁰ *Ibid.*

¹⁶¹ For a summary, see Barbara Yorke, *Wessex in the Early Middle Ages* (London, 1995), pp. 57–58, pp. 65–66, pp. 171–172.

¹⁶² Higham, *The Convert Kings*, p. 216.

increase his influence over Cynegils following his marriage to his daughter Cyneburga.¹⁶³ Both kings subsequently established the episcopal see for Birinus at Dorchester-on-Thames and Birinus remained bishop of the West Saxons until his death in AD 649/650.¹⁶⁴

Following the death of Birinus in AD 649/650, Cenwalh appointed another Frankish individual, Agilbert, as the second bishop of the West Saxons.¹⁶⁵ It is possible that Agilbert's appointment was an indirect consequence of the political connections established between the kingdom of East Anglia and Merovingian Gaul. After Cynegils' death in AD 648, Cenwalh had ruled over Wessex for several years until he was forced into exile and travelled to the court of King Anna in East Anglia.¹⁶⁶ Whilst in East Anglia, Cenwalh converted to Christianity and remained there until AD 648.¹⁶⁷ Following his return to Wessex, Cenwalh was proactive in shaping the consolidation of Christianity in Wessex in comparison to his predecessors and contact with Merovingian Gaul became more pronounced. Cenwalh actively sought a bishop from across the Channel and, according to Bede, sought to emulate the culture and traditions he had witnessed in East Anglia.¹⁶⁸ Prior to his appointment as bishop, Agilbert was not residing in Gaul but was instead at a monastery in Ireland.¹⁶⁹ Agilbert belonged to one of the dominant Neustrian families that appears to have fallen out of favour with the Merovingian royalty whilst Erchinoald was mayor of Neustria and it is possible that he was in political exile.¹⁷⁰ Scharer argued that

¹⁶³ Bede, *HE*, III.7.

¹⁶⁴ Ibid.

¹⁶⁵ Ibid.

¹⁶⁶ Ibid.

¹⁶⁷ Ibid.

¹⁶⁸ Ibid.

¹⁶⁹ Ibid. For further discussion, see Carl I Hammer, "'Holy Entrepreneur': Agilbert, a Merovingian bishop between Ireland, England and Francia', *Peritia* 22-23 (2011-2012), p. 66.

¹⁷⁰ Paul Fouracre, 'Wilfrid and the continent', in N.J. Higham (ed.), *Wilfrid: Abbot, Bishop, Saint. Papers from the 1300th Anniversary Conferences* (Donington, 2013), p. 192; Barbara Yorke, 'Competition for the Solent and seventh century politics', in Ben Jervis (ed.), *The Middle Ages Revisited. Studies in the Archaeology and History of Medieval Southern England presented to Professor David A. Hinton* (Oxford, 2018), p. 141.

members of the East Anglian Church had recommended Agilbert to Cenwalh.¹⁷¹ Given the kingdom's link to Ireland through Furse, it is certainly possible that Cenwalh was able to contact Agilbert through the ecclesiastical connection established between East Anglia and Ireland.

After several years, Cenwalh removed Agilbert from his position and established a second bishopric in Wessex at Winchester.¹⁷² The date of Agilbert's removal is difficult to establish with absolute certainty and an entry in the ninth-century *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* provides the only fixed date (AD 660) for the event.¹⁷³ Though Bede does not provide an exact date, his narrative explains that Cenwalh's decision to remove Agilbert was a pragmatic one and linked to problems with language and translation.¹⁷⁴ Following his removal from the bishopric, Agilbert continued to be involved with the Anglo-Saxon church. Agilbert was present at the Synod of Whitby in AD 664 and assisted in ordaining Wilfrid as the bishop of York in Compiègne shortly afterwards.¹⁷⁵ In AD 688, Agilbert received Benedict Biscop and Archbishop Theodore at Paris whilst they were detained by Ebroin during their return journey from Rome to Canterbury.¹⁷⁶

Importantly, Cenwalh was not deterred from seeking bishops from overseas following his difficulty with Agilbert and his successor Wine travelled to the kingdom from Gaul.¹⁷⁷ In addition, Cenwalh remained in contact with Agilbert following his return to Neustria, later requesting his return to the kingdom and accepting Agilbert's nephew Leuthere as a replacement bishop in AD 670 since Agilbert had already assumed the bishopric of Paris.¹⁷⁸ Based on Cenwalh's

¹⁷¹ Scharer, *Changing Perspectives on England and the Continent*, pp. 11–12.

¹⁷² Bede, *HE*, III.7.

¹⁷³ *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, entry AD 660, ed and trans. Dorothy Whitelock, *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle: A revised translation* (London, 1961).

¹⁷⁴ Bede, *HE*, III.7.

¹⁷⁵ Stephen of Ripon, *VSW*, chapter 10, chapter 12; Bede, *HE*, III.25, 28. On the relationship between Agilbert and Wilfrid, see chapter 3 (3.3.1).

¹⁷⁶ Bede, *HE*, IV.1. see chapter 3 (3.3.3).

¹⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, III.7.

¹⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, III.7, IV.12.

sustained contact with Agilbert and continued preference for Merovingian bishops, some scholars have argued that political motivations rather than translation issues were at the centre of Cenwalh's decision to remove Agilbert.¹⁷⁹ The ambiguity surrounding the date of Agilbert's removal could possibly fuel the suggestion that there was an underlying political motive for his subsequent removal. Overall, as with discussions of the political motives surrounding Æthelberht and Bertha's marriage (2.2.1), there is not enough evidence to go beyond this speculation.

What can be said with more certainty is that Anglo-Saxon monastic travel, which is the focus of chapter 3, appears to have benefitted from the links Cenwalh had helped establish between the kingdom and the Merovingian Church. Both Benedict Biscop and Wilfrid visited Wessex on their way back from their trips overseas, and it is likely that they had used the crossing from Quentovic to Solent.¹⁸⁰ Benedict had also intended to see Cenwalh after landing in Wessex in AD 672 suggesting the two had a close relationship.¹⁸¹ Cenwalh had died unexpectedly before Benedict had arrived in Wessex and he returned to Northumbria.¹⁸² Cenwalh's support of Benedict and likely many others who travelled from Wessex overseas benefited the kingdom politically. In supporting such journeys, Cenwalh signalled the kingdom's influence over the Solent to competing kingdoms in the area.¹⁸³

2.4: Summary

Through a discussion of four detailed examples, this chapter has highlighted several types of cross-Channel political connections which influenced the development of Christianity. Section 2.2 focused on formal connections whilst 2.3 considered personal and more informal links. In both sections, indirect

¹⁷⁹ Hammer, '“Holy Entrepreneur”: Agilbert, a Merovingian bishop between Ireland, England and Francia', p. 66; Yorke, 'Competition for the Solent and seventh century politics', p. 38.

¹⁸⁰ Bede, *HAB*, chapter 4; Stephen of Ripon, *VSW*, chapter 8.

¹⁸¹ Bede, *HAB*, chapter 4.

¹⁸² *Ibid.*

¹⁸³ Yorke, 'Competition for the Solent and seventh century politics', p. 40.

political connections were also discussed. Importantly, this chapter has demonstrated that each kingdom engaged with conversion and the early Church differently. As discussed in 2.2, the impact of the formal alliance between Æthelberht of Kent and Bertha upon the conversion of Kent remains highly uncertain and ambiguous. The situation in Kent directly contrasts with the evidence from the kingdom of East Anglia where the impact of political links can be discussed a greater level of confidence. The cross-Channel connections in Wessex, meanwhile, had a different dimension and the kingdom was not directly linked to the Merovingian royal court.

Due to the fact that conversion had already occurred in Merovingian Gaul, there is a clear difference in the political relationship with the Church during the seventh century compared to what is seen in the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms. Rather than working with the Church, as seen in both Wessex and East Anglia, Balthild reformed the Church and created a great deal of animosity. Balthild's actions were not unique as the analysis of the actions of an individual named Ebroin in chapter 3 demonstrates.

Lastly, this chapter also provides the background and context for subsequent chapters which further explore the nature and impact of various connections between the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms and Merovingian Gaul during the seventh century. The impact of political connections upon the monastic landscape and network, for example, continues to be a major theme throughout chapters 3 and 4.

Chapter 3: Ecclesiastical travel and journeys

3.1: Introduction

Despite conversion efforts being well underway across several regions, by AD 640 there were still only a relatively small number of monastic foundations distributed across the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms. Travel to monasteries both in Ireland and across Merovingian Gaul was therefore a common occurrence during the seventh century.¹⁸⁴ In Merovingian Gaul, the consolidation of Christianity continued during the century as evidenced by a dramatic increase in the number of monastic foundations. Indeed, the number of monasteries founded throughout the seventh century is exceptional, with more than three hundred foundations, most of which were in northern Gaul, established during the century.¹⁸⁵ The growth in the number of foundations occurred largely due to an increasing awareness amongst the elite of the new forms of power, influence and wealth that monasteries could provide.¹⁸⁶ Indeed, several of the monastic reforms that occurred during the century were closely tied to politics such as those of Dagobert I (AD 629–639) and the reforms enacted by Balthild discussed above in chapter 2.¹⁸⁷

This chapter analyses both the nature and the social and political impact of ecclesiastical travel and journeys across the North Sea and Channel during the seventh century. Crucially, as I will argue, connections did not remain static during the century and were constantly changing and shaped by contemporary developments and events. In addition, the chapter attempts to briefly explore the mechanics behind travel and journeys undertaken during the period. Whilst superficially travel appears simple to categorise, in that journeys were either by

¹⁸⁴ Bede. *HE*, III.8.

¹⁸⁵ See Ian Wood, 'Reform and the Merovingian Church', in Rob Meens et al (eds.), *Religious Franks: Religion and Power in the Frankish Kingdoms* (Manchester, 2016), p. 99; J.M Wallace-Hadrill, *The Frankish Church* (Oxford, 1983), esp. chapter 4.

¹⁸⁶ Jean Huclin, 'Les abbés des monastères Neustriens, c. 650–850', in H. Atsma (ed.), *La Neustrie, Les Pays au Nord de la Loire de 650 à 850: colloque historique international vol. 1* (Sigmaringen, 1989), pp. 321–340.

¹⁸⁷ On Dagobert, see Marilyn Dunn, *The Emergence of Monasticism: From the Desert Fathers to the Early Middle Ages* (Oxford, 2000), pp. 163–164. On Balthild, see chapter 2 (2.2.2).

sea or overland, the reality of the situation was likely a much more complex affair. In the first instance, travel during the early medieval period carried several risks including possible violence from others alongside environmental dangers.¹⁸⁸ A significant degree of preparation and assistance would therefore have been essential to undertake a long-distance journey.

To achieve both aims, the chapter is broken down into two parts. First, the chapter considers the existence of a broader ecclesiastical network across the North Sea and Channel and the ways in which this assisted with monastic travel (3.2). Many of the themes raised, such as the sharing of ideas and cultural contact, are examined further in chapter 4 which investigates the visual impact of ecclesiastical travel. Next, this chapter returns to a key theme examined in chapter 2 and assesses the impact of the broader political backdrop in relation to monastic travel (3.3). There are several clear instances where monastic travel was influenced by political relationships established between the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms and Merovingian Gaul. These links, as I will discuss, both facilitated and undermined ecclesiastical journeys during the century.

Whilst the thesis discusses connections more broadly, the surviving written evidence pertaining to the lives and numerous journeys of two Northumbrian ecclesiastical individuals, Benedict Biscop and Wilfrid, provides the opportunity to investigate *individual* travel across the Channel and North Sea. Indeed, largely due to the availability of the surviving evidence for the life of Wilfrid and his connections, these constantly receive scholarly attention and re-examination.¹⁸⁹ Therefore, much of this chapter is devoted to an examination of these journeys and their consequences with other evidence of monastic travel woven into this discussion. Unfortunately, due to the paucity of evidence, examining journeys of ecclesiastical individuals from Merovingian Gaul to the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms and evaluating their frequency is inherently difficult meaning that the chapter

¹⁸⁸ On the potential dangers travelling to Rome, see Stephen Matthews's comprehensive study. Stephen Matthews, *The Road to Rome: Travel and Travellers between England and Italy in the Anglo-Saxon Centuries* (Oxford, 2007).

¹⁸⁹ Most recently, see essays in N.J. Higham (ed.), *Wilfrid: Abbot, Bishop, Saint. Papers from the 1300th Anniversary Conferences* (Donington, 2013).

focuses more on Anglo-Saxon experiences of travel. However, that the kingdoms of Wessex and East Anglia looked to Merovingian Gaul and appointed several individuals from the Merovingian Church as bishops – Felix of Meaux travelled to the kingdom of East Anglia whilst Birinus, Wine and Leuthere travelled to the kingdom of Wessex – clearly attests to lively two-way ecclesiastical travel during the century.¹⁹⁰ It is likely that many more individuals from Neustria travelled to the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms and entered the monasteries that were founded during the century and, as Yorke and Sims-Williams have suggested, potentially founded new monastic foundations themselves.¹⁹¹

3.2: Monasteries and the maintenance of travel

For many individuals, the main reason for long-distance travel during this period was to undertake a pilgrimage to Rome. Significantly, the routes taken to Rome were not always direct and often formed part of a larger journey. On all five of his journeys to Rome, Benedict also travelled to many other different places for example.¹⁹² Details of Ceolfrith's final journey to Rome from Northumbria further exemplifies the scale of travel and itineraries. After departing from Wearmouth-Jarrow, Ceolfrith travelled to a landing site or possible port along the Humber to board a ship to Gaul and the ship landed at three unnamed provinces (possibly Lindsey, East Anglia and Sussex or Kent) before reaching a port in Gaul.¹⁹³ [Figure 1](#) shows the places mentioned in the surviving accounts of monastic journeys that were undertaken during the seventh century. Interestingly, many of the places that are known to have been frequented by Anglo-Saxon travellers are situated in the heartland of the Neustrian elite and signal an association between politics and monastic travel

¹⁹⁰ Bede, *HE*, II.15, III.7. See chapter 2 (2.2).

¹⁹¹ Barbara Yorke, "'Sisters under the Skin?' Anglo-Saxon Nuns and Nunneries in Southern England', *Reading Medieval Studies* 15 (1989), pp. 95–117; Patrick Sims-Williams, 'Continental influence at Bath monastery in the seventh century', *Anglo-Saxon England* 4 (1975), pp. 1–10. For further analysis, see chapter 4 (4.3).

¹⁹² Bede, *HAB*, chapter 9.

¹⁹³ Anonymous, *Vita Ceolfridi*, chapter 31.

examined in greater detail below.¹⁹⁴ However, given that most of the sites are associated with the journeys of Wilfrid and Benedict Biscop, [figure 1](#) is not wholly representative and provides only a snapshot of the ecclesiastical links operating during the century ([table 1](#)).

Unfortunately, despite referring to specific journeys and travel, the surviving sources are often vague in discussing the exact mechanics that enabled such journeys. Within the surviving narratives, discussion of travel was often allegorical and shaped by the broader theological context.¹⁹⁵ Whilst it is difficult to reconstruct the exact organisation and arrangement of travel, it is possible to extrapolate some information from the journeys of Wilfrid and Benedict. From their journeys, it is evident that ecclesiastical travel was facilitated to a great extent by the existence of a broader ecclesiastical network during this period. The Church was a clear institutional organisation with specific links that transcended boundaries of kingdoms during this period and ecclesiastical members of the Church automatically became part of a larger community across both sea and land. Most of the places mentioned in the surviving record were monastic sites ([figure 1](#); [table 1](#)), though this is expected given the ecclesiastical context of the surviving texts. The proximity of these foundations to major navigable rivers is also notable. The strategic location of monastic foundations has long been recognised within scholarly discussions and further highlights the connectivity of monastic communities.¹⁹⁶ Monastic communities could especially assist with supplying and replenishing resources of travellers whilst

¹⁹⁴ See 3.3. Chapter 4 analyses the impact of ecclesiastical travel to this region in further detail whilst chapters 8 and 9 re-evaluate the archaeological evidence recovered from the region and the nature of contact.

¹⁹⁵ For a detailed study of travel within ecclesiastical narratives, see Helen Lawson, *Navigating Northumbria: Mobility, Allegory, and writing Travel in Early Medieval Northumbria* (Unpublished PhD thesis: University of Edinburgh, 2016). See also Andrew Reynolds and Alexander Langlands, 'Travel as Communication: A Consideration of Overland Journeys in Anglo-Saxon England', *World Archaeology* 48:3 (2011), p. 410–412.

¹⁹⁶ For example, see the following case studies of the spatial organisation of Northumbrian monasteries. Christopher Ferguson, 'Re-evaluating early medieval Northumbrian contacts and the 'coastal highway'', in David Petts and Sam Turner (eds.), *Earl Medieval Northumbria: Kingdoms and Communities, AD 450–1100* (Turnhout, 2011), pp. 283–302; David Petts, 'Coastal landscapes and early Christianity in Anglo-Saxon Northumbria', *Journal of Estonian Archaeology* 13:2 (2009), pp. 79–95.

also providing a space for education and rest. For example, Benedict postponed his journey to Rome for two years after being warmly received and welcomed by the monastic community at Lérins.¹⁹⁷ During one of his later journeys, Wilfrid remained at the monastery at Meaux to recuperate after becoming unwell.¹⁹⁸ Ceolfrith had also taken ill during his final journey to Rome and was likewise welcomed at the community of Langrés he died in AD 716.¹⁹⁹

¹⁹⁷ Bede, *HAb*, chapter 2.

¹⁹⁸ Stephen of Ripon, *VSW*, chapter 56.

¹⁹⁹ Bede, *HAb*, chapter 21.

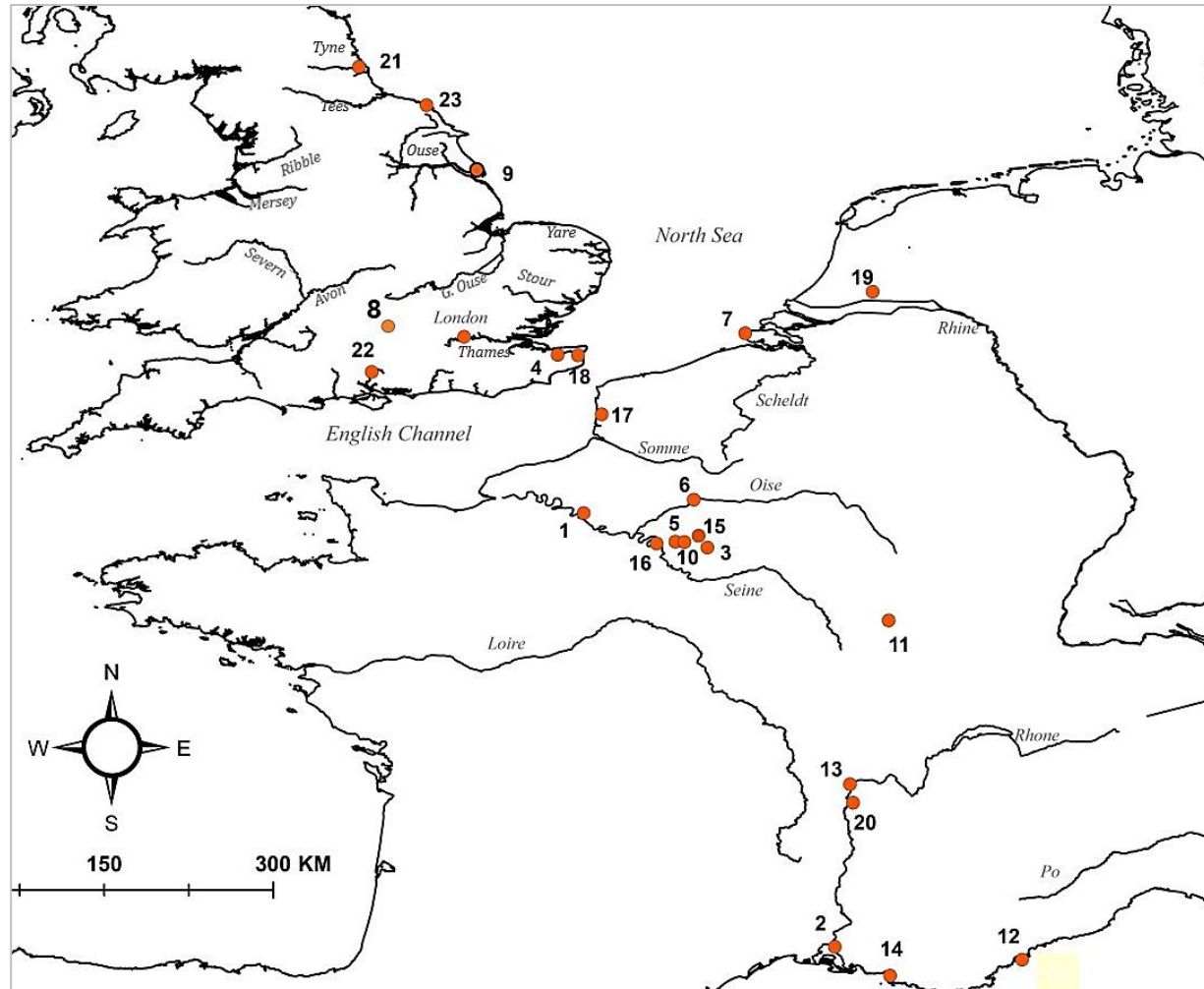


Figure 1: Monastic foundations and places mentioned in accounts of ecclesiastical travel across the Channel and North Sea during the seventh century

	Place:	Individual(s) associated:	Main reason for travel:	Reference(s):
1	Andelys	Numerous individuals	Entering a foundation – Andelys end point of journey	Bede, <i>HE</i> , III.8.
2	Arles	Benedict Biscop, Theodore and Hadrian	Returning from Rome (AD 668-9)	Bede, <i>HE</i> , IV.1.
3	Brie (Faremoutiers)	Numerous individuals	Entering a foundation – Faremoutiers-en-Brie end point of journey	Bede, <i>HE</i> , III.8.
4	Canterbury	Benedict Biscop and Wilfrid	Travelling to Rome (from Northumbria) (AD 652)	Bede, <i>HE</i> , V.19/ Stephen of Ripon, <i>VSW</i> , chapter 3.
5	Chelles	Numerous individuals	Entering a foundation – Chelles end point of journey	Anonymous, <i>VDB</i> , chapter 9/ Bede, <i>HE</i> , III.8
6	Compiègne	Wilfrid	Consecrated bishop of York (AD 664)	Stephen of Ripon, <i>VSW</i> , chapter 12.
7	Domburg (Walcheren)	i.) Willibrord ii.) Wilfrid (?)	i.) Missionary activity ii.) Possible stopping point (AD 678)	i.) Alcuin, <i>Vita Willibrordi</i> , chapter 14. ii.) Stephen of Ripon, <i>VSW</i> , chapter 26.
8	Dorchester on Thames	Birinus	Missionary activity/take up bishopric (AD 634/635)	Bede, <i>HE</i> , III.7.
9	Humber (unknown place)	Ceolfrith	Departing on final journey to Rome (AD 716)	Anonymous, <i>Life of Ceolfrith</i> , chapter 31/ Bede, <i>HAb</i> , chapter 21.

10	Lagny	Furse	Founding and entering a monastery (AD 644)	Anonymous, <i>Vita Prima Fursei</i> , chapter 24/ Bede, <i>HE</i> , III.19.
11	Langres	Ceolfrith	Travelling to Rome (AD 716)	Anonymous, <i>Life of Ceolfrith</i> , chapter 32/ Bede, <i>HAb</i> , chapter 21.
12	Lérins	Benedict Biscop	Travelling to Rome (AD 665/666)	Bede, <i>HAb</i> , chapter 2.
13	Lyon	i.) Benedict Biscop and Wilfrid ii.) Wilfrid	i.) Travelling to Rome (AD 652) ii.) Visiting Aunemund (AD 658)	i.) Bede, <i>HE</i> , V.19/ Stephen of Ripon, <i>VSW</i> , chapter 3. ii.) Bede, <i>HE</i> V.19/ Stephen of Ripon, <i>VSW</i> , chapter 6.
14	Marseilles	Benedict Biscop, Theodore and Hadrian	Returning to Canterbury (AD 668/9)	Bede, <i>HE</i> , IV.1.
15	Meaux	Wilfrid	Returning to Northumbria (AD 705)	Bede, <i>HE</i> V.19/ Stephen of Ripon, <i>VSW</i> , chapter 56.

16	Paris	i.) Wilfrid ii.) Benedict Biscop, Theodore and Hadrian	i.) Travelling to visit Agilbert for consecration (AD 664) ii.) Returning from Rome – detained by Ebroin (AD 668/9)	i.) Bede, <i>HE</i> , III.28/ Stephen of Ripon, <i>VSW</i> , chapter 12. ii.) Bede, <i>HE</i> , IV.1
17	Quentovic	i.) Benedict Biscop, Theodore and Hadrian ii.) Winfrid	i.) Returning to Canterbury from Rome (AD 668/9) ii.) Travelling to Rome and mistaken for Bishop Wilfrid (AD 678)	i.) Bede, <i>HE</i> , IV.1. ii.) Stephen of Ripon, <i>VSW</i> , chapter 25.
18	Sandwich	Wilfrid	Returning from Rome (AD 666)	Stephen of Ripon, <i>VSW</i> , chapter 13.
19	Utrecht	Willibrord	Missionary activity/foundation (AD 695)	Alcuin, <i>Vita Willibrordi</i> , chapter 5/Bede, <i>HE</i> , V.10.
20	Vienne	Benedict Biscop	Travelling to and from Rome (AD 671)	Bede, <i>HAb</i> , chapter 4.
21	Wearmouth-Jarrow	Benedict Biscop and Ceolfrith	Starting point of several journeys to Rome	Anonymous, <i>Life of Ceolfrith</i> , chapters 20, 31/ Bede, <i>HAb</i> , chapters 2–7, 9, 15–17.
22	Winchester	Leuthere	Arriving from Paris to take up bishopric (AD 670)	Bede, <i>HE</i> , III.7, IV.12.
23	Whitby	Agilbert	Attended Synod of Whitby (AD 664)	Bede, <i>HE</i> , III.25-26/ Stephen of Ripon, <i>VSW</i> , chapter 10.

Table 1: Places shown in figure 1, the individual(s) involved in the journey and a brief overview of the purpose of the journey

In addition to facilitating active journeys through the supply of provisions, long-distance connections and links between monasteries could equally assist with the initial planning of journeys through the sharing of information via letters. Alongside ecclesiastical matters, correspondences dealt with a large range of topics including contemporary events and social developments.²⁰⁰ Interestingly, several long-distance correspondences are specifically concerned with the safety of travel and requests for assistance in arranging or supporting a journey. For example, in the late seventh century, Ælfled of Whitby addressed a letter to Adela of Pfulzel inquiring about the safety of travel and the dangers that an abbess departing from the monastery on a pilgrimage to Rome would face.²⁰¹ In AD 678, Wilfrid travelled to Rome but did not do so via his usual route through Neustria.²⁰² As discussed further below (3.3.3), his decision was influenced by the potential dangers of travelling via his former route and it seems likely that he had gathered information on the safety of this route from his overseas contacts before planning an alternative. The circulation of information relating to routes continued into the eighth century across long-distance contacts; Boniface's correspondence to Abbess Bugga, residing in Kent, warned the abbess of the current dangers occurring in and around Rome.²⁰³

Interestingly, both Benedict and Wilfrid spent more time travelling and visiting other places than they did at their intended destination at the end of their journey. Indeed, Bede's account of Benedict's journeys strongly implies that visiting other monasteries was important and part of the experience of travel. In total, Benedict resided at seventeen different monasteries during his numerous trips to and from Rome.²⁰⁴ Whilst it was evidently important to get to Rome, it is likely that the things that Benedict did during his journeys, such as spending time in Lérins, were nearly if not equally as important to him as reaching the

²⁰⁰ On the dissemination of information, see also chapter 4 (4.2).

²⁰¹ The letter is both quoted and translated in Rosamond McKitterick, 'Nuns' Scriptoria in England and Frankia in the Eighth Century', *Francia* 19:1 (1992), pp. 1–2.

²⁰² Stephen of Ripon, *VSW*, chapter 28. See 3.3.3.

²⁰³ Boniface to Abbess Bugga (c. AD 738), ed and trans. Emerton, *The letters of Boniface*, number 27.

²⁰⁴ Bede, *HAB*, chapter 21.

end destination. The number of monasteries Benedict has resided at equally demonstrates the sheer extent of Benedict's overseas network and likely explains why he was chosen to accompany Theodore and Hadrian on their journey from Rome to Canterbury in AD 668.²⁰⁵ Wilfrid, like Benedict, had also visited several places during his journeys to Rome and spent longer periods of time in places in Gaul compared to his intended destination. Indeed, on his first journey to Rome (in AD 652), Wilfrid had accompanied Benedict from Kent to Lyon and ended his journey early there.²⁰⁶ Whilst at Lyon, Wilfrid received his Roman tonsure there and subsequently remained at the monastery for three years before returning to Northumbria in AD 658.²⁰⁷ The education Wilfrid received at Lyon would have undoubtedly shaped his views. Indeed, the difference in Wilfrid's behaviour compared to his Anglo-Saxon contemporaries could possibly be attributed to his time at Lyon and is considered in greater detail below (3.3.1).

Culturally too, both Benedict and Wilfrid were influenced by the Merovingian Church and their journeys across Gaul directly shaped the development of their monastic foundations in Northumbria. After being endowed with seventy hides by Ecgrith in AD 674, Benedict once again travelled to Gaul and actively sought out both labour and materials to construct his monastery at Monkwearmouth in a Roman style.²⁰⁸ The precise provenance of the labourers and materials is uncertain, although Benedict most likely travelled to Vienne or Lérins where he had known connections.²⁰⁹ That Benedict was able to ship materials back to Northumbria is also significant in demonstrating more broadly the increasing ease of travel across the Channel and North Sea in the later seventh century alongside the sheer range of materials and objects crossing the ocean. Alongside stone masons, Benedict had also returned to Northumbria with glaziers from overseas and these glaziers subsequently taught their craft to the monastic community which likely influenced the early glass production at the monastery

²⁰⁵ Bede, *HE*, IV.1.

²⁰⁶ Stephen of Ripon, *VSW*, chapter 3; Bede, *HE*, V.19.

²⁰⁷ Stephen of Ripon, *VSW*, chapters 3–6; Bede, *HE*, V.19.

²⁰⁸ Bede, *HAb*, chapter 5.

²⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, chapter 2.

and possibly propelled the decoration of other foundations in the kingdom.²¹⁰ Whilst it is often difficult to corroborate details of foundations, the surviving archaeological evidence from Wearmouth-Jarrow compliments the narrative preserved in Bede's *Historia Abbatum* and substantiates the clear cultural and ideological impact of Benedict's journeys overseas.²¹¹

According to the anonymous *Life of Ceolfrith*, Benedict had requested stonemasons to construct the monastery at Monkwearmouth from an acquaintance named Torthelm.²¹² Since the name Torthelm has closer similarities to Anglo-Saxon rather than Frankish names, Wood has argued that abbot Torthelm was most likely Anglo-Saxon.²¹³ This attribution is highly speculative and rests on slender foundations. Though many Anglo-Saxons did travel to the continent during the seventh century to enter monastic foundations, the discussion of Torthelm within the *Life of Ceolfrith* provides no hints of Torthelm's background or links with anyone other than Benedict.²¹⁴ Ultimately, it is perhaps more important to recognise the general mobility of monastic members and the sharing of skills through connections across the Channel and North Sea during the seventh century. Indeed, the act of chanting and writing according to the Roman style was introduced directly from Rome at Wearmouth-Jarrow following the arrival of Abbot John from St-Martin's monastery in Rome.²¹⁵ Furthermore, the sharing of skills can also be seen in the output of the scriptorium at Wearmouth-Jarrow, and impact of the dissemination of writing and books between monasteries, both examined further in chapter 4.²¹⁶

²¹⁰ Ibid., chapter 5.

²¹¹ Rosemary Cramp, *Wearmouth and Jarrow Monastic sites volumes 1–3* (Swindon, 2006). The finds from the monastery including the building materials and window glass are mainly discussed in volume 2.

²¹² Anonymous, *Vita Ceolfridi*, chapter 7.

²¹³ I.N. Wood, 'The Continental Journeys of Wilfrid and Biscop' in N.J. Higham (ed.), *Wilfrid: Abbot, Bishop, Saint. Papers from the 1300th Anniversary Conferences* (Donington, 2013), p. 206.

²¹⁴ Bede, *HE*, III.8. See chapter 4.

²¹⁵ Anonymous, *Vita Ceolfridi*, chapter 10; Bede, *HE*, IV.18, Bede, *HAb*, chapter 6.

²¹⁶ Chapter 4 (4.2).

Around the same time as the development and flourishing of cultural contacts at Wearmouth-Jarrow, Wilfrid refounded the monastery at Ripon and a new church was constructed in stone at the site and finally completed in AD 678.²¹⁷ Ripon appears to have been at the centre of Wilfrid's 'monastic empire' given that his will stated that the monastery was to receive a large portion of his possessions and wealth upon his death.²¹⁸ Stephen recalls how the monastery was adorned with art and goods and it is likely that many of these items were those collected by Wilfrid during his earlier travels overseas.²¹⁹ More broadly, Wood and Bailey have argued that the physical shape, learning and cultural output of the monastery at Ripon and Wilfrid's other main foundation at Hexham would have been highly distinguishable from the output of neighbouring churches within the Northumbrian kingdom as a consequence of Wilfrid's links to the Frankish church.²²⁰ Foot supported this suggestion in her postulation that the creation of the Franks Casket, often attributed by scholars to Ripon, can potentially be explained with Wilfrid's connections in mind.²²¹ In general, the Franks Casket is an immeasurably difficult artefact to understand given its complex choice of imagery and it is perhaps too crude to view the Casket as a consequence of the actions and connections of one individual. However, the Casket is clearly representative a multitude of influences and, more than likely, a fusion of connections. Archaeological discussions of the early monastery at Hexham and Ripon meanwhile have focused heavily upon the surviving crypts unearthed at each site which incorporate reused Roman stone (*spolia*).²²² Wormald especially linked the construction of the crypt at Hexham

²¹⁷ Stephen of Ripon, *VSW*, chapter 8, chapter 17.

²¹⁸ Ibid., chapter 63; See Sarah Foot, 'Wilfrid's monastic empire', in N.J. Higham (ed.), *Wilfrid: Abbot, Bishop, Saint. Papers from the 1300th Anniversary Conferences* (Donington, 2013), p. 35.

²¹⁹ Stephen of Ripon, *VSW*, chapter 17.

²²⁰ Ian N. Wood, 'Ripon, Francia and the Franks Casket in the Early Middle Ages', *Northern History* 26:1 (1990), pp. 1–9; Richard N. Bailey, 'St Wilfrid: A European Anglo-Saxon', in N.J. Higham (ed.), *Wilfrid: Abbot, Bishop, Saint. Papers from the 1300th Anniversary Conferences* (Donington, 2013), pp. 112–123; See also chapter 4 (4.2).

²²¹ Foot, 'Wilfrid's monastic empire', p. 36.

²²² Stephen of Ripon, *VSW*, chapter 22. On the archaeology of the site, see Eric Cambridge and Alan Williams, 'Hexham Abbey: A review of recent work and its implications', *Archaeologia Aeliana* 23 (fifth series, 1995), pp 51–138, esp. pp. 73–81. On the crypts, see R.N. Bailey and D. O'Sullivan, 'Excavations over St. Wilfrid's crypt at Hexham, 1978',

to Wilfrid's relationship with Agilbert.²²³ It is presumed that Agilbert commissioned the construction of the crypt at Jouarre and Wormald suggested that Wilfrid possibly visited the monastery and crypts on one occasion during his travels overseas.²²⁴ Whilst it is certainly likely that Wilfrid was influenced in some way by Agilbert, the archaeological and historical evidence do not corroborate one another as they do at Wearmouth-Jarrow. The structural evidence recovered from Jouarre is difficult to interpret and the date of the construction of the crypt at Jouarre remains uncertain.²²⁵ Importantly, Wilfrid's relationship with Agilbert and the crypt at Jouarre need not be the only explanation for the construction of crypts at Hexham and Ripon. There remains the possibility that Wilfrid was influenced from elsewhere and the construction of the crypts were not linked to any specific contact(s).²²⁶ Equally, even if the construction of the crypts were indeed linked to Merovingian connections, Jouarre need not necessarily have provided the inspiration.

Examining the journeys of Benedict and Wilfrid reveal how ecclesiastical connections underpinned travel during the seventh century. Moreover, as well as assisting with travel, these links and journeys had long-term implications upon the development of monastic foundations and their cultural output as chapter 4 will discuss. This chapter meanwhile now explores another influence over monastic travel during this period.

Archaeologia Aeliana 7 (fifth series, 1979), pp. 114–157 and Paul Bidwell, 'Wilfrid and Hexham: The Anglo-Saxon crypt', in N.J. Higham (ed.), *Wilfrid: Abbot, Bishop, Saint. Papers from the 1300th Anniversary Conferences* (Donington, 2013), pp. 152–162. See also Eric Fletcher, 'The influence of Merovingian Gaul on Northumbria in the seventh century', *Medieval Archaeology* 24 (1980), pp. 69–86.

²²³ P. Wormald, 'Bede and Benedict Biscop', in Gerald Bonner (ed.), *Famulus Christi, Essays in Commemoration of the Thirteenth Centenary of the Birth of Bede* (London, 1976), p. 145.

²²⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 145–146.

²²⁵ Hammer, "'Holy Entrepreneur": Agilbert, a Merovingian bishop between Ireland, England and Francia', pp. 54–55.

²²⁶ John Crook, *The Architectural Setting of the Cult of Saints in the Early Christian West, c. 300–c. 1200* (Oxford, 2000), pp. 92–93.

3.3: Politics and monastic travel

Alongside operating within a broader ecclesiastical network, most of the journeys across the Channel and North Sea documented in the surviving record equally appear to have been influenced or facilitated in some way by political means. This is not so surprising given the link between politics and conversion addressed in chapter 2 and the patronage of monasteries by members of the elite that is well attested in the surviving written record. Moreover, several examples of journeys facilitated by political links have already been raised in preceding chapters such as the experience of Fursey whose journey from East Anglia to Neustria was evidently facilitated by the earlier political connection established during Sigebert's period of exile in Gaul.²²⁷ Likewise, the Anglo-Saxon kings that looked to the Merovingian Church for bishops earlier in the century most likely arranged or supported the journeys of these individuals in some way. Importantly, the link between politics and monastic travel continually evolved throughout the century. As ecclesiastical networks developed, so too did notions of kingship and ruling. As a result, as we shall see, the link between politics and monastic travel was not always harmonious or a one-sided affair.

3.3.1: Wilfrid the 'continental bishop'

More than any other ecclesiastical figure from the period, Wilfrid was extremely active in utilising political alliances and connections to assist with his own personal agenda and facilitate his own connections across the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms and overseas. Indeed, Wilfrid's first journey overseas was facilitated by an indirect political link between Northumbria and Neustria. After finding favour with the Northumbrian Queen Eanflæd, the granddaughter of Æthelberht, Wilfrid was sent under the Queen's protection and recommendation from Northumbria to Eorcenberht of Kent.²²⁸ Eanflæd's actions demonstrate the continued perceived importance of the political alliance that was established earlier between the kingdom of Kent and Neustria.

²²⁷ See chapter 2 (2.2.2).

²²⁸ Stephen of Ripon, *VSW*, chapters 2–3.

Eanflæd's involvement more broadly also highlights the agency of women in instigating and supporting religious travel during the seventh century.²²⁹ It is significant that Wilfrid joined Benedict Biscop's excursion overseas following his consultation with the Kentish court and Benedict's presence in the kingdom further demonstrates that early continental links established between Northumbria and Neustria were indirect.²³⁰ That Wilfrid had to wait for a companion rather than departing immediately could potentially suggest that guides were imperative to the success of journeys undertaken earlier in the seventh century. Whilst Benedict had already travelled overseas and established his own connections, Wilfrid was not yet established and was not yet an important figure within the Northumbrian Church. By the eighth century, guides no longer appear to have been essential to the success of a journey, though individuals still travelled with a large party as evidenced by the number of individuals that accompanied Ceolfrith on his final journey to Rome.²³¹

Throughout the remainder of his life, Wilfrid maintained and developed connections in the southern Anglo-Saxon kingdoms and founded several monasteries outside of Northumbria.²³² Although probably an exaggeration because of his agenda, Stephen of Ripon's comment that Wilfrid was the bishop of the Saxons in the South and of the British, Scots, and Picts to the North during the reign of the Northumbrian king Ecgrith (AD 670–685) certainly seems to imply that Wilfrid had exploited contemporary political developments such as the Northumbrian expansion to his own advantage to establish and consolidate his personal network.²³³ Wilfrid also utilised political links and developments

²²⁹ For a detailed study of the importance of women, see for example, Courtney Luckhardt, 'Gender and connectivity: Facilitating religious travel in the sixth and seventh centuries', *Comitatus: A Journal of Medieval and Renaissance Studies* 44 (2013), pp. 29–53.

²³⁰ Stephen of Ripon, *VSW*, chapters 2–3. See chapter 2 (2.2.1).

²³¹ Bede, *HAB*, chapter 21.

²³² For an overview, see Nicholas J. Higham, 'Bishop Wilfrid in southern England: A Review of his Political Objectives', in Hans-Jürgen Hässler (ed.), *Die Altsachsen im Spiegel der Nationalen und Internationalen Sachsenforschung* (Oldenburg, 1999), pp. 207–217 and Damien J. Tyler, 'Bishop Wilfrid and the Mercians', in N.J. Higham (ed.), *Wilfrid: Abbot, Bishop, Saint. Papers from the 1300th Anniversary Conferences* (Donington, 2013), pp. 275–283.

²³³ Stephen of Ripon, *VSW*, chapter 21.

overseas and his consecration as the bishop of York at the royal palace of Compiègne following the synod of Whitby in AD 664 strongly highlights his awareness of Neustrian politics.²³⁴ Twelve bishops also witnessed Wilfrid's consecration since the event had occurred during an episcopal synod.²³⁵ Moreover, compared to his Anglo-Saxon contemporaries, Wilfrid's political connections were often turbulent and resulted in several periods of exile and animosity.²³⁶

It is through holding numerous positions and possessions distant from his main episcopal seat and his conflicting relationships with kings that Wilfrid is often depicted as a 'continental bishop' within scholarly discourse.²³⁷ Crucially, rather than meaning continental in the sense of potentially anywhere in continental Europe, scholarship referring to Wilfrid as a 'continental bishop' specifically means 'Gaulish', drawing comparison between Wilfrid and his contemporaries in Merovingian Gaul. When compared with other members of the Anglo-Saxon Church, Wilfrid's actions and monastic organisation appears extraordinary and it seems therefore only natural to assume that his time spent in Gaul and relationships with Merovingian individuals, most notably Agilbert, explains the difference in behaviour. However, it is important to take a step back and determine whether a 'continental bishop' was a historical reality or is merely scholarly fiction. Fouracre especially has criticised the passive nature in which Wilfrid's actions are explained as 'continental' and that this oversimplifies the nature of the Merovingian Church and the role of bishops during the century.²³⁸ Certainly, even if Wilfrid's behaviour can be explained by his time and education overseas, it does not mean that his actions should be taken as reflective of

²³⁴ Bede, *HE*, III.28; Hammer, "Holy Entrepreneur": Agilbert, a Merovingian bishop between Ireland, England and Francia', p. 72.

²³⁵ Bede, *HE*, III.28.

²³⁶ Ibid., IV.12, Stephen, *VSW*, chapters 14, 24, 34, 38, 40, 45. On Wilfrid's first exile, see below (3.3.3).

²³⁷ See, for example, Wormald, 'Bede and Benedict Biscop', pp. 150–151; Sarah Foot, 'Wilfrid's Monastic Empire', pp. 34–35; Mayr-Harting, *The Coming of Christianity to Anglo-Saxon England*, pp 130–139. For a further outline see Fouracre, 'Wilfrid and the continent', pp. 190–191.

²³⁸ Fouracre, 'Wilfrid and the continent', p. 191.

continental practices more broadly. There is no evidence to suggest that Felix, Birinus, Wine or Leuthere behaved in a similar way to Wilfrid upon their appointment as bishop for example. In addition, Wilfrid was not the only individual to receive an education overseas. Whilst residing at the monastery of Lérins in southern Gaul for two years, Benedict Biscop received an education there.²³⁹ Whilst Benedict was not a bishop, his behaviour and relationships with other members of the Anglo-Saxon Church such as Archbishop Theodore do not seem to imply that his education and expectations of monastic organisation were incompatible or radically different.²⁴⁰

Problematically, much of the information relating to Wilfrid's behaviour, continental journeys and contacts is only preserved in detail by Stephen of Ripon and the accuracy of the information presented in the narrative has long been questioned. The details of the relationship between Wilfrid and Archbishop Aunemund have especially received scrutiny.²⁴¹ As discussed in 3.2 and noted in [table 1](#), Wilfrid was tonsured at Lyon and remained at the monastery for several years before returning to Northumbria.²⁴² During his stay in Lyon, Stephen of Ripon explains that Wilfrid befriended Archbishop Aunemund (named incorrectly by Stephen in the first instance as Dalfinus) and witnessed the murder of Aunemund under the orders of Balthild in AD 658.²⁴³ However, several Merovingian charters dated after AD 658 mention Aunemund and this clearly highlights the chronological difficulties with this episode described by Stephen.²⁴⁴ Stephen of Ripon also stated that Wilfrid was subsequently spared from execution and allowed to return to Northumbria upon Balthild learning that he was an Anglo-Saxon.²⁴⁵ Although Balthild

²³⁹ Bede, *HAb*, chapter 2.

²⁴⁰ Ibid., chapter 3. On the relationship between Benedict and Theodore of Canterbury, see below (3.3.3).

²⁴¹ Fouracre, 'Wilfrid and the continent', pp. 185–186; Simon Coates, 'The role of bishops in the early Anglo-Saxon Church', *History* 81 (1996), pp. 185–186.

²⁴² Stephen of Ripon, *VSW*, chapters 3–6; Bede, *HE*, V.19.

²⁴³ Stephen of Ripon, *VSW*, chapter 6.

²⁴⁴ Paul Fouracre, 'Merovingian History and Merovingian Hagiography', *Past and Present* 127 (1990), pp. 11–12; Alexander Callander Murray, *From Roman to Merovingian Gaul: A Reader* (Toronto, 2008), pp. 505–506.

²⁴⁵ Stephen of Ripon, *VSW*, chapter 6.

certainly did intervene in the organisation of the Church as outlined in detail above, no contemporary Merovingian source describes the event at Lyon or mention Balthild meeting Wilfrid.²⁴⁶ In general, Stephen appears to have used no identifiable continental sources for information about Wilfrid's journeys in Merovingian Gaul, although it is likely that he was aware of Balthild's monastic reforms and her eventual retirement to Chelles since several Northumbrian individuals had likely travelled there.²⁴⁷ The alterations made by Stephen in his narrative raises the important issue of whether Stephen's intended audience, the majority of whom was most likely Anglo-Saxon, was fully aware of the earlier political situation and developments in Merovingian Gaul.

Indeed, the broader context and motives for writing the *Life of Saint Wilfrid* are vital to consider when evaluating the contents of the text and Wilfrid's exceptionality. Though Stephen composed his text very shortly after Wilfrid's death in AD 709/710, his narrative unfolded against increasing competition between monastic communities.²⁴⁸ Bishop Acca, Wilfrid's successor at Hexham, commissioned Stephen to write his text to promote the cult of saint Wilfrid and defend the monastery's position against opposing factions within the Northumbrian Church.²⁴⁹ Competition between the communities of Lindisfarne and Hexham especially had intensified in the late seventh and early eighth centuries.²⁵⁰ Importantly, scholarship has demonstrated a close relationship between the hagiographical texts commissioned by these monasteries and demonstrate the need to frame details of Wilfrid's time spent in Merovingian

²⁴⁶ On Balthild and the Merovingian church, see chapter 2 (2.2.2)

²⁴⁷ Fouracre, 'Wilfrid and the continent', p. 186, p. 189; Bede, *HE*, IV.23. On monastic travel to Chelles, see chapter 4 (4.3).

²⁴⁸ I.N. Wood, 'Monasteries and the geography of power in the age of Bede', *Northern History* 45 (2008), pp. 11–25; D. P. Kirby, 'Bede, Eddius Stephanus and the "Life of Wilfrid"', *English Historical Review* 98 (1983), pp. 101–114. On the chronology, see Clare Stancliffe, 'Dating Wilfrid's death and Stephen's *Life*', in N.J. Higham (ed.), *Wilfrid: Abbot, Bishop, Saint. Papers from the 1300th Anniversary Conferences* (Donington, 2013), pp. 17–26.

²⁴⁹ Stephen of Ripon, *VSW*, preface.

²⁵⁰ Clare Stancliffe, 'Disputed episcopacy: Bede, Acca, and the relationship between Stephen's life of Wilfrid and the early prose lives of Cuthbert', *Anglo-Saxon England* 41 (2012), pp. 7–39; D. P. Kirby, 'The genesis of a cult: Cuthbert of Farne and ecclesiastical politics in Northumbria in the late seventh and early eighth centuries', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 46:3 (1995), pp. 383–397.

Gaul within a broader Northumbrian context.²⁵¹ The community at Lindisfarne opposed Wilfrid and his supporters during the Synod of Whitby (AD 664) and tensions continued after the synod following the relocation of the primary see of Northumbria from Lindisfarne to York with Wilfrid promoted to the bishopric.²⁵² After Wilfrid's removal from the see and expulsion from Northumbria in AD 678, Archbishop Theodore reorganised the Northumbrian diocese and enhanced the existing tension between the two monastic communities.²⁵³ Theodore added an additional see in Bernicia and divided episcopal authority between Hexham and Lindisfarne.²⁵⁴ During Wilfrid's period of exile, Cuthbert had reluctantly travelled to Lindisfarne in AD 684 to take up the see until his death a few years later in AD 687.²⁵⁵ Cuthbert represented a different model of bishop compared to Wilfrid and to the anti-Wilfridian faction became a symbol to the community of their importance as an ecclesiastical centre and contribution to the early Northumbrian Church.²⁵⁶ Though Wilfrid had returned from exile in AD 686, Lindisfarne and Hexham remained as separate sees and debate over episcopal provision continued into the eighth century.²⁵⁷

At the end of the seventh or early eighth century, the monastery at Lindisfarne commissioned an anonymous author to write the first *Vita Sancti Cuthberti* to honour Cuthbert and exemplify his sanctity.²⁵⁸ The production of the text closely coincided with a period of turmoil within the Northumbrian Church following Wilfrid's return from a second period in exile. In AD 702/703, an

²⁵¹ Stancliffe, 'Disputed episcopacy', pp. 14–15.

²⁵² Bede, *HE*, III.25–26; Stephen of Ripon, *VSW*, chapters 10–11. Clare Stancliffe, *Bede, Wilfrid and the Irish. Jarrow Lecture 2003* (Jarrow, 2004), pp. 10–11.

²⁵³ Stephen of Ripon, *VSW*, chapter 14; Bede, *HE*, IV.12.

²⁵⁴ Bede, *HE*, IV.12.

²⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, IV.24–29.

²⁵⁶ Caitlin Corning, *The Celtic and Roman Traditions: Conflict and Consensus in the Early Medieval Church* (New York, 2006), pp. 130–131, pp. 140–142.

²⁵⁷ Stephen of Ripon, *VSW*, chapter 44; Bede, *HE*, IV.12. See Walter Goffart, *Narrators of Barbarian History A.D. 550-800* (Princeton, 1988), chapter 4.

²⁵⁸ Anonymous, *Vita Sancti Cuthberti*, ed and trans. B. Colgrave, *Two Lives of Saint Cuthbert* (Cambridge, 1940). Alan Thacker, 'Lindisfarne and the origins of the cult of Saint Cuthbert', in Gerald Bonner, David W. Rollason and Clare Stancliffe (eds.), *St. Cuthbert, his Cult and his Community to AD 1200* (Woodbridge, 1989), pp. 110–117

ecclesiastical council was held at Austerfield to discuss whether to reappoint Wilfrid as a bishop and it is likely that the community at Lindisfarne was seeking to defend their position as an episcopal centre.²⁵⁹ Importantly, copies of the anonymous *Vita* reached Ripon and Stephen inserted several passages from the text into his own narrative.²⁶⁰ Crucially, Stephen sought to defend Wilfrid's record and to emphasise the difference between Wilfrid and other Northumbrian bishops.²⁶¹ For Stephen, many of the things Wilfrid did whilst travelling across Merovingian Gaul provided evidence of Wilfrid being fully orthodox compared to Cuthbert, such as his Roman tonsure in Lyon.²⁶² Moreover, for Stephen, sanctity was obtained through their persecution, suffering and triumphs over authority.²⁶³ This was in direct contrast to other authors including Bede and the anonymous author of the *Vita Sancti Cuthberti* and may further explain Wilfrid's distinctiveness.²⁶⁴ Once again, several of the events that occurred during Wilfrid's period overseas, including his persecution by Ebroin, exemplified Wilfrid's sanctity and are stressed in Stephen's narrative.²⁶⁵ Whilst Wilfrid's expectations and behaviour would have undoubtedly been affected in some way by his education at Lyon and time spent overseas, the depiction of Wilfrid within the *Life* was also clearly shaped heavily by the ecclesiastical politics of the early eighth century. Indeed, Stephen's broader agenda could probably explain factual errors in Stephen's account of Wilfrid's journeys overseas such as those already outlined above.

Interestingly, Stephen's model is commonly found in Merovingian hagiographical texts such as the *Passio Leudegari* compiled by an unknown author shortly after the death of Leudegar of Autun in AD 678/9.²⁶⁶ Like Wilfrid,

²⁵⁹ Stephen of Ripon, *VSW*, chapters 46–47; Stancliffe, 'Disputed episcopacy', p. 12. On the Council, see Catherine Cubitt, *Anglo-Saxon Church Councils c.650–c.850* (London, 1995), pp. 50–51, pp. 299–303.

²⁶⁰ Stancliffe, 'Disputed episcopacy', pp. 14–15.

²⁶¹ Goffart, *Narrators of Barbarian History A.D. 550–800*, chapter 4.

²⁶² Stephen of Ripon, *VSW*, chapter 6; Stancliffe, 'Disputed episcopacy', p. 15.

²⁶³ Coates, 'The role of bishops', pp. 183–186.

²⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 177–196.

²⁶⁵ For further discussion of this event, see 3.3.3

²⁶⁶ Anonymous, *Passio Leudegari*, eds and trans. Paul Fouracre and Richard Gerberding, *Late Merovingian France* (Manchester, 1996), pp. 193–253.

Leudegar was a prominent individual and had strong connections with the royal court throughout his lifetime. Leudegar was appointed as the bishop of Autun by royal order in AD 662 and, in AD 673, was directly involved in a political coup against Ebroin and appointing Childeric II as king of Neustria.²⁶⁷ Theuderic III was subsequently tonsured and sent to the monastery of Saint-Denis.²⁶⁸ Eradicating political rivals by ecclesiastical means was not uncommon during the seventh and eighth centuries in Gaul and the act of tonsuring symbolised an individual's loss of power.²⁶⁹ Leudegar's political influence ended shortly afterwards and he was later imprisoned for his involvement in the coup and executed in AD 678/9 and martyred soon after.²⁷⁰ Just as Stephen sought to justify Wilfrid's behaviour, the anonymous author explained Leudegar's negative behaviour in light of his saintly status.²⁷¹ That Wilfrid's behaviour and actions can be compared to those of Autun certainly could add weight to the suggestion that Wilfrid behaved in a 'continental' manner, though the Northumbrian context outlined above and Stephen's own views evidently shaped the depiction of Wilfrid. The close parallels between Stephen's *Life of Wilfrid* and the anonymous *Passio Leudegari* more importantly could be reflective of the broader impact of Wilfrid's journeys and the range of influences that were present at Ripon. The education Stephen had received at Ripon would have been influenced by Wilfrid's own education at monastic foundations both in Northumbria and overseas at Lyon. Additionally, the library at Ripon was stocked with a range of books including those collected by Wilfrid during his journeys which Stephen had access to.²⁷² As chapter 4 considers in further detail, Merovingian hagiographical texts were probably among the works that Wilfrid brought back from his journeys in Gaul.²⁷³

²⁶⁷ Anonymous, *Passio Leudegari*, chapters 5–6.

²⁶⁸ Ibid., chapter 6.

²⁶⁹ On this phenomenon, see Clare Stancliffe, 'Kings who opted out', in Patrick Wormald (ed.), *Ideal and Reality in Frankish and Anglo-Saxon Society: essays presented to J.M. Wallace-Hadrill* (Oxford, 1983), pp. 154–176.

²⁷⁰ Anonymous, *Passio Leudegari*, chapters 30–34.

²⁷¹ Fouracre, 'Merovingian History and Merovingian Hagiography', pp. 14–15.

²⁷² Stephen of Ripon, *VSW*, chapters 3–6.

²⁷³ See chapter 4 (4.2).

3.3.2: The exile and return of Dagobert II

Whilst the surviving evidence clearly reveals the influence of political links and developments over ecclesiastical contacts and communities around the Channel and North Sea, importantly, there are also glimpses of ecclesiastical connections likewise having the ability to shape political developments during the century. The accession of Dagobert II to the throne in the Merovingian kingdom of Austrasia around AD 675/6 is perhaps the most obvious event during the century that potentially demonstrates both the strength and influence of ecclesiastical connections in facilitating political developments.

Relatively little information about Dagobert's life can be confidently extrapolated from the evidence, in large part due to its paucity. Certainly, Merovingian sources are especially fleeting in their discussions of Dagobert. The *Liber Historiae Francorum* provides the main account of Dagobert from a Merovingian perspective, although the anonymous author only provides scant detail of his exile to Ireland by Mayor Grimoald in AD 656 and provides no account of Dagobert's return to the Austrasia.²⁷⁴ Indeed, details of Dagobert's return to the kingdom are only preserved in the *Life of Saint Wilfrid*.²⁷⁵ Given the aforementioned issues over the chronology and the accuracy of some of the Merovingian history presented by Stephen of Ripon, it is natural to initially question the validity of the information preserved in the text. Significantly, both the *Liber Historiae Francorum* and *Life of Saint Wilfrid* corroborate one another and confirm that Dagobert was exiled to Ireland, whilst the existence of tremisses minted at Marseille in the name of Dagobert indicates the return of Dagobert to the kingdom.²⁷⁶ Given the Neustrian interest and involvement in the ruling of the kingdom during the century, it is certainly intriguing that the

²⁷⁴ Anonymous, *LHF*, chapter 43. For further discussion on the scarcity of information relating to the reign of Dagobert II, see Paul Fouracre, 'Forgetting and remembering Dagobert II: The English connection', in Paul Fouracre and David Ganz (eds.), *Frankland: The Franks and the world of the Early Middle Ages* (Manchester, 2008), pp. 70–89.

²⁷⁵ Stephen of Ripon, *VSW*, chapter 28.

²⁷⁶ For an analysis of the Irish evidence for Dagobert's period of exile in Ireland, see Michel Picard, 'Church and politics in the seventh century: the Irish exile of King Dagobert II', in Jean-Michel Picard (ed.), *Ireland and Northern France AD 600–850* (Blackrock, 1991), pp. 27–52. For coinage evidence, see Blackburn and Grierson, *MEC1*, pp. 130–131.

anonymous author of the *Liber Historiae Francorum* chose not to mention the return of Dagobert to Austrasia. Following the removal of Dagobert by Grimoald and placement of his own son Childebert on the throne, the Neustrian elite forcefully intervened and subsequently returned a Merovingian royal to the throne, Childeric II, and punished Grimoald for his actions.²⁷⁷

The author's choice to omit details of Dagobert's return could possibly be explained by the political unrest that occurred in Neustria around the same time as Dagobert's return. Throughout their narrative, the anonymous author generally depicted seventh-century politics as an equal balance between nobility and royalty and the events in AD 675 directly contradict this picture.²⁷⁸ In AD 673, Theuderic had become the king of Neustria but was shortly replaced by Childeric II, already king in Austrasia, following a political coup orchestrated by a noble faction opposed to mayor Ebroin and his level of authority.²⁷⁹ The extension of Childeric's authority heightened existing feuds between competing noble factions both within and across each kingdom.²⁸⁰ Notably, the political status of the Austrasian mayor Wulfoald and his supporters had been elevated at the expense of other factions after Childeric offered Wulfoald Ebroin's former position as the Neustrian mayor.²⁸¹ The situation deteriorated further in AD 675 following Childeric's assassination and rival factions declaring different successors in each kingdom.²⁸² In Neustria, Theuderic returned from exile and regained the throne.²⁸³ In Austrasia, Ebroin had established an alliance with a noble faction opposed to Wulfoald and declared Clovis III the new king of Austrasia.²⁸⁴ However, Ebroin quickly abandoned his support for Clovis III in favour of Theuderic II and reaffirmed his position within the Neustrian court

²⁷⁷ Anonymous, *LHF*, chapter 43.

²⁷⁸ On the author's agenda, see Fouracre and Gerberding, *Late Merovingian France*, pp. 79–80.

²⁷⁹ Anonymous, *LHF*, chapter 45; Anonymous, *Passio Leudegari*, chapters 5–6.

²⁸⁰ Anonymous, *VDB*, chapter 5; Anonymous, *LHF* chapter 45.

²⁸¹ Anonymous, *Passio Leudegari*, chapter 9; Anonymous, *LHF*, chapter 45.

²⁸² Anonymous, *Passio Leudegari*, chapter 13.

²⁸³ Anonymous, *LHF*, chapter 45.

²⁸⁴ Anonymous, *Passio Leudegari*, chapter 19.

after the removal of his political rivals.²⁸⁵ Except for gold tremisses that are attributed to Clovis III with the obverse legend *CHLODOVIO RIX*, nothing is known of his short reign and removal from power.²⁸⁶ It seems likely that Clovis was removed due to the limited support he had within Austrasia alongside the growing strength of Neustria and the possibility of Theuderic attempting to reunite the Frankish kingdoms. In reinstating Dagobert, those involved restored some political stability in the kingdom and firmly re-established the autonomy of the Austrasian court.²⁸⁷

From the limited evidence relating to Dagobert's exile and subsequent return, ecclesiastical connections appear to have played a prominent role. For his first journey, the *Liber Historiae Francorum* states that Grimoald had sent Dagobert from the Austrasian royal court to Bishop Dido of Poitiers whereupon preparations were made for a pilgrimage to Ireland.²⁸⁸ Since Grimoald had relied on Dido to complete his takeover, it seems highly likely that Dido personally had well-established links with Ireland. Based on the contacts established between Ireland and Gaul around the time of Dagobert's expulsion, Picard has suggested that the followers of Fursey and his brothers were likely involved in organising Dagobert's initial journey to Ireland.²⁸⁹ The information preserved in a supplement known as the *Additamentum Nivialense de Fuilano* written around AD 657 and attached to copies of the seventh-century Life of Gertrude, who was abbess of the monastery at Nivelles in Austrasia until her death in AD 653, certainly seems to suggest that Foillan in particular was involved or aware of the political coup.²⁹⁰ The *Additamentum Nivialense* records that Foillan had travelled to the monastery at Nivelles following his expulsion

²⁸⁵ Anonymous, *LHF*, chapter 45; Anonymous, *Passio Leudegari*, chapters 13, 16–19, 21 and 28.

²⁸⁶ Blackburn and Grierson, *MEC 1*, p. 93.

²⁸⁷ Wood, *The Merovingian Kingdoms 450-751*, p. 231.

²⁸⁸ Anonymous, *LHF*, chapter 43.

²⁸⁹ Picard, 'De gente Scottorum monachi', p. 396; Picard, 'Church and politics in the seventh century: the Irish exile of King Dagobert II', pp. 31–32. For a discussion of the evidence linked to Fursey and his journey from East Anglia to Gaul, see chapter 2 (2.3.1).

²⁹⁰ *Additamentum Nivialense de Fuilano*. ed and trans. Paul Fouracre and Richard Gerberding, *Late Merovingian France: History and Hagiography, 640-720* (Manchester, 1996) pp. 327–330.

from Neustria and around the time of his murder in AD 650, both Grimoald and Dido were at the monastery.²⁹¹ Unfortunately, there is no evidence of the journey Dagobert had taken to Ireland and it is possible that he travelled direct to Ireland rather than through the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms.

For Dagobert's return, much emphasis has been placed upon the role of Wilfrid in assisting the journey.²⁹² Stephen of Ripon certainly suggests that Dagobert and Wilfrid had an established relationship and that Dagobert warmly greeted Wilfrid at his royal court during one of his journeys to Rome and subsequently offered Wilfrid the bishopric at Strasbourg.²⁹³ Apart from Wilfrid, no other ecclesiastical figure is explicitly linked to Dagobert in the surviving written record which does add weight to the possibility that he was involved in some way. Wilfrid would certainly have been able to assist with arranging travel given the extensive monastic and political connections across the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms, Gaul and in Ireland that he established during the century.²⁹⁴ Though Wilfrid's involvement seems likely, it is important not to assign Wilfrid sole responsibility for the successful return of Dagobert to Austrasia. Indeed, many more individuals would have been involved along the way.

More broadly, the kingdom of Northumbria maintained extensive links and lively contact with Ireland throughout the century and, in thinking about the possible route Dagobert may have taken, perhaps the easiest and most direct way to reach Austrasia was via Northumbria.²⁹⁵ Moreover, the postulated route through Northumbria is more appealing to consider given the broader political context outlined above and in chapter 2.²⁹⁶ Whilst there is there is clear

²⁹¹ Ibid.

²⁹² Fouracre, 'Wilfrid and the continent', pp. 186–199; Ian Wood, 'Northumbrians and Franks in the age of Wilfrid', *Northern History* 31:1 (1995), pp. 12–14.

²⁹³ Stephen of Ripon, *VSW*, chapter 28.

²⁹⁴ For a discussion of the monasteries associated with Wilfrid, see Foot, 'Wilfrid's monastic empire', pp. 27–39.

²⁹⁵ See Fiona Edmonds, 'The practicalities of communication between Northumbria and Irish Churches, c.635–735', in James Graham-Campbell and Michael Ryan (eds.), *Anglo-Saxon/Irish Relations before the Vikings* (Oxford, 2009), pp. 129–147.

²⁹⁶ Chapter 2 (2.2)

evidence of ecclesiastical contact and travel between the southern Anglo-Saxon kingdoms, travelling across the English Channel would have posed a greater risk to the successful return of Dagobert. It is likely that a ship departing from a port in Wessex or Kent would have landed at a Neustrian port which, as discussed below, were clearly under greater royal control by the later seventh century.²⁹⁷ By contrast, it would have been far easier to avoid extensive travel through Western Gaul and land at a port further north by travelling to Northumbria from Ireland. Additionally, since the Neustrian court had well-established links with the kingdoms of Kent and East Anglia, there was a possibility that these kingdoms may have intervened in Dagobert's journey if his identity was revealed. Indeed, as discussed below, there was an awareness within several Anglo-Saxon royal courts of the political power overseas that could influence monastic connections and travel.²⁹⁸ Though it is difficult to be certain of the route Dagobert had taken to return to Austrasia, it is clear that his return journey utilised ecclesiastical connections that could transcend political boundaries.

3.3.3: The disruption and regulation of ecclesiastical travel

Although politics and ecclesiastical contacts and developments were closely intertwined during the century, as noted above, this was not always in a complementary manner. There are several instances in which ecclesiastical links across the Channel and North Sea were directly and deliberately interrupted by political means. Whilst on one of his pilgrimages to Rome, in AD 668, Benedict Biscop was given the task of accompanying the newly consecrated Archbishop of Canterbury Theodore and Abbot Hadrian back to the kingdom of Kent.²⁹⁹ As noted above, Benedict was likely chosen due to his knowledge and experience of travelling through Gaul and his numerous

²⁹⁷ On the link between Ireland and the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms, see for example, Elizabeth O'Brien, 'Contacts between Ireland and Anglo-Saxon England in the seventh-century', *Anglo-Saxon Studies in Archaeology and History* 6 (1993), pp. 93–95; Michael Herren, 'Scholarly contacts between the Irish and the southern English in the seventh century', *Peritia* 12 (1998), pp. 24–53.

²⁹⁸ See 3.3.3.

²⁹⁹ Bede, *HAB*, chapter 3.

contacts with different monasteries established during his travels that assisted with his journeys.³⁰⁰ Whilst all of Benedict's other journeys back from Rome went without hindrance, on this occasion Benedict and his party were detained at Arles (where they visited on their return journey) by the archbishop acting on the orders of Ebroin.³⁰¹ The exact motives behind Ebroin's decision to interrupt this journey are uncertain, though it is likely that there was an underlying political motive based on the broader political context and the power of Ebroin during the later seventh century.

It is possible that Ebroin perceived the appointments of Theodore and Hadrian as a direct threat to the stability of Neustria and their relationship with the kingdom of Kent. The political relationship between the Neustrian and Byzantine court was fraught with difficulties during this period and heavily influenced Ebroin's attitude towards other connections.³⁰² Indeed, Bede noted that Ebroin had detained Hadrian longer than Theodore until he was fully satisfied that he was not part of a greater conspiracy arranged by the Byzantine emperor.³⁰³ If Ebroin's actions were taken for political reasons, this demonstrates both an interest and acute awareness of developments that were taking place across the Channel in a centre of Neustrian power. Importantly, despite Egbert of Kent sending a reeve to collect Theodore, permission was still needed by Ebroin to grant travel from the port of Quentovic.³⁰⁴ This not only suggests that Quentovic was under a degree of authority by the later seventh century but also that the kingdom of Neustria was more politically stable than the narratives of decline propagated in later Carolingian sources suggest.³⁰⁵

³⁰⁰ See [table 1](#).

³⁰¹ Bede, *HE*, IV.1.

³⁰² Jörg Drauschke, 'Archaeological perspectives on communication and exchange between the Merovingians and the eastern Mediterranean', in Stefan Esders, Yaniv Fox, Yitzhak Hen and Laury Sarti (eds.), *East and West in the Early Middle Ages: The Merovingian kingdoms in Mediterranean Perspective* (Cambridge, 2019), pp. 29–30; Wood, *The Merovingian Kingdoms 450-751*, p. 176.

³⁰³ Bede, *HE*, IV.1.

³⁰⁴ *Ibid.*

³⁰⁵ For further discussion of the control of Quentovic, see chapter 8 (8.2.6).

Furthermore, the disruption of Theodore's journey evidently demonstrates the interconnected nature of regions during the seventh century.

Almost a decade later, Ebroin's interest in Anglo-Saxon affairs does not appear to have receded. In AD 678, Wilfrid was expelled from Northumbria by Ecgrith and travelled to Rome in order to appeal to his expulsion and subsequent division of his see between three newly appointed bishops by Archbishop Theodore.³⁰⁶ Importantly, Ecgrith was aware that Wilfrid would travel to Rome to appeal against these decisions and had sent envoys with a request to disrupt Wilfrid's journey through Gaul and bribes to both Theodoric and Duke Ebroin.³⁰⁷ That Ecgrith wrote both to a king and to Ebroin is interesting and suggests that the power and influence of the mayor over developments in Neustria was known. Certainly, it is possible that Ecgrith was aware of Ebroin's earlier involvement in delaying the arrival of Archbishop Theodore and Hadrian to Canterbury. Significantly, Ecgrith's request was granted and put into place, although the wrong priest was eventually detained. Stephen of Ripon relates that a priest named Winfrith was mistaken for Wilfrid upon his arrival at Quentovic and was subsequently detained and subjected to mistreatment.³⁰⁸ The attempted disruption of Wilfrid's journey to Rome more broadly reveals the existence of a popular and possibly most direct route to Rome via Quentovic.³⁰⁹ Rather than travelling through this direct route, Wilfrid most likely landed at a port further north and travelled to the court of Dagobert in the kingdom of Austrasia before continuing his journey to Rome with a guides and resources provided by the king.³¹⁰ That Wilfrid chose to visit a neighbouring Merovingian kingdom strongly suggests that he was aware of the political situation in Neustria and both the ability and willingness of Ebroin to disrupt ecclesiastical travel. In addition, as noted above, Wilfrid's earlier journeys in Neustria were closely tied to Neustrian politics and he may have fallen out of favour with contacts that he had previously established particularly when his possible

³⁰⁶ Stephen of Ripon, *VSW*, chapter 24; Bede, *HE*, IV.12.

³⁰⁷ Stephen of Ripon, *VSW*, chapters 24–25.

³⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, chapter 25.

³⁰⁹ *Ibid.*

³¹⁰ *Ibid.*, chapter 28.

involvement in returning Dagobert II to the neighbouring Merovingian kingdom of Austrasia is considered.³¹¹ According to Stephen of Ripon's account of Wilfrid's journeys in Austrasia, Ebroin himself appears to have been aware of Wilfrid's role in returning Dagobert II and eventually detained Wilfrid on this charge.³¹² Politically, as discussed above, Ebroin had briefly allied with an Austrasian faction following the death of Childeric in AD 675 to facilitate his return to Neustria and regain his position as mayor.³¹³ With this background in mind, it is likely that Ebroin would have been aware of the desire and possible plans by the members of the Austrasian elite to return Dagobert to the throne. Further, this context could potentially explain why Ebroin had responded to Ecgfrith's request for assistance in disrupting Wilfrid's journey to Rome. There is also the possibility that Ecgfrith himself had become aware of Wilfrid's involvement in returning Dagobert and could also explain why he had sought an alliance with Ebroin as well as the Neustrian king. Interestingly, Wilfrid's knowledge of political events appears to have slipped during his stay in Rome, as he was unaware that Dagobert was assassinated and that Austrasia had become briefly united with Neustria which, in turn, enabled Ebroin to exert influence and detain him on his return journey from Rome.³¹⁴

An increasing awareness of the volume of ecclesiastical travel and attempts to regulate journeys was not only restricted to political contemporaries and, by the later seventh century, the mobility of the monastic community became a growing area of concern for the Anglo-Saxon Church. This growing concern was a consequence of the influence of Irish monasticism within the Anglo-Saxon Church and the act of *peregrinatio*, voluntarily undertaking travel and never remaining with one monastic community.³¹⁵ In AD 672, a council was held at Hertford which specifically addressed concerns over ecclesiastical travel and a series of canons were issued that were intended to control and limit monastic

³¹¹ See 3.3.2.

³¹² Stephen of Ripon, *VSW*, chapter 33.

³¹³ See above 3.3.2. See also Wood, *The Merovingian Kingdoms 450-751*, pp. 230–234.

³¹⁴ Stephen of Ripon, *VSW*, chapter 33.

³¹⁵ Dunn, *The Emergence of Monasticism*, p. 140, pp. 158–159.

travel.³¹⁶ Whilst journeys overseas were not the impetus behind the increased efforts to regulate monastic travel, the resulting canons from the council and increased regulation directly affected these journeys. Following the council, monastic travellers were required to carry letters of introduction with them on every approved journey and were told to be content with any form of hospitality afforded to them during travels.³¹⁷ Whilst the formal introduction of letters was likely intended to curb travel that was not approved across the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms, carrying letters of introduction overseas could alleviate some of the potential dangers and risks of longer journeys abroad.

Furthermore, letters of introduction indirectly assisted with royal control and secular administration for example and proved useful in distinguishing those that were exempt from paying tolls at main ports.³¹⁸ Interestingly, prior to the council taking place, Theodore of Canterbury and Hadrian had travelled with letters of recommendation in AD 667/668 but found them of little use in facilitating their journey following their detainment at Arles.³¹⁹ Theodore presided over the council and it is possible that he recounted this experience to those present and discussed his use of letters. Whilst the required content of letters of introduction remains uncertain, it is likely that the council had provided more guidance to ensure that any letter of introduction was sufficient enough in detail to alleviate some of the potential dangers and risks of travel that previous travellers had encountered both within the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms and overseas.

By the eighth century, the practice of travelling with letters was commonly adopted by those travelling overseas. Ceolfrith had prepared extensively for his final journey from Northumbria to Rome in AD 716 and ensured that he had both good letters of introduction and a range of gifts before departing from

³¹⁶ Bede, *HE*, IV.5.

³¹⁷ Ibid.

³¹⁸ Neil Middleton, 'Early Medieval port customs, tolls and controls on foreign trade', *Early Medieval Europe* 13:4 (2005), pp. 319–320.

³¹⁹ Bede, *HE*, IV.1.

Northumbria.³²⁰ The use of letters was also adopted more formally within secular administration to regulate monastic travel. Following his arrival in Neustria, Ceolfrith had been greeted by Chilperic II who provided him with additional letters to ensure that he could continue to travel freely through Gaul and avoid any taxation.³²¹ By the end of the eighth century, the regulation of monastic travel remained important within diplomatic circles. In his letter to Offa of Mercia in AD 796, Charlemagne outlined the rights of pilgrims during their travels and exclusion from the payment of tolls.³²² Significantly, monastic travel undertaken during the seventh century provided the foundations for the regulation and rights of monastic travel that is visible in subsequent centuries.

3.4: Summary

Journeys undertaken during the seventh century were facilitated by a range of connections including personal, political, and monastic links. As this chapter has demonstrated, these connections were often multifaceted and both direct and indirect connections facilitated monastic travel. Compared to his later journeys which were enabled by personal and direct links, Wilfrid's first journey from Northumbria to Neustria for example relied upon an indirect political link.

Importantly, monastic journeys undertaken during the seventh century paved the way for travel in the subsequent century. Throughout the century, as the consolidation and spread of Christianity continued, a broader ecclesiastical network flourished across different regions and assisted in both the planning and enablement of monastic travel (3.2). It is this burgeoning network that Cædwalla of Wessex was probably able to exploit to successfully undertake a pilgrimage to Rome following his abdication in AD 688.³²³

³²⁰ Anonymous, *Vita Ceolfridi*, chapter 32; Bede, *HAb*, chapter 19.

³²¹ Anonymous, *Vita Ceolfridi*, chapter 32.

³²² Charlemagne's letter to Offa (AD796), ed and trans. Stephen Allot, *Alcuin of York: His life and letters* (York, 1974), pp. 51–53 (letter 40).

³²³ Bede, *HE*, IV.12, V.7.

The increasing volume of monastic travel prompted a response from both royal and ecclesiastical spheres which resulted in a mutual system of regulation more firmly in place by the eighth century. This reciprocal intertwinement, as 3.3 demonstrated however, was not destined to occur and the link between politics and monastic travel continually evolved during the seventh century. Indeed, the journeys of Wilfrid (3.3.1) and disruption of journeys (3.3.3) demonstrate the complex and ever-changing link between politics and monastic travel throughout the century. More significantly, as the exile and return of Dagobert highlighted (3.3.2), monastic contacts and travel could and did *directly* shape and influence political developments.

Finally, the itinerary of monastic journeys was as important as the intended destination. Indeed, figure 1 attests to the importance of visiting other monasteries and places during a journey. Section 3.2 considered the cultural impact of Benedict and Wilfrid's journeys across Gaul through a brief discussion of stonework evidence. The following chapter returns to an analysis of the cultural impact of monastic contact and travel between the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms and Merovingian Gaul during the seventh century.

Chapter 4: The scale and scope of monastic connections

4.1: Introduction

Assessing the monastic travel and journeys of individuals like Benedict and Wilfrid clearly demonstrates lively connections between the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms and Merovingian Gaul during the seventh century.³²⁴ This chapter builds upon the discussions in chapter 3 and further explores the scale and range of monastic connections that existed between the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms and Merovingian Gaul during the seventh century. The first section discusses the transmission of books across monastic contacts during this period. Importantly, textual transmission is a well-studied phenomenon of the early medieval period and this section is not intended as a full evaluation of the material and scholarship.³²⁵ Instead, through studying a few examples, this chapter provides a framework for looking at manuscripts and gives an indication of how this cultural material is another way of exploring connections between the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms and Merovingian Gaul. In particular, the examples chosen highlight evidence of individual contacts, regional connections, and broader contacts in existence during this period.

From a discussion of clear monastic connections and the existence of a widespread trend, the second section of this chapter moves on to examine a monastic trend that is often treated with the same level of certainty as the transmission of manuscripts but, in reality, is far less certain. A specific form of monastic organisation known as double monasteries is presumed to have flourished as a direct consequence of travel and connections between Merovingian Gaul and the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms during the seventh century. Significantly, most evidence of ecclesiastical contact and travel during this period primarily relates to male experiences. Double monasteries, however, are specifically linked to women and an examination of the supposed spread of this monastic model provides the opportunity to specifically examine female contact

³²⁴ See [figure 1](#) and [table 1](#).

³²⁵ For example, see essays in Richard Gameson (ed.), *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain: c.400-1100* (Cambridge, 2011).

and travel during the century in greater detail. An examination of the evidence linked to the existence and spread of double monasteries during the seventh century crucially demonstrates that this model of monasticism rests on unsound foundations. Even more problematically, in continuing to uncritically accept the spread of double monasteries, the nature of female contact that is visible within the textual evidence continues to be categorised incorrectly within the scholarship. Crucially, rather than being part of a broader monastic network, these connections were ultimately personal.

4.2: Monastic contact and the transmission of manuscripts

One item that was readily produced, copied, collected, and traded between monastic communities in the early medieval period was books. This section highlights ways of using manuscripts to think about the scope and nature of monastic connections that existed between the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms and Merovingian Gaul. Specifically, I will discuss evidence of individual contact which provides a sense of books moving with specific individuals and evidence of specific books moving through both individual and regional connections. Additionally, this section outlines examples of manuscripts that demonstrate a broader sense of the scale and significance of monastic contacts between the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms and Gaul during this period.

Prior to the late seventh century, in the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms, the acquisition of books and resources was closely tied to connections and travel since there was limited availability in the kingdoms.³²⁶ Indeed, there is evidence of books moving with specific individuals during their journeys in the seventh century. On at least three of his journeys to Rome, Benedict Biscop had collected a range of books to bring back to Wearmouth-Jarrow in Northumbria.³²⁷ Benedict had specifically travelled to Vienne on one of his return journeys to Northumbria in

³²⁶ Rosamond McKitterick, 'Exchanges between the British Isles and the Continent, c. 400-900' in Richard Gameson (ed.), *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain: c.400-1100* (Cambridge, 2011), pp. 313-315.

³²⁷ Bede, *HAB*, chapters 4, 6 and 9.

order to pick up books which he had originally *purchased* en route to Rome.³²⁸ The collection of books by Benedict more broadly alludes to the sheer availability and dissemination of books in southern Gaul and elsewhere during this period. Moreover, Benedict's stopover at Vienne demonstrates the importance of visiting other places alongside the intended destination as chapter 3 already outlined.³²⁹ One specific book that Benedict brought back to Northumbria from his time overseas was a book of cosmography that he acquired in Rome.³³⁰ Significantly, this book directly shaped the development of the monastery at Wearmouth-Jarrow. Ceolfrith, Benedict's successor at Wearmouth-Jarrow, had exchanged the book with King Aldfrith of Northumbria for eight hides of land.³³¹ Following the actions of his predecessor, Ceolfrith had also continued to collect books for the monastery of Wearmouth-Jarrow and greatly increased the size of the library and the range of items available.³³²

The importance of these specific monastic connections to the development of Wearmouth-Jarrow is attested in the output of the monastery. For example, the work of Bede and the range of sources he drew upon for works demonstrates the extensive collection of texts available at Wearmouth-Jarrow by the eighth century.³³³ The cultural output of the scriptorium at the monastery by the end of the seventh century equally illustrates the direct impact of travel and monastic connections. Ceolfrith had commissioned the production of three new copies of the whole Bible at the scriptorium and one of these, the *Codex Amiatinus* (Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, MS Amiatino 1), was given as a gift to the Pope from the Northumbrian monastery.³³⁴ These volumes were based on a copy of Cassiodorus's *Codex Grandior* that Ceolfrith had

³²⁸ Ibid., chapter 4.

³²⁹ Chapter 3 (3.2)

³³⁰ Bede, *HAB*, chapter 15.

³³¹ Ibid.

³³² Anonymous, *Vita Ceolfridi*, chapter 20; Bede, *HAB*, chapter 15.

³³³ For a summary of the 'continental' works, see Rosalind Love, 'The library of Venerable Bede', in Richard Gameson (ed.), *The History of the Book in Britain: c.400-1100* (Cambridge, 2011), pp. 606–632; Lapidge, *The Anglo-Saxon Library*, pp. 34–35.

³³⁴ Bede, *HAB*, chapter 15; Celia Chazelle, 'Ceolfrid's gift to St Peter: the first quire of the Codex Amiatinus and the evidence of its Roman destination', *Early Medieval Europe*. 12:2 (2003), pp. 129–157.

acquired on one of his journeys to Rome and the text of the *Codex Amiatinus* was written in a formal uncial script and incorporated decoration commonly associated with Late Antique manuscripts.³³⁵ That the *Codex Amiatinus* was not attributed to Wearmouth-Jarrow until the nineteenth century demonstrates that the uncial script and other design features were imitated with great consistency.³³⁶

Like Benedict Biscop, Wilfrid also acquired books during his travels to neighbouring Anglo-Saxon kingdoms and across Francia at places such as Lyon.³³⁷ As discussed in chapter 3, Stephen of Ripon's depiction of Wilfrid within the *Life of Saint Wilfrid* more closely aligns with Merovingian hagiographical traditions and it is possible that Merovingian hagiographical texts were among those collected by Wilfrid and that these texts reached the library at Ripon.³³⁸ In examining the content and style of Stephen's *Life of Saint Wilfrid*, Wood argued that there were several close parallels to Jonas of Bobbio's *Vita Columbani* in particular and postulated that a copy of the text was likely in the library at Ripon and probably brought there by Wilfrid from overseas.³³⁹ Whilst this is certainly not impossible, the *Vita Columbani* is a complicated work and is itself influenced by Irish traditions.³⁴⁰ An examination of the significance of an Irish influence over traditions during this period is outside the scope of this study, though it is certainly important to be aware of this influence on both English and Frankish traditions during the seventh century.³⁴¹

³³⁵ Paul Meyvaert, 'Bede, Cassiodorus, and the Codex Amiatinus', *Speculum* 71 (1996), pp. 836–838.

³³⁶ See Jennifer O'Reilly, 'All that Peter stands for': the *Romanitas* of the Codex Amiatinus reconsidered', in J. Graham-Campbell and M. Ryan (eds.), *Anglo-Saxon/Irish relations before the Vikings* (Oxford, 2009), pp. 367–368; Chazelle, 'Ceolfrid's gift to St Peter', pp. 129–157.

³³⁷ Stephen of Ripon, *VSW*, chapters 3–6.

³³⁸ See chapter 3 (3.2).

³³⁹ Wood, 'Ripon, Francia and the Franks Casket in the Early Middle Ages', pp. 11–14.

³⁴⁰ On the Irish influence, see O'Hara and Wood, 'Introduction', in *ibid* (ed and trans.), *Jonas of Bobbio: Life of Columbanus, Life of John of Réomé, and Life of Vedast and Alexander* O'Hara, 'The *Vita Columbani* in Merovingian Gaul', *Early Medieval Europe* 17:2 (2009), pp. 126–153.

³⁴¹ See also below, 4.3.

More broadly, the contents of the library at Ripon and elsewhere remains difficult to determine with certainty. Reconstructing the contents of early medieval libraries is made particularly difficult given the subsequent destruction and loss of books throughout subsequent centuries. Attempts to reconstruct the contents of libraries are often based on identifying the texts used by early medieval authors like Bede.³⁴² Fortunately, however, there are some early book lists that have survived from the period that give a sense of the range of texts in circulation and provide evidence of broader monastic contact. For example, an early Anglo-Saxon book list is likely preserved within the *Leiden Glossary* (Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek, Voss. lat. Q. 69) copied in AD 800 at St Gallen.³⁴³ The *Leiden Glossary* consists of forty-eight chapters which draw upon secular and patristic texts including the works of Jerome, Rufinus, Gildas and Isidore of Seville.³⁴⁴ Based on the inclusion of works of Isidore who died in AD 636, the original composition of the text is broadly dated between AD 650 and AD 800.³⁴⁵ More significantly, since a high number of the glosses within the text are written in Old English, around 250 in total, it is assumed that the St Gallen scribe was working from an Anglo-Saxon exemplar.³⁴⁶ Going one step further, based on an analysis of the texts incorporated within the *Glossary*, Lapidge surmised that the initial Anglo-Saxon text originated from Canterbury and provides a record of the teachings of the school of Hadrian and Theodore during the seventh century.³⁴⁷ Lapidge highlights several compelling reasons to assume that the original text did indeed come from Canterbury. For example, on more than one occasion there are references to both Theodore and Hadrian within the *Glossary*.³⁴⁸ Whilst the origin of the Anglo-Saxon exemplar may not

³⁴² For a detailed reconstruction of early Anglo-Saxon libraries based on this approach, see Michael Lapidge, *The Anglo-Saxon Library* (Oxford, 2005), esp. chapters 3–5.

³⁴³ Lapidge, *The Anglo-Saxon Library*, pp. 33–34; Patrizia Lendinara, 'The world of Anglo-Saxon learning', in Malcolm Godden and Michael Lapidge (eds.), *The Cambridge Companion to Old English Literature* (Cambridge, 1986), pp. 274–275.

³⁴⁴ For a full list of texts, see Michael Lapidge, 'The school of Theodore and Hadrian', *Anglo-Saxon England* 15 (1986), pp. 54–55.

³⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 55.

³⁴⁶ J.D. Pheifer, 'Early Anglo-Saxon glossaries and the school of Canterbury', *Anglo-Saxon England* 16 (1987), pp. 17–18; Lapidge, *The Anglo-Saxon Library*, p. 33.

³⁴⁷ Lapidge, 'The school of Theodore and Hadrian', pp. 54–55, p. 67.

³⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 58–59.

be known, the *Leiden Glossary* nonetheless remains significant in revealing the transmission of material from an Anglo-Saxon kingdom to mainland Europe during the early medieval period. Moreover, the *Glossary* provides an indication of the different type of texts that were transmitted across monastic contacts.

Importantly, books could also be used to disseminate information between monasteries, while manuscripts often incorporated additional information alongside a copy of the intended text. One notable example to briefly consider are the 'Frankish Annals of Lindisfarne and Kent' examined in detail by Joanna Story.³⁴⁹ These Annals are preserved within the margins of Easter tables in seven surviving copies of the *Cyclus Paschalis* distributed across several monasteries across Francia dated between the mid eighth to ninth centuries.³⁵⁰ The additional notes preserved in the margins do not directly relate to the text preserved within the manuscripts and, instead, include entries of wider historical information. Significantly, most of the annotated margins included details of the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms of Kent and Northumbria from the death of Æthelberht of Kent in AD 616 to the death of Bede in AD 735. Although the copies originate outside of the chronological framework for this study, the texts refer to seventh-century events and some of the information preserved within the manuscripts such as definitive dates for the death of Ecgbert and Eadric of Kent is not known from any other source including Bede's *Ecclesiastical History*.³⁵¹ It is possible that this information was first recorded in the seventh century at a scriptorium in Kent and that no copies of the text which documented this information remained in the kingdom by the time Bede had requested books from his informants.³⁵² Interestingly, the copy from the monastery at Fulda, founded in the mid-eighth century as a result of the Bonifatian mission, only refers to Northumbrian material, and the uncial script and layout suggests that the initial manuscript originated from a scriptorium in

³⁴⁹ Joanna Story, 'The Frankish Annals of Lindisfarne and Kent', *Anglo-Saxon England* 34 (2005), pp. 59–109.

³⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 59–60.

³⁵¹ *Ibid.*, p. 60, p. 83, p. 100

³⁵² Bede, *HE*, preface.

Northumbria before subsequently being copied at Fulda.³⁵³ If the original copy did originate from Northumbria, it is possible that the text was among the works sent to Boniface given his connections with the kingdom and his requests for books from Northumbrian monasteries.³⁵⁴ The remaining annals that refer to Anglo-Saxon history incorporate information from both Kent and Northumbria, strongly indicating that the information arrived at the scriptoria which produced these copies through different monastic connections than those at Fulda.³⁵⁵ Crucially, the 'Frankish Annals of Lindisfarne and Kent' provide a unique source to understand more fully how information was preserved, copied, and distributed across monastic contacts and across kingdoms in the early Middle Ages. Whilst the Annals reveal contact in later centuries, it is possible that information was disseminated across monastic contacts in a similar way during the seventh century.

Returning to the period under study, from the later seventh century, there is evidence of specific books being manufactured in the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms for exportation overseas. As already mentioned, the *Codex Amiatinus* was commissioned by Ceolfrith to be taken as a gift to Rome rather than remain at Wearmouth-Jarrow. Alongside the commissioning of the *Codex Amiatinus*, the *Echternach Gospels* (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, MS lat. 9389) further demonstrate the start of the phenomenon of books being specifically manufactured for exportation by the turn of the eighth century at the Anglo-Saxon scriptoria as well as revealing regional monastic connections. The monastery at Echternach was founded by the missionary Willibrord in the late seventh century and the *Gospels* are largely assumed to have been commissioned to assist with Willibrord's conversion efforts in Frisia.³⁵⁶ The design of the *Gospels* certainly seems to support the link to missionary activity.

³⁵³ Story, 'The Frankish Annals of Lindisfarne and Kent', pp. 61–64, pp. 97–98.

³⁵⁴ Boniface to of Ecgbert of York (letter 75) and Boniface to Hwætberht of Wearmouth-Jarrow (letter 76), ed and trans. Emerton, *The letters of Saint Boniface*.

³⁵⁵ Story, 'The Frankish Annals of Lindisfarne and Kent', p. 61, pp. 67–68, p. 81.

³⁵⁶ Bede, *HE*, V.10; Richard Gameson, 'Northumbrian books in the seventh and eighth centuries', in Richard Gameson (ed.), *The Lindisfarne Gospels: New Perspectives* (Leiden, 2017), pp. 46–47; McKitterick, 'Exchanges between the British Isles and the Continent', pp. 319–320.

From a comparison of the design of the *Echternach Gospels* compared to other Gospels produced around the same time such as the *Lindisfarne Gospels* (London, British Library Cotton MS Nero D.IV), it is assumed that the manuscript was produced relatively quickly and possibly at short notice.³⁵⁷ It has often been suggested that the *Gospels* were produced in Northumbria at the turn of the eighth century.³⁵⁸ To curtail nationalistic attitudes within academic discourse, more recent discussions do not attribute the Gospels to a specific scriptorium.³⁵⁹ One of the scribes who worked on the manuscript has been identified as the same scribe who produced the *Durham Gospels* (Durham, Durham Cathedral Library, MSS A.II.10) in the mid-seventh century.³⁶⁰ The *Durham Gospels* were previously attributed to the scriptorium at Lindisfarne, though it has now been recognised that the Gospels may have been made on Iona and subsequently brought to Northumbria.³⁶¹ Elsewhere, a sustained connection between Lindisfarne and Echternach is evidenced by Bede's story in the *Vita Cuthberti* of a monk from Echternach visiting the monastery.³⁶² According to Bede, the monk fell ill at Lindisfarne and was cured by Cuthbert after praying by his tomb before returning to Echternach afterwards.³⁶³

³⁵⁷ Gameson, 'Northumbrian books in the seventh and eighth centuries', p. 46.

³⁵⁸ Not all agree with the attribution and others have suggested Ireland. For a summary of the debate on the origin of the *Echternach Gospels*, see Nancy Netzer, 'Willibrord's Scriptorium at Echternach and its relationship with Ireland and Lindisfarne', in Gerald Bonner, David Rollason and Clare Stancliffe (eds.), *St Cuthbert, his cult and his community to AD 1200* (Woodbridge, 1989), pp. 203–205. See also Nancy Netzer, *Cultural Interplay in the Eighth Century: The Trier Gospels and the making of a scriptorium at Echternach* (Cambridge, 1994), pp. 6–8.

³⁵⁹ Bernard Meehan, 'Interactions with Ireland', in Claire Breay and Joanna Story (eds.), *Anglo-Saxon Kingdoms: Art, Word, War* (London, 2018), p. 43.

³⁶⁰ Rosamond McKitterick, 'The diffusion of insular culture in Neustria between 650 and 850: the implications of the manuscript evidence', in H. Atsma (ed.), *La Neustrie, Les Pays au Nord de la Loire de 650 à 850: colloque historique international vol. 1* (Sigmaringen, 1989), pp. 423–426; Robert Bruce-Mitford, 'The Durham-Echternach Calligrapher', in Gerald Bonner, David Rollason and Clare Stancliffe (eds.), *St Cuthbert, his cult and his community to AD 1200* (Woodbridge, 1989), pp. 175–188.

³⁶¹ Bernard Meehan, 'The earliest Durham gospel-book', in Claire Breay and Joanna Story (eds.), *Anglo-Saxon Kingdoms: Art, Word, War* (London, 2018), catalogue (number 24), p. 107.

³⁶² Bede, *Vita Sancti Cuthberti*, ed and trans. B. Colgrave, *The Two Lives of St Cuthbert* (New York, 1969), chapter 44.

³⁶³ Ibid.

From the mid-eighth century onwards, the surviving written record more strongly demonstrates that there was a reversal in the flow of books and ecclesiastical communities in Gaul and elsewhere increasingly looked to Anglo-Saxon monasteries for resources and copies of books. This especially appears prominent in the surviving record when examining Anglo-Saxon missionary activity overseas in the peripheral areas of the Merovingian domain. For example, Boniface often requested copies of books from several of his correspondents whilst in Frisia in the mid-eighth century.³⁶⁴ Furthermore, as noted above, the *Echternach Gospels* were likely produced to assist with Willibrord's missionary efforts overseas. By the later eighth century, there was a shortage of books in more central areas of Carolingian Francia. In a letter to Charlemagne written in AD 796, Alcuin noted that he was unable to get hold of books at Tours that he previously had access to at York and requested individuals to be sent overseas to retrieve these books.³⁶⁵ Alcuin's celebrated poem of York and its library is sometimes taken as an indication of the diverse range of texts that were in circulation.³⁶⁶ However, though Alcuin lists a large number of books, the poem cannot be taken as a wholly accurate list of the contents of the library at York. Importantly, the list of texts needs to be viewed alongside the rest of the poem and both the purpose and audience need to be considered. In celebrating his intellectual roots and promoting York, it is likely that Alcuin included books and texts that he knew that were not necessarily available at York.³⁶⁷ Alcuin probably did take a number of texts with him from York when he moved to Europe, however, and this alongside his additional request may contribute to further explaining the high number of English manuscripts that have been found across libraries across Europe.

³⁶⁴ See, for example, the following correspondences in Emerton, *The letters of Saint Boniface*. Boniface to abess Eadburga of Minster-in-Thanet (letters 30 and 35), Boniface to Duddo (letter 34); Boniface to bishop Daniel of Winchester (letter 63); Boniface to Hwætberht of Wearmouth-Jarrow (letter 76) and Abbess Bugga's letter to Boniface (letter 15).

³⁶⁵ Alcuin of York's letter to Charlemagne (AD 796), ed and trans. Allot, *Alcuin of York: His life and letters*, pp. 11–13 (letter 8).

³⁶⁶ Alcuin of York, *The Bishops, Kings, and Saints of York* ed. and trans. Peter Godman (Oxford, 1982), lines 1531–1562.

³⁶⁷ Mary Garrison, 'The Library of Alcuin's York', in Richard Gameson (ed.), *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain* (Cambridge, 2011) pp. 633–664.

Alongside the presence of English manuscripts overseas, the scope and impact of monastic contact between the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms and Gaul is also visible in manuscripts produced by monastic foundations in Gaul. McKitterick's study of manuscripts dated between the seventh and ninth centuries and attributed to the monasteries of Chelles, Jouarre and Faremoutiers-en-Brie, for instance, demonstrated the clear influence of Anglo-Saxon connections over the cultural output of these foundations.³⁶⁸ Several eighth-century manuscripts ascribed to Jouarre, for example, display strong insular influences in their design and are written in an uncial and/or half-uncial script that is more commonly found within manuscripts of Anglo-Saxon origin.³⁶⁹ Significantly, the manuscript evidence from these foundations corroborates other surviving references to links across the Channel during the seventh century. Many Anglo-Saxons travelled to monasteries in Neustria during the seventh century and Chelles, Jouarre and Faremoutiers were specifically mentioned by Bede as intended destinations.³⁷⁰ Moreover, the anonymous *Vita Domnae Balthildis* noted that many Anglo-Saxon slaves rescued by Balthild were sent to her associated foundations including Chelles.³⁷¹ Though the manuscripts of these Gaulish foundations cannot be attributed to a specific connection or individual, they crucially provide a broader sense of both the scale and impact of monastic contact during this period.

Whilst most evidence regarding the acquisition and circulation of books gives a sense of the scale of monastic connections, it is important to also recognise that there are glimpses of secular individuals collecting and, in some cases, commissioning books. Aldfrith, as noted above, traded land for a book of cosmography and likely obtained many other books during his lifetime.³⁷² Aldhelm of Malmesbury for example probably sent the king books since he had

³⁶⁸ See McKitterick, 'The diffusion of insular culture in Neustria between 650 and 850', pp. 395–492.

³⁶⁹ McKitterick, 'Nuns' scriptoria in England and Frankia in the eighth century', pp 1–3.

³⁷⁰ Bede, *HE*, III.8. For further discussion, see below 4.3.

³⁷¹ Anonymous, *VDB*, chapter 9.

³⁷² Bede, *HAB*, chapter 15.

connections with the king and dedicated his *Epistola ad Arcircium* to him.³⁷³ It remains uncertain whether Aldfrith commissioned a monastery to produce any books during his lifetime but it is possible given his educational background. Importantly, it must be noted that Aldfrith may be a special case and not necessarily representative of a widespread trend since he did spend a great deal of time in a monastery in Ireland earlier in his life. Although Bede does not explicitly mention that Sigeberht had brought books with him upon his return to East Anglia, it seems likely that he did return to the kingdom with books that he had collected during exile specifically to enable him to continue practicing his faith.³⁷⁴ Importantly, by the eighth century, there is clear evidence of kings directly influencing the output of monasteries. Felix seems to have been commissioned to write the *Life of Guthlac* by the East Anglian king Ælfwald rather than by a bishop or monastic community associated with Guthlac for example.³⁷⁵

Through a survey of the transmission of manuscripts between the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms and Merovingian Gaul, this section has highlighted how this form of evidence provides another way of exploring the varied nature and scale of monastic connections that existed between these regions. The evidence of individual contact, for example, provides a clear sense of books moving with specific individuals and, in some cases, specific books moving between these regions. Meanwhile, the existence of manuscripts which are not necessarily attached to individuals such as those attributed to the monastery of Jouarre provide a broader impression of contacts. More significantly, this section has explored certain monastic contacts and the implications can be discussed with

³⁷³ Aldhelm, *Epistola ad Arcircium*, I, CXLII ed and trans. Michael Lapidge and Michael Herren, *Aldhelm: The Prose Works* (Cambridge, 2009). On the close relationship between Aldhelm and Aldfrith, see Michael Lapidge, 'The Career of Aldhelm', *Anglo-Saxon England* 36 (2007), pp. 15–69. See also Barbara Yorke, 'Aldhelm's Irish and British Connections', in Katherine Barker and Nicholas Brooks (eds.), *Aldhelm and Sherborne: Essays to Celebrate the Founding of the Bishopric* (Oxford, 2010), pp. 177–180.

³⁷⁴ Bede, *HE*, II.15, III.18. On Sigeberht, see chapter 2 (2.3.1).

³⁷⁵ Felix, *Vita Sancti Guthlaci*, prologue, ed and trans. Bertram Colgrave, *Felix's Life of Saint Guthlac* (Cambridge, 1956)

some degree of certainty. This is directly at odds with the next monastic connection (and presumed implications) which the analysis now turns to.

4.3: Double monasteries: A seventh-century reality?

Alongside the production and transmission of texts, the flourishing of so-called 'double monasteries' on either side of the Channel is also said to be a consequence of monastic connections and travel during the seventh century. In its most basic definition, a double monastery is a monastic foundation that was associated with a community of both males and females with shared spaces and was overseen by an abbess.³⁷⁶ Additionally, these foundations were predominantly tied to political power and abbesses were usually high-standing figures such as daughters of kings.³⁷⁷ Earlier scholarship examining double monasteries centred around locating a single point of origin, and Bateson first identified Merovingian Gaul in a detailed study published more than a century ago.³⁷⁸ From Gaul, this new form of monasticism purportedly spread across the Channel as a direct result of individuals (especially women) entering monastic foundations overseas due to the lack of foundations in the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms earlier in the seventh century.³⁷⁹ Problematically, Bateson's analysis continues to be relied on without critical engagement and the spread of double monasteries during the seventh century has largely become an embedded fact within scholarly discussions.³⁸⁰ Indeed, despite being considered a widespread

³⁷⁶ Catherine Peyroux, 'Double Monasteries', in Margaret Schaus (ed.), *Women and Gender in Medieval Europe* (New York, 2006), p. 226. For a discussion of its definition, see Alison I. Beach and Andra Jusanaru, 'The Double Monastery as a historiographical problem (fourth to twelfth century)', in Alison I. Beach and Isabelle Cochelin (eds.), *The Cambridge History of Medieval Monasticism in the Latin West* (Cambridge, 2020), pp. 563–565.

³⁷⁷ Dunn, *The Emergence of Monasticism*, pp. 164–166.

³⁷⁸ Mary Bateson, 'Origin and early history of double monasteries', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 13 (1899), pp. 137–198.

³⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 155–156, pp. 168–169.

³⁸⁰ For example, see Penelope Walton Rogers, 'In search of Hild: A review of the context of abbess Hild's life, her religious establishment, and the relevance of recent archaeological finds from Whitby Abbey', in Gale R. Owen-Crocker and Maren Clegg Hyer (eds.), *Art and Worship in the Insular World* (Leiden, 2021), p. 126; Yorke, 'Queen Balhild's 'monastic policy' and the origins of female religious houses in southern England', pp. 7–17; Jane Gerchow, 'Early monasteries and foundations (500–1200)', in Jeffrey Hamburger and Susan

phenomenon by the later seventh century, detailed investigations have been few and far between. Moreover, the in-depth studies that do exist are geographically limited and have largely centred on the southern Anglo-Saxon kingdoms of Kent and Wessex.³⁸¹ However, a re-examination of the surviving evidence associated with double monasteries suggests that there was no greater push to promote a new form of religious house across cross-Channel connections during the seventh century. Crucially, as highlighted below, the existence of double monasteries in Gaul during the seventh century should not be taken as absolutely certain since the surviving evidence is not only ambiguous, but also in short supply. Equally, the evidence relating to seventh-century Anglo-Saxon double houses is uneven and complicated to examine.³⁸² Overall, there is no real evidence of a widespread trend as seen with the circulation of books. Though the evidence does not indicate the existence of a broader monastic trend, significantly, much of the contemporary evidence linked to double monasteries does attest to a series of personal journeys and

Mart (eds.), *Crown and Veil: Female Monasticism from the Fifth to Fifteenth Centuries* (New York, 2008), pp. 15–17;

Barbara Yorke, *Nunneries and the Anglo-Saxon Royal Houses* (London, 2003), pp. 3–4, pp. 166–167; Régine Le Jan, 'Convents, violence and competition for power in seventh-century Francia', in Mayke de Jong and Frans Theuws (eds.), *Topographies of Power in the Early Middle Ages* (Leiden, 2001), p. 246; Sarah Foot, *Veiled Women I: The Disappearance of Nuns from Anglo-Saxon England* (Aldershot, 2000), pp. 37–39, pp. 49–56; McKitterick, 'Nuns' scriptoria in England and Francia in the eighth century', pp. 29–30; Dagmar Beate Baltrusch-Schneider, 'Die angelsächsischen Doppelklöster', in Kaspar Elm and Michel Parisse (eds.), *Doppelklöster und andere Formen der Symbiose männlicher und weiblicher Religiösen im Mittelalter* (Berlin, 1992), pp. 57–80; Alaine Dierkins, 'Prolégomènes à une histoire des relations culturelles entre les îles Britanniques et le continent pendant le haut Moyen Âge', in H. Atsma (ed.), *La Neustrie, Les Pays au Nord de la Loire de 650 à 850: colloque historique international vol. 1* (Sigmaringen, 1989), pp. 376–378; Yorke, "'Sisters under the Skin?'" , pp. 95–117; Jane Tibbetts Schulenburg, 'Women's monastic communities, 500–1000: patterns of expansion and decline', *Signs* 14 :2 (1989), pp. 272–273; Sims-Williams, 'Continental influence at Bath monastery', pp. 1–10; John Godfrey, 'The Place of the Double-Monastery in the Anglo-Saxon Minister System' in Gerald Bonner (ed.), *Famulus Christi: Essays in Commemoration of the Thirteenth Centenary of the Birth of the Venerable Bede* (London, 1976), pp. 344–350.

³⁸¹ For a discussion of Kent, see Yorke, "'Sisters under the Skin?'" , pp. 95–117 and Yorke, 'Queen Balhild's 'monastic policy' and the origins of female religious houses in southern England', pp. 7–17. For a case study of the monastery at Bath (West Saxon), see Sims-Williams, 'Continental influence at Bath monastery in the seventh century', pp. 1–10.

³⁸² Yorke previously noted the variation in the evidence relating to the Anglo-Saxon 'double monasteries'. Yorke, *Nunneries and the Anglo-Saxon Royal Houses*, p. 2.

connections that can be discussed with greater certainty. Though smaller in scale, these connections are still important since they provide a glimpse of specifically female travel and contact across the Channel during the seventh century.

Bede's reference to men and women travelling to Neustria and entering the monasteries of Faremoutiers-en-Brie, Chelles and Andelys-Sur-Seine during the seventh century is heavily cited in discussions of monastic connections and the spread of double monasteries.³⁸³ Along with many other foundations in Neustria including Jouarre, these foundations are considered to have been double houses during the seventh century.³⁸⁴ Importantly, there are also references to specific individuals entering these monastic foundations. Both Sæthryth and Æthelburh, the stepdaughter and daughter of Anna of East Anglia, and Eorcengota, the daughter of Eadbald of Kent, travelled to Faremoutiers and subsequently were appointed as abbesses.³⁸⁵ That Anglo-Saxon princesses were able to hold prominent positions may further reveal the importance of the underlying political connections established between the Anglo-Saxon and Merovingian royal courts during the seventh century. Indeed, Faremoutiers was closely associated with Mayor Erchinoald whose Anglo-Saxon links have already been discussed in chapter 2.³⁸⁶ Taking the broader political backdrop in Neustria into consideration, Le Jan argued that the appointment of Anglo-Saxon abbesses was a purposeful choice made by the Erchinoald's faction to strengthen their authority in the region.³⁸⁷ The link to politics rather than their organisation may therefore stand as a reason why these monasteries are so clearly marked within the surviving record compared to other foundations.

³⁸³ Bede, *HE*, III.8. For example, see scholarship listed in footnote 380.

³⁸⁴ For a full list, see S.E. Rigold, 'The 'Double Minsters' of Kent and their Analogies', *Journal of the British Archaeological Association* 31 (1968), pp. 27–37; Yorke, *Nunneries and the Anglo-Saxon Royal Houses*, p. 28, pp. 35–36.

³⁸⁵ Bede, *HE*, III.8.

³⁸⁶ Chapter 2 (2.2.2). Le Jan, 'Convents, violence and competition for power in seventh-century Francia', pp. 254–255.

³⁸⁷ Le Jan, 'Convents, violence and competition for power in seventh-century Francia', pp. 250–255.

Certainly, there is no indication from Bede that the monasteries which Anglo-Saxon individuals travelled to were necessarily unique in their practice or different from any other monastery in Neustria or elsewhere. Moreover, the surviving Merovingian sources linked to these monasteries do not appear to suggest that these foundations were different from neighbouring monasteries and the housing of both males and females during the seventh century is equally made unclear. The monastery at Chelles, for example, does not appear to have been a double monastery. Whilst there are references to the presence of priests and monks at Chelles within the anonymous *Vita Domnae Balthildis*, these individuals largely appear to be carrying out sacramental functions only and do not appear to have been permanently residing at the monastery.³⁸⁸ For instance, following Balthild's death in AD 680, several priests arrived at the monastery to commend her soul to God.³⁸⁹ By contrast, the anonymous author of the *Vita Bertillae*, the first abbess of Chelles, seems to imply the general presence of men in the community. According to the anonymous author, Bertilla had received several requests for assistance in founding monasteries from several Anglo-Saxon kings and she sent both male and females to their aid.³⁹⁰ The discrepancy between the *Vita Domnae Balthildis* and the *Vita Bertillae* could possibly be explained by the date of composition of each text. Whilst the anonymous author of Balthild's life composed the text shortly after her death in the late seventh century, the *Vita Bertillae* was not composed until the later eighth century.³⁹¹ Scholarship has largely assumed that the organisation of the monastery had changed under Bertilla and the reference to men and women by the anonymous author is taken as clear evidence of Chelles operating as a double monastery by the eighth century.³⁹² Furthermore, the reference is often used to support the suggestion that the anonymous author of the *Vita Domnae*

³⁸⁸ Anonymous, *VDB*, chapters 7, 15 and 17.

³⁸⁹ Ibid, chapter 15.

³⁹⁰ Anonymous, *Vita Bertilla*, chapter 6. ed. and trans. Jo Ann McNamara, John E. Halbord and E. Gordon Whatley *Sainted Women in the Dark Ages* (London, 1992), pp. 279–288.

³⁹¹ Suzanne Fonay Wemple, *Women in Frankish Society: Marriage and the cloister* (Philadelphia, 1981), pp. 161–162.

³⁹² For example, see *ibid.*, p. 162; C.H. Lawrence, *Medieval Monasticism: Forms of Religious Life in Europe in the Middle Ages* (Abingdon, 2015), pp. 52–53; Hen Yitzhak, *Culture and Religion in Merovingian Gaul AD 481-751* (Leiden, 1995), p. 93.

Balthildis was a monk rather than a nun.³⁹³ However, if Bertilla did indeed send both men and women, they may not necessarily have come from the same monastery. It is possible that the monks were sent from other monastic foundations closely associated with Chelles, such as Corbie, founded by Balthild around AD 660.³⁹⁴

Jonas of Bobbio's discussion of brothers at Faremoutiers within the *Life of Columbanus* composed after AD 615 is also rather vague but does not seem to imply that a community of monks were housed alongside nuns at the monastery, only that there were shared spaces for learning and religious practices.³⁹⁵ On one occasion, Jonas himself was part of a group of male ecclesiastical members from a different monastery (Lérins) that had specifically travelled to Faremoutiers for mass.³⁹⁶ According to Bede, upon the death of Eorcengota at Faremoutiers, a group of males were present at the monastery along with the female community and it is possible that a group had specifically travelled there from an associated monastery like Lérins.³⁹⁷ Jonas's comments regarding Faremoutiers are highly significant since the development of double monasteries in Gaul is strongly associated with Irish missionary activity and the influence of Columbanus especially from the late-sixth to early-seventh century.³⁹⁸ Moreover, double monasteries are not considered to have been a direct implantation from Ireland and no studies of monasticism in early Ireland

³⁹³ Tatum, 'Auctoritas as Sanctitas: Balthild's depiction as 'queen-saint' in the *Vita Balthildis*', p. 812.

³⁹⁴ Anonymous, *VDB*, Chapter 7.

³⁹⁵ For a detailed analysis, see I.N. Wood, 'Merovingian Monasticism and England', in Gabor Thomas and Andrew Knox (eds.), *Early Medieval Monasticism in the North Sea Zone* (Oxford, 2017), pp. 20.

³⁹⁶ Jonas of Bobbio, *The Life of Columbanus*, II.11. ed. and trans. Alexander O'Hara and Ian Wood, *Jonas of Bobbio: Life of Columbanus, Life of John of Réoé, and Life of Vedast* (Liverpool, 2017)

³⁹⁷ Bede, *HE*, III.8.

³⁹⁸ James, 'Elite women in the Merovingian period', pp. 239–240; Lawrence, *Medieval Monasticism*, pp. 44–45, p. 52; Fonay Wemple, *Women in Frankish Society: Marriage and the cloister*, pp. 127–197; Jean-Marie Guillaume, 'Les abbayes de femmes en pays franc, des origines à la fin du VIIe siècle', in M. Parisse (ed.), *Remiremont, l'abbaye et la ville: Actes des journées d'études vosgiennes Remiremont 17-20 avril, 1980* (Nancy, 1980), pp. 29–46; Wood, 'Reform and the Merovingian Church', pp. 99–100.

have suggested that they existed or were promoted in the region.³⁹⁹ One possible exception is the monastery at Kildare founded in the fifth century by Brigit which appears as an outlier compared to other Irish foundations.⁴⁰⁰ Several passages in the *Vita Sanctae Brigitae* composed around AD 650 by Cogitosus, a member of the community at Kildare, seems to imply that both male and females resided at the monastery.⁴⁰¹ Unfortunately, it is not clear how the housing worked at the monastery based on Cogitosus's account and since no traces of the early church have survived, it remains difficult to move beyond speculation.⁴⁰² Though an evaluation of the influence of the Columbanian missionary efforts over the development of the Merovingian Church is outside the scope of the thesis, it is important to note that the narrative constructed within discussions of double monasteries potentially brushes over the complexities of the Merovingian Church and its development.⁴⁰³ Much of the information regarding Columbanus and his influence originates from the *Vita Columbani*, but Jonas carefully constructed his narrative to place Columbanus within the broader context of the period and elevate his role in instigating reform within the Merovingian Church.⁴⁰⁴ If Columbanus did indeed inspire a new form of religious house to develop, it seems unlikely that Jonas would have omitted this detail from his narrative particularly since one or more of the religious houses classified as double monasteries were linked to other Columbanian houses.⁴⁰⁵ For example, in AD 627 Burgundofara founded Faremoutiers under the guidance of abbots from Columbanus's main monastic foundation at Luxeuil.⁴⁰⁶ Based on a close analysis of the references to

³⁹⁹ See for example, T.M. Charles-Edwards, *Early Christian Ireland* (Cambridge, 2002); J. Ryan, *Irish Monasticism, its origins and early development* (Dublin, 1972).

⁴⁰⁰ Christina Harrington, *Women in a Celtic Church* (Oxford, 2002), p. 5.

⁴⁰¹ Cogitosus, *Vita Sanctae Brigitae*, preface, chapter 32, ed and trans. Sean Connolly and J.M. Pichard, 'Cogitosus: Life of Saint Brigit', *The Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland* 117 (1987), pp. 11–27.

⁴⁰² Harrington, *Women in a Celtic Church*, pp. 76–77, pp. 100–103.

⁴⁰³ see Wood, 'The Irish in England and on the Continent in the Seventh Century: Part II', pp. 189–214; Wood, 'The Irish in England and on the Continent in the Seventh Century: Part I', pp. 171–198. See also, Wood, 'Merovingian monasticism and England', pp. 17–24.

⁴⁰⁴ Alexander O' Hara, *Jonas of Bobbio and the Legacy of Columbanus* (Oxford, 2018), p. 1–29; Fox, *Power and Religion in Merovingian Gaul*, pp. 2–10.

⁴⁰⁵ Wood, 'Merovingian monasticism and England', p. 20.

⁴⁰⁶ Jonas of Bobbio, *The Life of Columbanus*, II.12.

Faremoutiers by Jonas of Bobbio, Wood contended that if double monasteries did exist, they were inherently Anglo-Saxon in origin rather than Merovingian.⁴⁰⁷

Yet, the existence of double monasteries in the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms during the seventh century is equally as ambiguous. Whitby, founded by Hilda in AD 657, is considered the archetype of a double monastery.⁴⁰⁸ Whitby was strongly connected to the monastery at Chelles through Hilda's personal connection with the monastery. Hilda had intended to travel to Chelles and join her sister Hereswith who had earlier travelled and entered the monastery.⁴⁰⁹ Moreover, that Hilda maintained contact with her sister is an important sign of women maintaining their own connections across the sea and it seems likely that other women did this too. Interestingly, rather than departing from a port in Northumbria, Hilda had travelled to East Anglia and intended to depart from there.⁴¹⁰ Hereswith had married an East Anglian royal and it is likely that she utilised the connections established by Sigeberht between the kingdom and Gaul to carry out her journey, and that Hilda likewise had intended to exploit these connections.⁴¹¹ Rather than continuing her journey to Chelles, Hilda returned to Northumbria and entered the monastery at Hartlepool and subsequently became the abbess of the foundation shortly before founding the monastery at Whitby.⁴¹² Hartlepool is assumed to have become a double monastery following Hilda's appointment, although there is no firm evidence to support this suggestion and evidence of the early monastery is currently limited.⁴¹³ By contrast, Whitby is well documented within the surviving record

⁴⁰⁷ Wood, 'Merovingian monasticism and England', p. 22.

⁴⁰⁸ Bede, *HE*, IV. 23. Whitby is mentioned in most discussions. See scholarship listed in footnote 361.

⁴⁰⁹ Ibid.

⁴¹⁰ Ibid.

⁴¹¹ Ibid., See also chapter 2 (2.3.1).

⁴¹² Bede, *HE*, IV.23. For a detailed discussion of the foundation of Whitby, see Walton Rogers, 'In search of Hild', pp. 131–132.

⁴¹³ Baltrusch-Schneider, 'Die angelsächsischen doppelklöster', p. 58; Sarah Foot, 'Church and monastery in Bede's Northumbria', in Scott DeGregorio (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to Bede* (Cambridge, 2010), pp. 47–48, pp. 60–66. Archaeological evidence of

and played a significant role in shaping ecclesiastical developments within Northumbria. Most notably, the monastery hosted a synod in AD 664 to decide the future direction of the Northumbrian Church.⁴¹⁴ The foundation also had a reputation for high learning and is reflected in the cultural output of the monastery during the century.⁴¹⁵ For example, the earliest known *Vita Gregori* was written at the monastery during the century by an anonymous member of the community.⁴¹⁶ Whether the *Vita* was composed by a nun or a monk divides scholars and arguments in favour of the latter rest strongly upon Whitby's classification as a double monastery.⁴¹⁷ It is not impossible that the *Vita Gregori* was composed by a male individual associated with the monastery since there are references to men at the monastery. In particular, Bede noted that six Anglo-Saxon bishops had received their education at Whitby and that brothers travelled to an associated monastery at Hackness to share the news of Hilda's death in AD 680.⁴¹⁸ More recently, the seventh-century cemetery discovered at Street House (North-East Yorkshire) which included a spectacular female bed burial (grave 42) and other high-status burials has been linked to the community at Whitby.⁴¹⁹ The cemetery at Street House lies one mile north of Easington which assumed to be the location of *Osingadun*, an estate owned by Whitby.⁴²⁰ The information and evidence linked to Whitby certainly seems to imply that the monastery did stand out from other seventh-century foundations

seventh-century occupation at the site is also currently limited. See Robin Daniels, *Anglo-Saxon Hartlepool and the foundations of English Christianity* (Cleveland, 2007).

⁴¹⁴ Bede, *HE*, III.25.

⁴¹⁵ Peter Hunter Blair, 'Whitby as a centre of learning in the seventh century', in Michael Lapidge and Helmut Gneuss (eds.), *Learning and Literature in Anglo-Saxon England* (Cambridge, 1985), pp. 7–8.

⁴¹⁶ Anonymous, *Vita Gregori*, ed and trans. Bertram Colgrave, *The Earliest Life of Gregory the Great* (Cambridge, 1968).

⁴¹⁷ On the authorship, see Andrew Breeze, 'Did a woman write the Whitby life of St Gregory?', *Northern History* 49 (2012), pp. 345–350.

⁴¹⁸ Bede, *HE*, IV.23.

⁴¹⁹ Stephen Sherlock, *A Royal Anglo-Saxon cemetery at Street House, Loftus, North-East Yorkshire* (Hartlepool, 2012). On the bed burial, see pp. 130–132.

⁴²⁰ Thomas Pickles, 'Conversion, ritual, and landscape: *Streoneshalh* (Whitby), *Osingadun*, and the Anglo-Saxon cemetery at Street House, North Yorkshire', in M. Boulton and M. D. J. Bintley (eds.), *Insular Iconographies: Essays in Honour of Jane Hawkes* (Woodbridge, 2019), pp. 81–100; Thomas Pickles, *Kingship, Society, and the Church in Anglo-Saxon Yorkshire* (Oxford, 2018), pp. 181–182.

and possibly had a different form of organisation. However, the exact housing at the monastery remains unclear and it cannot be said that men and women resided on the same site as the current definition of a double monastery implies. Though significant, Bede's reference to bishops receiving an education at Whitby is far too brief to rest any firm conclusions regarding the organisation of the monastery. In addition, Whitby alone cannot be taken as representative of all presumed double houses. Every monastery was founded under different circumstances and influenced by different connections and Whitby is only one specific example. Indeed, Yorke has suggested that the amount of information related to Whitby and Hild in Bede's narrative may be explained by the broader development of the Anglo-Saxon Church during this period.⁴²¹ Since episcopal authority was not fully developed in the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms until the later seventh century, Hilda probably had a greater involvement in the general running of ecclesiastical affairs in the kingdom of Northumbria.⁴²²

In total, no less than nineteen Anglo-Saxon foundations are confidently defined as double monasteries during the seventh and early eighth centuries.⁴²³ As noted above, only a select number of foundations have been the subject of detailed case studies. The monasteries of Lyminge, Folkestone, Sheppey, Minster-in-Thamet and Bath have been the subject of study and linked to cross-Channel contact.⁴²⁴ Problematically, much of the evidence incorporated in these studies derives from later dated sources and casts doubt over the authenticity of the information presented. Much of the evidence relating to the supposed double monasteries in Kent for instance only survives through a compilation of

⁴²¹ Yorke, *Nunneries and the Anglo-Saxon Royal Houses*, p. 189.

⁴²² Ibid.

⁴²³ This figure originated from Baltrusch-Schneider's study. Baltrusch-Schneider, 'Die angelsächsischen Doppelklöster', p. 59. The figure is often cited passively in discussions. See, for example, Gerchow, 'Early monasteries and foundations (500–1200)', pp. 16–17; Yorke, *Nunneries and the Anglo-Saxon Royal Houses*, p. 12. For a list, see also Virginia Blanton, 'Imagining the lost libraries of Anglo-Saxon Double Monasteries', in Helene Scheck and Christine E. Kozikowski (eds.), *New Readings on Women and Early Medieval English Literature and Culture* (Amsterdam, 2019), pp. 90–86 (appendix).

⁴²⁴ Yorke, 'Queen Balthild's 'monastic policy' and the origins of female religious houses in southern England'; pp. 7–17; Yorke, "'Sisters under the skin?'"', pp. 97–98; Sims-Williams, 'Continental influence at Bath monastery', pp. 4–6.

twelfth-century hagiographical material collectively known as the Mildrith Legend.⁴²⁵ According to the Legend, Mildrith had travelled to Chelles to receive her monastic education before returning to Minster-in-Thanet and becoming abbess of the monastery in AD 694.⁴²⁶ Even if the information preserved is authentic, the type of education Mildrith received at Chelles is not discussed and rests on the assumption that Chelles was a double monastery. In relying so heavily upon the Mildrith Legend in her analysis of southern monasteries, Yorke's research demonstrates both the difficulty in attempting to examine the existence of double monasteries and the scarcity of contemporary evidence available to examine. Similarly, Sims-Williams relies upon early charters preserved within a twelfth-century cartulary to discuss the monastery at Bath and its supposedly Frankish origins.⁴²⁷ One charter refers to the foundation of the monastery in AD 675 by Berta whilst another refers to an additional land grant in AD 681 and named Folcburg as abbess of the monastery.⁴²⁸ Although both charters are presumed to be genuine, their later preservation creates uncertainty over their accuracy since additional detail may have been added over time.⁴²⁹ Based on the spelling of Berta and that Æthelberht of Kent's wife had the same name, Sims-Williams claimed that Bath was founded by a Frankish noble.⁴³⁰ Likewise, since the name Folcburg rarely appears in Anglo-Saxon sources, Sims-Williams argued that Folcburg was also a Frankish individual.⁴³¹ It is certainly plausible to suggest that these individuals were Frankish since there are clear monastic connections and travel between Wessex and Gaul during the seventh century and several Frankish individuals were

⁴²⁵ Yorke, "Sisters under the skin?", p. 96. Yorke, *Nunneries and the Anglo-Saxon Royal Houses*, pp. 25–26.

⁴²⁶ David Rollason, *The Mildrith Legend: a study in Early Medieval Hagiography in England* (Leicester, 1982), pp. 11–13.

⁴²⁷ Sims-Williams, 'Continental influence at Bath monastery', pp. 2–3.

⁴²⁸ *Electronic Sawyer* S51 (foundation of Bath) and S1167 (land grant to the monastery of Bath).

⁴²⁹ Sims-Williams, 'Continental influence at Bath monastery', p. 2. For an overview of the debate over the authenticity of the charters, see Heather Edwards, *The Charters of the Early West Saxon Kingdom* (Oxford, 1988), pp. 214–223.

⁴³⁰ Sims-Williams, 'Continental influence at Bath monastery', p. 2.

⁴³¹ Sims-Williams, *Religion and Literature in Western England, 600–800*, pp. 112–113.

promoted to the kingdom's bishopric.⁴³² Indeed, Sims-Williams strongly associated the foundation of Bath with the monastery at Chelles given the date of its foundation and suggested that Berta and Folcburg were possibly part of the group of men and women that abbess Bertilla had sent to the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms following a request for assistance with conversion.⁴³³ However, even if a Frankish abbess founded Bath, this fact alone does not provide any indication of the nature and organisation of the monastery. Crucially, the evidence from the monasteries of Chelles and Faremoutiers outlined above does not seem to suggest that these monasteries represented a new form of religious house. Ultimately, the classification of Bath as a double monastery rests upon the assumption that the information preserved within the cartulary is authentic and that double monasteries clearly existed in Gaul during the seventh century.

Following Bateson's analysis, scholarship has drawn upon a specific canon in a Penitential (*Iudicia Theodori*) attributed to Archbishop Theodore of Canterbury as further proof that double monasteries existed in the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms by the later seventh century.⁴³⁴ The canon seems to express disapproval towards a particular relationship between men and women within the Anglo-Saxon Church:

Non licet viris feminas habere monochas neque feminis viros : tamen nos non destruamus illud quod consuetudo est in hac terra. ⁴³⁵

It is not permissible for men to have monastic women, nor women, men; nevertheless, we shall not overthrow that which is the custom in this region. ⁴³⁶

⁴³² Bede, *HE*, III.7. See chapter 2 (2.3).

⁴³³ Anonymous, *Vitae Bertilla*, chapter 6; Sims-Williams, 'Continental influence at Bath monastery', p. 4, p. 7.

⁴³⁴ Bateson, 'Origin and early history of double monasteries', p. 177. See, for example, Yorke, *Nunneries and the Anglo-Saxon Royal Houses*, p. 25; Michael W. Herren and Shirley Ann Brown, *Christ in Celtic Christianity* (Woodbridge, 2002), pp. 141–142; Stephanie Hollis, *Anglo-Saxon Women and the Church* (Woodbridge, 2002), p. 273; Foot, *Veiled Women*, p. 54; Patrick Sims-Williams, *Religion and Literature in Western England, 600-800* (Cambridge, 1990), p. 120; Yorke, "'Sisters under the skin?'" , p. 107.

⁴³⁵ *Iudicia Theodori (Paenitentiale Theodori)*, II.6, canon 8. Arthur West Haddan and William Stubbs (eds.), *Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents Relating to Great Britain and Ireland volume 3* (Oxford, 1871), p. 195.

⁴³⁶ For a full English translation of the *Penitential*, see Patrick Geary, *Readings in Medieval History: Fifth Edition* (Toronto, 2016), pp. 215–232. II.6 translation at p. 227.

The relationship referred to in the canon was clearly unorthodox outside of the Anglo-Saxon Church. However, it cannot be said for certain that the canon was alluding to double monasteries since the Latin is not clear and open to interpretation. Moreover, the canon is one very small point and should be examined alongside the remainder of the Penitential. In general, the *Iudicia Theodori* is difficult to analyse since it is not a single work but a collection of five related versions of penitential material (versions B, C, D, G, and U) that were produced between the eighth to tenth centuries.⁴³⁷ Since the versions span several centuries, there is a noticeable difference in the structure and content of each version and whether they genuinely reflect Theodore's views ought to be questioned.⁴³⁸ Indeed, the above canon importantly does not appear in every version of the Penitential.⁴³⁹

Rather than highlighting a specific form of monasticism, it is possible that the canon was referring to personal relationships between men and women. By the mid-eighth century, personal relationships and individuals not living chastely appears to have been common within the Anglo-Saxon Church. In his letter to Ecgberht of York, Bede heavily criticised the behaviour of monastic individuals, their lack of chastity and secular style of living.⁴⁴⁰ Bede implied that this behaviour was not a recent phenomenon but something which he had overlooked for a long period of time and it may have been similar behaviour

⁴³⁷ Thomas Charles-Edwards, 'The Penitential of Theodore and the *Iudicia Theodori*', in Michael Lapidge (eds.), *Archbishop Theodore: Commemorative Studies on his life and influence* (Cambridge, 1995), p. 141. The five versions (C, G, U, B, and D) are available online and can be viewed alongside one another. *Anglo-Saxon Canon Law: The Iudicia Theodori*: http://individual.utoronto.ca/michaelelliott/manuscripts/texts/iudicia_theodori.html [Accessed: May 2020]

⁴³⁸ Charles-Edwards, 'The Penitential of Theodore and the *Iudicia Theodori*', p. 144; Allen J. Frantzen, 'The tradition of penitentials in Anglo-Saxon England', *Anglo-Saxon England* 11 (1983), pp. 27–28.

⁴³⁹ The statement is included in versions C, G, and U but omitted from versions B and D.

⁴⁴⁰ Bede's letter to Ecgberht, ed and trans. Judith McClure and Roger Collins, *The Ecclesiastical History of the English People* (Oxford, 2008), pp. 343–357. *Epistolam ad Ecgberctum*, ed. Charles Plummer, *Venerabilis Baedae Opera Historica* (Oxford, 1896), pp. 405–423.

that the canon expressed disapproval of and attempted to regulate.⁴⁴¹ This interpretation of the canon does not seem implausible since other sections of the Penitential refer to relationships and chastity. For instance, several sections issue guidance relating to sexual practices and marriage.⁴⁴² The latter issue was particularly important given the background of those that entered monastic life. Entering monastic foundations became a popular choice for widowed women during the seventh century and both men and women were allowed to end their marriage in order to enter monastic life.⁴⁴³ Several queens left their marriages to enter foundations including Æthelthryth, Ecgrith of Northumbria's first wife, who entered the monastery Coldingham and subsequently Ely, both of which are presumed to have been double houses.⁴⁴⁴

Ultimately, the brevity of the canon makes it difficult to know for certain which specific custom was being referred to. However, what can be said with more confidence is that the way in which the Penitential is currently used within discussions of double monasteries is problematic. Evidently, the *Iudicia Theodori* is a complicated text to examine and specific canons should not be taken out of their broader context to fit scholarly theory. Additionally, other contemporary surviving evidence outlined above does not confidently corroborate the current scholarly reading of the canon in Theodore's Penitential. Moreover, in only focusing on one specific canon, the broader monastic connections across the Channel that an examination of the Penitential *can* reveal are overlooked. Studies of early medieval penance have highlighted the significance of the *Iudicia Theodori* in contributing to the development of penitential handbooks both within the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms and overseas.⁴⁴⁵

⁴⁴¹ For a detailed discussion of the letter, see John Blair, *Church in Anglo-Saxon Society* (Oxford, 2005), pp. 100–108.

⁴⁴² *Iudicia Theodori (Paenitentiale Theodori)*, I.2, I.14, II.12.

⁴⁴³ *Ibid.*, II.12, canon 13. On widows, see Foot, *Veiled Women*, pp. 40–43.

⁴⁴⁴ Simon Stronach, 'The Anglian monastery and medieval priory of Coldingham: *Urbs Coludi* revisited', *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland* 135 (2005), p. 395; Simon Coates, 'Dwellings of the saints monasticism in the Scottish Borders in the Early Middle Ages', *Downside Review* 114 (1996), p. 16.

⁴⁴⁵ Charles-Edwards, 'The Penitential of Theodore and the *Iudicia Theodori*', pp. 142–143; Rosamond Pierce, 'The Frankish Penitentials', *Studies in Church History* 11 (1975), pp. 34–35.

The earliest version of the Penitential assumed to have been produced by a Northumbrian scribe (version U) appears to have been widely copied and distributed across monasteries overseas since there are several surviving continental copies.⁴⁴⁶ A copy of the manuscript had reached the monastery at Corbie by the early eighth century, for example, as a version of the text is appended to a canon law collection produced at the monastery known as the *Collectio Vetus Gallica*.⁴⁴⁷

It is noteworthy that the evidence so far assessed and linked to double monasteries is mostly textual. However, since the structure of the monastery itself is one of the defining features of a double monastery, archaeological evidence should be included in studies of this model of monasticism. Though several of the monasteries classed as double houses have undergone excavation, it is difficult to establish their form. Until very recently, the organisation of the early monastery at Whitby was poorly understood despite extensive excavations in the area.⁴⁴⁸ Additionally, the true extent of the settlement at Whitby remains uncertain since much of the headland has been lost to sea.⁴⁴⁹ Recent excavations around the thirteenth-century Abbey have uncovered an early mixed cemetery with both male and female graves, a probable chapel and a ditch surrounding the cemetery.⁴⁵⁰ A cremation from the cemetery was radiocarbon dated to AD610–680 (ninety-five percent probability) and the ditch has been interpreted as the possible boundaries of the seventh century monastery.⁴⁵¹ The inclusion of male and female burials is certainly intriguing and do provide evidence of something unusual happening at

⁴⁴⁶ Bernhard Bischoff and Michael Lapidge, *Biblical Commentaries from the Canterbury School of Theodore* (Cambridge, 1994), pp. 150–152.

⁴⁴⁷ Rob Meens, *Penance in Medieval Europe, 600–1200* (Cambridge, 2014), pp. 91–93.

⁴⁴⁸ M. Johnson, 'Saxon monastery at Whitby: past, present and future', in Martin Carver (ed.), *In Search for a Cult: Archaeological Investigations in honour of P. Rahtz* (Woodbridge, 1993), pp. 85–89

⁴⁴⁹ Ibid.

⁴⁵⁰ Tony Wilmott, 'The Anglian Abbey of *Streonæshalch* – Whitby: New perspectives of topography and layout', in Gabor Thomas and Alexandra Knox (eds.), *Early Medieval Monasticism in the North Sea Zone* (Oxford, 2017), pp. 81–94; Pickles, *Kingship, Society, and the Church in Anglo-Saxon Yorkshire*, p. 132.

⁴⁵¹ Wilmott, 'The Anglian Abbey of *Streonaeschalch*', p. 94.

Whitby. However, the organisation of the monastery cannot yet be confirmed from these new finds and further excavations may uncover additional detail. At Chelles, no evidence of the Merovingian phase of the monastery has been uncovered from excavations and the earliest evidence of occupation dates from the mid-eighth century.⁴⁵² Similarly, at Bath, no evidence of structures associated with the Anglo-Saxon phase of the monastery are currently known and most recent excavations that attempted to rectify this unearthed instead a late-Saxon cemetery.⁴⁵³ At Jouarre, the unearthing of a crypt proved more of a significant find during excavations in the nineteenth century and subsequent excavations at the site have mostly concentrated on the crypts and their development at the expense of unearthing other features of the monastery.⁴⁵⁴ Consequently, from the archaeological evidence, it is currently not possible to reconstruct and compare the layout of many monasteries classified as double houses. However, even if reconstructions were possible, differences in the layout would be expected at each site. Compared to the organisation of later Benedictine monasteries, there was no set form during the seventh century and foundations were instead influenced by factors including environmental and political issues.⁴⁵⁵ Additionally, even if earlier structures were confidently revealed through archaeological excavation, it would still be difficult to have a clear sense of what activity occurred within each room or building and the distinctive separation of space that characterises this form of monastic organisation would not be immediately obvious from the layout alone.⁴⁵⁶ The existence and spread of double monasteries during the seventh century

⁴⁵² D. Coxhall, C. Charamond and E. Sethian, *Chelles: Fouilles sur le site de l'ancienne abbaye royale*, 1991-92 (Chelles, 1994), pp. 81-83.

⁴⁵³ Wessex Archaeology are currently undertaking the 'Bath Abbey Footprint Project' with the main aim of trying to unearth evidence and the structural remains of the early monastery. See <https://www.wessexarch.co.uk/our-work/bath-abbey-footprint-project> (Accessed: May 2019).

⁴⁵⁴ Gilbert-Robert Delahaye, 'Réflexions sur l'évolution des cryptes et de l'église Mérovingienne de Jouarre', *Revue d'histoire et d'art de la Brie et du Pays de Meaux* 41 (1990), pp. 15-26; Fletcher, 'The influence of Merovingian Gaul on Northumbria in the seventh century', pp. 69-86.

⁴⁵⁵ For an overview, see Rosemary Cramp, 'New perspectives on monastic buildings and their uses', in Gabor Thomas and Alexandra Knox (eds.), *Early Medieval Monasticism in the North Sea Zone* (Oxford, 2017), pp. 28-29.

⁴⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 36-37.

therefore cannot be confidently extrapolated from either the contemporary historical or archaeological material.

An analysis and questioning of the evidence linked to double monasteries in both Gaul and the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms does not seem to suggest that there was a greater push to establish a new form of monasticism across connections during the seventh century. In general, the traditional model of double monasteries problematically rests on shaky foundations and the surviving evidence linked to foundations both in Gaul and the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms is extremely tenuous. Indeed, though there are references to the presence of males at monasteries such as Chelles and Faremoutiers, there is no firm evidence to suggest that they were housed there raising doubt over the presumed origin of this monastic model. Moreover, though there are some cases like Whitby where there are possible glimpses of something different happening with monastic organisation during the century in the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms, these examples are very specific and cannot be taken as a model for all monasteries founded by women during this period. Rethinking the *definition* of a double monastery may be a useful step forward in moving away from the current narrative surrounding these institutions. Indeed, in continuing to follow Bateson's narrative, nineteenth-century attitudes towards the role of women have continued to prevail in discussions of these institutions. However, whether men and women needed to be on the same site should be questioned. As discussed above, both Chelles and Whitby were linked to other monastic foundations and envisioning double monasteries more along the lines of Wearmouth-Jarrow may be a more useful way to interpret these monasteries.

Importantly, it is possible that the continued proliferation of the perception of the existence and spread of double monasteries can be explained to some extent by contemporary themes in scholarly discussions, most notably gender and the experience of women during the early medieval period.⁴⁵⁷ However, refuting the promotion of double monasteries during the seventh century does not limit

⁴⁵⁷ For an overview of the development of this scholarly theme, see Yorke, *Nunneries and the Anglo-Saxon Royal Houses*, pp. 5–9.

an examination of the experience of women, nor does it undermine the importance of the connections that are evident within the surviving record. Indeed, in focusing on the system of a double monastery, scholarship has forgotten that women did travel and could maintain their own contacts without necessarily relying on an ecclesiastical framework. Furthermore, though difficult to assess due to the scarcity of evidence, women like Hilda were probably influenced by their own connections in similar ways to how Benedict Biscop and Wilfrid were shaped by their own personal journeys and connections. Ultimately, the personal connections that are visible are just as important and, more significantly, are *certain*.

4.4: Summary

This chapter has focused on two different implications of monastic contact between the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms and Merovingian Gaul during the seventh century. Section 4.2 explored the transmission of manuscripts across a range of monastic contacts whilst 4.3 concentrated on female contact and assessed the spread of double monasteries. Crucially, both implications are wrongly treated with the same level of certainty within the scholarship. Whilst the transmission of manuscripts has been studied in-depth by scholars and is a clear consequence of certain monastic contact, as I have argued, the same cannot be said for the existence and spread of double monasteries during the seventh century. Significantly, these female connections were not part of a monastic framework as seen with the different contacts discussed in 4.2. Instead, the surviving evidence reveals a series of personal connections and journeys across the sea rather than providing any firm evidence of a broader trend. Finally, as well as highlighting ways of using texts to think about the scope and nature of monastic connections between the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms and Merovingian Gaul during the seventh century, this chapter has provided a framework for looking at other material. In the case of the evidence related to double monasteries especially, in future, it is crucial that alternatives to the traditional scholarly model are established.

Part II: Coinage and contacts across the southern North Sea and Channel

The final chapter in part I (chapter 4) explored ecclesiastical and elite networks across the Channel and (southern) North Sea during the century through a specific form of visual culture (manuscript evidence). The following three chapters in part II (chapters 5, 6 and 7) consider another form of material culture, coinage, to further interrogate political, cultural, and economic interactions between Gaul and the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms during the seventh century. Chapter 5 discusses the emergence and production of coins in the seventh century. Next, the ways in which iconography and imitation connect coin production and use in the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms and in Gaul is considered in chapter 6. These chapters provide a context in which to then consider the evidence of coinage for connections and monetary exchange (chapter 7).

As outlined in chapter 1, coinage is a growing source of new evidence which has transformed our understanding of the range of connections during this period. The coin data from both Britain and Europe, however, is largely discussed separately within current scholarship. The following chapters integrate numismatic evidence from British and European databases for the first time to provide a richer picture of connections across the North Sea during the seventh century. In addition, though coinage is the main form of evidence examined in the following three chapters, other forms of evidence are incorporated into the analysis to fully contextualise and situate coinage within the broader economic, social, and political narrative of the period.

Chapter 5: The development of coinage in the seventh century

5.1: Introduction

Studies have long pointed to a relationship existing between Anglo-Saxon and Merovingian coins during this period.⁴⁵⁸ The purpose of this chapter is to explore the emergence and development of coins during the seventh century and provide a framework for the analysis undertaken in chapters 6 and 7. Chapter 5 begins with an overview of coin production and use in the sixth century (5.2) before providing an overview of the categorisation and main developments in coinage that occurred in the seventh century (5.3). Next, the chapter considers the reintroduction of minting in the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms and reviews the relationship between this occurrence with secular and ecclesiastical connections that is assumed within the scholarship (5.4). The last section (5.5) explores some of the possible uses of coin in the seventh century suggested by the surviving textual evidence. As this chapter demonstrates, there were several major shifts in the production and use of coins during the seventh century and the close correspondence between Anglo-Saxon and Merovingian coins is indicative of a value exchange system emerging during the century to facilitate connections.

5.2: Pre-seventh-century coinage

Following the end of the Roman Empire in the west, the use and minting of coins in Gaul largely followed the established Roman pattern, though there is a visible shift towards the sole use of gold and the weight of these coins were adjusted to facilitate a different system of value.⁴⁵⁹ Stylistically, a strong link to Roman coinage persisted with the new issues (*solidi* and *pseudo-tremisses*) that were produced in Merovingian Gaul during the sixth century. The *solidi* were imitations of imperial (Roman) coins and most featured a classical bust on

⁴⁵⁸ See, for example, Anna Gannon, *The Iconography of Early Anglo-Saxon Coinage* (Oxford, 2003), p. 182; Naismith, *MEC8*, p. 49, p. 60; Blackburn and Grierson, *MEC1*, 159–160.

⁴⁵⁹ For a comprehensive overview, see Rory Naismith, 'Gold coinage and its use in the post-Roman West', *Speculum* 89 (2014), pp. 278–283.

the obverse and Victory or cross on the reverse.⁴⁶⁰ The high gold content and value of these solidi is also strongly suggestive of these coins serving a limited function such as the payment of taxes.⁴⁶¹ Pseudo-tremisses, meanwhile, were also imitations and were modelled on Ostrogothic coinage but issued under the name of Byzantine emperors.⁴⁶²

The situation in Gaul contrasted sharply with post-Roman Britain which witnessed the cessation of coin production and abandonment of Roman fiscal administrative structures.⁴⁶³ Though coin production ceased, significantly, this did not mean that coins were no longer used or in circulation.⁴⁶⁴ Many Roman coins (*siliquae*) display evidence of clipping which is suggestive of their continued use, for example, and small quantities of imported gold coinage (including Merovingian pseudo-tremisses) continued to reach Britain during the fifth-and-sixth centuries.⁴⁶⁵

Importantly, Roman coins were still circulating in the seventh century in both Gaul and the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms. Many Roman coins were reused in jewellery and underwent secondary treatment including being pierced, looped, or mounted.⁴⁶⁶ Roman coins were also frequently deposited in seventh-century burials including both those that underwent secondary treatment and those that showed no evidence of reuse.⁴⁶⁷ Roman coins were also reused as weights

⁴⁶⁰ Arent Pol, 'Twenty-Two soldiers, a goddess and an emperor: A small group of sixth-century pseudo-imperial tremisses with an unusual reverse type', in Barrie Cook and Gareth Williams (eds.), *Coinage and History in the North Sea World, c.500–1250* (Leiden, 2006), pp. 111–112.

⁴⁶¹ Naismith, 'Gold coinage and its use in the post-Roman West', p. 284.

⁴⁶² Blackburn and Grierson, *MEC1*, pp. 111–112.

⁴⁶³ Gareth Williams, 'Anglo-Saxon gold coinage part 1: The transition from Roman to Anglo-Saxon coinage', *British Numismatic Journal* 80 (2010), pp. 55–56. See also, See Naismith, *MEC8*, pp. 28–37.

⁴⁶⁴ Naismith, *MEC8*, pp. 34–35. Contrast Naismith's discussion with Blackburn and Grierson, *MEC1*, pp. 156–157.

⁴⁶⁵ Williams, 'Anglo-Saxon gold coinage part 1', p. 56–57, pp. 60–61.

⁴⁶⁶ Naismith, *MEC8*, pp. 37–38; Gannon, *The Iconography of Early Anglo-Saxon Coinage*, p. 8.

⁴⁶⁷ Williams, 'Anglo-Saxon gold coinage part 1', p. 59.

and have been found alongside balance and scale sets.⁴⁶⁸ For example, fourteen marked Roman coins of varying weights were found alongside a balance in a late-sixth-to-seventh-century burial (grave C) at the cemetery site at Dover Buckland.⁴⁶⁹ The presence of Roman coins in seventh-century contexts stresses the long circulation timeframes of coins and their multiple uses. Indeed, the former issue has importantly been reiterated in a recent study of the circulation of Visigothic coinage.⁴⁷⁰

The end of the sixth century witnessed key changes in the production of coins both in Merovingian Gaul and in the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms. In the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms, the minting of coinage was reintroduced. Although minimal, there is evidence of the production of Anglo-Saxon solidi: five solidi have so far been identified as Anglo-Saxon.⁴⁷¹ All of the Anglo-Saxon solidi identified appear to have been looped or mounted for suspension, pointing more broadly to the reuse, social function and value of coinage which is returned to in chapter 6.⁴⁷² The modification of these solidi, however, may not have occurred at the time of manufacture. Compositional (x-ray fluorescence) analysis of the most recent Anglo-Saxon solidi find demonstrated that the loop attached to solidi is made of finer gold and suggests that the loop was added at a later date.⁴⁷³

Merovingian coinage, meanwhile, underwent a large reform at the end of the sixth century which resulted in the introduction of tremisses that were worth a third of the value of the earlier solidi.⁴⁷⁴ This change in value is suggestive of a

⁴⁶⁸ Christopher Scull, 'Scales and Weights in Anglo-Saxon England', *Archaeological Journal* 147:1 (1990), pp. 183–215.

⁴⁶⁹ Vera Evison, *Dover: Buckland Anglo-Saxon Cemetery* (London, 1987), pp. 120–121.

⁴⁷⁰ Manuel Castro Priego, 'Absent coinage: Archaeological contexts and tremisses on the central Iberian Peninsula in the 7th and 8th centuries AD', *Medieval Archaeology* 60:1 (2016), pp. 27–56.

⁴⁷¹ Naismith, *MEC8*, p. 45; Anna Gannon, *British Museum Anglo-Saxon Coins volume 1: Early Anglo-Saxon Gold and Continental Silver Coinage of the North Sea area, c. 600-760* (2013), p. 86.

⁴⁷² Gannon, *British Museum Anglo-Saxon Coins 1*, pp. 86–87. See chapter 6 (6.4).

⁴⁷³ C.S.S Lyon, 'A seventh-century Anglo-Saxon solidus coin pendant of the cross-on-steps type found in Kent', in Rory Naismith, Martin Allen and Elina Screen (eds.), *Early Medieval Monetary History: Studies in memory of Mark Blackburn* (Abingdon, 2014), pp. 399–408.

⁴⁷⁴ Lafaurie and Pilet-Lemière, *Monnaies du haut Moyen Âge*, p. 21.

shift in the nature of coinage and its use across the Merovingian realm. The coins, known as 'national coinage', included the name of a moneyer and mint suggesting a more regulated and distinctively Frankish monetary system was developing by the turn of the seventh century.⁴⁷⁵ The production of solidi did continue on a limited scale during the seventh century and these coins were issued under the name of Merovingian kings (table 2).

⁴⁷⁵ Arent pol, Madelinus and the disappearing of gold', in Annemarieke Willemsen and Hanneke Kik (eds.), *Dorestad in an International Framework* (Leiden, 2010), pp. 91–92.

<u>Material:</u>	<u>Chronology:</u> (traditional numismatic dating)	<u>Anglo-Saxon coinage:</u>	<u>Merovingian coinage</u>
GOLD	Pre-AD 570	<i>No known production (circulation/reuse of other issues)</i>	<i>SOLIDI / 'PSEUDO-IMPERIAL'</i>
	c. AD 570–600	Early Gold types <i>SOLIDI</i> <i>Canterbury Hoard/Liudhard medalet (c. AD 590)</i>	'National gold coinage' (c. AD 570 x 670) <i>TREMISSES</i> Sigebert II solidi (AD 613)
	c. AD 600–650	Gold Phase <i>THRYMSAS</i> Eusebius/Canterbury mint (c. AD 600) Eadbald of Kent issues (AD 616 x 640) Northumbrian 'York' issues (AD 625 x 650) <i>Sutton Hoo Burial: 37 Merovingian coins (C. AD 625 x 635)</i> <i>West Norfolk Hoard: 100+ Merovingian coins (deposited before c. AD 650)</i> <i>Crondall Hoard: 101 coins Anglo-Saxon and Merovingian (c. AD 635 x 650)</i>	Quentovic Anglus I issues (AD 625 x 640) Dagobert I solidi (AD 623 x 639) Dorestad Madelinus issues (AD 635 x 650) Sigebert III solidi (AD 630 x 656) Clovis II tremisses (AD 639 x 657)

DEBASED/PALE GOLD	c. AD 655–670	Pale Gold phase Pada, Witman, Warimund and Vanimundus issues Pre-Primary phase Continued debasement of previous issues (e.g. Vanimundus/Pada)	Childebert issues (AD 656 x 657) Chlothar III (AD 658 x 673) Childeric II (AD 662 x 675) DENIERS Quentovic Anglus II issues (AD 660 x 675) Duke Ebroin Quentovic issue (AD 670 x 680) Dorestad series MA (Madelinus imitation) (AD 670 x 690) Clovis III solidi (Byzantine inspired) (c. AD 675) Dagobert II tremisses (gold) (c. AD 676 x 679)
	c. AD 675 x 695 (revised date for silver coinage c. AD 660/665)	Primary Phase SCEATTAS (early penny) Aldfrith of Northumbria issues (AD 685 x 705) Series A Series B Series C	Childebert III solidi (gold) (c. AD 695—711)

SILVER	c. AD 695–715	Intermediate Phase Continuation of above series Series E (Porcupine issues) Series F Series W	Intermediate Phase SCEATTAS (early penny) Series D (continental runic) Series E (Porcupine issues)
	c. AD 715–750	Secondary Phase	Secondary Phase <i>Cimiez hoard: Silver hoard including Anglo-Saxon primary sceattas (c. AD 720)</i>

*Table 2: Overview of the development of Anglo-Saxon and Merovingian coinage during the seventh century
(with reference to several key issues)*

5.3: The categorisation of seventh-century coins

Within numismatic discourse, seventh-century coinage has been broken down into categories, as shown in [table 2](#), which represent both a rough chronological timeframe and (more importantly) the material used to make the coin.⁴⁷⁶ [Table 2](#) is not a comprehensive overview and is only intended as a basic guide to understand some of the key changes in coinage. Alongside these issues, pre-seventh century issues and issues produced in regions outside of the area of study (such as Visigothic and Byzantine issues) were also in circulation.

Importantly, the traditional dating and chronology of coinage illustrated in [table 2](#) is heavily reliant upon analysis of coins deposited in hoards and the accuracy of the earlier metallurgical analysis undertaken on samples of early-medieval gold coinage has since been questioned.⁴⁷⁷ In addition, the traditional date for the introduction of silver coinage in c. AD 675 is also now in doubt. The results from an updated chronological study of Anglo-Saxon furnished burials as well as a recent Alpine ice-core study both seem to indicate that the introduction of silver coinage possibly occurred around c. AD 660/665, a decade or so earlier than predominantly assumed within current scholarship.⁴⁷⁸ This chronological revision affects the study of the economy and could directly challenge the sharp distinction made within current scholarship between the production and use of coin during the earlier and later seventh century.

⁴⁷⁶ [Table 2](#) compiled from discussions in Gannon, *British Museum Anglo-Saxon Coins volume 1*, pp. 51–54; Lafaurie and Pilet-Lemière, *Monnaies du haut Moyen Âge*, pp. 10–11; see also Blackburn and Grierson, *MEC1*, pp. 90–98 and Naismith, *MEC8*, pp. 46–48, pp. 73–79, pp. 82–83.

⁴⁷⁷ See D. Hook and G. Williams, 'Analysis of gold content and its implications for the chronology of early Anglo-Saxon coinage', in Anna Gannon, *British Museum Anglo-Saxon Coins volume 1: Early Anglo-Saxon Gold and Continental Silver Coinage of the North Sea area, c. 600-760* (2013), pp. 55–70.

⁴⁷⁸ See Marion Archibald (with John Hines and Chris Scull), 'Numismatics and the Chronological models', in John Hines and Alex Bayliss (eds.), *Anglo-Saxon Graves and Grave Goods of the 6th and 7th Centuries AD: A Chronological Framework* (London, 2013), pp. 493–516; Christopher Loveluck, Michael McCormick, Nicole Spaulding, Heather Clifford, Michael Handley, Laura Hartman, Helene Hoffmann, Elena Korotkikh, Andrei Kurbatov, Alexander More, Sharon Sneed and Paul Mayewski, 'Alpine ice-core evidence for the transformation of the European monetary system, AD 640–670', *Antiquity* 92:366 (2018), pp. 1571–1585.

The seventh century witnessed the continuing production of solidi and tremisses in the Merovingian kingdoms and the reintroduction of the minting of gold coinage (thrymsas) in some of the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms. Discussion of Anglo-Saxon gold coins has centred around the contents of the Crondall Hoard deposited between c. AD 635 x 650.⁴⁷⁹ Over 100 pieces were recovered from the hoard including ninety-seven gold coins, the majority of which were early Anglo-Saxon issues (at least seventy-three).⁴⁸⁰ Though there are a higher number of Anglo-Saxon gold issues, analysis of these coins has indicated that only a limited number of moneyers were operating before the mid seventh century.⁴⁸¹ Many of the coins were die-linked and Metcalf estimated that the Anglo-Saxon coinage in the hoard represents the use of roughly sixty upper dies.⁴⁸² More broadly, the production of coins was likely a highly skilled job and earlier moneyers were likely to have been blacksmiths or jewellers.⁴⁸³

Both Merovingian and Anglo-Saxon coins show a gradual reduction in their gold content throughout the seventh century. This reduction was the result of decreasing quantities of gold (most likely in the form of tribute or diplomatic gifts) reaching North-West Europe from the Mediterranean from the end of the sixth century onwards.⁴⁸⁴ Gold that was already in circulation was often reused.⁴⁸⁵ It is assumed that much of the gold content of items such as jewellery came from gold coinage withdrawn from circulation, for example.⁴⁸⁶ Coins were also subject to secondary treatment whilst maintaining their original form, as

⁴⁷⁹ Naismith, *MEC8*, p. 45.

⁴⁸⁰ Blackburn and Grierson, *MEC1*, p. 126.

⁴⁸¹ D.M. Metcalf, *Thrymsas and Sceattas in the Ashmolean Museum Oxford vol. I* (Oxford, 1993), pp. 31–32; Blackburn and Grierson, *MEC1*, p. 161.

⁴⁸² Metcalf, *Thrymsas and Sceattas I*, p. 31.

⁴⁸³ Gannon, *The Iconography of Early Anglo-Saxon Coinage*, pp. 11–12.

⁴⁸⁴ Naismith, 'Gold coinage and its use in the post-Roman West', pp. 273–280.

⁴⁸⁵ On the recycling of gold, see especially Eleanor Blakelock, Susan La Niece and Chris Fern, 'Secrets of the Anglo-Saxon goldsmiths: Analysis of gold objects from the Staffordshire Hoard', *Journal of Archaeological Science* 72 (2016), pp. 44–56.

⁴⁸⁶ S. C. Hawkes, J. M. Merrick and D.M. Metcalf, 'X-Ray fluorescent analysis of some Dark Age coins and jewellery', *Archaeometry* 9 (1966), pp. 98–138; Richard Avent and David Leigh, 'A Study of Cross-Hatched Gold Foils in Anglo-Saxon Jewellery', *Medieval Archaeology* 21:1 (1977), pp. 2–3

the large number of coin pendants dated to the seventh century demonstrates (and chapter 6 examines in greater detail).⁴⁸⁷

Whilst the availability of gold had declined, the opposite was true for silver which was more abundant in supply and added in increasing quantities to extend the available supply of gold.⁴⁸⁸ The gold content of coins from both sides of the North Sea reduced on average from over sixty percent in the early seventh century to around forty to fifty percent by the middle of the century and levelled around fifteen percent before the introduction of silver currency.⁴⁸⁹ This process of debasement, however, was not a seamless process and the decline in gold standard probably varied in each region depending on access to gold and demand for coinage. A study of the gold content of die-linked coins also seems to suggest that the control of gold supplies at the mint was not always careful.⁴⁹⁰

Coinage produced on both sides of the North Sea zone from the late seventh to the mid eighth century, commonly known as sceattas/pennies (Anglo-Saxon) or deniers (Merovingian) within scholarship, represents a dramatic shift in design, shape, and material.⁴⁹¹ Anglo-Saxon sceattas have been subject to intense scrutiny and grouped into numismatic phases (primary and secondary) and categories (series and types).⁴⁹² Each phase represents a specific period of time, the 'primary' phase dating from roughly AD 675 to 710 and the secondary phase following this until around AD 750: the phases are well embedded in numismatic discourse.⁴⁹³ Rigold compiled the first major catalogue of Anglo-Saxon coins in relation to their 'type' (the design of a coin) and 'series' (a group

⁴⁸⁷ Chapter 6 (6.4)

⁴⁸⁸ Williams and Hook, 'Analysis of gold content and its implications for the chronology of early Anglo-Saxon coinage', pp. 62–63.

⁴⁸⁹ Naismith, *MEC8*, p. 58; Blackburn and Grierson, *MEC1*, p. 161.

⁴⁹⁰ Williams and Hook, 'Analysis of gold content and its implications for the chronology of early Anglo-Saxon coinage', pp. 55–70.

⁴⁹¹ Due to its dominance, the term 'sceattas' rather than 'pennies' is used in this thesis. On terminology, see Naismith, *MEC8*, pp. 67–68.

⁴⁹² S.E. Rigold, 'The two primary series of Sceattas', *British Numismatic Journal* 30 (1960), pp. 6–53.

⁴⁹³ For an overview, see Naismith, *MEC8*, pp. 69–80.

of coinage with similar features) and Rigold's classification underpins the analysis of early silver coins.⁴⁹⁴ Whilst the attempt to group coinage is intended to aid study and advance analysis, categorisation is subject to a large degree of conjecture; coins may not fall so neatly into any given category and can depict elements from several 'series'.⁴⁹⁵ Indeed, the continuing expansion and development of sub-series and types by numismatists following subsequent coin finds highlights this issue.

Much of the discussion of Merovingian silver issues (deniers) is based on evidence from coin hoards.⁴⁹⁶ Deniers have not been categorised in the same way as sceattas, largely because these issues did not deviate from the mint and moneyer's design first introduced at the end of the sixth century at the beginning of the 'national coinage' phase outlined above.⁴⁹⁷ The continuation of the presence of the mint and moneyer on the coinage suggests that despite the change in material and apparent surge in the use of coinage, the existing system and infrastructure to produce coinage was not completely overhauled. The minting of sceattas was also not limited to the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms, but also occurred in Frisia at the turn of the eighth century and both series D (continental-runic) and series E ('porcupine') sceattas were produced in Frisia as well as in the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms.⁴⁹⁸ Significantly, given the difficulty in determining whether a series E find originated from one of the Anglo-Saxon

⁴⁹⁴ S.E. Rigold, 'The principle series of English Sceattas', *British Numismatic Journal* 47 (1977), pp. 21–52.

⁴⁹⁵ Mark Blackburn, 'Money and Coinage', in Rosamond McKitterick (ed.), *The New Cambridge Medieval History: Volume II, c700-900* (Cambridge, 1995), p. 538–549.

⁴⁹⁶ Lafaurie and Pilet-Lemière, *Monnaies du haut Moyen Âge*, p. 26.

⁴⁹⁷ J. Lafaurie, 'Monnaies d'argent Mérovingiennes des VII^e et VIII^e siècles', *Revue Numismatique* 11 (1969), p. 121.

⁴⁹⁸ M. Metcalf and W. Op den Velde, *The Monetary Economy of the Netherlands, c. 690-715 and the Trade with England: a study of the 'Porcupine' Sceattas of Series E*. *Jaarboek voor Munt- en Penningkunde* 96–97 (Amsterdam, 2010), see esp. pp. 143–173 for discussion of minting locations; W. Op den Velde and D.M. Metcalf, *The Monetary Economy of the Netherlands, c. 690-c. 715 and the Trade with England: A Study of the Sceattas of Series D* (*Jaarboek voor Munt- en Penningkunde* 90) (Amsterdam, 2003), see esp. pp. 21–96. See also W. Op den Velde, W. J. de Boone and A. Pol, 'A Survey of Sceatta finds from the Low Countries', in Hill, David and Metcalf, D.M. (eds.), *Sceattas in England and the Continent: The Seventh Oxford Symposium on Coinage and Monetary History* (Oxford, 1984), pp. 127–136.

kingdoms or from Frisia, Metcalf referred to these coins as the first explicit 'North Sea currency'.⁴⁹⁹

Significantly, the introduction of silver coinage and the withdrawal of earlier series of coins from circulation would have needed to be highly organised in order to carry out a smooth transition and avoid major disruption more broadly. Based on the idea of the Merovingian hegemony, it has been suggested that Duke Ebroin of Neustria instigated and oversaw the change to silver coinage based on the existence of a small number of sceattas (now in the Bibliothèque Nationale de France) bearing his name on the obverse.⁵⁰⁰ Whilst this is plausible, some of the coins without an inscription linking them to a political figure or place may have predated Ebroin's issues and place other individuals in control of the change. Furthermore, there are fewer than five examples of the sceattas bearing Ebroin's name, and the other earliest inscribed deniers come from Tours and were struck in the name of Childeric II (662–675).⁵⁰¹ Childeric II briefly controlled all three of the Merovingian kingdoms at the end of his reign and it is possible that the striking of silver coinage was linked to this unity.⁵⁰² It is equally possible that the Anglo-Saxons and/or Frisians first minted silver coinage and, as Naismith stresses, there is no definitive evidence to suggest that Merovingian Gaul was the first region to move to silver apart from the assumption that Anglo-Saxon currency merely emulated Merovingian systems.⁵⁰³ The instigation of silver coinage and the presence of Ebroin's name on coinage further stresses the cultural and social significance of coinage during the century and the need to situate coinage within the broader political context of the period.

To summarise, the seventh century witnessed the emergence of coinage both in Merovingian Gaul and the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms. The lower weight of

⁴⁹⁹ Metcalf, *Thrymsas and Sceattas I*, pp. 174–183.

⁵⁰⁰ Blackburn and Grierson, *MEC1*, pp. 94–95; Wood, *Merovingian Kingdoms 450-751*, p. 217.

⁵⁰¹ Naismith, *MEC8*, p. 59.

⁵⁰² Anonymous, *LHF*, chapter 45. See also chapter 3 (3.3.2)

⁵⁰³ Naismith, *MEC8*, p. 59.

tremisses and thrymsas compared to earlier issues marked one of the first major shifts in the production and use of coins in the seventh century. The second major shift was the introduction of a new coin issue made from silver which replaced the increasingly debased gold coinage. This transition from gold to silver was by no means a linear development, however, and there were variations in the production of coin across regions. Significantly, the close correspondence between the gold content of Anglo-Saxon and Merovingian coinage across the seventh century strongly suggests that forms of interaction between these areas during the century necessitated a value exchange system to develop and this issue forms the focus of chapters 6 and 7.

5.4: *Coin production and connections*

The links established between the kingdom of Kent and Merovingian Gaul explored in chapter 2 are presumed by scholars to have been the main impetus behind the production of the earliest Anglo-Saxon solidi.⁵⁰⁴ This hypothesis is centred on a ‘medalet’ that was deposited in the late-sixth century coin hoard in St Martin’s, Canterbury (c. AD 580/590) and is presumed to be the earliest dated Anglo-Saxon coin.⁵⁰⁵ The ‘medalet’ was discovered along with seven other mounted coins: six tremisses (four southern Merovingian mints, a tremissis of Justin II and a tremissis from an uncertain location) and one solidus of unknown origin.⁵⁰⁶ The composition of the hoard is interesting since it suggests a range of different issues were in circulation at the time the hoard was deposited. The obverse of the ‘medalet’ featured the classical design of a robed figure alongside a retrograde legend referring to an individual named Liudhard (*LEV·DAR·VS EPS.*).⁵⁰⁷ In naming one specific individual rather than a mint and moneyer, the

⁵⁰⁴ See chapter 2. For example, see discussions of the earliest Anglo-Saxon coinage in Blackburn and Grierson, *MEC1*, pp. 156–157; Gannon, *The Iconography of Early Anglo-Saxon Coinage*, p. 10 and Higham and Ryan, *The Anglo-Saxon World*, pp. 144–146.

⁵⁰⁵ EMC number 1029.0006; Martin Werner, ‘The Liudhard Medalet’, *Anglo-Saxon England* 20 (1990), pp. 27–43; P. Grierson, ‘The Canterbury (St. Martin’s) hoard of Frankish and Anglo-Saxon coin-ornaments’, in P. Grierson (ed.), *Dark Age Numismatics: Selected Studies*. (London, 1979), pp. 38–51.

⁵⁰⁶ Grierson, ‘The Canterbury (St. Martin’s) hoard of Frankish and Anglo-Saxon coin-ornaments’, pp. 38–51.

⁵⁰⁷ EMC number 1029.0006.

‘medalet’ departs from contemporary Merovingian practice.⁵⁰⁸ Moreover, there is an absence of retrograde legends from contemporary Merovingian coinage.⁵⁰⁹ The epigraphy and style of the ‘medalet’ indicate that the coin was probably manufactured in an Anglo-Saxon workshop rather than imported from overseas.

There is scholarly consensus that the legend is most likely a reference to the Frankish bishop Liudhard who had accompanied Bertha to Kent and that the ‘medalet’ was a commemoration of the link between Kent and Gaul.⁵¹⁰ However, what is less certain is the specific function of the ‘medalet’. Indeed, the term ‘medalet’ in itself is possibly a problem and has isolated the piece from the wider corpus of material now known and debates surrounding the function of coins. Whilst the remaining Anglo-Saxon *solidi* are assumed to have been made as a coin, the term ‘medalet’ distances the object from this context and suggests that it functioned solely as jewellery.⁵¹¹ Since the discovery of the object, however, there is a far larger corpus of contemporary seventh-century mounted coins which indicate that the mounting of a coin does not preclude it having a monetary function.⁵¹² If the mount was removed from the ‘medalet’, the weight of the ‘medalet’ would correspond to the weight standard of *tremisses* and *thrymsas* (c. 1.3 g) and may suggest that it was produced as a coin.⁵¹³

As with the earliest Anglo-Saxon *solidi*, the *thrymsas* issued by Æthelberht’s successor Eadbald are presumed to have been produced as a consequence of political cross-Channel connections.⁵¹⁴ Eadbald had married an individual

⁵⁰⁸ Naismith, *MEC8*, pp. 50–51.

⁵⁰⁹ Werner, ‘The Liudhard Medalet’, p. 29.

⁵¹⁰ Bede, *HE*, II.5; Werner, ‘The Liudhard Medalet’, pp. 27–28; Naismith, *MEC8*, p. 51. On Bertha’s arrival, see chapter 2 (2.2.1).

⁵¹¹ Gannon, *The Iconography of Early Anglo-Saxon Coinage*, p. 157.

⁵¹² Gareth Williams, ‘The circulation and function of *coinage* in Conversion Period England, c. AD 580–675’, in Barrie Cook and Gareth Williams (eds.), *Coinage and History in the North Sea World* (Leiden, 2006), pp. 164–165. See chapter 6 (6.4)

⁵¹³ Naismith, *MEC8*, pp. 50–51.

⁵¹⁴ Ian Wood, ‘Thrymsas, sceattas and the cult of the cross’, in Tony Abramson (ed.), *Two Decades of Discovery* (Woodbridge, 2008), p. 26; Philip Shaw, ‘Orthographic standardisation

named Emma and although not proven, it is (problematically) taken as a fact that Emma was a Frankish princess.⁵¹⁵ However, much of the information regarding Emma originates from the later Mildrith legend written in Kent which raises questions about the reliability of the information recorded and the possible rewriting of the past.⁵¹⁶ It has also been argued that Emma was the daughter of Erchinoald, the Mayor of Neustria, though there is no firm evidence to support this suggestion.⁵¹⁷

The coins issued by Eadbald are of huge significance since they are the only known gold coins to have been issued under the name of an Anglo-Saxon king. As outlined above, a number of gold coins were issued under the name of Merovingian kings throughout the seventh century and it is assumed that Eadbald imitated this practice.⁵¹⁸ So far, eight coins of this type have been identified and they bear the minting location of London on the reverse and Eadbald's name on the obverse.⁵¹⁹ It seems likely that Eadbald issued these coins in reaction to the growing presence, demand for and use of coinage within the kingdom (discussed in chapters 6 and 7) and attempted to assert some form of influence or visible presence over transactions. This interpretation becomes more appealing particularly when the internal political dispute over the control of London between Mercia and Kent across the century is taken into account.⁵²⁰ By placing his name directly on the London mint, to those that could understand the iconography, Eadbald was emphasising the control of Kent and the ability of the kingdom to direct bullion into a specific form.

and seventh and eighth century coin inscriptions', in Tony Abramson (ed.), *Two Decades of Discovery* (Woodbridge, 2008), pp. 97–102; Blackburn and Grierson, *MEC1*, pp. 161–162.

⁵¹⁵ Bede, *HE*, II.6; For an overview of the scholarly discussion of Emma, see Fouracre and Gerberding, *Late Merovingian France*, pp. 102–106.

⁵¹⁶ Yorke, *Kings and Kingdoms of Early Anglo-Saxon England*, pp. 27–29.

⁵¹⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 104–106; Wood, *The Merovingian Kingdoms*, p. 177.

⁵¹⁸ See [table 2](#); Olivier Bruand, 'Circulation monétaire et pouvoirs politiques locaux: sous les Mérovingiens et les Carolingiens (du VII^e au IX^e siècle)', *Actes des congrès de la société des historiens médiévistes de l'enseignement supérieur public* 28:1 (1998), pp. 47–59.

⁵¹⁹ For example, *EMC* numbers 1016.0042; 1998.0034; 1999.004; 2001.1003 and 2010.0147; G. Williams, 'The gold coinage of Eadbald, king of Kent (AD 616–40)', *British Numismatic Journal* 68 (1998), pp. 137–140; See chapter 8 (8.2.2) for a discussion of London.

⁵²⁰ See chapter 8 (8.2.2).

If links between royal courts were one of the main reasons behind the introduction of coinage, as has been argued by scholars in the case of Kentish coinage, this raises the question as to why the kingdom of East Anglia does not appear to have minted thrymsas in the early seventh century, especially during the reign of Sigeberht who had spent much of his earlier life in exile in Gaul.⁵²¹ For a vast number of early coins, it is not possible to identify their point of origin. This may be because of a blundered design, illegible or absent legend or due to a coin surviving only as a fragment. Williams has argued that the poor quality of the surviving coins most likely explains why the kingdom of East Anglia appears not to have produced thrymsas from the mid seventh century despite evidence of coin circulation and trade occurring within the kingdom.⁵²² Marsden has furthered this suggestion by arguing that the 'Trophy' type thrymsas were likely minted in the kingdom due to their strong East Anglian distribution.⁵²³ That this type is one of the few thrymsas found in Merovingian Gaul (Rouen) certainly makes this attribution more interesting given the strong political and ecclesiastical links between East Anglia and this region revealed in the surviving written record and analysed in chapter 2.⁵²⁴ Chapter 7 discusses the thrymsa from Rouen in further detail.

Importantly, the production of gold coinage was not limited to the southern Anglo-Saxon kingdoms, but also appears to have occurred in the kingdom of Northumbria. A number of 'York type' thrymsas, assumed to have been manufactured by a moneyer in York, have been found primarily in the sub-kingdom of Deira.⁵²⁵ As of 2020, at least twenty-two finds of this type are

⁵²¹ Bede, *HE*, II.15. See chapter 2 (2.3.1).

⁵²² Williams, 'The circulation, minting and use of coins in East Anglia, c. AD. 580-675', in David Bates and Robert Liddiard (eds.), *East Anglia and its North Sea World in the Middle Ages* (Woodbridge, 2013), pp. 130–131.

⁵²³ Adrian Marsden, 'East Anglia's earliest issues: The Trophy type shillings', *Caesaromagus* 120 (2016), pp. 50–59.

⁵²⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 50–51. Full details of the coin remain unpublished. On the ecclesiastical connections between East Anglia and Neustria, see chapter 2 (2.3.1).

⁵²⁵ Tony Abramson, *Coinage in the Northumbrian landscape and economy, c. 587–867* (Oxford, 2018), pp. 40–44; E. Pirie, 'The seventh-century gold coinage of Northumbria', *Yorkshire Numismatist* 2 (1992), pp. 11–15.

known.⁵²⁶ Since the average gold content of these issues (55-65%) is in close alignment with the average gold content (50-60%) of the coins deposited in the Crondall Hoard (c. AD 635 x 650), the York thrymsas are presumed to have been produced sometime between AD 625 x 650.⁵²⁷

In light of their high gold content, it has been suggested that these coins were probably produced in the earlier date range, before the debasement of thrymsas, and sometime during the reign of King Edwin (AD 616–632/3).⁵²⁸ More specifically, the production of these coins has been viewed as a result of the political link established between Northumbria and Kent following Edwin's marriage to Æthelburh outlined in chapter 2.⁵²⁹ It has been suggested that Paulinus, who travelled with Æthelburh and others to Northumbria, issued the coins whilst he was the bishop of York.⁵³⁰ In discussing the design of the coins, Abramson argued that the figure on the obverse of the coin is in fact Paulinus founding the church.⁵³¹ This attribution, however, remains highly tentative (for example) and the inscriptions on the coins do not clearly spell out Paulinus.

Additionally, there remains the possibility that the coins were produced after Edwin's reign, especially since the designs of these coins could support a slightly later date range. The obverse design bears resemblance to the Evangelist depictions in many Insular manuscripts produced during the mid to late seventh century such as the depiction of St Matthew in the *Book of Durrow*

⁵²⁶ As of January 2020, the most recent find was recorded by the EMC in 2018 (2018.0145). See also Tony Abramson, 'England's earliest coinage with particular reference to the York group of shillings', *British Numismatic Journal* 89 (2019), pp. 1–18.

⁵²⁷ John Naylor and Martin Allen, 'A new variety of gold shilling of the 'York' group', in Tony Abramson (ed.), *Studies in Early Medieval Coinage 3: Sifting the Evidence* (London, 2014), p. 145.

⁵²⁸ See, for example, Tony Abramson, *Coinage in the Northumbrian landscape and economy, c. 587–867* (Oxford, 2018), pp. 40–44; G. Williams, 'The gold coinage of seventh century Northumbria revisited', *Numismatic Circular* 115 (2007), pp. 6–8; Gannon, *British Museum Anglo-Saxon Coins volume 1*, p. 61.

⁵²⁹ Bede, *HE*, II.9; Gannon, *British Museum Anglo-Saxon Coins 1*, p. 61. See chapter 2 (2.2.1)

⁵³⁰ Bede, *HE*, II.9; Abramson, *Coinage in the Northumbrian landscape and economy*, pp. 40–44.

⁵³¹ Abramson, *Coinage in the Northumbrian landscape and economy*, pp. 40–44; Bede, *HE*, II.20.

(Dublin, Trinity College Library, MS lat. 57).⁵³² Furthermore, the church at York also did not disappear after Paulinus returned to Kent. The church was apparently taken over by James the Deacon, who had accompanied the mission to Northumbria, until his death in AD 670.⁵³³ If these coins were explicitly invoking the memory of Paulinus and the earliest development of the Northumbrian Church, it is possible that the coins were produced by James the Deacon in remembrance following the collapse of the Gregorian mission.

The debates surrounding the 'York' series emphasise the need to consider the influence of Christianity over the production of coins. From the presence of a cross on early coinage, a link is often and uncritically made between the process of minting and the involvement of ecclesiastical communities in the early seventh century.⁵³⁴ Wood, for example, placed the production of coinage in Gaul solely in the hands of ecclesiastical communities and suggested that the cross type design was an extension of the 'cult of the cross' which existed from the fifth century in Merovingian society.⁵³⁵ Whilst the 'cult of the cross' continuation is an interesting interpretation and places the communication and sharing of ideas between regions at the centre of analysis, it is important to acknowledge that a cross in general is a relatively straight-forward motif to understand and may have been chosen due to its simplicity. Elsewhere, cruciform designs appear on various forms of contemporary material culture including brooches and buckles and whether the two crossing lines was always intended or understood as a symbol of Christianity is an open question.⁵³⁶ It is possible that the same may have been true for coinage and that many moneyers

⁵³² For an overview of the Book of Durrow, see Bernard Meehan, 'Book of Durrow', in Rachel Moss (ed.), *Art and Architecture of Ireland I: Medieval c. 400-c. 1600* (Dublin, 2014), pp. 229–231 and Nancy Netzer, 'The Book of Durrow: The Northumbrian connection', in J. Hawkes and S. Mills (eds.), *Northumbria's Golden Age* (Stroud, 1999), pp. 315–326.

⁵³³ Bede, *HE*, II.20.

⁵³⁴ See overview in Gannon, *British Museum Anglo-Saxon Coins 1*, p. 61; Williams, 'Circulation and function of coinage in conversion period England', p. 186–188.

⁵³⁵ Wood, 'Thrymsas, sceattas and the cult of the cross', p. 24.

⁵³⁶ For a detailed discussion, see the essays in Sarah Larratt Keefer, Karen Louise Jolly and Catherine E. Karkov (eds.), *Cross and Cruciform in the Anglo-Saxon World* (Morgantown, 2010)

added a cross motif to a coin die through imitation of existing models and did not intend to communicate a specific message.

Whilst ecclesiastical communities probably did mint and use coinage during this period, it is important not to overemphasise the role of Christianity in providing the *knowledge* and *technique* behind the minting of coinage.⁵³⁷ Communities were minting and using coinage during the Iron Age, for example, and this stresses the need to be more cautious in interpreting all technological developments as a direct consequence of the introduction of Christianity.⁵³⁸ In addition, not all Christian kingdoms appear to have minted coinage in the seventh century: East Anglia did not, for example, further indicating the relationship between coinage and Christianity is more complex than assumed.

5.5: *The use and value of gold coinage*

Interestingly, the production and demand for coinage also coincided with kings taking on more direct control over land and people and their lives during the seventh century. Given the high-value denomination of gold coins, this context is also viewed as a major factor behind the production and use of coins in the seventh century.⁵³⁹ The surviving seventh-century law codes from the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms provide a glimpse of valuable transactions through the payment of *wergilds* and it is often suggested that coins were also used in this context.⁵⁴⁰ The coin hoard found at Crondall has been interpreted as a payment

⁵³⁷ Williams, 'The circulation and function of *coinage* in Conversion Period England', pp. 186–188.

⁵³⁸ A detailed discussion of the current debates and issues surrounding Iron-Age coinage and its overlooked nature can be found in C. Haselgrove, 'The Development of British Iron-Age Coinage', *The Numismatic Chronicle* 153 (1993), pp. 31–63.

⁵³⁹ D.M. Metcalf, 'Merovingian and Frisian gold in England. Was there a monetary economy in the sixth and seventh centuries?', in Tony Abramson (ed.), *Studies in Early Medieval Coinage 3: Sifting the Evidence* (London, 2014), pp. 43–46. Naismith, 'Gold coinage and its use in the post-Roman West', pp. 300–302.

⁵⁴⁰ Valerie Allen, 'When compensation costs an arm and a leg', in Jay Paul Gates and Nicole Marafioti (eds.), *Capital and Corporal Punishment in Anglo-Saxon England* (Woodbridge, 2014), pp. 21–22; John Hines, 'Units of account in gold and silver in seventh-century England: *Scillingas*, *Sceattas* and *Pæningas*', *The Antiquaries Journal* 90 (2010), pp. 153–173.

of a *wergild* fine of 100 shillings referred to in the early law codes from Kent.⁵⁴¹ It may, however, just be a coincidence that the content of the hoard corresponds closely to a *wergild* payment. In addition, since the hoard was also disturbed, it is possible that the hoard is incomplete.⁵⁴² The hoard was also discovered in the kingdom of Wessex and the fines outlined in the Kentish laws may not have been the same in Wessex.

In Gaul, several references in seventh-century Merovingian texts shed light on the use of coins in the payment of taxes, tolls and rent. For instance, Jonas of Bobbio recounts Columbanus carrying gold coinage and using the coins as payment to gain access to the port at Tours in the early seventh century.⁵⁴³ The *Vita Sancti Eligii*, composed in the late seventh century by Eligius's contemporary Dado (Audoin) of Rouen, illuminates the fiscal role of coinage and the value of gold in late Merovingian society.⁵⁴⁴ Before becoming the bishop of Noyon in AD 641 and royal advisor to several Merovingian kings, Eligius was formerly a goldsmith under royal patronage.⁵⁴⁵ In his narrative, Dado makes reference to the collection of revenue from the local population, most likely in bullion form, before describing how the gold was subsequently melted and shaped by Eligius.⁵⁴⁶ It is possible that Eligius may have minted coinage from the gold that was collected and the king received revenue in this form. Indeed, Eligius is thought to be the same Eligius that struck coins struck in Marseilles, Arles, and Paris between c. AD 625 to the early AD 660s.⁵⁴⁷

There are no surviving references to the use of gold coin in similar contexts in the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms during the seventh century, but it does not seem

⁵⁴¹ *The laws of Æthelberht of Kent*, clause 24, ed and trans. Lisi Oliver, *The Beginnings of English Law* (Toronto, 2002), p. 53; Grierson, 'The purpose of the Sutton Hoo coins', pp. 15–16; Blackburn and Grierson, *MEC1*, p. 161.

⁵⁴² Gareth Williams, 'Why are there no coins in the Staffordshire hoard?', *British Numismatic Journal* 84 (2014), p. 21.

⁵⁴³ Jonas of Bobbio, *Life of Columbanus*, I.22.

⁵⁴⁴ Dado of Rouen, *Vita Sancti Eligii*, trans. Jo McNamara in Thomas F. Head (ed.), *Medieval Hagiography: An Anthology* (New York, 2000), pp. 137–168.

⁵⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, I.3, 5, II.2.

⁵⁴⁶ Dado of Rouen, *Vita Sancti Eligii*, I.15.

⁵⁴⁷ See J. Lafaurie, 'Eligius Monetarius', *Revue Numismatique* 19 (1977), pp. 111–151.

implausible to suggest that gold coins were used in the same way as they were in Gaul.⁵⁴⁸ By the middle of the eighth century, the use of coin in land transactions is visible within the surviving textual evidence and numerous charters refer to the use of coins. For example, a charter dated to AD 732 referred to Æthelberht II of Kent donating a piece of land to the monastery at Lyminge and stated that he did so without wanting 'secular money' in exchange.⁵⁴⁹ In the seventh century, however, other forms of payment were used in exchange for land alongside the possible use of coins. For example, in the kingdom of Northumbria, Ceolfrith traded books in exchange for eight hides of land.⁵⁵⁰

5.6: Summary

This chapter has provided an overview of the emergence and development coinage during the seventh century. In doing so, this chapter has provided the background context for subsequent chapters which examine the function of coins in greater detail, such as their role in facilitating exchange between the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms and Merovingian Gaul (chapter 7). Additionally, this chapter has discussed the reintroduction of minting in the southern Anglo-Saxon kingdoms and questioned some of the prevailing assumptions in the scholarship that are based on uncritical readings of the surviving textual evidence. Finally, the final section (5.5) explored the textual evidence relating to some of the possible uses of coin during the seventh century.

⁵⁴⁸ Naismith, *MEC8*, p. 60.

⁵⁴⁹ *Electronic Sawyer S23*.

⁵⁵⁰ Bede, *HAb*, chapter 15.

Chapter 6: Economy, imitation, and modification

6.1: Introduction

This chapter continues the focus on the production and use of coins through three lines of enquiry. Whilst the previous chapter focused on secular use of coins, this chapter widens the scope of analysis and considers coin use more broadly. The chapter begins with a discussion of how coins fit into the wider economy of the seventh century (6.2), followed by an examination of coin imitations (6.3). Coin imitations importantly suggest that there was increasing demand for and greater use of coins during the seventh century. Moreover, imitations shed light on the perceived importance of specific issues and iconographical features of coins. This theme is explored further in the final section (6.4) which examines the reuse of Merovingian coinage in the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms. The decision to focus solely on reused coins in the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms was driven by the availability of evidence. Whilst it is often difficult to examine how people engaged with coins, reused coins demonstrate a clear recognition of, and direct engagement with, the iconography and messages present on coins. These repurposed coins also serve as evidence of the surplus availability of Merovingian coins in the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms during the seventh century.

6.2: Coins and the multi-currency economy

In a seminal article, Grierson argued that gold coins were restricted largely to a social role and also functioned as tokens of gift-exchange rather than serving an economic purpose.⁵⁵¹ Grierson's study was hugely influential to discussions of the use of gold coins, and its impact can still be seen in recent scholarship.⁵⁵² Significantly, Grierson's analysis was based largely on seventh-century coin hoards and the quantity of gold coinage found in recent decades through metal-

⁵⁵¹ P. Grierson, 'The purpose of the Sutton Hoo coins', *Antiquity* 44 (1970), pp. 14–18.

⁵⁵² For example, Nicolay places emphasis on the role of silver and gold in elite 'gift-exchange' throughout his book. Nicolay, *The Splendour of Power*.

detecting now suggests that the use of coins was more diverse both functionally and socially than believed.⁵⁵³

In the preceding chapter (5.5), some of the possible uses of gold coinage were outlined, for example in the payment of taxes, tolls, and fines. Within scholarship, far more emphasis has been placed on the *monetary* role of silver coinage compared to the preceding gold coins issued during the seventh century.⁵⁵⁴ However, the evidence reviewed in this section suggests that gold coins were an important driving force behind the North Sea economy. The existence of a multi-currency economy during the Viking Age is well established in scholarship and it is becoming more apparent that a similar structure existed in the seventh century and coins played a central role.⁵⁵⁵ In recent years a range of objects have been uncovered which suggest a clear link and interaction between gold coins and bullion during the seventh century.⁵⁵⁶ A number of tremisses have been found with additional pieces of gold added to them, presumably to increase their weight to the correct standard. For example, a tremissis found in Dover had a blob of gold added to the reverse ([figure 2](#)).⁵⁵⁷ With this addition, the coin weighed the normal weight of a tremissis (1.3g). A

⁵⁵³ Gareth Williams, 'The circulation and function of coinage in conversion period England, c. AD 580–675', in Barrie Cook and Gareth Williams (eds.), *Coinage and History in the North Sea World* (Leiden, 2006), p. 181; D.M. Metcalf, 'Thrymsas and sceattas and the balance of payments', in Martin Allen, Rory Naismith, and Elina Screen (eds.), *Early Medieval Monetary History: Studies in memory of Mark Blackburn* (Abingdon, 2014), pp. 248–249.

⁵⁵⁴ For an overview of this argument, see John Naylor, 'Access to international trade in Middle Saxon England: a case of urban over-emphasis?', in Marinella Pasquinucci and Timm Weski (eds.), *Close Encounters: Sea and riverborne trade, ports and hinterlands, ship construction and navigation in Antiquity, the Middle Ages and in Modern Time* (Oxford, 2004), pp. 139–148.

⁵⁵⁵ For example, Jane Kershaw, 'An early medieval dual-currency economy: bullion and coin in the Danelaw', *Antiquity* 91 (2017), pp. 173–190. See articles in James Graham-Campbell, Søren M. Sindbæk and Gareth Williams (eds.), *Silver Economies, Monetisation and Society in Scandinavia, 800–1100* (Aarhus, 2011) and James Graham-Campbell and Gareth Williams (eds.), *Silver Economy in the Viking Age* (Walnut Creek, 2007). See also Dagfinn Skre, 'Monetary practices in early medieval western Scandinavia (5th–10th Centuries AD)', *Medieval Archaeology* 61:2 (2017), pp. 278–279.

⁵⁵⁶ Williams, 'Why are there no coins in the Staffordshire Hoard?', pp. 39–41.

⁵⁵⁷ PAS reference KENT-585A3A. The find also has an EMC entry. EMC number 2018.0175.

near identical find has also been discovered at Chipping Ongar in Essex.⁵⁵⁸ Gold coins were also cut into fragments indicating their wider role as a form of bullion. A cut fragment of a tremissis was found near Colchester (Essex) and a thrymsa from Beachamwell (Norfolk) had been cut in half.⁵⁵⁹ Cut fragments were added to other coins. A tremissis from Beachamwell in Norfolk had a fragment of a tremissis added to the reverse as did a tremissis from the site at Rendlesham in Suffolk ([figure 22](#)).⁵⁶⁰



Figure 2: Tremissis minted at Arvernus with additional gold added to reverse found in Dover, Kent (Source: PAS. PAS KENT-585A3A)

As well as these single finds, coin hoards clearly reveal the link between coins and a multi-bullion economy. Most notably, the Sutton Hoo hoard contained tremisses alongside gold blank discs and ingots.⁵⁶¹ The two gold ingots weighed the equivalent of forty-eight tremisses or sixteen solidi (61.1g) and that the blanks were the same size, shape and weight as the coins seems to suggest that

⁵⁵⁸ Abdy and Williams, 'A catalogue of the hoards and single finds from the British Isles, c. AD 410-675', in Barrie Cook and Gareth Williams (eds.), *Coinage and History in the North Sea World* (Leiden, 2006) p. 18.

⁵⁵⁹ Williams, 'Why are there no coins in the Staffordshire hoard?', p. 41; EMC number 2007.0305.

⁵⁶⁰ EMC number 2013.0198 (Rendlesham); Williams, 'The circulation, minting and use of coins in East Anglia, c. AD. 580-675' p. 127 (Beachamwell).

⁵⁶¹ A.M. Stahl, 'The nature of the Sutton Hoo coin parcel', in C.B. Kendall and P.S. Wells (eds.), *Voyage to the other world: The Legacy of Sutton Hoo* (Minneapolis, 1992), pp. 3-14.

coins were driving a bullion economy.⁵⁶² More broadly, ingot finds from the seventh century remain rare. Within the PAS, at least thirty gold ingot finds have been recorded and assigned an early medieval date range.⁵⁶³ Some ingots can be more closely dated based on their associated context. A gold ingot weighing 1.97g discovered at 'Melton Ross' is possibly mid-Saxon (seventh to ninth century) in date since a number of other Anglo-Saxon artefacts and coins dated to this period have also been recovered from the same area.⁵⁶⁴ The dating of ingots may also be refined from the presence of characteristics known to belong to a specific period. For example, ingots found from Viking hoards feature distinctive test marks such as nicking or pecking and many of the gold ingots recorded by PAS display these characteristics.⁵⁶⁵ The most recent ingot find dated to the seventh century is from the coin hoard discovered at West Norfolk (c. AD 610).⁵⁶⁶

Other archaeological finds likewise suggest that gold coins were a unit of account and also facilitated exchange such as scale sets and stray weights. Scales and weights have been found in fourteen Anglo-Saxon graves, of which eight are dated to the seventh century.⁵⁶⁷ A scale pan found in Lincolnshire by a metal-detectorist and dated to the period AD 650 x 700 is also thought to have come from a ploughed-out burial.⁵⁶⁸ In Merovingian Gaul, balance sets have

⁵⁶² For a discussion of the Sutton Hoo hoard in a broader coin context and its prominence in monetary studies, see Williams, 'The circulation, minting and use of coins in East Anglia, c. AD. 580-675', pp. 120–136 and Williams, 'The circulation and function of coinage in conversion period England', pp. 145–151.

⁵⁶³ PAS search undertaken in July 2020.

⁵⁶⁴ PAS reference LIN-EB5D55.

⁵⁶⁵ Jane Kershaw, 'Gold as a means of exchange in Scandinavian England', in Jane Kershaw and Gareth Williams (eds.), *Silver, Butter, Cloth: Monetary and Social Economies in the Viking Age* (Oxford, 2019), pp. 242–244.

⁵⁶⁶ Pers comm. Adrian Marsden (West Norfolk hoard). PAS reference NMS-934673.

⁵⁶⁷ A.J. Hancock and R.J. Zeepvat, *Wulfhere's People: A Conversion Period Anglo-Saxon Cemetery in Wolverton, Milton Keynes* (Aylesbury, 2018), p. 91; Christopher Scull, 'Scales and weights in Anglo-Saxon England', *Archaeological Journal* 147:1 (1990), p. 183; C.L. Matthews, 'The Anglo-Saxon cemetery at Marina Drive, Dunstable', *Bedfordshire Archaeological Journal* 1 (1962), p. 28.

⁵⁶⁸ PAS reference LIN-4577D7. The find was discovered in 2016.

been recovered from four seventh-century graves.⁵⁶⁹ [Table 3](#) lists the balance and scale sets deposited in seventh-century graves from the regions included in the scale of study.⁵⁷⁰

<u>Place:</u>	<u>Grave number:</u>	<u>Object:</u>	<u>Weight(s):</u>	<u>Gender of burial:</u>
Tattershall Thorpe, Lincolnshire	Unknown	Fragmentary balance pan	Y	Male(?)
St Peter's Tip, Broadstairs, Kent	Grave 76	Balance beam and two pans	N	Female
Desborough, Northamptonshire	Unknown	fragmentary balance pan	N	Female(?)
Castledyke, Lincolnshire	Grave 1	Balance beam and two pans	Y	Female(?)
Dover Buckland, Kent	Grave C	Balance beam and two pans	Y	Male
Gilton, Kent	Grave 66	Balance beam and two pans	Y	Male
Marina Drive, Bedfordshire	Grave 134	Part of scales (chain with hook and shackle)	N	Female

⁵⁶⁹ Nicolay, *The Splendour of Power*, p. 134; J. Werner, *Waage Und Geld in Der Merowingerzeit* (Munich, 1954), pp. 3–42.

⁵⁷⁰ Table 3 compiled from the following scholarship: David A. Hinton, *A Smith in Lindsey: The Anglo-Saxon grave at Tattershall Thorpe, Lincolnshire* (London, 2000), pp. 63–66; Scull, 'Scales and Weights in Anglo-Saxon England'; G. Drinkall and M. Foreman, *The Anglo-Saxon cemetery at Castledyke South, Barton-on-Humber* (Sheffield, 1998), pp. 94–95; Werner, *Waage Und Geld in Der Merowingerzeit*, pp. 3–42; Amaury Thiérot and Raymond Lantier, 'Le cimetière Mérovingien du Maltrat à Vouciennes', *Revue Archéologique* 15 (1940), pp. 210–246; J. Pilloy, 'Une balance du VII^e siècle découverte dans le cimetière de Montescourt (Aisne)', *Bulletin archéologique du Comité des travaux historiques et scientifiques* (1898), pp. 108–113; G. Cumont, 'Trouvées dans des tombes des cimetières Francs d'Harmignies, Belvaux, Wancennes et Eprave', *Annales de la Société d'archéologie de Bruxelles. Mémoires, rapports et documents* (1891), pp. 59–71.

Lechlade, Gloucestershire	Grave F	Balance pan	N	Female(?)
'Near' Louth, Lincolnshire	Grave context assumed (PAS find)	Copper-alloy scale pan (3 fragments)	-	—
Montescourt, Aisne	Unknown	Balance set	Y	Male
Villey-St-Etienne	Grave 21	Balance set	Y	Male
Vouciennes, Marne	Grave 108	Balance set	Y	Female
Namur, Belgium	Unknown	Balance set	Y	Uncertain

Table 3: Balance and scales from seventh-century Anglo-Saxon and Merovingian burials

Scull's metrical analysis of scale and weight sets deposited in late-sixth and seventh-century Anglo-Saxon burials showed a close correspondence with the average weight-standards of contemporary Merovingian (c. 1.33g) and Byzantine (c. 1.52g) gold coins.⁵⁷¹ This correspondence seems to indicate that these scales were used for economic purposes involving coin as well as for the weighing of other commodities and bullion. That the weight of early thrymsas were roughly equivalent to the average tremissis, approximately 1.29 grams or 20 grain, also strongly suggests that coins were intended to be complementary and that a framework of standardisation existed during the earlier period.⁵⁷²

Weighing coinage would also have become more important during the debasement period of coinage in particular following the reduction in gold content and weight.

Based on the predominantly coastal and riverine location of the burials with scale sets, Scull suggested that the majority of those buried with scales in the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms were agents of maritime trade.⁵⁷³ Not all of the scale and weight sets can be linked to this context, however. As [table 3](#) illustrates, no

⁵⁷¹ Scull, 'Scales and weights in Anglo-Saxon England', pp. 214–215.

⁵⁷² Blackburn and Grierson, *MEC1*, p. 157.

⁵⁷³ Scull, 'Scales and weights in Anglo-Saxon England', pp. 199–201.

weights were found with the balance pans deposited in burials at Desborough, Marina Drive (grave 134) and St Peter's Tip (grave 76) which may suggest that these scales were used for other purposes beyond facilitating exchange. For example, some of these scales may have been the tools of smiths and jewellers. Indeed, the Tattershall Thorpe burial is presumed to be the grave of an itinerant smith. Alongside the scale and set of weights, the burial at Tattershall Thorpe contained a collection of metal-working tools (including a hammer, anvil, file, and tongs), cut garnet and various other items that were identified as scrap.⁵⁷⁴

An increasing number of stray weight finds have been found in recent years which may also be possibly linked to the measurement of coins. [Table 4](#) lists stray finds dated to the period AD 600–725 found in the regions under study. All but three finds are confidently ascribed a measurement function. The identification and purpose of the two finds from Houten and the find from Werkhoven in the province of Utrecht remain uncertain but they are included in table 4 due to the broad chronological date range given to the objects by NUMIS (fifth to seventh century). However, it is possible that these objects fall within the earlier date range given that they appear as outliers in their weight compared with the remaining finds (excluding Scawby).⁵⁷⁵

Place:	Object type:	Material:	Weight (grams):	Description:	Reference:
Little Carlton	Weight	Lead	4.63g	4 dotted indents on object.	PAS LIN-DAD0DA
Little Carlton	Weight	Lead	2.42g	Two dotted indents on object.	PAS LIN-DB96D2
'Near Horncastle'	Weight	Lead	5.32g	5 dotted indents on coin.	PAS LIN-5E6016
Rendlesham, Suffolk	Weight x2	coin	-	Coin weights marked with contemporary	RLM 0130470 and RLM 036 1021

⁵⁷⁴ Hinton. *A smith in Lindsey*, pp. 54–66.

⁵⁷⁵ NUMIS numbers 1015372 (Houten), 1015373 (Houten) and 1032810 (Werkhoven). See the comment section for each entry.

				Byzantine denominations.	
Scawby	Weight	Lead	15.23g	Rectangular figure scored on the surface and series of punch marks.	PAS NLM-6BE546
Skirpenbeck	Weight	Copper alloy coin	4.76g	Made from Roman copper alloy coin.	PAS FAKL-6DDF83
Werkhoven	Bar or weight fragment	Copper	9.59g	Bar shaped object	NUMIS 1032810
Houten	Bar/ingot and weight	Copper	9.15g	Bar shaped object with weight. 3 circle indents on weight.	NUMIS 1015372
Houten	Bar or weight fragment	Copper	7.70g	Presence of crosses on fragment.	NUMIS 1015373
Middelburg	Weight	Gold tremissis	1.46g	Merovingian coin with indents.	NUMIS 1019681

Table 4: Stray weights and ingot finds from the southern North Sea regions dated to the period c. AD 600-725

As shown in the fifth column of [table 4](#), several of the finds could show evidence of deliberate marking which is strongly suggestive of an active engagement with contemporary standards of weight. The weights found at Rendlesham, ‘near Horncastle’ and Little Carlton are particularly interesting given the high volume of coinage and metalwork recorded from these sites.⁵⁷⁶ Alongside the two coin-weights marked with contemporary Byzantine denominations, a number of other currency-related items were recovered from the site of Rendlesham which are outlined in chapter 7.⁵⁷⁷ The two lead weights from Little Carlton both had indentations on the reverse of the weights which seem to correspond

⁵⁷⁶ Faye Minter, Jude Plouviez and Christopher Scull, *Rendlesham Survey 2008–2014: Assessment report* (Suffolk, 2016); Daubney *Portable Antiquities, Palimpsests, and Persistent Places in Lincolnshire, with particular reference to three Middle Saxon case studies*, pp. 318–342.

⁵⁷⁷ Minter, Plouviez and Scull, *Rendlesham Survey 2008–2014*, p. 44.

with the number of sceattas the mass of the weight is equivalent to (table 4). The heavier weight (4.63g) is roughly four-times the weight of a standard series E coin and the four indentations on the reverse of the weight might be an indication that the weight is the value of four sceattas.⁵⁷⁸ This weight also has an impression on the obverse which is similar to the obverse design featured on series E sceattas which further suggests that the weight was used to measure coin.⁵⁷⁹ The second weight from Little Carlton has a mass of 2.42g, the same as two sceattas, and featured two indentations on the reverse.⁵⁸⁰ The weight found at 'near Horncastle' is similar to the finds from Little Carlton. The weight is inscribed with five indentations and had a mass of 5.32 grams, approximately five sceattas.⁵⁸¹

The numismatic and archaeological evidence reviewed in this section indicates that coins were an integral part of the seventh-century North Sea economy. Coins were a standard unit of measurement in the seventh century across the North Sea regions and the growing number of single coin finds demonstrates that there was a demand for the use of coins in the seventh century. This demand challenges the limited function previously ascribed to gold coins and instead seems to suggest that coins circulated as a medium of currency and facilitated connections.⁵⁸² These exchange networks form the focus of chapter 7.

6.3: Coin imitations and forgeries

Another way to explore both the demand for coinage as well as its social significance throughout the seventh century is to consider coin imitations or forgeries. Within coin databases, coin imitations are grouped with genuine issues. Generating a search for seventh-century coin finds from both *EMC* and *NUMIS*, for example, does not immediately highlight which coins are imitative issues. Whilst these coins were in circulation alongside genuine issues and were

⁵⁷⁸ PAS reference LIN-DAD0DA.

⁵⁷⁹ Ibid.

⁵⁸⁰ PAS reference LIN-DB96D2.

⁵⁸¹ PAS reference LIN-5E6016.

⁵⁸² Metcalf, 'Merovingian and Frisian Gold in England', pp. 43–63.

probably used the same way, they raise other interesting lines of enquiry.⁵⁸³ For example, does the production of imitations potentially reflect that there was a demand for specific mints? In which case, do these coins also provide further evidence that the design and messages on a coin were clearly understood and engaged with? These coins also raise further questions about the production of coins, their potential use, and the level of circulation. In order to produce an imitation in the first instance, the individual who produced the die would need to have seen the original coin design.

Imitations of all five coin-types issued during the seventh century are known. Some mint types appear to have been more widely imitated than others. Pol's analysis of the coins of Dorestad found across the North Sea revealed that the number of Madelinus imitations (known as 'pseudo-Madelinus' coins) reported hugely outnumber the genuine coins with over 200 known finds.⁵⁸⁴ The coins issued by the moneyer Madelinus were produced during a very short period of time (c. AD 630 x AD 650) and considered to reflect Merovingian control of Dorestad.⁵⁸⁵ The genuine coins are recognised by the inscription 'DORESTATI' on the obverse of the coin ([figure 3](#)) whilst the inscriptions of the imitations include various different spellings.⁵⁸⁶ A Madelinus imitation discovered at Rendlesham (Suffolk), for example, displays the blundered legend 'RESTATFIT' on the obverse (see [figure 10](#)).⁵⁸⁷

⁵⁸³ On their potential, see Anna Gannon, 'Imitation is the sincerest form of flattery', in Barrie Cook and Gareth Williams (eds.), *Coinage and History in the North Sea World* (Leiden, 2006), pp. 193–210.

⁵⁸⁴ Pol, 'Madelinus and the disappearing of gold', p. 92.

⁵⁸⁵ W.J. de Boone, 'Munten van Madelinus/Dorestat in Nederland', *Westerheem* 21 (1972), pp. 87–88; W.J. de Boone, 'Madelinus - Dorestat (II)', *Westerheem* 25 (1976), p. 99.

⁵⁸⁶ Pol, 'Madelinus and the disappearing of gold', p. 92–93.

⁵⁸⁷ PAS reference SF-59659C.



*Figure 3: Genuine Madelinus issue found at Leiderdorp, Netherlands
(source: NUMIS. NUMIS number 1106398)*

The quality of the Madelinus imitations that have been discovered vary greatly suggesting numerous dies were produced to strike these coins. Coin-dies used for several of the imitations bear close resemblance to the authentic issues, which may indicate that at least some of the imitations possibly circulated during the original minting time frame.⁵⁸⁸ Later dated imitations often depict blurred designs with corrupt inscriptions and are made of either pale gold or silver. Pol's examination of the silver imitations, known as series MA, alongside the original Madelinus issues, strongly suggests that these later imitative issues were themselves based on a later Madelinus imitation.⁵⁸⁹

The continued production of these coin imitations well after the cessation of the original production period of coins at Dorestad by Madelinus is certainly intriguing and raises the issue of why this was the case. It may simply have been that it was more convenient and easier to imitate these issues compared to other coins. However, this does not seem to be a satisfactory answer since these coins followed the standard mint and moneyer design of the national coinage.⁵⁹⁰ If there was a demand for coins bearing the name of Dorestad, it is also interesting that the coins issued by the moneyer Rimoldus at the site were not widely imitated.⁵⁹¹ It seems likely that there were several motivations behind

⁵⁸⁸ A. Pol., 'A square Madelinus from Katwijk: Trial piece or die-cleaner', in T. Abramson (ed.), *Studies in Early Medieval Coinage 2: New perspectives* (Woodbridge, 2011), p. 188.

⁵⁸⁹ Arent Pol, 'A new sceat of the Madelinus type', in T. Abramson (ed.), *Studies in Early Medieval Coinage* (Woodbridge, 2008), pp. 119–122.

⁵⁹⁰ See chapter 5 (5.2).

⁵⁹¹ Blackburn and Grierson, *MEC1*, p. 137.

their continued production and use throughout the seventh century, though it is difficult to speculate further on the basis of the surviving evidence.

The most spectacular find linked to coin production and imitations is a Madelinus trial die-piece discovered at the site of Katwijk ([figure 4](#)).⁵⁹² The site of Katwijk is located close to the delta of the Old Rhine (Oude Rijn) which flows directly out to the North Sea and the nature of this settlement is discussed in greater detail in chapter 11. The trial piece was likely used to test the striking of coins and could provide evidence of coin production occurring at Katwijk.⁵⁹³ If this is indeed the case, the evidence from Katwijk highlights that the minting of coins was not restricted to specific areas under royal or ecclesiastical control and was instead likely driven by the demands of the local population.⁵⁹⁴ The circulation of pseudo-Madelinus coins across the southern North Sea and Channel is considered in subsequent chapters including chapter 7 where these coins are included on a distribution map alongside genuine Dorestad coins in order to determine the nature of their circulation.



*Figure 4: Dorestad trial-die piece found at Katwijk,
(source: NUMIS. NUMIS number 1016253)*

⁵⁹² NUMIS number 1016253; for further context, see B.J. van der Veen and A. Pol, 'De middeleeuwse munten van Katwijk-Zanderij', in H.M. van der Velde (ed.), *Cananefaten en Friezen aan de monding van de Rijn. Tien jaar archeologisch onderzoek op de Zanderij-Westerbaan te Katwijk, 1996-2006* (Amersfoort, 2008), pp. 319–320.

⁵⁹³ Ibid.; Pol, 'A square Madelinus from Katwijk: Trial piece or die-cleaner', p. 187.

⁵⁹⁴ See also chapter 6 (6.3).

Several other Frisian ‘imitations’ of tremissis have been identified by numismatists such as the ‘Dronrijp’ (figure 5) and ‘Nietap’ (figure 6) types. Crucially, compared to the Madelinus imitations, these coins did not deliberately copy an existing issue and are not ‘imitations’ in the strictest sense of the term.⁵⁹⁵ Instead, these coins demonstrate a deliberate choice to turn bullion into a specific and known form and selected weight. At both Dronrijp and Nietap, seventh-century gold coin hoards were discovered in the nineteenth century and these two types represented the majority of coins in both hoards and resulted in their identification.⁵⁹⁶ Based on the absence of Dorestad coinage from the hoard and the earlier types of tremisses present in the assemblage, the hoard at Nietap is dated c. AD 630 x 635 and the Nietap coins are presumed to have been minted during the period AD 630 x 640.⁵⁹⁷ A Nietap issue was also subsequently identified in the Crondall Hoard which further supports this earlier time frame.⁵⁹⁸ The Dronrijp hoard was deposited shortly after the hoard at Nietap around c. AD 640/645 and the production of Dronrijp coins are dated between c. AD 620 x 640.⁵⁹⁹ It is possible that the two hoards were linked based on their close geographic location and the presence of Dronrijp-type coinage in both hoards.⁶⁰⁰



Figure 5: Dronrijp tremissis (c. AD 620 x 640) found in Burton-in-Kendal (source: PAS. PAS reference LANCUM-3E51D8)

⁵⁹⁵ These coins are labelled as imitative tremisses within PAS/EMC databases.

⁵⁹⁶ Blackburn and Grierson, *MEC1*, p. 125.

⁵⁹⁷ Arent Pol, ‘De 7e-Eeuwse Muntvondst Nietap’, *jaarboek voor munt-en penningkunde* 64 (1977), pp. 43–44, p. 62.

⁵⁹⁸ See Metcalf, *Thrymsas and Sceattas volume 1*, plate 3(item 73).

⁵⁹⁹ Arent Pol, ‘Boeles en het mysterie van het Dronrijp type’, in K. Huisman, K. Bekkema, J. Bos, H. de Jong, E. Kramer, R. Salverda (eds.), *Diggelgoud: 25 jaar Argeologysk wurkferban. Archeologisch onderzoek in Fryslan* (Leeuwarden, 2008), pp. 162–169.

⁶⁰⁰ Ibid.



*Figure 6: Nietap tremissis (c. AD 630 x 640) found in 'South Lincolnshire'
(Source: PAS. PAS reference LIN-0B3EEB)*

Significantly, the production of coins in Frisia is linked to the increasing Frankish influence and presence in the region.⁶⁰¹ However, the knowledge and abilities to produce coinage in Frisia could have existed separately to this political development and may even have been nothing more than a coincidence. Furthermore, if the production of coins in Frisia was Frankish inspired, it is interesting that they do not follow the Merovingian coin-model. Stylistically, both of these types are distinctive and bear little resemblance to the standard mint and moneyer style featured on Merovingian coinage. The obverse of the Dronrijp coinage ([figure 5](#)) features a left-facing diademed figure rather than the usual right-facing bust, whilst the Nietap coinage features a double-cross motif on the obverse rather than a bust. A design does not appear to have been struck on the reverse of the Nietap coin found in 'South Lincolnshire' ([figure 6](#)) and designs on the reverse of several other Nietap finds that have been discovered are also absent which may indicate that the images and messages on these coins were less important than the overall form and weight.⁶⁰² Furthermore, the Nietap coinage is smaller and thicker in size than the average tremissis and the issue would likely have stood out more than other imitative tremisses such as the pseudo-Madelinus issues. An increasing number of Nietap and Dronrijp type coin finds have been reported by metal-detectorists and more than fifteen single coin finds are now known.⁶⁰³ Their distribution,

⁶⁰¹ Blackburn and Grierson, *MEC1*, p. 137.

⁶⁰² For example, see also PAS reference LIN-58A436.

⁶⁰³ At least 5 more examples can be added to the twelve finds (7 Dronrijp type and 5 Nietap type coins) listed in Williams, 'Anglo-Saxon gold coinage part 1', p. 72. EMC numbers

outlined in chapter 7, is suggestive of direct links between the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms and Frisia during this period.⁶⁰⁴

Examining the broader corpus of coin imitations also returns to the emergence of coin production in the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms discussed in chapter 5. As of 2019, the *EMC* listed at least seven imitative tremisses as Anglo-Saxon forgeries.⁶⁰⁵ These issues are located in either Lincolnshire or Suffolk, with only one find identified from Kent. The decision to mint tremisses rather than thrymsas is particularly interesting and could potentially point to a preferred type of coin or issue as already mentioned above. Alternatively, given the greater availability of tremisses in circulation, it is possible that it was simply more convenient to imitate a tremissis. The greater volume of forged tremisses does not however mean that thrymsas were not copied, as a known imitation of Eadbald of Kent's London issue demonstrates.⁶⁰⁶ It is also perhaps easier for numismatists to identify forgeries of continental gold coinage, though this situation is reversed with silver issues produced on both sides of the North Sea from the eighth century onwards.

Another imitation of a Merovingian tremissis presumed to have been struck sometime during the period AD 630 x 660 was found at the Bernician royal site of Yeavering.⁶⁰⁷ The coin find at Yeavering is an outlier to the general distribution pattern of Merovingian coinage in Northumbria (discussed in chapter 7).⁶⁰⁸ The coin is an imitation of an issue minted in Huy since it bears

1998.0039 (Nietap), 1990.1292 (Nietap), 2012.0120 and 2021.0068 (Nietap type?); PAS references LIN-047A65 (Dronrijp) and LIN-0B3EEB (Dronrijp).

⁶⁰⁴ See chapter 7 (7.4).

⁶⁰⁵ EMC numbers 1987.0034 (Louth); 1998.0087 (uncertain); 2001.0896 (South Lincolnshire); 2005.0174 (Kent); 2007.0056 (Lincoln); 2016.0124 (Freckenham); 2016.0189 (Eyke); 2016.0143 (Eyke).

⁶⁰⁶ Naismith, *MEC8*, pp. 52–53.

⁶⁰⁷ Brian Hope-Taylor, *Yeavering: An Anglo-British centre of early Northumbria* (London, 1977), pp. 182–183.

⁶⁰⁸ See chapter 7 (7.4)

the inscription 'CHOAE' on the obverse which is found on genuine issues.⁶⁰⁹ More precisely, though the reverse of the coin is blundered, the coin that was used to produce the imitation is considered to have been issued by the moneyer Bertoaldus.⁶¹⁰ Five other coins featuring the inscription 'CHOAE' on the obverse have so far been found in the kingdoms of East Anglia (three coins) and Kent (two coins).⁶¹¹ A looped tremissis minted at Huy belonging to the moneyer Gandolonus was also discovered in County Durham in 2019 (see [figure 9](#)).⁶¹²

Importantly, none of the issues found in East Anglia are thought to be genuine since they weigh significantly less than the average tremissis and are made of copper alloy rather than gold.⁶¹³ The find at Yeavinger was also a gold-washed imitation on a copper core and the material used to make the coin raises questions over its purpose and use.⁶¹⁴ Based on the distribution of Huy issues and Merovingian coin finds more broadly in the kingdom of Northumbria, it is possible that the coin found at Yeavinger was minted at the site. Indeed, there are indications that jewellers and goldsmiths were present at another building at Yeavinger from the presence of a circular ring of gold wire which is associated with the production of filigree work.⁶¹⁵

Assuming the coin was produced during the earlier date range, it is possible that the production of this coin can be linked to the impact of the arrival of king

⁶⁰⁹ Hope-Taylor, *Yeavinger: An Anglo-British centre of early Northumbria*, p. 183. For images of the coin, see Roger Milet and Sarah Semple, *Yeavinger: Rediscovering the Landscape of the Northumbrian Kings* (Northumberland, 2009), p. 23.

⁶¹⁰ Hope-Taylor, *Yeavinger: An Anglo-British centre of early Northumbria*, p. 183. Not all agree with this interpretation. For opposition, see Abramson, *Coinage in the Northumbrian Landscape and Economy*, p. 164.

⁶¹¹ EMC numbers 1989.0059 (Isle of Sheppey, Kent); 2006.0190 (Holme-next-to-the-Sea, Norfolk); 2010.0062 (Beachamwell, Norfolk); 2016. 0204 (Margate, Kent); 2017.0018 (West Winch, Norfolk)

⁶¹² PAS reference DUR-EFD9E4.

⁶¹³ EMC numbers 2006.0190 (Holme-next-to-the-Sea, Norfolk), 2010.0062 (Beachamwell, Norfolk) and 2017.0018 (West Winch, Norfolk). As mentioned in chapter 5, the average weights of tremisses and thrymsas fell between 1.2–1.3 grams.

⁶¹⁴ Abramson, *Coinage in the Northumbrian Landscape and Economy*, p. 164.

⁶¹⁵ Hope-Taylor, *Yeavinger: An Anglo-British centre of early Northumbria*, p. 183.

Edwin at Yeavering in AD 627.⁶¹⁶ Paulinus had also accompanied Edwin to the site and converted many Northumbrians who travelled to the site during this time.⁶¹⁷ Alongside Paulinus, it is likely that other individuals travelled with Edwin to the site including numerous craftworkers. Several clauses in the laws of Æthelberht of Kent issued in the late sixth or early seventh century are concerned with craftsmen assigned to the king. Clause thirteen, for example, refers to the compensation required for killing ‘the king’s own smith’; it is possible that Edwin was also surrounded by similar individuals, though the evidence from Kentish laws (as outlined in chapter 5) cannot reflect with certainty what was happening in other kingdoms.⁶¹⁸ Moreover, the craftworker that produced the coin would need to have seen a Huy issue and only the issues found in Kent are assumed to be genuine rather than imitations.⁶¹⁹ As chapter 3 noted, Æthelburh travelled to Northumbria from Kent with many individuals (including Paulinus) and the political link between Kent and Northumbria could potentially provide the context for the production of this particular issue.⁶²⁰

To summarise, coin imitations are an invaluable source of evidence to explore the production, demand for and engagement with coins during the century. The production of imitations strongly suggests that the production of coinage was not under strict royal or elite control or limited to specific sites and was instead driven by the needs and demands of a community throughout the century. The evidence also suggests that some coin issues may have been preferred over others. This provides a strong hint at the engagement with, and potential importance of specific minting locations as well as shedding further light on the significance of coin iconography.

⁶¹⁶ Bede, *HE*, II.14

⁶¹⁷ Ibid.

⁶¹⁸ *The laws of Æthelberht of Kent*, clause 13, ed and trans. Oliver, *The Beginnings of English Law*, p. 65.

⁶¹⁹ EMC numbers 1989.0059 (Isle of Sheppey, Kent) and 2016. 0204 (Margate, Kent)

⁶²⁰ Bede, *HE*, II.9.

6.4: Repurposed Merovingian coinage in the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms

The social, cultural, and symbolic value of coins during the seventh century is also attested in their subsequent modification and reuse. In particular, coins were often modified into jewellery, particularly coin pendants.⁶²¹ Though there has been much discussion of coin pendants, until recently, discussion of this category of material culture has been inadequate. Since a high proportion of repurposed coins are found in burials, numismatists have largely excluded these coins from detailed study since they are perceived to have ceased their 'monetary' function.⁶²² Some individual coin pendants have received special mention in broader scholarship, notably the Liudhard medalet deposited in the Canterbury hoard.⁶²³ Other spectacular examples of modified coins have also been the subject of object-focused discussion, such as the Wilton Cross and Sarre pendant.⁶²⁴

More recent studies, however, have challenged the way these coins have previously been approached and demonstrated how these coins can be used to shed light on changing attitudes to coinage throughout the seventh century.⁶²⁵ Naylor and Scull examined the potential of using coin pendants deposited in Anglo-Saxon graves, for example, to explore the development of the economy and changing attitudes towards the use of coins in the seventh century.⁶²⁶ Compared to gold coins, far fewer silver issues (sceattas and deniers) deposited

⁶²¹ Katie Haworth and I are currently re-examining repurposed coinage in a project entitled 'Pierced, Looped and Framed: the (re)use of coins in jewellery in seventh-century Anglo-Saxon England' and intend to publish our findings.

⁶²² See the summary of coin pendants by Gareth Williams. Williams, 'The circulation and function of coinage in Conversion Period England', pp. 162–164.

⁶²³ On the medalet, see chapter 5 (5.4).

⁶²⁴ Marion Archibald, 'The Wilton Cross coin pendant: numismatic aspects and implications', in Andrew Reynolds and Leslie Webster (eds.), *Early Medieval Art and Archaeology in the Northern World* (Leiden, 2013), pp. 51–72; Karkov, *The Art of Anglo-Saxon England*, pp. 26–28.

⁶²⁵ Christopher Scull and John Naylor, 'Sceattas in Anglo-Saxon Graves', *Medieval Archaeology* 60:2 (2016), pp. 205–241; Florent Audy, *Suspended Value: Using coins as pendants in Viking-Age Scandinavia (c. AD 800–1140)* (unpublished PhD thesis: Stockholm University, 2018); F. Codine-Trécourt, 'Les monnaies Mérovingiennes modifiées à des fins non monétaires', *Revue Numismatique* 171:6 (2014), pp. 497–547.

⁶²⁶ Scull and Naylor, 'Sceattas in Anglo-Saxon Graves', pp. 209–211, p. 235.

in burials show evidence of modification.⁶²⁷

Repurposed coins also serve as evidence for several deliberate choices made by individuals. For instance, coins reused in jewellery demonstrate the purposeful act of retaining the coin in its original form rather than using the coin as a source of gold to make a pendant or other form of jewellery.⁶²⁸ Maintaining the shape of the coin may also have been a purposeful decision to maintain its function as a form of currency and potentially allow the coin to re-enter circulation. A tremissis minted at Saint-Denis under the moneyer Ebrigeselus discovered in Rochester, for example, had traces of a removed mount which may indicate its possible recirculation.⁶²⁹ The secondary treatment of the coinage also sheds light on how individuals potentially understood and engaged with the iconography and messages present on coins. For example, Codine-Trécourt's intriguing study of modified Merovingian coinage in the Bibliothèque nationale de France (BnF) demonstrated that the placement of the suspension in most cases had taken the design of the coin into account.⁶³⁰ Finally, coins reworked as jewellery also allow the opportunity to specifically explore female engagement with coins since a large number of burials in which coin pendants were deposited are considered female.⁶³¹

Since the last major list of finds of repurposed imported coins found in the Anglo-Saxon-kingdoms was published by Williams (2010), more finds have since come to light.⁶³² Appendix I provides an updated list of seventh-century

⁶²⁷ Ibid., pp. 227–228.

⁶²⁸ Hawkes, Merrick and Metcalf, 'X-Ray fluorescent analysis of some Dark Age coins and jewellery', pp. 98–138.

⁶²⁹ EMC number 1989.0061. See Abdy and Williams, 'A catalogue of the hoards and single finds from the British Isles', p. 29.

⁶³⁰ Codine-Trécourt, 'Les monnaies Merovingiennes modifiées à des fins non monétaires', pp. 497–547.

⁶³¹ Anna Gannon, 'Art in the round: Tradition and creativity in early Anglo-Saxon coinage', in Rory Naismith (ed.), *Money and Coinage in the Middle Ages* (Leiden, 2018), p. 292. For a comprehensive list of coin pendants recovered from seventh-century burials, see Katie Haworth, 'Most Precious Ornaments': *Necklaces in Seventh-Century England* (Unpublished PhD thesis: Durham University, 2020).

⁶³² Williams, 'Anglo-Saxon gold coinage: part 1'.

repurposed Merovingian coins found in the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms. As of January 2021, sixty-one repurposed Merovingian coins have been recovered from the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms ([table 5](#)). As [figure 7](#) illustrates, all coin types (solidi, tremissis and denier) are represented in this total and are known from burial, hoard, stray and uncertain find contexts. Previously, finds of modified coins were limited to cemetery contexts and as noted in chapter 6, heavily influenced earlier discussions of coin use.⁶³³ Today, the bulk of finds (thirty-four) are now known from stray contexts. [Figure 7](#) also highlights that tremissis form the majority of repurposed coins with thirty-nine finds. In contrast, repurposed deniers currently appear to be extremely rare with only one pierced find from Suffolk.⁶³⁴ The denier is a silver imitation (series MA) of the coins minted at Dorestad by Madelinus. The low number of deniers corresponds with the reduction in the number of stray modified silver Anglo-Saxon issues that have also so far been recovered (eight finds in total).⁶³⁵

⁶³³ Chapter 6 (6.2).

⁶³⁴ PAS reference BM-18A1C4. The EMC entry for this coin (2009.0250) lists Rendlesham as the findspot.

⁶³⁵ As of November 2020, there are four series A sceattas, three series B sceattas and one series C sceatta). Series A: PAS references NMS-A6853C, DENO-808377, SUR-EF8F46 and SWYOR-32B81D. Series B: EMC numbers 1990.5005 and 1992.747. PAS reference KENT-72A8F7. Series C: PAS reference HESH-C9EF2A.

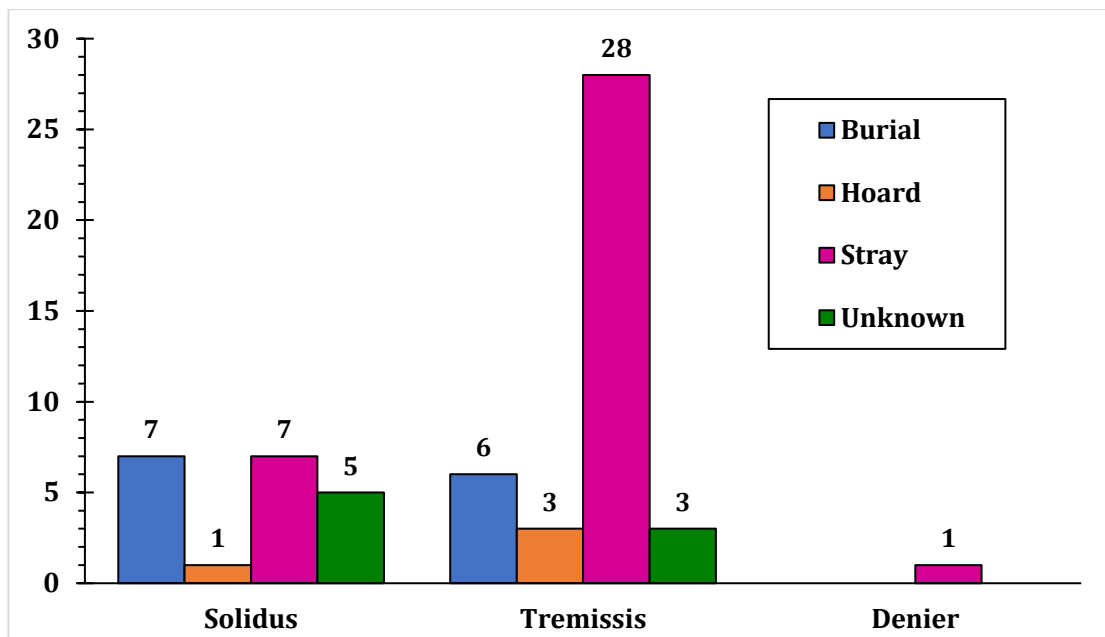


Figure 7: Repurposed Merovingian coin finds in the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms by coin type and context

The sixty-one coins were modified in one of three ways, all three of which are suggestive of suspension and the probable use of these modified coins as pendants. The majority of the coins listed in appendix I were either mounted ([figure 8](#)), looped ([figure 9](#)) or pierced ([figure 10](#)). A tremissis of an unknown mint found in Stapleford (Cambridgeshire) is an outlier and has been pierced in the centre.⁶³⁶ Given the jagged nature of the piercing and that the coin is also bent, it is possible that the modification of the coin represents accidental damage by agricultural machinery rather than contemporary reuse.⁶³⁷ Piercing a coin would have been the simplest and easiest option whereas the addition of a mount and loop required additional metal and added both weight and value to the overall coin. The looped tremissis recently found in County Durham ([figure 9](#)) is particularly interesting in this respect since the coin not only had the addition of a gold ribbed loop, but also beaded gold wire added around the edges of each side of the coin. Further details of the find are currently restricted, though the modification of the coin draws similarities to filigree-decorated disc pendants.

⁶³⁶ EMC number 2003.0055.

⁶³⁷ Abdy and Williams, 'A catalogue of the hoards and single finds from the British Isles,' p. 55.



*Figure 8: Mounted Solidus minted at Marseilles in the name of Sigebert III
discovered in Kent (uncertain location)
(Source: EMC/PAS. EMC number 2005.0212/PAS reference KENT-22CA70)*



*Figure 9: Looped tremissis of Huy discovered in the 'Bishop Auckland area'
(Source: PAS. PAS reference DUR-EFD9E4)*



*Figure 10: Pierced imitative Dorestad tremissis discovered at Rendlesham, Suffolk
(Source: PAS. PAS reference SF-59659C)*

As [figure 11](#) illustrates, most coins (thirty-three) were looped for suspension, followed by pierced (eighteen) and mounted coins (ten) represent the fewest number of finds. Where it was possible to see an image of the coin, in almost all cases, the modification largely respected the design featured on the coin demonstrating a clear engagement with and understanding of iconography present on coins.

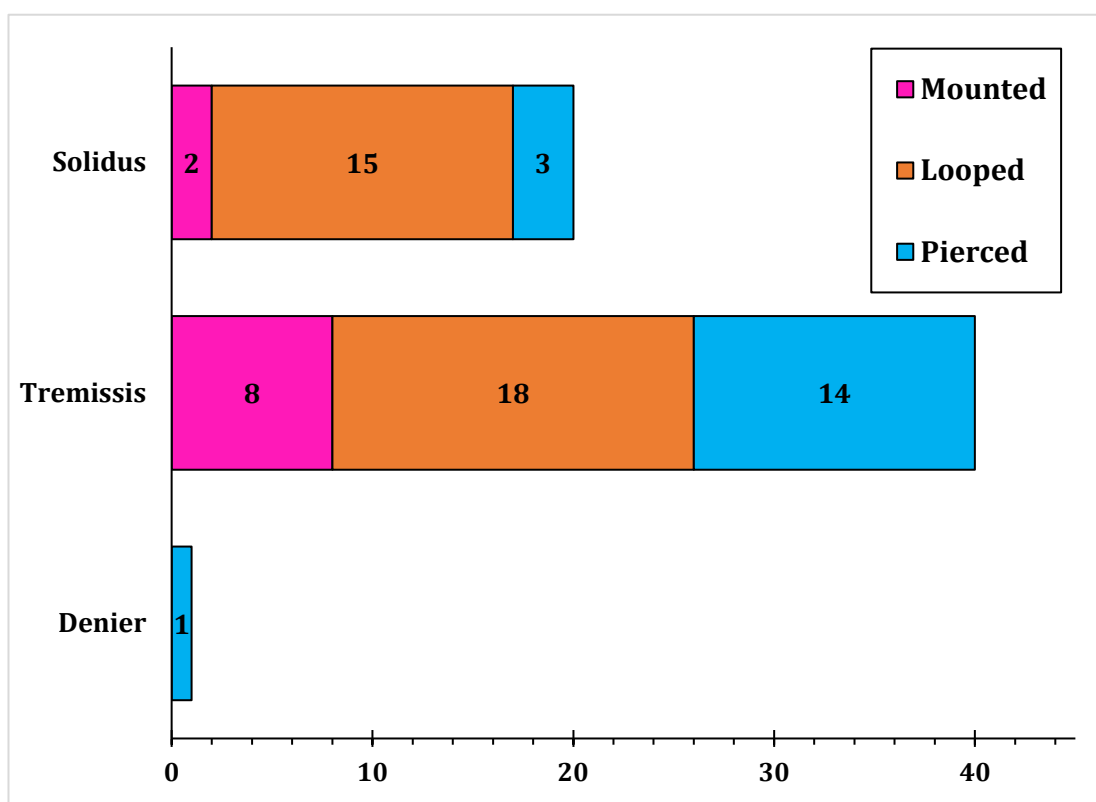


Figure 11: Breakdown of suspension type by coin type (solidus, tremissis and denier)

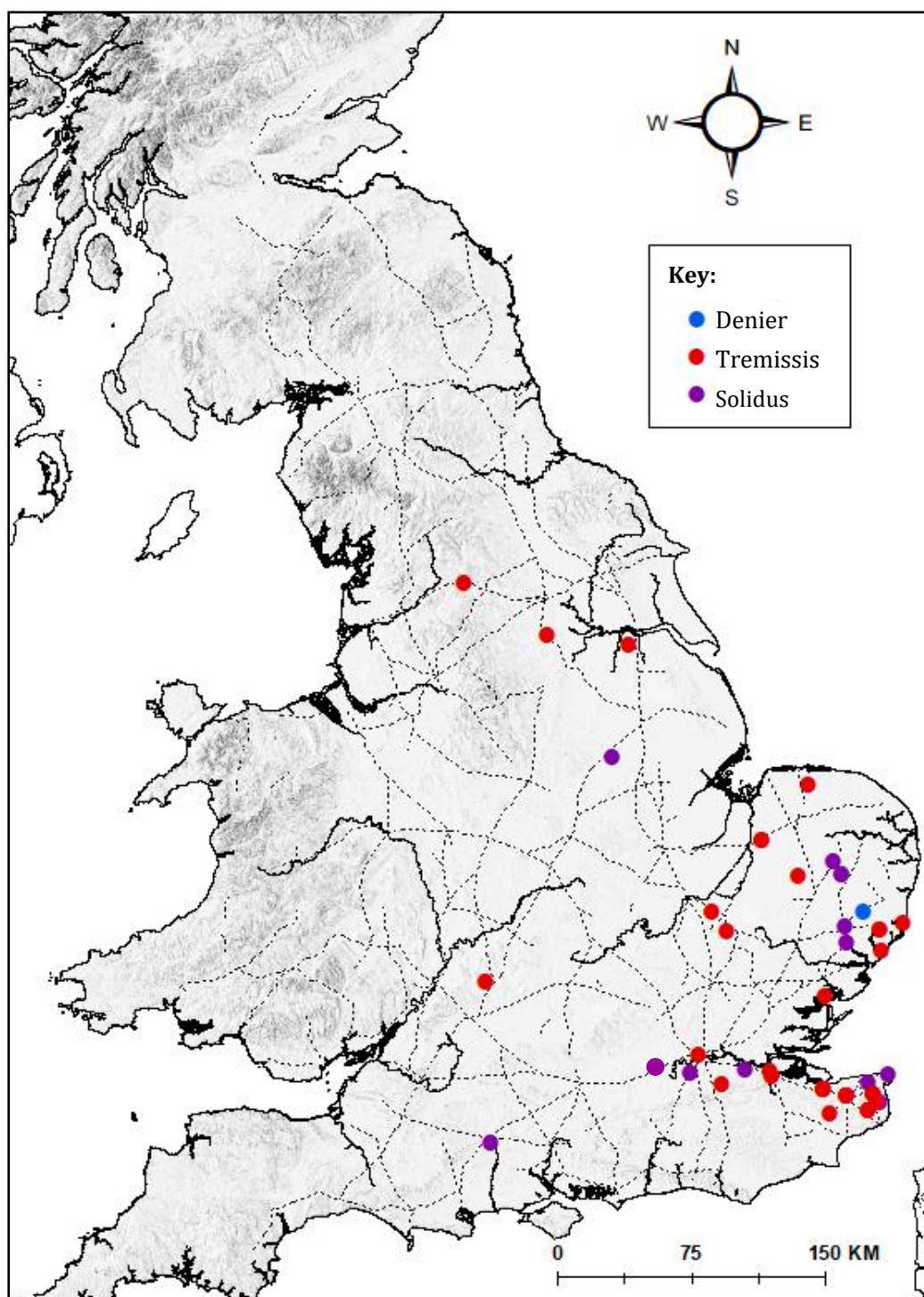


Figure 12: Distribution of repurposed seventh-century Merovingian coins

Figure 12 illustrates the distribution of the repurposed coins. There is a strong eastern distribution of the repurposed coins, particularly in eastern Kent, Norfolk and Suffolk.⁶³⁸ There is also a number of finds along the Thames. Elsewhere, a few finds are known from the west at Salisbury (Wiltshire) and Naunton (Gloucester).⁶³⁹ In the north, modified coins have been recovered from North Lincolnshire (Naunton), Yorkshire (Pontefract and Skipton), and County Durham (figure 9).⁶⁴⁰ Finds of modified solidi are mostly restricted to the east and south and only repurposed tremisses are currently known from the north. The distribution of these coins can be briefly compared with the general circulation of seventh-century coinage (figure 19.2) discussed in greater detail in the following chapter. The distribution of repurposed coins is consistent with the areas in which non-modified Merovingian coins circulated. It is therefore likely that the majority of the repurposed coins did not arrive in their modified form from overseas and were instead taken from the available pool of coins already in circulation. Moreover, this distribution also seems to suggest that the individuals who chose to modify the coin were probably familiar with coin use.

Type:	Mint:	Find context:			
		Grave find	Hoard	Stray	Unknown
Solidus (19)	Uncertain		1	1	
	Marseilles			1	1
	Marseilles - Chlothar II	1		3	2
	Arles - Dagobert I	1			

⁶³⁸ As of 2020, twenty-three modified coins have been found in Kent, six in Norfolk and eight in Suffolk.

⁶³⁹ EMC number 2011.0256 (Salisbury); Abdy and Williams, 'A catalogue of the hoards and single finds from the British Isles', number 9. (Naunton).

⁶⁴⁰ PAS reference NLM-BE8DC8; EMC number 1997.9920 (Skipton, Yorkshire); Abdy and Williams, 'A catalogue of the hoards and single finds from the British Isles', number 12 (Pontefract, Yorkshire); PAS reference DUR-EFD9E4 (County Durham).

	Limoges - Dagobert I			1	
	Marseilles - Sigebert II			1	
	Marseilles - Sigebert III	4		1	1
	Marseilles - Sigebert II/III	1			
Tremissis (39)	Agen	1	1		
	Brioux			1	
	Campbon			2	
	Chalon-sur-Saone	1			
	Clermont-Ferrand			1	
	Dorestad			4	1
	Dronrijp				1
	Huy			1	
	Maastricht			1	
	Marsal	1			
	Marseilles	1		1	
	Metz			4	1
	Oloron		1		
	Paris	1			
	Quentovic			1	
	Rodez			2	
	Saint-Bertrand		1		
	Saint-Denis			1	

Denier (1)	Verdun	1			
	Vienne-en-Val			1	
	Uncertain	1		7	
	Dorestad (Series MA)			1	
					Total: 61

Table 5: Mint and find context of repurposed seventh-century Merovingian coinage recovered from the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms

Table 5 provides a more detailed list of the coins found and illustrates the large number of mint types that are represented. The location of these mints is illustrated in figure 13 (see also table 6). To determine whether any of these mints are rare in the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms, figure 13 also includes the location of non-modified mints found in the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms. As figure 13 illustrates, currently, a number of mints are only known as modified finds in the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms such as coins minted in Agen, Arles and Saint-Bertrand in southern Gaul.⁶⁴¹ All four of these coins were looped for suspension and were found in hoard and burial contexts (table 5). The two modified Agen tremisses were found in Kent. One coin was deposited in the St-Martin's hoard in Canterbury and the other issue was deposited in a burial at the cemetery at Faversham.⁶⁴² The Saint-Bertrand tremissis was also recovered from the St Martin's hoard.⁶⁴³ The modified solidi minted at Arles under the name of Dagobert I was recovered from a burial (grave 30) at the cemetery at Coddendam in Suffolk.⁶⁴⁴

⁶⁴¹ For full information, see Appendix I.

⁶⁴² Williams, 'Anglo Saxon gold coinage part 1', p. 67 (Faversham); Grierson, 'The Canterbury (St. Martin's) hoard of Frankish and Anglo-Saxon coin-ornaments' (St-Martin's hoard), p. 39.

⁶⁴³ Grierson, 'The Canterbury (St. Martin's) hoard of Frankish and Anglo-Saxon coin-ornaments', p. 39.

⁶⁴⁴ Kenneth Penn, *The Anglo-Saxon cemetery at Shrubland Hall Quarry, Coddendam, Suffolk* (Bury-St-Edmonds, 2011), p. 27.

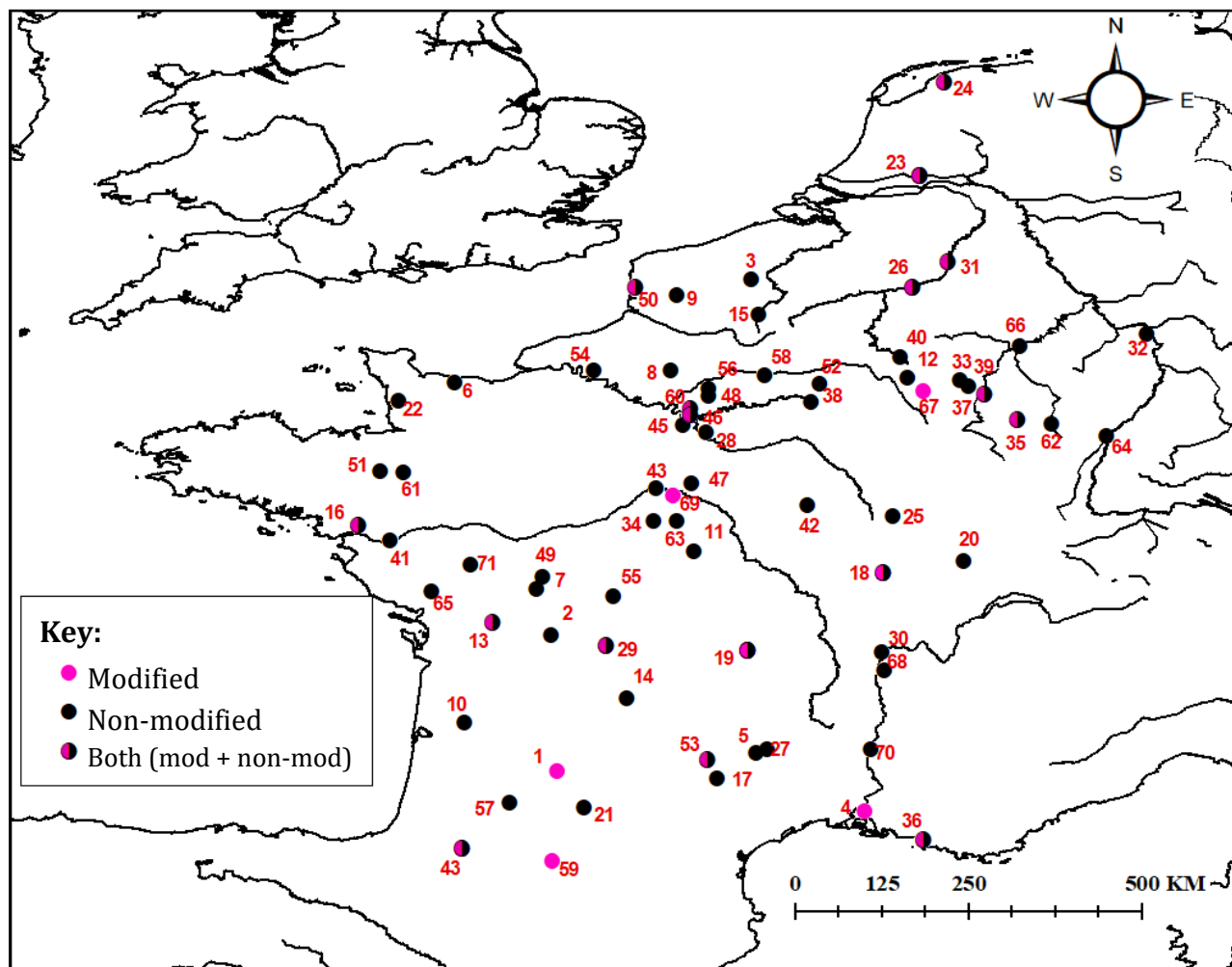


Figure 13: Location of Merovingian mints found in the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms

Number:	Mint:						
1	Agen	20	Clucy	39	Moutiers	58	Soissons
2	Arles	21	Cologne	40	Mouzon	59	Saint-Bertrand
3	Annapes	22	Coutances	41	Nantes	60	Saint-Denis
4	Arles	23	Dorestad	42	Nitry	61	Saint-Melaine
5	Banassac	24	Dronrijp	43	Oloron	62	Sarrebouurg
6	Bayeux	25	Frénois	44	Orléans	63	Souesmes
7	Beaumont	26	Huy	45	Palaiseau	64	Strasbourg
8	Beauvais	27	Javols	46	Paris	65	Thiré
9	Blangy-sur-Ternoise	28	Lieusaint	47	Pierrefitte	66	Treveri
10	Bordeaux	29	Limoges	48	Plailly	67	Verdun
11	Bourges	30	Lyon	49	Poitiers	68	Vienne
12	Brieulles-sur-Meuse	30	Maastricht	50	Quentovic	69	Vienne-en-Val
13	Brioux	32	Mainz	51	Rennes	70	Viviers
14	Brive-la-Gallard	33	Mallo	52	Rheims	71	Vrille
15	Cambrai	34	Marcilly	53	Rodez		
16	Campbon	35	Marsal	54	Rouen		
17	Canac	36	Marseilles	55	Sacierges		
18	Chalons-sur-Saone	37	Metz	56	Senlis		
19	Clermont-Ferrand	38	Moussy	57	Sion		

Table 6: Merovingian minting locations identified in figure 13

As [table 5](#) demonstrates, eighteen of the coins recovered were minted in Marseilles and the majority of these coins are solidi (sixteen) and fourteen were issued under the name of Merovingian kings.⁶⁴⁵ Two coins were issued under the name of Dagobert I and six coins were issued under the name of Chlothar II ([table 5](#)).⁶⁴⁶ The remaining royal issues were issued under the name of Sigebert II (AD 613) and Sigebert III (AD 639–656) and these coins have been the focus of recent attention within scholarship.⁶⁴⁷ Currently, eight coins bearing the name of Sigebert are known from the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms ([table 5](#)) and most of these coins (five) were deposited in burials. Two looped issues were recovered from burials in Kent at Finglesham (grave 7) and at St Peter's Tip (grave 134).⁶⁴⁸ The remaining three coins were deposited in burials in the kingdom of East Anglia at the cemeteries of Boss Hall (Ipswich) and Diss (Norfolk).⁶⁴⁹ The coin from grave 93 at Boss Hall was a solidus of Sigebert III whilst the two die-identical coins recovered from a single burial at Diss were also issued under the name of Sigebert III.⁶⁵⁰ The burial at Boss Hall (grave 93) is dated to the later seventh century (as discussed below in chapter 8) and the coin had probably circulated for a period of time before its subsequent deposition.⁶⁵¹ In light of the debasement of gold coinage during the century (outlined in chapter 5), it is presumed that the coin was minted during the later stages of Sigebert III's reign since the coin is made of thirty-seven percent fine

⁶⁴⁵ D.M. Metcalf, 'Monetary Circulation in Merovingian Gaul, 561-674', *Revue Numismatique* 162 (2006), p. 342, p. 391.

⁶⁴⁶ For full information, see Appendix I.

⁶⁴⁷ John Naylor, 'Two coin pendants from an Anglo-Saxon burial near Diss, Norfolk', *Medieval Archaeology* 60:2 (2016), pp. 360–362; Christopher Scull, *Early Medieval (Late 5th-Early 8th Centuries AD) Cemeteries at Boss Hall and Buttermarket, Ipswich, Suffolk* (Leeds, 2009), pp. 16–19, p. 43. See also Pestell, 'The kingdom of East Anglia, Frisia and continental connections' pp. 195–196.

⁶⁴⁸ Abdy and Williams, 'A catalogue of the hoards and single finds from the British Isles', number 14 (Finglesham). Helen Geake, *The Use of grave-goods in Conversion-Period England c. 600-c.850* (Oxford, 1997), gazetteer (St Peter's Tip).

⁶⁴⁹ Naylor, 'Two coin pendants from an Anglo-Saxon burial near Diss', Norfolk', pp. 360–362; Scull, *Early Medieval (Late 5th-Early 8th Centuries AD) Cemeteries at Boss Hall and Buttermarket*, pp. 16–19; Pestell, 'The kingdom of East Anglia, Frisia and continental connections' pp. 195–196.

⁶⁵⁰ Naylor, 'Two coin pendants from an Anglo-Saxon burial near Diss', Norfolk', pp. 360–362.

⁶⁵¹ Archibald, 'Numismatics and the chronological models', pp. 505–506.

gold.⁶⁵² In contrast, Naylor suggested that the coins deposited in the burial at Diss were imported directly into the region together and never circulated before their subsequent deposition due to their lack of wear.⁶⁵³

Rather than a random selection from a pool of available coins, the incorporation of these issues into the necklace assemblages deposited in burials at the cemeteries of Boss Hall (grave 93) and Diss (unknown grave number) may have been deliberate.⁶⁵⁴ As outlined in chapter 2, an East Anglian king was named Sigebert and he had close connections with the Merovingian court which appear to have continued throughout the remainder of the seventh century.⁶⁵⁵ It is possible therefore that the choice to incorporate these specific issues is associated with the broader political and cultural connections that existed between Gaul and East Anglia during the century. All three coins were mounted and looped for suspension and the modification of each strongly suggests that the obverse of the coin (a bust of Sigebert) was intended for display rather than the cross on the reverse. Interestingly, the modification of other coin finds issued under the name of Sigebert are similar to the finds from Boss Hall and Diss. For example, [figure 8](#) displays a mounted solidus minted in the name of Sigebert III found by a detectorist at an uncertain location in Kent.⁶⁵⁶ Based on the modification and longer gold strip on the reverse of the coin, it is likely that the obverse of the coin and bust of Sigebert was also intended to be displayed by the wearer.

A final point of interest to note is that a number of the repurposed coins have been identified as imitations. At least ten of the modified coins have so far been recognised as imitations.⁶⁵⁷ The reuse of these imitations returns to many of the questions raised in the preceding section (6.3) such as the possible demand for

⁶⁵² Ibid., p. 505.

⁶⁵³ Naylor, 'Two coin pendants from an Anglo-Saxon burial near Diss', p. 361.

⁶⁵⁴ Pestell, 'The kingdom of East Anglia, Frisia and continental connections', p. 196; Naylor, 'Two coin pendants from an Anglo-Saxon burial near Diss', p. 362.

⁶⁵⁵ Chapter 2 (2.3.1)

⁶⁵⁶ EMC number 2005.0212/ PAS reference KENT-22CA70.

⁶⁵⁷ These imitative issues are identified in appendix I.

particular mints. Unsurprisingly, given the sheer number of non-modified imitative issues that are known, all five of the modified Dorestad coins are imitations. Five of the coins are pseudo-Madelinus tremisses and made of pale gold whilst the last coin is the previously mentioned silver imitation (series MA) discovered at Earl Soham.⁶⁵⁸ [Figure 10](#) illustrates one of the pseudo-Madelinus repurposed finds from the site of Rendlesham and chapter 7 outlines the coin assemblage discovered from this site in greater detail.⁶⁵⁹ Another modified pseudo-Madelinus coin found in Essex (Mersea Island) is illustrated in [figure 14](#). This find is particularly intriguing since comparisons have been drawn between the die used to strike this coin and the design of the trial-die piece discovered at Katwijk.⁶⁶⁰ If the coin could be confidently linked to the die piece, this would provide firmer evidence of the minting of coinage at the site of Katwijk. The find from Mersea island was also looped for suspension compared to the remaining four finds which were all pierced. A narrow strip of gold was attached to a larger strip of gold which formed the suspension loop and the wider strip of gold covered part of the reverse of the coin. The placement of the loop suggests that the obverse of the coin and DRESTATFIT inscription rather than the cross on the reverse was intended for display.



*Figure 14: Modified pseudo-Madelinus tremissis from Mersea Island, Essex
(Source: PAS. PAS reference ESS-5D63D4)*

⁶⁵⁸ PAS references SF-78C948 ('Cambridgeshire'), ESS-5D63D4 (Mersea Island) and SF-59659C (Rendlesham); EMC number 2009.0250 (Earl Soham); Abdy and Williams, 'A catalogue of the hoards and single finds from the British Isles', number 11 (Uncertain findspot) and 12 (Pontefract).

⁶⁵⁹ PAS reference SF-59659C. See chapter 7 (7.3).

⁶⁶⁰ PAS reference ESS-5D63D4. On the trial-die piece, See above (6.3).

This section has highlighted how modified coins provide another way of exploring connections. In the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms, contemporary Merovingian coins were modified in a variety of ways and these coins provide a unique way to explore engagement with coins on an individual level. As the above examples have highlighted, the placement of the modification is not random and is respectful of the coin design, thereby demonstrating clear engagement. Additionally, rather than using coins as a source of gold, the choice to retain the monetary form is significant in the first instance in demonstrating the wider importance and value of coins during the seventh century.

6.5: Summary

Through three lines of enquiry, this chapter has further explored the production, use and demand for coinage during the seventh century. Section 6.2 focused on the role of coins within the North Sea economy during the seventh century and considered the evidence for coinage as a form of currency that facilitated the growing exchange networks between the Anglo-Saxon and Merovingian kingdoms during the century which are explored in subsequent chapters (7, 10 and 11). The increasing importance and use of coinage within these exchange networks is also highlighted by the production of coin forgeries which formed the focus of 6.3. The production of coin forgeries attests to the growing demand for coinage and its increasingly widespread use during the century (see chapter 7). Moreover, since specific coins were selected for imitation, forgeries can be used to explore the social importance of coinage and engagement with the messages present on coins. This theme was explored further in the final part of this chapter (6.4) which examined the modification of contemporary Merovingian coinage in the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms. These coins are unlikely to represent a random or representative sample of coins in circulation and appear to have been deliberately chosen for modification. These repurposed coins also serve as evidence of the surplus availability of Merovingian coins in the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms during the seventh century. More significantly, modified coins also provide an important window into considering female engagement with coinage and the wider significance of the form of coins.

Chapter 7: The circulation of coinage in the Channel and southern North Sea area

7.1: Introduction

This chapter examines the circulation of coins in the southern North Sea area during the seventh century, and proposes two key arguments: first, that coins circulated widely during the seventh century in the southern North Sea area and the use of gold coin was much more extensive than previously believed; second that this distribution is suggestive of coins circulating as currency and facilitating exchange. From an analysis of the distribution of coinage, this chapter also explores both broad and specific connections between regions during the century.

This chapter is broken into several parts. Preceding the analysis is an overview of the nature of coin finds and the potential limitations and difficulties in undertaking distribution analysis (7.2). Following this discussion, the circulation of Anglo-Saxon coin finds in Merovingian Gaul is examined (7.3). Next, the chapter considers the distribution of Merovingian coin finds in the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms (7.4). The final part of the chapter (7.5) examines the distribution of two specific mints, the coins of Quentovic and Dorestad.

7.2: Hoards and single coin finds

Numismatic study has changed dramatically in the last few decades and the majority of known coins now come from single find contexts rather than a hoard or burial context. Whilst useful in providing a rough chronological dating framework for the circulation and withdrawal of particular issues, coin hoards offer little information about the function of coinage. Since the context of each hoard varies and is influenced by a range of different factors, drawing together broader conclusions has remained difficult.⁶⁶¹

⁶⁶¹ Mark Blackburn, 'Coinage in its archaeological context', in Sally Crawford, Helena Hamerow and David Hinton (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Anglo-Saxon Archaeology* (Oxford, 2011), pp. 581–585.

Coins from early medieval hoards do however provide evidence of contact between regions. The thirty-seven Merovingian coins discovered at Sutton Hoo and those of the Crondall hoard (101 coins in total) have especially drawn attention to links between the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms and Merovingian Gaul during the seventh century for instance.⁶⁶² The recent 'West Norfolk' hoard further points to the continuing value of using coin hoards to understand the development of early coinage and connections. Over 100 coins, all of which are Merovingian issues apart from a couple of Byzantine solidi, as well as a gold ingot have been reported from the site. More importantly, the dating of the hoard (c. AD 610) pre-dates that of Sutton Hoo.⁶⁶³ The coinage discovered at the West Norfolk site may suggest that coinage at this stage was not merely used for gift exchange or symbolic of wealth but was circulating as currency and used in payment mechanisms earlier than current assumptions allow.

In Merovingian Gaul, several Anglo-Saxon silver issues are present in hoards discovered in modern France and the Netherlands. Interestingly, the later dated hoards have a higher number of Anglo-Saxon coins present and signals an intensification in contact during the eighth century and the availability and use of Anglo-Saxon coins overseas.⁶⁶⁴ The Cimiez (Nice) hoard dated to c. AD 720 x 740 is earliest dated French hoard to include seventh-century Anglo-Saxon issues.⁶⁶⁵ In total, eleven series from both the Primary and Secondary phases

⁶⁶² See C.H.V. Sutherland, *Anglo-Saxon Gold Coinage in the Light of the Crondall Hoard* (Oxford, 1948); Carver, Evans, Fern and Hummler, *Sutton Hoo: A seventh-century princely burial ground and its context*; Michael Parker Pearson, Robert Van Der Noort and Alex Woolf, 'Three men and a boat: Sutton Hoo and the East Saxon kingdom', *Anglo-Saxon England* 22 (1993), pp. 28–30.

⁶⁶³ Full publication of the hoard is ongoing, though a preliminary listing of the coins is available. See Adrian Marsden, 'The West Norfolk hoard, East Anglia's Trophy type thrymsas and Anglo-Saxon nummular brooches', *Norfolk Archaeology* 48 (2020), pp. 405–407.

The hoard also has a PAS entry (NMS-934673) but access is currently restricted (as of June 2021).

⁶⁶⁴ For a list of Anglo-Saxon *sceattas* found in continental hoards, see Blackburn and Grierson, *MEC1*, p. 185.

⁶⁶⁵ On the earlier date range, see *ibid.*, pp. 142–144. For a later date range, see J. Lafaurie, 'Monnaies épiscopales de Paris à l'époque mérovingienne', *Cahiers de la Rotonde* 20 (1998), pp. 61–99.

and a pale gold Pada issue were identified in the hoard alongside a large variety of other mints and issues.⁶⁶⁶ Although the region is not within the area of study under analysis, it is nonetheless interesting that Anglo-Saxon coins are present in hoards deposited in the most southern part of Gaul and could potentially point to a more extensive use and circulation of Anglo-Saxon coinage in Merovingian Gaul during the seventh and early eighth centuries. The hoards suggest that designs and types of coins used in transactions were possibly more varied in Gaul than assumed based on the limited number of single finds so far recorded.

In contrast to coin hoards, single coin finds more likely represent accidental rather than deliberate loss and can indicate the extent of coin usage and circulation with a greater degree of accuracy.⁶⁶⁷ However, even with the greater availability of evidence in Britain and the existence of comprehensive recording channels, equal caution must be applied to all recorded coin finds in every region and the evidence should not be taken at face value.⁶⁶⁸ The examination of single coin finds and their distribution relies heavily upon metal-detectorists and members of the public recording the information both fully and accurately, potentially risking the possibility of insufficient or inaccurate details being recorded. Indeed, the accuracy of the find spots provided by *PAS* and *EMC* greatly varies. Whilst several coordinates are within one kilometre, others are within 100 kilometres. This is similarly the case with finds recorded by *NUMIS* where the accompanying distribution map with each entry only gives an indication of the location. In some cases, the exact findspot may not be provided in order to protect an area from illicit metal detecting which is a major problem both in Britain and on the continent. The 'West Norfolk' hoard was discovered by illicit metal-detecting and a great effort was put into retrieving these

⁶⁶⁶ J. Lafaurie, 'Les deniers Saxons et Frisons de la fin du VII^e et du début du VIII^e' in Jean Yves Marin (ed.), *Les Barbares et la Mer: Les migrations des peuples du Nord-Ouest de l'Europe du V^e au X^e siècle* (Caen, 1992), pp. 131–138.

⁶⁶⁷ Blackburn, 'Coinage in its archaeological context', p. 587.

⁶⁶⁸ Costen and Costen are perhaps too confident in their comments regarding the distribution of coins so far found in Wessex: Michael D. Costen and Nicholas P. Costen, 'Trade and exchange in Anglo-Saxon Wessex, c. 600-780', *Medieval Archaeology* 60:1 (2016), p. 3.

coins.⁶⁶⁹ In France, the high number of Anglo-Saxon coins that are auctioned annually strongly suggests illicit metal-detecting activity.⁶⁷⁰ Whilst the exact find spots cannot be discussed with absolute certainty, these records can still assist in evaluating the broader circulation and availability of coinage within a particular region.

The reliance upon metal detecting also raises the question of accessibility and the impact of the landscape topography. As with archaeological excavations, metal detectors may be limited as to where they are freely able to search, and may only examine places with known chances of yielding finds such as low lying areas.⁶⁷¹ Certainly, Thomas has argued that single coin finds represent the movement of metal-detectorists rather than genuine distribution patterns.⁶⁷² In Northumbria, for example, a larger number of excavations have taken place around York and the Humber in comparison to Bernicia and the west of the kingdom, which have not been examined extensively.⁶⁷³ As a consequence of this, higher grounds and the more difficult terrain have not been surveyed to the same degree and could potentially misinform conclusions once coin finds are placed on a distribution map.

⁶⁶⁹ Most of the coins have since been recovered, though some still remain lost. Pers comm. Adrian Marsden.

⁶⁷⁰ Metcalf, 'Monetary circulation in Merovingian Gaul', pp. 365–366; CGB Numismatics Paris is one of the main numismatic dealers in France and their auction archives point to the selling of a high number of Anglo-Saxon sceattas: www.cgbfr.com (Accessed: January 2018).

⁶⁷¹ A detailed examination of the reliability and possible bias of PAS data was undertaken by Daubney. Adam Jonathan Daubney, *Portable Antiquities, Palimpsests, and Persistent Places in Lincolnshire, with particular reference to three Middle Saxon studies* (unpublished PhD thesis: University of Leicester, 2015), especially chapters 2 and 3.

⁶⁷² A. Thomas, 'Rivers of gold? The coastal zone between the Humber and the Walsh in the mid-Saxon period', *Anglo-Saxon Studies in Archaeology and History* 18 (2013), pp. 97–118.

⁶⁷³ See Elizabeth J. E. Pirie, 'finds of 'Sceattas' and 'Stycas' of Northumbria', in M.A.S. Blackburn (ed.), *Anglo-Saxon Monetary History: Essays in memory of Michael Dolley* (Trowbridge, 1986), pp. 68–69.

7.3: Anglo-Saxon coin finds in Merovingian Gaul

Figure 15.1 provides an overview of the Anglo-Saxon coin finds so far known in northern Gaul.⁶⁷⁴ The totals presented in figure 15.1 represent provenanced finds only and unprovenanced coins are excluded from study. Though they add to the number of known coins, it is difficult to say anything more about the early medieval circulation of unprovenanced coin finds. For example, a thrymsa of Eadbald is known in the collection of early medieval coins at the *Cabinet des Medailles* (Paris) but whether the coin was originally discovered in the Pas-de-Calais region remains uncertain, meaning that any arguments relying upon the find to discuss coin circulation would be highly insecure.⁶⁷⁵

Though both gold and silver Anglo-Saxon issues have been found in Gaul, as figure 15.1 illustrates, gold finds remain relatively rare. Metcalf has suggested that the low number of known gold coin finds could possibly be explained by illicit detecting and the high value that these types could fetch at auction.⁶⁷⁶ Of the gold coins that have been found, each represent a different issue which provides a possible hint at a steady flow of coins reaching Gaul over a longer rather than shorter period of time. Table 7 lists the type, weight and find spot of each thrymsa found in the area under study.⁶⁷⁷ Although not in the region under study, it is important to note that a pale gold 'two-emperor' style thrymsa weighing 1.2 grams has also been discovered in the Lorraine region.⁶⁷⁸ Of the thrymsas that have so far been recorded, two are earlier gold issues and two coins belong to the pale gold phase.

⁶⁷⁴ Totals as of March 2020. Coin data was compiled from databases (NUMIS, NUMMIS) and Lafaurie and Pilet-Lemière's catalogue (*Monnaies du haut Moyen Âge*).

⁶⁷⁵ The coin is recorded in the EMC. EMC number 1016.0042.

⁶⁷⁶ Metcalf, 'Monetary circulation in Merovingian Gaul, 561-674', p. 365.

⁶⁷⁷ Lafaurie and Pilet-Lemière number 80.21.4 (Amiens); NUMIS number 1045500 (Utrecht); Lafaurie and Pilet-Lemière number 50.433.1 (Réville); NUMIS number 1007959 (Domburg); Marsden, 'East Anglia's earliest issues', pp. 50–51 (Rouen).

⁶⁷⁸ Lafaurie and Pilet-Lemière number 57.000.4

Type:	Weight (grams):	Find spot:
London 'cross-type'	1.32 g	Amiens
'Trophy' type	1.16g	Rouen
'York' type	1.26 g	Soest (Utrecht)
Pada (Pa III)	1.25 g	Réville
Uncertain type	1.28 g	Domburg

Table 7: Thrymsas found in northern Merovingian Gaul

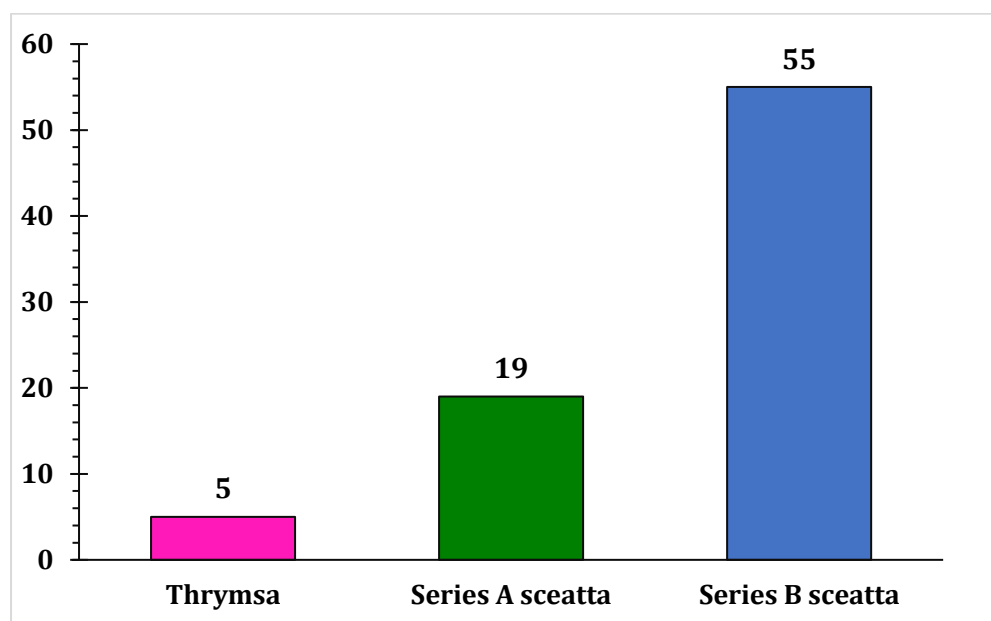


Figure 15.1: Breakdown of Anglo-Saxon coin finds in northern Merovingian Gaul (Thrymsas, series A and series B sceattas)

Figure 15.2 provides a snapshot of the circulation of Anglo-Saxon coins in northern Gaul. In general, coin finds are scattered along the coastline and further inland within close proximity to waterways. That the majority of Anglo-Saxon coin finds from overseas are found at sites so close to the coast strongly suggests direct trade and contact with Anglo-Saxon traffic rather than the finds forming part of a redistributive monetary network. The thrymsas that have so far been recovered were found a great distance from one another which suggests that these coins arrived through different connections (figure

15.2/table 7). Apart from its find spot and weight, further details of the thrymsa found at Domburg remain unknown. The site at Domburg is discussed below.

The coin find from Amiens possibly reached this area directly from across the Channel and along the Seine. Alternatively, the thrymsa might have filtered to Amiens from Quentovic via a Roman road, though no thrymsa finds have been recorded to date from the site and only a limited number of Anglo-Saxon imports are recorded around the site (figure 15.2). Quentovic was a major minting-location in Neustria and it is possible that many coins that crossed the Channel to Quentovic were subsequently reminted at the site.⁶⁷⁹ Coins were also minted at Amiens in the seventh century and several of these coins have been found across Gaul.⁶⁸⁰ No single coin finds of this type have so far been recorded in the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms, though it is possible that one of the unidentifiable tremisses found in the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms originated from Amiens. Importantly, a sceatta (series BIII) was also found at Amiens, suggesting a level of the continuity in contact and that routes were maintained at the turn of the century.⁶⁸¹

Another thrymsa was also found at a site situated along the Seine at Rouen. Rouen was an important administrative and ecclesiastical centre in the seventh century.⁶⁸² Chapter 5 noted the possibility that the ‘Trophy’ type thrymsas were produced in the kingdom of East Anglia.⁶⁸³ If this was the case, the presence of this thrymsa in Rouen could possibly be linked to the elite and ecclesiastical networks outlined in previous chapters. More broadly, there are possible hints that gold coinage reached monastic sites in the Seine valley

⁶⁷⁹ See 7.5.

⁶⁸⁰ For example, Lafaurie and Pilet-Lemière numbers 80.1.1 and 80.21.2. See also P. Denoeux, ‘Note sur des monnaies ambiennes mérovingiennes’, *Société des antiquaires de Picardie* 630 (1994), pp. 333–335.

⁶⁸¹ Lafaurie and Pilet-Lemière number 80.2.15

⁶⁸² For an overview, see J Le Maho, J., ‘The fate of the ports of the lower Seine valley at the end of the ninth century’, in Tim Pestell and Katharina Ulmschneider (eds.), *Markets in Early Medieval Europe: Trading and ‘Productive’ Sites, 650- 850* (Cheshire, 2003), pp. 234–236.

⁶⁸³ Marsden, ‘East Anglia’s earliest issues: The Trophy type shillings’, pp. 50–59.

through the elite female networks discussed in chapter 4.⁶⁸⁴ In his account of Eorcengota of Kent's death at Færmoutiers, Bede describes that Eorcengota had a vision of a crowd of men entering the monastery and that they had brought back with them a golden coin (*aureum nomisma*) from Kent.⁶⁸⁵ It is certainly possible therefore that East Anglian individuals that travelled to this area also carried gold coins with them overseas.⁶⁸⁶ The coin probably reached Rouen at a later date in the seventh century. As [table 7](#) illustrates, the Rouen thrymsa weighs far less than the remaining thrymsa finds (1.16g). Since examples of the Trophy type are predominantly pale gold, these coins are dated to the later phase of gold coinage (c. AD 660/670).⁶⁸⁷

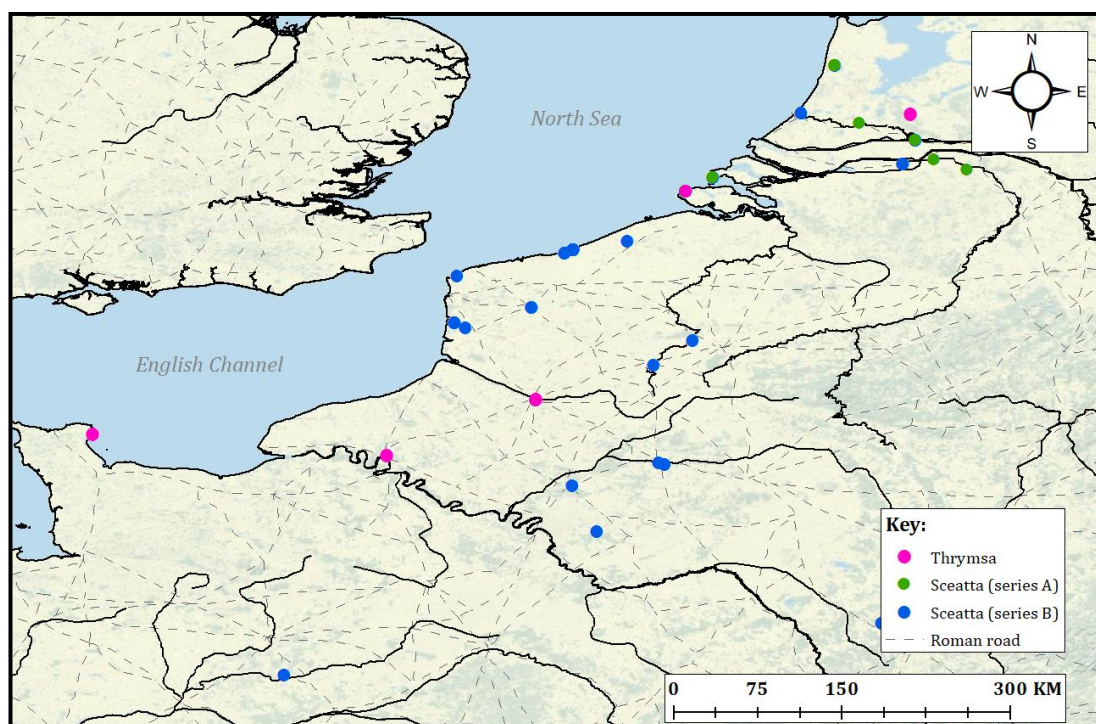


Figure 15.2: Distribution of Anglo-Saxon coin finds in northern Merovingian Gaul, c. AD 580-710

⁶⁸⁴ See 4.3.

⁶⁸⁵ Bede, *HE*, III.8

⁶⁸⁶ Barbara Yorke, 'The weight of necklaces': some insights into the wearing of women's jewellery from Middle Saxon written sources', in Stuart Brookes, Sue Harrington and Andrew Reynolds (eds.), *Studies in Early Anglo-Saxon Archaeology: Papers in Honour of Martin Welch* (Oxford, 2011), pp. 107–109.

⁶⁸⁷ Marsden, 'East Anglia's earliest issues: The Trophy type shillings', p. 50.

The 'York' thrymsa found in the modern-day province of Utrecht could potentially demonstrate non-ecclesiastical contact between Northumbria and the area if the coin reached the site shortly after its production (outlined in chapter 5), since an ecclesiastical connection between Northumbria and Frisia does not appear in the surviving record until the late seventh century.

Following exile from the kingdom, Wilfrid had spent time in Frisia in AD 678 and remained in the region to convert some of the population.⁶⁸⁸ However, this effort does not appear to have been wholly successful or an established policy by the Northumbrian church. The first sustained missionary effort by the Northumbrian church did not begin until the end of the century, with Willibald settling at Utrecht.⁶⁸⁹ Two Frisian bow brooches dated to the late-sixth-to-early-seventh century were found at the settlement at Wharram Percy in East Yorkshire (as discussed in chapter 10) and the presence of the 'York' thrymsa may suggest that contacts and links established in the late sixth century were maintained on some level during the seventh century.⁶⁹⁰

The final thrymsa is a pale gold Pada issue found at an elite Merovingian settlement in the commune of Réville.⁶⁹¹ A large Merovingian cemetery in use from the fifth to late seventh century has also been unearthed at Réville and a number of Anglo-Saxon imports were recovered from several burials that are discussed in chapter 9.⁶⁹² The Pada issue is the latest dated object recovered from the site and has been central to the *terminus-post-quem* for the abandonment of activity in the area.⁶⁹³

⁶⁸⁸ Stephen of Ripon, *VSW*, chapter 26.

⁶⁸⁹ Bede, *HE*, V.11.

⁶⁹⁰ On Wharram Percy, see chapter 10. Gustav Milne and J.D. Richards, *Two Anglo-Saxon Buildings and Associated Finds, Wharram; A Study of Settlement on the Yorkshire Wolds*, VII (York, 1992), pp 47–49.

⁶⁹¹ Lafaurie and Pilet-Lemière number 50.433.1.

⁶⁹² Frédéric Scuvée, *Le Cimetière barbare de Réville (Manche) VI^e - VII^e siècles* (Caen, 1973).

⁶⁹³ See Lafaurie and Pilet-Lemière entry for the coin (50.433.1); See also C. Pilet, 'Installations Anglo-Saxonnes sur le littoral de l'actuelle Basse-Normandie aux V^e, VI^e et VII^e siècles', in Jean-Yves Marin (ed.), *Les Barbares et la Mer: Les Migrations des peuples du Nord-Ouest de l'Europe du V^e au X^e siècle* (Caen, 1992), pp. 111–130.

Looking at the silver coins, there appears to be a difference in the distribution of series A and series B sceattas. There is a more northerly focus of series A sceattas in contrast to series B sceattas. On the surface, this distribution of the earliest series of sceattas could support the long-held argument relating to trade moving further north towards the end of the seventh century. However, the circulation of series B sceattas, of which there are more examples ([figures 15.1/15.2](#)), appears more oriented towards the Canche valley and indicates the continuation of former routes following the change in the material used to make coinage.

To further examine the circulation of coins and identify contact, sites with two or more Anglo-Saxon coin finds are shown and compared in [figure 16](#). The coin finds from the sites of Dorestad and Étaples (near Quentovic) are not so surprising given that coins were minted at these sites and are widely distributed across the Channel and North Sea as 7.5 discusses below. With the exception of Katwijk, an agricultural settlement, the remaining areas with more than one Anglo-Saxon coin find appear to be areas with an established ecclesiastical presence. These coins may be associated with ecclesiastical fairs or markets similar to the annual market held at Saint-Denis.

The sites with the greatest number of coin finds are the sites of Domburg and De Panne, or so-called 'beach market' sites. The sites of Domburg and De Panne are part of a growing number of sites engaged in trade that have been identified along coastal plains.⁶⁹⁴ As outlined in chapter 8, the overall categorisation of trading sites across the North Sea zone during the early medieval period is problematic. Lebecq for example argued that Domburg could be classified as an early emporium of the Frisians, whilst Hill included both Domburg and De

⁶⁹⁴ Pieterjan Deckers and Dries Tys, 'Early medieval communities around the North Sea: a 'maritime culture'?', in Rica Annaert, Koen de Groote, Yann Hollevoet, Frans Theuws, Dries Tys and Laurent Verslype (eds.), *The Very Beginning of Europe? Cultural and Social Dimensions of Early-Medieval Migration and Colonisation (5th-8th century)* (Brussels, 2012), pp. 81–87; Loveluck and Tys, 'Coastal societies, exchange and identity', pp. 140–169.

Panne in his *gazetteer* of likely ‘wic’ trading sites.⁶⁹⁵ However, such conclusions mask the complexity of sites engaged in exchange and long-distance networks during the seventh century.

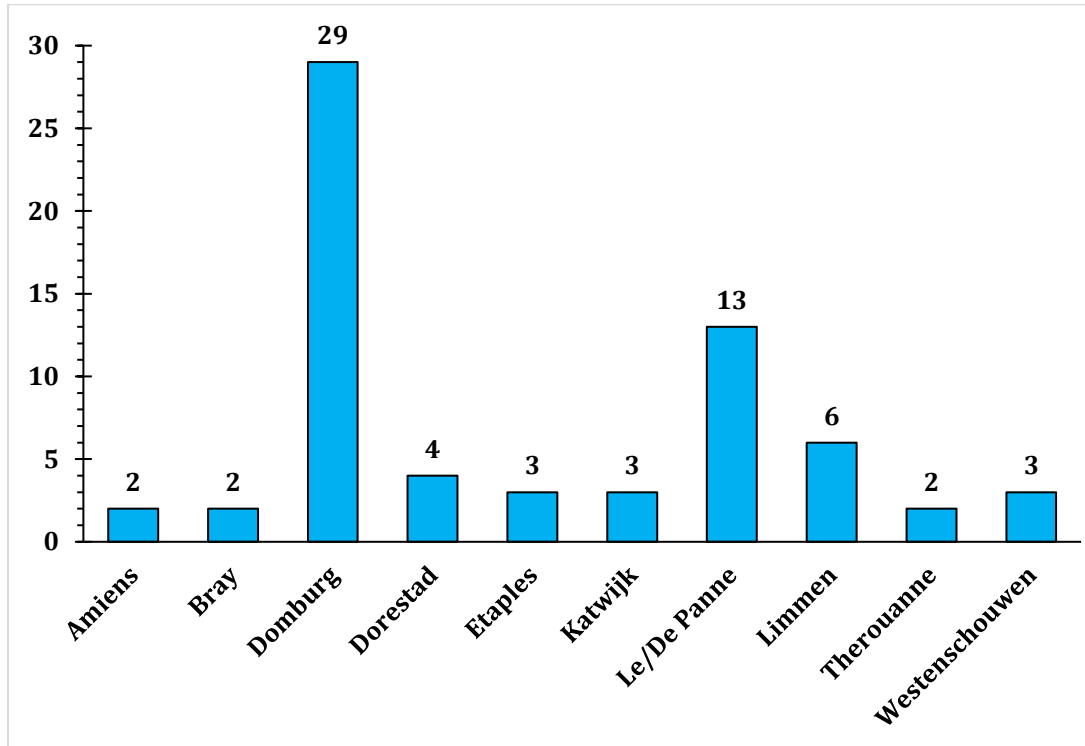


Figure 16: Sites with more than two Anglo-Saxon coin finds
(Thrymsa, Series A and Series B Sceattas)

The site at Domburg has produced the highest concentration of early coinage to date in the Netherlands and the site has yielded over one thousand coin finds in total dating.⁶⁹⁶ Unfortunately, much of the archaeological context of the site is now lost due to coastal erosion and only surface finds have been recorded from the site. The coins are associated with a trading centre/port, though a number

⁶⁹⁵ Lebecq, ‘L’emporium proto-médiévale de Walcheren-Domburg’, p. 83; David Hill, ‘A short gazetteer of postulated continental wics’, in David Hill and Robert Cowie (eds.), *Wics: The Early Medieval Trading Centres of Northern Europe* (Sheffield, 2001), pp. 104–111, esp. p. 105 and p. 108.

⁶⁹⁶ Arent Pol, ‘Middeleeuwse munten van het Domburgse strand’, in Robert van Heeringen, Peter Henderikx and Alexandra Mars (eds.), *Vroege-Middeleeuwse ringwalburgen in Zeeland* (Amersfoort, 1995), pp. 44–48; Stéphane Lebecq, ‘L’emporium proto-médiévale de Walcheren-Domburg: un mise en perspective’, in J.M. Duvosquel and E. Thoen (eds.), *Peasants and Townsmen in Medieval Europe* (Ghent, 1995), p. 74.

of these coins may have originated from the three cemetery sites that were also discovered in the area following marine erosion.⁶⁹⁷

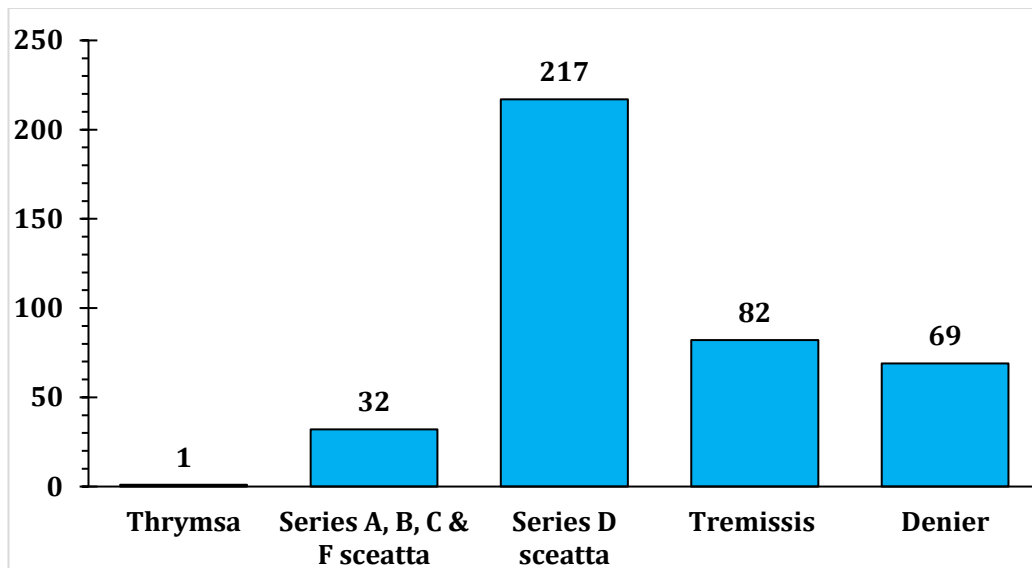


Figure 17: Coin finds from Domburg

The earliest dated coin is a Byzantine solidus presumed to have been minted in the sixth century and the presence of Frankish, Visigothic, Ostrogothic and Lombardic pseudo-tremisses (fourteen in total) reflect activity throughout the sixth century.⁶⁹⁸ At least 250 Anglo-Saxon coins dated from c. AD 600 x 715 are recorded from Domburg and these totals are compared with the total number of seventh-century Merovingian coin finds in [figure 17](#).⁶⁹⁹ Only one thrymsa of an unidentifiable type is recorded and there is a marked increase (217) of series D continental sceattas that were introduced at the turn of the early eighth century compared to the combined total of series A, B, C and F (thirty-two) and Merovingian deniers (sixty-nine). In contrast to the silver issues found at the site which have been subject to detailed analysis, the earlier gold issues remain

⁶⁹⁷ H. Halbertsma, *Frieslands oudheid. Het rijk van de Friese koningen, opkomst ondergang* (Utrecht, 2000). pp. 214–219.

⁶⁹⁸ Nicolay, *The Splendour of Power*, p. 136.

⁶⁹⁹ Figure 17 collated from list of coins and totals from Pieterjan Deckers, *Between Land and Sea: Landscape, Power and Identity in the Coastal Plain of Flanders, Zeeland and Northern France in the Early Middle Ages (A.D. 500–1000)* 2 vols, (Unpublished PhD thesis: Vrije Universiteit Brussel, 2014), pp. 310–312; Pol, 'Middeleeuwse munten van het Domburgse strand', pp. 44–48; Arent Pol, 'De Verspreidingsgebieden van in Nederland gaslagen Merovingische gouden munten der 7e eeuw', *Westerheem* 27 (1978), pp. 148–150.

understudied, and a full list remains unpublished. Nicolay provided an indication of the various minting locations that are represented among the tremissis finds is his summary of the evidence recovered from Domburg.⁷⁰⁰ Among the tremisses are coins from both Quentovic (three finds) and Dorestad (one find) as well as coins from minting locations around the Meuse (Maastricht, Huy and Namur), Rhine (Cologne and Mainz) and Moselle (Metz and Trier) rivers.⁷⁰¹

The smaller total of gold coins in contrast to the silver issues is often taken as evidence that the site reached its peak during the eighth century following the growth of trade more widely across the North Sea.⁷⁰² Although there was likely a growth in activity at the site and shift in its importance in the eighth century, it is important to recognise that the presence of a large number of gold coins in the first instance indicates some level of wealth and activity occurring at the site during the seventh century. Moreover, in addition to the coin finds, a small disc of unworked gold and a gold ingot dated to the sixth or seventh century are also noted amongst the finds.⁷⁰³

As at Domburg, only surface finds are recorded from De Panne and much of the archaeological context has also been lost due to coastal erosion.⁷⁰⁴ Alongside coin finds (tremisses, sceattas and deniers), other artefacts recovered include brooches, beads, worked bone and a few fragments of local and imported

⁷⁰⁰ Nicolay, *The Splendour of Power*, p. 136.

⁷⁰¹ Ibid.

⁷⁰² For example, see Adriaan Verhulst, *The rise of cities in North West Europe* (Cambridge, 1999), pp. 41–42.

⁷⁰³ Nicolay, *The Splendour of Power*, p. 137.

⁷⁰⁴ P. Deckers, 'An illusory emporium? Small trading places around the southern North Sea', in Annemarieke Willemsen and Hanneke Kik (eds.), *Dorestad in an International Framework: New Research on Centres of Trade and Coinage in Carolingian Times* (Turnhout, 2010), pp. 159–167; Anton Ervynck, Cecile Baeteman, Hendrik Demiddele, Yann Hollevoet, Marnix Pieters, Jaap Schelvis, Dries Tys, Mark van Strydonk and Frans Verhaeghe, 'Human occupation because of a regression, or the cause of transgression? A critical review of the interaction between geological events and human occupation in the Belgian Coastal Plain during the First Millennium AD', *Probleme der Küstenforschung im südlichen Noordseegebiet* 26 (1999), pp. 110–112.

ware.⁷⁰⁵ Whilst the coin assemblage recovered from De Panne is interpreted as evidence of trade, the lack of imported pottery compared to other trading sites along the Flemish coastal plain suggests the site was not a permanent site for trade.⁷⁰⁶ Several early-medieval estates have been identified near De Panne and the site possibly served as an occasional meeting place for these local communities.⁷⁰⁷

To further consider how Anglo-Saxon coins were circulating, [figure 18](#) shows the Anglo-Saxon finds alongside known Merovingian coin finds in the areas under study. Crucially, the Anglo-Saxon coinage appears to have circulated largely in the same areas as Merovingian coinage. This pattern points to the interchangeable nature of both types during all phases of the coinage.

⁷⁰⁵ Deckers, 'An illusory emporium? Small trading places around the southern North Sea', pp. 160–161; Pieterjan Deckers, 'Productive' sites in the Polders? 'Griffin brooches' and other early medieval metalwork from the Belgian coastal plain', *Medieval and Modern Matters* 3 (2012), pp. 21–43.

⁷⁰⁶ Deckers, 'An illusory emporium? Small trading places around the southern North Sea', p. 162.

⁷⁰⁷ *Ibid*, pp. 162–164, p. 167.

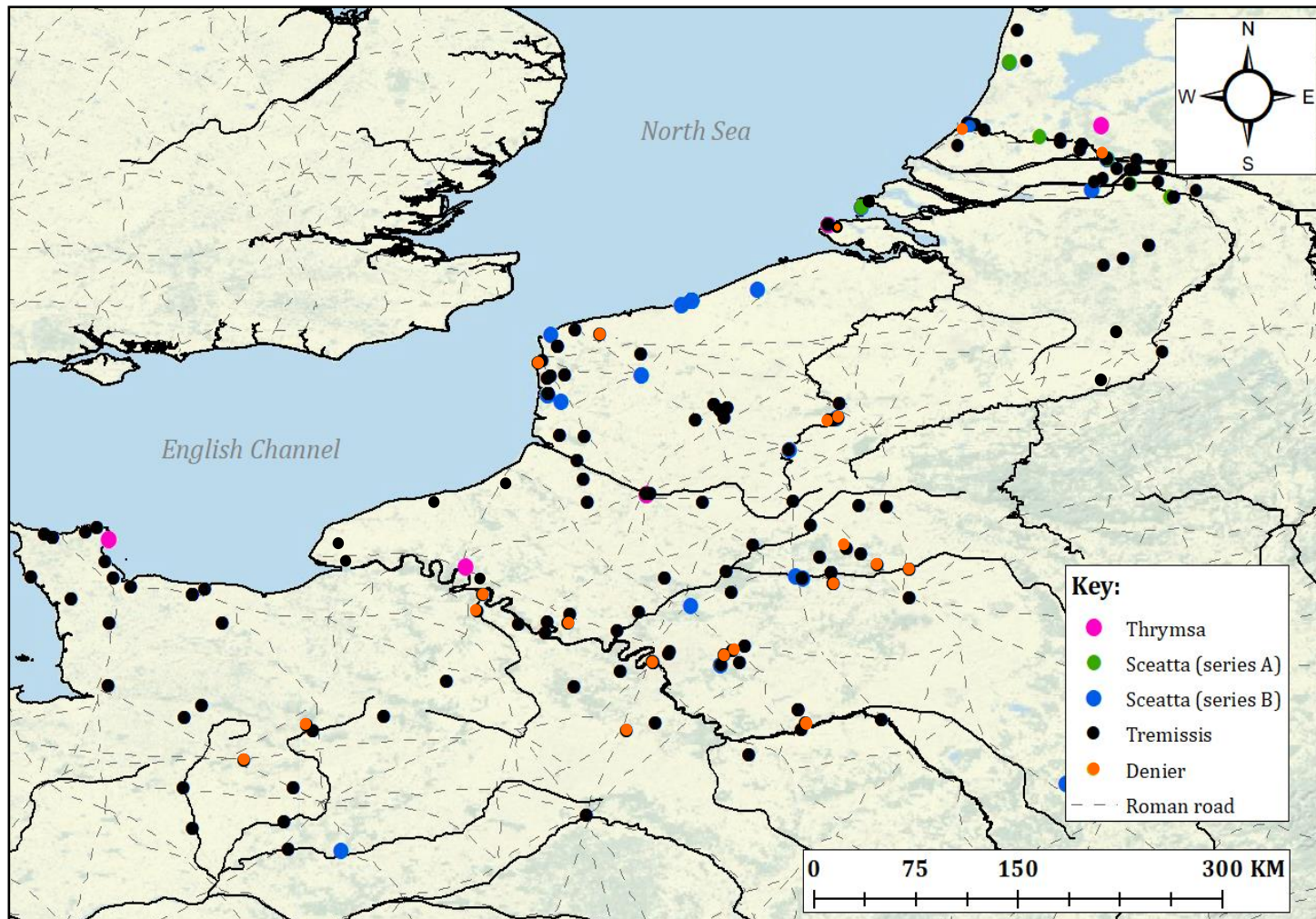


Figure 18: Anglo-Saxon, Frankish and Frisian coin finds in northern Merovingian Gaul, c. AD 580–710

Apart from in the modern departments of Manche, Calvados and Seine-Maritime (north-west Neustria), the circulation of coinage does not appear to have changed drastically following the introduction of the first silver issues. As mentioned in chapter 5, the possible controlled switch to silver coinage could have assisted in a smoother transition in order to avoid the disruption of existing trading links and payments.⁷⁰⁸ The absence of silver coin finds in north-western Neustria is particularly surprising given the high number of tremisses (particularly in the department of Manche) known to have been in circulation. This could be explained by the method of retrieval, topographical reasons, or could reflect the genuine absence of the circulation of coinage in this area from the later seventh century.⁷⁰⁹ Equally, the larger volume of coin finds in the hinterland close to ecclesiastical communities along the Seine strongly suggests that trading activity was directed along the Seine and overseen or influenced to some extent by ecclesiastical communities in this area of Neustria. Indeed, there is evidence of a specific monastic community supposedly directing trade in the region. In AD 709 or AD 710, a dispute over the payment of tolls from the preceding century was settled in the court of Childebert III between Mayor Grimoald and the community of the Basilica of Saint Dionysius (St Denis).⁷¹⁰ Crucially, the recorded outcome of the hearing in a charter reaffirmed that the community should receive the entire toll levied on merchants who attended a fair on the feast day of their saint and that the church themselves were able to decide where in the realm 'to conduct business and commerce on the occasion of that feast'.⁷¹¹ Furthermore, at the hearing, the representatives of the church had apparently provided charter evidence from their predecessors dating back to the reign of Clovis II of their right to receive the full amount of the toll exacted from merchants.⁷¹² Assuming that the documents were not forged, this suggests that there was a strong Merovingian monastic presence in burgeoning

⁷⁰⁸ See chapter 5 (5.3).

⁷⁰⁹ Metcalf, 'Monetary circulation in Merovingian Gaul, 561-674', p. 361.

⁷¹⁰ 'The result of a dispute settlement made before the king's court, Childebert III (709/710) in Alexander Callander Murray, *From Roman to Merovingian Gaul: A Reader* (Ontario, 2000), pp. 585-587.

⁷¹¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 586-587.

⁷¹² *Ibid.*, p. 585.

North Sea trading activity at least from the mid seventh century. By extension, this may also suggest that monastic communities influenced the use and circulation of coinage in the area by the early eighth century. Moreover, it is possible that silver coinage may have been minted at monasteries in the eighth century.⁷¹³

The key findings from an assessment of the circulation of Anglo-Saxon coinage in Merovingian Gaul can be briefly summarised as follows. There is a strong concentration of coin finds along the coastline and the majority of sites with a high volume of Anglo-Saxon coin finds are situated within ten kilometres of the coast. The coin assemblage recovered from these sites is likely representative of direct contact and exchange. Coins also reached areas further inland and transport routes (especially rivers) were important. Compared to the distribution and circulation of silver issues, it is more difficult to reach firm conclusions regarding the circulation of gold Anglo-Saxon issues due to the limited number of finds, though the finds that have been recovered represent several points of entry and different connections. The York thrymsa found at Souest is particularly significant and possibly represents direct contact between Northumbria and Frisia. The coin finds from Amiens and Rouen could possibly be linked to ecclesiastical exchange and activity in this area.

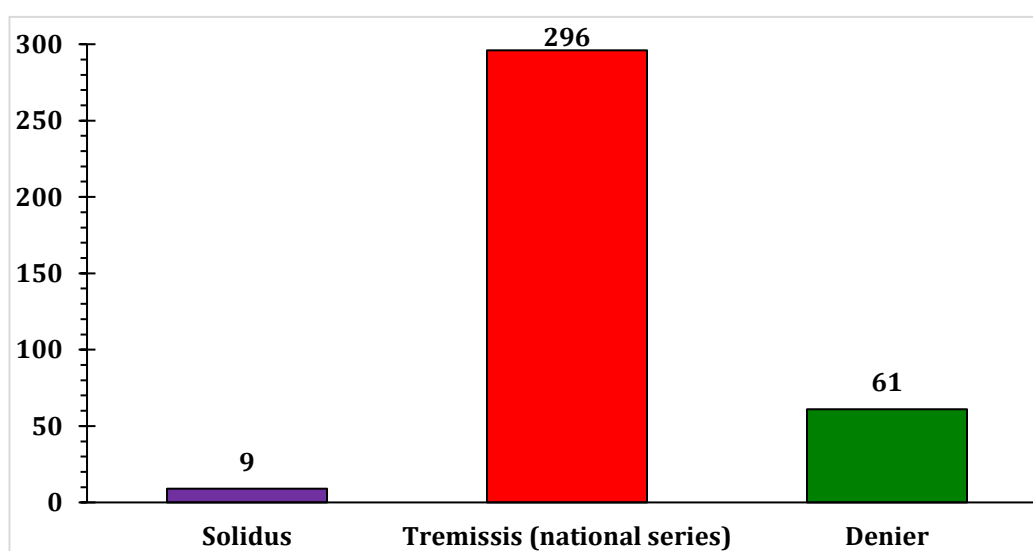
7.4: Merovingian coin finds in the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms

The total number of finds recovered is shown in [figure 19.1](#). In comparison to the analysis of Anglo-Saxon coins found in Gaul ([figure 15.1](#)), unprovenanced finds have been included in [figure 19.1](#) due to the limited find information that is given along with these finds. For example, many coins are known to be ‘near’ a site and the county is given to protect the exact find spot. Of the nine ‘national series’ solidi, six demonstrate signs of modification and these coins are listed in [table 5](#)/appendix I whilst their southern and eastern distribution pattern was

⁷¹³ In her study of the iconography of early coins, Gannon suggests that some sceattas may have been minted in monasteries. Gannon, *The Iconography of Early Anglo-Saxon Coinage*, pp. 188–192.

shown in [figure 12](#).⁷¹⁴ The non-modified solidi include two solidi minted in Marseilles, with one issued under the name of Chlothar II, and one solidi minted in Châlons-sur-Saône.⁷¹⁵ Tremisses form the majority of coin finds (296) whereas silver Merovingian issues are far fewer in number with only sixty-one finds recorded. The smaller number of deniers contrasts sharply with the number of Anglo-Saxon sceatta finds and suggests a reduction in the amount of imported coinage in circulation at the end of the seventh century. Additionally, it may also be the case that a number of imported coins were reminted at their point of entry.

Turning to the origin of the tremisses, a range of mints from across Merovingian Gaul are known to have been circulating in the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms ([figure 13/table 6](#)). Though a variety of mints are present, importantly, it is unlikely that every coin travelled directly from its place of minting to its findspot. Many coins (particularly those minted in Aquitaine and eastern Gaul) probably circulated locally and regionally in Gaul before reaching the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms through an intermediary location.⁷¹⁶



⁷¹⁴ For a discussion of coin pendants, see chapter 6 (6.3).

⁷¹⁵ PAS reference KENT-4A1EA1 (Chlothar II solidus); EMC numbers 2018.0359 (Marseille) and 1986.0201 (Châlons-sur-Saône).

⁷¹⁶ Metcalf, 'Monetary circulation in Merovingian Gaul, 561-674', pp. 339–346.

Figure 19.1: Breakdown of Merovingian single coin finds from the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms

In terms of distribution, as [figure 19.2](#) demonstrates, the circulation of Merovingian coinage does not appear to have been limited to any particular region. Coins circulated well beyond southern England and finds are not solely restricted to coastal areas but also filtered further inland. For example, a number of finds are scattered along the Thames Valley. The highest number of coins are known from Kent and East Anglia. The higher concentration of coin finds in eastern Britain can to some extent be attributed to the preference of metal detecting in this region and other influencing factors outlined above in chapter 1.⁷¹⁷ The circulation of Merovingian coinage largely mirrors that of Anglo-Saxon coins ([figure 20](#)) and further reflects the widespread availability and circulation of coins in the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms more broadly during the seventh century. Looking at all coin finds, there is a correlation between transport routes and a number of finds are situated within close proximity to river and road networks.

Whilst Merovingian coins are widely distributed in most Anglo-Saxon kingdoms ([figure 19.2](#)), the circulation and lack of finds in the northern Anglo-Saxon kingdom of Northumbria is striking. With the exception of a few coin finds from the sub-kingdom of Bernicia, the circulation of Merovingian coinage in the kingdom of Northumbria in the seventh century appears to have been mostly limited to the sub-kingdom of Deira. The reported finds of tremissis and deniers in Deira appear to correspond closely with Roman road networks in the kingdom.⁷¹⁸ Several of the kingdom's 'productive' sites (defined below), such as Driffild, Malton 1 and 2 and Wharram Percy, are located close along the Roman road which leads to York where the tremissis and deniers are recorded. Due to the close proximity of the finds, it is possible that the coinage is linked to

⁷¹⁷ See chapter 1 (1.5)

⁷¹⁸ See John Naylor, 'The Circulation of early-medieval European coinage: A case study from Yorkshire, c. 650-867', *Medieval Archaeology* 51 (2007), p. 44.

activity that had taken place at these sites and chapter 10 examines this region and the circulation of coinage in greater detail.⁷¹⁹

The general absence of Merovingian coinage in Bernicia could be explained in several ways. Scholars have largely placed the centre of the Northumbria's trading connections at York and along the Humber thereby explaining the dearth of coinage in Bernicia.⁷²⁰ However, it may simply be the case that a different value system was preferred in Bernicia compared to the system operating in Deira during this period. Equally, it is just as plausible that the topographical situation has influenced the number of finds in Bernicia and the limited number of excavations may also have further contributed to the disparity. Importantly, the lack of Merovingian coinage does not necessarily mean an absence of overseas contact and exchange. As discussed in chapter 9, Merovingian imports have been recovered from several sites in Bernicia which reflect access to networks of exchange.⁷²¹

⁷¹⁹ Chapter 10 (10.5).

⁷²⁰ See overview of debate in Ferguson, 'Re-Evaluating Early Medieval Northumbrian Contacts', pp. 296–297.

⁷²¹ See chapter 9 (9.3.1).

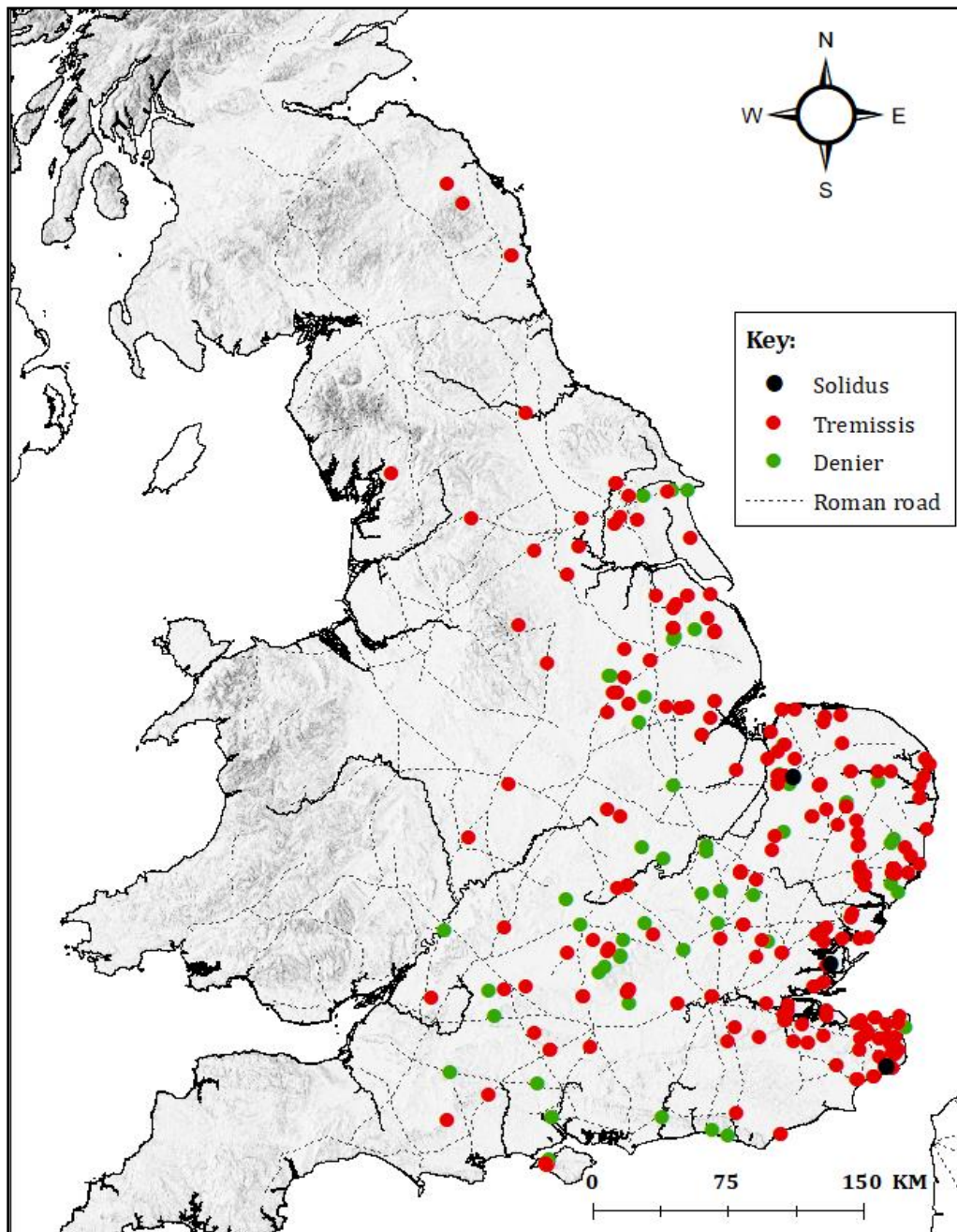


Figure 19.2: Distribution of Merovingian coins (issued c. AD 580-710) found in the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms

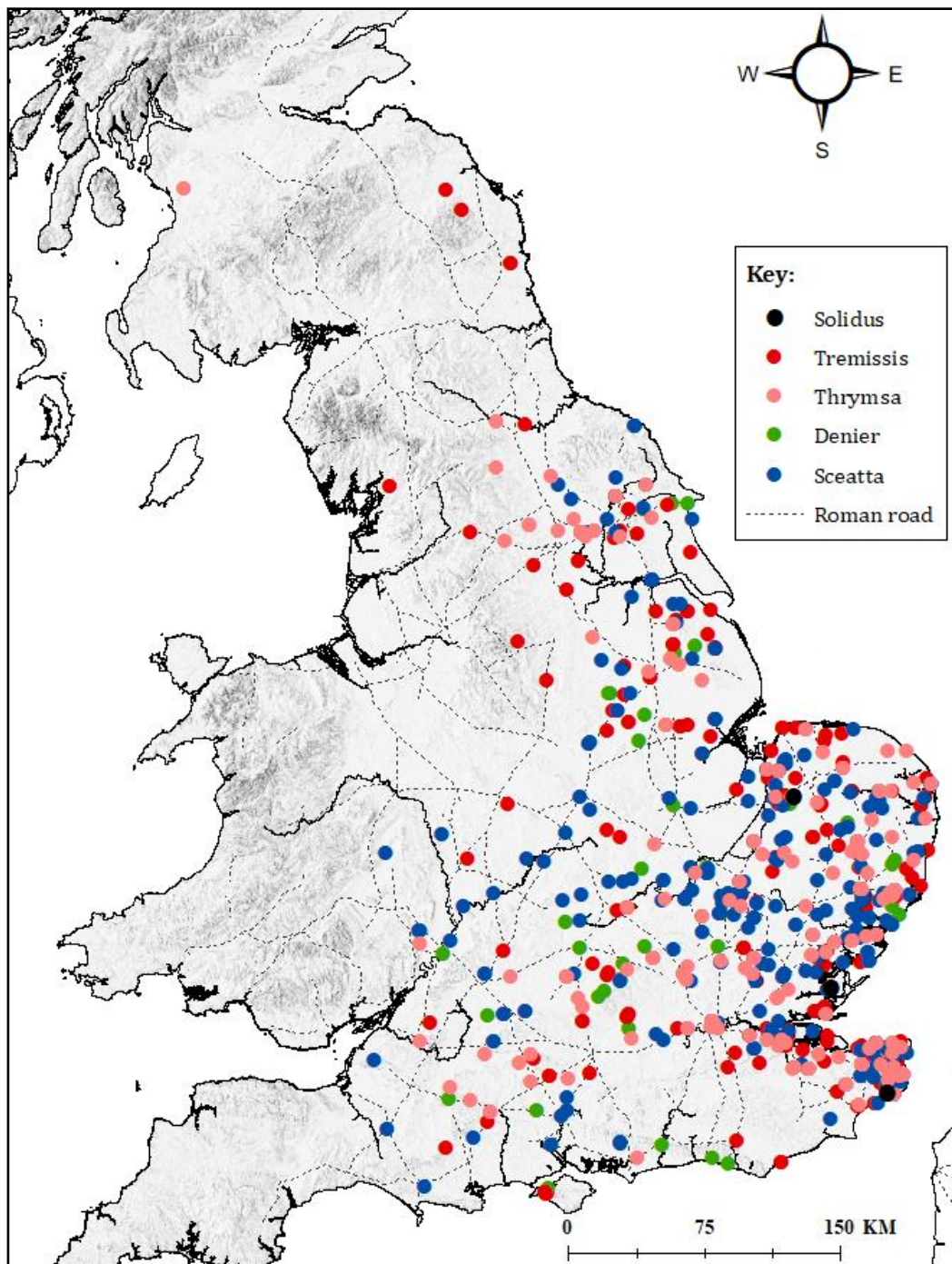


Figure 20: Circulation of Anglo-Saxon coins compared with distribution of Merovingian coins in the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms

The single coin finds that have been recorded in Bernicia are therefore particularly important to analyse and the locations and type of coins demonstrate the extent and range of contact during the seventh century. The imitative tremissis discovered at the royal site at Yeavering was discussed in detail in chapter 6.⁷²² Alongside the coin discovered at Yeavering, a tremissis was recovered south of Yeavering at Thirston and another unidentifiable tremissis was found on the Scottish border at the site of Coldstream.⁷²³ A tremissis has also been found in the western part of Bernicia in Cumbria. The *EMC* recorded the find spot of the coin as 'near Kendal', whilst *PAS* records the location more accurately as Burton-in-Kendal which situates the coin closer to the western coastline of the Northumbrian kingdom.⁷²⁴ It is possible that the coin reached its location directly via the Irish Sea since this zone is a known corridor for both people and objects during the early medieval period.

As discussed in chapter 6, the tremissis from Cumbria has been identified as a Dronrijp type tremissis (see [figure 5](#)) which were produced in Frisia.⁷²⁵ As of January 2020, seven other coins of this type are known from a stray context and most were found in the east of England.⁷²⁶ A Dronrijp coin was recovered from one of the seventh-century burials at Faversham (King's Field cemetery) in Kent which may indicate that Frisian issues circulated in Kent if the coin was taken from the available pool of coins circulating locally.⁷²⁷ The presence of Frisian traders in the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms is difficult to examine and there has been much discussion of the term 'Frisian' and its possible interchangeable nature in

⁷²² Chapter 6 (6.3)

⁷²³ *PAS* reference DUR-184009 (Thirston). The Coldstream find was recorded by *Treasure Trove Scotland*: www.treasuretrovescotland.co.uk and listed in the *Treasure Trove Annual Report 2013/2014*, TT.45/13 (p. 5).

⁷²⁴ *EMC* number 2014.0364/*PAS* reference LANCUM-3E51D8.

⁷²⁵ See chapter 6 (6.2)

⁷²⁶ *EMC* numbers 1998.0043 (Lincs.), 2000.0536 (S. Lincs.), 2001.0978 (Lincs.), 2007.0978 (Suffolk). *PAS* reference LIN-047A65 (Nottinghamshire). In his catalogue, Williams notes two other Dronrijp finds not recorded by either *PAS* or *EMC*, one from Norfolk and a mounted/looped coin with an uncertain findspot: Williams, 'Anglo-Saxon gold coinage part 1', p. 72 (nos. 288 and 290).

⁷²⁷ Williams, 'Anglo-Saxon gold coinage part 1', p. 72 (no. 284).

the early medieval period.⁷²⁸ The earliest surviving written reference of the existence of Frisian traders is by Bede in his mentioning of the presence of Frisian traders in London and their involvement in the slave trade.⁷²⁹ An archaeological presence of Frisian traders in Northumbria does not appear until the eighth century and the settlement at Fishergate (York) is presumed to have been founded by Frisians.⁷³⁰ The finding of these coins is therefore significant in demonstrating Northumbrian contact with Frisia before the eighth century more confidently alongside the 'York' thrymsa discovered in Utrecht.⁷³¹

As in the sub-kingdom of Bernicia, there are also fewer coin finds in Wessex. Since the last study of Merovingian coins circulating in Wessex, only a few more examples have come to light and the distribution pattern remains largely unchanged.⁷³² The few gold coins that have been discovered are in rural areas and may suggest that rural communities engaged directly in exchange rather than indirectly through urban sites such as the *emporium* at Hamwic.⁷³³ Chapter 10 explores this model of exchange in further detail. The coins that were circulating in Wessex possibly travelled to the kingdom directly from overseas via the Solent crossing which was a lively route during the seventh century as discussed in chapter 2.⁷³⁴ The flow of coinage across the Solent is attested by a number of imported coins found on the Isle of Wight. A number of Visigothic and Merovingian tremisses have been reported to PAS in recent years which add to the exceptionally high number of silver issues recovered from the island.

⁷³⁵ This burgeoning activity probably contributed to Cædwalla's decision to

⁷²⁸ S. Lebecq, 'On the use of the word 'Frisian' in the 6th-10th centuries written sources: some interpretations', in S. McGrail (ed.), *Maritime Celts, Frisians and Saxons* (London, 1990), pp. 85–90.

⁷²⁹ Bede, *HE*, IV.22.

⁷³⁰ Naylor, 'The circulation of early-medieval European coinage: A case study from Yorkshire', p. 44.

⁷³¹ NUMIS number 1045500.

⁷³² Costen and Costen, 'Trade and exchange in Anglo-Saxon Wessex, c. AD 600–780', pp. 1–26.

⁷³³ *Ibid.*

⁷³⁴ See chapter 2 (2.2.2); see also Yorke, 'Competition for the Solent and seventh century politics', pp. 35–44.

⁷³⁵ As of January 2020, PAS recorded 7 Merovingian and Visigothic tremisses. On the circulation of silver coinage, see Katharina Ulmschneider, 'Markets around the Solent:

conquer the island in AD 686.⁷³⁶ In taking control of the island, Cædwalla extended the kingdom's influence over Cross-Channel connections and exchange networks.

The distribution of Merovingian coinage can be considered further through an examination of the quantity of coins recovered from sites. [Figure 21.1](#) lists the sites with three or more Merovingian coin finds and the location of these sites is shown in [figure 21.2](#). The absence of sites situated in Kent can be explained by the details recorded within the PAS and EMC databases. Many of the finds in Kent are listed as 'near' a place, for example a number of coins are listed as 'near Sandwich' where a port was situated.⁷³⁷ Though these coins are probably linked to the activity at the site they are near to, such finds were excluded when compiling the list of sites.

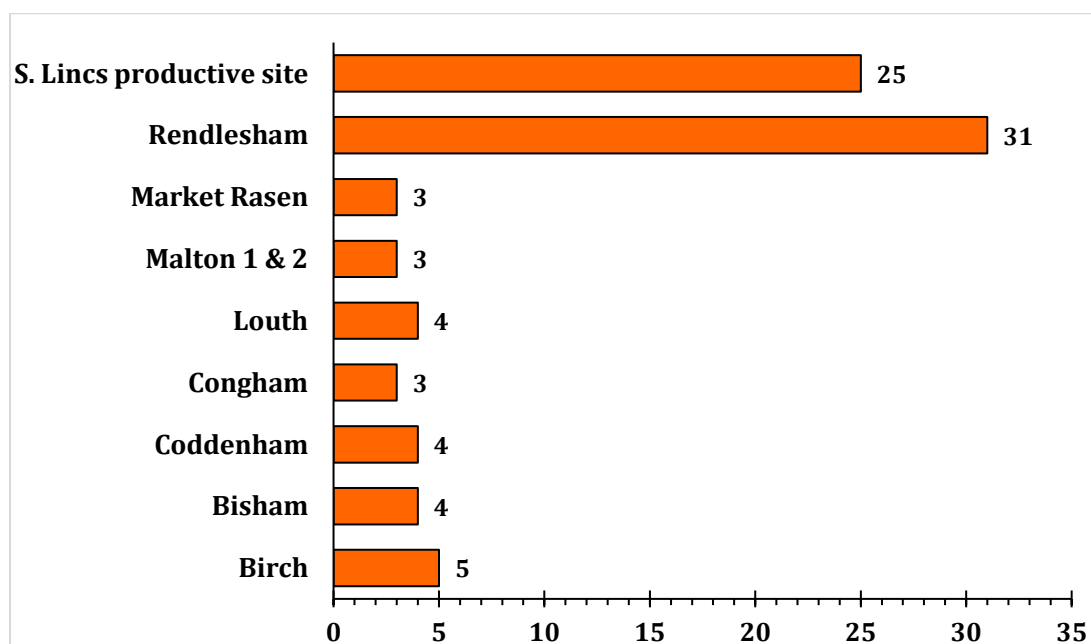


Figure 21.1: Sites with three or more Merovingian coin finds

Unravelling a 'productive' site on the Isle of Wight', in *ibid.* and Tim Pestell (eds.), *Markets in Early Medieval Europe: Trading and 'Productive' Sites, 650-850* (Cheshire, 2003), pp. 73–83.

⁷³⁶ Bede, *HE*, IV.16.

⁷³⁷ Stephen of Ripon, *VSW*, chapter 13. On Sandwich, see chapter 9 (9.3.1).

Six of the sites identified in [figure 21.1](#) (Coddensham, Congham, Malton 1 and 2, Market Rasen, Rendlesham and 'South Lincolnshire') are labelled as 'productive' sites, sites with a high volume of coins and other metalwork, within the scholarship.⁷³⁸ Though the term is still used in current discussions and both EMC and PAS continue to list coins as coming from such sites, the labelling of sites as 'productive' is recognised as problematic since it largely reflects the context of how the sites were discovered rather than adding any particular value or knowledge to understand the sites.⁷³⁹ Indeed, apart from having a large amount of metal finds, the sites clustered under this label do not conform to the same set of conventions and the label undermines the diversity between sites and the local and regional context in which they are situated.⁷⁴⁰ It has been suggested that 'productive' sites were monasteries or ministers based on a comparison of the assemblage recovered from these sites with known monastic sites.⁷⁴¹ Others have criticised this attribution and suggested that not all of these sites should be identified with operations of the Church based on a selected number of finds.⁷⁴² An analysis of the classification and nature of settlements in East Yorkshire, which forms the focus of chapter 10, further

⁷³⁸ See map of 'productive' sites identified in Britain in Mark Blackburn, 'Productive' sites and the pattern of coin loss in England, 600-1180', in Tim Pestell and Katharina Ulmschneider (eds.), *Markets in Early Medieval Europe: Trading and 'Productive' Sites, 650-850* (Cheshire, 2003), p. 22.

⁷³⁹ For an overview of the debate, see Tim Pestell, 'Markets, emporia, wics, and 'productive' sites: Pre-Viking trade centres in Anglo-Saxon England', in David A. Hinton, Sally Crawford and Helena Hamerow (eds.), *Oxford Handbook of Anglo-Saxon Archaeology* (Oxford, 2011), pp. 562-565.

⁷⁴⁰ Gareth Davies, 'Early medieval 'rural centres' and west Norfolk: A growing picture of diversity, complexity and changing lifestyles', *Medieval Archaeology* 54:1 (2010), pp. 91-94.

⁷⁴¹ K. Ulmschneider, *Markets, Minsters and Metal-Detectors: The Archaeology of Middle Saxon Lincolnshire and Hampshire Compared* (Oxford, 2000), p. 104; K. Ulmschneider, 'Settlement, economy, and the 'Productive' site: Middle Anglo-Saxon Lincolnshire A.D. 650-780', *Medieval Archaeology* 44 (2000), pp. 54-79; Pestell, 'Markets, emporia, wics, and 'productive' sites', p. 559.

⁷⁴² Tim Pestell, 'Bawsey - A 'productive' site in west Norfolk', in Steven Ashley and Adrian Marsden (eds.), *Landscapes and Artefacts: Studies in East Anglian Archaeology presented to Andrew Rogerson* (Oxford, 2014), pp. 156-157; Christopher Loveluck, 'Wealth, waste and conspicuous consumption. Flixborough and its importance for middle and late Saxon rural settlement studies', in H. Hamerow and A. MacGregor (eds.), *Image and Power in the Archaeology of Early Medieval Britain* (Oxford, 2001), pp. 120-121.

demonstrates the variation in sites grouped under the same 'productive' category.⁷⁴³

What is more generally agreed upon is that the evidence recovered from 'productive' sites indicates that these sites were involved in some form of commerce, such as local material markets or fairs.⁷⁴⁴ The coin evidence has especially been interpreted as evidence of this involvement, though interrogating the coin assemblage is not straight forward. At many of the sites, only a proportion of coin finds have been published which has resulted in different totals being presented within the scholarship and uncertainty over the true number of coins found. For example, Blackburn noted the presence of three gold coins, a thrymsa and two tremisses, at the site of Bawsey (Norfolk) which suggests activity at the site earlier in the seventh century.⁷⁴⁵ Since these coins were only reported by a detectorist and have not been seen by numismatists, Pestell excluded these coins from the total recovered from Bawsey and suggested that evidence of coin loss (and therefore activity) can only be attested from the late seventh century following the introduction of silver coins.⁷⁴⁶

⁷⁴³ Chapter 10 (10.3).

⁷⁴⁴ Pestell, 'Markets, emporia, wics, and 'productive' sites', p. 561.

⁷⁴⁵ Blackburn, "Productive' sites and the pattern of coin loss in England', pp. 28–29.

⁷⁴⁶ Pestell, 'Bawsey – A 'productive' site in west Norfolk', p. 141.

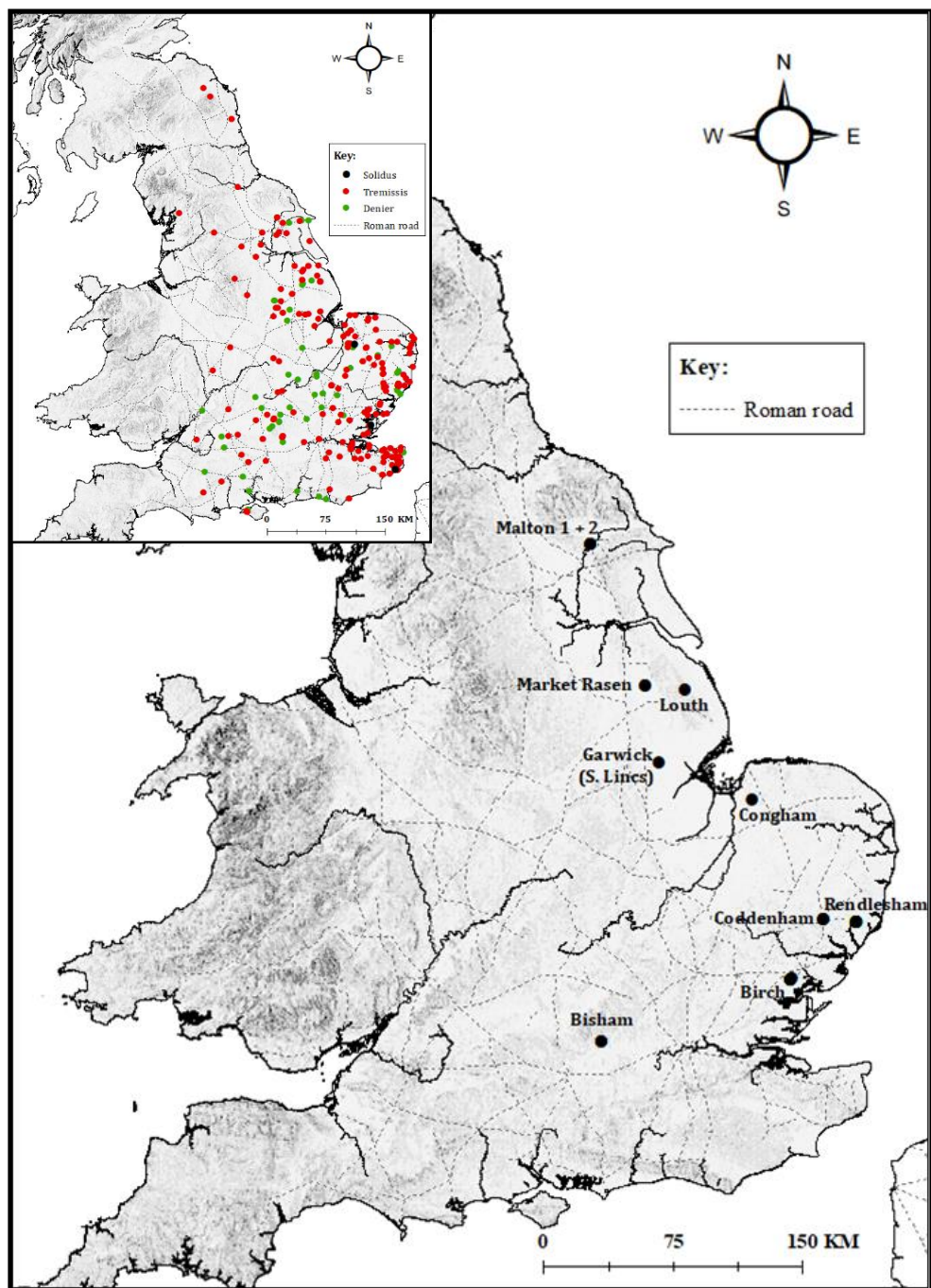


Figure 21.2: Location of sites with three or more Merovingian coin finds (inset: figure 19.2)

As [figure 21.1](#) illustrates, two particular sites have yielded a large number of Merovingian coins, the sites of Rendlesham (Suffolk) and the South Lincolnshire productive site. The site at Rendlesham, situated to the east of the River Deben in south-east Suffolk, has benefited from a full-scale metal detecting survey and has recently been the subject of intense research and excavations.⁷⁴⁷ From the assemblage recovered from the site, it appears that Rendlesham was a multi-functional site and a centre of economic and social significance during its lifespan.⁷⁴⁸ Numerous studies have suggested that south-east Suffolk was the particular territorial focus of East Anglian power in the seventh century and Rendlesham has been associated with royal authority.⁷⁴⁹ Bede briefly refers to the site as the location of the East Saxon king Swithhelm's baptism in AD 655 x 663 and described Rendlesham as a *vicus regius*.⁷⁵⁰ A possible major timber building was identified during excavations and such buildings are firmly associated with high-status settlements and authority.⁷⁵¹

The volume of coins found at Rendlesham, along with the evidence of metalworking and other craft specialisation there, strongly suggests that these coins were used as currency to purchase goods at the site.⁷⁵² Coin weights marked with contemporary Byzantine denominations have been recovered from Rendlesham ([table 4](#)) and, as chapter 6 discussed, such finds are highly suggestive of a system in which gold coins were used as payment alongside

⁷⁴⁷ Minter, Plouviez and Scull, *Rendlesham Survey 2008–2014*; Christopher Scull, Faye Minter and Judith Plouviez, 'Social and economic complexity in early medieval England: a central place complex of the East Anglian kingdom at Rendlesham, Suffolk', *Antiquity* 90:354 (2016), pp. 1594–1612.

⁷⁴⁸ See Christopher Scull and Gabor Thomas, 'Early Medieval great hall complexes in England: temporality and site biographies', *Anglo-Saxon Studies in Archaeology and History* 22 (2020), pp. 50–57.

⁷⁴⁹ Christopher Scull, 'Archaeology and geographies of jurisdiction: evidence from south-east Suffolk in the seventh century', in Jayne Carroll, Andrew Reynolds and Barbara Yorke (eds.), *Power and place in later Roman and early medieval Europe* (London, 2019), pp. 392–393.

⁷⁵⁰ Bede, *HE*, III.22.

⁷⁵¹ Scull and Thomas, 'Early Medieval great hall complexes in England', p. 54.

⁷⁵² Minter, Plouviez and Scull, *Rendlesham Survey 2008–2014*, p. 51.

equivalences.⁷⁵³ The existence of such a system at Rendlesham is further indicated by the presence of coins with additional pieces of gold added to them which would increase their weight to the correct value.⁷⁵⁴ For example, one of the tremisses found at the site, a coin minted at Vrilie under the name of Frederic, had an additional piece of a coin added to the obverse of the coin ([figure 22](#)).⁷⁵⁵ Whilst the additional piece obscures the design featured on the coin, it is interesting to note that the positioning of the additional piece seems to respect the legend which is still clearly visible. With the additional piece, the coin weighs 1.23g.



Figure 22: Tremissis with additional piece of coin added on obverse found at Rendlesham, Suffolk (Source: EMC. EMC number 2013.0198)

⁷⁵³ See chapter 6.1. For an illustration of the weights, see Scull, Minter and Plouviez, 'Social and economic complexity in early medieval England', p. 1604 (figure 9, numbers D and E).

⁷⁵⁴ Andrew Woods, 'The early medieval/Anglo-Saxon coinage from Rendlesham', in Faye Minter, Jude Plouviez and Christopher Scull, *Rendlesham Survey 2008–2014: Assessment report* (Suffolk, 2016), p. 48.

⁷⁵⁵ EMC number 2013.0198.

	Type:	Total:
Merovingian issues	Pseudo-tremissis	3
	Tremissis	25
	Denier	6
	Modified tremissis (pierced/looped/ mounted/other)	4
Anglo-Saxon issues	Thrymsa	6
	Series A sceatta	18
	Series B sceatta	43
		Total: 105

Table 8: Merovingian and Anglo-Saxon primary phase (series A and B) coins from the site at Rendlesham (Suffolk)

As illustrated in [table 8](#), thirty-one non-modified Merovingian coins have so far been recovered from the site along with four modified issues. For comparison, [table 8](#) also includes the number of Anglo-Saxon gold and primary phase (series A and B) issues found at the site. Of the coins that could be identified, a number originate from Quentovic (four finds) and Dorestad (four finds). In the case of the Dorestad coins, two have been modified and pierced ([figure 10](#)).⁷⁵⁶ As discussed below, many of the coins were also imitations, such as the pierced imitative Madelinus issue shown in [figure 10](#). Based on the imitative issues and coin blanks and ingots made of fused sceattas that have also been recovered, it

⁷⁵⁶ EMC numbers 2009.0250; 2016.0280 (For this coin, see also PAS reference SF-59659C)

has been suggested that coins were possibly minted at Rendlesham.⁷⁵⁷ However, this is not universally agreed upon by those who analysed the site.⁷⁵⁸

Alongside imported coins, a range of other imports have been recovered from Rendlesham including Frankish hanging bowls, Byzantine vessels, and an imported buckle plate from a continental belt-suite.⁷⁵⁹ The overall assemblage recovered from Rendlesham therefore indicates the clear involvement of the settlement in long-distance networks of exchange.

As at Rendlesham, the South Lincolnshire productive site has been the subject of intense metal-detecting and analysis.⁷⁶⁰ The location of the South Lincolnshire site has recently been revealed to be Garwick (south-east Lincolnshire) situated on the Fen Edge, though the elusive name is still used by PAS and EMC to record finds.⁷⁶¹ More than 250 coins produced during the mid-sixth to mid-eighth century have been recovered from the site, of which the majority (over 200) are sceattas.⁷⁶² Of the twenty-five Merovingian issues so far recovered ([figure 21.1](#)), twenty-one are tremisses and the remainder are deniers. Metcalf has drawn specific attention to the minting-places of the tremisses and noted that many were small mints or previously unknown mint finds in the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms.⁷⁶³ For example, a coin minted in southern Gaul (department of Aveyron) at Canac was discovered at the site and only one other find of this type has been recovered at Buttermere (Wiltshire) in the

⁷⁵⁷ Minter, Plouviez and Scull, *Rendlesham Survey 2008–2014*, pp. 45–46. See also comment in PAS entry SF-59659C.

⁷⁵⁸ Andrew Woods provided an update on the possibility of minting at the site at the *seventh International Symposium in Early Medieval Coinage (England and the Wider World)* held in October 2018.

⁷⁵⁹ Scull, Minter and Plouviez, 'Social and economic complexity in early medieval England', p. 1603; Minter, Plouviez and Scull, *Rendlesham Survey 2008–2014*, p. 43.

⁷⁶⁰ D.M. Metcalf, 'Tremisses and sceattas from the South Lincolnshire productive site', *British Numismatic Journal* 86 (2016), p. 96–117.

⁷⁶¹ Daubney, *Portable Antiquities, Palimpsests, and Persistent Places in Lincolnshire*, pp. 282–283; Caitlin Green, *Britons and Anglo-Saxons: Lincolnshire AD 400–650* (Lincoln, 2020), p. 192.

⁷⁶² Metcalf, 'Tremisses and sceattas from the South Lincolnshire productive site', p. 96.

⁷⁶³ *Ibid.*, pp. 105–106.

North Wessex Downs.⁷⁶⁴ In light of the rarity of these coins, Metcalf suggested that these coins probably reached the site directly from overseas either from its place of origin or an intermediate region rather than being carried there from a neighbouring Anglo-Saxon kingdom.⁷⁶⁵ It is certainly plausible to suggest that individuals travelled directly to the site from overseas given its proximity (less than twenty kilometres) to the coastline of the Wash. Frisian tremisses, one Dronrijp coin and three Nietap issues (one of which is illustrated in [figure 6](#)), were also recovered from the site which suggests direct exchange and contact with Frisia.⁷⁶⁶

Though there is a large volume of coins, the character and status of the South Lincolnshire site contrasts sharply with that of Rendlesham. The remaining material assemblage recovered from the site (which includes brooches hooked tags, tweezers, and strap-ends) is nowhere near as rich and far fewer artefacts have been recovered from the site which seems to suggest limited settlement and craft-production occurring at the site.⁷⁶⁷ Some objects potentially suggest the deliberate cutting down of precious metal and may hint at non-monetary forms of exchange taking place on the site such as a flat piece of sheet gold decorated with a filigree pattern which displayed evidence of cutting at edges.⁷⁶⁸ Overall, in light of the lack of artefacts, the site is perceived to have been used for specialised activity. In particular, based on the proximity of the site to the coast and the high number of imported gold coins recovered, it has been suggested that the site possibly functioned as a slave market.⁷⁶⁹ That the

⁷⁶⁴ EMC number 1998.0040 (South Lincolnshire site); PAS reference HAMP-38D124 (Buttermere).

⁷⁶⁵ D.M. Metcalf, 'English money, foreign money. The circulation of tremisses and sceattas in the East Midlands and the monetary role of 'productive sites', in Tony Abramson (ed.), *Studies in Early Medieval Coinage 2: New Perspectives* (Woodbridge, 2011), p. 29.

⁷⁶⁶ EMC number 2000.0536 (Dronrijp); PAS references LIN-0B3EEB and LIN-58A436 (Nietap). The final Nietap coin is not recorded by EMC or PAS but listed by Metcalf. Metcalf, 'Tremisses and sceattas from the South Lincolnshire productive site', p. 106.

⁷⁶⁷ On the metalwork see Daubney, *Portable Antiquities, Palimpsests, and Persistent Places in Lincolnshire*, pp. 305–309.

⁷⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 306.

⁷⁶⁹ Metcalf, 'Tremisses and sceattas from the South Lincolnshire productive site', p. 98; Daubney, *Portable Antiquities, Palimpsests, and Persistent Places in Lincolnshire*, p. 302.

site functioned as a slave market rather than some other kind of market is presumed on the broader political context during the century, in particular warfare between Mercia (the kingdom which the site was situated in) and Northumbria.⁷⁷⁰ Slaves were commonly taken after battles and Bede recounted the story of the Northumbrian noble Imma who was taken prisoner by the Mercians after a battle in AD 679 and taken to London and sold as a slave to a Frisian merchant.⁷⁷¹ Before the Mercians had taken control of London in the late seventh century, the South Lincolnshire site provided the Mercian kingdom direct access to the North Sea and exchange networks. Whilst it is certainly possible that slaves were sold at the site, in the absence of other evidence, the link between the tremisses and the sale of slaves remains tentative and leaves open the possibility that other items (such as surplus goods and sought-after materials like wool, cloth or grain) may also have been traded in exchange for gold coins.

The main findings from the examination of the distribution of Merovingian coinage in the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms can be briefly reiterated here. There was an abundant supply of Merovingian coinage reaching the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms during the seventh century which challenges the suggestion that coinage served a limited function during this period. The distribution of finds shows a strong concentration of finds in eastern Britain, particularly in Kent and East Anglia and a large number of finds are reported in Lincolnshire. East of Kent, fewer coins have been found along the southern coastline and a smaller amount of Merovingian coins have been found in Wessex. A number of finds have also been recovered further north in the kingdom of Northumbria though there is a clear disparity in the number of finds from the sub-kingdoms of Bernicia and Deira. The concentration of finds in Deira, particularly in the Yorkshire Wolds, is examined in chapter 10. A growing number of sites have also yielded significant amounts of Merovingian coinage and this section particularly focused on the coin assemblage recovered from the sites of Rendlesham (Suffolk) and the 'South Lincolnshire productive site' (Garwick).

⁷⁷⁰ Ibid.

⁷⁷¹ Bede, *HE*, IV.20.

The coin assemblage recovered from these sites can be confidently interpreted as evidence of direct exchange and contact. These sites also begin to illustrate the various sites engaged in exchange which is outlined further in subsequent chapters (chapters 8, 10 and 11) in part III.

7.5: The coinage of Dorestad and Quentovic

Whilst Chapter 8 examines the archaeological evidence and key debates surrounding the sites of Dorestad and Quentovic, the following section considers the coins produced at these sites during the seventh century and their circulation. The distribution of single Quentovic and Dorestad (genuine and imitative) finds across the Channel and southern North Sea area is illustrated in [figure 23](#). The overall number of both Quentovic and Dorestad finds from regions surrounding the North Sea would be far higher if issues from coin hoards and unprovenanced finds were incorporated into the analysis. Chapter 11 discusses the strong presence of Dorestad issues in coin hoards discovered along the Old Rhine.⁷⁷² In the case of Quentovic, coins recovered from hoards further demonstrate the constant level of coin production at the site and cross-Channel links. For example, of the twenty-four tremisses deposited in the Crondall Hoard, just over a quarter (seven) were Quentovic issues.⁷⁷³ Lafaurie's detailed analysis of the Quentovic issues also listed over 100 finds (provenanced, unprovenanced and in collections) from the North Sea regions and private collections containing Quentovic issues continue to be recorded annually.⁷⁷⁴

Importantly, the sites of Quentovic and Dorestad are often linked together in the scholarship and viewed to have been in close co-operation with one another.⁷⁷⁵ Based on the coin distribution, however, both Dorestad and

⁷⁷² Chapter 11 (11.5.2)

⁷⁷³ Sutherland, *Anglo-Saxon Gold Coinage in the Light of the Crondall Hoard*, pp. 11–12, p. 31; Blackburn and Grierson, *MEC1*, p. 126.

⁷⁷⁴ J. Lafaurie, 'VVIC in PONTIO': Les monnaies Mérovingiennes de VVICUS (Quentovic), *Revue Numismatique* 151 (1996), Annexe (pp. 221–239.)

⁷⁷⁵ For an overview of the 'twin town' hypothesis, see for example, Annemarieke Willemsen, 'Golden Ages of Dorestad: Connections and Conclusions', in Annemarieke

Quentovic appear to have served different connections and communities and do not appear to be closely linked. No genuine or imitative Dorestad issues have been officially recorded at Quentovic and its immediate surroundings, whilst only one pierced Quentovic coin is recorded from Dorestad in the NUMIS database, a pierced Anglus issue.⁷⁷⁶ More broadly, the majority of Quentovic issues found in Gaul are located within the surrounding area of the site and few coins filtered further south.

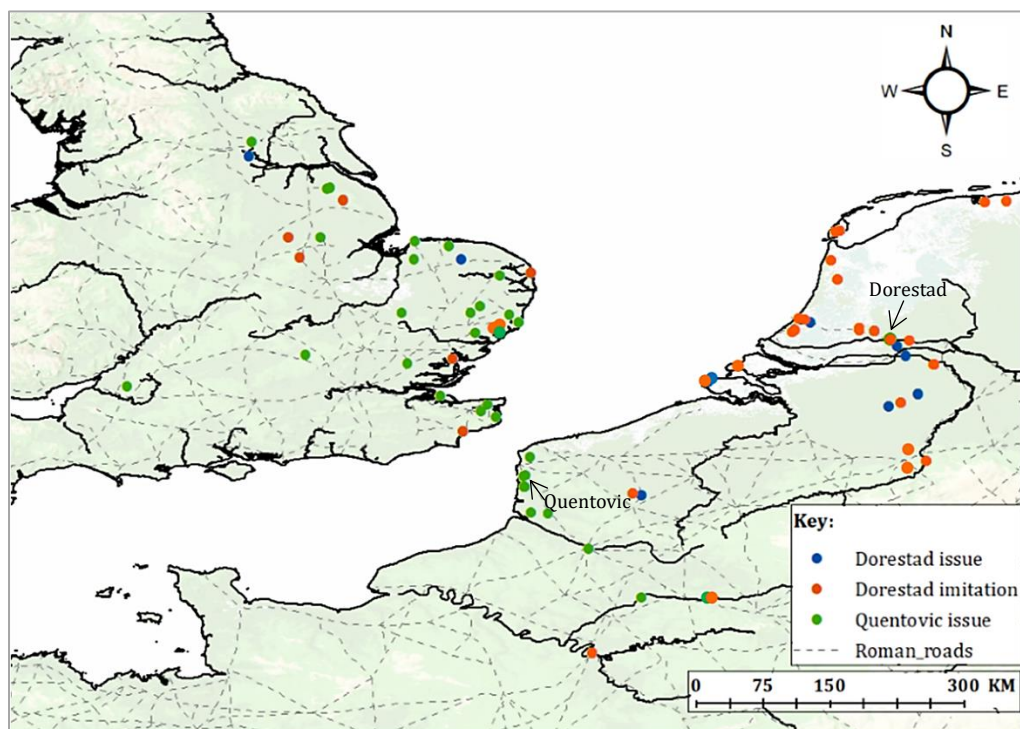


Figure 23: Dorestad and Quentovic single coin finds from the regions under study

Elsewhere, in Gaul, finds of Dorestad coins are limited. The majority of those that have been found are imitative issues. The ‘pseudo-Madelinus’ issues are mostly centred along the North Sea coastline and along the Rhine. The strong cluster of finds along settlements along Old Rhine may suggest that a number of the pseudo-Madelinus issues were minted in this area and were probably minted to serve the demand of local and regional connections in the first

Willemssen and Hanneke Kik (eds.), *Golden Middle Ages in Europe: New Research into Early-Medieval Communities and Identities* (Turnhout, 2015), p. 145.

⁷⁷⁶ NUMIS number 1038246.

instance before being redistributed elsewhere.⁷⁷⁷ The Madelinus trial die-piece recovered from the rural settlement at Katwijk (chapter 6) further suggests this was the case.⁷⁷⁸ As well as finds along the Rhine, a large number of these imitative coins were recovered from the site at Domburg. Around half of the tremissis recovered from Domburg are pseudo-Madelinus issues.⁷⁷⁹ In light of the presence of Anglo-Saxon coinage at the site which indicates direct travel to the site (7.3), it is possible that a number of the pseudo-Madelinus coins were carried from Domburg back to the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms.

Turning to finds in the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms, both Quentovic and Dorestad coins are strongly represented in the mint types that have been recovered. These coins were also modified and a number of repurposed coins have been reported (table 5), further indicating the availability of these issues. As noted in chapter 3, the port of Quentovic is mentioned in several Anglo-Saxon accounts of travel during the seventh century.⁷⁸⁰ The general absence of Quentovic coins from the kingdom of Wessex is particularly striking particularly given the number of Quentovic coins deposited in the Crondall Hoard. Of the seven Quentovic issues deposited in the hoard, Sutherland identified the issuer of four of the coins: two were issued by Anglus and two were issued by Dutta.⁷⁸¹

There is possibly evidence for an Anglo-Saxon influence over the production of coins at Quentovic in the later seventh century.⁷⁸² In total, ten moneyers (or schools of moneyers) are known to have been active at Quentovic across the seventh century.⁷⁸³ Earlier issues from Quentovic such as the issue deposited in the Sutton Hoo hoard bear the legend QVANTIA (Canche) on the obverse of the coin rather than the later legend WIC IN PONTIO, pointing to the broader

⁷⁷⁷ See chapter 6 (6.3). See also chapter 11.

⁷⁷⁸ See chapter 6 (6.3).

⁷⁷⁹ Metcalf, 'Merovingian and Frisian gold in England'. 62; Nicolay, *The Splendour of Power*, p. 136.

⁷⁸⁰ Stephen of Ripon, *VSW*, Chapter 25; Bede, *HE*, IV.12.

⁷⁸¹ Sutherland, *Anglo-Saxon Gold Coinage in the Light of the Crondall Hoard*, pp. 11–12, p. 31.

⁷⁸² It has also been suggested that Quentovic was *founded* by Anglo-Saxons. For further discussion of this scholarship, see below chapter 8 (8.2.6).

⁷⁸³ Lafaurie, 'VVIC in PONTIO', p. 193.

significance of the surrounding region of Quentovic before the turn of the seventh century.⁷⁸⁴ Lafaurie suggested that the moneyers Ela, Donna and Dutta were likely Anglo-Saxon individuals but did not provide any firm evidence to support such claims.⁷⁸⁵ However, another moneyer (or school) issued coins under the name 'Anglus' and this name is highly unusual amongst Frankish society.⁷⁸⁶ It is possible that 'Anglus' was not a Merovingian name, and was potentially chosen instead by the individual(s) as an explicit ethnic marker or as a deliberate indicator of an Anglo-Saxon workshop or 'school' that he was associated with. That the lettering of the coinage appears to have differentiated from previous Quentovic issues and bears resemblance to runic inscriptions associated with the Anglo-Saxons further seems to suggest that these coins were produced in such a way to consciously make a statement.⁷⁸⁷

The identity of the moneyers (or school of moneyers) operating during this period becomes even more important to discuss when the political context of the century is taken into account, particularly the events of the later seventh century with regards to the second appearance of 'Anglus'. During the second appearance of the Anglus issues, Duke Ebroin was still the Mayor of Neustria and appears to have had strong influence and control over Quentovic, as his disruption of Archbishop Theodore of Canterbury's journey to Kent demonstrates.⁷⁸⁸ Ebroin's influence and authority is further seen with the presence of deniers bearing his name alongside a stylised bust.⁷⁸⁹ It may have been nothing more than a coincidence that coins were being issued bearing the name of Anglus during the same period but, on the basis of the context, it seems more likely that 'Anglus' was indeed intended to make a visible statement and impact. Furthermore, this would be the case whether the coins were minted by an Anglo-Saxon or Anglo-Saxon workshop or were issued by a Merovingian

⁷⁸⁴ Ibid., pp. 191–193.

⁷⁸⁵ Ibid., pp. 199–204.

⁷⁸⁶ S. Lebecq, *Les Origines Franques, Ve-IXe Siècle* (Paris, 1990), p. 150; Wood, *Merovingian Kingdoms 450-751*, p. 296.

⁷⁸⁷ Lafaurie, 'VVIC in PONTIO', p. 201–202.

⁷⁸⁸ Bede, *HE*, IV.1; see chapter 3 (3.3.3).

⁷⁸⁹ Blackburn and Grierson, *MED1*, p. 139; Peter Spufford, *Money and its use in Medieval Europe* (Cambridge, 1988), pp. 27–28.

workshop or moneyer under this pseudonym. In total, seventeen provenanced Anglus I and II coins have been found in the regions under study and a comparison with the different moneyers from Quentovic is shown in [figure 24](#). That there is a range of moneyers identified from Quentovic points to the longevity of minting at the site and the stability of production in contrast to Dorestad, where only one other moneyer known as Rimoaldus has been identified alongside Madelinus.⁷⁹⁰ The issues produced by Rimoaldus are extremely rare and he may only have minted coins at Dorestad during a very short period. Rimoaldus was also active for a period of time at Maastricht and a far greater number of these coins have been found in comparison.⁷⁹¹ To date, only one coin from the moneyer has been discovered in Yorkshire and the condition of the coin, alongside the high gold content, suggests that its circulation was probably not extensive before its loss.⁷⁹²

Based on the single coin finds, the majority of the Quentovic coins circulating in the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms appear to be the issues produced by the moneyer or mint of Dutta (eighteen). Coins issued by the mint of/moneyer Anglus I are the next frequent issue with seven finds. Both of these coinages appear to have been active from the year AD 620/625 to 660.⁷⁹³ To date, no single finds of coins issued by Aldinus or Donna have been reported. In contrast, most of the single coins of Quentovic issues in northern Merovingian Gaul are almost even across each moneyer ([figure 24](#)) which provides further indication of the stability of activity and minting at the site during the century.⁷⁹⁴

[Figure 25](#) illustrates the distribution of the Quentovic coins by moneyer. In the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms, coins issued by the moneyer Dagulfus are primarily concentrated in Kent.⁷⁹⁵ A coin find issued under the moneyer 'Daculfus' was discovered at Barham (Suffolk) and this find may be an imitation of a Dagulfus

⁷⁹⁰ See Blackburn and Grierson, *MEC1*, p. 137.

⁷⁹¹ Ibid.

⁷⁹² PAS reference SWYOR-B502C5.

⁷⁹³ Lafaurie, 'VVIC in PONTIO', p. 209.

⁷⁹⁴ Ibid., pp. 233–236.

⁷⁹⁵ EMC numbers 1970.2127 (West Hythe) and 2017.0118 (Monkton).

issue.⁷⁹⁶ The issues of Dagulfus are dated from the late sixth to early seventh century and the earlier date range may explain the absence of these issues from elsewhere due to their higher gold content.⁷⁹⁷ The coins bearing the name of Ela are also few in number, with only three finds currently known from near Caistor-in-the-Wolds (Lincolnshire), Ware (Hertfordshire) and an uncertain find spot in Kent.⁷⁹⁸ It is possible that the coin found at Caistor reached the site via the Humber estuary. The coins issued with Ela's name were produced during a much shorter space of time (c. AD 610 x 615) and this may explain the limited number of these finds both within the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms and Merovingian Gaul (figure 24).⁷⁹⁹ It is interesting, however, that the coins that have been discovered were found a great distance from Quentovic.

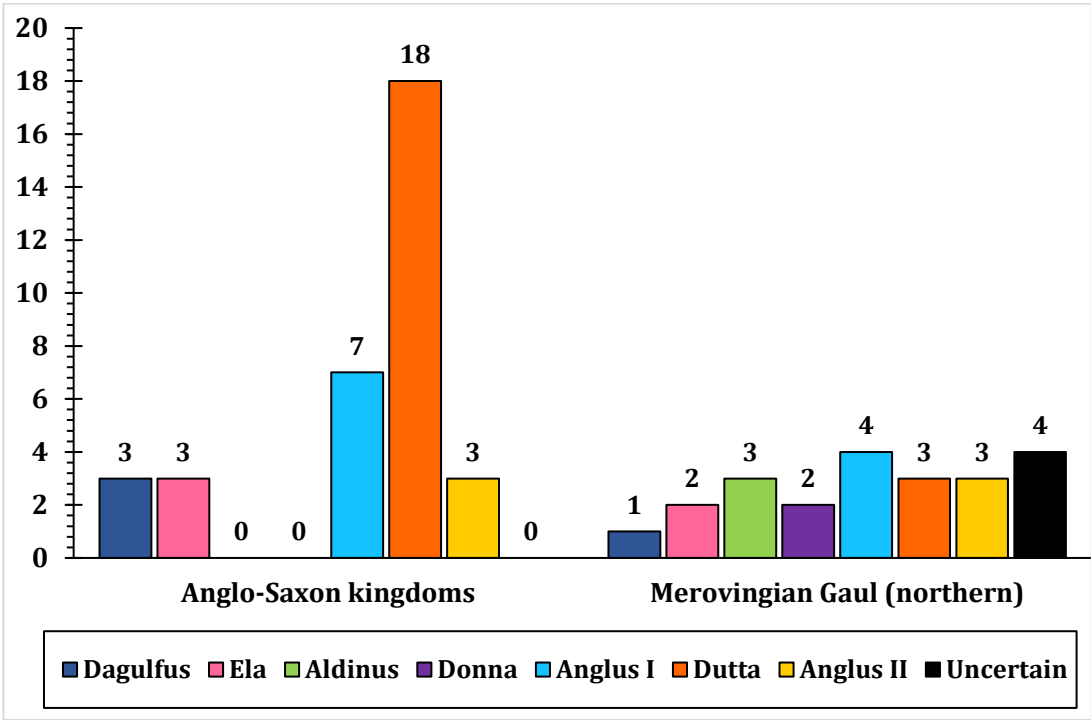


Figure 24: Breakdown of provenanced Quentovic coin finds by moneyer

⁷⁹⁶ EMC number 2005.0102.
⁷⁹⁷ Lafaurie, 'VVIC in PONTIO', pp. 196–197.
⁷⁹⁸ EMC numbers 1996.0058 (Lincs.); PAS reference BH-86BC41(Hert.); Abdy and Williams, 'A catalogue of the hoards and single finds from the British Isles', number 219 (Kent)
⁷⁹⁹ Lafaurie, 'VVIC in PONTIO', p. 209; EMC number 1970.213; Lafaurie and Pilet- Lemièrre numbers 62.318.5 and 60.159.3.

Coins bearing the name Anglus (I and II) are mostly found in East Anglia, though an issue has also been found further north near York and in the south at Wingham (Kent).⁸⁰⁰ Coins issued with the name Dutta are more broadly distributed across eastern Britain and an issue has also been found in western Britain to the east of the River Severn at Sodbury (Gloucestershire).⁸⁰¹

More broadly, there is a strong cluster of finds in south-east Suffolk. At the site of Rendlesham (discussed above), for example, at least four coins of Quentovic (issued under the names Anglus II and Dutta) have been identified.⁸⁰² Given the concentration of finds, it is likely that these coins travelled directly from Quentovic to their findspot rather than reaching this area through an intermediary region such as Kent.

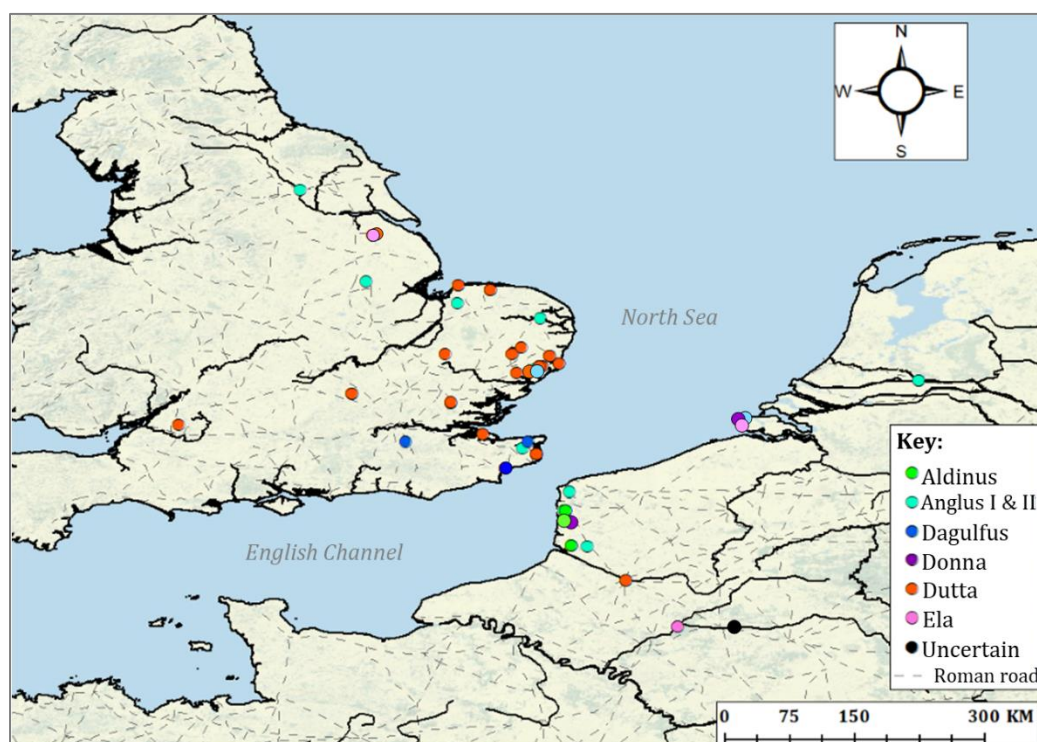


Figure 25: Distribution of Quentovic single coin finds by moneyer

⁸⁰⁰ EMC numbers 2012.0302 (York) and 2015.0323 (Wingham).

⁸⁰¹ PAS reference GLO-FAB593.

⁸⁰² EMC numbers 2011.0145, 2013.018, 2013.0193 and 2014.0190.

Overall, Quentovic and Dorestad are amongst the more prolific minting locations represented amongst the single coin finds. There are, however, key differences in their production and distribution. Most notably, as chapter 6 examined, there was a widespread production of Dorestad imitations throughout the seventh century. By comparison, imitations of Quentovic coins are rare and the number of moneymen operating at Quentovic during the seventh century suggests both continuity in coin production and some form of oversight. Additionally, the continued production of coins hints at the strong demand for coinage at Quentovic. The distribution of Quentovic and Dorestad coins meanwhile suggests that these sites served different connections and were not closely linked. The strong concentration of pseudo-Madelinus coin finds along both the Rhine and Frisian coastline suggests that these coins were probably minted to serve local and regional demands in the first instance and few coins filtered south into Gaul. The circulation of Quentovic issues meanwhile appears restricted to the surrounding region and a large number of these coins, particularly those issued by Dutta, reached the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms. The high number of Quentovic coins found in the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms is perhaps unsurprising since a high number of travellers crossed the Channel to and from Quentovic during this period.

7.6: Summary

The aim of this chapter has been to explore the distribution of coins across the southern North Sea area during the seventh century. Several observations have been made throughout this chapter and the main points can be reiterated here. Firstly, coins circulated widely during the seventh century. In both areas, imported coinage circulated beyond the immediate coastline and reached areas further inland. Transportation routes appear to have been important in both areas, and many finds are situated near rivers or Roman roads. An analysis of coins circulating in the Northumbrian sub-kingdom of Deira and along the Old Rhine in subsequent chapters (chapters 10 and 11) further attest to this correlation.

Secondly, the distribution patterns examined in this chapter are suggestive of coins circulating as currency. This chapter has considered several numismatically rich sites including De Panne, Domburg, Rendlesham and the South Lincolnshire Productive site. The volume of coins recovered from these sites along with other currency related items (such as weights, modified coins, and ingots) strongly suggests that these coins were used as a method of payment. Moreover, the character and status of these sites greatly varies and reflects the complex network of sites engaged in long-distance exchange during the seventh century. This complex network is examined further in subsequent chapters (part III).

Finally, this chapter has also considered the circulation of particular mint types to interrogate more specific connections and links. Since Metcalf's survey of the origins of tremisses circulating the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms (published in 2006), far more minting locations have been identified amongst the coin finds reported.⁸⁰³ There are some possible regional variations, for example, the distribution of Frisian gold coins displays a strong eastern distribution and few finds have been found in the southern Anglo-Saxon kingdoms of Wessex and Kent. More broadly, this distribution pattern is strongly suggestive of direct contact and exchange across the North Sea. Meanwhile, the circulation of Dorestad and Quentovic coins (7.5) in the southern North Sea area highlighted that each site seems to have served different connections during the seventh century. The analysis of the coins produced at these sites also complements the in-depth analysis of these sites that is undertaken in chapter 8.

⁸⁰³ Metcalf, 'Monetary circulation in Merovingian Gaul, 561-674', p. 390–393.

Part III: Networks of exchange across the southern North Sea and Channel

The previous chapters examined the evidence of coinage to interrogate economic connections between the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms and Merovingian Gaul during the seventh century. The distribution of coin finds revealed a range of different sites engaged in North Sea exchange networks during the century including elite centres (Rendlesham), periodic or beach market sites (De Panne and Domburg). The chapters in part III (chapters 8, 9, 10 and 11) continue to examine North Sea exchange networks during the seventh century and contribute to a greater understanding of the complexity of trade and exchange during the seventh century.

Chapter 8 begins with a reassessment of the seventh-century evidence from the North Sea *emporia* sites. Chapter 9 analyses the distribution of imported buckles and brooches as evidence of networks of exchange. Finally, chapters 10 and 11 interrogate the evidence of exchange from two specific North Sea regions. The first case study (chapter 10) examines the imported material and coinage from the Northumbrian sub-kingdom of Deira and northern Lindsey. The second case study (chapter 11) examines activity along the Old Rhine (Oude Rijn) during the seventh century. These case studies were chosen for analysis for several reasons. In the first instance, these regions were chosen due to the historical and archaeological evidence available to examine. Additionally, and possibly more significant, none of the case study areas under examination are classed as 'urban' areas and there is a large degree of distance from the sites in the areas to the nearest *wic/emporium*.

Chapter 8: The seventh-century *emporia*

8.1: Introduction:

The identification of large-scale trading sites known interchangeably as *emporia* (Latin) or *wics* (Old English) have dominated discussions and interpretations of trade and contact across the North Sea during the early medieval period.⁸⁰⁴ The interpretation of these sites by Hodges and the model of trade that he proposed remains the starting point of discussions of early medieval trading networks and the nature of these sites.⁸⁰⁵ For Hodges, the growth of the trade network centred on the North Sea was linked to the rise of an elite class and the emergence of the *emporia* represented the central control of trade by kings.⁸⁰⁶ The model of trade proposed by Hodges was widely adopted and expanded within scholarship and a top-down view of trade during this period previously dominated discussions.⁸⁰⁷ However, advances in archaeological excavations and new finds (such as the evidence of coinage examined in chapter 7) have since challenged this approach and the *emporia* are now viewed as part of a broader and complicated network of sites engaged in trade during this period.⁸⁰⁸ As this

⁸⁰⁴ On these terms, see Stephane Lebecq, 'The new *wiks* or *emporia* and the development of a maritime economy in the Northern Seas (7th-9th centuries)', in Sauro Gelichi and Richard Hodges (eds.), *From one Sea to Another: Trading Places in the European and Mediterranean Early Middle Ages* (Turnhout, 2012), p. 15. For clarity, *emporium/emporia* is used throughout this chapter and the thesis.

⁸⁰⁵ Richard Hodges, *Dark Age Economics: The Origins of Towns and Trade, AD. 600-1000* (London, 1982).

⁸⁰⁶ Ibid. pp. 53–54.

⁸⁰⁷ For its influence and previous acceptance, see especially the essays in David Hill and Robert Cowie (eds.), *Wics: The Early Medieval Trading Centres of Northern Europe* (Sheffield, 2001).

⁸⁰⁸ The volume of literature is vast, and the following are just some of the key works of scholarship: Chris Loveluck, 'Central-places, exchange and maritime orientated identity around the North Sea and Western Baltic, AD 600–1100', in Sauro Gelichi and Richard Hodges (eds.), *From one Sea to Another: Trading Places in the European and Mediterranean Early Middle Ages* (Turnhout, 2012), pp.123–126; John Naylor, 'Trade and the origins of the English emporia, ca. AD 650–750', in Sauro Gelichi and Richard Hodges (eds.), *From One Sea to Another: Trading Places in the European and Mediterranean Early Middle Ages* (Turnhout, 2012) pp. 237–267; Loveluck and Tys, 'Coastal Societies, exchange and identity along the Channel and southern North Sea shores of Europe', pp. 140–169; John Naylor, 'Access to international trade in Middle Saxon England: a case of urban over-emphasis?', in Marinella Pasquinucci and Timm Weski (eds.), *Close Encounters: Sea and riverborne trade, ports and*

chapter argues, however, the categorisation '*emporium*' in itself still remains a problem. Through an analysis of the seventh-century phase of activity at these sites, this chapter demonstrates that the continued grouping of these sites together risks undermining the complexity and variation of these sites and leading with theory rather than evidence.

This chapter is divided into two sections. The first section (8.2) provides a critical overview of the seventh-century phase of settlement at each site and the interpretations of this material within the scholarship. Significantly, each *emporium* is not discussed in equal measure and the summaries provided below greatly vary in detail and analysis. This imbalance reflects not only the sheer variation in the availability and quality of the evidence recovered from each site but, as this chapter argues, the clear need to reconsider the grouping of these sites together. Indeed, the discussion that follows these summaries (8.3) emphasises this latter point especially and the crucial need to consider each site within their own framework rather than try to fit sites neatly into one monolithic model. Finally, and perhaps most importantly, a re-evaluation of the seventh-century phase of these sites reaffirms that the antecedents to the eighth-century *emporia* differed in scale and character and that the current framework for these sites needs careful reconsideration.

8.2: *Emporia overviews:*

8.2.1: *York (Eoforwic)*

Though the site was active during the seventh century and is classified as an *emporium* within the historiography, the evidence relating to York is incredibly patchy. As mentioned in previous chapters, the earliest Northumbrian gold

hinterlands, ship construction and navigation in Antiquity, the Middle Ages and in Modern Time (Oxford, 2004), pp. 139–148; J. Moreland, 'Concepts of the early medieval economy', in I.L. Hansen and C. Wickham (eds.), *The Long Eighth Century* (Leiden, 2000), pp. 1–34; M. Anderton (ed.), *Anglo-Saxon Trading Centres and their Hinterlands: Beyond the emporia* (Glasgow, 1999); S. Lebecq, 'England and the Continent in the Sixth and Seventh Centuries: The Question of Logistics', in Richard Gameson (ed.), *St Augustine and the Conversion of England* (Stroud, 1999), pp. 50–67.

coins are attributed to York.⁸⁰⁹ Activity is also indicated by the presence of both Anglo-Saxon and Merovingian coinage circulating within the vicinity of York.⁸¹⁰ York appears within the surviving written record as a site of both ecclesiastical and royal significance during the seventh century.⁸¹¹ Paulinus constructed a church at York and converted king Edwin and several of his followers there in AD 626/627.⁸¹² Several decades later, following the Synod of Whitby in AD 664, the Northumbrian bishopric returned to York from Lindisfarne, with Wilfrid taking up the see in AD 679.⁸¹³ Whilst such instances reflect activity at York during the seventh century, it remains immeasurably difficult to examine the nature and importance of York as a site of trade prior to the eighth century, whereupon the site became well-established.

The archaeological evidence recovered from the site remains equally difficult to extrapolate information from. Though recent archaeological excavations undertaken at York unearthed evidence of earlier occupation, this evidence is extremely scarce and discussion of this material within broader scholarship of the *emporium* remains limited.⁸¹⁴ Instead, the analysis of the nature of the emporium at York has largely been centred on the well-published excavations undertaken at the site of Fishergate situated on the bank of the River Ouse which presented firm evidence of activity from the eighth to ninth centuries.⁸¹⁵

⁸⁰⁹ See chapter 5 (5.4).

⁸¹⁰ See chapter 7 (7.4). See also figure 19.2 and figure 20.

⁸¹¹ For a detailed summary of the written evidence linked to York, see David Rollason, 'The historical evidence for Anglian York', in Dominic Tweddle, Joan Moulden and Elizabeth Logan (eds.), *Anglian York: A survey of the evidence* (York, 1999), pp. 117–140.

⁸¹² Bede, *HE*, II.14, 20.

⁸¹³ Stephen of Ripon, *VSW*; chapters 10–11; Bede, *HE*, III.25, IV.12. See chapter 3 (3.3.1).

⁸¹⁴ For a synthesis of recent excavations, see Aisla Mainman, *Anglian York* (York, 2019). See also Cecily A. Spall and Nicola J. Toop, 'Before Eoforwic: New light on York in the 6th–7th centuries', *Medieval Archaeology* 52 (2008), pp. 1–25.

⁸¹⁵ R.L. Kemp, *Anglian Settlement at 46–54 Fishergate AY711* (York, 1996). On the later archaeological evidence, see also Dominic Tweddle, Joan Moulden and Elizabeth Logan (eds.), *Anglian York: A survey of the evidence* (York, 1999).

8.2.2: London (*Lundenwic*)

Compared to the remaining *emporium*, references to London are more frequent in the surviving written record and found in a range of texts including administrative documents (charters and laws), hagiographical works and historical narratives. These attest to the sustained royal and ecclesiastical presence at London throughout the seventh century. The earliest known event to take place in London at the beginning of the seventh century was ecclesiastical in nature and also demonstrates the influence of Kent around the area of Thames and over the East Saxon kingdom. In AD 604, following the beginning of conversion efforts led by Mellitus in the East Saxon kingdom, Æthelberht of Kent directly sponsored the construction of a church within the walls of the former Roman settlement at *Londinium* and appointed Mellitus as the first bishop of London.⁸¹⁶

Whilst the surviving written accounts describing London are important in shedding light on some of the developments and events that had taken place in London and around the surrounding area, they have perhaps inadvertently contributed to the initial ambiguity surrounding and identifying *where* the settlement was located. Prior to the eventual identification of the location of Roman London, most archaeological excavations were focused within the walls of the old Roman city.⁸¹⁷ The choice to focus solely on the intramural space rather than elsewhere was most likely influenced by the fragmented surviving written record, notably Bede's description of London, and subsequently contributed to the difficulty in interpreting the dearth of archaeological data recovered. Bede included a brief description of London following his discussion of the foundation of the episcopal seat there in AD 604. Given the significance of

⁸¹⁶ Bede, *HE*, II.3.

⁸¹⁷ On the identification of London, see Alan Vince, 'The Aldwych: Mid-Saxon London discovered', *Current Archaeology* 8 (1984), pp. 310–312. On earlier excavations, see John Schofield and Cathy Maloney, *Archaeology in the City of London 1907–1991* (London, 1998), pp. 8–9.

Bede's specific choice of words to describe London within scholarly discussions, the original statement ought to be quoted in full:

*Quorum metropolis Lundonia ciuitas est, super ripam praefati fluminis posita et ipsa multorum emporium populorum terra marique uenientium.*⁸¹⁸

Its [the East Saxon kingdom] chief city is London, which is on the banks of that river and is an emporium for many nations who come to it by land and sea.

As noted in previous chapters, Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica* often provides the only source of evidence for events of the seventh century and it is of vital importance to recognise both why and how Bede described an event or place. Bede wrote the *Historia Ecclesiastica* with the broader intention of creating a place for Anglo-Saxons within a broader Christian definition of History and this reasoning influenced both the preservation of an event in the first instance and choice of terminology.⁸¹⁹ Significantly, when referring to Bede's description of London as an *emporium*, scholarship has largely overlooked or engaged with this context in an uncritical manner. It is highly likely that Bede borrowed a description of Roman *Londinium* from an earlier source to emphasise the significance of the foundation of the episcopal see.⁸²⁰ In the preface to his *Historia Ecclesiastica*, Bede noted that he received a great deal of information relating to developments in the southern Anglo-Saxon kingdoms from Albinus and Nothhelm who resided in London.⁸²¹ Nothhelm had also travelled to archives in Rome on behalf of Bede to gather further information and evidence of the early conversion efforts.⁸²² It is certainly possible that the description of London used by Bede was taken from one of the earlier documents provided by Albinus and Nothhelm. Evidently, the earlier search for London exemplifies the methodological problems of earlier studies attempting to engage with both

⁸¹⁸ Bede, *HE*, II.3.

⁸¹⁹ On Bede's agenda, see for example, Nicholas Brooks, 'Bede and the English', *Jarrow Lectures* 42 (1999), pp. 1–15.

⁸²⁰ Rory Naismith, *Citadel of the Saxons: The Rise of Early London* (London, 2019), p. 79.

⁸²¹ Bede, *HE*, preface.

⁸²² *Ibid.*

history and archaeology and highlights the need to examine cautiously both forms of evidence and compare them critically.

Following extensive archaeological excavations roughly a kilometre west of the former Roman town at Royal Opera House and St Martin's Courtyard, firm evidence of Mid-Saxon occupation was established and two burial sites were also identified close by at Covent Garden and at St-Martin-in-the-Fields.⁸²³ During post-excavation analysis, the occupation sequence of Lundenwic was split into seven phases that covered evidence from the prehistoric to post-medieval period and the seventh-century activity and settlement straddles two phases of development, periods 3 (AD 600–675) and 4 (AD 675–730).⁸²⁴ The distinction between the later seventh-century activity and evidence at the site compared to earlier in the century is largely based upon the date for the abandonment of the burial sites. Radiocarbon analysis of several burials from both St-Martin-in-the-Fields and Covent Garden provided a date range between AD 620 x 730 (ninety-three percent probability).⁸²⁵ The burial sites seem to have phased out of use by the later seventh century as they were subsequently encroached by a new settlement representing the broader expansion of London around c. AD 675 x 679.⁸²⁶ Significantly, it is likely that the descendants of those buried or members of the same community were still alive when these sites were given over to occupation. This raises the interesting, though incredibly difficult to explore, question of how these individuals reacted to the changing landscape. When the broader political context is considered, it has been argued

⁸²³ Robert Cowie and Lyn Blackmore, *Lundenwic: Excavations in Middle Saxon London, 1987-2000* (London, 2012), p. 14; Lyn Blackmore, 'The origins and growths of Lundenwic, a mart of many nations', in Birgitta Hårdh and Lars Larsson (eds.), *Central Places in the Migration and Merovingian Periods: Papers from the 52nd Sachsensymposium* (Stockholm, 2002), p. 273, pp. 278–279, p. 284, pp. 294–295.

⁸²⁴ Gordon Malcolm, David Bowsher and Robert Cowie, *Middle Saxon London: Excavations at the Royal Opera House, 1989-1999* (London, 2003), p. 1.

⁸²⁵ Louise Fowler and Ruth Taylor, *At the Limits of Lundenwic: Excavations in the North-West of Middle Saxon London at St. Martin's Courtyard 2006-2009* (London, 2013), p. 51.

⁸²⁶ Cowie and Blackmore, *Lundenwic: Excavations in Middle Saxon London*, p. 14–18, p. 202; Malcolm, Bowsher and Cowie, *Middle Saxon London: Excavations at the Royal Opera House*, p. 19, pp. 26–7.

that the earlier community was displaced.⁸²⁷ Across the seventh century, the East Saxon kingdom and the area surrounding the Thames was placed under the influence of several other kingdoms, most notably Kent and Mercia.⁸²⁸ By the later seventh century, coinciding with the beginning of Period 4, the East Saxon kingdom and London was firmly under Mercian rather than Kentish control. The earliest known authentic charter (and earliest dated document that attests to the existence of London) dated to AD 672 x 674 stated that the monastery of Chertsey was granted 300 hides near the river Thames by Frithuwold, a sub-king appointed by Wulfhere of Mercia.⁸²⁹ A few years earlier, around AD 665 x 668, Wulfhere had sold the bishopric of London to Wine.⁸³⁰ This latter event importantly demonstrates that an ecclesiastical presence in London and the surrounding region remained heavily intertwined and influenced by royal authority.⁸³¹ It may be nothing more than a coincidence that the abandonment of the cemetery and growth of the settlement occurred concurrently alongside the increase in Mercian dominance over London and the surrounding hinterland, but the sudden restructuring could possibly suggest a high-level of planning and investment rather than an organic change at the site by the early community.

Indeed, the settlement evidence from both St Martin's Courtyard and Royal Opera House suggests that earlier settlement was more modest both in scale and character.⁸³² Five well-spaced buildings were identified at Royal Opera House and the surrounding open yard area appears to have been divided to

⁸²⁷ Malcolm, Bowsher and Cowie, *Middle Saxon London: Excavations at the Royal Opera House*, p. 27.

⁸²⁸ For an overview, see J. R. Maddicott, 'London and Droitwich, c. 650–750: Trade, industry and the rise of Mercia', *Anglo-Saxon England* 34 (2005), pp. 15–24; Lyn Blackmore, 'From beach to burh: New clues to entity and identity in seventh to ninth-century London', in G. de Boe and F. Verhaeghe (eds.), *Papers of the Medieval Brugge Conference 1997* (Zellik, 1997), pp. 123–124; Naismith, *Citadel of the Saxons*, pp. 62–66.

⁸²⁹ Grant by Frithuwold, sub-king of Surrey, to Chertsey (AD 672 x 674): *Electronic Sawyer* (S1165).

⁸³⁰ Bede, *HE*, III.7; For more discussion, see Kirby, *The Earliest English Kings*, p. 115.

⁸³¹ Naismith, *Citadel of the Saxons*, p. 63.

⁸³² Fowler and Taylor, *At the Limits of Lundenwic*, p. 13–30; Malcolm, Bowsher and Cowie, *Middle Saxon London*, pp. 17–26.

serve each building.⁸³³ Due to the encroachment of later buildings over the site, the exact nature of the five buildings is difficult to examine. There are, however, possible glimpses of limited craft specialisation taking place at the site by the middle of the seventh century. Animal assemblage (mostly cattle) formed the largest body of material from Period 3, for instance, and is suggestive of the presence of a butcher or individuals working with bone.⁸³⁴ From the volume of bone recovered, it seems likely that the settlement had surplus cattle which was likely supplied through local and regional trade networks.⁸³⁵ The presence of loom-weights and a small amount of iron slag could also suggest that textile and metal working occurred at the site, though the limited quantity of both may only be representative of domestic production and use rather than reflective of production for trade.⁸³⁶ As with bone-working, the raw materials required for textile and metal working were likely provided through local and regional trade links.⁸³⁷ These local and regional connections likely account for the construction and continued maintenance and repair of a main road which connected the settlement to the broader Roman network already established around London.⁸³⁸ A similar development also occurred at St Martin's in the later seventh century following the intensification in the size of the settlement with the construction of several new buildings.⁸³⁹

Alongside local and regional trade, long-distance trade is attested from the presence of lava querns presumed to have originated from the Rhineland.⁸⁴⁰ Long-distance contact is also attested by the range of imported pottery types present at the site. Interestingly, pottery sherds made up the bulk of imported

⁸³³ Malcolm, Bowsher and Cowie, *Middle Saxon London*, p. 23, p. 28, pp. 162–163.

⁸³⁴ Ibid., pp. 29–30; Maddicott, 'London and Droitwich, c. 650–750', p. 13.

⁸³⁵ Helena Hamerow, 'Agrarian production and the emporia of mid Saxon England, ca. AD 650–850', in Joachim Henning (ed.), *Post-Roman Towns, Trade and Settlement in Europe and Byzantium* (Berlin, 2007), p. 222.

⁸³⁶ Malcolm, Bowsher and Cowie, *Middle Saxon London*, p. 23, p. 29.

⁸³⁷ Pam Crabtree, *Early Medieval Britain: The Rebirth of Towns in the Post-Roman West* (Cambridge, 2018), p. 122.

⁸³⁸ Malcolm, Bowsher and Cowie, *Middle Saxon London* p. 29; Naismith, *Citadel of the Saxons*, p. 82.

⁸³⁹ Fowler and Taylor, *At the Limits of Lundenwic*, p. 17, p. 29.

⁸⁴⁰ Cowie and Blackmore, *Lundenwic: Excavations in Middle Saxon London*, pp. 179–180.

material from both Royal Opera House and St Martin's Courtyard.⁸⁴¹ Whilst ceramic evidence is not one of the chosen objects chosen for study, the extensive detail provided in the excavation reports provides the opportunity to briefly consider this category of evidence and what it can reveal about contact.⁸⁴² Ceramic evidence can be difficult to examine since there may be numerous reasons behind its presence.⁸⁴³ The vessels recovered from London, however, are associated with trade and the movement of goods rather than representative of domestic use.⁸⁴⁴ The total number of sherds assigned to period 3 (AD 600–675) recovered from both sites is listed in [Table 9](#) alongside a breakdown of this total by type.⁸⁴⁵ Unsurprisingly, chaff tempered ware dominated the ceramic assemblage from both sites and this is most likely due to its probable local manufacture and subsequent availability. Imported sherds, meanwhile, represent the second greatest percentage at each site and the disparity between continental sherds and regional/other types at Royal Opera House especially is striking ([Table 9](#)). Whilst the number of sherds is high, it is important to note that the number of vessels these sherds represent is likely far lower.

Site:	<i>Royal Opera House</i>		<i>St Martin's Courtyard</i>	
Category (%)	Chaff Tempered	71%	Chaff tempered	49%

⁸⁴¹ Ibid., pp. 177–178.

⁸⁴² On the choice of objects, see chapter 1 (1.5)

⁸⁴³ On the difficulty of examining pottery, see Paul Blinkhorn, 'Of cabbages and kings: production, trade and consumption in Middle Saxon England', in M. Anderton (ed.), *Anglo-Saxon Trading Centres and Their Hinterlands: Beyond the Emporia* (Glasgow, 1999), pp. 4–23.

⁸⁴⁴ Fowler and Taylor, *At the Limits of Lundenwic*, pp. 67–70; Lyn Blackmore and Mark Redknap, 'Saxon and early medieval imports to the London area and the Rhenish connection', in D. Gaimster, M. Redknap and H-H. Wegner (eds.), *Zur Keramik des Mittelalters und der beginnenden Neuzeit im Rheinland* (Oxford, 1988), pp. 234–235.

⁸⁴⁵ The percentages were rounded to the nearest whole number. Totals from Fowler and Taylor, *At the Limits of Lundenwic*, pp. 29–30, p. 66; Malcolm, Bowsher and Cowie, *Middle Saxon London*, p. 29, p. 66.

	Continental/ imported	24%	Continental/ imported	34%
	Regional/ other	5%	Regional/ other	17%
Total number (sherds):	147 sherds		231 sherds	

Table 9: Ceramic finds from Period 3 (AD 600-675) at London

To examine the imported pottery further, [Table 10](#) lists the known imported types identified from the continental assemblage recovered from both sites.⁸⁴⁶ Significantly, most of the types identified at both sites were manufactured in northern France and strongly point to firm contact and links with the region.⁸⁴⁷ The wares identified at London are known in high quantities around Quentovic and it possible that many of the imported wares recovered from London arrived via the site.⁸⁴⁸ However, Quentovic should not be viewed as the sole origin point of these imports. Evidence recovered from La Londe, near Rouen, for example attests to sustained pottery production of pottery by the early eighth century and similarities have been drawn between pottery types recovered from the site with imported sherds from both London and Southampton.⁸⁴⁹ At both sites, reduced ware from northern France dominated the imported ceramic assemblage for the majority of the seventh century (Period 3) and their number only began to decline from the late seventh century onwards.⁸⁵⁰ Interestingly,

⁸⁴⁶ Totals from Malcolm, Bowsher and Cowie, *Middle Saxon London*, pp. 238–240; Fowler and Taylor, *At the Limits of Lundenwic*, pp. 29–30, pp. 55–56.

⁸⁴⁷ Lyn Blackmore, 'La céramique du Vème au Xème siècle à Londres et dans la région londonienne', in D. Piton (ed.), *La Céramique du Vème au Xème siècle dans l'Europe du nord-ouest* (Arras, 1993), pp. 139–141.

⁸⁴⁸ Margaret Worthington, 'Quentovic: Local and imported wares', in D. Pilet (ed.), *La céramique du Vème au Xème siècle dans l'Europe du Nord-Ouest* (Arras, 1993), pp. 379–381.

⁸⁴⁹ Richard Hodges, 'The 8th-century pottery industry at La Londe, near Rouen, and its implications for cross-channel trade with Hamwic, Anglo-Saxon Southampton', *Antiquity* 65 (1991), pp. 882–887; Malcolm, Bowsher and Cowie, *Middle Saxon London*, p. 239–240.

⁸⁵⁰ Fowler and Taylor, *At the Limits of Lundenwic*, pp. 66–7; Malcolm, Bowsher and Cowie, *Middle Saxon London*, p. 238.

the decline in Northern French ware in the later seventh century coincided not only with the expansion of London but also with the increasing quantity of Rhenish wares within the ceramic assemblage.⁸⁵¹ Based on the smaller number of finds earlier in the century, Blackmore interpreted the early Rhenish ware as symbolising personal possession in contrast to the later finds which she viewed as representative of trade.⁸⁵² The distinction made by Blackmore highlights the difficulty in assessing the ceramic evidence and the need to exercise caution in determining whether they represent pots or goods and therefore represent evidence of exchange.⁸⁵³

Import types:	Site:	
	<i>Royal Opera House</i>	<i>St Martin's Courtyard</i>
French buff ware	X	
Merovingian fine ware		X
Meuse valley ware	X	
Northern French black ware		X
Northern French grey ware		X
Northern French red ware		X
Northern French reduced ware	X	X
Rhenish ware	X	X

Table 10: Imported ware types recovered from Royal Opera House and St Martin's Courtyard (period 3 AD 600-675)

⁸⁵¹ Cowie and Blackmore, *Lundenwic: Excavations in Middle Saxon London*, pp. 176–177.

⁸⁵² *Ibid.*, p. 177.

⁸⁵³ Blinkhorn, 'Of cabbages and kings', pp. 4–23.

Imports were also deposited in several of the burials. Significantly, these imports have been instrumental in discussions of the maritime identity of the early community at London. At St-Martin-in-the-Fields, one individual was buried with a Merovingian-type silver seal or signet ring, an intact palm cup and hanging bowl.⁸⁵⁴ The possible seal has particularly drawn attention since seals are associated with an administrative function. Since the laws issued jointly by the Kentish kings Hlothhere and Eadric in AD 673 x 685 refer to the presence of royal reeves overseeing trade at London, the individual buried with the possible seal is assumed within scholarship to have been a port reeve.⁸⁵⁵ Whilst it is possible that port reeves used seals to authenticate activity in London, other individuals may well have owned or used a seal. For example, seals may have been carried by individuals for personal use such as securing correspondence.

Even more problematically, the individual buried in grave J at Long Acre is assumed to be a foreign individual based on the accompanying imported belt set deposited in the burial.⁸⁵⁶ Due to heavy disturbance, it is not known what other grave goods were present in the burial and conclusions regarding both the identity and status of the deceased individual therefore rest primarily upon a belt suite deposited in the burial. The belt suite was made of iron and the nearest parallels are found across Merovingian cemeteries such as Armentieres (grave 661), Bulles (grave 665) and Hamoir (grave 60).⁸⁵⁷ Alone, the belt suite and its similarities to those recovered overseas cannot be taken as representative of the identity of the deceased individual. It seems likely that where this belt suite has been discovered has strongly influenced this decision. Rather than representative of identity, the belt suite could instead represent

⁸⁵⁴ E. Burton, 'From Roman to Saxon London: Saxon burials at St Martin-in-the-Fields', in Neil Christie, Helen Geake, Märit Gaimster, Kieran O'Connor and Rory Sherlock (eds.), 'Medieval Britain and Ireland in 2006', *Medieval Archaeology* 51 (2007), pp. 255–256.

⁸⁵⁵ *The laws of Hlothhere and Eadric of Kent*, clause 11, ed and trans. Lisi Oliver, *The Beginnings of English Law* (Toronto, 2002), pp. 132–133; Cowie and Blackmore, *Lundenwic: Excavations in Middle Saxon London* p. 190; Scull, 'Foreign identities in burials at the seventh-century Emporia', pp. 85–86.

⁸⁵⁶ Scull, 'Foreign identities in burials at the seventh-century emporia', p. 85.

⁸⁵⁷ Chris Scull, 'belts', in Cowie and Blackmore, *Lundenwic: Excavations in Middle Saxon London*, pp. 284–286.

networks of exchange and chapter 9 examines imported dress objects within this framework.

To summarise, the site at London (*Lundenwic*) was modest in both scale and character throughout much of the seventh century and there is little evidence of deliberate planning until the redevelopment of the site in the later seventh century. Early London was an organic site that primarily served the interests of autonomous merchants. At both St Martin's Courtyard and Royal Opera House, there is evidence of regional and long-distance connections (especially in the form of pottery) and various imports were also recovered from several burials. Though the settlement was modest in size, from the middle of the seventh century, the site was a place of interest to both bishops and kings. By the later seventh century, there is clearer evidence of property being bought and sold indicating the growing importance of London.

8.2.3: Ipswich (*Gippeswic*)

Situated in the south-eastern area of the East Anglian kingdom, Ipswich is located at the head of the Orwell estuary that directly drains into the North Sea. In stark contrast to London, there are no contemporary written records outlining the development of Ipswich and analysis of the settlement predominantly rests upon archaeological material. The earliest excavations undertaken at Ipswich in the 1950s revealed that the site functioned as a port and subsequent excavations confirmed the urban nature of the site with evidence of a well-planned layout, intense craft production and large population inhabiting the site from the eighth century onwards.⁸⁵⁸ Further excavations on the banks of the River Orwell at Greyfriars Road/St Peter's Street unearthed evidence of a small seventh-century settlement with the identification of two *grubenhäuser* and nine pits that contained handmade and continental pottery pre-dating eighth-century Ipswich ware.⁸⁵⁹ Two major burial sites

⁸⁵⁸ For an overview of the earlier excavations, see Crabtree, *Early Medieval Britain: The Rebirth of Towns in the Post-Roman West*, pp. 97–99.

⁸⁵⁹ Christopher Scull, 'Ipswich: Contexts of funerary evidence from an urban precursor of the seventh century AD', in David Bates and Robert Liddiard (eds.), *East Anglia and its*

(Buttermarket and Boss Hall) were also discovered to the west of the settlement at Greyfriars Road/St Peter's Street.⁸⁶⁰ Given the proximity of these cemeteries and their close date range, the communities buried at Boss Hall and Buttermarket are linked to the settlement.⁸⁶¹ Radiocarbon dates of over ninety-percent confidence were retrieved from several burials at Buttermarket and placed the beginning of the cemetery to the early seventh century and suggest the site was eventually abandoned by the late seventh century (c. AD 680), whereupon Buttermarket was given over to occupation and crafting on a scale similar to that seen in London.⁸⁶² Based on the grave goods accompanying burials and their chronology, Boss Hall appears to have existed before Buttermarket and was in use predominantly during the sixth century and very early seventh century.⁸⁶³ The cemetery then appears to have briefly phased out of use before an individual was buried there (grave 93) sometime after c. AD 675, based on the presence of a primary phase sceatta (series B) in the grave.⁸⁶⁴ Most recently, excavations south of the River Orwell at Stoke Quay unearthed a barrow cemetery dated to the sixth to eighth centuries.⁸⁶⁵ As at Buttermarket,

North-Sea world in the Middle Ages (Woodbridge, 2013), p. 220. On the dating of Ipswich ware, see Paul Blinkhorn, *The Ipswich ware project: Ceramics, trade and society in Middle Saxon England* (London, 2012).

⁸⁶⁰ Scull, *Early Medieval (Late 5th-Early 8th Centuries AD) Cemeteries at Boss Hall and Buttermarket*, see p.2 for the location of these sites.

⁸⁶¹ Christopher Scull, 'Ipswich: Development and contexts of an urban precursor in the seventh century' in B. Hårdh and L. Larsson (eds.), *Central Places in the Migration and Merovingian Periods* (Stockholm, 2002), p. 312; Scull, *Early Medieval (Late 5th-Early 8th Centuries AD) Cemeteries at Boss Hall and Buttermarket*, pp. 308–309.

⁸⁶² The average radiocarbon dates fell between the years AD 605 x 680. Scull, 'Ipswich: Contexts of funerary evidence from an urban precursor of the seventh century AD', p. 220–221; Scull, *Early Medieval (Late 5th-Early 8th Centuries AD) Cemeteries at Boss Hall and Buttermarket*, p. 259, p. 315.

⁸⁶³ Scull, *Early Medieval (Late 5th-Early 8th Centuries AD) Cemeteries at Boss Hall and Buttermarket*, pp. 112–114.

⁸⁶⁴ John Newman, 'Boss Hall', *Current Archaeology* 11 (1992), pp. 424–425; Scull, *Early Medieval (Late 5th-Early 8th Centuries AD) Cemeteries at Boss Hall and Buttermarket*, pp. 16–19. On the phases of coinage and dating, see chapter 5 (5.3).

⁸⁶⁵ Steven Teague, 'The Archaeological Sequence', in Richard Brown, Steven Teague, Louise Loe, Berni Sudds and Elizabeth Popescu (eds.), *Excavations at Stoke Quay, Ipswich: Southern Gipeswic and the parish of St Augustine* (Oxford, 2020), pp. 25–26.

the cemetery at Stoke Quay appears to have been abandoned and superseded by a settlement from the late seventh/early eighth century onwards.⁸⁶⁶

Recent analysis of the origin and nature of seventh-century Ipswich has mostly been undertaken by Christopher Scull, and it is therefore of crucial importance to recognise and carefully consider Scull's interpretations against the evidence.⁸⁶⁷ Scull argued that early Ipswich from its beginnings was a special-purpose settlement and its main purpose was intended to facilitate overseas contact.⁸⁶⁸

Given the proximity of Ipswich to the royal estate at Rendlesham and Sutton Hoo, the early community at Ipswich is strongly associated with a royal sphere of influence.⁸⁶⁹ Additionally, based on the date range provided by radiocarbon dating, the foundation of the settlement is often linked to two particular East Anglian kings, Rædwald and Sigeberht. The attribution to Rædwald is grounded in the broader political context and increasing stability of the East Anglian kingdom.⁸⁷⁰ Following the death of Æthelberht, the Kentish influence in the East Anglian kingdom waned and enabled Rædwald to reassert his authority over the kingdom and elsewhere as evidenced by Rædwald's involvement with

⁸⁶⁶ Ibid, p. 25, p. 44.

⁸⁶⁷ Scull, *Early Medieval (Late 5th-Early 8th Centuries AD) Cemeteries at Boss Hall and Buttermarket*; Scull, 'Ipswich: Contexts of funerary evidence from an urban precursor of the seventh century AD', pp. 218–229; Christopher Scull, 'Ipswich – Transformations of community and settlement in the seventh and eighth centuries', in Titus A.S.M. Panhuysen, *Transformations in North-Western Europe (AD 300–1000)* (Hannover, 2011), pp. 200–204; Scull, 'Ipswich: Development and contexts of an urban precursor in the seventh century', pp. 303–316; Christopher Scull, 'Burials at Emporia in England', in D. Hill and R. Cowie (eds.), *Wics: the early-medieval trading centres of Northern Europe* (Sheffield, 2001) pp. 67–74.

⁸⁶⁸ Christopher Scull, 'The Buttermarket cemetery and the origins of Ipswich in the seventh century AD', *Proceedings of the Suffolk Institute of Archaeology and History* 43:1 (2013), p. 49.

⁸⁶⁹ Kevin Wade, 'The urbanisation of East Anglia: the Ipswich perspective', in J. Gardiner (ed.), *Flatlands and Wetlands: Current Themes in East Anglian Archaeology* (Norwich, 1993), pp. 141–151; Yorke, *Kings and Kingdoms of early Anglo-Saxon England*, pp. 65–66.

⁸⁷⁰ For arguments in favour of the attribution to Rædwald, see for example, Steven Plunkett, *Suffolk in Anglo-Saxon Times* (Tempus, 2005), pp. 76–78.

Northumbrian politics and the accession of Edwin to the throne.⁸⁷¹ If Ipswich was a special-purpose settlement, as argued by Scull, the attribution to Sigebert is perhaps a more appealing one when the historical context is considered.⁸⁷² As discussed in chapter 2, Sigebert was exiled in Merovingian Gaul during Rædwald's reign and likely established several connections during his period of exile and facilitated existing and subsequent contacts.⁸⁷³

The later reorganisation of Ipswich is equally interpreted as royal in nature, with Scull suggesting that the female buried in Grave 93 at Boss Hall was a high-status individual and representative of increased investment at Ipswich.⁸⁷⁴ Alongside a primary phase sceatta (series B), several objects of gold and silver were deposited in the burial including a composite disc brooch, six gold disc pendants, silver wire beads, beads on silver wire and a looped solidus of Sigebert III minted at Marseilles.⁸⁷⁵ The potential social significance of the looped Sigebert solidus was discussed above in chapter 6.⁸⁷⁶ Evidence of silk cord used to suspend the necklace was also identified and silk is an exceptionally rare find in early medieval graves and presumed to have been imported from the Mediterranean.⁸⁷⁷ Compared to the remaining burials at Boss Hall, the assemblage from grave 93 certainly stands out. However, this is not so surprising since the cemetery had already been out of use for some time before the female was interred there in the later seventh century. There was a marked increase in well-furnished female burials in the third quarter of the

⁸⁷¹ Bede, *HE* II.5, 12.

⁸⁷² Scull favours the possible attribution to Sigebert rather than Rædwald. Scull, *Early Medieval (Late 5th-Early 8th Centuries AD) Cemeteries at Boss Hall and Buttermarket*, p. 317; Scull, 'Ipswich – Transformations of community and settlement in the seventh and eighth centuries', p. 202.

⁸⁷³ Bede, *HE*, III.18, 20. For greater discussion, see chapter 2 (2.3.1).

⁸⁷⁴ Scull, 'Ipswich: Contexts of funerary evidence from an urban precursor of the seventh century AD', p. 228.

⁸⁷⁵ Scull, *Early Medieval (Late 5th-Early 8th Centuries AD) Cemeteries at Boss Hall and Buttermarket*, pp. 16–19, p. 43 (illustration of grave goods); Newman, 'Boss Hall', pp. 424–425.

⁸⁷⁶ Chapter 6 (6.4)

⁸⁷⁷ Scull, *Early Medieval (Late 5th-Early 8th Centuries AD) Cemeteries at Boss Hall and Buttermarket*, p. 99.

seventh century and females were buried with a range of objects.⁸⁷⁸ Since the earlier graves are representative of different burial traditions, it is perhaps erroneous to discuss the status of the individual buried in grave 93 (and of the settlement at this time) based on a comparison with the remaining burials at Boss Hall.

At Buttermarket, most of the graves excavated were also furnished with only a few objects and those with imported material therefore stood out more clearly. In particular, the assemblage from grave 1306 at Buttermarket presents the clearest display of Merovingian connections and has received the most attention. Several imported objects were recovered from the grave including a continental seax, shield boss, spear head, fittings and several palm cups and the individual was also wearing an imported belt fitting.⁸⁷⁹ Importantly, the individual in grave 1306 was not alone in being buried with an imported belt at Buttermarket; the individuals in graves 2297 and 3871 were also buried with imported belt types.⁸⁸⁰ What has distinguished grave 1306 in discussions, however, is both the rarity of the belt suite alongside the quantity of imports found alongside the suite.

The closest parallel to the belt suite from grave 1306 is another belt suite deposited in a double-burial (grave 3520) at the emporium at Southampton (*Hamwic*).⁸⁸¹ Importantly, both of these suites have also been compared to the aforementioned belt suite recovered from grave J at Long Acre.⁸⁸² That all three belt suites recovered from the early Anglo-Saxon *emporia* are similar in their design and not found elsewhere returns to the central question of control and access to connections. Overseas, the nearest parallels for the suite deposited in grave 1306 can be found in Northern France, especially at the cemetery at

⁸⁷⁸ Alex Bayliss, John Hines and Karen Højlund Neilson, 'Integrations and comparisons', in John Hines and Alex Bayliss (eds.), *Anglo-Saxon Graves and Grave Goods of the 6th and 7th Centuries AD: A Chronological Framework* (London, 2013), pp. 476–479.

⁸⁷⁹ For a full list of grave goods, see Scull, *Early Medieval (Late 5th–Early 8th Centuries AD) Cemeteries at Boss Hall and Buttermarket*, pp. 247–254.

⁸⁸⁰ Scull, 'Foreign identities in burials at the seventh-century English emporia', pp. 83–84.

⁸⁸¹ For discussion of grave 3520, see 8.2.3.

⁸⁸² See above, 8.2.2.

Armentieres.⁸⁸³ Due to the rarity of the fitting and accompanying imported Merovingian material, Scull posits that the individual in grave 1306 was a Merovingian individual.⁸⁸⁴ Whilst it is certainly not impossible that the individual may have been Merovingian and that the grave goods were deliberately chosen by the community to express the identity of the individual, it is just as likely that the goods found their way to the settlement through other means such as through exchange networks. In addition, focusing on identity does not fully move away from the contentious link between grave goods and ethnicity outlined in chapter 1.

Turning to the settlement activity, imported wares were present amongst the ceramic assemblage recovered from the settlement at Greyfriars Road/St Peter's Street. Imported wares made up roughly fourteen percent of the seventh-century ceramic finds with Northern French ware dominating the total finds.⁸⁸⁵ A small number of Rhenish wares were also recovered from the settlement, indicating that contacts were not limited to regions in Neustria but extended further north to the lower Rhine on the fringes of Merovingian control.⁸⁸⁶ However, as with the ceramic evidence recovered from London, whether the ceramic evidence retrieved from the site is indicative of trade or domestic use is not certain. Whilst Scull interprets the presence of imported ceramics as evidence that early Ipswich was specifically designed to engage in overseas exchange, he also concedes that it is possible that the pottery was owned and used by foreign traders who resided in Ipswich.⁸⁸⁷ Nevertheless, the

⁸⁸³ Scull, *Early Medieval (Late 5th-Early 8th Centuries AD) Cemeteries at Boss Hall and Buttermarket*, pp. 247–254.

⁸⁸⁴ Scull, 'Foreign identities in burials at the seventh-century English emporia', p. 83; Scull, 'Burials at Emporia in England', p. 68.

⁸⁸⁵ Scull, 'Ipswich: Development and contexts of an urban precursor in the seventh century', pp.303–304; See also Catherine M. Coutts, *Pottery and emporia: imported pottery in Middle Saxon England with particular reference to Ipswich*. (Unpublished PhD thesis, University of Sheffield, 1991), esp. pp. 39–40.

⁸⁸⁶ Scull, *Early Medieval (Late 5th-Early 8th Centuries AD) Cemeteries at Boss Hall and Buttermarket*, p. 313.

⁸⁸⁷ Scull, 'Ipswich: Contexts of funerary evidence from an urban precursor of the seventh century', p. 220.

presence of such objects in the first instance is significant in representing some form of connection.

The limited settlement evidence from Ipswich (*Gippeswic*) indicates that the site was small in size during the seventh century. The imports recovered from the cemeteries associated with Ipswich, Boss Hall and Buttermarket, indicate access to long-distance networks. Importantly, the material recovered from Ipswich is not dissimilar to the assemblage uncovered from nearby sites. For example, as chapter 9 will discuss, an exceptional amount of Merovingian imports have been recovered north of Ipswich from the cemetery and settlement sites at Coddensham and Barham.⁸⁸⁸ The presence of imports and coins at Rendlesham, discussed in chapter 7, also indicates that Ipswich was part of a wider group of sites in this region engaged in long-distance networks. The involvement of the East Anglian royalty can also be more confidently assumed to have occurred at Rendlesham compared to Ipswich during the century.

8.2.4: Southampton (*Hamwic/Hamtun*)

Located in the West Saxon kingdom, Southampton is situated at the mouth of the River Itchen that flows directly into the Solent and English Channel. The earliest written reference to Southampton is contained within the *Life of St Willibald*, written in the latter half of the eighth century by Hygeburg, an Anglo-Saxon nun at Heidenheim abbey (Germany).⁸⁸⁹ In AD 721, Willibald commenced a pilgrimage to Rome and travelled to Southampton (described by Hygeburg as a *mercimonium*) whereupon he boarded a ship that crossed the Channel and stopped at a landing site on the banks of the Seine near Rouen.⁸⁹⁰ Although there is no direct mention of Southampton within earlier historical accounts, as discussed in previous chapters, there are important glimpses of

⁸⁸⁸ John Newman, 'Exceptional finds, exceptional sites? Barham and Coddensham, Suffolk', in Tim Pestell and Katharina Ulmschneider (eds.), *Markets in Early Medieval Europe: Trading and 'Productive' Sites, 650- 850* (Cheshire, 2003), pp. 97–109.

⁸⁸⁹ Hygeburg, *Life of St Willibald*, chapter 3, ed and trans. Thomas F.X. Noble and Thomas Head, *Soldiers of Christ: Saint and Saints' Lives from Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages*, (University Park, 1995).

⁸⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, chapter 3.

vibrant connections existing between the kingdom of Wessex and Merovingian Gaul during the seventh century and the route taken by Willibald across the Channel was probably in operation during the seventh century.⁸⁹¹

In contrast to the fragmented historical evidence, the development and growth of Southampton is well attested archaeologically.⁸⁹² However, there is a need to be cautious given that less than ten percent of the total site has currently been excavated.⁸⁹³ Indeed, the need to be aware of the size of an excavated area becomes even more urgent when considering discussions of the development of the Anglo-Saxon *emporium*. The evidence recovered from Southampton and subsequent interpretations have heavily influenced discussions of the development and nature of settlement at other *emporium*. For instance, in discussing York (*Eoforwic*), Kemp incorporated the evidence of the grid-layout street pattern revealed at Southampton to argue that a similar structure likely existed at York despite there being no direct evidence of this found at the site.⁸⁹⁴

Importantly, discussions of the nature and origin of Southampton demonstrate the necessity of continually questioning and revising interpretations of sites. Prior to the excavations undertaken at St Mary's Stadium, which unearthed a mixed-burial site that was in use during the seventh century, there was no

⁸⁹¹ See chapter 2 (2.3.2).

⁸⁹² Vaughan Birbeck, Roland J.C. Smith, Phil Andrews and Nick Stoodley (eds.), *The Origins of Mid-Saxon Southampton: Excavations at the Friends Provident, St Mary's Stadium 1998-2000* (Dorchester, 2005); Nick Stoodley, 'The origins of Hamwic and its central role in the seventh century as revealed by recent archaeological discoveries', in B. Hårdh and Lars Larsson (eds.), *Central Places in the Migration and Merovingian Periods* (Stockholm, 2002), pp. 317–331; P. Andrews (ed.), *Excavations at Hamwic: Volume 2. Excavations at Six Dials* (York, 1997); A.D. Morton (ed.), *Excavations at Hamwic: Volume 1, excavations 1946-83* (London, 1992); Mark Brisbane, 'Hamwic: An eighth-century port and production centre', in R. Hodges and B. Hobley (eds.), *The Rebirth of Towns in the West, AD 700-1050* (London, 1988), pp. 101–109. For a summary of the history of excavations, see Mark Brisbane and Richard Hodges, 'An emporium for all eras: David Hinton and four institutional phases in the rise of Hamwic, Anglo-Saxon Southampton', in Ben Jervis (ed.), *The Middle Ages Revisited: Studies in the Archaeology and History of Medieval Southern England presented to Professor David Hinton* (Oxford, 2018), pp. 21–34.

⁸⁹³ Birbeck, Smith, Andrews and Stoodley, *The Origins of Mid-Saxon Southampton*, p. 4

⁸⁹⁴ Kemp, *Anglian Settlement at 46-54 Fishergate AY711*, pp.64–65.

evidence of activity at Southampton. Previous excavations failed to identify any seventh-century occupation and the earliest activity was dated to the beginning of the eighth century.⁸⁹⁵ In addition, based on the identification of the grid-layout street pattern which suggested a high-level of organisation, Southampton was viewed as a royal venture instigated most likely during the reign of either Cædwalla or Ine to exploit burgeoning connections around the Solent.⁸⁹⁶ Both kings were perceived as powerful by Bede not only because of their commitment to Christianity, which almost certainly would have influenced Bede's views, but also due to the broader political stability within Wessex during their accession to the throne compared to earlier in the century.⁸⁹⁷ That the West Saxon royal centre was located a short distance north of Southampton at Winchester from the mid-seventh century onwards further added weight to the argument for royal control and situating the development of Southampton within the broader political context.⁸⁹⁸

The evidence recovered from St Mary's significantly provided the opportunity to examine the possible origins of the emporium before the later activity identified at other areas of the site. Whilst there was a lack of securely dateable pottery recovered from the site, the broad chronological dating of the grave goods within the furnished burials suggest that the cemetery was in use throughout the seventh century and into the early eighth century at the latest. Radiocarbon dates provided by several of the cremations, debris and one inhumation indicated that the site was in continuous use between c. AD 650 x 720, well before the later phases identified at previous excavations of

⁸⁹⁵ Compare the summaries of mid-Saxon Southampton written by Morton (1992) and Birbeck, Smith, Andrews and Stoodley (2005). A.D. Morton, 'The nature of the evidence', in A.D. Morton (ed.), *Excavations at Hamwic: Vol.1*, pp. 27–28; Birbeck, Smith, Andrews and Stoodley, *The Origins of Mid-Saxon Southampton*, pp. 1–5, pp. 8–9.

⁸⁹⁶ On the attribution to Cædwalla or Ine, see for example Morton, 'The nature of the evidence', p. 26; Brisbane, 'Hamwic: An eighth-century port and production centre', pp. 101–109; Barry Cunliffe, *Wessex to AD 1000* (London, 1993), p. 297.

⁸⁹⁷ Bede, *HE*, IV.15, V.7.

⁸⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, III.7; Yorke, 'Competition for the Solent and seventh century politics', pp. 35–44.

Southampton.⁸⁹⁹ That the cemetery was abandoned by the early eighth century is also evidenced by the encroachment of settlement features dated to the eighth century.⁹⁰⁰

Before presenting the evidence recovered from St Mary's, it is of crucial importance to briefly consider the method of excavation. From the excavations, eighteen cremations and twenty-six inhumations were identified.⁹⁰¹ However, as only a small area of the site was excavated and was both heavily disturbed and cut by later features, the true extent of the early cemetery remains uncertain. Uncertainty over the size of the cemetery is further compounded by one of the main aims of the project: identifying and excavating burials with grave goods.⁹⁰² Areas of the site that were not heavily cut by the later features underwent controlled metal detecting to identify furnished burials.⁹⁰³ Whilst this method assisted in cataloguing the nineteen furnished inhumations, it is highly likely that several other unfurnished burials and cremations were missed due to the use of this method. Indeed, the report explicitly acknowledges this issue.⁹⁰⁴ In turn, the interpretations and discussions of the origins of Southampton presented in the report rest heavily upon a select number of individuals and finds.

Most furnished burials contained a knife, and a high proportion of burials – those that contained a spear, shield, sword or seax – were classified as weapon burials.⁹⁰⁵ Stoodley interpreted the high number of burials with weapons as an indicator of defence at the early settlement and raised the possibility that those

⁸⁹⁹ Birbeck, Smith, Andrews and Stoodley, *The Origins of Mid-Saxon Southampton*, pp. 11–13; Stoodley, 'The origins of Hamwic and its central role in the seventh century', pp. 318–319.

⁹⁰⁰ Stoodley, 'The origins of Hamwic and its central role in the seventh century', p. 321.

⁹⁰¹ Birbeck, Smith, Andrews and Stoodley, *The Origins of Mid-Saxon Southampton*, p. 9, p. 19, p. 49.

⁹⁰² Ibid., p. 27.

⁹⁰³ Ibid., p. 27, p. 53.

⁹⁰⁴ Ibid., p. 53.

⁹⁰⁵ See table 5 in *ibid.*, p. 54.

buried with weapons were royal reeves.⁹⁰⁶ Whilst reeves were present in London from the later seventh century, their presence elsewhere is unknown from the surviving written evidence and it cannot be assumed that the evidence relating to London is representative for all sites. Additionally, Stoodley's postulation rests on the tentative assumption that the assemblage in the burials is truly reflective of the occupation of the deceased individuals. As studies of weapon burials have demonstrated, however, identifying the occupation of a deceased individual through grave goods is not so straightforward and the symbolic reasons for the deposition of certain objects was inherently complex.⁹⁰⁷ Moreover, due to the poor survival standard of the skeletal remains, osteological information for those buried at St Mary's is extremely limited and the sexing of most burials is based on the gendering of grave good types. Significantly, Graves 5488 and 5129 contained spears but are sexed as female based on the presence of necklace assemblage.⁹⁰⁸ If these burials were indeed female, the presence of the spears indicate in the first instance that objects were deposited in burials for a variety of reasons.

As at the cemetery at Buttermarket (Ipswich), one particular grave from the cemetery at St Mary's has drawn a great deal of scholarly attention. The assemblage associated with grave 3520, a double adult burial dated to c AD 640 x 670, has generated the greatest discussion of the status of the community buried at St Mary's and their access to long-distance networks.⁹⁰⁹ Analysis of the burial has especially focused on the imported belt suite associated with one of the individuals (skeleton 3549). As previously noted above, the belt suite is paralleled most closely to the imported belt set recovered from grave 1306 at

⁹⁰⁶ Nick Stoodley, 'Burial practice in seventh-century Hampshire: St Mary's Stadium in context', in J. Buckberry and A. Cherryson (eds.), *Burial in later Anglo-Saxon England c 650-1100 AD* (Oxford, 2010), pp. 38–53; Stoodley, 'The origins of Hamwic and its central role in the seventh century', p. 326.

⁹⁰⁷ See Härke, 'Grave goods in early medieval burials: messages and meanings', pp. 41–60.

⁹⁰⁸ Birbeck, Smith, Andrews and Stoodley, *The Origins of Mid-Saxon Southampton*, p. 54.

⁹⁰⁹ For a full list of the assemblage from the burial and illustrations, see Birbeck, Smith, Andrews and Stoodley, *The Origins of Mid-Saxon Southampton*, p. 28, pp. 30–31.

Buttermarket and both burials are also closely contemporary in date.⁹¹⁰ Along with the belt set, a seax with an elaborately decorated handle also presumed to have been a Frankish import was recovered.⁹¹¹ Based on the accompanying imports deposited alongside the belt suite and the coastal location of the burial, Scull suggested that both of the individuals buried in grave 3520 were from the continent.⁹¹² As noted above in relation to grave 1306 at Ipswich, determining the identity of an individual based on the accompanying grave goods requires careful consideration.

Overall, analysis of the earliest activity at Southampton (Hamwic) is fraught with problems. At present, no excavations at the site have uncovered evidence of a seventh-century settlement. Many of the discussions regarding the nature of the community buried at St Mary's stadium remain highly conjectural and are influenced by the later dated evidence uncovered during earlier excavations.

8.2.5: Dorestad/Wijk bij Duurstede

Dorestad, located where the rivers Rhine and Lek merge, lay both at the fringes of the Frisian kingdom and at the northernmost edge of the Merovingian kingdoms. Throughout the seventh century, control over this area was contested, though the exact sequence of events remains difficult to accurately reconstruct given the paucity of surviving evidence. Coinage bearing the inscription 'DORESTATI FIT' ([figure 2](#)) produced between AD 630 x 650 provide the earliest explicit reference to the existence of Dorestad and implies a Merovingian influence over the region given the activity of Madelinus at Maastricht.⁹¹³ Shortly after the cessation in coinage production, Dorestad is

⁹¹⁰ Ibid., p. 63; Scull, *Early Medieval (late 5th-early 8th Centuries AD) cemeteries at Boss Hall and Buttermarket*, pp. 247–51, p. 318.

⁹¹¹ Birbeck, Smith, Andrews and Stoodley, *The Origins of Mid-Saxon Southampton*, p. 59 (item 179).

⁹¹² Scull, 'Foreign identities in burials at the seventh-century English emporia', p. 84.

⁹¹³ A.N. Zadoks-Josephus Jitta, 'De eerste muntslag te Duurstede', *Jaarboek voor Munt-en Penningkunde* 48 (1961), pp. 1–14. For an analysis of the coins of Dorestad, see chapters 6 and 7.

presumed to have returned to Frisian control until the late seventh century.⁹¹⁴ In AD 695, Pippin II defeated the Frisian king Radbod in a battle near Dorestad and Frankish control was firmly re-established in the area from the eighth century onwards as evidenced by Frankish sponsored missionary activity in the surrounding region.⁹¹⁵ Significantly, this broader political context is used to explain why Dorestad did not fully flourish until the turn of the eighth century.⁹¹⁶ However, that the growth of Dorestad stagnated under Frisian rule should be questioned since such an interpretation examines the seventh-century evidence through the lens of the eighth century *emporium*.

Since the late nineteenth century, Dorestad has been the site of numerous excavations.⁹¹⁷ The majority of the archaeological evidence relating to the site was discovered during major excavations in the northern quarter of the settlement (the Hoogstraat area) during the 1960s and 1970s.⁹¹⁸ As chapter 1 noted, the evidence from these excavations is still being processed and is published periodically under the direction of van Es and Verwers.⁹¹⁹ Crucially,

⁹¹⁴ van Es and Verwers, *Excavations at Dorestad 4*, p. 379.

⁹¹⁵ Bede, *HE*, V.10; Alcuin of York, *Life of Saint Willibrord*, chapter 5. On Frankish missionary activity, see for example, Marco Mostert 'Boniface in Frisia', in Michel Aaij and Shannon Godlove (eds.), *A Companion to Boniface* (Leiden, 2020), pp. 327–356 and Wolfert van Egmond, 'Converting monks: Missionary activity in early medieval Frisia and Saxony', in Guyda Armstrong and Ian N. wood (eds.), *Christianising Peoples and Converting Individuals* (Leiden, 2000), pp. 37–45.

⁹¹⁶ van Es and Verwers, *Excavations at Dorestad 3* pp. 296–302; van Es and Verwers, *Excavations at Dorestad 4*, pp. 377–379; Annemarieke Willemsen, 'Dorestad, a medieval metropolis', in S. Gelichi and R. Hodges (eds.), *From one sea to another: Trading places in the European and Mediterranean Early Middle Ages* (Turnhout, 2012), pp. 67–68.

⁹¹⁷ For an overview, see Annemarieke Willemsen, 'Welcome to Dorestad: A history of searching and finding "the Dutch Troy"', in Annemarieke Willemsen and Hanneke Kik (eds.), *Dorestad in an International Framework* (Turnhout, 2010), pp. 7–15.

⁹¹⁸ Ibid. See scholarship in footnote below.

⁹¹⁹ As noted in chapter 1 (1.7), the most recent report was published in 2015, van Es and Verwers, *Excavations at Dorestad 4: The Settlement on the Riverbank Area*. Previous publications: W.A. van Es and W.J.H. Verwers, *Excavations at Dorestad 3: 0, II-IV* (Amersfoort, 2009); Wietske Prummel, *Excavations at Dorestad 2: Early Medieval Dorestad, an archaeozoological study* (Amersfoort, 1983); W.A. van Es and W.J.H. Verwers, *Excavations at Dorestad I: The Harbour, Hoogstraat 1* (Amersfoort, 1980). See also W.A. van Es and W.A.M. Hessing, *Romeinen, Friezen en Franken in het hart van Nederland: van Traiectum tot Dorestad* (Utrecht, 1994) and W.A. van Es, 'Dorestad centred', in J.C. Bateman,

the publication and interpretation of the material from these excavations by van Es and Verwers has been incredibly influential in discussions not only of the nature and development of Dorestad, but of trade and the place of *emporia* more broadly during the early medieval period.⁹²⁰ Notably, van Es and Verwers presumed that the development of Dorestad was inevitable and the site was always of special importance from its beginnings, and this narrative has continued to prevail in discussions of the site.⁹²¹ Yet, the status of the site during the seventh century is difficult to interpret due to limited textual evidence and archaeological data. During these major excavations, evidence of pre-Carolingian activity was limited to fragments of early Merovingian wares and a few examples of Merovingian metalwork including a gold filigree disc pendant and a gold finger ring.⁹²² Subsequent excavations and metal detecting at Dorestad have unearthed additional seventh-century finds including a gold bar, a silver-gilt sword pommel and gold bracteate dated to the late sixth or seventh century.⁹²³ A revetment also appears to have been constructed at the bank of the river Rhine in the second half of the seventh century (c. AD 650-670), though no associated buildings were identified.⁹²⁴

Perhaps the most significant comment made regarding the early settlement by van Es and Verwers was that the early centre of Merovingian Dorestad and place where Madelinus had minted coinage was at a Roman *castellum*

J.M. Bos and H.A. Heidinga (eds.), *Medieval Archaeology in the Netherlands* (Assen, 1990), pp. 151–182.

⁹²⁰ For an overview of their influence, see H.M. van der Velde, J. Dijkstra and S. Heeren, 'On the origins of Dorestad? Habitation of the Kromme Rijn area during the Merovingian period', in Sarah Semple, Celia Orsini and Sian Mui (eds.), *Life on the Edge: Social, Political and Religious Frontiers in Early Medieval Europe* (Wendeburg, 2017), p. 285.

⁹²¹ van Es and Verwers, *Excavations at Dorestad 4*, pp. 378–389. Annemarieke Willemsen, *Dorestad: een wereldstad in de middeleeuwen* (Zutphen, 2009). See also the essays in Willemsen and Kik (eds.), *Dorestad in an International Framework*.

⁹²² van Es and Verwers, *Excavations at Dorestad 3*, p. 30, p. 153, p. 213; Nicolay, *The Splendour of Power*, p. 133.

⁹²³ C. Nooijen, 'De metaalvondsten', in J. Dijkstra (ed.), *Het domein van de boer en de ambachtsman: een opgraving op het terrein van de voormalige fruitveiling te Wijk bij Duurstede* (Amersfoort, 2012), p. 254; Willemsen, *Dorestad: een wereldstad in de middeleeuwen*, p. 70

⁹²⁴ van Es and Verwers, *Excavations at Dorestad 3*, p. 29, p. 47.

(Levefanum) located immediately to the south of the site.⁹²⁵ Importantly, the castellum cannot be excavated as it now lies underwater and only limited dredging of the river bed was carried out.⁹²⁶ Whilst early-medieval finds were retrieved during this process, definite activity and evidence of settlement especially cannot be affirmed from the finds. Instead, the identification of the castellum as the site of activity largely rests upon the actions of Dagobert at Utrecht and the founding of a church within a former castellum (*Traiectum*) there around AD 630.⁹²⁷ Although there is no firm evidence, the link between the *castellum*, Madelinus and early activity at Dorestad has largely gone unchallenged within the historiography.⁹²⁸

Moreover, though the coins minted by Madelinus are widely dispersed and imitated across regions surrounding the North Sea and pivotal to the early chronology of Dorestad, finds at the settlement remain largely absent.⁹²⁹ To date, only one imitative Madelinus tremissis is known from all excavations undertaken at the settlement.⁹³⁰ Finds of other seventh-century issues are also limited. With the exception of an unidentifiable tremissis and a pierced tremissis minted at Quentovic by the moneyer Anglus, most coins retrieved from the site are silver issues issued dated to the eighth century onwards.⁹³¹ The scarcity of Madelinus issues and other seventh-century issues could

⁹²⁵ van Es and Verwers recently reiterated this suggestion. W.A van Es and W.J.H Verwers, 'Early Medieval settlements along the Rhine: precursors and contemporaries of Dorestad', *Journal of Archaeology in the Low Countries* 2 (2010), pp. 19–20; See summary of initial discussion in Prummel, *Excavations at Dorestad* 2, pp. 14–23.

⁹²⁶ van Es and Verwers, 'Early medieval settlements along the Rhine', p. 19.

⁹²⁷ Boniface to Pope Stephen II (c. AD 753), in *The Letters of Boniface*, ed and trans. Ephraim Emerton, number 108.

⁹²⁸ For example, see the following recent publications: Johanna Maria van Winter, 'Utrecht, the mother of Dorestad: The relations between two early medieval settlements and their Churches in the frontier region of Frisians and Franks', *The Medieval Low Countries* 3 (2016), pp. 1–20; Willemsen, 'Dorestad, a medieval metropolis', pp. 68–69; Dijkstra and Williams, 'New research in Dorestad', pp. 59–60.

⁹²⁹ On the imitations, see chapter 6. On their distribution, see chapter 7.

⁹³⁰ Nicolay, *The Splendour of Power*, p. 132.

⁹³¹ Nooijen, 'De metaalvondsten', pp. 256–257; Enno van Gelder, 'coins', in W.A. van Es and W.J.H. Verwers, *Excavations at Dorestad 3: 0, II–IV* (Amersfoort, 2009), pp. 257–259; Enno van Gelder, 'Coins from Dorestad, Hoogstraat I', in W.A. van Es and W.J.H. Verwers, *Excavations at Dorestad 1: The Harbour, Hoogstraat 1* (Amersfoort, 1980), pp. 212–224.

possibly be explained by the absence of metal detecting during earlier excavations. Equally, the limited number of finds may instead be suggestive of the modest status of the settlement at Dorestad during the seventh century.

Within Dutch scholarship, a reassessment of many of the long-held assumptions and unanswered questions surrounding the origins and development of Dorestad has been (and continue to be) undertaken following the launch of the *Dorestad: vicus famosus* project.⁹³² Importantly, the project looked beyond the scope of the earlier excavations and reinvestigated known sites within the vicinity. For example, a cemetery and small settlement at the site of De Geer situated a few kilometres to the north of the harbour area was revisited.⁹³³ The site was in continuous use from the Bronze Age to late Middle Ages and the early medieval settlement was modest in size and composed of a small group of farmsteads.⁹³⁴ During the seventh century, a ditch system was laid out signalling a potential change in both the nature of the settlement and its activity.⁹³⁵ However, the impetus behind this shift remains uncertain and analysis remains ongoing.⁹³⁶ Previous discussions of De Geer argued that the site was most likely the immediate precursor to Dorestad and representative of an elite settlement.⁹³⁷ However, that De Geer was the precursor to Dorestad has

⁹³² The website affiliated with the project (www.vicusfamosus.eu) no longer appears to be active. An overview of the project can be found on the Dutch Research Council website: <https://www.nwo.nl/en/projects/315-60-004> [Accessed: December 2020]

⁹³³ G.I. Williams, *Een nieuw stukje Dorestad: een archeologische opgraving in wijk bij Duurstede. Rapport 3467*. (Amersfoort, 2013), pp. 7–8.

⁹³⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 7–8, p. 45.

⁹³⁵ Jan van Doesburg, 'Villa Non Modica? Some Thoughts on the Interpretation of a Large Early Medieval Earthwork near Dorestad', in Annemarieke Willemsen and Hanneke Kik (eds.), *Dorestad in an International Framework. New Research into Trade Centres in Carolingian Times* (Turnhout, 2010), pp. 52–53; van der Velde, Dijkstra and Heeren, 'On the origins of Dorestad? Habitation of the Kromme Rijn area during the Merovingian period', p. 288.

⁹³⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 288–89.

⁹³⁷ See van Es and Verwers, 'Early medieval settlements along the Rhine', p. 7, p. 14, p. 19; J. van Doesburg, 'De Geer', *Archeologische Kroniek Provincie Utrecht 1994-1995* (Utrecht, 1998), pp. 140–141; S.G. van Dockum, 'De Geer', *Archeologische Kroniek Provincie Utrecht 1992-1993* (Utrecht, 1997), pp. 118–119; S.G. van Dockum, 'De Geer', *Archeologische Kroniek Provincie Utrecht 1990-1991* (Utrecht, 1997), pp. 103–107; S.G. van Dockum, 'De Geer', *Archeologische Kroniek Provincie Utrecht 1988-1989* (Utrecht, 1996), pp. 78–80.

recently been challenged and van de Velde, Dijkstra and Heeren recently questioned whether the subsequent expansion and growth of Dorestad was inevitable.⁹³⁸ Indeed, the assemblage recovered from De Geer suggests that the site was of similar socio-economic importance to the harbour area of Dorestad. Several gold Byzantine coin weights dated the end of the sixth century were recovered from the site along with hacked pieces of a gold bar, pseudo-Madelinus coins and several 'porcupine' (Series E) sceattas.⁹³⁹ In addition to these finds, numerous other gold and silver objects were recovered including four gold pendants implying that craft production also occurred at the settlement.⁹⁴⁰

Overall, the unique status ascribed to the settlement at Dorestad cannot be upheld. The evidence recovered from De Geer and other rural settlements along the Old Rhine (chapter 11) indicate that a complex network of settlements engaged in local, regional, and long-distance trade emerged during the seventh century.

8.2.6: Quentovic

Alongside Dorestad, Quentovic is viewed within the historiography as one of the principal Frankish ports during the early medieval period.⁹⁴¹ Numismatic evidence, as already discussed above in chapter 7, attests to the existence of the site at the turn of the seventh century and the subsequent uninterrupted production of coinage throughout the remainder of the century demonstrates both sustained activity and the continuing significance of the site.⁹⁴² In addition,

⁹³⁸ van der Velde, Dijkstra and Heeren, 'On the origins of Dorestad? Habitation of the Kromme Rijn area during the Merovingian period', p. 289, p. 293.

⁹³⁹ Williams, *Een nieuw stukje Dorestad: een archeologische opgraving in wijk bij Duurstede*, p. 71; van der Velde, Dijkstra and Heeren, 'On the origins of Dorestad? Habitation of the Kromme Rijn area during the Merovingian period', p. 288.

⁹⁴⁰ van Doesburg, 'Villa Non Modica?', p. 54.

⁹⁴¹ Charles Mériaux, 'Quentovic dans son environnement politique et religieux: cités et diocèses au Nord de la Somme au VIIe siècle', in Stéphane Lebecq, Bruno Béthouart and Laurent Verslype (eds.), *Quentovic: Environnement, Archéologie, Histoire* (Lille, 2010), pp. 207–209.

⁹⁴² Chapter 7 (7.5)

Quentovic appears in accounts of Anglo-Saxon travel during the century and reflects lively cross-Channel contact from an ecclesiastical viewpoint by AD 650.⁹⁴³ These surviving accounts of travel equally demonstrate that a level of royal control over Quentovic and influence over cross-Channel travel existed by the later seventh century. As chapter 3 elaborated, permission to travel from Quentovic was required by the Duke of Neustria, Ebroin, and travellers could be and were detained under his orders.⁹⁴⁴ From the surviving written evidence and numismatic data, Quentovic appears to have played an important role in facilitating connections during the seventh century and came under an increasing level of authority by the later seventh century during a period of increasing political instability within Merovingian Gaul.

Whilst the existence and prominence of Quentovic during the century cannot be disputed, problematically, both the nature and true extent of the site remains inherently difficult to assess. In the first instance, the exact location of Quentovic remains elusive. It is mostly assumed that the site was situated in the Canche valley between Étaples and Montreuil.⁹⁴⁵ In general, the Canche estuary appears to have had facilitated cross-Channel contact since the prehistoric era.⁹⁴⁶ Confidence in the presumed area of the early medieval settlement was further grounded by excavations undertaken during the 1980s which subsequently identified evidence of early medieval settlement and activity further inland at Visemarest, La Calotterie.⁹⁴⁷ Indeed, since these excavations,

⁹⁴³ Stephen of Ripon, *VSW*, chapter 25; Bede, *HE*, IV.12. See [table 1](#).

⁹⁴⁴ Chapter 3 (3.3.3). Stephen of Ripon, *VSW*, chapter 25; Bede, *HE*, IV.12. See also chapter 7 (7.5)

⁹⁴⁵ Inès Leroy, 'La localisation et les caractères archéologiques du site portuaire de Quentovic. Étude préliminaire du cadre historique et géographique (littoral et basse-Canche)', *Medieval and Modern Matters* 2 (2011), pp. 121 – 122.

⁹⁴⁶ Michel Philippe, 'L'estuaire de la Canche, de la Préhistoire au port médiévale. Aux sources de la localisation géographique de Quentovic', in Stéphane Lebecq, Bruno Béthouart and Laurent Verslype (eds.), *Quentovic: Environnement, Archéologie, Histoire* (Lille, 2010), pp. 57–59; Michel Philippe, 'The River Canche estuary settlements (Pas-de-Calais, France) from the early Bronze Age to the emporium of Quentovic - A traditional landing place between south-east England and the continent', in P. Clark (ed.), *Bronze Age Connections: Cultural Contact in Prehistoric Europe* (Oxford, 2009), pp. 68–79.

⁹⁴⁷ See David Hill, Margaret Worthington, Julia Warburton and David Barrett, 'The definition of the early medieval site of Quentovic', *Antiquity* 66 (1992), pp. 965–969; David

the precise location of Quentovic has been discussed with greater confidence within French scholarship especially.⁹⁴⁸

Unfortunately, the evidence recovered from these excavations is extremely limited and perhaps the most difficult to interpret when compared with the fragmented evidence from the remaining *emporia*. Much of the evidence recovered from the site, such as pottery and glass finds, could only be broadly dated broadly to the period c. AD 600–800, for instance.⁹⁴⁹ More precisely dated objects recovered from the settlement included a secondary phase series G sceatta which firmly demonstrates activity at the site after c. AD 720.⁹⁵⁰

Radiocarbon dates that were subsequently obtained from two mound burials in the southwest area of the site also placed occupation in the area to the period c. AD 690–820.⁹⁵¹ Significantly, discussions of the archaeological material unearthed during these excavations demonstrate a scholarly preoccupation with identifying and examining the nature and extent of Carolingian Quentovic. For example, in interpreting the evidence from Visemarest, Leman was highly

Hill, David Barrett, Keith Maude, Julia Warburton and Margaret Worthington, 'Quentovic defined', *Antiquity* 64 (1990), pp. 51–58; David Hill and Margaret Worthington, 'La contribution des fouilles Britanniques à la connaissance de Quentovic', in Stéphane Lebecq, Bruno Béthouart and Laurent Verslype (eds.), *Quentovic: Environnement, Archéologie, Histoire* (Lille, 2010), pp. 253–264.

⁹⁴⁸ For example, see Margaret Worthington Hill, 'Quentovic', in Gale R. Owen-Crocker and Susan D. Thompson (eds.), *Towns and Topography: Essays in memory of David Hill* (Oxford, 2014), pp. 11–18; Pierre Leman, 'Contribution à la localisation de Quentovic ou la relance d'un vieux débat', *Revue Du Nord* 63 (1981), pp. 935–945; Pierre Leman, 'Quentovic: État des recherches', *Revue Du Nord* 72 (1990), pp. 175–178; Stéphane Révillion, Laurent Verslype, Pierre Barbet, Gérard Fosse, Isabelle Pourier and Jean-Claude Routier, 'Quentovic. Réalités et perspectives archéologiques', in Stéphane Lebecq, Bruno Béthouart and Laurent Verslype (eds.), *Quentovic: Environnement, Archéologie, Histoire* (Lille, 2010), pp. 511–515. See also the remaining essays in the aforementioned edited volume.

⁹⁴⁹ Catherine Coutts, 'The early medieval pottery from Quentovic - An interim note', *Medieval Ceramics* 10 (1986), pp. 23–28; M. Worthington, 'Quentovic: Local and imported wares', in D. Pilet (ed.), *La céramique du Vème au Xème siècle dans l'Europe du Nord-Ouest* (Arras, 1993), p. 377.

⁹⁵⁰ Hill, Worthington, Warburton and Barrett, 'The definition of the early medieval site of Quentovic', p. 968. On the series of coinage, see chapter 5 and [table 2](#).

⁹⁵¹ Worthington Hill, 'Quentovic', p. 14, p. 18. The radiocarbon dates were recalibrated in 2008. Previously these mounds were radiocarbon dated to AD 640–805. See Hill and Worthington, 'La contribution des fouilles Britanniques à la connaissance de Quentovic', pp. 254–255; Hill, Worthington, Warburton and Barrett, 'The definition of the early medieval site of Quentovic', p. 967; Hill, Barrett, Maude, Warburton and Worthington, 'Quentovic Defined', p. 56.

selective in his choice of evidence and chose to incorporate later dated material only whilst omitting discussion of the earlier phases of activity.⁹⁵²

Consequently, the discussions and analysis of the *origins* of Quentovic are problematic and obscure. Perhaps the most problematic theory continuing to circulate within French scholarship is the suggestion that Quentovic was founded by Anglo-Saxons.⁹⁵³ This interpretation is heavily influenced by the broader migration narrative and events of the fifth and sixth century especially. Due to the presence of fifth and sixth-century Anglo-Saxon objects at several Merovingian cemeteries along the Channel coastline, Lebecq postulated that these objects were reflective of an Anglo-Saxon population, and that the continued escalation in traffic across the Channel during the seventh century, as evidenced in the surviving record, provided the impetus for a Merovingian takeover of Quentovic.⁹⁵⁴ Crucially, rather than representing an Anglo-Saxon population, the presence of these earlier dated Anglo-Saxon imports could be reflective of other means of contact such as trade based on the predominantly coastal distribution of these sixth-century finds.⁹⁵⁵ Chapter 9 further addresses the problematic interpretations of the Anglo-Saxon type material recovered from cemeteries in Merovingian Gaul.

⁹⁵² Leman, 'Quentovic: État des recherches', pp. 177–178.

⁹⁵³ Jean Soulat, 'Le Mobilier de type Anglo-Saxon provenant de la nécropole de 'La Fontaine aux Linottes' à La Calotterie (Pas-de-Calais). Témoins des contacts entre le sud-est de l'Angleterre anglo-saxonne et la vallée de la Canche (VI^e - VII^e siècles)', in I. Leroy and L. Verslype (eds.), *Les cultures des littoraux au haut Moyen Âge* (Lille, 2010), pp. 306–307; S. Lebecq, 'Entre Manche et Mer du Nord, entre Grande-Bretagne et continent, les relations à travers le détroit dans les premiers siècles médiévaux', in S. Curveiller, D. Clauzel and M. Mollat (eds.), *Les champs relationnels en Europe du Nord et du Nord-Ouest des origines à la fin du Premier Empire*, (Calais, 1994), pp. 29–43; S. Lebecq, 'Quentovic: un état de la question', *Studien zur Sachsenforschung* 8 (1993), pp. 73–82; Michel Ruche, 'les Saxons et les Origines de Quentovic', *Revue du Nord* 59 (1977), pp. 457–478.

⁹⁵⁴ S. Lebecq, 'Routes of change: Production and distribution in the West (5-8th Century)', in Leslie Webster and Michelle Brown (eds.), *The Transformation of the Roman World 400-900 AD* (London, 1997), pp. 73–75. For an overview of fifth and sixth century Anglo-Saxon objects recovered from the region, see Jean Soulat, 'La présence Saxonne et Anglo-Saxonne sur le littoral de la Manche', in Stéphane Lebecq, Bruno Béthouart and Laurent Verslype (eds.), *Quentovic: Environnement, Archéologie, Histoire* (Lille, 2010), pp. 155–157, p. 160.

⁹⁵⁵ See Soulat, 'La présence Saxonne et Anglo-Saxonne sur le littoral de la Manche', pp. 147–163.

8.3: Discussion

From the summaries above, a series of key observations can be made regarding the seventh-century *emporium*. Most importantly, the seventh-century activity at these sites clearly differed in both scale and character to the developed *emporium* sites of the eighth century onwards. Even more significantly, based on the evidence of the earliest phase of settlement and activity, the subsequent development of each *emporium* and dominance over trading networks and contact does not appear inevitable.

Importantly, an examination of the evidence from each site more broadly brings into question the usefulness of the term *emporium* to describe and group these sites together during the seventh century. Whilst there are some similarities between these sites such as their coastal location or evidence of settlement expansion and encroachment of earlier features in the later seventh century at the Anglo-Saxon sites, there are no fixed set of conventions and the context, size, and scale of these sites during the seventh century is extremely variable. Instead, these sites are similar to other sites elsewhere that have been identified in recent decades and should be viewed within this interconnected framework.

Though Hodges' model of trade has been challenged and modified, scholarship has not directly challenged the general category of the *emporium* in the same way. Crucially, the category of the *emporium* first outlined by Hodges was in itself based on the later evidence recovered from these sites. Consequently, the label of the *emporium* has influenced the way in which the earlier evidence recovered from these sites has been approached. Indeed, there is a clear difference between what is *expected* from these sites and what has been found and the seventh-century evidence recovered is often made to fit into the model of the *emporium*. Notably, when evaluating the evidence from these sites and their nature, most scholarship largely works backwards and through the lens of the eighth century when a more standard model of royal control and influence was

well established at these sites.⁹⁵⁶ The most explicit example of scholars working through this lens is the analysis of the evidence recovered from St Mary's stadium and the nature of the settlement in the seventh century. As noted above, the report concluded that the early site was the location of a royal estate.⁹⁵⁷ Yet, crucially, no settlement evidence was recovered during the excavations at St Mary's Stadium and the argument rests strongly upon a small number of furnished graves. In addition, the interpretation of several burials at St Mary's stadium, notably those buried with weapons, is problematic and there is no firm evidence to suggest the presence of reeves at the site during the century.

Another trend within scholarship identified from the analysis undertaken above is the existence of a mercantile or maritime assemblage and the assumption that many individuals buried at the Anglo-Saxon emporia specifically were foreigners. This idea and framework are criticised further in chapter 9.

8.4: Summary

This chapter has reassessed the evidence from the seventh-century phase of activity at the *emporium* sites and the way in which this evidence is interpreted within current discussions. Specifically, this chapter has questioned the usefulness of the term *emporium* and scholarship leading with theory rather than evidence. Crucially, in viewing these sites as *foundations* to the later sites, these sites are removed from their seventh-century context. The seventh-century *emporium* sites were not exceptional and should be viewed as more transient rather than centralised sites during this period. In this way, these sites can be more accurately situated within the complex web of trading sites and North Sea exchange operating in the seventh century.

⁹⁵⁶ Loveluck previously highlighted this problem. Loveluck, *Northwest Europe in the Early Middle Ages*, p. 16, pp. 181–182.

⁹⁵⁷ See 8.2.3

Chapter 9: Identity and networks of exchange

9.1 Introduction:

As well as challenging the category of the *emporia*, the previous chapter also highlighted a specific form of identity, the mercantile or maritime identity, emerging within scholarship.⁹⁵⁸ The relationship between material culture and identity has long been at the centre of scholarly discussions. Identity is a broad term which includes gender, age, sex, status, and ethnicity.⁹⁵⁹ Dress accessories are strongly linked to the active construction and expression of identity.⁹⁶⁰ Whilst it is easier to examine some of these elements, such as age and sex through bioarchaeological analysis, the issue of ethnicity is more complicated. Though some scholars still view material culture as a simple indicator of ethnicity, as outlined in chapter 1, material culture is generally no longer simply equated with the movement of people and ethnicity is usually instead viewed as a fluid social construct.⁹⁶¹ However, the maritime or mercantile identity is specifically tied to questions of mobility and who was able to travel and access networks during this period and risks a retraction of current approaches to ethnicity.

An alternative framework to assess imported dress objects is to view them as evidence of exchange networks and this chapter examines the distribution of imported buckles and brooches from the Anglo-Saxon and Merovingian

⁹⁵⁸ See the discussions of *emporia* burials in chapter 8 (8.2.2 and 8.2.3). See also, Pestell, 'East Anglia, Frisia and continental connections', pp. 199–202; Scull, 'Foreign Identities in Burials at the Seventh-Century English Emporia', pp. 82–87; Robin Fleming, 'Elite boats and foreigners: Rethinking the birth of English towns', *Città e campagna nei secoli altomedievali, Spoleto, 27 marzo – 1 aprile 2008, Spoleto* (2009), pp. 393–426.

⁹⁵⁹ Catherine Hills, 'Overview: Anglo-Saxon identity', in David Hinton, Sally Crawford and Helena Hamerow (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Anglo-Saxon Archaeology* (Oxford, 2011), pp. 3–4.

⁹⁶⁰ Alexander D. Mirrington, *Transformations of identity and society in Anglo-Saxon Essex* (Amsterdam, 2019), pp. 21–23. See also Geake, *The use of grave-goods*.

⁹⁶¹ On the defence of this approach, see Kazanski and Périn and the critical response by Halsall. Michel Kazanski and Patrick Périn, 'Foreign' objects in the Merovingian cemeteries of northern Gaul', in Dieter Quast (ed.), *Foreigners in Early Medieval Europe* (Mainz, 2009), pp. 149–167; Halsall, 'Ethnicity and early medieval cemeteries', pp. 15–27.

kingdoms in this way. In doing so, this chapter avoids constricting the material within a fixed model and situates these objects instead within the broader seventh-century context and reveals their widespread distribution. Before examining the distribution of material (9.3), this chapter begins with an overview of the data collected for analysis (9.2).

9.2: Overview of data:

As chapter 1 outlined, providing a comprehensive catalogue of imported material was not the aim of this thesis and the database created for this study represents only a sample of the material in circulation during the seventh century. The final database of imported buckles and brooches collated for this study consisted of (130) items from both regions (appendix II and III). Further discussion of the number of finds from each region and find context is provided below (9.2.1 and 9.2.2). After initially gathering probable imported buckle and brooch finds from Merovingian Gaul, given the scarcity of finds, the choice was made to expand the search to incorporate other forms of probable imports such as shield bosses (*umbos*). Whilst this did increase the number of objects found in northern Gaul that are considered to have been manufactured in the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms, there are still considerably more finds from the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms to examine. The reasons for this disparity were briefly outlined in chapter 1 and subsequently expanded upon in several of the preceding chapters. Perhaps the most noticeable difference in this chapter is the clear disparity over the number of stray and settlement finds recorded from each region. Whereas both stray and grave good finds are analysed from the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms, most material from Merovingian Gaul discussed below is from cemetery contexts. As outlined in chapter 1, the clear disparity in the number of known stray finds from Britain compared to elsewhere can be explained to an extent by laws in place that facilitate widespread metal-detecting by members of the public and mechanisms that (for the most part) ensure finds are recorded and made accessible.⁹⁶² The difference in settlement finds, meanwhile, can be

⁹⁶² On metal-detecting and associated laws, see chapter 1 (1.5.2.1).

explained by the fact that the majority of excavated sites in Gaul are cemeteries rather than settlements.⁹⁶³

In addition, analysis of the material recovered from Merovingian Gaul is also hindered by the quality of detail recorded with each find. In many cases, only a basic description of the material is provided and, as discussed below, finds are largely assumed to have been produced in or to have originated from the kingdom of Kent. This attribution raises the issue of whether the surviving record genuinely reflects a Kentish dominance over contact with Merovingian Gaul during the seventh century or whether scholarly analysis has created this view. Due to the availability and quality of the surviving material, firm conclusions regarding the circulation, use and significance of the material recovered from Merovingian cemeteries are harder to draw. However, the limited number of objects do provide the opportunity to critically re-examine current scholarly interpretations of North Sea contact during the century and challenge the way in which this material culture has previously been approached.

9.2.1: Finds from the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms

In total, 109 buckle and brooches were catalogued from seventy-one find spots (appendix II). The type of find spots are illustrated in [figure 26.1](#). Most finds were recovered either from an excavated cemetery (thirty-six) or metal detected/chance findspot (twenty-seven). By contrast, finds from excavated settlements remain low with only six finds recorded ([figure 26.1](#)). [Figure 26.2](#) provides a greater breakdown of the find context of all objects. Since most finds were recovered from an excavated cemetery, it is unsurprising that more than half of the 109 finds (seventy-four) were deposited in a burial. It is possible that some of the *PAS*/stray finds (twenty-seven) may also have originated from a burial that has subsequently been disturbed by heavy ploughing. For two

⁹⁶³ Patrick Périn, 'Settlements and cemeteries in Merovingian Gaul, 'in Kathleen Mitchell and Ian Wood (eds.), *The World of Gregory of Tours* (Leiden, 2002), p. 68, p. 77, p. 82; Bonnie Effros, *Caring for Body and Soul: burial and the Afterlife in the Merovingian World* (University Park Pa, 2002), p. 2

objects, the type of findspot is uncertain. An Aquitanian buckle plate was part of an antiquarian collection based at Lakenheath and it is unknown whether the object was found in the area or brought from elsewhere.⁹⁶⁴ Due to the lack of secure context surrounding the Lakenheath find, this find spot is excluded from the distribution analysis undertaken below. A Frankish shield-on-tongue buckle was also discovered in Icklingham (Suffolk), though the context surrounding the nature of find is uncertain.⁹⁶⁵

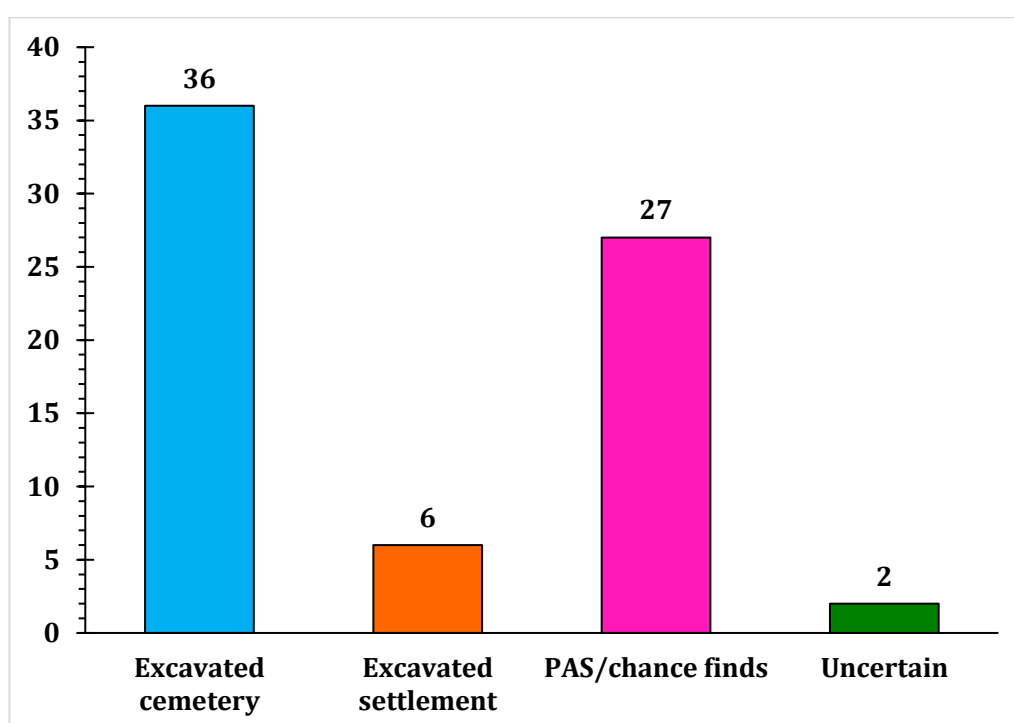


Figure 26.1: Type of find spot (finds from the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms)

⁹⁶⁴ Stanley West, *A corpus of Anglo-Saxon material from Suffolk* (Norfolk, 1998), p. 79, p. 113; T. Briscoe, 'Note on the Aquitanian buckle said to have come from Lakenheath, Suffolk', *Anglo-Saxon Studies in Archaeology and History* 1 (1979), pp. 115–119.

⁹⁶⁵ West, *A Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Material from Suffolk*, pp. 47–48 (Icklingham buckle).

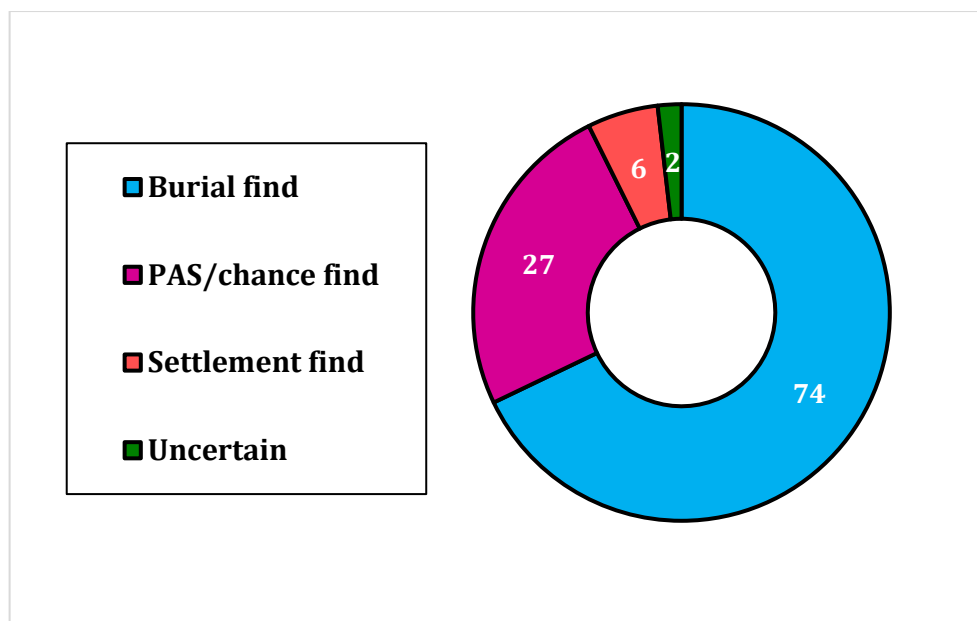


Figure 26.2: Context of imported finds from the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms

Looking more closely at the information related to the individuals buried with the imports, [figure 27.1](#) provides a breakdown of the seventy-four burials by their assigned age category. The age band of burials was determined by archaeological assessment, though a number of individuals were also biologically aged by osteological assessment.⁹⁶⁶ With the exception of two child burials (Sibertswold, grave 131; St Peter's Tip, grave 338) and two adolescent burials (Aerodrome, grave 24; Holborough, grave 11), most burials with imported buckles or brooches were of middle adults ([figure 27.1](#)).⁹⁶⁷ Imports deposited in child and adolescent burials are mostly considered as heirlooms rather than representative of identity or networks of exchange.⁹⁶⁸

⁹⁶⁶ The age band and osteological age (if known) is provided alongside each entry in appendix II.

⁹⁶⁷ Appendix II, numbers 12 (Aerodrome), 49 (Holborough), 57 (Sibertswold), 68 (St Peter's Tip).

⁹⁶⁸ Sally Crawford, *Children in Anglo-Saxon England* (Sutton 1999), p. 20.

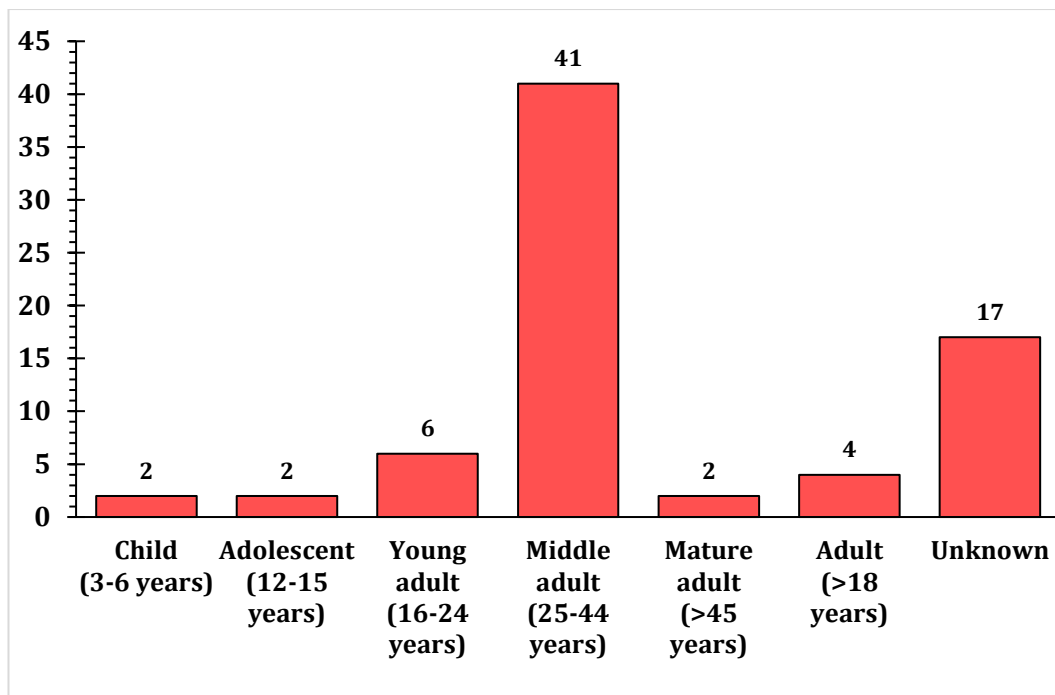


Figure 27.1: Age-band of burials with imported buckle or brooch

Figure 27.2 illustrates the gender and sex ascribed to the burials with imported buckles and brooches. The gender assigned to the burial was determined by the accompanying grave-good assemblage. Several studies have explored sex and gender within the early medieval funerary rite and noted the existence of two gendered assemblages of grave-goods.⁹⁶⁹ Half of the seventy-four burials are considered masculine (thirty-seven), whereas only a small number (nine) are considered feminine. The remaining twenty-eight individuals have not been assigned a gender. Just over a third of the burials (twenty-eight) were osteologically sexed. Of the burials which could be osteologically sexed, twenty-six are of biological males and the individuals in two burials are considered biologically female (figure 27.2). There are several methodological challenges in using the burial record to examine gender. Most notably, there is the question of whether grave goods represent personal possessions or whether they were owned and deposited by the community burying the deceased. The individual buried in grave 30 at Dover Buckland with an imported buckle, for example, has

⁹⁶⁹ Bayliss, Hines and Højlund Neilson, 'Integrations and comparisons', pp. 473–476; Nicholas Stoodley, *The Spindle and the Spear: A Critical Enquiry into the Construction and Meaning of Gender in the Early Anglo-Saxon Burial Rite* (Oxford, 1999), pp. 29–35.

been osteologically sexed as male but is considered to have a female gender based on the necklace assemblage that was also deposited in the burial.⁹⁷⁰

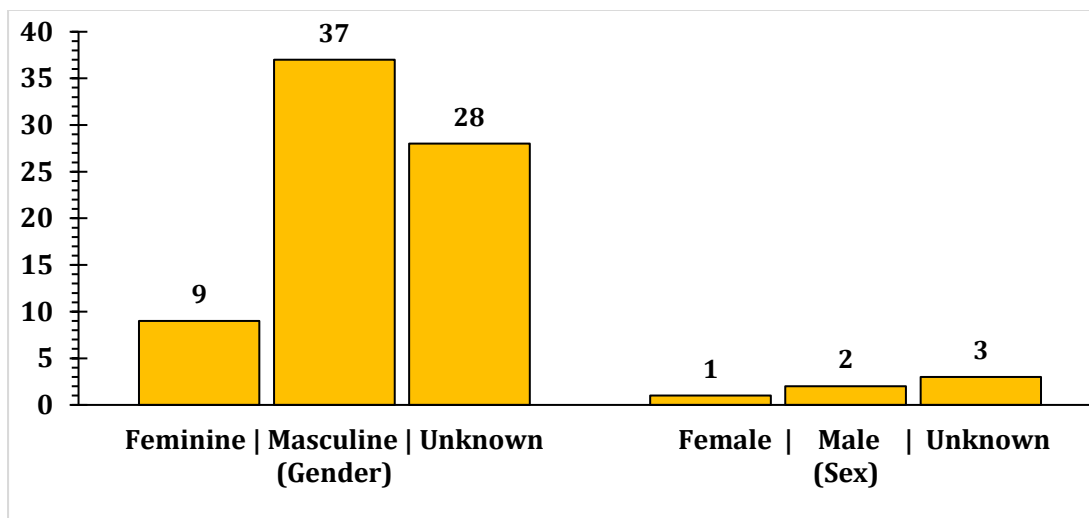


Figure 27.2: Gender and Biological sex of individuals buried with imported buckle or brooch

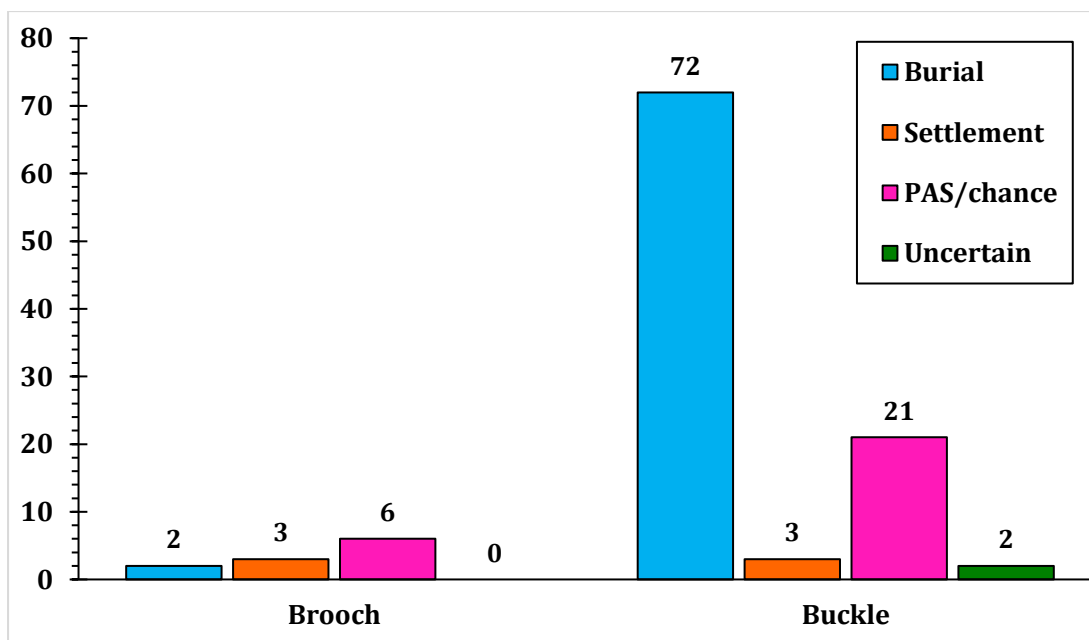


Figure 28: Total number of buckles and brooches in sample and find context (Anglo-Saxon kingdoms)

⁹⁷⁰ Evison, *Dover: Buckland Anglo-Saxon Cemetery*, pp. 224 – 225; *Tribal Hidage* unpublished database.

Significantly, as evidenced by [figure 28](#), the number of buckles in the sample (ninety-eight) heavily outweigh the number of brooches (eleven). This disparity and the total number of finds in general is reflective to a great extent of several fundamental shifts that occurred during the seventh century. Most notably, the seventh century witnessed a change in dress fashions that subsequently changed the importance and use of many dress objects.⁹⁷¹ In the case of brooches especially, a change in their function explains to a great extent why there is a vast decline more broadly in their number during the seventh century. Sixth-century brooches were worn in pairs and are found in burials at the shoulders where they most likely secured a cloak to an outfit.⁹⁷² By the seventh century, brooch finds are mostly singular and these brooches are both smaller and simpler in design than earlier styles.⁹⁷³ At the turn of the eighth century, the number of imported brooches in circulation vastly increases. Imported brooch types, particularly equal-armed brooches or ansate brooches, are strongly represented in brooch finds and were both distributed and imitated widely across the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms.⁹⁷⁴ Interestingly, equal-armed brooches were produced in Merovingian Gaul from the early seventh century and both the volume of finds and broad distribution across Gaul point to a high level of production and popularity of this style.⁹⁷⁵ Despite the earlier production date, this form of brooch is uncommon in the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms until the end of

⁹⁷¹ Gale R. Owen-Crocker, 'Dress and identity', in Sally Crawford, Helena Hamerow, and David Hinton (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Anglo-Saxon Archaeology* (Oxford, 2011), pp. 97–101.

⁹⁷² Gale R. Owen-Crocker, *Dress in Anglo-Saxon England* (Manchester, 2004), pp. 37–43.

⁹⁷³ Ibid., p. 138, p. 317; Patrick Périn, 'Aspects of late Merovingian costume in the Mergen Collection', in Katharine Reynolds Brown, Dafydd Kidd and Charles T. Little (eds.), *From Attila to Charlemagne: Arts of the Early Medieval Period in the Metropolitan Museum of Art* (Yale, 2000), p. 249; Hines, *The Scandinavian Character*, pp. 261–264; Geake, *The use of grave-goods*, pp. 11–12.

⁹⁷⁴ For a comprehensive survey of eighth century brooch types, their distribution and potential meaning, see Rosie Weetch, *Brooches in late Anglo-Saxon England within a north west European context: a study of social identities between the eighth and the eleventh centuries* (Unpublished PhD thesis: Reading University, 2014) pp. 140–174; See also Pestell, 'The kingdom of East Anglia, Frisia and continental connections', esp. pp. 203–205, pp. 206–207.

⁹⁷⁵ Périn, 'Aspects of late Merovingian costume in the Mergen Collection', pp. 249–251.

the seventh century.⁹⁷⁶ Given the intensification in contact across the Channel and North Sea during the century, it is likely that the small number can be explained by a lack of demand and desire to wear this type due to changes in fashion that occurred during the seventh century.

Anglo-Saxon buckle designs, meanwhile, also changed during the seventh century, and buckles generally became smaller in size. A strong Frankish influence upon Anglo-Saxon buckle fashions that is evident in the sixth century waned during the seventh century and few Merovingian styles were adopted.⁹⁷⁷ Whilst there was a fashion for large belt suites in Gaul, in the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms, buckles generally became smaller in size.⁹⁷⁸ Compared to larger and more elaborate buckles that were both functional and most likely intended for display, smaller buckles were placed in less visible parts of a costume and are not considered to have served an additional purpose beyond their practical function.⁹⁷⁹ Given the general shift in the size and function of buckles, consequently, imported buckles or those imitating continental styles are far more recognisable due to their larger plate size and elaborate designs.

Previous studies of buckles deposited in burials have also demonstrated the potential in using buckles to explore shifts in gender relations that occurred across the North Sea during the seventh century.⁹⁸⁰ Whilst buckles were deposited in male and female Anglo-Saxon burials during the seventh century, imported triangular buckles are predominantly found in male burials and have been associated with the construction of a specific masculine identity.⁹⁸¹ The

⁹⁷⁶ Based on continental dating and examples, Weetch dates her Type 1 ansate brooch to c. AD 600–750 and recorded four finds. Weetch, *Brooches in late Anglo-Saxon England within a north west European context*, p. 142.

⁹⁷⁷ Marzinzik, *Early Anglo-Saxon Belt Buckles*, p. 84, p. 88.

⁹⁷⁸ Ibid., p. 54, p. 88.

⁹⁷⁹ Owen-Crocker, *Dress in Anglo-Saxon England*, p. 92.

⁹⁸⁰ See Nicola McNeil, 'Buckle Up! Buckle use in burials and shifting gender relations in seventh-century England – a contextual analysis', in Heather Christie and Megan Kasten (eds.), *Current Approaches to People, Places, and Things in the Early Medieval Period* (Oxford, 2019), pp. 3–13; Halsall, *Cemeteries and Society in Merovingian Gaul*, p. 380–381.

⁹⁸¹ Marzinzik, *Early Anglo-Saxon belt buckles*, p. 85; Owen-Crocker, *Dress in Anglo-Saxon England*, p. 195, Geake, *The Use of Grave Goods*, p. 77

imported buckles recovered from burials at the seventh-century emporia sites (chapter 8) also form part of the assemblage that is viewed as representative of a maritime identity.

9.2.2: Finds from Merovingian Gaul

Numerous studies have investigated the presence of Anglo-Saxon type objects in Merovingian Gaul, though the focus of such studies is mostly centred on the material culture dated to the fifth and sixth centuries.⁹⁸² Most recently, Jean Soulat's comprehensive study of Anglo-Saxon type finds in north-western Gaul revealed that the number of imported finds peaked during the sixth century before sharply declining at the turn of the seventh century.⁹⁸³ Indeed, only twenty-one objects were catalogued from sixteen findspots for this study (appendix III). It is certainly intriguing that the archaeological material does not suggest an escalation in contact across the Channel and North Sea during the seventh century despite the increasing political and ecclesiastical connectedness of these region examined in previous chapters.⁹⁸⁴ This difference could possibly be explained by other developments that occurred in Gaul during the seventh century as well as the contemporary archaeological context. Funeral customs across Gaul underwent a great change at the turn of the seventh century with fewer and more standardised goods deposited in burials.⁹⁸⁵ The change in funeral rite is a particularly important development to

⁹⁸² See, for example, Soulat, 'La présence Saxonne et Anglo-Saxonne sur le littoral de la Manche', pp. 147–163; Lebecq, 'Entre Manche et Mer du Nord', pp. 29–43; Claude Seillier, 'Les migration anglo-saxonnes en Boulonnais et en Ponthieu', in Jean-Yves Marin (ed.), *Les Barbares et la Mer. Les migrations des peuples du nord-ouest de l'Europe du Ve au Xe siècle* (Caen, 1992), pp. 97–109; Martin Welch, 'Contacts across the Channel between the fifth and the seventh centuries: a review of the archaeological evidence', *Studien zur Sachsenforschung* 7 (1991), pp. 261–266; Christian Pilet, 'Quelques témoignages de la présence Anglo-Saxonne dans le Calvados, Basse-Normandie (France)', *Frhmittelalterliche Studien* 13 (1979), pp. 357–381; Guy Verron and Christian Pilet, 'Un nouveau témoin de la présence anglo-saxonne en Basse-Normandie à l'époque Mérovingienne: la fibule cupelliforme de Vierville (Manche)', *Archéologie Médiévale* 7 (1977), pp. 83–94.

⁹⁸³ Soulat, *Le Matériel Archéologique de type Saxon et Anglo-Saxon en Gaule Mérovingienne*

⁹⁸⁴ For example, see chapters 2, 3 and 4.

⁹⁸⁵ Bonnie Effros, *Merovingian Mortuary Archaeology and the Making of the Early Middle Ages* (London, 2003), pp. 85–86; Guy Halsall, *Early Medieval Cemeteries: An Introduction to Burial Archaeology in the Post-Roman West* (Glasgow, 1995), p. 9.

note since the number of finds known from Gaul since most sites excavated in Gaul are cemeteries as previously outlined above. This latter point is strongly reflected in the find context of the objects collected for this study with eighteen objects recovered from cemetery contexts ([figure 29](#)). By comparison, only one find is known from an excavated settlement: this settlement (Leidsche Rijn) was excavated by Dutch archaeologists and the find was recovered through metal detecting.⁹⁸⁶ As [figure 29](#) demonstrates, the database also included one find from a stray context and one find with an uncertain context.

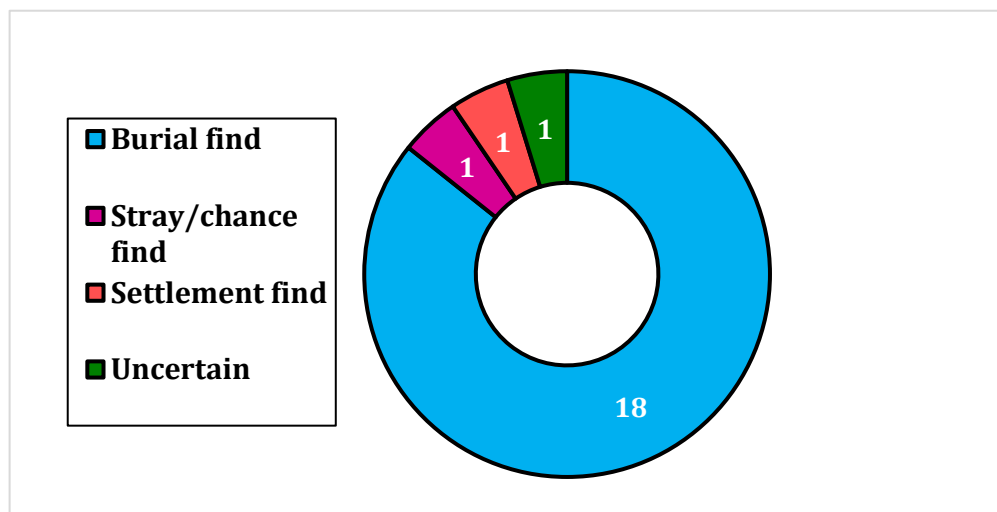


Figure 29: Context of imported finds from northern Gaul

Seventh-century Anglo-Saxon type buckles are underrepresented in the sample of material ([figure 30](#)). By comparison, brooch finds are more frequent with eleven finds. A change in dress fashion can also be observed in Gaul during the seventh century and may explain this disparity.⁹⁸⁷ Moreover, as discussed above, most Anglo-Saxon buckle types became much smaller and simpler in style by the seventh century in contrast to those produced elsewhere. Importantly, the general lack of distinctive design could possibly explain why the identification of these buckles may have been missed if they were present in

⁹⁸⁶ N.D. Kerkoven, 'Metaal', in M. Nokkert, A.C. Aarts and H. L. Wynia (eds.), *Vroegmiddeleeuwse bewoning langs de A2: een nederzetting uit de zevende en achtste eeuw in Leidsche Rijn. Basisrapportage Archeologie 26* (Utrecht, 2009), p. 223.

⁹⁸⁷ Patrick Périn, 'Le costume et ses implications sociales et ethniques possibles dans la moitié nord de la Gaul Mérovingienne', *Revue belge de philologie et d'histoire* 95 (2018), pp. 730–732, p. 743.

the first instance. In general, objects that are far more distinctive and stand out from the remaining assemblage are more likely to be recognised as an import and receive scholarly attention. Indeed, a buckle recovered from a ploughed-out grave at the cemetery of Rijnsburg on the North Sea coast stood out from the assemblage due to its distinctive style and materials and is frequently referenced within broader scholarship.⁹⁸⁸ The shield-on-tongue buckle is decorated with gold filigree and garnet cloisonné and is assumed to have been manufactured in Kent due to its similarities to several Kentish style buckles.⁹⁸⁹

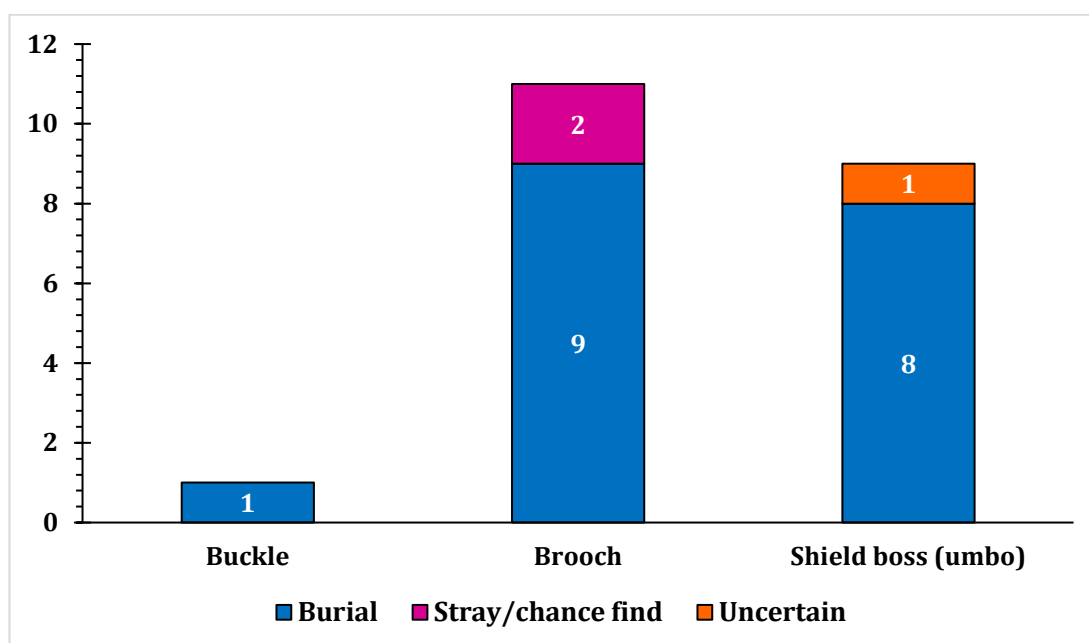


Figure 30: Number of finds by find context (northern Gaul)

As noted above, given the paucity of seventh-century material, it was necessary to expand the search beyond buckles and brooches and consider other forms of Anglo-Saxon type objects, notably shield bosses (*umbos*). Importantly, these are categorised as ‘weapon dress’ and are associated with different meanings and ideas than ‘dress objects’ within scholarly discourse.⁹⁹⁰ The ‘weapon dress’

⁹⁸⁸ Menno Dijkstra, *Rondom de Mondingen van Rijn en Maas: Landschap en bewoning tussen de 3^e en 9^e eeuw in Zuid-Holland, in het bijzonder de Oude Rijnstreek* (Leiden, 2011), pp. 232–233; Nicolay, *The Splendour of Power*, p. 104.

⁹⁸⁹ Dijkstra, *Rondom de Mondingen van Rijn en Maas*, pp. 232–233.

⁹⁹⁰ For an overview of categorisation, see for example, Harrington and Welch, *The early Anglo-Saxon Kingdoms of Southern Britain*, pp. 29–30. See also, Pilet, ‘Installations Anglo-Saxonnes sur le littoral de l’actuelle Basse-Normandie aux V^e, VI^e et VII^e siècles’, p. 115.

category is associated primarily with males and shield bosses are generally perceived as personal objects rather than acquired through other mechanisms.⁹⁹¹ The personal association of such objects most likely explains the proliferation of the model of specific goods representing the mobility of particular individuals.

9.3: Distribution and discussion

9.3.1: Finds from the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms

Figure 31 illustrates the distribution of the imported buckles and brooches collated for this study. Whilst many finds are distributed within coastal zones and hinterlands, several objects are found further inland beyond these areas, which is suggestive of greater access and availability. For this analysis, the distribution of dress objects can be divided into four zones: Kent, Wessex/Mercia, East Anglia and the Humber and Lindsey (Northumbria).

Figure 32.1 displays the sample of objects collected for this study mapped by their find context. As shown, most stray finds are in the kingdoms of East Anglia, Northumbria and Lindsey whilst finds from graves are mostly restricted to eastern Kent. Figure 32.2 provides a greater breakdown of this distribution pattern and illustrates the number of finds by find context from each county. Of the sixty objects from Kent, only three are not associated with a cemetery context and these finds were recorded by PAS.⁹⁹² Figure 32.1 also demonstrates that all finds in eastern Kent recorded for this study were buckles.

⁹⁹¹ Heinrich Härke, “Warrior Graves?” The background of the Anglo-Saxon weapon burial rite’, *Past and Present* 126 (1990), p. 35. See also the discussion of *umbos* by Soulat. Soulat, *Le Matériel Archéologique de type Saxon et Anglo-Saxon en Gaule Mérovingienne*, p. 146.

⁹⁹² PAS references LON-8577D6 (Boxley), KENT-A0B598 (Hollingbourne), KENT-AC1CE6 (Thurnham).

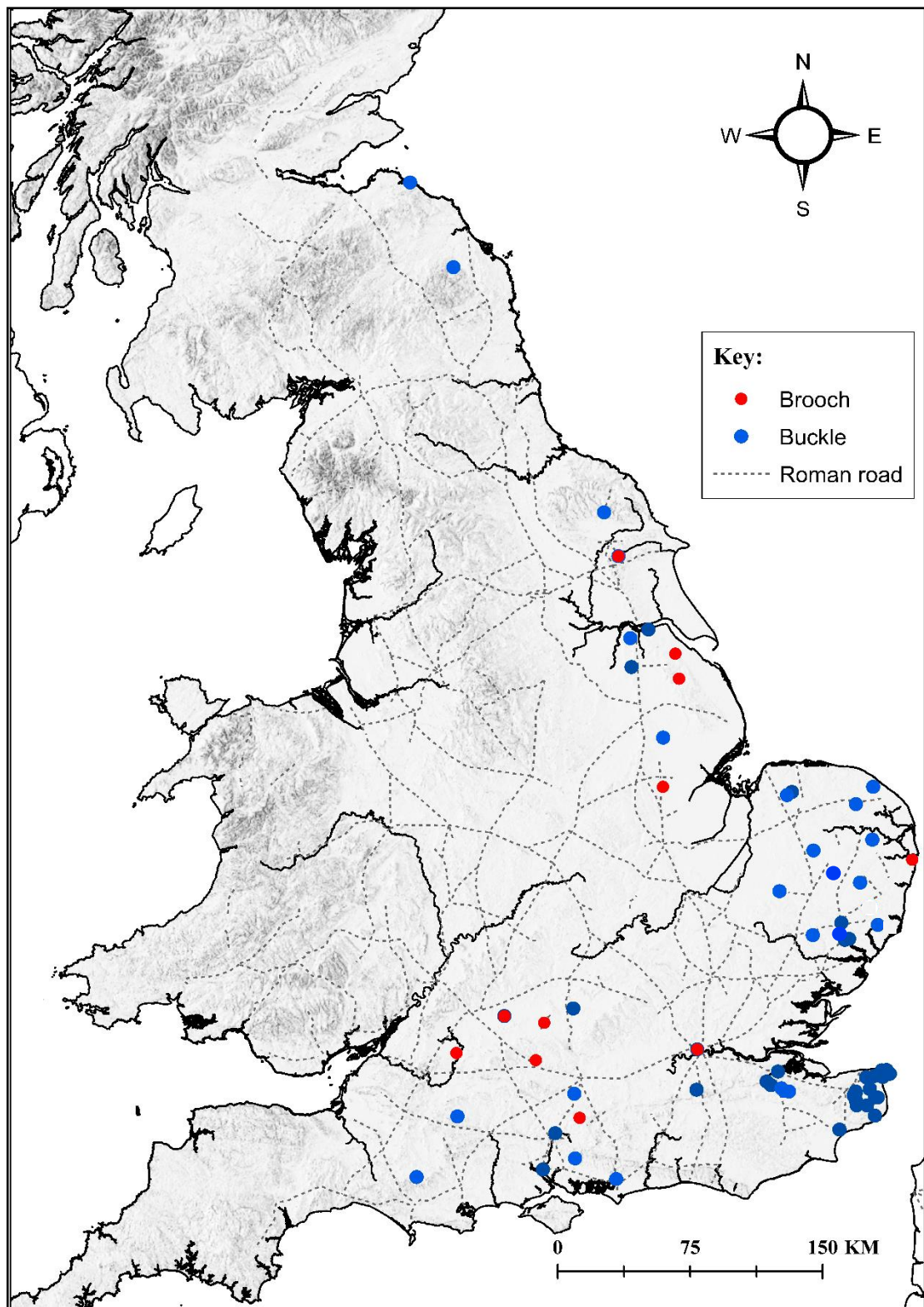


Figure 31: Distribution of imported dress objects in the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms

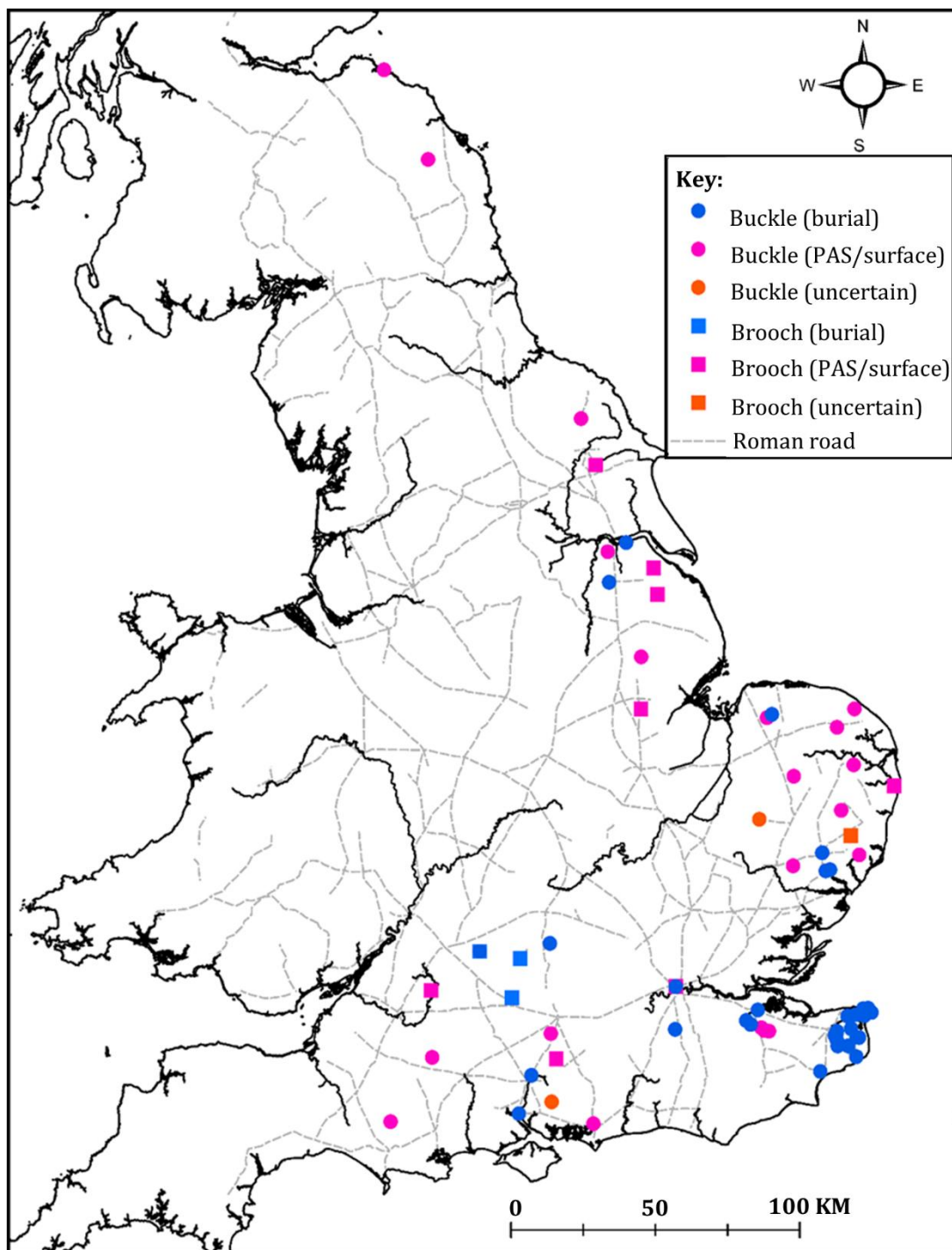


Figure 32.1: Distribution of imported buckles and brooches from the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms by context

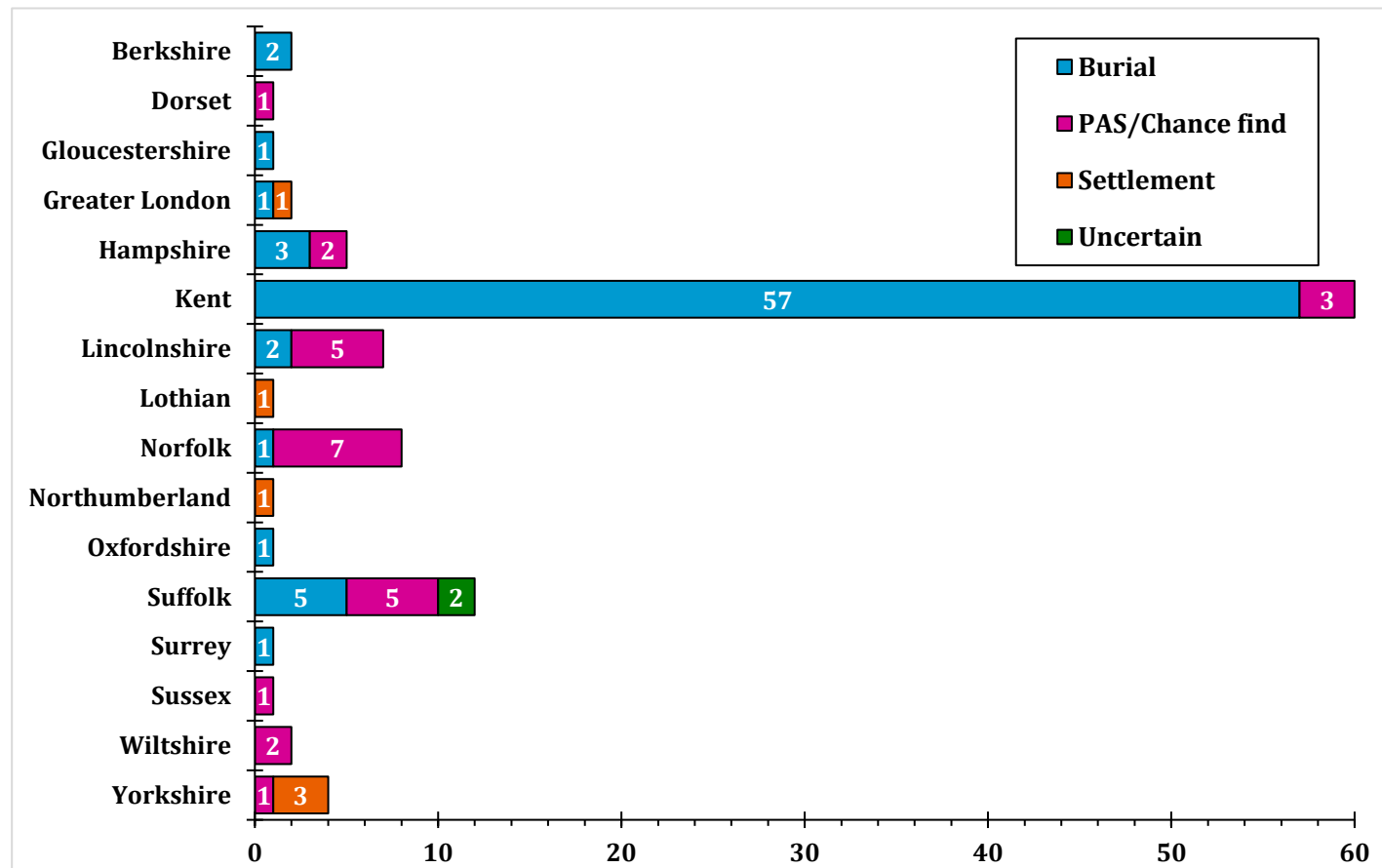


Figure 32.2: Number of finds and find context by county

Given the close proximity of Kent to the shores of Merovingian Gaul, archaeological evidence of cross-Channel contact is more to be expected compared to elsewhere. Indeed, recent studies have reaffirmed the sheer volume and variety of imports that entered the kingdom during the early medieval period.⁹⁹³ The finds in eastern Kent are distributed around the Wantsum Channel and along the North Downs. Prior to silting in the ninth century, the Wantsum Channel was an important open routeway and lively area of maritime traffic.⁹⁹⁴ More broadly, the surviving written record provides a glimpse of activity in the area during the seventh century. In AD 666, Wilfrid returned to Kent from one of his journeys overseas and landed at a port at Sandwich (*portum Sandwicae*) situated at the mouth of the Channel.⁹⁹⁵ Several decades earlier, in AD 597, Augustine had also travelled to Kent and landed at Thanet.⁹⁹⁶ Several archaeological studies have identified other possible landing sites and settlements situated along the Wantsum Channel in addition to Sandwich such as Fordwich and Sandtun.⁹⁹⁷

Most of the finds from Kent were recovered from the cemeteries of Broadstairs, St Peter's Tip (ten finds) situated on the north-east coast of Thanet and Updown, Eastry (eight finds) which lay to the east of Sandwich.⁹⁹⁸ Attempts to

⁹⁹³ The most recent survey of Merovingian material in Kent was published by Soulat. *Le Mobilier funéraire de type Franc et Mérovingien dans le Kent et sa périphérie*. See also Bavuso, 'The Sixth and Earlier Seventh Centuries: Preconditions of the Rise of the *Emporia*', esp. chapter 1; Harrington and Welch, *The early Anglo-Saxon kingdoms of southern Britain*. See also Huggett's seminal study, Jeremy Huggett, 'Imported grave goods and the early Anglo-Saxon economy', *Medieval Archaeology* 32 (1988), pp. 63–96.

⁹⁹⁴ Stuart Brookes, *Economics and Social change in Anglo-Saxon Kent, AD 400-900: Landscapes, Communities and Exchange* (Oxford, 2007), pp. 39–41, p. 67.

⁹⁹⁵ Stephen of Ripon, *VSW*, chapter 13.

⁹⁹⁶ Bede, *HE*, I.25.

⁹⁹⁷ Mark Gardiner, Richard Cross, Nigel Macpherson-Grant, Ian Riddler, Lyn Blackmore, Derek Chick, Sheila Hamilton-Dyer, Emily Murray and David Weir, 'Continental Trade and non-urban ports in mid-Anglo-Saxon England: Excavations at Sandtun, West Hythe, Kent', *The Archaeological Journal* 158 (2001), pp. 161–164. See also the summaries by Stuart Brookes and Sue Harrington, *The Kingdom and People of Kent AD 400-1066* (Cheltenham, 2010), pp. 84–85 and Loveluck and Tys, 'Coastal societies, exchange and identity', pp. 150–151.

⁹⁹⁸ For a full list of finds, see appendix II, numbers 30–37 (Updown, Eastry) and 60–69 (Broadstairs, St Peter's Tip).

analyse the cemetery at St Peter's Tip is hampered by the lack of published detail relating to the site.⁹⁹⁹ By comparison, in-depth analysis of the archaeological evidence recovered from excavations around Eastry has indicated that the area rose to prominence during the sixth century and was possibly the location of a regional centre.¹⁰⁰⁰ The earliest historical evidence referring to Eastry verifies the presence of a royal administrative centre at Eastry by the ninth century. An authentic charter dated between c. AD 805 x 807 from Canterbury stated that Cuthred of Mercia granted land to his reeve (Æthelnoth) at Eastry.¹⁰⁰¹ To date, however, no settlement evidence has been discovered around Eastry.¹⁰⁰²

Four cemeteries (Eastry I-IV) have been excavated around Eastry and the cemetery at Updown (Eastry IV) is dated firmly to the seventh century.¹⁰⁰³ Eastry I-III were in use earlier in the sixth century and contained few seventh-century burials.¹⁰⁰⁴ A range of imported goods were recovered from many of the burials at Updown including dress objects (belt buckles), wheel-thrown pottery, amethyst beads, and cowrie shells were recovered from.¹⁰⁰⁵ These imports reflect access to a range of exchange networks and long-distance contacts. Imported buckles were recovered from six burials (graves 14, 16, 26, 29, 31 and 35).¹⁰⁰⁶ Interestingly, two of the imported belts that were recovered demonstrated signs of repair and reuse before their subsequent deposition. A

⁹⁹⁹ Details of the objects recovered from the burials are listed in both the *Tribal Hidage* and *ASKED* databases.

¹⁰⁰⁰ Tania M. Dickinson, Chris Fern and Andrew Richardson, 'Early Anglo-Saxon Eastry: Archaeological evidence for the beginnings of a district centre in the kingdom of Kent', *Anglo-Saxon Studies in Archaeology and History* 17 (2011), p. 1, p. 3, p. 73; S.C. Hawkes, 'Eastry in Anglo-Saxon Kent: its importance, and a newly found grave', *Anglo-Saxon Studies in Archaeology and History* 1 (1979), pp. 81–113.

¹⁰⁰¹ Grant by Cuthred of Mercia to Æthelnoth (c AD 805 x 807): *Electronic Sawyer (S41)*

¹⁰⁰² Martin Welch, 'Report on excavations of the Anglo-Saxon cemetery at Updown, Eastry, Kent', *Anglo-Saxon Studies in Archaeology and History* 15 (2008), pp. 11–12.

¹⁰⁰³ *Ibid.*, p. 1.

¹⁰⁰⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 3.

¹⁰⁰⁶ S. C. Hawkes, 'Recent finds of inlaid iron buckles and belt plates from seventh-century Kent', *Anglo-Saxon Studies in Archaeology and History* 2 (1981), pp. 49–70; Welch, 'Report on excavations of the Anglo-Saxon cemetery at Updown', pp. 16–18, pp. 20–24.

copper-alloy Byzantine buckle with a repaired iron tongue was buried alongside the individual in grave 26 ([table 11](#)).¹⁰⁰⁷ A Frankish inlaid iron belt buckle deposited with the individual in grave 29 had also been repaired and three bronze mounts decorated with a geometric pattern and assumed to be of Kentish craftsmanship had been added to the belt.¹⁰⁰⁸ Repairs of a similar nature were made to imported buckles recovered from several seventh-century burials at the nearby cemetery at Finglesham located south-east of Eastry.¹⁰⁰⁹ The imported belt suite deposited in grave 25 had been repaired and bronze openwork strap ends had been added to the belt.¹⁰¹⁰ The buckle recovered from grave 30 was in a fragile state when it was recovered from the burial and had been repaired before its deposition.¹⁰¹¹

Moving away from Kent, it is interesting that relatively few finds have been recovered from the Thames Valley ([figure 32.1](#)). An imported triangular openwork buckle was deposited in grave 155 at the cemetery at Lechlade (Gloucestershire).¹⁰¹² The lack of finds in this area may also explain why Scull emphasised the foreign identity of the individual buried with the imported belt suite at London (Long Acre, grave J).¹⁰¹³

Further west, in the kingdom of Wessex, fewer finds have also recovered. A number of imported buckles have been recovered from findspots around the River Itchen ([figure 31](#)) including the imported belt-suite from St Mary's Stadium (Hamwic) discussed in the previous chapter.¹⁰¹⁴ Interestingly, the

¹⁰⁰⁷ Appendix II, number 32; Welch, 'Report on excavations of the Anglo-Saxon cemetery at Updown, Eastry, Kent', pp. 20–21.

¹⁰⁰⁸ Ibid., 22–23; Hawkes, 'Recent finds of inlaid iron buckles and belt plates from seventh-century Kent', pp. 53–56.

¹⁰⁰⁹ Appendix II, numbers 39 and 40.

¹⁰¹⁰ Sonia Chadwick Hawkes and Guy Grainger, *The Anglo-Saxon cemetery at Finglesham, Kent* (Oxford, 2006), pp. 47–48.

¹⁰¹¹ Ibid., pp. 49–50.

¹⁰¹² Boyle, D. Jennings, D. Miles and S. Palmer, *The Anglo-Saxon Cemetery at Butler's Field, Lechlade, Gloucestershire, volume 2*; Appendix II, number 4

¹⁰¹³ Scull, 'Foreign identities in burials at the seventh-century emporia', p. 85.

¹⁰¹⁴ Birbeck, Smith, Andrews and Stoodley, *The Origins of Mid-Saxon Southampton*, p. 59 (item 179).

distribution of objects in Wessex closely corresponds with the distribution of imported coin finds in the kingdom ([figure 19.2](#)).

Moving north to East Anglia, findspots are more widely distributed across the region ([figure 31](#)). A number of finds have been recovered from sites situated in the Gipping alley. As chapter 8 outlined, imported buckles were deposited in burials at Ipswich (Buttermarket and Boss Hall).¹⁰¹⁵ In addition to these finds, around ten kilometres further up in the Gipping valley, a stray buckle was recovered from the 'productive' site at Barham and an imported inlaid triangular buckle was recovered from a burial (grave 48) at the cemetery at Coddendam.¹⁰¹⁶ Fleming interpreted a number of burials at Coddendam as those of Merovingian individuals based on the volume of imports that were recovered from the site.¹⁰¹⁷ A contemporary settlement lay to the north of the cemetery at Coddendam and this settlement is also categorised as a 'productive' site within scholarship.¹⁰¹⁸ At both Barham and Coddendam, a range of imported objects alongside coinage has been recovered indicating the integration of these sites in long-distance exchange networks during the seventh century alongside the trading site at Ipswich.¹⁰¹⁹

Finally, further north, a number of finds have been recovered around the Humber estuary and its tributaries. Chapter 10 examines the finds from this region and its communities in greater detail. Meanwhile, in the Northumbrian sub-kingdom of Bernicia, a late-sixth to seventh-century imported silver-inlaid buckle loop was recovered from the royal site of Yeavering and a gilded buckle

¹⁰¹⁵ Chapter 8 (8.2.3)

¹⁰¹⁶ Newman, 'Exceptional finds, exceptional sites? Barham and Coddendam, Suffolk', p. 102; Penn, *The Anglo-Saxon cemetery at Shrubland Hall Quarry, Coddendam*, p. 66.

¹⁰¹⁷ Fleming, 'Elite boats and foreigners: Rethinking the birth of English towns', pp. 419–420.

¹⁰¹⁸ Penn, *The Anglo-Saxon cemetery at Shrubland Hall Quarry, Coddendam*, p. 5. See also chapter 7 (7.4).

¹⁰¹⁹ Steven Plunkett, 'Some recent metalwork discoveries from the area of the Gipping valley, and their local context', in Paul Binski and William Noel (eds.), *New Offerings, Ancient Treasures: Studies in medieval art for George Henderson* (Stroud, 2001), pp. 61–62.

plate was discovered at the site of Dunbar.¹⁰²⁰ Alongside the inlaid buckle, an imitative tremissis was also recovered at Yeavinger and chapter 6 discussed the possibility of craftworking occurring at the site.¹⁰²¹ It remains unknown whether the loop reached Yeavinger in its current state or as part of a belt set. The loop could possibly have been linked with the possible craftworking activity if it arrived at the site in its current state. Welch assumed that the buckle likely reached Yeavinger via Kent based on the close political link between the kingdom and Northumbria during the early seventh century outlined in chapter 2.¹⁰²² Whilst the kingdom of Kent was a major entry point for Frankish buckles, as the distribution shown in [figure 31](#) highlights, the possibility of the buckle reaching Yeavinger via different networks cannot be excluded. Imported buckles possibly arrived in Northumbria via the Humber estuary for example. South of the Humber, imported buckles were recovered from burials at the cemeteries of Castledyke (grave 94) and Cleatham (grave 15) and chapter 10 considers the distribution of imports around the Humber estuary in greater depth.¹⁰²³

The final find from Northumbria is a gilded buckle plate from the site of Dunbar (Castle Park).¹⁰²⁴ Like Yeavinger, the site of Dunbar was also a Northumbrian royal centre and is attested both archaeologically and historically. In the *Life of Saint Wilfrid*, Stephen of Ripon referred to the imprisonment of Wilfrid there in by Ecgfrith in AD 678 following his expulsion from the see at York.¹⁰²⁵

Excavations at Castle Park, meanwhile, uncovered several timber structures and

¹⁰²⁰ Martin Welch, 'The dating and significance of the inlaid buckle loop from Yeavinger. Northumberland', *Anglo-Saxon Studies in Archaeology and History* 3 (1984), pp. 77–78.

¹⁰²¹ Chapter 6 (6.3)

¹⁰²² Welch, 'The dating and significance of the inlaid buckle loop from Yeavinger', p. 78. See chapter 2 (2.2.1)

¹⁰²³ See [table 16](#) for fuller detail. Drinkall and Foreman, *The Anglo-Saxon Cemetery at Castledyke South*, pp. 62–63; Kevin Leahy, *Interrupting the pots: The Excavation of Cleatham Anglo-Saxon Cemetery* (York, 2007), p. 151, p. 253.

¹⁰²⁴ David R. Perry, *Castle Park Dunbar. Two Thousand Years on a Fortified Headland* (Edinburgh, 2000), p. 115; Alice Blackwell, 'Anglo-Saxon Dunbar, East Lothian: a brief re-assessment of the archaeological evidence and some chronological implications', *Medieval Archaeology* 54 (2010), pp. 361–364.

¹⁰²⁵ Stephen of Ripon, *VSW*, chapter 38.

stone building thought to be the royal hall.¹⁰²⁶ The inhabitants of the settlement engaged in both pastoral and arable activity.¹⁰²⁷ Evidence of craft specialisation was also recovered from the site such as textile production suggested by the numerous loom weights recovered from one of the pits.¹⁰²⁸ Initially the buckle plate from Dunbar was assumed to have been manufactured in the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms but Blackwell has highlighted that the plate may instead be continental in manufacture based on its close parallels with other continental buckle types found elsewhere.¹⁰²⁹ The buckle also demonstrates possible evidence of repair suggesting that it was in circulation for a long period time before its deposition.¹⁰³⁰ Numerous other imports were also recovered from the settlement including imported glass vessels suggesting that the inhabitants had access to a wide range of exchange networks.¹⁰³¹

Whilst most buckle styles from the sample were of Frankish design/style, it is important to briefly note that several other influences are present within the sample of material that fall outside of the scope of this study including fifteen Byzantine buckles and three Visigothic buckles. The three Visigothic buckles in the sample are all stray finds that have been recovered at Kent (Boxley), Lincolnshire (Martin), and North Yorkshire (Cropton).¹⁰³² That each example was found a great distance from one another may suggest that these objects arrived through different exchange networks and points of entry.

Except for a stray find from Sussex, all Byzantine style buckles were found in Kent.¹⁰³³ Byzantine openwork buckles were found in fifteen graves from twelve cemetery sites located in Kent ([table 11](#)). Significantly, the scholarly explanation for the presence of the Byzantine buckles in the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms places a

¹⁰²⁶ Perry, *Castle Park Dunbar*, pp. 35–51, pp. 316–319.

¹⁰²⁷ Ibid., p. 320.

¹⁰²⁸ Ibid., p. 319

¹⁰²⁹ Blackwell, 'Anglo-Saxon Dunbar, East Lothian', p. 363.

¹⁰³⁰ Ibid., p. 364, p. 366.

¹⁰³¹ Blackwell, 'Anglo-Saxon Dunbar, East Lothian', pp. 361–371.

¹⁰³² PAS references: LON-8577D6 (Boxley, Kent); LIN-F3054B (Martin, Lincolnshire); YORYM-BA8B84 (Cropton, North Yorkshire).

¹⁰³³ On the stray find, see Martin Welch, *Early Anglo-Saxon Sussex* (Oxford, 1983), p. 118.

great deal of emphasis upon cross-Channel contact. Rather than direct contact with the Byzantine world, the presence of Byzantine objects in the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms is mostly considered as indirect and as a consequence of contact with Merovingian Gaul.¹⁰³⁴ From the sixth century onwards, Byzantine fashions and styles were widely adopted and subsequently imitated at a local level across Merovingian Gaul.¹⁰³⁵ Whilst several Byzantine imports or Byzantine-inspired objects likely reached the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms indirectly, it is important not to assume that their presence should only be explained through contact with Merovingian Gaul. Indeed, as studies of the high concentration of Byzantine material in Western Britain have demonstrated, Byzantine imports could reach areas independently of Merovingian Gaul during this period.¹⁰³⁶

¹⁰³⁴ Owen-Crocker, *Dress in Anglo-Saxon England*, p. 144; Marzinzik, *Early Anglo-Saxon belt buckles*, p. 85.

¹⁰³⁵ Jörg Drauschke, 'Byzantine' and 'oriental' imports in the Merovingian Empire from the second half of the fifth to the beginning of the eighth century', in A. Harris (ed.), *Incipient Globalisation? Long Distance Contacts in the sixth century* (Oxford, 2007) pp. 61–73. On Byzantine buckles in Gaul, see esp. pp. 61–63.

¹⁰³⁶ See, for example, Ewan Campbell, *Imported Material in Atlantic Britain and Ireland c. AD 400–800* (York, 2007); Michael G. Fulford, 'Byzantium and Britain: A Mediterranean perspective of Post-Roman Mediterranean imports in western Britain and Ireland', *Medieval Archaeology* 33 (1989), pp. 1–6.

Place:	Grave number:	Age band:	Gender/Sex:	Material:	Associated assemblage:
Breach Downs, Kent	15	Middle adult (25-44 years)	Masculine/ Unknown	Copper alloy	Knife, sword, spearhead, shield boss.
Breach Downs, Kent	33	Middle adult (25-44 years)	Masculine/Unknown	Copper alloy	Cremation urn, spearhead, stud (x2), sword, shield boss, buckle loop (x3).
Breach Downs, Kent	78	Middle adult (25-44 years)	Unknown/Unknown	Copper alloy	No other objects.
Eastry (Updown), Kent	26	Young adult (16-24 years)	Feminine/Unknown	Copper alloy	Knife, ring, potsherd, pin, key (x3), chatelaine, strap end, bracteate (suspended Roman coin), amethyst bead (x2), shears, glass bead (x4).
Eccles, Kent	K07	Uncertain	Feminine/Unknown	Iron	Disc, spindle whorl, ring, iron implement, shears, ring (x2), knife.
Finglesham, Kent	30	Middle adult (25-44 years)	Unknown/Male(?)	Copper alloy	iron Knife, glass bead (x2).
Half Mile Ride, Kent	OA	Uncertain	Unknown/Unknown	Copper alloy	buckle loop, nails, knife, glass vessel (x2), ring, seax, shield mount.
Holborough, Kent	11	Adolescent (7-15 years)	Feminine/Undetermined	Copper alloy	knife, box fittings, spoon, suspension loop, needle, bag, key (x2).

Kingston Down, Kent	300	Middle adult (25-44 years)	Unknown/Unknown	Copper alloy	Knife.
Minster Mount Pleasant, Kent	13	Mature adult (>45+ years)	Unknown/Male	Copper alloy	Iron sheet fragments, wood coffin.
Ozengell, Kent	47	Young adult (16-24 years)	Feminine/Unknown	Iron	Knife, box fittings, ring, pendant amethyst, monochrome bead, spindle whorl, garnet pendant/silver, chatelaine, shears, glass bead, buckle, pin beater, amethyst bead.
Sibertswold, Kent	131	Child (3-6 years)	Unknown/Unknown	Copper alloy	Bead and coffin.
Sibertswold, Kent	176	Middle adult (25-44 years)	Masculine/Unknown	Copper alloy	Ferrule, spearhead, knife, Frankish wheel-thrown pot.
St Peter's Tip, Kent	338	Child (3-6 years)	Unknown/Unknown	Copper alloy	Textile, knife, coffin, pin.

Valetta House, Kent	OA	Uncertain	Unknown/Unknown	Copper alloy	Box fittings (2), organic material 2, buckle loop (3), knife, rove (2), buckle rivets (3), amber bead (19), chalk bead, stud (7), knife, tweezers (2), spearhead.

Table 11: Seventh-century Anglo-Saxon burials with Byzantine openwork buckles

9.3.2: Finds from Merovingian Gaul

As [figure 33](#) demonstrates, finds of Anglo-Saxon type material are not solely restricted to the immediate coastline, and reached further inland. The findspots away from the immediate coastline are situated close by a major navigable river or route that provided access to the North Sea and Channel. In particular, most finds are located within 10 kilometres of the major rivers of the Scheldt, Rhine, and Orne. This distribution pattern more strongly suggests that it is goods rather than people moving since people presumably could have moved around more.

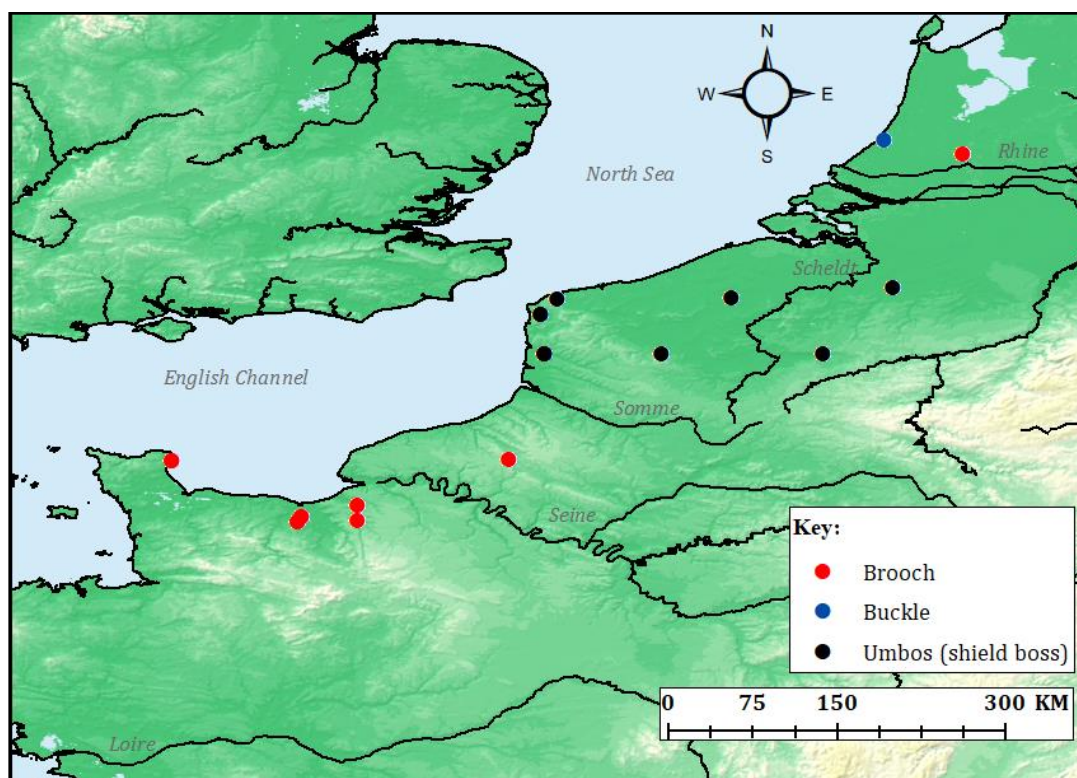


Figure 33: Distribution of selected imports in (northern) Merovingian Gaul

Most Anglo-Saxon type brooch finds are in the Orne valley ([figure 33](#)). Anglo-Saxon type brooches were recovered from graves at the cemeteries of Blay, Frénouville, Lisieux and Sannerville.¹⁰³⁷ Significantly, except for Blay, these

¹⁰³⁷ J. Decaens, 'Sépultures Franques à Grenneville (Manche) et à Blay (Calvados)', *Annales de Normandie* 3 (1965), pp. 456–460 ; Christopher Pilet, *La Necropole de Frénouville* (Oxford, 1980), p.20, pp.24–26, p. 67; Pilet, 'Installations Anglo-Saxonnes sur le littoral de l'actuelle Basse-Normandie aux V^e, VI^e et VII^e siècles', p. 114, p. 116, p. 123, p. 125; C. Pilet,

cemeteries had been in use for several centuries before their eventual abandonment in the mid-late seventh century, and Anglo-Saxon type material such as cruciform and button brooches were recovered from several earlier dated burials at each site.¹⁰³⁸ The concentration of finds in this area therefore indicates a continuation of cross-Channel contact established during earlier centuries, though the nature of this interaction need not have been the same as in previous centuries. Additionally, as with the earlier dated Anglo-Saxon type objects recovered from each cemetery, this imported material makes up only a small proportion of the total number of grave good finds.

The remaining brooch finds are more broadly distributed with finds from the cemeteries of Réville adjacent to the Solent, La Fontaine aux Linottes (La Calotterie) in the Canche valley and further north at the settlement of Leidsche Rijn close to Utrecht.¹⁰³⁹ The brooch recovered from Leidsche Rijn survives as a fragment and its categorisation as a brooch in the first instance is not wholly certain.¹⁰⁴⁰ The nature of this find and the settlement are evaluated in greater detail below in chapter 11. The remaining find at Sommerey has no associated context and is therefore difficult to examine.¹⁰⁴¹ If the provenance of the brooch is accurate, it is possible that the brooch reached this area via Rouen given the presence of landing sites along the Seine during this period and lively trading activity in this area evidenced by the volume of coin finds (chapter 7).¹⁰⁴²

A. Alduc-le Bagousse, J. Blondiaux, L. Buchet and J. Pilet-Lemi re, 'Le village de Sannerville, 'Lirose'. Fin de p riode gauloise au VII^e si cle', *Arch ologie M di vale* 22 (1992), pp. 32–42.

¹⁰³⁸ Blay continued into the eighth century. See Pilet et al., 'Le village de Sannerville'. For a comprehensive list of the earlier dated material, see Soulat, *Le Mat riel Arch ologique de type Saxon et Anglo-Saxon en Gaule M rovingienne*.

¹⁰³⁹ Scuv e, *Le Cimet re barbare de R ville (Manche) VI^e–VII^e si cles*; Y. Desfosses, G. Dilly and D. Piton, *La Calotterie, la Fontaine aux Linottes* (1997); Nokkert, Aarts and Wynia, *Vroegmiddeleeuwse bewoning langs de A2: een nederzetting uit de zevende en achtste eeuw in Leidsche Rijn*, p. 223.

¹⁰⁴⁰ Nokkert, Aarts and Wynia, *Vroegmiddeleeuwse bewoning langs de A2: een nederzetting uit de zevende en achtste eeuw in Leidsche Rijn*, p. 223.

¹⁰⁴¹ Soulat, *Le Mat riel Arch ologique de type Saxon et Anglo-Saxon en Gaule M rovingienne*, pp. 62–63.

¹⁰⁴² Le Maho, 'The fate of the ports of the lower seine valley at the end of the ninth century', pp. 234–236.

Alongside brooches, shield bosses represent a high proportion of the Anglo-Saxon type finds ([figure 30/table 12](#)). It is likely that there are more finds than those confidently identified as the quality of surviving shield bosses is often quite poor leaving many finds unidentifiable.¹⁰⁴³ Typologically, these bosses are known as ‘sugar-loaf’ types and chronological studies of shield bosses deposited in Anglo-Saxon burials have dated this type firmly to the seventh century.¹⁰⁴⁴ The most recent typological study of shield bosses, undertaken by Høilund Neilson, has highlighted that several seventh-century Anglo-Saxon shield bosses (including the sugar-loaf type) have no immediate continental typological comparison.¹⁰⁴⁵ As 9.2.3 outlined, shield bosses are mostly considered as *personal* objects rather than being acquired through other means such as gift-giving, trade, or exchange.

Site:	Number of finds:
Emelgem (Flanders)	1
Fréthun (Pas-de-Calais)	1
Hardenthun (Pas-de-Calais)	2
La Calotterie (Pas-de-Calais)	2
Muysen les Malines (Flanders)	1
Nimy (Hainaut)	1
Noeux les Mines (Pas-de-Calais)	1
	Total: 9

Table 12: Sugar-loaf type shield bosses (umbos) found in northern Merovingian Gaul

¹⁰⁴³ Soulat, ‘Le mobilier de type Anglo-Saxon provenant de la nécropole de La Fontaine aux Linottes à La Calotterie (Pas-de-Calais)’, pp. 296–297.

¹⁰⁴⁴ Vera Evison, ‘Sugar-loaf shield bosses’, *The Antiquaries Journal* 43 (1963), p. 53, pp. 59–60; Tania Dickinson and Heinrich Härke, *Early Anglo-Saxon Shields* (London, 1992), pp. 71–73.

¹⁰⁴⁵ Karen Høilund Neilson, ‘Shield Bosses’, in Hines and Bayliss (eds.), *Anglo-Saxon Graves and Grave Goods of the 6th and 7th Centuries AD: A Chronological Framework* (London, 2013), pp. 148–159, esp. p. 148, p. 158. See also Alex Bayliss, John Hines and Karen Høilund Neilson, ‘Interpretative chronologies for the male graves’, in *ibid.*, p. 334.

In terms of their practical function, shields were used for defence and combat. The reasons behind their presence in burials, however, is far more complex and may not necessarily reflect their function. In assessing the deposition of shield bosses in burials around the Thames Valley, for example, Härke and Dickinson argued that shield bosses were deposited to construct a specific form of adult masculinity in many cases rather than reflecting the role of the deceased.¹⁰⁴⁶ Unfortunately, the associated assemblage of many burials containing Anglo-Saxon type shield bosses remains uncertain due to inadequate recording of information during excavations. At Nimy for instance, only details of the objects recovered were noted in the initial excavation report and the associated burial data was overlooked.¹⁰⁴⁷ Of the burials containing sugar-loaf shield bosses, only the associated assemblage of the two burials (graves 489 and 737) from the cemetery at La Fontaine aux Linottes (La Calotterie) can be considered. In addition to the shield boss, both burials were furnished with other forms of weaponry and associated equipment.¹⁰⁴⁸ In grave 737, fragments of a sword scabbard and two sword pearls were recovered whilst a spearhead and sword were deposited in grave 489.¹⁰⁴⁹

As noted in chapter 8, the cemetery at La Calotterie has been associated with the port of Quentovic and this association has strongly influenced interpretations of the material recovered from the cemetery and surrounding region.¹⁰⁵⁰ For example, the individual buried in grave 489 is also assumed to have been a royal official since a seal was also recovered from the burial.¹⁰⁵¹ Discussions surrounding the identity of the individual in grave 489 can be

¹⁰⁴⁶ Dickinson and Härke, *Early Anglo-Saxon shields*, pp. 71–73.

¹⁰⁴⁷ G. Faider-Feytmans, *Les Collections d'archéologie régionales du Musée de Mariemont* (Mariemont, 1970), pp. 237–247. For the *umbo* entry, see p. 246.

¹⁰⁴⁸ Soulat, *Le Matériel Archéologique de type Saxon et Anglo-Saxon en Gaule Mérovingienne*, p. 169.

¹⁰⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 83–84.

¹⁰⁵⁰ Chapter 8 (8.2.6)

¹⁰⁵¹ Soulat, *Le Matériel Archéologique de type Saxon et Anglo-Saxon en Gaule Mérovingienne*, p. 83.

compared with those surrounding the individual buried with a Merovingian seal at St-Martin-in-the-Fields (London).¹⁰⁵²

More problematically, based on their distribution and concentration in the Pas-de-Calais region (figure 33; table 12), Soulat argued that the individuals buried with sugar-loaf shield bosses at La Calotterie and elsewhere were likely Anglo-Saxon and acted as official representatives overseas.¹⁰⁵³ However, Soulat's suggestion is incredibly specific and perhaps too uncritical in taking objects as both representative of ethnicity and a particular mercantile identity. In addition, the surviving textual references to the port at Quentovic do not seem to suggest that there were representatives acting on behalf of Anglo-Saxon interests in Quentovic. As chapter 3 outlined, it was necessary for King Egbert to send representatives from Kent to Quentovic to resolve the disruption of Theodore's journey suggesting that there was no sustained representation acting on behalf of Anglo-Saxon interests.¹⁰⁵⁴

Overall, there is a clear decline in the number of imported Anglo-Saxon objects in northern Gaul during the seventh century compared to the preceding century. In part, this can be explained by contemporary developments in Merovingian society such as the end of furnished burials and changes in fashion. The lack of a PAS equivalent in France may also contribute to the limited number of finds. Whilst it is difficult to draw firm conclusions from a small sample of objects, some interesting patterns can be drawn out from the distribution of this material. There is an intriguing distinction between the distribution of Anglo-Saxon brooches and umbos, with brooch found mainly south of the Somme and umbos found mainly to the north. Since these objects are also gendered, this distribution pattern may highlight possible differences in the focus of male and female cross-Channel interactions. As discussed in chapter 4, the surviving textual evidence highlights female travel to the Seine

¹⁰⁵² Chapter 8 (8.2.2)

¹⁰⁵³ Soulat, *Le Matériel Archeologique de type Saxon et Anglo-Saxon en Gaule Merovingienne*, pp. 147–148.

¹⁰⁵⁴ Bede, *HE*, IV.1. See chapter 3 (3.3.3).

valley and it is possible that brooches may have reached the region through these established networks and filtered further south.

9.4: Summary

Though people did move and were mobile during the seventh century, examining this movement is not so straightforward in archaeology and dress objects are not the best way to explore this movement. Instead, this chapter has considered a select number of dress imports as proxies for networks of exchange during the seventh century and the mobility of objects. The number of dress imports in both the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms and Gaul declines greatly during the seventh century compared to the volume of sixth-century finds. This reduction demonstrates a clear shift and change in the nature of connections between these regions. This change can possibly be explained by wider social changes that occurred during this period including the conversion to Christianity, the consolidation of power and changing attitudes towards gender. In terms of their distribution, dress objects were more widely distributed in the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms and the increasing number of stray finds demonstrates wider access to exchange networks across regions. In Merovingian Gaul, finds are also not restricted to the coastline and reached sites further inland via transport routes. There is also a clear and intriguing distinction in the distribution of Anglo-Saxon material overseas. Whilst brooches are found mainly south of the Somme, Anglo-axon type shield bosses (umbos) are largely restricted to the north.

Chapter 10: Communities and Contact I – The Humber

10.1: Introduction

Previous chapters have examined the distribution of imports and coins as evidence of networks of exchange between Gaul and the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms during the seventh century. In the final two chapters of the thesis, focus is shifted to a regional analysis of exchange networks. This chapter (case study one) investigates the nature and extent of the North Sea contacts and connections facilitated directly or indirectly by the Humber estuary. Geographically, the study specifically focuses on southern Deira (East Yorkshire) and incorporates land south of the Humber in the northern part of the kingdom of Lindsey (North Lincolnshire). Politically, the kingdom of Lindsey was absorbed into the Northumbrian kingdom in the early seventh century and remained subject to the kingdom until AD 679 following the victory of Mercia over Northumbria at the battle of Trent.¹⁰⁵⁵ Importantly, alongside the immediate hinterland areas adjacent to the Humber, the case study examines inland zones and evaluates the extent and nature of indirect coastal contact. Based on the distribution of imported finds, much of this chapter focuses especially on the Yorkshire Wolds whereas other areas including the Vale of Pickering are not considered in detail. As such, this chapter should be read as a partial study of the region.

The case study builds upon the increasing availability of data, site reports and specialist studies of the region. Loveluck's significant study, for example, revealed a correlation between the availability of raw materials (such as iron) and access to imported materials (such as amber and amethyst) from the fifth to seventh centuries in East Yorkshire.¹⁰⁵⁶ In recent decades, extensive archaeological excavations of large settlements (Wharram Percy and Flixborough) and cemeteries (West Heslerton, Cleatham and Castledyke) have

¹⁰⁵⁵ Bede, *HE*, II.16, IV.21.

¹⁰⁵⁶ Loveluck, 'Central-places, exchange and maritime orientated identity', pp. 131–165; Christopher Loveluck, *Exchange and society in early medieval England 400–700 AD* (Unpublished PhD thesis, Durham University, 1994).

provided invaluable information and a greater awareness of Anglo-Saxon communities and activity.¹⁰⁵⁷ Alongside these excavations, the region has also been the subject of an extensive aerial photography survey. Importantly, the survey revealed further areas of Anglo-Saxon settlement and activity, notably 'butterwick-type' sites which are discussed below.¹⁰⁵⁸ Lastly, the region benefited greatly from the *Viking and Anglo-Saxon Landscape and Economy (VASLE)* project that undertook a national survey of metal-detected objects in order to explore and confidently identify more early medieval settlements.¹⁰⁵⁹ The project significantly advanced knowledge of non-urban settlement and communities in the region during the early medieval period through the identification and complete excavation of several sites in the Yorkshire Wolds such as Burdale and Cottam.¹⁰⁶⁰

From an analysis of the surviving evidence from the region, this chapter argues that long-distance connections in this area during the century appear to have been orientated around specialist crafts. In addition, an analysis of the distribution of imports is strongly suggestive of direct exchange.

10.2: Landscape context

Before examining the evidence and evaluating the nature of contact, it is important to consider the topographical and geological context of the study

¹⁰⁵⁷ S. Wrathmell (ed.), *Wharram: A Study of Settlement on the Yorkshire Wolds XIII: A History of Wharram Percy and its Neighbours*, (York, 2012); Christopher Loveluck and David Atkinson, *The early medieval settlement remains from Flixborough, Lincolnshire: The occupation sequence, c. AD 600-1000* (Oxford, 2007); D.H. Evans and Christopher Loveluck (eds.), *Life and Economy at Early Medieval Flixborough* (Oxford, 2009); Christine Haughton and Dominic Powlesland, *West Heslerton: The Anglian cemetery (2 vols)* (Yeddingham, 1999); Leahy, *Interrupting the Pots: The Excavation of Cleatham Anglo-Saxon Cemetery; The Anglo-Saxon Cemetery at Castledyke South*.

¹⁰⁵⁸ Catherine Stoertz, *Ancient Landscapes of the Yorkshire Wolds* (Swindon, 1997).

¹⁰⁵⁹ Julian D Richards, John Naylor and Caroline Holas-Clark, 'The Viking and Anglo-Saxon Landscape and Economy (VASLE) Project', *Internet Archaeology* 25 (2009).

¹⁰⁶⁰ Julian D. Richards and Steve Roskams, 'Burdale: An Anglian settlement in the Yorkshire Wolds', *Internet Archaeology* 35 (2013); Julian D. Richards, Steve Ashby, Tony Austin, David Haldenby, Madeleine Hummler, Elizabeth Jelley, Jane Richardson, Steve Roskams and Kieron Niven, 'Cottam, Cowlam and Environs: An Anglo-Saxon estate on the Yorkshire Wolds', *Archaeological Journal* 170:1 (2013), pp. 201–271.

area ([figure 34](#)). From major research projects such as the *Humber Wetlands* project, the topographical and geological nature of eastern Yorkshire and North Lincolnshire from the Palaeolithic period to the present day is known in greater detail.¹⁰⁶¹ Given the aforementioned studies and the scope of this thesis, discussion of the historic development and engagement with the landscape is omitted.¹⁰⁶² Instead, the landscape context is summarised only briefly below in order to understand the potential resources available (such as arable land and rivers) which influenced Anglo-Saxon settlement in this region and to consider how the surviving archaeological record is shaped by the landscape.

The kingdom of Deira can be broken down into several distinct topographical and geological zones ([figure 34](#)). In the north of Deira and outside the scope of the study area lie the North York Moors, the highest elevated area of Yorkshire, with areas over 400 metres above sea level. Bordering the Moors is the Vale of Pickering, a low-lying area that provides a drainage basin for the surrounding higher ground such as the Yorkshire Wolds that lie to the south.¹⁰⁶³ The landscape of the Vale of Pickering is known in great detail since it has been the focus on an ambitious landscape project, *The Heslerton Parish Project*, for more than thirty years.¹⁰⁶⁴ The Yorkshire Wolds lie on dry-chalk lands and are roughly 150–200 metres above sea level.¹⁰⁶⁵ The Wolds are cut by a series of dry valleys and slopes, notably the Great Wold valley in the east which runs

¹⁰⁶¹ For a summary of the *Humber Wetlands* project, see Robert Van de Noort, *The Humber Wetlands: The Archaeology of a Dynamic Landscape* (Oxford, 2004).

¹⁰⁶² For a summary of the developments from the post-glacial phase to the present, see Van de Noort, *The Humber Wetlands*, pp. 18–23.

¹⁰⁶³ D. Powlesland, 'The Heslerton Parish Project: 20 years of archaeological research in the Vale of Pickering', in T. Manby S. Moorhouse and P. Ottaway (eds.), *The Archaeology of Yorkshire* (Leeds, 2003), pp. 275–292.

¹⁰⁶⁴ *The Heslerton Parish Project*: http://www.landscaperesearchcentre.org/AA%20Tier%201%20Primary%20Headings/heslerton_parity_project.htm (last accessed: October 2021). See also Dominic Powlesland, 'Reflections upon the Anglo-Saxon landscape and settlement of the Vale of Pickering', in Gale R. Owen-Crocker and Susan D. Thompson (eds.), *Towns and Topography: Essays in Memory of David H. Hill* (Oxford, 2014), pp. 111–123.

¹⁰⁶⁵ Stoertz, *Ancient Landscapes of the Yorkshire Wolds*, pp. 1–2. See also Cath Neal, *People and the environment: a geoarchaeological approach to the Yorkshire Wolds landscape* (Unpublished PhD thesis: University of York 2010), esp. chapters 2 and 3.

along to the North Sea coast at Flamborough Head.¹⁰⁶⁶ The chalk soils are considered light, well drained, easily worked and suitable for arable and pastoral farming.¹⁰⁶⁷ Situated in the lowlands and bordering the Humber and North Sea, the Holderness Plain covers much of southeast Deira, whilst the Vale of York lies further inland along the Humber.¹⁰⁶⁸ South of the Humber, the Lincolnshire Wolds are essentially a continuation of the Yorkshire Wolds and are comprised of dry-chalk lands, characterised by a series of low hills and steep valleys.¹⁰⁶⁹ Surrounding the Lincolnshire Wolds and bordering the Humber is mostly lower-lying areas of marshland and wetland (the Lincolnshire marsh).

Collectively, the Holderness Plain, Vale of York, and the Lincolnshire marsh make up the 'Humber wetlands'.¹⁰⁷⁰ The 'Humber wetlands' were prone to regular flooding and dominated by salt marshes and meres, which communities have exploited from the Bronze Age onwards.¹⁰⁷¹ Importantly, despite the intensive survey of the wetland landscape, the *Humber Wetlands* project did not identify any new Anglo-Saxon settlements. Wetland areas are subject to severe coastal erosion and it is possible that possible maritime communities and activity has subsequently disappeared. Current estimates suggest that the Holderness coastline has retreated several kilometres since the Roman period and previously known sites are now lost.¹⁰⁷²

¹⁰⁶⁶ Stoertz, *Ancient Landscapes of the Yorkshire Wolds*, p. 3; Neal, *People and the Environment*, pp. 28–31.

¹⁰⁶⁷ N. Higham, 'Land use and landscape in Northern England', *Landscape History* 9 (1987), pp. 36–38.

¹⁰⁶⁸ Stephen Ellis, 'Physical background to the Vale of York', in Robert Van de Noort and Stephen Ellis (eds.), *Wetland Heritage of the Vale of York* (Hull, 1999), pp. 7–12.

¹⁰⁶⁹ Stoertz, *Ancient Landscapes of the Yorkshire Wolds*, p. 1; Neal, *People and the Environment*, p. 10.

¹⁰⁷⁰ Van de Noort, *The Humber Wetlands*, pp. 1–5.

¹⁰⁷¹ Robert Van de Noort and Paul Davies, *Wetland Heritage: An archaeological assessment of the Humber Wetlands* (Kingston-Upon-Hull, 1993), p. 3; Van de Noort, *The Humber Wetlands*, p. 73; Robert Van de Noort, 'Where are Yorkshire's 'terps'? Wetland exploitation in the early-medieval period', in H. Geake and J. Kenny (eds.), *Early Deira: Archaeological Studies of the East Riding in the fourth to ninth centuries AD* (Oxford, 2000), pp. 121–124.

¹⁰⁷² Stephen Ellis, 'Physical background to Holderness', in Robert Van de Noort and Stephen Ellis (eds.), *Wetland Heritage of Holderness: An archaeological Survey* (Hull, 1995), pp. 15–16.

Alongside the Humber and wetland areas, there are several major rivers, tributaries, and streams across the landscape. There are four main rivers dominating the landscape that provided access for inland communities to the North Sea. The rivers Derwent, Hull, Trent and Ancholme all break away from the Humber and drain far beyond the immediate hinterland of the estuary ([figure 34](#)). The River Derwent breaks away from the River Ouse, which leads to York, and runs along the eastern side of the Vale of York to the north-western edge of the Wolds into the Vale of Pickering before reaching the southern tip of the North York Moors.¹⁰⁷³ The River Hull is located further east in the Holderness Plain and reaches the southern edge of the Yorkshire Wolds around Driffield. South of the Humber, the River Trent forms a major branch off from the Humber at the Humberhead levels, whilst the River Ancholme drains directly into the Humber at South Ferriby.¹⁰⁷⁴ Alongside the major rivers, smaller waterways and routes were likely utilised and significant such as the Gypsy Race, a chalk stream, in the Yorkshire Wolds. The Gypsy Race is the only permanent water source in the Yorkshire Wolds and flows eastwards through the Great Wold valley and drains into the North Sea at Bridlington on the Holderness coast.¹⁰⁷⁵

Lastly, as [figure 34](#) demonstrates, trackways and Roman roads also cut across the landscape and connected areas and communities. Of particular importance is the road that lay to the west of the Yorkshire Wolds and provided an alternative route from the banks of the Humber further inland.

¹⁰⁷³ For a discussion of the historic development of the river Derwent, see Malcolm Lillie and Benjamin Gearey, 'The palaeoenvironmental survey of the rivers Aire, Ouse, Wharfe and Derwent', in Robert Van de Noort and Stephen Ellis (eds.), *Wetland Heritage of the Vale of York* (Hull, 1999), pp. 58–60.

¹⁰⁷⁴ For a discussion of the historic development of the rivers Trent and Ancholme, see Malcolm Lillie, 'The palaeoenvironmental survey of the lower Trent valley and Winterton Beck', in Robert Van de Noort and Stephen Ellis (eds.), *Wetland Heritage of the Ancholme and lower Trent Valleys* (Hull, 1998), pp. 33–34; Heike Neumann, 'The palaeoenvironmental survey of the Ancholme valley', in Robert Van de Noort and Stephen Ellis (eds.), *Wetland Heritage of the Ancholme and lower Trent Valleys* (Hull, 1998), pp. 75–76.

¹⁰⁷⁵ Julian D. Richards, 'Anglo-Saxon settlements and the archaeological visibility in the Yorkshire Wolds', in H. Geake and J. Kenny (eds.), *Early Deira: Archaeological Studies of the East Riding in the fourth to ninth centuries AD* (Oxford, 2000), p. 27.

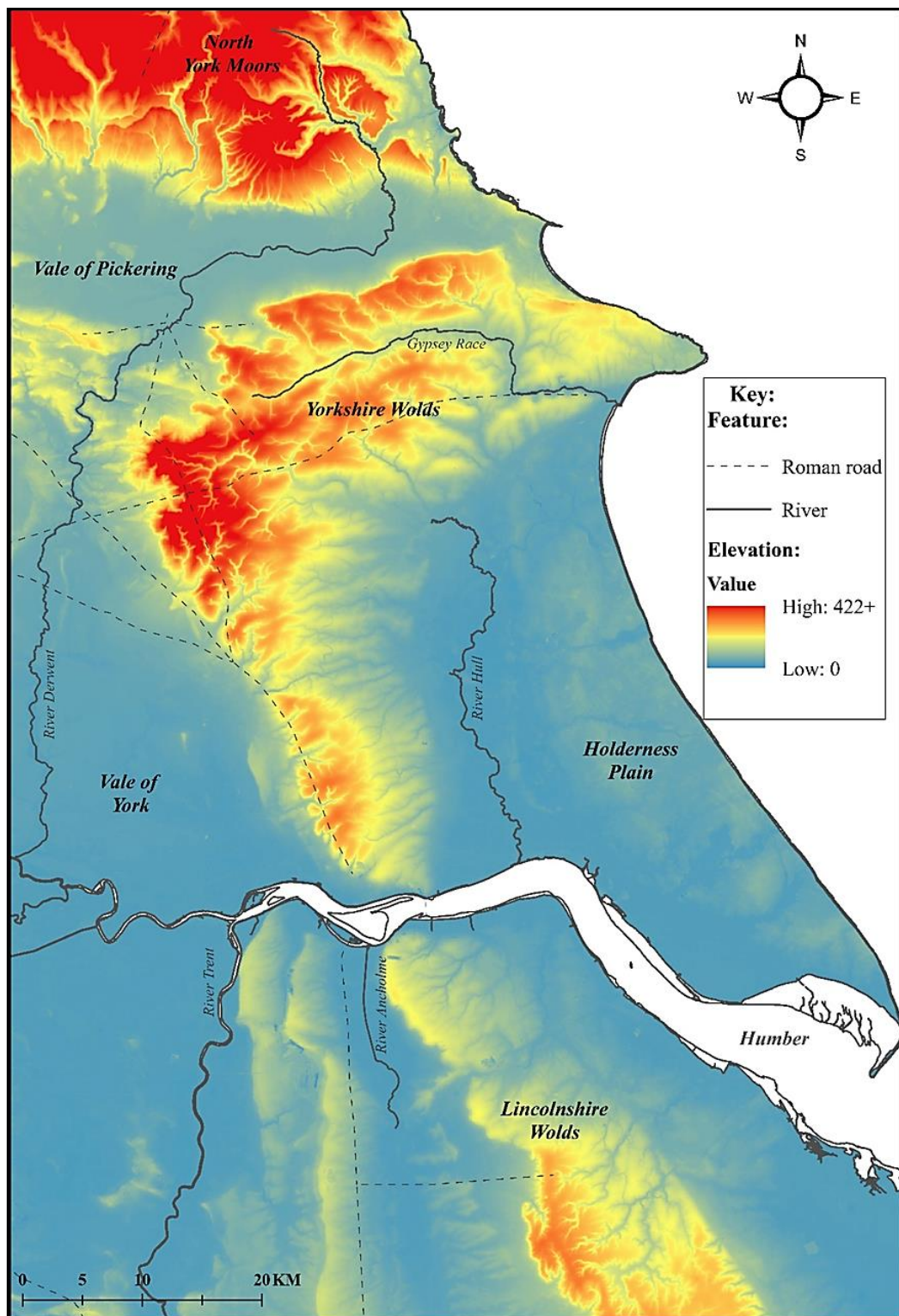


Figure 34: Case study area 1

10.3: The Anglo-Saxon landscape

There are thirty-nine sites from the area under study ([figure 35](#); [table 13](#)) with evidence of seventh-century activity.¹⁰⁷⁶ As shown in [table 13](#), twenty-five of the sites included in the sample are cemeteries.¹⁰⁷⁷ Most of these sites are isolated burials or a small number of burials rather than extensive cemeteries as in the case of the sites of West Heslerton, Cleatham and Castledyke. The increasing number of different burial practices in the region during the seventh century seems to suggest an intensification in the use of the region for burial.¹⁰⁷⁸ The placing of both larger cemeteries and smaller burial sites north of the Humber closely engaged with the natural landscape.¹⁰⁷⁹ For example, most of the sites in East Yorkshire were close to running water and within distance of a main route.¹⁰⁸⁰ In the Vale of Pickering, the cemetery at West Heslerton in use from the late fifth to early seventh centuries also shows clear engagement with the landscape and the site was established to the north of an elevated knoll between two stream channels.¹⁰⁸¹ Lucy's comprehensive analysis of cemeteries in the region also recognised a correlation between the size of a cemetery and its visibility and slope position.¹⁰⁸² Equally, communities engaged with the historic landscape and visible prehistoric earthworks and barrows were frequently reused within a cemetery context.¹⁰⁸³

¹⁰⁷⁶ The list of sites was compiled from *Historic Environment Records* (HER), published cemetery reports from the region, unpublished data from the *People and Place Project* (provided by Susan Harrington), Pickles, *Kingship, Society, and the Church in Anglo-Saxon Yorkshire* (appendix 1), and other previous studies of the region (such as those undertaken by Chris Loveluck, John Naylor and Julian D. Richards referenced above).

¹⁰⁷⁷ In general, this was not surprising as more cemeteries than settlements have been excavated across Britain. See Helena Hamerow, *Rural Settlements and Society in Anglo-Saxon England* (Oxford, 2012), pp. 7–9.

¹⁰⁷⁸ Sarah Semple, *Perceptions of the Prehistoric in Anglo-Saxon England: Religion, Ritual, and Rulership in the Landscape* (Oxford, 2013), esp. chapter 2.

¹⁰⁷⁹ See Sam Lucy's comprehensive survey of cemeteries in Yorkshire. Sam Lucy, *The Early Anglo-Saxon Cemeteries of East Yorkshire: an analysis and re-interpretation* (Oxford, 1998), esp. pp. 71–99.

¹⁰⁸⁰ Ibid.

¹⁰⁸¹ Haughton and Powlesland, *West Heslerton: The Anglian cemetery*, pp. 6–9, pp. 80–81.

¹⁰⁸² Lucy, *The Early Anglo-Saxon Cemeteries of East Yorkshire*, pp. 80–84.

¹⁰⁸³ Ibid., pp. 85–6, p. 99; See also C. Fenton-Thomas, *Forgotten Landscapes of the Yorkshire Wolds* (Stroud, 2005), pp. 38–39. This is a trend noticed across other regions of England, for example in West Sussex and North Wiltshire. For a detailed discussion of these regions

The locations of the cemeteries identified south of the Humber equally appear to have been chosen based on their visibility. For example, the cemetery at Castledyke visibly overlooked the Humber on a gentle slope and would have had direct coastal contact.¹⁰⁸⁴ Although further inland, the cemetery at Cleatham remained accessible and visible in the landscape with the river Ancholme and a possible landing site located less than seven kilometres from the site.¹⁰⁸⁵ Most of the settlements north of the Humber are found in the Yorkshire Wolds or at its fringes, essentially in the lower-lying areas and valleys (figure 35). The settlement at West Heslerton and the associated cemetery, located roughly 500 metres from the settlement, are located on the lower-lying fringes of the Vale of Pickering.¹⁰⁸⁶ As mentioned above, the Yorkshire Wolds, Lincolnshire Wolds and the Vale of Pickering were particularly suitable for arable and pastoral farming and the settlement distribution from the study area largely reflects the rural and non-urban nature of communities. Additionally, the strategic position of the settlements from the area suggests that the location of settlements was not accidental. Indeed, all fifteen settlements were located within five to ten kilometres from a main river or a Roman road (figure 35) which may suggest a deliberate placing. The large estate at Driffield on the southern edge of the Yorkshire Wolds was close to the tip of the river Hull and likely influenced the activity and maritime traffic using the river to reach the Wolds.¹⁰⁸⁷ South of the Humber, the rural estate at Flixborough is comparable to the position and role of Driffield. Flixborough straddled the River Trent, one of the main maritime routes inland, and was less than ten kilometres from the estuary of the Humber.¹⁰⁸⁸

alongside East Yorkshire, see Semple, *Perceptions of the Prehistoric in Anglo-Saxon England*, esp. chapter 2.

¹⁰⁸⁴ Drinkall and Foreman, *The Anglo-Saxon Cemetery at Castledyke South*, pp. 1–2.

¹⁰⁸⁵ Leahy, *Interrupting the Pots: The Excavation of Cleatham Anglo-Saxon Cemetery*, pp. 2–3.

¹⁰⁸⁶ Haughton and Powlesland, *West Heslerton: The Anglian cemetery*, p. 6, p. 9.

¹⁰⁸⁷ See Christopher Loveluck, 'The development of the Anglo-Saxon landscape, economy and society 'On Driffield', East Yorkshire', *Anglo-Saxon Studies in Archaeology and History* 9 (1996), pp. 56–58.

¹⁰⁸⁸ Loveluck, *Northwest Europe in the Early Middle Ages*, p. 186.

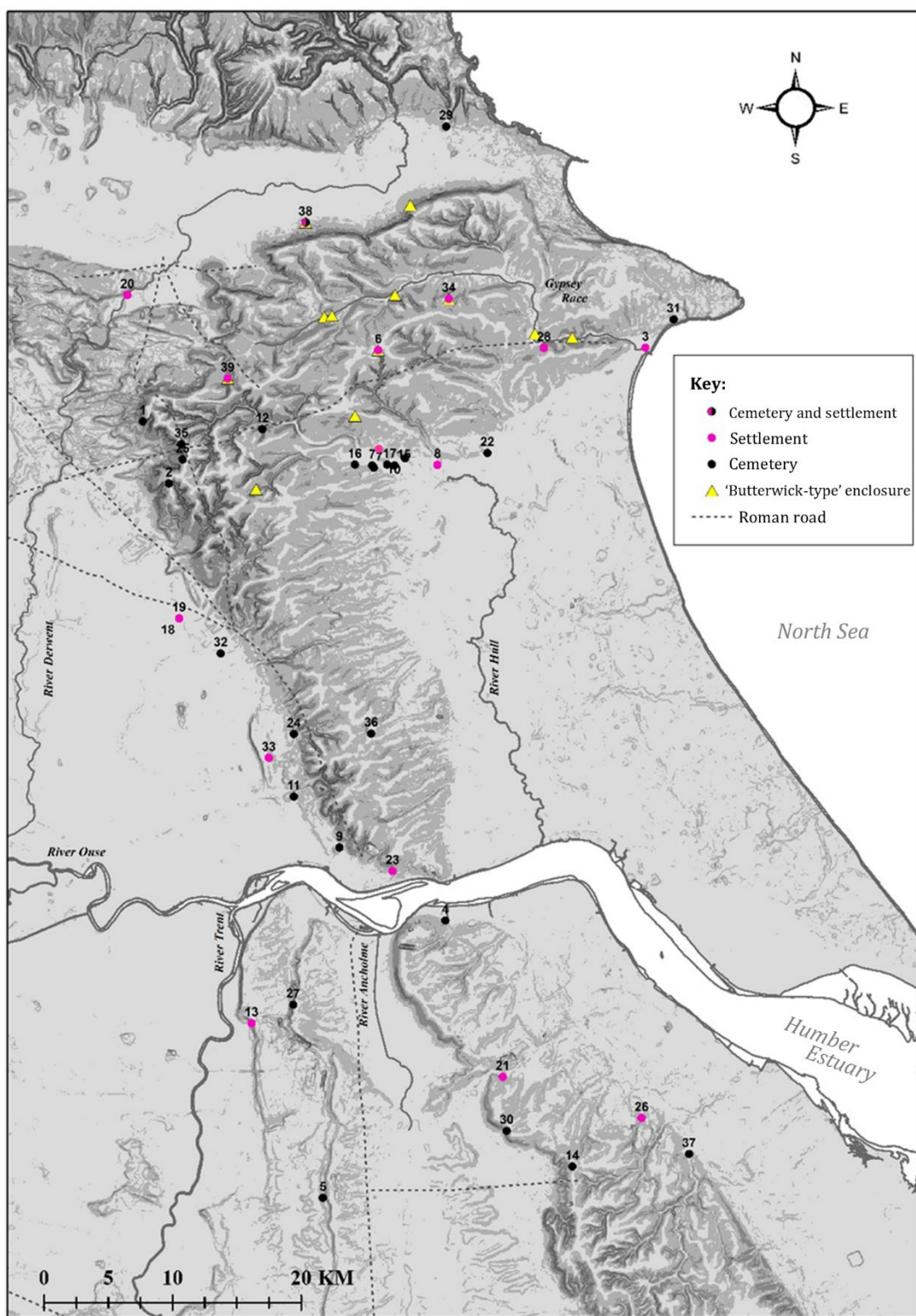


Figure 35: Map of sites identified from the area discussed in case study 1

Number:	Site name:	Site type:
1	Acklam Wold	Cemetery
2	Beacon Hill	Barrow burials
3	Bridlington	Settlement (possible)
4	Castledyke	Cemetery
5	Cleatham	Cemetery
6	Cottam A and B	Settlement
7	Craike Hill site 1 and site 2	Small cemetery
8	Driffield (postulated location)	Settlement
9	Elloughton	Cemetery
10	Elmswell	Settlement
11	Everthorpe	Cemetery
12	Fimber Church/Wesley Chapel	Cemetery
13	Flixborough	Settlement
14	Fonaby	Cemetery
15	Garton II	Cemetery
16	Garton Slack	Cemetery
17	Garton Station	Cemetery
18	Hayton 2 and 3	Cemetery
19	Hayton 1	Settlement
20	Malton 1 and 2	Settlement
21	Melton Ross	Settlement
22	Nafferton	Cemetery
23	North Ferriby	Settlement
24	North Newbald	Cemetery
25	Painsthorpe Wold	Small cemetery
26	Riby	Settlement
27	Roxby	Small cemetery
28	Rudston	Settlement
29	Seamer	Cemetery
30	Searby	Cemetery
31	Sewerby	Cemetery
32	Shiptonthorpe	Cemetery
33	South Newbald	Settlement
34	Thwing	Settlement/burials
35	Uncleby	Cemetery
36	Walkington Wold	Cemetery
37	Welbeckhill	Cemetery
38	West Heslerton	Cemetery/settlement
39	Wharram Percy	Settlement

Table 13: Seventh-century sites identified from case study area 1 (figure 35)

Alongside the known sites listed in [table 13](#), aerial photography revealed the presence of curvilinear enclosure complexes more commonly known as 'butterwick-types' ([figure 35](#)) which are dated from the mid-fifth to the ninth century.¹⁰⁸⁹ These enclosures appear alongside rectangular sunken features (*grubenhäuser*) and their presence at several mid-Saxon sites such as West Heslerton, Wharram Percy and Thwing add weight to Stoertz's Anglo-Saxon classification.¹⁰⁹⁰ Based on the presence of the rectangular sunken feature and that the sites were not fully 'enclosed', Everson and Stocker interpreted that the sites were seasonal and used for sheep herding and management.¹⁰⁹¹ However, the presence of butterwick-type enclosures at permanently occupied estates such as Wharram Percy, Cottam, West Heslerton and elsewhere may suggest a level of diversity in use.¹⁰⁹² Since Stoertz's study, several more have been identified and within Yorkshire, there are at least twelve butterwick-type enclosures and the majority of these are located in the higher ground of the Yorkshire Wolds.¹⁰⁹³ Some butterwicks have been dated by associated small finds. For example, the butterwick at Wharram Percy is assumed to date from c. AD 650 onwards based on settlement evidence and finds (discussed below) whilst the butterwick at Cottam is dated to the early eighth century.¹⁰⁹⁴ The increasing number of 'butterwick-type' enclosures from the later seventh century onwards strongly indicates that there was a change in the structure and expansion of rural settlements located in the Wolds. What caused this

¹⁰⁸⁹ Stoertz, *Ancient Landscapes of the Yorkshire Wolds*, pp. 56–59.

¹⁰⁹⁰ Ibid. p. 55; Stuart Wrathmell, 'Resettlement on the Wolds', in S. Wrathmell (ed.), *A History of Wharram Percy and Neighbours* (York, 2012), pp. 106–113. For a useful introduction and overview of *grubenhäuser*, see Hamerow, *Rural Settlements and Society in Anglo-Saxon England*, pp. 53–61.

¹⁰⁹¹ Paul Everson and David Stocker, 'Wharram before the village moment', in S. Wrathmell (ed.), *A History of Wharram Percy and Neighbours* (York, 2012), pp. 166–167.

¹⁰⁹² Stuart Wrathmell, 'Wharram before the village moment: a response' in S. Wrathmell (ed.), *Wharram: A Study of Settlement on the Yorkshire Wolds XIII: A History of Wharram Percy and its Neighbours*, (York, 2012), pp. 172–173; Richards, Ashby, Austin, Haldenby, Hummler, Jelley, Richardson, Roskams and Niven, 'Cottam, Cowlam and Environs', p. 254, p. 257–258.

¹⁰⁹³ Wrathmell, 'Resettlement on the Wolds', p. 106.

¹⁰⁹⁴ John Blair, *Building Anglo-Saxon England* (Oxford, 2018), pp. 151–153, p. 288, p. 290; Richards, Ashby, Austin, Haldenby, Hummler, Jelley, Richardson, Roskams and Niven, 'Cottam, Cowlam and Environs', p. 241.

intensification is uncertain, although the increase in specialisation could possibly be linked to broader trends in demand as evidenced by the arrival of 'productive' sites and the growth of the *emporia*.¹⁰⁹⁵ In the Vale of Pickering, geophysical analysis of the area undertaken as part of the *Heslerton Parish Project* also revealed at least thirteen clusters of *grubenhäuser* around West Heslerton spaced at roughly 800 metre intervals which points to far more intensive settlement and activity in this area during this period.¹⁰⁹⁶

Site number:	Settlement name:	Further classification:
3	Bridlington	Possible port Ecclesiastical site
6	Cottam A and B	'Productive' sites
8	Driffeld	Royal site 'Productive' site
13	Flixborough	Central place 'Productive' site Ecclesiastical site 'High-status' settlement
20	Malton 1 and 2	Seasonal occupation 'Productive' site
21	Melton Ross	Seasonal occupation 'Productive' site
23	North Ferriby	Seasonal occupation 'Beach site'
26	Riby	'Productive' site
33	South Newbald	Central place Ecclesiastical site 'Productive' site 'High-status' settlement
34	Thwing	Central place Royal site 'High-status' settlement
39	Wharram Percy	Central place Ecclesiastical site 'High-status' settlement'

¹⁰⁹⁵ Hamerow, 'Agrarian production and the emporia of mid Saxon England, ca. AD 650–850', pp. 219–232; Blinkhorn, 'Of cabbages and kings: production, trade and consumption', pp. 4–23. See also Pam J. Crabtree, 'Agricultural innovation and socio-economic change in early medieval Europe: evidence from Britain and France', *World Archaeology* 42:1 (2010), pp. 122–136.

¹⁰⁹⁶ Powlesland, 'Reflections upon the Anglo-Saxon landscape and settlement of the Vale of Pickering', p. 120–121.

Table 14: Additional classification of settlements from case study area 1

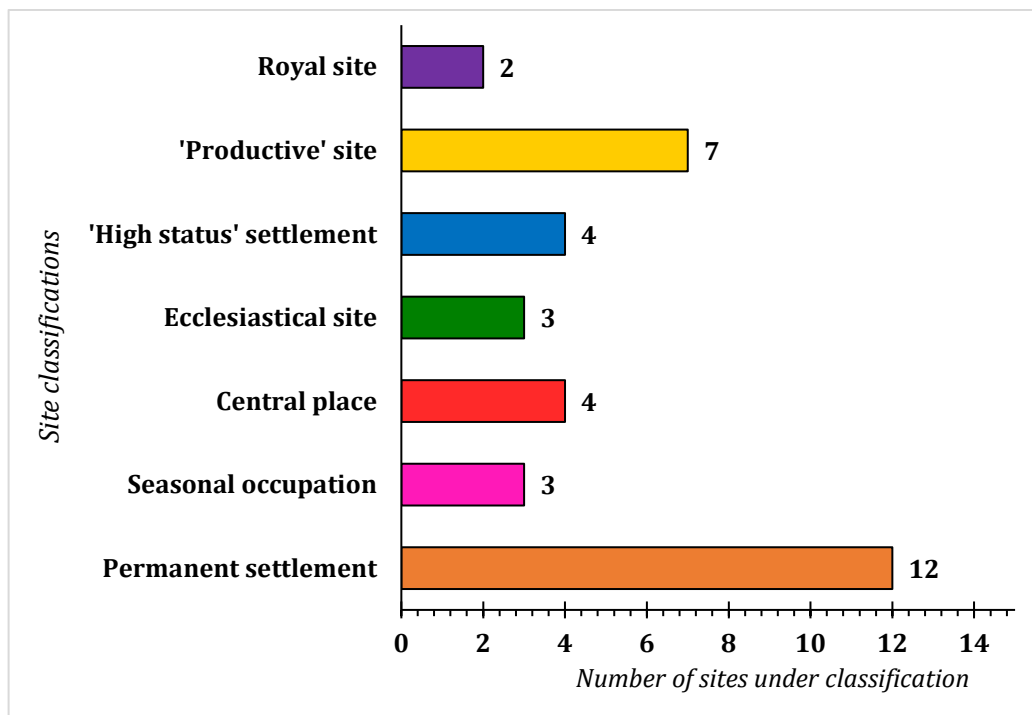


Figure 36: Illustration of settlement classifications (table 13)

Crucially, settlements in the region were not identical and their nature and scale varied. Twelve of the fifteen settlements identified were permanently occupied from the late sixth or seventh century until their later abandonment, whilst three sites were likely seasonal or only periodically in use across the period (table 14). Table 14 lists the further classification(s) of the sites from the case study area based on scholarly discussions and figure 36 illustrates a breakdown of the classifications more clearly.¹⁰⁹⁷ As shown, most of the sites have more than one classification and this indicates the significance in comparing each settlement. For example, table 14 demonstrates the difficulties in continuing to discuss 'productive sites' as a collective given the large variation in the scale and nature of the five sites labelled as 'productive' from the area.¹⁰⁹⁸

¹⁰⁹⁷ Table 14 is based on the discussions of identifications of type and level of occupation in existing publications such as those cited throughout chapter 10.

the discussions within the scholarship cited throughout chapter 10.

¹⁰⁹⁸ See chapter 7 (7.4).

Importantly, the designation of settlements appears greatly reliant upon the quality and quantity of imports found at each site alongside other metalwork. For example, despite the high number of iron and copper-alloy finds, Richards dismissed the 'productive' label for Cottam based on the lack of imported finds and concluded that Cottam was a small rural site and likely under the control of a nearby larger estate.¹⁰⁹⁹ In general, those with a higher number of imports from the region are defined as central places or centres often with a royal, elite or an ecclesiastical influence.¹¹⁰⁰ Certainly, the surviving written record does attest to a royal presence in some parts of the region. In AD 626, Edwin resided at a royal hall 'near the river Derwent', whilst the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* records the death of king Aldfrith in AD 705 at a royal vill in Driffield.¹¹⁰¹ Additionally, the monastic influence in the region closely intertwined with the royal presence in the area during the earlier seventh century. The missionary activity undertaken by Paulinus in Northumbria was closely linked to the activities of Edwin for example and Paulinus travelled south of the Humber to convert the kingdom of Lindsey following Edwin's overlordship.¹¹⁰²

However, this should not be taken to mean that all sites within the case study area that appear as 'higher-status' based on the assemblage should be viewed as either royal or ecclesiastical. Indeed, as Loveluck has noted more generally for this period, there is a tendency to assume that any site with a 'rich assemblage' is likely to have been monastic or royal in nature.¹¹⁰³ Certainly, the debate over

¹⁰⁹⁹ Julian D. Richards, 'Cottam: An Anglo-Scandinavian settlement on the Yorkshire Wolds', *Archaeological Journal* 156 (1999), pp. 86–99.

¹¹⁰⁰ See essays in Wrathmell (ed.), *Wharram: A Study of Settlement on the Yorkshire Wolds XIII* (Wharram Percy); Christopher Loveluck, *Rural Settlement, Lifestyles and Social Change in the Later First Millennium AD: Anglo-Saxon Flixborough in its Wider Context* (Oxford, 2007), esp. chapter 9 (9.1) (Flixborough); John Naylor, *An archaeology of trade in Middle Saxon England* (Oxford, 2004), p. 32 (Thwing); Kevin Leahy, 'Middle Anglo-Saxon metalwork from South Newbald and the 'Productive Site' phenomenon in Yorkshire', in H. Geake and J. Kenny (eds.), *Early Deira: archaeological studies of the East Riding in the fourth to ninth centuries AD*, (Oxford, 2000), pp. 76–82 (South Newbald).

¹¹⁰¹ Bede, *HE*, II.9; *ASC* (705) in Dorothy Whitelock (ed. and trans.), *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, p. 25. The location of the modern town of Driffield is mapped on the figures used in this case study. The exact location of the royal site remains uncertain.

¹¹⁰² Bede, *HE*, II.16.

¹¹⁰³ Loveluck, *Northwest Europe in the Early Middle Ages*, pp. 85–86.

the settlement at Flixborough (Lincolnshire) is a clear example of the problems with labelling and classifying sites.¹¹⁰⁴ The evidence from Flixborough strongly suggests that the settlement was a centre of production and consumption.¹¹⁰⁵ Moreover, the large number of imports and coins recovered from the site demonstrate that Flixborough was part of a pattern of contact across the North Sea.¹¹⁰⁶ There has been much debate over whether Flixborough was a monastic or secular estate.¹¹⁰⁷ Flixborough has been interpreted as a monastic centre based on similarities between the material recovered from the settlement and material recorded from known monastic sites.¹¹⁰⁸ For example, a number of items associated with literacy and writing including twenty-seven styli and an inscribed plaque were recovered from the settlement.¹¹⁰⁹ Such objects are strongly linked to monastic communities since literacy was primarily an ecclesiastical prerogative.¹¹¹⁰ As Loveluck has cautioned, however, using objects as exclusive markers of particular communities runs the risk of creating a circular analysis.¹¹¹¹ Indeed, there remains the possibility that these objects are instead evidence of secular literacy at the settlement.¹¹¹² Much of the evidence used to suggest a monastic presence at Flixborough also belongs to the later phase of settlement from the early ninth century onwards.¹¹¹³ The evidence from Flixborough crucially suggests that the character and status of the settlement changed throughout its lifespan.¹¹¹⁴ Based on the evidence recovered from the settlement, Loveluck argued that Flixborough was most

¹¹⁰⁴ Christopher Loveluck, 'A high-status Anglo-Saxon settlement at Flixborough, Lincolnshire', *Antiquity* 72:275 (1998), pp. 158–159.

¹¹⁰⁵ Loveluck, *Rural Settlement, Lifestyles and Social Change in the Later First Millennium AD*, p. 150; Loveluck, *Northwest Europe in the Early Middle Ages*, p. 128, pp. 186–187.

¹¹⁰⁶ Loveluck and Tys, 'Coastal societies, exchange and identity along the Channel and southern North Sea shores of Europe' p. 151.

¹¹⁰⁷ For a summary, see Blair, *The Church in Anglo-Saxon Society*, pp. 206–212.

¹¹⁰⁸ John Moreland, *Archaeology, Theory and the Middle Ages* (London, 2010), pp. 225–228.

¹¹⁰⁹ Tim Pestell, Michelle P. Brown, Elisabeth Okasha and Nicola Rogers, 'Writing and literacy-related items', in D.H. Evans and Christopher Loveluck (eds.), *Life and Economy at Early Medieval Flixborough* (Oxford, 2009), pp. 125–126. p. 128.

¹¹¹⁰ Blair, *The Church in Anglo-Saxon Society*, p. 209.

¹¹¹¹ Loveluck, *Rural Settlement, Lifestyles and Social Change in the Later First Millennium AD*, pp. 152–153.

¹¹¹² Pestell, Brown, Okasha and Rogers, 'Writing and literacy-related items', p. 128.

¹¹¹³ Loveluck, 'Wealth, waste and conspicuous consumption. Flixborough', pp. 115–116.

¹¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 159.

likely a secular rural estate that later developed or became part of a monastic estate.¹¹¹⁵ Additionally, Loveluck has questioned labelling sites such as Flixborough as ‘high-status’ based on the presence of particular objects and imports.¹¹¹⁶ While the categorisation of sites is difficult, looking at imports in cemeteries and settlements can offer a way of considering how cosmopolitan and interconnected communities were during this period.

10.4: Merovingian finds in the region

10.4.1: Dress objects

Only a small number of imported dress accessories were catalogued from both stray and grave good contexts ([table 15](#)). The small total points to the broader general decline in imported dress during the seventh century and is perhaps reflective of broader shifts such as a change in dress fashions (as discussed in chapter 9) as well as possibly signalling a change in the nature of settlements and activity in the region during the seventh century.¹¹¹⁷

Object:	Find context:		Total:
	Stray:	Burial:	
Buckle belt/plate/loop	2	2	4
Brooch	2	0	2
Other metalwork	3	-	3
			Total: 9

Table 15: Totals and find contexts of selected imported finds found in case study area 1

¹¹¹⁵ Loveluck, *Rural Settlement, Lifestyles and Social Change in the Later First Millennium AD*, pp. 147–151, p. 160.

¹¹¹⁶ Ibid., p. 147.

¹¹¹⁷ Chapter 9 (9.2.1). On settlement activity, see Christopher Loveluck, ‘The archaeology of post-Roman Yorkshire AD 500-700: Overview and future directions for research’, in T.G. Manby, Stephen Moorhouse and Patrick Ottaway (eds.), *The Archaeology of Yorkshire* (Leeds, 2003), pp. 167–169.

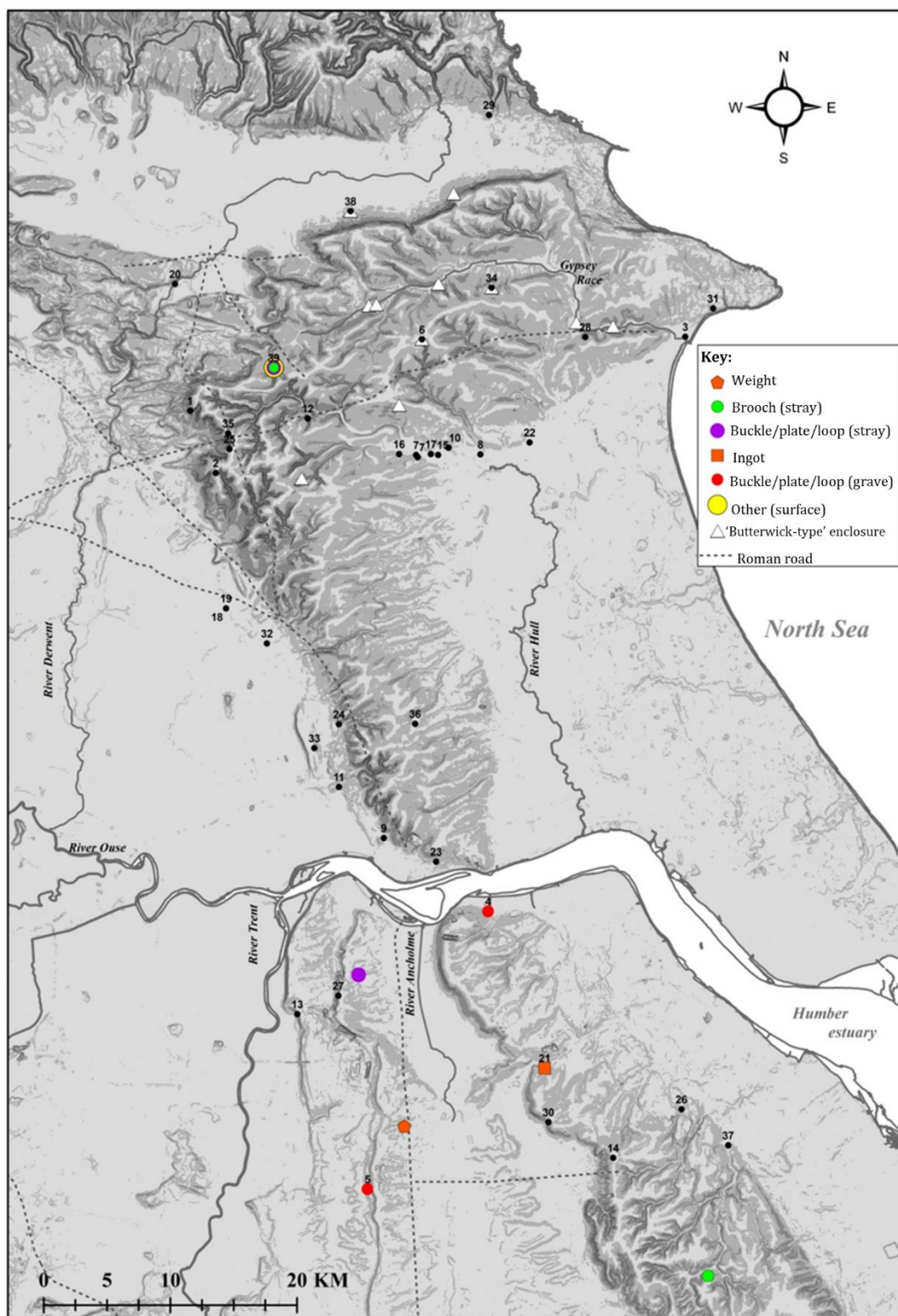


Figure 37: Distribution of selected imports in study area 1

Although the overall number of find spots remains small, as [figure 37](#) demonstrates, there is currently a broader distribution and number of find spots south of the Humber compared to the north with finds recorded from the settlement at Wharram Percy only. Whilst only stray finds were recorded north of the Humber, an openwork buckle deposited in grave 31 at Uncleby may have originated from Gaul or been produced by a craftsperson who was aware of continental styles and techniques.¹¹¹⁸ South of the Humber, imported objects are present at two of the larger cemetery sites, Castledyke and Cleatham.

Whilst the cemeteries at Castledyke and Cleatham are a considerable size and occupied an extensive space, the total number of imports at these sites represents a tiny proportion of the overall grave goods. Out of the 201 graves at Castledyke, only grave 1 and grave 94 stand out for their seventh-century imported assemblage.¹¹¹⁹ Similarly, Cleatham remains one of the largest Anglo-Saxon cemeteries with both cremations (1,204) and inhumations (sixty-two) present.¹¹²⁰ Despite this, only one buckle from grave 15 was identified for this study out of the fourteen late sixth to seventh century buckles found at the site.¹¹²¹ The few objects emphasise the importance in considering how an individual or community interacted with objects and potential motives behind their deposition. [Table 16](#) lists the objects from both Castledyke and Cleatham alongside information relating to the age and sex of the individual and the accompanying assemblage from each grave. Osteological data was only available for the individual from Castledyke whereas the individual in grave 15 at Cleatham is assumed as female in the report based on the associated grave-good assemblage.¹¹²²

¹¹¹⁸ Abigail Hansen, *The Revival of Uncleby: An Antiquarian excavation of an Anglian Cemetery* (2 volumes, Unpublished PhD thesis: University of York, 2018), volume 1, p.60, volume 2, p. 167; Marzinzik, *Early Anglo-Saxon Belt Buckles*, pp. 62–63.

¹¹¹⁹ Drinkall and Foreman, *The Anglo-Saxon Cemetery at Castledyke South*, p. 138, p. 274,

¹¹²⁰ Leahy, *Interrupting the Pots: The Excavation of Cleatham Anglo-Saxon Cemetery*, p. xvii.

¹¹²¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 150–151.

¹¹²² Drinkall and Foreman, *The Anglo-Saxon Cemetery at Castledyke South*, pp. 62–63; Leahy, *Interrupting the pots: The Excavation of Cleatham Anglo-Saxon Cemetery*, p. 151, p. 253.

Cemetery:	Grave:	Object:	Individual:	Other assemblage:
Castledyke	94	Copper alloy triangular belt plate (Marzinzik type II.23 A)	Male, adult 30-49 years(osteological analysis)	Seax, x3 knives, nail or stud and pebble.
Cleatham	15	Cloisonné garnet-inlaid buckle (Marzinzik type II.26 Bii)	Assumed female due to other assemblage, adult (archaeological analysis)	Annular brooch (x2), beads (x4), copper alloy melt, pottery sherds (Anglo-Saxon)

Table 16: Details of the imported buckles from burials at Castledyke and Cleatham

Interestingly, the reports for both Castledyke and Cleatham do not confidently classify the above objects as a ‘direct import’. The buckle from grave 15 at Cleatham shows traces of gilding and is inlaid with garnet cloisonné.¹¹²³ Whilst buckles of this type found in the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms are largely identified as continental, imitations of this type are relatively common particularly in Kent and finds are known possibly as far north as Dunbar (chapter 9).¹¹²⁴ The belt plate from grave 94 at Castledyke meanwhile features three dome-headed copper alloy rivets and is a style typically linked to continental belts from the late sixth century.¹¹²⁵ Similar plates have been found in burials at Mill Hill (grave 93, Kent), St Peter’s Tip (Kent) and Wheatley (grave 14, Oxfordshire) and all three are likewise viewed as imports.¹¹²⁶ Whilst the majority of grave finds of this type are known from the south, a stray copper-alloy buckle plate found just over ten kilometres away at the site of Roxby closely resembles the plate from Castledyke and features three domeheaded rivets.¹¹²⁷ The stray belt plate at

¹¹²³ Leahy, *Interrupting the pots*, p. 151.

¹¹²⁴ See Marzinzik type II.26. Marzinzik, *Early Anglo-Saxon belt buckles* p. 50, pp. 62–63; For the buckle from Dunbar, see Blackwell ‘Anglo-Saxon Dunbar, East Lothian’, pp. 361–371.

¹¹²⁵ Drinkall and Foreman, *The Anglo-Saxon Cemetery at Castledyke South*, p. 272; Marzinzik, *Early Anglo-Saxon belt buckles*, p. 50, pp. 450–451.

¹¹²⁶ Marzinzik, *Early Anglo-Saxon belt buckles*, pp. 49–50, p. 128. These objects are listed in appendix II.

¹¹²⁷ PAS reference NLM-60D592.

Roxby also showed traces of gilding on the display side which is more commonly found on the Merovingian belts of this style.¹¹²⁸

The belt plate from Castledyke is considered an import rather than an imitation based largely on the assertion by Drinkall and Foreman that the deceased male displayed a strong 'Frankish affinity'.¹¹²⁹ Problematically, this link between the individual and a Frankish identity is based largely upon the accompanying assemblage in the grave, most notably the seax ([table 16](#)).¹¹³⁰ Rather than designates of ethnicity, it is far better to view these items as part of flows of circulating material. Moreover, even if these buckles were manufactured in an Anglo-Saxon kingdom, they are still significant in reflecting the sharing of ideas across the sea.¹¹³¹

A wheel-thrown vessel from grave 1 is the only object confidently identified as a Merovingian import within the Castledyke report.¹¹³² The vessel draws closest parallels with jugs found at the Merovingian cemetery of Guitrancourt and a study of wheel-thrown vessels from graves by Vera Evison revealed that finds of this type are largely restricted to the kingdom of Kent.¹¹³³ Importantly, as Drinkall and Foreman note in the report, there is no need to assume that the object arrived via Kent and the jug could have arrived directly from the Humber given the accessibility of the site.¹¹³⁴ Alongside the Frankish vessel, a balance set with weights was deposited in the grave, which may be further suggestive of mercantile engagement.¹¹³⁵

Moving on to the distribution of stray finds, south of the Humber, alongside the aforementioned stray copper-alloy buckle plate from Roxby, an early eighth century equal-armed brooch of possible continental manufacture was found at

¹¹²⁸ Marzinzik, *Early Anglo-Saxon belt buckles*, p. 49.

¹¹²⁹ Drinkall and Foreman, *The Anglo-Saxon Cemetery at Castledyke South*, p. 274.

¹¹³⁰ Ibid.

¹¹³¹ See chapter 9.

¹¹³² Drinkall and Foreman, *The Anglo-Saxon Cemetery at Castledyke South*, pp. 94–95.

¹¹³³ Ibid., p. 34; Evison, *A Corpus of wheel-thrown Pottery in Anglo-Saxon Graves*.

¹¹³⁴ Drinkall and Foreman, *The Anglo-Saxon Cemetery at Castledyke South*, p. 362.

¹¹³⁵ Ibid., p. 138. See chapter 6 (6.2) and [table 3](#).

Binbrook.¹¹³⁶ The dating of the brooch is largely based on the three equal-armed and pelleted cross design of the brooch and its similarity to later eighth and ninth century brooches from overseas.¹¹³⁷ Based on Weetch's study of the brooches, their distribution appears to correspond closely to river networks with finds along the Rhine, Meuse, Scheldt and a large number are known from the site at Domburg from where they were possibly exported to the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms.¹¹³⁸

There are only a few PAS recorded finds reported from the case study area. Most of the entries recorded in the database are coin finds (discussed below) rather than other imported objects.¹¹³⁹ Currently, most of the finds in the northern area of the case study are known from the South Manor area of the deserted medieval village at Wharram Percy, a settlement situated in the northern area of the Wolds ([figure 37](#)). Interestingly, the site did not undergo extensive metal-detecting in comparison to settlements nearby such as Cottam and all of the finds recorded were surface finds.¹¹⁴⁰ It is therefore possible that smaller and less 'spectacular' objects were missed during the initial survey. Additionally, if the site had undergone extensive metal detecting, it is probable that more metalwork and coinage would be known. Whilst there may be issues with the methods used to excavate the settlement, the excavations of Wharram Percy crucially provided substantial evidence of Anglo-Saxon occupation on the Wolds that was otherwise previously 'invisible' within the archaeological record.¹¹⁴¹

¹¹³⁶ See above (Roxby). PAS reference NLM-83A75F (Binbrook).

¹¹³⁷ For a discussion of typology and distribution, see Weetch, *Brooches in Late Anglo-Saxon England within a North West European Context*, pp. 264–265.

¹¹³⁸ Ibid., p. 265 and figure 5.12 B.

¹¹³⁹ A general PAS search for all objects from the early medieval period dated from AD 580 to AD 800 from the Yorkshire and the Humber region returned thirty-nine results of which twenty-two were coin finds. This search was carried out in August 2018 and again in January 2019.

¹¹⁴⁰ Ian Riddler, 'Characterising middle Saxon Wharram: Artefacts and the iron economy', in S. Wrathmell (ed.), *Wharram: A Study of Settlement on the Yorkshire Wolds XIII: A History of Wharram Percy and its Neighbours*, (York, 2012), p. 146.

¹¹⁴¹ The site is invisible to aerial photography. See Richards, 'Anglo-Saxon settlements and archaeological visibility in the Yorkshire Wolds', pp. 36–37.

The subsequent significance of Wharram Percy in understanding the nature of settlements and societies in the region is demonstrated by the numerous classifications of the site as shown in [table 14](#). More significant is that the high-status and elite classification of the settlement largely rests upon the presence of Merovingian finds.¹¹⁴² Certainly, several of the finds recovered from the South Manor area are rarely found elsewhere. For example, the earliest dated finds at the site are two Frisian ('Domburg type') bow brooches.¹¹⁴³ Finds of this type elsewhere are few and far between and only one find from Saleby (Lincolnshire) is so far noted in the PAS database.¹¹⁴⁴ Traditionally, the brooches are assigned a late sixth-century date, although Dutch archaeologists now suggest a wider date range from the fifth century to the seventh century if the bow brooch found at Odijk (in the province of Utrecht) is indeed representative of their continued production.¹¹⁴⁵ The presence of the brooches importantly provides evidence of earlier contact with Frisia before the circulation of series E (porcupine) sceattas at the turn of the eighth century around the Humber and surrounding region and subsequent establishment of a Frisian settlement at York as referred to in the *Life of St Liudger* written by Altfred in the ninth century.¹¹⁴⁶

Alongside the Frisian brooches, other imported objects recovered from the South Manor area at Wharram Percy include an iron hilt-guard, two garnet inlaid sword pommels and a belt fitting.¹¹⁴⁷ The copper alloy belt fitting has

¹¹⁴² J. D. Richards, 'What's so special about "productive sites"? Middle Saxon settlements in Northumbria', *Anglo-Saxon Studies in Archaeology and History* 10 (1999) pp. 71–80; Riddler, 'Characterising middle Saxon Wharram: Artefacts and the iron economy', pp. 151–152.

¹¹⁴³ See Barry Ager's discussion of the Frisian brooches in I.R. Goodall, 'Non-ferrous metal objects', in Gustav Milne and J.D. Richards (eds.), *Two Anglo-Saxon Buildings and Associated Finds, Wharram: A Study of Settlement on the Yorkshire Wolds* (York, 1992), pp. 47–49.

¹¹⁴⁴ PAS reference FAKL-044964. Pers comm. Barry Ager.

¹¹⁴⁵ For a discussion of brooch from Odijk and of 'Domburg' type brooches, see S. Heeren and L. van der Feijst, *Fibulae uit de Lage Landen* (Amersfoort, 2017), pp. 234–237.

¹¹⁴⁶ Altfred, *The Life of Saint Liudger*, chapter 11, ed and trans. Dorothy Whitelock, *English Historical Documents I, 500–1042* (Oxford, 1979), number 160.

¹¹⁴⁷ Riddler, 'Characterising middle Saxon Wharram: Artefacts and the iron economy', p. 141; I. Goodall and E. Clark, 'Iron objects', in P. Stamper and R. Croft (eds.), *Wharram VIII: The South Manor Area* (York, 2000), p. 139.

been compared to belt fittings recovered from graves at London (grave J), Southampton (grave 3520) and Ipswich (grave 1306).¹¹⁴⁸ Overall, the imports recovered from Wharram Percy indicate that the site had far reaching networks during the seventh century. What remains uncertain is whether this occurred directly or via entrepot like monastic settlements, coastal trading sites and *emporia*. An analysis of the coinage evidence may contribute to answering this question.

10.4.2: Coinage

Since the last major study of the circulation of seventh-century coinage in the region undertaken by Naylor in 2007, the number of finds (particularly gold issues) has greatly increased.¹¹⁴⁹ [Figure 38](#) breaks down the sixty-six coins from the study area by type.¹¹⁵⁰ As shown, there are finds of all of the coin types from the century. The total number of Merovingian coin finds from the case study area (twenty-nine) greatly outnumbers the number of dress imports (above). Overall, the large number of coin finds corroborates the emerging model for economic connections growing for this region based on more consistent modes of production of specific goods and/or materials.

¹¹⁴⁸ Riddler, 'Characterising middle Saxon Wharram: Artefacts and the iron economy', p. 141. On these belt fittings, see chapter 8 (8.2.2, 8.2.3 and 8.2.4).

¹¹⁴⁹ Naylor, 'The circulation of early-medieval European coinage: A case study from Yorkshire, c. 650–c. 867', pp. 41–61. See also Naylor, *An archaeology of trade in Middle Saxon England*. For a recent study of coinage from the eighth century onwards, see Abramson, *Coinage in the Northumbrian Landscape and Economy*, chapter 7 (esp. 7.3–7.6)

¹¹⁵⁰ Totals based on downloaded EMC database (March 2019) and cross-referenced with PAS search for 'early medieval coins' (March 2019).

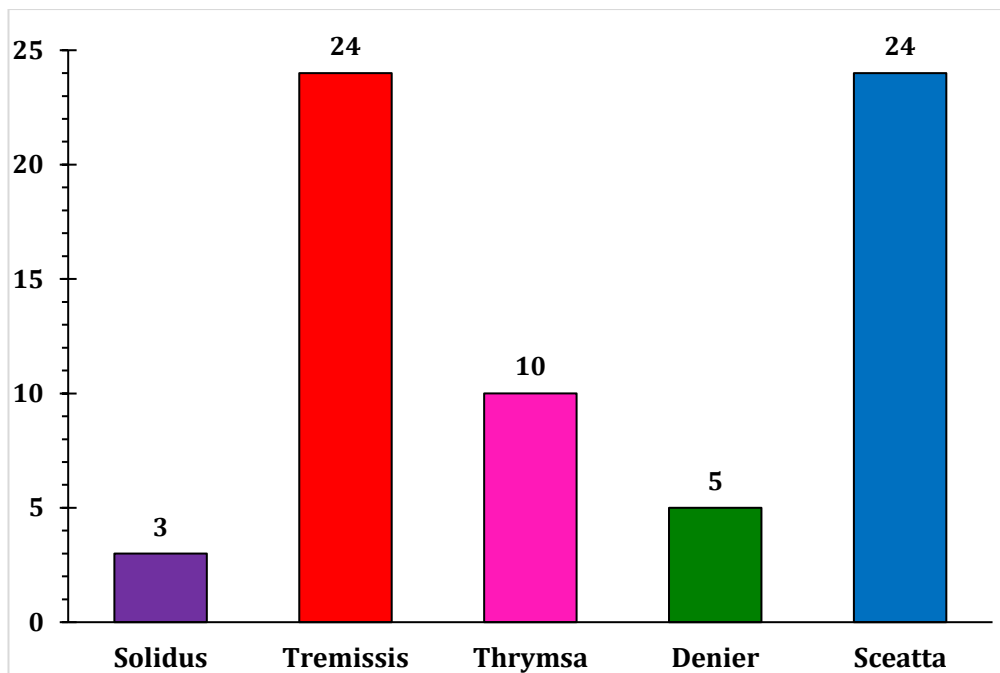


Figure 38: Coin totals by type from case study area 1

The three solidi are Byzantine royal issues minted in Constantinople during the sixth century.¹¹⁵¹ [Table 17](#) lists the details of the type, weight, mint and find spot of the Merovingian coinage. As [table 17](#) and [figure 38](#) demonstrate, finds of tremisses (twenty-four) vastly outnumber deniers (five), though this disparity may change with future metal detecting. Overall, there are more uncertain mint attributions than certain. Although, the mints that have been identified suggest that coins from a range of mints had reached and were circulating in the region. For example, coins from the north (Dronrijp and Maastricht), south (Limoges and Lyon) and the east (Metz) are known to have circulated ([table 17](#)). Both Dorestad and Quentovic coinage are also present within the coin sample. The Quentovic issues are from two different moneyers, Ela and Dutta. As chapter 7 outlined, there are few coins produced by Ela are largely rare from the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms with only one other find known from Ware, Herefordshire.¹¹⁵² In contrast, finds of the coins issued by Dutta are far more widespread and numerous across the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms and could represent an increased

¹¹⁵¹ EMC number 2004.0205 (Justin I solidus, 'Yorkshire'); PAS references NLM-400892 (Riby, Justinian I solidus) and NCL-6A6EF5 (Bossall, Phocas solidus)

¹¹⁵² PAS reference BH-86BC41. This coin is also a denier, not a tremissis as noted in the PAS entry which, as of 2020, was last updated in October 2018.

production of coins at Quentovic.¹¹⁵³ Of the two Dorestad issues, one is a silver imitative Madelinus issue (Series MA) and survives only as a fragment, explaining the low weight recorded in [table 17](#).¹¹⁵⁴

Type:	Metal:	Weight: (g)	Mint:	Moneyer:	Find spot:	Reference: (EMC/PAS)
Tremissis (imitation)	Gold	0.8	Uncertain	Uncertain	'Bridlington west'	DUR-D5C999
Tremissis	Gold	1.4	Uncertain	Uncertain	Brigg	2011.0223
Tremissis	Gold	1.3	Quentovic	Ela	Caistor-on-the-wolds	1996.0058
Tremissis	Gold	1.3	Uncertain	Uncertain	Cleethorpes	2003.0135
Tremissis	Gold	X	Uncertain	Uncertain	Hemswell cliff	2015.0247
Tremissis	Gold	1.1	Sion	Betto	Irby	2001.0847
Tremissis	Gold	1.2	Maastricht	Rimoaldus	Kirton	2016.0319
Tremissis (imitation)	Gold	1.16	Uncertain	Uncertain	Louth	1987.0034
Tremissis	Gold	1.2g	Treveri	Launovios	Louth	2019.0132
Tremissis	Gold	1.22	Dronrijp	Uncertain	Ludborough	2001.0978
Tremissis (imitation)	Silver	0.52	Uncertain (Dorestad)	Pseudo-Madelinus	Ludford	SWYOR-1FB037
Tremissis	Gold	X	Uncertain	Uncertain	Malton	2001.1094
Tremissis	Gold	1.28	Sacierges	Uncertain	Malton	2010.0006
Tremissis	Gold	1.2	Paris	Aegomund	Malton	2012.0277
Tremissis	Gold	1.25	Uncertain	Uncertain	Market Rasen	2008.0035
Tremissis	Gold	1.25	Uncertain	Uncertain	Market Rasen	2007.0209
Tremissis	Gold	1.28	Uncertain	Uncertain	Nettleton	1998.0039
Tremissis	Gold	X	Quentovic	Dutta	Nettleton	2009.0011
Tremissis	Gold	1.1	Uncertain	Uncertain	North Cave	SWYOR-236F00
Tremissis	Gold	X	Dorestad	Madelinus	'North Yorkshire'	2004.0008
Tremissis	Gold	1.3	Metz	Theudelenus	Riby	1998.0001
Tremissis	Gold	1.27	Dronrijp	Uncertain	Riby	1998.0043
Tremissis	Gold	1.32	Uncertain	Uncertain	Wharram Percy	2010.0172
Tremissis (imitation)	Gold	0.8	Uncertain	Uncertain	Yapham	YORYM-761506

¹¹⁵³ See chapter 7 (7.5)

¹¹⁵⁴ PAS reference SWYOR-1FB037.

Denier	Silver	0.65	Uncertain	Uncertain	Bridlington	2013.0371
Denier	Silver	X	Uncertain	Uncertain	North Lincolnshire	2016.0106
Denier	Silver	1.24	Limoges (?)	Theodoald	Market Rasen	2011.0031
Denier	Silver	0.94	Lyon	Uncertain	Rudston	2009.0018
Denier	Silver	0.85	Uncertain	Uncertain	Rudston	2009.0019

Table 17: List of Merovingian coins (c. AD 580–710) found in the area of case study 1

The Dorestad forgery returns to the issue of coin imitations during the period. Out of the remaining tremisses, there are at least a further three imitative issues. The tremissis from Yapham is a Merovingian imitation of a pseudo-imperial Justinian I issue whilst the plated imitation from Louth and imitative tremissis from ‘Bridlington west’ have not been identified.¹¹⁵⁵ In the case of the pseudo-tremissis, the coin is a definite outlier when compared with the weights of the remaining coins ([table 17](#)). In the case of the Bridlington find, this survives only as a fragment and the true weight of the coin is unknown. As addressed in chapter 6, such coins demonstrate the demand and desire for coinage and shed light on their value.¹¹⁵⁶

The final outlier from [table 17](#) is the denier from the site of Market Rasen (Lincolnshire).¹¹⁵⁷ Based on the presence of a large ‘ER’ design on the obverse that could possibly stand for *Ecclesiae racio*, the coin is associated with the mint of the ecclesiastical community at Limoges.¹¹⁵⁸ The weight of this issue is more consistent with the tremisses rather than deniers and importantly represents the transition from gold to silver coinage in the late seventh century.¹¹⁵⁹ There are tremisses of a similar weight to the denier at Market Rasen and the

¹¹⁵⁵ PAS references YORYM-761506 (Yapham) and DUR-D5C999 (Bridlington); EMC number 1987.0034 (Louth).

¹¹⁵⁶ Chapter 6 (6.3)

¹¹⁵⁷ The site lies a few kilometres outside of the area of study to the south.

¹¹⁵⁸ Blackburn and Grierson, *MEC1*, p. 145.

¹¹⁵⁹ See J. Lafaurie ‘Monnaies épiscopales de Limoges des VII^e et VIII^e siècles’, *Bulletin de la Société Française de Numismatique* 30 (1975), pp. 778–782.

community at the site most likely handled the denier in the same way as these earlier coins.¹¹⁶⁰

As chapter 7 outlined, most of the seventh-century coin finds from the kingdom of Northumbria are located in the southern part of the sub-kingdom Deira.¹¹⁶¹ For comparative purposes, [figure 39](#) depicts the distribution of all types of seventh-century coinage. In general, there is a wide spread of coin finds and there is no immediate disparity in distribution between Anglo-Saxon and Merovingian coinage. There are a higher number of finds further inland, particularly in the Yorkshire and Lincolnshire Wolds, compared to the number of find spots around the Humber coastline and its immediate hinterland. Indeed, with the exception of the unidentifiable tremissis found five kilometres from the Humber at North Cave, the find spots of the Merovingian coins north of the Humber are at least twenty kilometres away.¹¹⁶² South of the Humber, the average distance of finds is slightly smaller at around ten kilometres and the closest find to the Humber was an uncertain tremisses recovered from Cleethorpes.¹¹⁶³ To some extent, the distribution of finds can partly be explained by the topography and geology of the region outlined above, particularly when explaining why finds are largely absent from the 'Humber wetland' areas.¹¹⁶⁴

¹¹⁶⁰ Attention should be drawn to the Market Rasen finds. It is possible that EMC number 2008.0035 is a duplicate entry for *EMC* 2007.0209 given the exact same details and image for both entries.

¹¹⁶¹ See chapter 7 (7.4).

¹¹⁶² PAS reference SWYOR-236F00.

¹¹⁶³ EMC number 2003.0135.

¹¹⁶⁴ See 11.2.

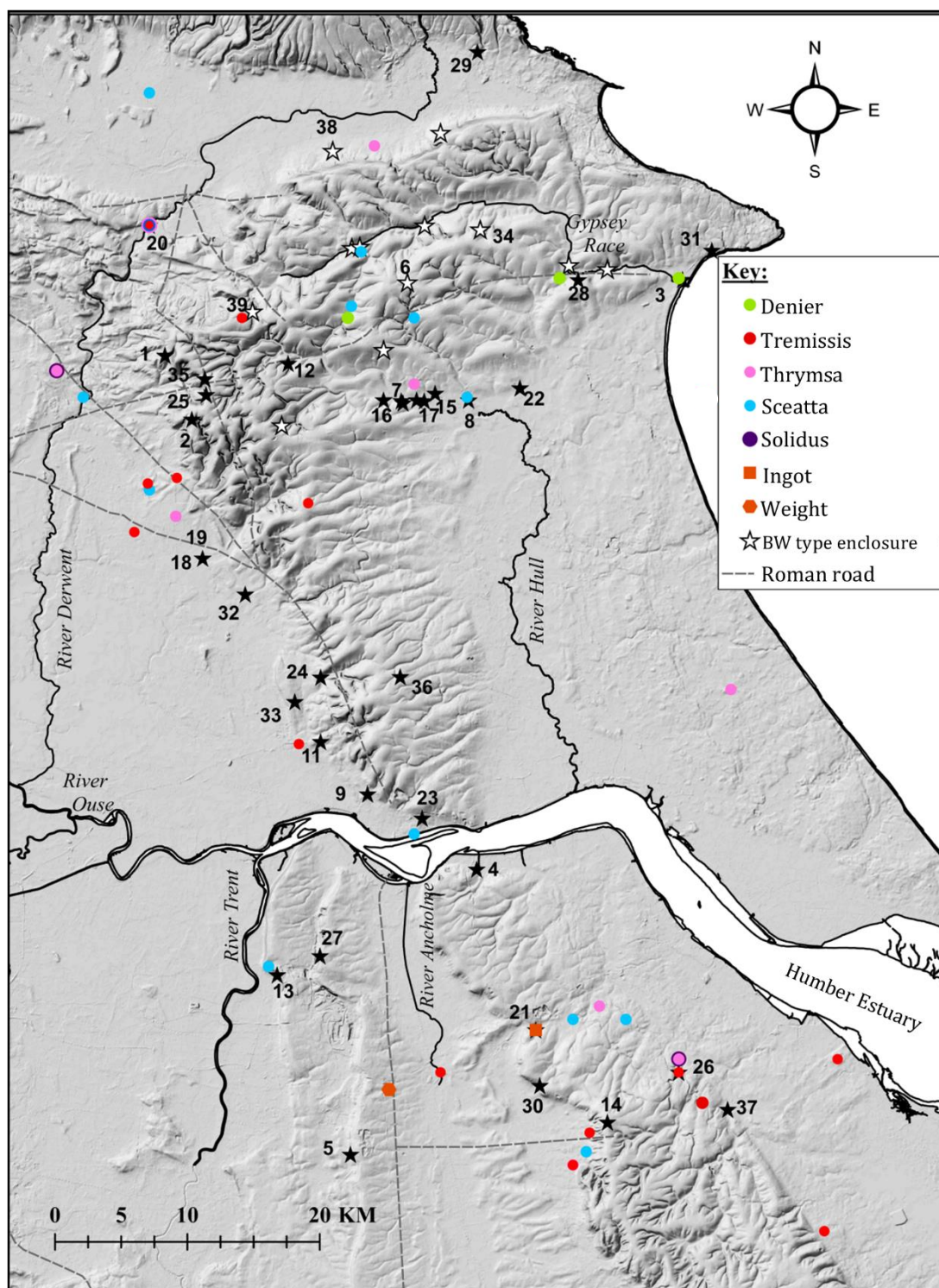


Figure 39: Distribution of coinage in case study area 1

The distribution of all types of coinage largely mirrors the pattern of the Anglo-Saxon settlement of the region outlined above ([figure 39](#)). On average, the distance between a coin find and a settlement ([table 13](#)) is approximately five kilometres or less ([figure 39](#)). The distribution pattern further suggests that the coins were used as a form of exchange, most likely to purchase goods produced by these communities including (but not limited to) wool, cloth, or grain.¹¹⁶⁵ This exchange model can also be proposed for rural areas in the kingdom Wessex from the late seventh century onwards based on the distribution of coins in the region outlined in chapter 7.¹¹⁶⁶ Though Costen and Costen suggest that the communities traded slaves, the finds could more easily reflect trade in raw materials.¹¹⁶⁷ Finds of coins from hillforts in southern England have also been interpreted as indicators of trade in stock.¹¹⁶⁸

Finds directly from the settlements, however, are limited and known from only seven of the sites. The limited number of coins from these sites can possibly be explained by illicit metal detecting in the region as well as the methods used to excavate sites. For example, at Cottam, the topsoil was removed with a digger which likely affected the recovery of coins at the site.¹¹⁶⁹ The coins that have been recovered from the settlements are mostly eighth century issues. With the exception of one primary series B sceatta near the site, the earliest dated coins from the estate at Flixborough are secondary phase sceattas.¹¹⁷⁰ Similarly, at the 'productive' sites of Cottam and South Newbald, the earliest coins are also from

¹¹⁶⁵ On increasing specialisation and surplus production at rural settlements, see Crabtree, 'Agricultural innovation and socio-economic change in early-medieval Europe', pp. 122–136.

¹¹⁶⁶ Costen and Costen, 'Trade and exchange in Anglo-Saxon Wessex, c. 600-780', pp. 1–26.

¹¹⁶⁷ Ibid.

¹¹⁶⁸ Peter Sawyer, *The Wealth of Anglo-Saxon England* (2013), p. 73; D.M. Metcalf, 'Twelve notes on sceatta finds', *British Numismatic Journal* 46:3 (1976), pp. 1–2.

¹¹⁶⁹ Richards, Ashby, Austin, Haldenby, Hummler, Jelley, Richardson, Roskams and Niven, 'Cottam, Cowlam and Environs', p. 215.

¹¹⁷⁰ As of October 2018. EMC number 2000.0239. For an overview of the coinage, see Marion Archibald, 'The Anglo-Saxon and Merovingian coins from Flixborough', in D.H. Evans and Christopher Loveluck (eds.), *Life and Economy at Early Medieval Flixborough c. AD 600–1000* (Oxford, 2009), pp. 402–412.

the eighth century.¹¹⁷¹ Only three sites currently have five or more seventh-century coin finds, the sites of Malton, North Ferriby and Riby ([table 18](#)). Two of the sites (North Ferriby and Riby) are located on the lower-lying fringes of the Wolds with North Ferriby located on the Humber coastline ([figure 35](#)). Whereas Riby was a permanently occupied small rural settlement, both Malton and North Ferriby were seasonal sites ([table 14](#)).

Place:	Tremissis:	Thrymsa:	Sceatta:	Denier:	Total:
Malton	3	1	1	0	5
North Ferriby	0	0	5	0	5
Riby	2	0	5	0	7

Table 18: Seventh-century coin finds from Malton, North Ferriby and Riby (totals as of January 2020 from EMC/PAS databases)

Importantly, there are currently no finds of tremisses or deniers from North Ferriby ([table 18](#)). Instead, all of the seventh-century coins are Anglo-Saxon sceattas (two series B sceattas and three Aldfrith issues).¹¹⁷² North Ferriby is frequently interpreted as the precursor to the urban settlement at York and assumed to have been an early ‘toll’ station along the Humber controlled by nearby settlements.¹¹⁷³ Yet, as already presented in previous chapters, there are Merovingian coins at York suggesting that the two sites were contemporary, and the apparent absence of Merovingian coinage in the first instance raises doubt over the first postulation.¹¹⁷⁴ In general, the circulation of coinage in the region ([figure 39](#)) during the century does not seem to reflect the existence of a

¹¹⁷¹ EMC and PAS advanced search ‘South Newbald (formerly Sancton)’ and ‘Cottam’ (March 2018). For a discussion of the later coinage, see J.D. Richards, ‘The Anglian and Anglo-Scandinavian sites at Cottam, East Yorkshire’, in T. Pestell and K. Ulmschneider (eds.), *Markets in Early Medieval Europe. Trading and ‘Productive’ Sites, 650-850*. (Macclesfield, 2003), pp. 155–166; J. Booth, ‘Northumbrian coinage and the productive site at South Newbald (“Sancton”)’, in H. Geake and J. Kenny (eds.), *Early Deira: Archaeological studies of the East Riding in the fourth to ninth centuries AD* (Oxford, 2000), pp. 83–97.

¹¹⁷² EMC numbers 1984.0201, 1984.0202 and 2006.0223 (Aldfrith sceattas); 1997.8142 and 1997.8144 (series B sceattas).

¹¹⁷³ For example, see D.M. Metcalf, ‘The coinage of King Aldfrith of Northumbria (685–704) and some contemporary imitations’, *British Numismatic Journal*, p. 151; Higham and Ryan, *The Anglo-Saxon World*, p. 146; D.M. Palliser, *Medieval York: 600–1540* (Oxford, 2014), p. 35.

¹¹⁷⁴ See, for example, chapter 7 (7.3.1.2).

controlled system and suggests the relatively free movement of coinage instead. However, there are currently no Merovingian coin finds around Driffield where a royal presence was strongly established. That the majority of the coins from the Driffield area are also Northumbrian issues indicates royal authority and possible control of coinage or regulation of trade around this area.¹¹⁷⁵ Perhaps the most problematic issue surrounding North Ferriby is that the site is yet to undergo extensive excavations, and interpretations rest solely on the coinage recovered from the site. The interpretation and analysis of North Ferriby is comparable to the problem of identifying the continental sites of De Panne and Domburg as ‘beach markets’ as chapter 7 outlined.¹¹⁷⁶

Similarly, the status of Malton (or ‘Near Malton 1 and 2’) as a seasonal settlement and ‘productive’ site relies upon the metalwork and coinage discovered at the site.¹¹⁷⁷ Out of the three tremisses recovered from the site, one find was insufficiently recorded and there are no details relating to the iconography or weight of the coin.¹¹⁷⁸ The remaining two tremisses are of a standard weight and suggest that activity at the site began in the earlier seventh century ([table 17](#)). Although situated thirty kilometres away from the Humber, the site was still in a strategic location for trade to take place. Malton was located further inland at the western edge of the Vale of Pickering bordering the Vale of York and adjacent to the River Derwent ([figure 35](#)). The site was roughly ten kilometres from the large estate at Wharram Percy (see above) and just over fifteen kilometres from West Heslerton ([figure 35](#)) and it is possible that the site acted as a marketplace for these sites. The overall structure of the settlement at West Heslerton was well organised with dedicated areas for housing, craft and industry, animal husbandry and crop processing which

¹¹⁷⁵ Abramson, *Coinage in the Northumbrian Landscape and Economy*, p. 136–146; Loveluck, ‘The development of the Anglo-Saxon landscape, economy and society ‘On Driffield’’, pp. 25–48

¹¹⁷⁶ See Chapter 7 (7.3).

¹¹⁷⁷ Blackburn, ‘“Productive” sites and the pattern of coin loss in England, 600–1180’, pp. 30–31. See also Mike Bosner, ‘Fifteen years of coin finds from ‘Productive’ sites’, *Yorkshire Numismatist* 3 (1997), pp. 42–43.

¹¹⁷⁸ See the entry for EMC number 2001.1094.

seems to imply a level of deliberate planning and investment.¹¹⁷⁹ Textile production appears to have been an especially important activity at the site based on the high volume of loom weights recovered.¹¹⁸⁰ A large number of textiles were recovered from the burials at the nearby cemetery at West Heslerton and analysed in detail by Walton Rogers.¹¹⁸¹ Most interestingly, the most popular fibres in the textile samples were wool and flax which seems to suggest a plentiful supply of these materials and the likelihood that they were sourced locally rather than imported from elsewhere.¹¹⁸²

In her analysis of the zooarchaeological data from several Anglo-Saxon rural settlements, Crabtree noted an increase in the proportion of sheep at West Heslerton and linked this increase to the growing importance and role of specialised wool production in the Mid-Saxon economy.¹¹⁸³

It seems plausible to suggest that wool and flax were one of the surplus commodities produced and traded by the community at West Heslerton.

In contrast to North Ferriby and Malton where the exact nature of occupation is speculative, Riby was identified from aerial photography and a portion of the site was subsequently excavated and metal-detected.¹¹⁸⁴ A notable deposit from the site is the high volume of animal, particularly cattle, bone discovered during excavations suggesting that the community at Riby were well sustained and clearly points to the agricultural nature of occupation.¹¹⁸⁵ In general, compared to other sites south of the Humber such as Flixborough, Riby is far more modest in its size, although the settlement enclosures appear to have expanded in the latter half of the seventh century suggesting an increase in the population and

¹¹⁷⁹ Powlesland, 'Reflections upon the Anglo-Saxon landscape and settlement of the Vale of Pickering', p. 119.

¹¹⁸⁰ Penelope Walton Rogers, 'The textiles', in Christine Haughton and Dominic Powlesland, *West Heslerton: The Anglian cemetery*, p. 158.

¹¹⁸¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 143–171.

¹¹⁸² *Ibid.*, pp. 145–147, p. 158.

¹¹⁸³ Crabtree, 'Agricultural innovation and socio-economic change in early medieval Europe', pp. 127–129.

¹¹⁸⁴ Ken Steedman, 'Excavation of a Saxon site at Riby Cross Roads, Lincolnshire', *Archaeological Journal* 151:1 (1994), pp. 212–215.

¹¹⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 285–286.

activity.¹¹⁸⁶ Unfortunately, the exact function of these enclosures remains uncertain, but it is likely that several had different functions and the finding of loom weights point to textile production in some areas of the settlement.¹¹⁸⁷ Interestingly, Merovingian coinage was not the only import from the site. Amongst the ceramic assemblage, a single imported wheel-thrown vessel was recognised with Pas de Calais presumed as the possible place of provenance based on parallels in the form and design of the vessel with those from this region.¹¹⁸⁸ Given the close proximity of Riby to the Humber, it is likely that the vessel reached the settlement directly and demonstrates the access of smaller sites to the North Sea trading network.

The distribution of the deniers from the area potentially point to a new point of entry for coinage alongside the Humber on the eastern coast. Based on their distribution along the Great Wold Valley and the presence of a denier at Bridlington, the deniers may have entered Deira at a possible port at Bridlington and travelled westwards overland.¹¹⁸⁹ Certainly, for many of the settlements, the distance to the Humber was greater than the distance to the eastern coastline and both the Roman road and the Gypsy Race provided an alternative route into the heart of the Yorkshire Wolds ([figure 34](#)). Most of the deniers are also located close to 'butterwick-type' settlements along the Wold and suggest that the silver coinage was almost certainly linked to the exchange of raw materials ([figure 39](#)).

Two other types of material acknowledged as elite material, garnets and amethysts, can also be factored into the analysis to verify the pattern of activity in the region and emergence of important production centres and settlements. *PAS* garnet-inlaid finds and amethyst beads recovered from burials in the region

¹¹⁸⁶ Ibid., p. 222, p. 228, p. 295.

¹¹⁸⁷ Ibid., p. 296.

¹¹⁸⁸ Ibid., pp. 247–249.

¹¹⁸⁹ EMC number 2013.0371 (Bridlington). For a discussion of the possible port at Bridlington, see Loveluck, *Exchange and society in early medieval England 400–700 AD*, p. 160, p. 310.

were collected.¹¹⁹⁰ Amethyst beads and garnet-inlaid metalwork travelled some significant distance before arriving on the coasts of eastern Britain. Amethyst beads are assumed to have been imported from the Mediterranean and derived from Egypt or possibly India whilst studies investigating the provenance of garnets have suggested India or eastern Europe as a possible area of provenance.¹¹⁹¹ These objects are not indicators of long-distance trade, however, since they arrive in different ways. For example, the evidence from the smith's burial at Tattershall Thorpe (Lincolnshire) points to the mobility of individuals with pre-cut garnets.¹¹⁹² Garnets and amethysts instead arrive via a network of different routes. The kingdom of Kent is viewed as an exclusive point of entry in particular largely based on the heavy concentration of both garnet and amethyst beads from the kingdom, but this material also entered via other coastal points of connection.¹¹⁹³

Figure 40 reveals the distribution of amethyst beads and garnet finds from the study area alongside the distribution of Merovingian coins. In general, the distribution of amethyst beads and the garnet-inlaid finds largely follow the distribution pattern of Merovingian coinage and closely correspond to

¹¹⁹⁰ The choice to use *PAS* garnet finds was influenced by Hamerow's methodology in her analysis of the circulation of garnets. See Helena Hamerow, 'The circulation of garnets in the North Sea zone, CA. 400–700', in Alexander Hilgner, Susanne Greiff and Dieter Quast (eds.), *Gemstones in the First Millennium AD* (Mainz, 2017), pp. 71–86. I am grateful to Katie Haworth for sharing details of amethyst finds from the region from her database compiled for her doctoral study of seventh-century necklace assemblages in Anglo-Saxon England. Haworth, 'Most Precious Ornaments': *Necklaces in Seventh-Century England*.

¹¹⁹¹ See the following articles for recent provenance studies. Patrick Périn, Thomas Calligaro, Françoise Vallet, Jean-Paul Poirot and Dominique Bagault, 'Provenancing Merovingian garnets by PIXE and μ -Raman spectrometry', in Joachim Henning (ed.), *Post-Roman Towns, Trade and Settlement in Europe and Byzantium: Vol 1. The Heirs of the Roman West* (Berlin, 2007), pp. 72–73; Jorg Drauschke, 'Byzantine jewellery? Amethyst beads in East and West during the early Byzantine period', in C. Entwistle & N. Adams (eds.), *'Intelligible Beauty': Recent Research on Byzantine Jewellery* (London, 2010), pp. 50–60. See also See Huggett, 'Imported grave goods and the Anglo-Saxon economy' pp. 66–68; Geake, *The Use of Grave Goods*, p. 43, pp. 97–99, p. 247; Hamerow, 'The circulation of garnets in the North Sea zone, CA. 400–700', p. 71, p. 82 (footnote 7).

¹¹⁹² Hinton, *A Smith in Lindsey: The Anglo-Saxon grave at Tattershall Thorpe, Lincolnshire*

¹¹⁹³ Geake, *The Use of Grave Goods*, p. 99; Huggett, 'Imported grave goods and the Anglo-Saxon economy', p. 67. See also Hamerow, 'The circulation of garnets in the North Sea zone', p. 71

trackways and rivers. The distribution of garnet-inlaid finds returns to the reliability of metal-detecting and whether distribution patterns reflect an accident of survival or reality given the presence of two garnet-inlaid objects from the Holderness Plain.

Figure 40 also demonstrates that there is a cluster of amethyst beads in the Drifffield basin, a zone of probable royal influence as already noted. Thirteen amethyst beads were recovered from the cemetery at Garton Slack whereas most other sites have one or two finds only (table 19). A degree of caution is required when comparing the number of beads from each site and determining the level of access. As mentioned above, the cemeteries located in the region varied in population and size and this context likely influences the total number of finds. However, it is interesting that only two amethyst beads are known from Castledyke given the size of the cemetery.¹¹⁹⁴ Additionally, it remains a possibility that the number of beads recovered may be reflective of the way assemblages were recovered from each site. For example, the original context of artefacts on certain sites such as Seamer remains uncertain and other cemeteries were not subject to the scale of excavation seen at Garton.¹¹⁹⁵ Overall, finds of garnets and amethysts further verify that the increased specialisation and production at these settlements during the seventh century locked communities into economic networks with reach to the continent and beyond.

¹¹⁹⁴ Pers comm. Katie Haworth.

¹¹⁹⁵ Loveluck, *Exchange and society in early medieval England 400–700 AD*, pp. 100–101.

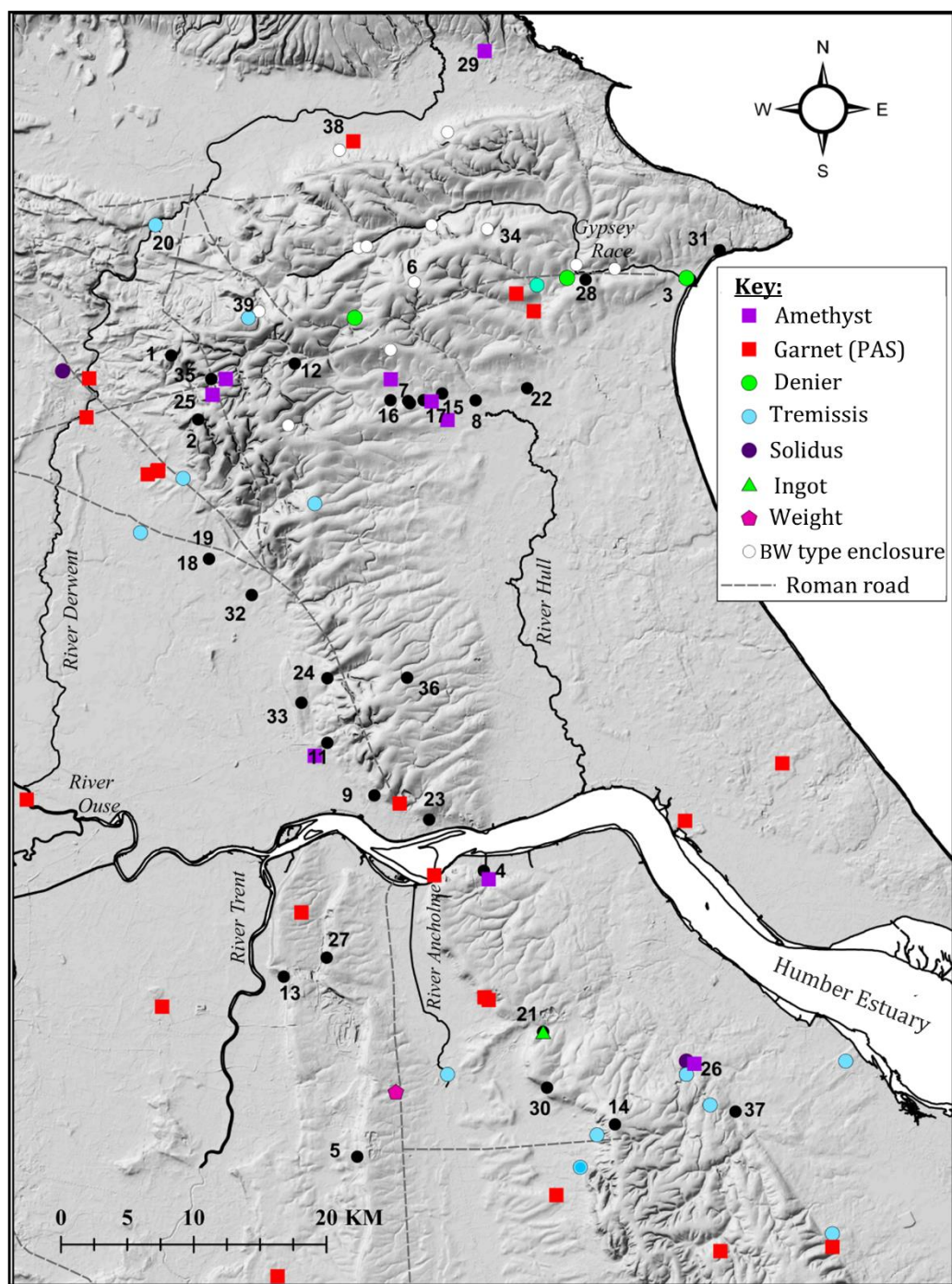


Figure 40: Distribution of amethyst and garnet finds compared with distribution of Merovingian coinage in case study area 1

Site:	Quantity:
Castledyke South	2
Eastburn	1
Everthorpe	1
Garton II	2
Garton Slack	13
Painsthorpe Wold	2
Riby	1
Seamer	1
Uncleby	2
	<i>Total: 25</i>

Table 19: Location and number of amethyst beads from case study area 1

10.5: Summary

This chapter has presented the model for economic connections growing in this region based on more consistent modes of production of specific goods and/or materials during the seventh century. The later seventh century onwards witnessed the emergence of important production centres and settlements which drew on specialist sites in their hinterland ('butterwicks') to increase their production which, in turn, provided these communities access to far- for example) reaching economic networks. Indeed, the number and range of imported objects recovered from settlements in this area attests to the increasing wealth of these communities and access to these networks with reach to the continent and beyond. An analysis of the distribution of coinage also highlighted the close proximity of Merovingian coin finds to settlements in the area. This distribution strongly suggests that individuals travelled directly to these settlements to purchase goods.

Chapter 11: Communities and Contact II – The Old Rhine

11.1: Introduction

The same model outlined in the previous chapter can also be applied to the region surrounding the Rhine estuary during the seventh century which forms the focus of this second case study. As in the preceding case-study, this chapter begins with an overview of the landscape, followed by a discussion of occupation during the seventh century, before turning to an analysis and interpretation of finds. Though an increasing amount of data is becoming known through excavations and increasingly made available through online depositories, numerous challenges remain that affect analysis of this region. Several of these constraints were outlined in chapter 1 including the restrictions surrounding metal detecting and the nature of commercial archaeology in the Netherlands.¹¹⁹⁶ Therefore, the aim of this chapter is not to provide a comprehensive re-examination of the area on a similar scale to the significant study undertaken by Dijkstra in 2011.¹¹⁹⁷ Instead, this chapter is intended to complement the analysis undertaken in chapter 10 and further test the model for economic development of non-urban areas during the seventh century.

11.2: Historical context

The northernmost part of the Rhine has long been recognised as an area of historical importance. During the Roman period, the Rhine functioned as part of the Roman frontier (*limes*) and a series of forts (*castellum*) were constructed along the banks of the Rhine to the North Sea coast.¹¹⁹⁸ During the post-Roman period, the Rhine continued as a frontier and in the seventh century, the area straddled the edges of the Frisian and Frankish kingdoms.¹¹⁹⁹ Surviving

¹¹⁹⁶ Chapter 1 (1.7).

¹¹⁹⁷ Dijkstra, *Rondom de Mondingen van Rijn en Maas*.

¹¹⁹⁸ W.A. van Es and W.J.H. Verwers, 'Early Medieval settlements along the Rhine: Precursors and contemporaries of Dorestad', *Journal of Archaeology in the low countries* 2:1 (2010), pp. 5–6; Dijkstra, *Rondom de Mondingen van Rijn en Maas*, p. 17

¹¹⁹⁹ H. A. Heidinga, *Medieval Settlement and Economy North of the Lower Rhine* (Assen, 1987), pp. 179–180.

historical accounts of activity in the region are limited and, as noted in chapter 8, the earliest accounts of activity in the area that do survive are linked to the Frankish-sponsored missionary activity that occurred from the eighth century onwards.¹²⁰⁰ Significantly, this political and historical context has contributed to many problematic assumptions about activity in the area before AD 700. As chapter 8 discussed, the presumed decline of Dorestad during the AD 650s and the lack of large-scale development along the Rhine is directly linked to the absence of Frankish influence in the area until Pippin's victory over the Frisian king Radbod in the early AD 690s and firm Frankish presence in the region from the eighth century onwards.¹²⁰¹ Additionally, it has been assumed that most of the former Roman forts along the Old Rhine were reoccupied during the Merovingian period and, even in cases where the evidence is tentative or absent, deliberately chosen as centres of royal power.¹²⁰²

Crucially, the reality of the situation was more complex than this simple narrative implies. An ever-increasing volume of archaeological evidence recovered from the area in recent decades demonstrates an intensification in activity along the Rhine throughout the seventh century despite the turbulent political context presented in the historical narratives.¹²⁰³ Moreover, as this chapter highlights, the assemblage recovered from these settlements firmly challenges the unique status previously ascribed to the settlement at Dorestad.¹²⁰⁴

¹²⁰⁰ Hygeburg, *Life of St Willibald*; Bede *HE*, V.11. See chapter 8 (8.2.5). See also Palmer, *Anglo-Saxons in a Frankish World*.

¹²⁰¹ *Chronicle of Fredegar (continuations)*, chapter 6, ed and trans. J.M. Wallace-Hadrill, *The fourth book of the Chronicle of Fredegar: with its continuations* (Westport, 1960).

See also Stéphane Lebecq, *Marchands et navigateurs Frisons du haut Moyen Age* (Lille, 1983) pp. 107–117.

¹²⁰² For example, see van Es and Verwers, 'Early Medieval settlements along the Rhine', p. 21.

¹²⁰³ Dijkstra, *Rondom de Mondingen van Rijn en Maas*, pp. 84–88, p. 379; van der Velde, Dijkstra and Heeren, 'On the origins of Dorestad? Habitation of the Kromme Rijn area during the Merovingian period', pp. 285–294; Nicolay, *The Splendour of Power*, esp. chapter 5.

¹²⁰⁴ On Dorestad, see also chapter 8 (8.4).

11.3: Landscape context

Compared to the elevated landscape around the Humber, the western Netherlands is made up of low-lying areas and much of the landscape today lies below sea level. Numerous studies have examined the influence of the sea upon the development of the Dutch landscape, and particular focus has been on the impact of a series of marine transgressions that occurred at the end of the Roman period onwards which resulted in the abandonment of previously inhabited areas.¹²⁰⁵ The impact of these transgressions was previously thought to be great, resulting in the sparse occupation of the landscape during the period AD 300–800.¹²⁰⁶ Subsequent studies, however, have highlighted that this ecological development was not as dramatic as previously thought and that habitation continued albeit on a smaller scale.¹²⁰⁷

In their study of the historic landscape of the Netherlands, Bazelmans, Dijkstra and De Koning reconstructed the paleogeographic landscape around the year AD 750.¹²⁰⁸ As with the area examined in case study 1, the region comprised of several distinct zones which shaped both settlement and activity. Facing the North Sea, the coastal plain comprised of beach barriers and dunes.¹²⁰⁹ Adjacent to the coastal area, the landscape further inland was dominated by extensive marshland and large areas were uninhabitable due to impassable low peat areas.¹²¹⁰ This diverse landscape provided different agricultural potential to communities in the area. For example, the soil around the Old Rhine was

¹²⁰⁵ For an overview, see Bazelmans, Dijkstra and de Koning, 'Holland during the first Millennium', pp. 6–7.

¹²⁰⁶ Ibid.

¹²⁰⁷ Dijkstra, *Rondom de Mondingen van Rijn en Maas*, p. 379; Loveluck and Tys, 'Coastal societies, exchange and identity', pp. 154–156; Ervynek, Baeteman, Demiddele, Hollevoet, Pieters, Schelvis, Tys, van Strydonk, and Verhaeghe, 'Human occupation because of a regression, or the cause of transgression? A critical review of the interaction between geological events and human occupation in the Belgian Coastal Plain during the First Millennium AD', pp. 97–121; Bazelmans, Dijkstra and De Koning, 'Holland during the first Millennium', pp. 6–7.

¹²⁰⁸ Bazelmans, Dijkstra and de Koning, 'Holland during the first Millennium', p. 4 (figure 1).

¹²⁰⁹ Ibid.

¹²¹⁰ Ibid.

suitable for arable farming whilst the natural elevated levees provided space for pastoral farming.¹²¹¹

Intersecting the diverse landscape was a series of rivers that connected to the main branch of the Rhine ([figure 41](#)). The direction and flow of the Rhine and its tributaries have undergone numerous changes throughout the centuries as a result of both natural factors and human activity.¹²¹² Most notably, the status of the Old Rhine (Oude Rijn) has drastically changed. The Old Rhine connected to the Kromme and flowed through Utrecht before eventually draining into the North Sea at Katwijk. The Old Rhine was a major branch of the Rhine during the early medieval period and connected communities to other kingdoms and regions. Indeed, reconstruction of early medieval boat-travel demonstrated that the journey time from the mouth of the Old Rhine to the shores of eastern Britain was far less than the time it would take to reach Dorestad.¹²¹³ The focus of maritime traffic shifted to the river Lek from the eighth century onwards the river was formally abandoned as a main routeway by the later middle ages after the river had severely silted over.¹²¹⁴ Whilst the Old Rhine provided access to the North Sea and beyond, the Kromme was also an important routeway during the early medieval period. The river connected to the river Vecht which provided access to Scandinavia and Frisia.¹²¹⁵ Finally, alongside waterways, communities living along the Old Rhine benefitted from existing infrastructure and the Roman road network ([figure 41](#)) facilitated local, regional, and long-distance communication to and from this region.

¹²¹¹ Dijkstra, *Rondom de Mondingen van Rijn en Maas*, pp. 47–48.

¹²¹² *Ibid.*, p. 22.

¹²¹³ Menno Dijkstra, 'Between Britannia and Francia: The nature of external socio-economic exchange at the Rhine and Meuse Estuaries in the Early Middle Ages', *Bodendenkmalpflege in Mecklenburg-Vorpommern* 51 (2003), p. 397.

¹²¹⁴ T. de Haas, L. van der Valk, K.M. Cohen, H.J. Pierik, S.A.H. Weisscher, M.P. Hijma, A.J.F. van der Spek and M.G. Kleinhans, 'Long-term evolution of the Old Rhine estuary: unravelling effects of changing boundary conditions and inherited landscape.', *The Depositional Record* 5:1 (2019), pp. 102–103.

¹²¹⁵ Dijkstra, *Rondom de Mondingen van Rijn en Maas*, p. 52.

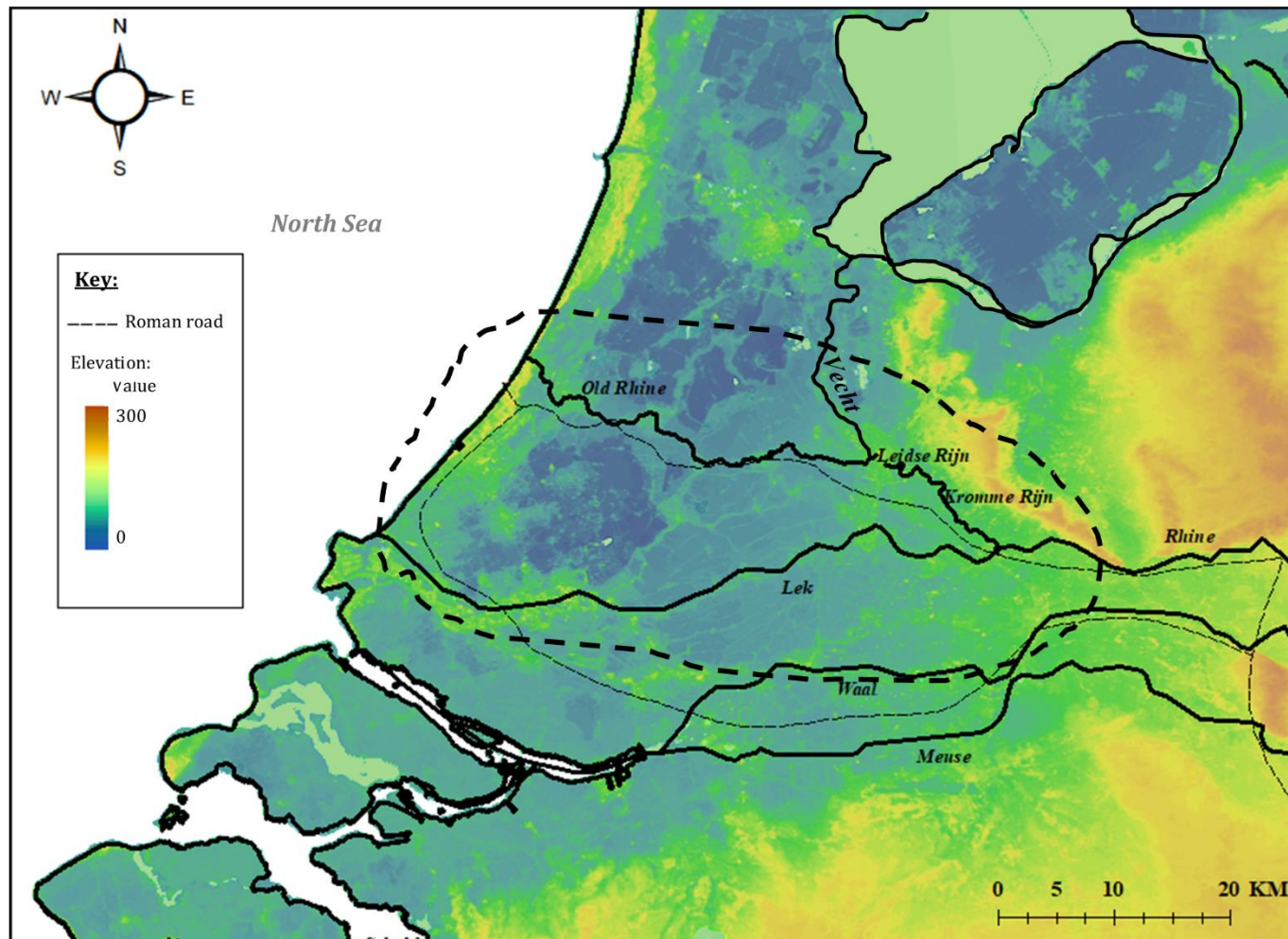


Figure 41: Case study area 2 (roughly within the dotted line area)

11.4: Occupation of the landscape

Within the study area, at least 20 sites have produced evidence of early medieval activity spanning the period AD 500–800 ([figure 42](#); [table 20](#)).¹²¹⁶

As [table 20](#) demonstrates, these sites are a mixture of both cemeteries and settlements. With the exception of the cemeteries at Katwijk, Rhenen and Rijnsburg, most cemeteries were modest in size and are viewed as evidence of smaller communities occupying the landscape.¹²¹⁷

Importantly, several of the cemeteries known from the area, such as Rijnsburg and Katwijk, were first discovered and excavated in the twentieth century and have since been partially destroyed due to changes in the landscape, both from natural causes and human interference.¹²¹⁸ Moreover, the quality of the details that were recorded during these excavations varied greatly and limit analysis. For example, the composition of the assemblage recovered from a large number of burials at Rijnsburg remains uncertain.¹²¹⁹

Geographically, the placing of both cemeteries and settlements engaged closely with the natural landscape. Most of the cemeteries are within five to ten kilometres of a waterway and situated on elevated land to avoid flooding. Some of the cemeteries may have had a direct relationship with one another based on their location. Four known Merovingian cemeteries (Rhenen, Remmerden, Elst and Leersum) and a possible cemetery at Leersum were positioned on the same elevated ridge along the Rhine with an average 2.5 kilometres between one another.¹²²⁰ This pattern is reminiscent of the sequence of occupation along the Vale of Pickering in Yorkshire discussed in the previous chapter.

¹²¹⁶ The list of sites was compiled from published archaeological reports and previous studies of the region such as those by Dijkstra (2011) and Nicolay (2014).

¹²¹⁷ Dijkstra, *Rondom de Mondingen van Rijn en Maas*, p. 382.

¹²¹⁸ E.J. Bult and D.P. Hallewas, 'Archaeological evidence for the early medieval settlement around the Meuse and Rhine deltas up to ca AD 1000, in J.C. Besteman, J.M. Bos and H.A. Heidinga (eds.), *Medieval Archaeology in the Netherlands* (Maastricht, 1990), p. 83.

¹²¹⁹ Nicolay, *The Splendour of Power*, pp. 401–402.

¹²²⁰ W. Verwers and W. van Tent, *Merovingisch grafveld Elst't woud* (Amersfoort, 2015), p. 127.

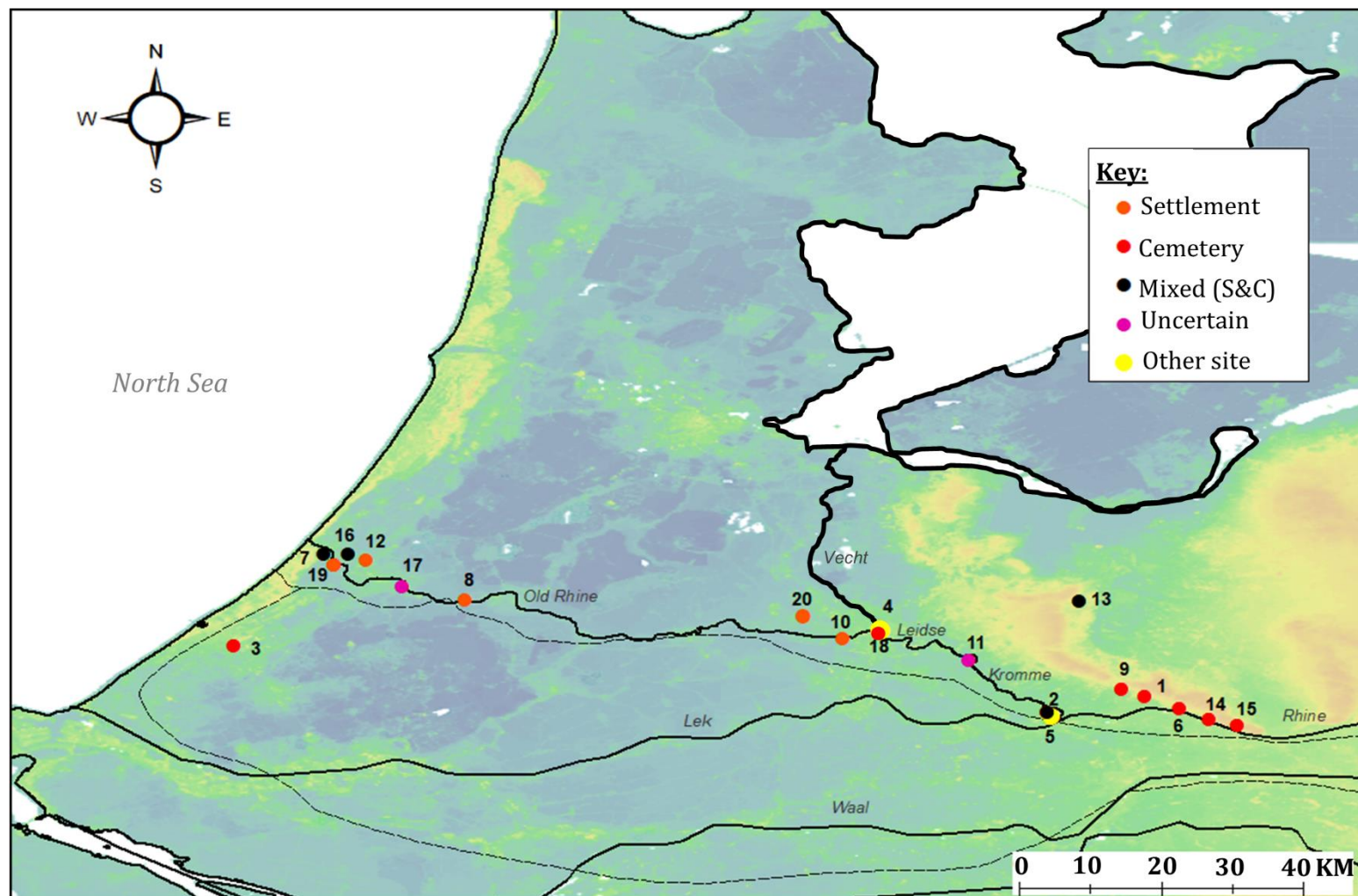


Figure 42: Location of seventh-century sites in case study 2 area

Number:	Site name:	Site type:
1	Amerongen	Cemetery (probable)
2	De geer	Cemetery Settlement
3	Den Haag	Cemetery
4	Domplein	Cemetery
5	Dorestad	<i>Emporium</i>
6	Elst	Cemetery
7	Katwijk	Cemetery Settlement
8	Koudekerk	Settlement
9	Leersum	Cemetery
10	Leidsche Rijn	Settlement
11	Odijk	Uncertain (hoard find)
12	Oegstgeest	Settlement
13	Oude-Leusden	Cemetery Settlement
14	Remmerden	Cemetery
15	Rhenen	Cemetery
16	Rijnsburg (De Hoorn)	Cemetery Settlement
17	Roomburg (Matilo)	Uncertain
18	Utrecht	Ecclesiastical Royal
19	Valkenburg	Settlement
20	Vleuten (Appellaantje)	Settlement

Table 20: Seventh-century sites identified from study area 2 (figure 42)

As [figure 42](#) highlights, habitation was heavily concentrated along or close to the banks of the Rhine. This occupation can be roughly split into two clusters. The first cluster of sites are centred within and around the former delta of the Old Rhine. As previous studies have stressed, the close proximity of these settlements to one another strongly suggests that they were in close contact with one another.¹²²¹ The second cluster of sites are situated further inland and

¹²²¹ W. Jeezer, 'Synthese', in *ibid* (ed.), *Een Merovingische nederzetting aan de monding van de Rijn* (Amersfoort, 2011), p. 118.

are centred around the levees of the Leidse and the site of Utrecht. The rising prominence of Utrecht as a political and religious centre from the seventh century onwards and the reoccupation of the Roman fort (*Traiectum*) there has been discussed in previous chapters.¹²²² Remains of a settlement were identified to the west of the Roman fort at Utrecht and a burial site dating to the Merovingian and Carolingian period was also uncovered nearby at Domplein.¹²²³

Mooring facilities were discovered at several of the sites along the Rhine attesting to the connectivity of communities in the region. For example, at the settlement of Oegstgeest situated east of a tribute of the Old Rhine (10), a revetment was constructed during the seventh century and its construction coincided with an intensification in activity and a growth of population at the site.¹²²⁴ The revetments unearthed at the settlement of Valkenburg (19) appear to date no earlier than the early eighth century, by which time the nature of the settlement had changed.¹²²⁵ Meanwhile, dendrochronological analysis of the revetments discovered at the former Roman castellum (Matilo) at Roomburg suggested that they were repaired in the mid-seventh century.¹²²⁶ Roomburg lay around five kilometres downstream from the settlement at Koudekerk and it is possible that Roomburg was one of the landing sites used by the community.¹²²⁷ The exact nature of activity at Roomburg remains uncertain due to limited evidence that was recovered which included fragments of Anglo-Saxon and Frankish type pottery.¹²²⁸ In their analysis of the nature of activity at

¹²²² For example, see chapters 7 (7.3) and 8 (8.2.5).

¹²²³ For an overview, see C. Van Rooijen, 'Utrecht in the Medieval period; an archaeological analysis of its topography and a discussion of the location of the Stathe vicus' *Medieval and Modern Matters* 1 (2010), pp. 1–36. On the cemetery, see L.R.P. Ozinga and M.D. de Weerd, 'De opgravingen in 1936 en 1938', in L.R.P. Ozinga, T.J. Hoekstra, M.D. de Weerd and S.L. Wynia (eds.), *Het Romeinse castellum te Utrecht* (Utrecht, 1989), pp. 63–104.

¹²²⁴ Jeezer, 'Synthese', pp. 113–118.

¹²²⁵ E.J. van Bult, J. Van Doesburg and D.P. Hallewas, 'De opgravingscampagne in de Vroeg-Middeleeuwse nederzetting op De Woerd bij Valkenburg in 1987 en 1988', in E.J. Bult and D.P. Hallewas (eds.), *Graven bij Valkenburg III. Het archeologisch onderzoek in 1987 en 1988* (Delft, 1990), pp. 149–151.

¹²²⁶ Bazelmans, Dijkstra and de Koning, 'Holland in the First Millennium', p. 19.

¹²²⁷ Van Es and Verwers, 'Early Medieval settlements along the Rhine', p. 22.

¹²²⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 22–23.

Roomburg, Van Es and Verwers problematically based their conclusions on evidence that did not come from the site but from other excavated castella sites including Utrecht.¹²²⁹

Despite the importance of Utrecht as an administrative and ecclesiastical centre, interestingly, none of the remaining settlements are associated with any form of royal or ecclesiastical influence during the seventh century. By the eighth century, however, the situation had changed and there was an increasingly visible ecclesiastical presence in the area. For example, at the settlement of Valkenburg (19) situated on a western levee near the mouth of the Old Rhine, a monastery was founded in the early eighth century and was associated with the bishopric of Utrecht.¹²³⁰

Analysis of the nature of activity at some of the settlements have, however, been influenced by the political narrative presented within the fragments of surviving textual evidence. For example, the assemblage recovered from the settlement at Leidsche Rijn (discussed below) has been linked to the close proximity of the settlement to Utrecht.¹²³¹ In their study of early medieval habitation around the Old Rhine, van Es and Verwers described many of the surviving settlements as precursors to Dorestad.¹²³² Problematically, such an interpretation situates these sites within an eighth-century framework and risks undermining the nature of these settlements during the seventh century. The settlements identified along the Old Rhine and its tributaries were clearly not urban and were instead modest rural settlements composed of several farmsteads.¹²³³ Indeed, in their discussion of the assemblage recovered from the rural settlement at Katwijk for example, Dijkstra and van der Velde emphasised the everyday nature of the settlement and non-urban status of the

¹²²⁹ Ibid.

¹²³⁰ Dijkstra, *Rondom de Mondingen van Rijn en Maas*, p. 281.

¹²³¹ M. Nokkert, A.C. Aarts and H.L. Wynia, 'Conclusie', in *ibid* (eds.), *Vroegmiddeleeuwse bewoning langs de A2: een nederzetting uit de zevende en achtste eeuw in Leidsche Rijn. Basisrapportage Archeologie 26* (Utrecht, 2009) p. 367.

¹²³² Van Es and Verwers, 'Early Medieval settlements along the Rhine', p. 34.

¹²³³ Nicolay, *The Splendour of Power*, p. 43; Dijkstra, *Rondom de Mondingen van Rijn en Maas*, p. 380.

community.¹²³⁴ During excavations at Katwijk, several farmsteads were identified and the layout of the farmsteads indicates that the site was well organised to exploit the surrounding landscape for both arable and pastoral activity.¹²³⁵

The variation in the quality and quantity of evidence recovered from each settlement has also influenced interpretations of the nature of activity undertaken at each site. For example, the site of Vleuten (Appellantje) was only partially excavated and its limited assemblage is contrasted with the evidence recovered from the settlement a few kilometres away at Leidsche Rijn.¹²³⁶ Since fewer finds (particularly of precious metal) were recovered from Vleuten, the settlement is interpreted as an 'ordinary' early medieval settlement with limited contacts compared to the community at Leidsche Rijn.¹²³⁷ However, as discussed below, the limited evidence recovered from the settlement at Vleuten still indicates that the community engaged in a level of craft activity and was part of a broader network of exchange along the Old Rhine during the century.

11.5: Networks of exchange

11.5.1: Anglo-Saxon imports

In the sixth century, there is evidence of contact with the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms in the region from the presence of Anglo-Saxon dress objects including brooches at several sites.¹²³⁸ Anglo-Saxon type pottery was also recovered from sixth-century burials at several cemetery sites including Den Haag, Elst and

¹²³⁴ H.M. van der Velde and M.P.F. Dijkstra, 'The Rhine estuary in the Roman period and Early Middle Ages', in H.M. van der Velde (ed.), *Cananefaten en Frieze aan de monding van de Rijn. Tien jaar archeologisch onderzoek op de Zanderij-Westerbaan te Katwijk, 1996-2006* (Amersfoort, 2008), p. 441, p. 443.

¹²³⁵ Ibid., p. 431–432.

¹²³⁶ C.M. W den Hartog, 'Conclusie', in Ibid. (ed.), *Appellantje LR55: Een vroegemiddeleeuwse nederzetting aan wilhelminalaan bij Vleuteun* (Utrecht, 2010), p. 139.

¹²³⁷ Ibid.

¹²³⁸ For an overview of material, see Dijkstra, 'Between Britannia and Francia', pp. 397–408.

Katwijk.¹²³⁹ In the seventh century, as chapter 9 outlined, there is an overall decline in the number of Anglo-Saxon type objects found overseas.

There are, however, glimpses of continued links in the seventh century, particularly at sites near the mouth of the Old Rhine. For example, an individual was buried with a belt buckle of Anglo-Saxon manufacture at the cemetery at Rijnsburg.¹²⁴⁰ A bronze Byzantine weight and a garnet and enamel decorated belt mount are assumed to have also been deposited in the same burial.¹²⁴¹ However, as Nicolay rightly cautioned, it cannot be said for certain whether these objects were found together or represent a later composition since accurate details of the burial were not recorded.¹²⁴² More broadly, the presence of the weight at Rijnsburg is significant in highlighting the measurement of objects of value. The Byzantine weight is engraved with both a Latin cross and weight indications (*Gamma* and *Alpha*) which suggest a weight of 27.3 grams.¹²⁴³

The assemblage recovered from grave 47 at the cemetery at Katwijk have also been the focus of much scholarly attention.¹²⁴⁴ The cremation burial contained a decorative mount and a gilded bronze terminal of a drinking horn. The drinking horn is assumed to have been manufactured in the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms and parallels have been drawn between the terminal recovered from Katwijk and the bronze terminal recovered from the Taplow burial mound.¹²⁴⁵

¹²³⁹ Verwers and van Tent, *Merovingisch grafveld Elst't woud*, pp. 87–113; Dijkstra, *Rondom de Mondingen van Rijn en Maas*, p. 247; Dijkstra, 'Between Britannia and Francia', pp. 401–402.

¹²⁴⁰ Dijkstra, *Rondom de Mondingen van Rijn en Maas*, p. 232.

¹²⁴¹ Nicolay, *The Splendour of Power*, p. 103; Dijkstra, *Rondom de Mondingen van Rijn en Maas*, p. 232–234.

¹²⁴² Nicolay, *The Splendour of Power*, p. 103.

¹²⁴³ *Rijkmuseum van Oudheden* inventory number h 1913/11.90; Dijkstra, *Rondom de Mondingen van Rijn en Maas*, p. 233.

¹²⁴⁴ Nicolay, *The Splendour of Power*, p. 105; Dijkstra, *Rondom de Mondingen van Rijn en Maas*, pp. 243–245; Dijkstra, 'Between Britannia and Francia', p. 401.

¹²⁴⁵ Nicolay, *The Splendour of Power*, p. 105.

Further inland at the rural settlement of Leidsche Rijn, a brooch fragment was recovered from a pit near one of the seventh-century buildings.¹²⁴⁶ Parallels have been drawn between the design of the fragment and Kentish garnet disc brooches produced at the end of the sixth century and early seventh century.¹²⁴⁷ Other notable finds at the settlement include two large garnet pendants which have drawn similarities to the cabochon pendants found across the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms in the seventh century.¹²⁴⁸ More than thirty coins were also recovered from the settlement including four tremisses, twenty-two intermediate and secondary series sceattas (series D, E and X) and five deniers.¹²⁴⁹ Based on the distribution of finds at the site, it appears that there were two distinct zones of activity. The western part of the settlement appears to have been the area where trade largely had taken place since most of the coin finds are from this area of the settlement.¹²⁵⁰ In the east, where the brooch fragment was recovered, there is evidence of specialist activity such as the working of metal (iron and bronze) and bone.¹²⁵¹ In light of the activity in this area, there remains the possibility that the fragment arrived at the settlement in its current form rather than as a finished object from elsewhere.

As well as long-distance contact, communities along the Old Rhine were part of an interregional network in the seventh century. This is attested by the ceramic evidence recovered from the settlements and the presence of wheel-thrown Frankish pottery.¹²⁵² At the site of Rijnsburg, few locally produced pottery finds were identified amongst the assemblage and more than ninety percent of the pottery recovered was imported from Francia and elsewhere.¹²⁵³ The pottery

¹²⁴⁶ Kerkhoven, 'Metaal', p. 223.

¹²⁴⁷ Nicolay, *The Splendour of Power*, pp. 128–129.

¹²⁴⁸ Kerkhoven, 'Metaal', pp. 218–219.

¹²⁴⁹ Ibid., pp. 230–233.

¹²⁵⁰ Ibid., p. 235; Nicolay, *The Splendour of Power*, p. 127.

¹²⁵¹ Nokkert, Aarts and Wynia, 'Conclusie', pp. 366–377.

¹²⁵² van der Velde and Dijkstra, 'The Rhine estuary in the Roman period and Early Middle Ages', p. 441.

¹²⁵³ Dijkstra, 'Between Britannia and Francia', pp. 404–405.

assemblage recovered from the settlement at Oegstgeest was similar in its composition and imported finds make up the largest share of pottery finds.¹²⁵⁴

11.5.2: Coinage

As chapter 7 discussed, finds of gold Anglo-Saxon coins overseas remain scarce. In the case study area, only one thrymsa belonging to the York series has been found at Soest in the province of Utrecht.¹²⁵⁵ Details of this coin find and how it may have reached its final destination was also discussed above in chapter 7.¹²⁵⁶ The remaining Anglo-Saxon coin finds recovered from the area are silver issues, most of which are intermediate and secondary series sceattas rather than primary phase issues.¹²⁵⁷ The vast increase in secondary phrase sceattas represents a clear intensification of contact during the eighth century.

The distribution of all types of seventh-century coins recovered from the area is illustrated in [figure 43](#). As [figure 43](#) illustrates, the distribution of coins closely corresponds with the river network and a large number of coin finds are situated within close proximity (roughly ten kilometres or less) to a waterway. A large number of coins have been found near the mouth of the Old Rhine whilst further inland, there is a cluster of finds around the Leidse and Kromme. South of the Rhine, a number of coins have also been recovered along the River Waal. More importantly, the distribution of coins also corresponds with the location of settlements in the area and coins (both gold and silver issues) have been found at almost all of the settlements ([figure 43](#)). As around the Humber, this overall distribution pattern may suggest that coins were used as a form of exchange to purchase items such as raw materials (such as wool or cloth), salt and potentially livestock directly from these settlements.¹²⁵⁸ Indeed, at most of

¹²⁵⁴ Jeezer, 'Synthese', pp. 118–119.

¹²⁵⁵ NUMIS number 1045500. See [table 7](#) and chapter 7 (7.2.1.2).

¹²⁵⁶ Chapter 7 (7.2.1.2).

¹²⁵⁷ For a reference of the different issues and phases, see [table 2](#).

¹²⁵⁸ Inge M.M. van der Jagt, Lisette M. Kooyker, Thijs van Kolfshoten, Henk Kars and Gareth R. Davies, 'An insight into animal exchange in early medieval Oegstgeest; a combined archaeozoological and isotopic approach', in D.C.M Raemaekers, K.E. Esser, R.C.G.M Lauwerier and J.T. Zeiler (eds.), *A Boquet of Archaeozoological Studies* (Groningen, 2012), pp. 139–149.

the settlements, there is also evidence of craftworking on a small scale and the coins may be associated with this activity. For instance, there is evidence of textile production and the working of bone at nearly all of the settlements.¹²⁵⁹ At some of the sites, there are also indications of non-agricultural related craft activities. For example, glass and amber waste has been recovered from the settlement of Rijnsburg potentially suggesting glass and amber production occurred on the site.¹²⁶⁰

The coin finds and coin-related assemblage found at the rural settlement of Katwijk particularly stand out. As chapter 6 noted, a Madelinus trial-die piece was recovered from Katwijk ([figure 4](#)) which is strongly suggestive of the minting of coins at the settlement.¹²⁶¹ The trial-die piece also provides one of the main indications of precious metal-working taking place at the settlement. Alongside the trial piece, several tremisses and sceattas (primary and secondary) were recovered from the settlement.¹²⁶² Five of the tremisses discovered at the site are pseudo-Madelinus issues.¹²⁶³ Each pseudo-Madelinus issue appears to have been struck from a different die which further attests to the widespread imitation and demand for Dorestad issues.¹²⁶⁴ Interestingly, occupation at Katwijk appears to have peaked by the later seventh century and the dating of the coins and die-piece fall coincide with this growth.¹²⁶⁵ The settlement at Katwijk subsequently began to decline during the eighth century and the reduced occupation of the site compared to the Merovingian period is attested by fewer Carolingian period finds.¹²⁶⁶

¹²⁵⁹ For example, see Jeezer, 'Synthese', p. 113 (Oegstgeest); C.M. W den Hartog, 'Conclusie', in C.M. W den Hartog (ed.), *Appellantje LR55: Een vroegemiddeleeuwse nederzetting aan wilhelminalaan bij Vleuteun* (Utrecht, 2010), p. 140 (Vleuten); Dijkstra, *Rondom de Mondingen van Rijn en Maas*, p. 121 (Rijnsburg).

¹²⁶⁰ Dijkstra, *Rondom de Mondingen van Rijn en Maas*, p. 121.

¹²⁶¹ Chapter 6 (6.3)

¹²⁶² van der Veen and Pol, 'De middeleeuwse munten van Katwijk-Zanderij', pp. 315–328.

¹²⁶³ Ibid., p. 318.

¹²⁶⁴ Ibid. See also chapter 6 (6.3).

¹²⁶⁵ van der Velde and Dijkstra, 'The Rhine estuary in the Roman period and Early Middle Ages', p. 431.

¹²⁶⁶ Ibid.

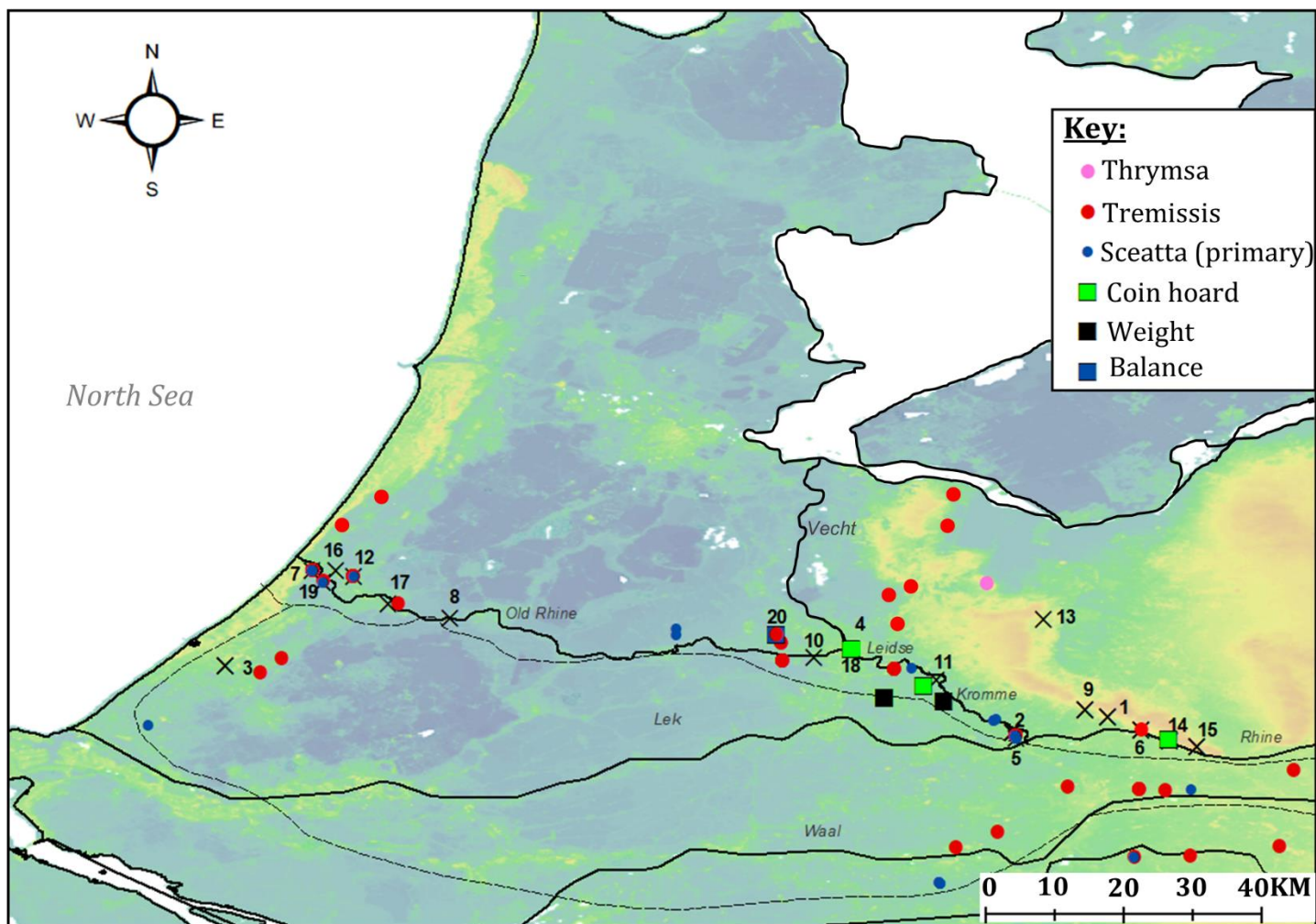


Figure 43: Distribution of coinage in case study area 2

As well as coin finds, other currency related items have been recovered from these settlements. Notably, a balance set was discovered at the settlement of Vleuten (Appellaantje) along with several gold and silver coin finds which may suggest its use in transactions.¹²⁶⁷ In addition, a number of coin hoards have been discovered along the Old Rhine (figure 43) which further reflect the availability of coins in circulation and level of activity in the area. The coin hoard discovered at Remmerden is currently the largest known coin hoard in the Netherlands and more than 250 coins were deposited in the hoard along with two pieces of hacksilver.¹²⁶⁸ The coin hoard is also one of the earliest hoards to include both silver and gold coinage and based on the presence of over 100 series D sceattas and several Series E sceattas, the hoard could not have been deposited before the early eighth century.¹²⁶⁹ The tremisses were minted at a large number of locations across Gaul, though the majority of tremisses (fifty-four) are pseudo-Madelinus issues.¹²⁷⁰

Further along the Rhine, at the former Roman *castellum* at Domplein, a gold coin hoard was first discovered in the mid-twentieth century.¹²⁷¹ As noted above, an early medieval cemetery was also discovered at Domplein and several of the burials have been dated to the seventh century.¹²⁷² It has been suggested that the turbulent political context in the region potentially explains the deposition of the coins.¹²⁷³ Since the initial discovery of the hoard, the site has undergone numerous metal-detecting surveys which has added to the number of coins known from the site and at least forty-eight tremisses and twenty

¹²⁶⁷ Michel Hendrikson, 'Metaal', in C.M. W den Hartog (ed.), *Appellantje LR55: Een vroegemiddeleeuwse nederzetting aan wilhelminalaan bij Vleuteun* (Utrecht, 2010), p. 109.

¹²⁶⁸ As of 2014, 114 tremisses, 165 sceattas and 2 deniers are known. For a full overview, see Nicolay, *The Splendour of Power*, pp. 117–118 (see also figure 5.25).

¹²⁶⁹ Wybrand Op den Velde, 'The sceattas of Series D', in Tony Abramson (ed.), *Two Decades of Discovery* (Woodbridge, 2008), p. 81; A. Pol, 'Remmerden 1988: een vondst van vroeg-middeleeuwse munten bij Rhenen', *De Beeldenaar* (1989), pp. 39–47.

¹²⁷⁰ Nicolay, *The Splendour of Power*, p. 118.

¹²⁷¹ De Boone, 'Madelinus-munten uit Dorestad', *Flehite* 5:3 (1973), p. 43.

¹²⁷² Ozinga and de Weerd, 'De opgravingen in 1936 en 1938', pp. 63–104.

¹²⁷³ R.J.P. Kloosterman and R.D. Hoegen, 'Conclusie', in *ibid* (eds.), *Domplein Revisited. Deel 1: Een profopgraving in Van Giffens werkput XIX* (Utrecht, 2015), p. 66.

sceattas have now been found.¹²⁷⁴ It remains uncertain whether the gold and silver issues belong to the same hoard or if they were deposited at a different time as appears to be the case for the coin hoard discovered at Remmerden.¹²⁷⁵ Several different mint and moneyer types (c. AD 585–675) have been identified amongst the gold coinage recovered from Domplein and several coins also appear to be closely die-linked.¹²⁷⁶ Fourteen of the tremisses are pseudo-Madelinus issues and their various designs demonstrate that few of these issues are die-linked which further exemplifies the widespread production of these coins (chapter 6)¹²⁷⁷

Another coin hoard comprised of six tremisses was discovered south of Utrecht at Bunnik in 2018.¹²⁷⁸ Based on the issues identified, including two coins of Metz, the hoard is assumed to have been deposited in the middle of the seventh century.¹²⁷⁹ Near Bunnik, a gold ring bar which displayed evidence of beating and cutting was discovered by a metal detectorist at Odijk.¹²⁸⁰ The gold ring bar has been compared to ring gold finds from Scandinavia where they are more frequently found and assumed to have been deposited in the late sixth century.¹²⁸¹

11.6: Summary

This chapter has presented the evidence recovered from settlements situated along the Old Rhine. Significantly, as in the Humber, economic connections in this region also seem to have been based on more consistent modes of

¹²⁷⁴ Nicolay, *The Splendour of Power*, p. 117.

¹²⁷⁵ N.D. Kerkhoven, 'Metaal (conclusie)', in R.J.P. Kloosterman and R.D. Hoegen (eds.), *Domplein Revisited. Deel 1: Een proefopgraving in Van Giffens werkput XIX* (Utrecht, 2015), p. 60.

¹²⁷⁶ Nicolay, *The Splendour of Power*, p. 117.

¹²⁷⁷ Arent Pol, 'pseudo-tremisses', in R.J.P. Kloosterman and R.D. Hoegen (eds.), *Domplein Revisited. Deel 1: Een proefopgraving in Van Giffens werkput XIX* (Utrecht, 2015), pp. 55–57. See chapter 6 (6.3).

¹²⁷⁸ PAN reference PAN-S-00013.

¹²⁷⁹ Ibid.

¹²⁸⁰ Annemarieke Willemsen, Adriaan Hoogendoorn and Ton van Rooijen, 'A special early medieval gold bar near Odijk', *Westerheem* 59:1 (2010), pp. 2–5.

¹²⁸¹ Ibid., p. 4.

production during the seventh century. These settlements were predominantly rural and were self-sufficient, though the material culture profile of these settlements reflects the direct involvement of these communities in local, regional, and long-distance exchange networks during the seventh century. As well as engaging in agricultural practices, at most of the settlements there is evidence of agricultural-related craft production and a number of sites were also engaged in non-agricultural related activities. The high volume of coins found directly at these settlements hints at their involvement in local and regional exchange networks whilst the presence of imported Anglo-Saxon material also attests to connections with the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms during the seventh century.

Conclusion: The (re-)making of the southern North Sea world in the seventh century

12.1: Summary of findings

This study has undertaken a detailed examination of the interactions between the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms and Merovingian Gaul in the seventh century and offered a significant contribution to the study of 'England and the Continent' during the early medieval period. The chapters in part I examined political and ecclesiastical connections. Next, the chapters in part II focused on the emergence, production, and distribution of coins from both sides of the Channel. Finally, the chapters in part III considered places of trade and networks of exchange during the seventh century. Importantly, whilst previous studies have tended to focus predominantly on one form of evidence and typically examined these regions separately, this thesis systematically integrated both archaeological and historical evidence throughout from these regions to interrogate the relationships between these regions during the seventh century.¹²⁸² Additionally, rather than fitting the archaeological evidence into pre-conceived ideas about the scale or character of the connections that they may represent derived from the historical sources, which are necessarily partial and limited, this study evaluated this evidence in its own right. By bringing this evidence together and examining it comparatively, I have outlined different kinds of connections (individual, regional and broader contacts) and interactions in detail from multiple perspectives. In doing so, this study has offered a more sophisticated and nuanced interpretation of the seventh-century (southern) North Sea world, in which the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms and Merovingian Gaul developed in parallel through religious, cultural, political, social and trade interactions.

Throughout, this study has reconsidered many of the ideas relating to interactions between England and the Continent during this period. Indeed, this study began by introducing the notion of a 'Merovingian hegemony', first

¹²⁸² For example, see Soulat, *Le Mobilier funéraire de type Franc et Mérovingien dans le Kent et sa périphérie*; Harrington and Welch, *Early Anglo-Saxon kingdoms of southern Britain*.

outlined by Wood, to describe the relationship between the southern Anglo-Saxon kingdoms (particularly Kent) and Merovingian Gaul in the late sixth century and the very beginning of the seventh century.¹²⁸³ This theory has long been engrained in scholarship examining interactions between these regions and, until relatively recently, the idea of a certain level of Frankish overlordship over the Anglo-Saxons has persisted without significant objection.¹²⁸⁴ Since Wood's influential study, far more evidence has come to light which indicates that connections during the seventh century were far more complex and diverse and the analysis undertaken in this study further support the rejection of this theory and its extension within scholarship to the wider seventh century. I demonstrated in chapter 2, for example, that the formal alliance between Æthelberht of Kent and the Frankish princess Bertha cannot be considered as firm evidence of Frankish overlordship at the end of the sixth century. Whilst it is true that Bertha was not a prominent member of the Merovingian court and the alliance was more profitable for Æthelberht's status amongst his contemporaries, this in itself does not prove that the alliance favoured the Merovingians politically and extended their authority across the Channel.

More importantly, the model of a Merovingian hegemony does not accurately reflect the shift in political relationships between Gaul and the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms throughout the seventh century. The nature of the political relationships between these areas continually evolved in response to other social, political, and economic developments during this period. By the second half of the seventh century, there is evidence to suggest that the kingdom of Kent was viewed with increasing suspicion within the Merovingian court which directly contradicts the existence of a political hegemony. Following a period of political upheaval in Gaul, Duke Ebroin interpreted the delay in the journey of Archbishop Theodore, Benedict Biscop and Hadrian back to Kent in AD 668 as part of a wider plot to forge alliances between the Anglo-Saxons and his

¹²⁸³ Wood, *The Merovingian North Sea*; Wood, *The Merovingian Kingdoms 450-751*.

¹²⁸⁴ See Irene Bavuso, 'Balance of power across the Channel: reassessing Frankish hegemony in southern England (sixth-early seventh century)', *Early Medieval Europe* 29:3 (2021), pp. 283–304. However, Collins and McClure vehemently rejected the theory in 2008. Collins and McClure, 'Rome, Canterbury and Wearmouth-Jarrow', pp. 31–36.

political rivals.¹²⁸⁵ Other evidence of Anglo-Saxon intervention in Merovingian affairs has also been discussed elsewhere in this thesis, such as the actions of Balthild and the return of Dagobert II to Austrasia, which further undermine the hegemonic narrative and demonstrate instead the complexity of political interactions between these regions.

Rather than characterising Merovingian and Kentish relations as hegemonic in a strictly political sense, as is central to Wood's definition, these relations could perhaps be better framed in the context of a cultural influence that was important to developing notions of kingship and ruling in the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms during the seventh century. The Merovingian kingdoms had emerged as the successors to Roman rule in Gaul during Antiquity and the Merovingian dynasty was well established by the end of the sixth century whereas the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms had yet to fully develop. Given the close proximity of the Merovingian kingdoms, it seems likely that Anglo-Saxon kings, such as Æthelberht and Sigeberht of East Anglia who had spent time in Gaul, looked to Merovingian kings for inspiration. Indeed, the similarities between the earliest Anglo-Saxon law codes and those issued in Gaul have been recognised and previous studies have highlighted that several prominent Anglo-Saxon individuals have names which are more common overseas.¹²⁸⁶ The presence of Merovingian imports (brooches and buckles) in the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms, meanwhile, should be interpreted as reflecting access to networks of exchange during the seventh century (chapter 9). Likewise, the presence of imported Anglo-Saxon objects in Gaul should be interpreted within the framework of exchange rather than as a reflection of Anglo-Saxons overseas.

Numismatic evidence also provides an important window to explore interactions between regions and this study has provided fresh insights into the emergence, production, and use of coinage in north-west Europe during the seventh century (chapters 5, 6 and 7). Whilst the transition from gold to silver currency in the later seventh century contributed to the transformation of the

¹²⁸⁵ Bede, *HE* IV.1. See Chapter 3 (3.3.3).

¹²⁸⁶ See Oliver, *The Beginnings of English Law*, pp. 32–34; On Frankish names, see chapter 5.

economic landscape of North-West Europe, it is becoming increasingly clear that the relationship between gold and silver coins is far more complicated than has previously been assumed. Much of the problem stems from the clear 'monetary' distinction made between these issues within scholarship. The increasing number of gold coin finds now indicates that the use of coins was more diverse both functionally and socially during the first half of the seventh century. Here, it is argued that the model of a multi-currency economy first discussed in relation to the Viking Age can be applied to earlier centuries to examine the development of the economy and understand the function of gold coins more clearly. The growing number of tremisses with additional pieces of gold added to them ([figure 2/figure 22](#)) demonstrate a clear link between coins and bullion during the seventh century and their wider role in facilitating exchange networks during the seventh century. An examination of the production of imitative coins, meanwhile, provides an important perspective on the demand, value, and social significance of coins. The choice to turn bullion into a specific form emphasises the importance of coinage as a form and the imitation of specific mints hints to broader engagement and understanding with the messages present on coins. The production of imitations also signals that coin production during the seventh century was not under tight control or restricted to specific communities and was produced in response to wider demand.

Indeed, the question of control is also a central issue in discussions of the emergence of trading networks and the developing economy during this period. The increasing amount of archaeological data in recent decades has firmly challenged the top-down model of trade which is largely based on the partial view presented in the surviving textual evidence.¹²⁸⁷ Though the *emporia* sites became increasingly tied to a greater royal presence from the late seventh century onwards, it is now clear from the evidence of earlier occupation at these sites that the earlier phase of economic activity cannot be strongly tied to

¹²⁸⁷ See, for example, Tys, 'Maritime and river traders, landing places, and emporia ports in the Merovingian period in and around the Low Countries', pp. 765–796; Loveluck and Tys, 'Coastal societies, exchange and identity', pp. 140–169.

royal authority (chapter 8). Crucially, the seventh-century *emporium* were a diverse set of sites, and their development was by no means inevitable. These sites developed in response to the demands of the local population and need to be situated within a wider network of trading places that also emerged in the seventh century. A complex network of settlements along the Old Rhine were directly involved in local, regional, and long-distance exchange networks along the Old Rhine during the seventh century (chapter 11), for example, and Dorestad played a minor role in these networks. The distribution of coin finds (chapter 7) also highlights the spread of trading connections across both regions and growth of markets further inland before increased centralisation from the eighth century onwards. The distribution of coinage in East Yorkshire reveals growing economic connections in this region and supports the case for increased intensification of agriculture and production occurring in this region from the mid-seventh century onwards (chapter 10). In reassessing the development of trading connections and places of trade during the century, this study has provided important contributions to the ongoing debate surrounding the origins of the European economy.

The surviving evidence for interactions between these regions demonstrates that the Church played a role in many aspects of cross-Channel interaction during the seventh century. Conversion importantly impacted social structures across both sides of the North Sea during this period. Indeed, this study has emphasised throughout that many of the political links forged between the Anglo-Saxons and Merovingians during the century operated within a broader ecclesiastical framework. By comparison, the role of the Church in the emerging economy and economic intensification in the later seventh century remains a contested issue within scholarly debates.¹²⁸⁸ The debate surrounding the emergence and nature of 'productive sites' in the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms neatly illustrates this contention (chapter 7).¹²⁸⁹ Throughout the seventh century, numerous monasteries were founded across both sides of the Channel and vast

¹²⁸⁸ Blair, *The Church in Anglo-Saxon Society*.

¹²⁸⁹ For a summary, see Pestell, 'Markets, emporia, wics, and 'productive' sites: Pre-Viking trade centres in Anglo-Saxon England', pp. 556–579.

amounts of land were granted to these monastic foundations. Some of this land was located in strategic areas and the monastery of Chertsey, for example, acquired land near the river Thames in the latter part of the seventh century and ecclesiastical involvement in the growth of London has been highlighted.¹²⁹⁰ These monastic estates would have been important areas for both production and consumption and places where periodic trading markets could take place as highlighted by the evidence referring to the annual week-long trading market on the feast day of Saint Denis.¹²⁹¹ An analysis of the distribution of primary phases sceattas in Gaul revealed a close proximity of finds to monastic foundations (chapter 7) and indicates the role of the Church in the demand for coins as a form of exchange.

Importantly, much of the evidence incorporated into this study concerns women and has allowed an exploration of female cross-Channel interaction during the seventh century. Exogamous marriages were a common feature throughout the seventh century and were one of the many reasons why women including Bertha and Balthild (chapter 2) travelled during this period. Importantly, these alliances fostered strong ties between regions and underpinned a range of connections. The formal bond established between Kent and Francia following Bertha's marriage to Æthelberht, for example, was maintained during the seventh century and facilitated both political and ecclesiastical journeys across the Channel (chapter 3). Likewise, Balthild's marriage to the Neustrian king Clovis in the middle of the seventh century enhanced interactions between Gaul and the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms and Balthild's reign coincided with elite Anglo-Saxon women entering monastic foundations overseas and reaching the status of abbess (chapter 4).

More widely, entering religious houses was a key act of women during the seventh century and the significance of this act in forging and enhancing political links between regions has long been recognised.¹²⁹² The emergence of

¹²⁹⁰ See chapter 8 (8.2.2).

¹²⁹¹ See chapter 7 (7.3).

¹²⁹² Yorke, *Nunneries and the Anglo-Saxon Royal Houses*

so-called double monasteries across both sides of the Channel during the seventh century is strongly linked to these complex female networks. A review of the evidence textual and archaeological evidence associated with these monastic foundations undertaken in chapter 4, however, demonstrated that the concept of double monasteries is flawed in its current scholarly definition and there is no firm evidence to suggest that men and women were housed in the same building. Reframing what is understood by a double monastery has important implications for how the impact of Christianity upon gender relations during the century should be assessed. It is perhaps more beneficial to view double monasteries in the same way as twin foundations such as Wearmouth-Jarrow as an explanation for the references to men at monasteries such as Whitby and Chelles. In doing so, this allows a reappraisal of the active role of women in shaping the early Church to increase their own power and influence.

Whilst the participation of women in political and religious networks during the seventh century is well attested in the surviving evidence and has been well studied, their involvement in long-distance economic networks is more difficult to examine and remains an understudied area in comparison. Indeed, the idea of a maritime identity emerging within recent scholarship (chapters 8 and 9) is linked strongly to the construction of a masculine gender and emphasises the role of men in long-distance exchange networks. The reuse and modification of Merovingian coinage in the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms provides vital evidence of female engagement with coins (chapter 6/appendix I) and the developing economy. Whilst such coins are often removed from the wider economic context due to their modification, these coins provide an important window to further enhance our understanding of the value of coins and their form. Since they are mostly found in areas with a high concentration of coin finds and the modification seems to respect the design of the coin, it seems highly likely that the individuals who chose to modify and wear these coins were familiar with coin use. There is considerable scope for further research into these modified coins and their significance in understanding changing attitudes towards coins throughout the seventh century.

Overall, through a detailed examination of the historical and archaeological evidence for interactions, this study has re-evaluated our understanding of the importance of intercultural relationships to the formation and development of seventh-century kingdoms and culture. In doing so, this study offers several new perspectives on long-established debates surrounding the social, political, and economic development of north-west Europe during a transitional period that marked the end of Antiquity and the beginning of the Early Middle Ages.

12.2: Suggestions for future research

In providing a fresh perspective on our understanding of the complex nature of connections between regions around the North Sea and Channel during the seventh century, this study opens up many new lines of possible enquiry and further research. Firstly, though this study has integrated a vast amount of data from a range of sources to examine interactions between these regions during this period, some forms of evidence (including other imports) that could also shed light on interactions were excluded from this study.¹²⁹³ The integration of this evidence could further build on the nuanced picture of the seventh-century North Sea world presented in this thesis.

Moreover, it is also hoped that additional data will become more readily accessible in the future to address the current imbalance between Anglo-Saxon and Merovingian evidence and to allow a reconsideration of some of the conclusions presented here. For example, an updated corpus of coin finds from modern day France would be particularly valuable to the study of interactions. As mentioned in chapter 1, the French online database (NUMUS) remains under-developed compared to the British (PAS/EMC) and Dutch (NUMIS) databases and the last major catalogue of finds from France was published in 2003.¹²⁹⁴ As well as providing the chance to reconsider the distribution of finds, an updated corpus of finds from France would enable a more meaningful comparison between the volume of finds in Britain, France and the Netherlands

¹²⁹³ On the exclusion of evidence, see chapter 1 (1.5 and 1.7).

¹²⁹⁴ Lafaurie and Pilet-Lemière, *Monnaies du haut Moyen Âge*.

than is currently possible. The ambitious FLAME (*Framing the Late Antique and Early Medieval Economy*) project that is currently underway and aiming to produce a fully comprehensive database of coins may also be a significant resource to incorporate into future studies examining links between regions.¹²⁹⁵

This study has also particularly emphasised the inter-relationship between Merovingian Gaul and the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms of Kent, East Anglia and Northumbria and focused less so on the interactions between Gaul and the kingdoms of Wessex and Mercia. In part, this focus is a result of the surviving evidence examined in this study. Far more evidence (both textual and archaeological) survives from the kingdoms of Kent, East Anglia and Northumbria compared to Wessex and Mercia during this period. By comparison, there is far more evidence to examine interactions between Mercia and Francia in the eighth century.¹²⁹⁶ Future excavations may uncover archaeological evidence which could further our understanding of links between these regions during the seventh century. It would be particularly interesting to reconsider economic interactions between Mercia and Gaul in greater detail in light of any new evidence since the kingdom's increasing authority around London in the later seventh century is associated with the kingdom's rise to supremacy in the eighth century.¹²⁹⁷

There is also considerable potential for future research to establish a new framework for interpreting sites of trade around the North Sea during this period. In chapter 8, a case was made for regarding the seventh-century manifestations of the *emporia* as part of a wider network of transient trading places around the North Sea. This idea would benefit from further investigation and the evidence recovered from these sites could be compared with the evidence from other well-excavated settlements and would allow us to move firmly beyond the 'Hodges and after' framing of these sites that has dominated

¹²⁹⁵ *Framing the Late Antique and Early Medieval Economy* (FLAME):

<https://www.coinage.princeton.edu/>

¹²⁹⁶ See Story, *Carolingian Connections*, esp. chapter 6.

¹²⁹⁷ Maddicott, 'London and Droitwich, c. 650–750', pp. 7–58. See also chapter 8 (8.2.2).

discussions. It is also hoped that the analysis of coin imitations and modified coins in this study (chapter 6) will prompt a greater consideration of these coins within the wider narrative of coin development and the emerging economy during the seventh century.

This thesis has also touched upon connections with regions outside of the scope of this study, such as those with Ireland and the Byzantine world. These connections were also significant in shaping the political, cultural, and social developments in the North-Sea world during the seventh century. There is potential for future studies to examine more closely the similarities and differences in how these links were received by and affected each region. Indeed, one particularly intriguing avenue of research would be to re-examine and compare the direct and indirect transmission of 'Irish' traditions across north-west Europe during this formative period.

Finally, it is hoped more broadly that the methodology undertaken in this study will encourage further studies which attempt to integrate different forms of evidence, disciplines, and scholarship to explore the development of north-west Europe in the early Middle Ages.

Bibliography

Primary evidence:

- Additamentum Nivialense de Fuilano*, ed and trans. Paul Fouracre and Richard Gerberding, *Late Merovingian France: History and Hagiography, 640-720* (Manchester, 1996) pp. 327–330.
- Additamentum Nivialense de Fuilano*, ed. B. Krusch, *Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptores Rerum Merovingicarum IV* (Hannover, 1902), pp. 449–451.
- Alcuin of York, *The Life of Willibrord*, ed and trans. Thomas F.X. Noble and Thomas Head, *Soldiers of Christ: Saint and Saints' Lives from Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages*, (University Park, PA, 1995), pp. 189–212.
- Aldhelm of Malmesbury, *Epistola ad Arcircium*, ed and trans. Michael Lapidge and Michael Herren, *Aldhelm: The Prose Works* (Cambridge, 2009).
- Altfred, *The Life of Saint Liudger*, ed and trans. Dorothy Whitelock, *English Historical Documents I, 500–1042* (London, 1979), number 160.
- Altfred, *Vita Sancti Liudgeri*, ed and trans. G.H. Pertz (ed.), *Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptorium Tomus II* (Hanover, 1829), pp. 403–425.
- Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, ed and trans. Dorothy Whitelock (London, 1961).
- Anonymous, *Life of Fursey*, ed. and trans. Oliver Rackham, *Transitus Beati Fursei: A translation of the 8th century manuscript Life of Saint Fursey* (Norwich, 2007).
- Anonymous, *Vita Bertilla*, ed and trans. Jo Ann McNamara, John E. Halbord and E. Gordon Whatley *Sainted Women in the Dark Ages* (London, 1992), pp. 279–288.
- Vita Bertilae Abbatissae Calensis*, ed. W. Levison, *Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptores Rerum Merovingicarum VI* (Hanover, 1913), pp. 101–109.
- Anonymous, *Vita Domnae Balthildis*, ed and trans. Paul Fouracre and Richard A. Gerberding, *Late Merovingian France: History and Hagiography 640–720* (Manchester, 1996), pp. 97–132.
- Vita Sanctae Balthildis*, ed. B. Krusch, *Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptores Rerum Merovingicarum II* (Hanover, 1888), pp. 482–508
- Anonymous, *Vita Ceolfredi*, ed and trans. Christopher Grocock and I.N. Wood, *Abbots of Wearmouth and Jarrow* (Oxford, 2013), pp. 77–122
- Historia Abbatum Auctore Anonym*, ed. Charles Plummer, *Venerabilis Baedae Opera Historica I*, (Oxford, 1896), pp. 388–404.
- Anonymous, *Vita Gregori*, trans and ed. Bertram Colgrave, *The Earliest Life of Gregory the Great* (Cambridge, 1968).
- Anonymous, *Vita Sancti Cuthberti*, ed and trans. B. Colgrave, *The Two Lives of St Cuthbert* (New York, 1969), pp. 51–140.

- Anonymous, *Liber Historiae Francorum*, ed and trans. Paul Fouracre and Richard A. Gerberding, *Late Merovingian France: History and Hagiography 640–720* (Manchester, 1996), pp. 79–96.
- Liber Historiae Francorum*, ed. Bruno Krusch, *Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptores Rerum Merovingicarum II* (Hanover, 1888), pp. 238–328.
- Anonymous, *Passio Leudegarii*, ed and trans. Paul Fouracre and Richard A. Gerberding, *Late Merovingian France: History and Hagiography 640–720* (Manchester, 1996), pp. 193–253.
- Passio Leudegarii*, ed. Bruno Krusch, *Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptores Rerum Merovingicarum V* (Hanover, 1910) pp. 282–322.
- Bede, *Historia Abbatum*, ed and trans. Christopher Grocock and I.N. Wood, *Abbots of Wearmouth and Jarrow* (Oxford, 2013), pp. 21–76.
- Bede, *Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum* ed and trans. B. Colgrave and R.A.B. Mynors, *Bede's Ecclesiastical History of the English People* (Oxford, 1972).
- Bede, Letter to Ecgberht, ed and trans. Judith McClure and Roger Collins, *The Ecclesiastical History of the English People* (Oxford, 2008), pp. 343–357.
- Bede, *Vita Sancti Cuthberti*, ed and trans. B. Colgrave, *The Two Lives of St Cuthbert* (New York, 1969), pp. 141–307.
- Epistolam ad Eberctum*, ed. Charles Plummer, *Venerabilis Baedae Opera Historica II* (Oxford, 1896), pp. 405–423.
- Chronicle of Fredegar (continuations)*, ed and trans. J.M. Wallace-Hadrill, *The fourth book of the Chronicle of Fredegar: with its continuations* (Westport, 1960).
- Cogitosus, *Vita Sanctae Brigitae*, ed and trans. Sean Connolly and J.M. Pichard, 'Cogitosus: Life of Saint Brigit', *The Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland* 117 (1987), pp. 11–27.
- Dado of Rouen, *Vita Sancti Eligii*, trans. Jo McNamara in Thomas F. Head (ed.), *Medieval Hagiography: An Anthology* (New York, 2000), pp. 137–168.
- Vita Sancti Eligii*, ed. Bruno Krusch, *Monumenta Germaniae Historica Scriptores rerum Merovingicarum IV* (Hanover, 1902), pp. 669–742.
- Epistolae Austrasicae*, ed. Elena Malaspina, *Il Liber epistolarum della cancelleria austrasica* (sec. V–VII) (Rome, 2001)
- Felix, *Vita Sancti Guthlaci*, ed and trans. Bertram Colgrave, *Felix's Life of Saint Guthlac* (Cambridge, 1956)
- Gregory of Tours, *History of the Franks*, ed and trans. Ernest Brehaut (London, 1969)
- Hygeburg, *Life of St Willibald*, ed and trans. Thomas F.X. Noble and Thomas Head (eds. and trans.), *Soldiers of Christ: Saint and Saints' Lives from Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages*, (University Park, 1995), pp. 141–164
- Hygeburg, *Vita Wynnebaldi*, ed. Oswald Holder-Egger, *Monumenta Germaniae Historica Scriptores XV.I* (Hanover, 1887), pp. 106–117.
- Iudicia Theodori (Paenitentiale Theodori)*, ed and trans. Patrick Geary, *Readings in Medieval History: Fifth Edition* (Toronto, 2016), pp. 215–232.

- Iudicia Theodori (Paenitentiale Theodori)*, eds. Arthur West Haddan and William Stubbs, *Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents Relating to Great Britain and Ireland volume 3* (Oxford, 1871), pp. 173–212.
- Jonas of Bobbio, *Vita Columbani*, ed and trans. Alexander O'Hara and Ian Wood, *Jonas of Bobbio: Life of Columbanus, Life of John of Réomé, and Life of Vedast* (Liverpool, 2017), pp. 91–239.
- Vita Columbani Abbatis Discipulorumque eius auctore Iona*, ed. B. Krusch, *Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptores rerum Merovingicarum IV* (Hanover, 1902), pp. 64–152.
- Laws of Æthelberht of Kent, ed and trans. Lisi Oliver, *The Beginnings of English Law* (Toronto, 2002), pp. 52–116.
- Laws of Hlothhere and Eadric of Kent, ed and trans. Lisi Oliver, *The Beginnings of English Law* (Toronto, 2002), pp. 117–146.
- Letters of Boniface, ed and trans. E. Emerton, *The letters of Saint Boniface* (New York, 1940)
- Letters of Pope Gregory I, ed and trans. John R.C. Martyn, *The Letters of Gregory the Great* (3 volumes) (Toronto, 2004).
- Procopius, *History of the Wars*, ed and trans. H.B. Dewing, *Procopius: History of the Wars books VII.36-VIII* (London, 1928)
- Stephen of Ripon, *Vita Sancti Wilfrithi*, ed and trans. Bertram Colgrave, *The Life of Bishop Wilfrid* (Cambridge, 1927).

Databases:

Anglo-Saxon Kent Electronic Database (ASKED):

https://archaeologydataservice.ac.uk/archives/view/asked_ahrc_2008/ [Last accessed: January 2021]

Anglo-Saxon Graves and Grave Goods of the sixth and seventh centuries AD: A chronological framework:

https://archaeologydataservice.ac.uk/archives/view/aschron_eh_2013/ [Last accessed: January 2021]

Beyond the Tribal Hidage:

<https://www.ucl.ac.uk/early-medieval-atlas/map-data/beyond-tribal-hidage-data> [Last accessed: January 2021]

Corpus of Early Medieval Coin Finds (EMC):

<https://emc.fitzmuseum.cam.ac.uk/> [Last accessed: January 2021]

The Electronic Sawyer (Online catalogue of Anglo-Saxon Charters):

<https://esawyer.lib.cam.ac.uk/searchfiles/index.html> [Last accessed: August 2020]

Historic Environment Records (HER):

<https://www.heritagegateway.org.uk/Gateway/CHR/> [Last Accessed: September 2019]

Numismatisch Informatie Systeem (NUMIS):

https://nnc.dnb.nl/dnb-nnc-ontsluiting_frontend/#/numis/ [Last accessed: December 2020]

NUMMUS:

<https://www.unicaen.fr/crahm/Nummus/> [Last accessed: May 2020]

Portable Antiquities Netherlands (PAN):

<https://portable-antiquities.nl/pan/#/public> [Last accessed: December 2020]

Portable Antiquities Scheme (PAS):

<https://finds.org.uk/database> [Last accessed: December 2020]

Treasure Trove Scotland:

<https://treasuretrovescotland.co.uk/> [Last accessed: January 2021]

Scholarship:

Abdy, Richard and Gareth Williams, 'A catalogue of the hoards and single finds from the British Isles, c. AD 410-675', in Barrie Cook and Gareth Williams (eds.), *Coinage and History in the North Sea World* (Leiden, 2006), pp. 11–74.

Abramson, T., *Sceattas – An illustrated Guide: Anglo-Saxon Coins and Icons* (Norfolk, 2006).

—, *Coinage in the Northumbrian landscape and economy, c. 587–867* (Oxford, 2018).

—, 'England's earliest coinage with particular reference to the York group of shillings', *British Numismatic Journal* 89 (2019), pp. 1–18.

Allen, Valerie, 'When Compensation Costs an Arm and a Leg', in Jay Paul Gates and Nicole Marafioti, (eds.), *Capital and Corporal Punishment in Anglo-Saxon England* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2014), pp. 17–33.

Anderton, M. (ed.), *Anglo- Saxon Trading Centres and Their Hinterlands: Beyond the Emporia* (Glasgow, 1999)

Andrews, P. (ed.), *Excavations at Hamwic: Volume 2. Excavations at Six Dials* (York, 1997).

Archibald, Marion, 'The Anglo-Saxon and Merovingian coins from Flixborough', in D.H. Evans and Christopher Loveluck (eds.), *Life and Economy at Early Medieval Flixborough c. AD 600–1000* (Oxford, 2009), pp. 402–412.

—, 'The Wilton Cross coin pendant: numismatic aspects and implications', in

- Andrew Reynolds and Leslie Webster (eds.), *Early Medieval Art and Archaeology in the Northern World* (Leiden, 2013), pp. 51–72.
- , 'Numismatics and the Chronological models', in John Hines and Alex Bayliss (eds.), *Anglo-Saxon Graves and Grave Goods of the 6th and 7th Centuries AD: A Chronological Framework* (London, 2013), pp. 493–516.
- Audy, Florent, *Suspended Value: Using coins as pendants in Viking-Age Scandinavia (c. AD 800–1140)* (unpublished PhD thesis: Stockholm University, 2018).
- Avent, R.J., 'A fragment of a Merovingian rounded-plaque buckle from the Anglo-Saxon cemetery at Sarre', *Archaeologia Cantiana* 92 (1977), pp. 225–227.
- Avent, Richard and David Leigh, 'A Study of Cross-Hatched Gold Foils in Anglo-Saxon Jewellery', *Medieval Archaeology* 21:1 (1977), pp. 1–46.
- Bailey, R.N., and D. O'Sullivan, 'Excavations over St. Wilfrid's crypt at Hexham, 1978', *Archaeologia Aeliana* 7 (fifth series, 1979), pp. 114–157.
- Bailey, Richard N., 'St Wilfrid: A European Anglo-Saxon', in N.J. Higham (ed.), *Wilfrid: Abbot, Bishop, Saint. Papers from the 1300th Anniversary Conferences* (Donington, 2013), pp. 112–123.
- Bakka, E., 'Scandinavian trade relations with the Continent and the British Isles in pre-Viking times', *Early Medieval Studies* 3 (1971) pp. 37–51
- Baltrusch-Schneider, Dagmar Beate, 'Die angelsächsischen Doppelklöster', in Kaspar Elm and Michel Parisse (eds.), *Doppelklöster und andere Formen der Symbiose männlicher und weiblicher Religiösen im Mittelalter* (Berlin, 1992), pp. 57–80.
- Bartlett, Robert, 'Mediaeval and modern concepts of race and ethnicity', *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 31:1 (2001), pp. 39–56.
- Bateson, Mary, 'Origin and early history of double monasteries', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 13 (1899), pp. 137–198.
- Bavuso, Irene, 'Balance of power across the Channel: reassessing Frankish hegemony in southern England (sixth-early seventh century)', *Early Medieval Europe* 29:3 (2021), pp. 283–304.
- , *The Sixth and Earlier Seventh Centuries: Preconditions of the Rise of the Emporia* (unpublished PhD thesis: University of Oxford, 2018).
- Bayliss, Alex, John Hines and Karen Høilund Neilson, 'Integrations and comparisons', in John Hines and Alex Bayliss (eds.), *Anglo-Saxon Graves and Grave Goods of the 6th and 7th Centuries AD: A Chronological Framework* (London, 2013), pp. 459–492.
- Beach, Alison I. and Andra Jusanaru, 'The Double Monastery as a historiographical problem (fourth to twelfth century)', in Alison I. Beach and Isabelle Cochelin (eds.), *The Cambridge History of Medieval Monasticism in the Latin West* (Cambridge, 2020), pp. 561–598.
- Bidwell, Paul, 'Wilfrid and Hexham: The Anglo-Saxon crypt', in N.J. Higham (ed.),

- Wilfrid: Abbot, Bishop, Saint. Papers from the 1300th Anniversary Conferences* (Donington, 2013), pp. 152–162.
- Birbeck, Vaughan, Roland J.C. Smith, Phil Andrews, and Nick Stoodley (eds.), *The Origins of Mid-Saxon Southampton: Excavations at the Friends Provident, St Mary's Stadium 1998-2000* (Dorchester, 2005).
- Bischoff, Bernhard and Michael Lapidge, *Biblical Commentaries from the Canterbury School of Theodore* (Cambridge, 1994).
- Blackburn, Mark, and Philip Grierson, *Medieval European Coinage 1: The Early Middle Ages (5th to 10th Centuries)* (Cambridge, 1986).
- Blackburn, Mark, 'Money and Coinage' in Rosamond McKitterick (ed.), *The New Cambridge Medieval History: Volume II, c700-900* (Cambridge, 1995), p. 538–549.
- , 'Productive' sites and the Pattern of Coin Loss in England, 600–1180', in Tim Pestell and Katharina Ulmschneider (eds.), *Markets in Early Medieval Europe: Trading and 'Productive' Sites, 650-850* (Cheshire, 2003), pp. 20–36.
- , 'Two new types of Anglo-Saxon gold shillings', in Barrie Cook and Gareth Williams (eds.), *Coinage and History in the North Sea World, c.500–1250* (Leiden, 2006), pp. 127–133.
- , 'Coinage in its Archaeological Context', in Sally Crawford, Helena Hamerow, and David Hinton (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Anglo-Saxon Archaeology* (Oxford, 2011), pp. 580–599.
- Blackmore, Lyn and Mark Redknap, 'Saxon and early medieval imports to the London area and the Rhenish connection', in D. Gaimster, M. Redknap and H-H. Wegner (eds.), *Zur Keramik des Mittelalters und der beginnenden Neuzeit im Rheinland* (Oxford, 1988), pp. 223–239.
- Blackmore, Lyn, 'la céramique du Vème au Xème siècle à Londres et dans la région londonienne', in D. Piton (ed.), *La Céramique du Vème au Xème siècle dans l'Europe du nord-ouest* (Arras, 1993), pp. 129–150.
- , 'From beach to burh: New clues to entity and identity in seventh to ninth-century London', in G. de Boe and F. Verhaeghe (eds.), *Papers of the Medieval Brugge Conference 1997* (Zellik, 1997), pp. 123–132.
- , 'The origins and growths of Lundenwic, a mart of many nations', in Birgitta Hårdh and Lars Larsson (eds.), *Central Places in the Migration and Merovingian Periods: Papers from the 52nd Sachsensymposium* (Stockholm, 2002), pp. 273–302.
- Blackwell, Alice, 'Anglo-Saxon Dunbar, East Lothian: a brief re-assessment of the archaeological evidence and some chronological implications', *Medieval Archaeology* 51 (2009), pp. 361–371.
- Blair, John, *The Church in Anglo-Saxon Society* (Oxford, 2005)
- , (ed.), *Waterways and Canal-building in Medieval England* (Oxford,

- 2007).
- , *Building Anglo-Saxon England* (Oxford, 2018).
- Blakelock, Eleanor, Susan La Niece and Chris Fern, 'Secrets of the Anglo-Saxon goldsmiths: Analysis of gold objects from the Staffordshire Hoard', *Journal of Archaeological Science* 72 (2016), pp. 44–56.
- Blanton, Virginia, 'Imagining the lost libraries of Anglo-Saxon Double Monasteries', in Helene Scheck and Christine E. Kozikowski (eds.), *New Readings on Women and Early Medieval English Literature and Culture* (Amsterdam, 2019), pp. 75–96.
- Blinkhorn, Paul, 'Of cabbages and kings: production, trade and consumption in Middle Saxon England', in M. Anderton (ed.), *Anglo-Saxon Trading Centres and Their Hinterlands: Beyond the Emporia* (Glasgow, 1999), pp. 4–23.
- , *The Ipswich ware project: Ceramics, trade and society in Middle Saxon England* (London, 2012).
- Boone, W.J. de, 'Munten van Madelinus/Dorestat in Nederland', *Westerheem* 21 (1972), pp. 87–88.
- , 'Madelinus-munten uit Dorestat', *FleHITE* 5:3 (1973), pp. 42–44.
- , 'Madelinus - Dorestat (II)', *Westerheem* 25 (1976), pp. 98–99.
- Booth, J., 'Northumbrian coinage and the productive site at South Newbald ("Sancton")', in H. Geake and J. Kenny (eds.), *Early Deira: Archaeological studies of the East Riding in the fourth to ninth centuries AD* (Oxford, 2000), pp. 83–97.
- Bosner, Mike, 'Fifteen Years of coin finds from 'Productive' sites', *Yorkshire Numismatist* 3 (1997), pp. 39–45.
- Boyle, A., D. Jennings, D. Miles and S. Palmer, *The Anglo-Saxon Cemetery at Butler's Field, Lechlade, Gloucestershire, volume 2: The Anglo-Saxon Grave Goods, Specialist Reports, Phasing and Discussion* (Oxford, 2011).
- Breeze, Andrew, 'Did a woman write the Whitby life of St Gregory?', *Northern History* 49 (2012), pp. 345–350.
- Brisbane, Mark, 'Hamwic: An Eighth-Century Port and Production Centre', in R. Hodges and B. Hobley (eds.), *The Rebirth of Towns in the West, AD 700-1050* (London, 1988), pp. 101–109.
- Brisbane, Mark and Richard Hodges, 'An emporium for all eras: David Hinton and four institutional phases in the rise of Hamwic, Anglo-Saxon Southampton', in Ben Jervis (ed.), *The Middle Ages Revisited: Studies in the Archaeology and History of Medieval Southern England presented to Professor David Hinton* (Oxford, 2018), pp. 21–34.
- Briscoe, T., 'Note on the Aquitanian buckle said to have come from Lakenheath, Suffolk', *Anglo-Saxon Studies in Archaeology and History* 1 (1979), pp. 115–119.
- Brooks, Nicholas, 'Bede and the English', *Jarrow Lectures* 42 (1999), pp. 1–15.

- Brookes, Stuart, *Economics and Social change in Anglo-Saxon Kent, AD 400-900: Landscapes, Communities and Exchange* (Oxford, 2007).
- Brookes, Stuart and Sue Harrington, *The Kingdom and People of Kent AD 400-1066* (Cheltenham, 2010).
- Brookes, Stuart, 'The Lathes of Kent: A Review of the Evidence', in Stuart Brookes, Stuart, Susan Harrington, and Andrew Reynolds (eds.), *Studies in Early Anglo-Saxon Art and Archaeology* (Oxford, 2011), pp. 156–170.
- Brown, Richard, Steven Teague, Louise Loe, Berni Suds and Elizabeth Popescu (eds.), *Excavations at Stoke Quay, Ipswich: Southern Gipeswic and the parish of St Augustine* (Oxford, 2020).
- Bruand, Olivier, 'Circulation monétaire et pouvoirs politiques locaux: sous les Mérovingiens et les Carolingiens (du VII^e au IX^e siècle)', *Actes des congrès de la société des historiens médiévistes de l'enseignement supérieur public* 28:1 (1998), pp. 47–59.
- Bruce-Mitford, Robert, 'The Durham-Echternach Calligrapher', in Gerald Bonner, David Rollason and Clare Stancliffe (eds.), *St Cuthbert, his cult and his community to AD 1200* (Woodbridge, 1989), pp. 175–188.
- Brown, Michelle P., *The Life of St Fursey. What we know: Why it matters. Fursey occasional papers 1* (Norwich, 2001).
- Bult, E.J. and D.P. Hallewas, 'Archaeological evidence for the early medieval settlement around the Meuse and Rhine deltas up to ca AD 1000, in J.C. Besteman, J.M. Bos and H.A. Heidinga (eds.), *Medieval Archaeology in the Netherlands* (Maastricht, 1990), pp. 71–90.
- Bult, E.J. and J. van Doesburg and D.P. Hallewas, 'De opgravingscampagne in de Vroeg-Middeleeuwse nederzetting op De Woerd bij Valkenburg in 1987 en 1988', in E.J. Bult and D.P. Hallewas (eds.), *Graven bij Valkenburg III. Het archeologisch onderzoek in 1987 en 1988* (Delft, 1990), pp. 146–166.
- Büntgen, U. et al., 'Cooling and societal change during the Late Antique Little Ice Age from 536 to around 660 AD', *Nature Geoscience* 9 (2016), pp 231–236.
- Burton, E., 'From Roman to Saxon London: Saxon burials at St Martin-in-the-Fields', in Neil Christie, Helen Geake, Märit Gaimster, Kieran O'Connor and Rory Sherlock (eds.), 'Medieval Britain and Ireland in 2006', *Medieval Archaeology* 51 (2007), pp. 255–258.
- Callander Murray, Alexander, *From Roman to Merovingian Gaul: A Reader* (Toronto, 2008).
- Cambridge, Eric, and Alan Williams, 'Hexham Abbey: A review of recent work and its implications', *Archaeologia Aeliana* 23 (fifth series, 1995), pp 51–138.
- Carver, M.O.H., 'Pre-Viking traffic in the North Sea', in Seàn McGrail (ed.), *Maritime Celts, Frisians and Saxons* (London, 1990), pp. 117–125.
- Campbell, Ewan, *Imported Material in Atlantic Britain and Ireland c. AD 400–800* (York, 2007).
- Carver, Martin, (eds.), *The Cross Goes North: Processes of conversion in Northern*

- Europe AD 300–1300* (Woodbridge, 2002).
- Carver, Martin O.H., *Sutton Hoo: A seventh -century princely burial ground and its context* (London, 2005)
- Charles-Edwards, Thomas, 'The Penitential of Theodore and the *Iudicia Theodori*', in Michael Lapidge (eds.), *Archbishop Theodore: Commemorative Studies on his life and influence* (Cambridge, 1995), pp. 141–174.
- Charles-Edwards, T.M., *Early Christian Ireland* (Cambridge, 2002).
- Chazelle, Celia, 'Ceolfrid's gift to St Peter: the first quire of the Codex Amiatinus and the evidence of its Roman destination', *Early Medieval Europe* 12:2 (2003), pp. 129–157.
- Clark, Gillian, *Late Antiquity: A Very Short Introduction* (Oxford, 2011).
- Coates, Simon, 'The role of bishops in the early Anglo-Saxon Church', *History* 81 (1996), pp. 177–196.
- , 'Dwellings of the saints monasticism in the Scottish Borders in the Early Middle Ages', *Downside Review* 114 (1996), pp. 166–184.
- Codine-Trécourt, F., 'Les monnaies Mérovingiennes modifiées à des fins non monétaires', *Revue Numismatique* 171:6 (2014), pp. 497–547.
- Collart, Jean-Luc, 'L'archéologie préventive en France: Le cadre réglementaire et son application' in Webley, Leo, Marc Vander Linden, Colin Cowie, Robert and Lyn Blackmore, *Lundenwic: Excavations in Middle Saxon London, 1987–2000* (London, 2012).
- Collins, Roger and Judith McClure, 'Rome, Canterbury and Wearmouth-Jarrow: Three viewpoints on Augustine's mission', in Simon Barton and Peter Linehan (eds.), *Cross, Crescent and Conversion: Studies on Medieval Spain and Christendom in Memory of Richard Fletcher* (Leiden, 2008), pp. 17–42.
- Corning, Caitlin, 'The baptism of Edwin, king of Northumbria: A new analysis of the British tradition', *Northern History* 36:1 (2000), pp. 5–15.
- , *The Celtic and Roman Traditions: Conflict and Consensus in the Early Medieval Church* (New York, 2006).
- Costen, D. and Nicholas P. Costen, 'Trade and Exchange in Anglo-Saxon Wessex, c. 600–780', *Medieval Archaeology* 60:1 (2016), pp. 1–26.
- Cowie, Robert and Lyn Blackmore, *Lundenwic: Excavations in Middle Saxon London, 1987–2000* (London, 2012).
- Crabtree, Pam J., 'Agricultural innovation and socio-economic change in early medieval Europe: evidence from Britain and France', *World Archaeology* 42:1 (2010), pp. 122–136.
- , *Early Medieval Britain: The Rebirth of Towns in the Post-Roman West* (Cambridge, 2018).
- Crawford, Sally, *Children in Anglo-Saxon England* (Sutton 1999).
- Coutts, Catherine, 'The Early Medieval pottery from Quentovic - An interim note', *Medieval Ceramics* 10 (1986), pp. 23–28.
- , *Pottery and emporia: imported pottery in Middle Saxon England with*

- particular reference to Ipswich*. (Unpublished PhD thesis: University of Sheffield, 1991).
- Coxhall, D., C. Charamond, and E. Sethian, *Chelles: Fouilles sur le site de l'ancienne abbaye royale*, 1991-92 (Chelles, 1994).
- Cramp, Rosemary, 'Monkwearmouth and Jarrow in their continental context', in Catherine E. Karkov (ed.), *The Archaeology of Anglo-Saxon England: Basic readings* (London, 1999), pp. 137–153.
- , *Wearmouth and Jarrow Monastic sites volumes 1–3* (Swindon, 2006).
- , 'New perspectives on monastic buildings and their uses', in Gabor Thomas and Alexandra Knox (eds.), *Early Medieval Monasticism in the North Sea Zone* (Oxford, 2017), pp. 27–42.
- Crick, Julia, 'The Art of Writing: Scripts and Scribal Production', in Clare A. Lees (ed.), *The Cambridge History of Early Medieval English Literature* (Cambridge, 2013), pp. 50–72.
- Crook, John, *The Architectural Setting of the Cult of Saints in the Early Christian West, c. 300–c. 1200* (Oxford, 2000).
- Cubitt, Catherine, *Anglo-Saxon Church Councils c.650–c.850* (London, 1995).
- , 'Memory and narrative in the cult of the early Anglo-Saxon saints', in Y. Hen and M. Innes (eds.), *The uses of the past in the Early Middle Ages* (Cambridge, 2003), pp. 29–66.
- Cumont, G., 'Trouvées dans des tombes des cimetières Francs d'Harmignies, Belvaux, Wancennes et Eprave', *Annales de la Société d'archéologie de Bruxelles. Mémoires, rapports et documents* (1891), pp. 59–71.
- Cunliffe, Barry, *Wessex to AD 1000* (London, 1993).
- Curta, Florin, 'Some remarks on ethnicity in medieval archaeology', *Early Medieval Europe* 15 (2007), pp. 159–185.
- Daniels, Robin, *Anglo-Saxon Hartlepool and the foundations of English Christianity* (Cleveland, 2007).
- Daubney, Adam Jonathan, *Portable Antiquities, Palimpsests, and Persistent Places in Lincolnshire, with particular reference to three Middle Saxon case studies* (unpublished PhD thesis: University of Leicester, 2015).
- Davies, Gareth, 'Early Medieval 'rural centres' and West Norfolk: A growing picture of diversity, complexity and changing lifestyles', *Medieval Archaeology* 54:1 (2010), pp. 89–122.
- De Belfort, A., *Description Générale des monnaies Mérovingiennes. Tomes 1–5* (Paris, 1996 reprint).
- Decaens, J., 'Sépultures Franques à Grenneville (Manche) et à Blay (Calvados)', *Annales de Normandie* 3 (1965), pp. 456–460.
- Deckers, Pieterjan, 'Productive' sites in the Polders? 'Griffin brooches' and other early medieval metalwork from the Belgian coastal plain', *Medieval and Modern Matters* 3 (2012), pp. 21–43.

- , 'An illusory Emporium? Small Trading Places around the Southern North Sea', in Annemarieke Willemsen and Hanneke Kik (eds.), *Dorestad in an International Framework: New Research on Centres of Trade and Coinage in Carolingian Times* (Turnhout, 2010), pp. 159–167.
- Deckers, Pieterjan and Dries Tys, 'Early medieval communities around the North Sea: a 'maritime culture'?', in Rica Annaert, Koen de Groote, Yann Hollevoet, Frans Theuws, Dries Tys and Laurent Verslype (eds.), *The Very Beginning of Europe? Cultural and Social Dimensions of Early-Medieval Migration and Colonisation (5th-8th century)* (Brussels, 2012), pp. 81–87.
- Deckers, Pieterjan, *Between Land and Sea: Landscape, Power and Identity in the Coastal Plain of Flanders, Zeeland and Northern France in the Early Middle Ages (A.D. 500–1000)* 2 vols, (Unpublished PhD thesis: Vrije Universiteit Brussel, 2014).
- Delahaye, Gilbert-Robert, 'Réflexions sur l'évolution des cryptes et de l'église Mérovingienne de Jouarre', *Revue d'histoire et d'art de la Brie et du Pays de Meaux* 41 (1990), pp. 15–26.
- Denoeux, P., 'Note sur des monnaies ambiennes mérovingiennes', *Société des antiquaires de Picardie* 630 (1994), pp. 333–335.
- Desfosses Y., G. Dilly and D. Piton, *La Calotterie, la Fontaine aux Linottes* (1997).
- Devlin, Zoe L., and Caroline N.J. Holas-Clark (eds.), *Approaching Interdisciplinarity: Archaeology, History and the Study of Early Medieval Britain, c. 400-1100* (Oxford, 2009).
- Dickinson, Tanya M., Chris Fern and Andrew Richardson, 'Early Anglo-Saxon Eastry: Archaeological evidence for the beginnings of a district centre in the kingdom of Kent', *Anglo-Saxon Studies in Archaeology and History* 17 (2011), pp. 1–86.
- Dierkins, Alaine, 'Prolégomènes à une histoire des relations culturelles entre les îles Britanniques et le continent pendant le haut Moyen Age', in H. Atsma (ed.), *La Neustrie, Les Pays au Nord de la Loire de 650 à 850: colloque historique international vol. 1* (Sigmaringen, 1989), pp. 371–394.
- Dijkstra, Meeno, 'Between Britannia and Francia: The nature of external socio-economic exchange at the Rhine and Meuse Estuaries in the Early Middle Ages', *Bodendenkmalpflege in Mecklenburg-Vorpommern* 51 (2003), pp. 397–408.
- , *Rondom de Mondingen van Rijn en Maas: Landschap en bewoning tussen de 3^e en 9^e eeuw in Zuid-Holland, in het bijzonder de Oude Rijnstreek* (Leiden, 2011).
- Dijkstra, Juke, and Gavin Williams, 'New research in Dorestad', in Annemarieke Willemsen and Hanneke Kik (eds.), *Dorestad in an International Framework: New Research on Centres of Trade and Coinage in Carolingian Times* (Turnhout, 2010), pp. 59–64.
- Dockum, S.G. van, 'De Geer', *Archeologische Kroniek Provincie Utrecht 1988-1989*

- (Utrecht, 1996), pp. 76–80.
- , ‘De Geer’, *Archeologische Kroniek Provincie Utrecht 1990-1991* (Utrecht, 1997), pp. 103–107.
- , ‘De Geer’, *Archeologische Kroniek Provincie Utrecht 1992-1993* (Utrecht, 1997), pp. 116–119.
- Doesburg, Jan van, , ‘De Geer’, *Archeologische Kroniek Provincie Utrecht 1994-1995* (Utrecht, 1998), pp. 137–141.
- , ‘Villa Non Modica? Some Thoughts on the Interpretation of a Large Early Medieval Earthwork near Dorestad’, in Annemarieke Willemsen and Hanneke Kik (eds.), *Dorestad in an International Framework. New Research into Trade Centres in Carolingian Times* (Turnhout, 2010), pp. 51–58.
- Dörler, Philipp, ‘The *Liber Historiae Francorum* – a model for a new Frankish self-confidence’, *Networks and Neighbours* 1 (2013), pp. 23–43.
- Drauschke, Jörg, ‘Byzantine’ and ‘oriental’ imports in the Merovingian Empire from the second half of the fifth to the beginning of the eighth century’, in A. Harris (ed.), *Incipient Globalisation? Long Distance Contacts in the sixth century* (Oxford, 2007) pp. 61–73.
- , ‘Byzantine jewellery? Amethyst beads in East and West during the Early Byzantine period’, in C. Entwistle & N. Adams (eds.), *‘Intelligible Beauty’: Recent Research on Byzantine Jewellery* (London, 2010), pp. 50–60.
- , ‘Archaeological perspectives on communication and exchange between the Merovingians and the eastern Mediterranean’, in Stefan Esders, Yaniv Fox, Yitzhak Hen and Laury Sarti (eds.), *East and West in the Early Middle Ages: The Merovingian kingdoms in Mediterranean Perspective* (Cambridge, 2019), pp. 9–31.
- Drinkall, G., and M. Foreman, *The Anglo-Saxon cemetery at Castledyke South, Barton-on-Humber* (Sheffield, 1998).
- Dumville, David, ‘What is a Chronicle?’, in Erik Kooper (ed.), *The Medieval Chronicle II* (Amsterdam, 2002), pp. 1–28.
- Dunn, Marilyn, *The Emergence of Monasticism: From the Desert Fathers to the Early Middle Ages* (Oxford, 2000).
- , *The Christianization of the Anglo-Saxons, c. 597-700: Discourses of Life, Death and Afterlife*, (London, 2009).
- Edmonds, Fiona, ‘The Practicalities of Communication between Northumbria and Irish Churches, c.635- 735’, in James Graham-Campbell and Michael Ryan (eds.), *Anglo-Saxon/Irish Relations before the Vikings* (Oxford, 2009), pp. 129–147.
- Edwards, Heather, *The Charters of the Early West Saxon Kingdom* (Oxford, 1988).
- Effros, Bonnie, *Caring for Body and Soul: burial and the Afterlife in the Merovingian World* (University Park Pa, 2002).

- , *Merovingian Mortuary Archaeology and the Making of the Early Middle Ages* (London, 2003).
- Effros, Bonnie and Isabel Moreira, 'Pushing the boundaries of the Merovingian World', in Bonnie Effros and Isabel Moreira (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of the Merovingian World* (Oxford, 2020), pp. 3–31.
- Egmond, Wolfert van, 'Converting Monks: Missionary activity in Early Medieval Frisia and Saxony', in Guyda Armstrong and Ian N. wood (eds.), *Christianising Peoples and Converting Individuals* (Leiden, 2000), pp. 37–45.
- Ellis, Stephen, 'Physical background to Holderness', in Robert Van de Noort and Stephen Ellis (eds.), *Wetland Heritage of Holderness: An Archaeological Survey* (Hull, 1995), pp. 9–16.
- , 'Physical background to the Vale of York', in Robert Van de Noort and Stephen Ellis (eds.), *Wetland Heritage of the Vale of York* (Hull, 1999), pp. 7–12.
- Ervynek, Anton, Cecile Baeteman, Hendrik Demiddele, Yann Hollevoet, Marnix Pieters, Jaap Schelvis, Dries Tys, Mark van Strydonk, and Franks Verhaeghe, 'Human occupation because of a regression, or the cause of transgression? A critical review of the interaction between geological events and human occupation in the Belgian Coastal Plain during the First Millennium AD', *Probleme der Küstenforschung im südlichen Noordseegebiet* 26 (1999), pp. 97–121.
- Es, W.A. van and W.J.H. Verwers, *Excavations at Dorestad 1: The Harbour, Hoogstraat 1* (Amersfoort, 1980).
- Es, W.A. van, 'Dorestad Centred', in J.C. Bateman, J.M. Bos and H.A. Heidinga (eds.), *Medieval Archaeology in the Netherlands* (Assen, 1990), pp. 151–182.
- Es, W.A. van and W.A.M. Hessing, *Romeinen, Friezen en Franken in het hart van Nederland: van Traiectum tot Dorestad* (Utrecht, 1994).
- Es, W.A. van and W.J.H. Verwers, *Excavations at Dorestad 3: 0, II-IV* (Amersfoort, 2009).
- Es, W.A. van and W.J.H. Verwers, 'Early Medieval settlements along the Rhine: precursors and contemporaries of Dorestad', *Journal of Archaeology in the Low Countries* 2 (2010), pp. 5–39.
- Es, W.A. van and W.J.H. Verwers, *Excavations at Dorestad 4: The Settlement on the Riverbank Area* (Amersfoort, 2015).
- Evans, D.H. and Christopher Loveluck (eds.), *Life and Economy at Early Medieval Flixborough* (Oxford, 2009).
- Everson, Paul and David Stocker, 'Wharram before the village moment', in S. Whrathmell (ed.), *A History of Wharram Percy and Neighbours* (York, 2012), pp. 164–172.
- Evison, Vera, 'An Anglo-Saxon cemetery at Holborough, Kent', *Archaeologia Cantiana* 70 (1956), pp. 84–141.
- , 'Sugar-loaf shield bosses', *The Antiquaries Journal* 43 (1963), pp.

38–96.

- , *Dover: Buckland Anglo-Saxon Cemetery* (London, 1987)
- Faider-Feytmans, G., *Les Collections d'archéologie régionales du Musée de Mariemont* (Mariemont, 1970).
- Fenton-Thomas, C., *Forgotten Landscapes of the Yorkshire Wolds* (Stroud, 2005).
- Ferguson, Christopher, 'Re-Evaluating Early Medieval Northumbrian Contacts and the 'Coastal Highway'', in David Petts and Sam Turner (eds.), *Early Medieval Northumbria: Kingdoms and Communities, AD 450-1100* (Turnhout, 2011), pp. 283–302.
- Flechner, Rory and Sven Meeder (eds.), *The Irish in Early Medieval Europe* (London, 2016).
- Fletcher, Eric, 'The influence of Merovingian Gaul on Northumbria in the seventh century', *Medieval Archaeology* 24 (1980), pp. 69–86.
- Fleming, Robin, 'Elite boats and foreigners: Rethinking the birth of English towns', *Città e campagna nei secoli altomedievali, Spoleto, 27 marzo – 1 aprile 2008, Spoleto* (2009), pp. 393–426.
- , 'The movement of people and things between Britain and France in the late and post-Roman periods', in Bonnie Effros and Isabel Moreira (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of the Merovingian World* (Oxford, 2020), pp. 370–388.
- Fonay Wemple, Suzanne, *Women in Frankish Society: Marriage and the cloister* (Philadelphia, 1981).
- Foot, Sarah, *Veiled Women I: The Disappearance of Nuns from Anglo-Saxon England* (Aldershot, 2000).
- , 'Church and monastery in Bede's Northumbria', in Scott DeGregorio (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to Bede* (Cambridge, 2010), pp. 47–48.
- Foot, Sarah, 'Wilfrid's monastic empire', in N.J. Higham (ed.), *Wilfrid: Abbot, Bishop, Saint. Papers from the 1300th Anniversary Conferences* (Donington, 2013), pp. 27–39.
- Forsman, Deanna, *England and Northern Frankia, Fifth-Seventh Centuries: Implications of Cross-Channel Contact* (Unpublished PhD thesis: University of California, 2002).
- Fouracre, Paul, 'Merovingian History and Merovingian Hagiography', *Past and Present* 127:1 (1990), pp. 3–38.
- Fouracre, Paul and Richard A. Gerberding (eds. and trans.), *Late Merovingian France: History and Hagiography, AD 640–720* (Manchester, 2004).
- Fouracre, Paul, 'Forgetting and remembering Dagobert II: The English connection', in Paul Fouracre and David Ganz (eds.), *Frankland: The Franks and the world of the Early Middle Ages* (Manchester, 2008), pp. 70–89.
- , 'Wilfrid and the continent', in N.J. Higham (ed.), *Wilfrid: Abbot, Bishop, Saint. Papers from the 1300th Anniversary Conferences* (Donington, 2013), pp. 186–199.
- , 'Balthild and "her" seal ring: text and artefact', in O. Kano and J.L. Lemaitre

- (eds.), *Entre Texte et Histoire: Etudes d'histoire médiévale offertes au professeur Shoichi Sato* (Paris, 2015), pp. 129–142.
- Fowler, Louise and Ruth Taylor, *At the Limits of Lundenwic: Excavations in the North-West of Middle Saxon London at St. Martin's Courtyard 2006-2009* (London, 2013).
- Fox, Yaniv, *Power and Religion in Merovingian Gaul: Columbanian Monasticism and the Frankish Elite* (Cambridge, 2014).
- Frantzen, Allen J., 'The tradition of penitentials in Anglo-Saxon England', *Anglo-Saxon England* 11 (1983), pp. 23–56.
- Fulford, Michael G., 'Byzantium and Britain: A Mediterranean perspective of Post-Roman Mediterranean imports in western Britain and Ireland', *Medieval Archaeology* 33 (1989), pp. 1–6.
- Gameson, Richard (ed.), *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain: c.400–1100* (Cambridge, 2011).
- , 'Northumbrian books in the seventh and eighth centuries', in Richard Gameson (ed.), *The Lindisfarne Gospels: New Perspectives* (Leiden, 2017), pp. 43–83.
- Gannon, Anna, *The Iconography of Early Anglo-Saxon Coinage: sixth to eighth centuries* (Oxford, 2003).
- , 'Imitation is the sincerest form of flattery', in Barrie Cook and Gareth Williams (eds.), *Coinage and History in the North Sea World* (Leiden, 2006), pp. 193–210.
- , *British Museum Anglo-Saxon Coins volume 1: Early Anglo-Saxon Gold and Continental Silver Coinage of the North Sea area, c. 600-760* (2013).
- , 'Art in the round: Tradition and creativity in early Anglo-Saxon coinage', in Rory Naismith (ed.), *Money and Coinage in the Middle Ages* (Leiden, 2018), pp. 287–319.
- Gardiner, Mark, Richard Cross, Nigel Macpherson-Grant, Ian Riddler, Lyn Blackmore, Derek Chick, Sheila Hamilton-Dyer, Emily Murray and David Weir, 'Continental Trade and non-urban ports in mid-Anglo-Saxon England: Excavations at Sandtun, West Hythe, Kent', *The Archaeological Journal* 158 (2001), pp. 161–290.
- Garrison, Mary, 'The Library of Alcuin's York', in Richard Gameson (ed.), *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain* (Cambridge, 2011), pp. 633–664.
- Geake, Helen, *The Use of grave-goods in Conversion-Period England c. 600-c.850* (Oxford, 1997).
- Geary, Patrick, *Readings in Medieval History: Fifth Edition* (Toronto, 2016).
- Gelder, Enno van, 'Coins from Dorestad, Hoogstraat I', in W.A. van Es and W.J.H. Verwers, *Excavations at Dorestad 1: The Harbour, Hoogstraat 1* (Amersfoort, 1980), pp. 212–224.
- Gelder, Enno van, 'coins', in W.A. van Es and W.J.H. Verwers, *Excavations at Dorestad 3: 0, II-IV* (Amersfoort, 2009), pp. 257–259.

- Gerchaw, Jane, 'Early monasteries and foundations (500–1200)', in Jeffrey Hamburger and Susan Mart (eds.), *Crown and Veil: Female Monasticism from the Fifth to Fifteenth Centuries* (New York, 2008), pp. 13–40.
- Gillett, Andrew (ed.), *On Barbarian Ethnicity: Critical Approaches to Ethnicity in the Early Middle Ages* (Turnhout, 2002).
- , 'Telling off Justinian: Theudebert I, the *Epistolae Austrasicae* and communication strategies in sixth-century Merovingian-Byzantine relations', *Early Medieval Europe* 27:2 (2019), pp. 161–194.
- Godfrey, John, 'The Place of the Double-Monastery in the Anglo-Saxon Minister System', in Gerald Bonner (ed.), *Famulus Christi: Essays in Commemoration of the Thirteenth Centenary of the Birth of the Venerable Bede* (London, 1976), pp. 344–350.
- Goffart, Walter, *Narrators of Barbarian History A.D. 550-800* (Princeton, 1988).
- Goodall, I.R., 'Non-ferrous metal objects', in Gustav Milne and J.D. Richards (eds.), *Two Anglo-Saxon Buildings and Associated Finds, Wharram: A Study of Settlement on the Yorkshire Wolds* (York, 1992), pp. 47–49.
- Goodall, I. and E. Clark, 'Iron objects', in P. Stamper and R. Croft (eds.), *Wharram VIII: The South Manor Area* (York, 2000), pp. 132 – 147.
- Graham-Campbell, James, and Gareth Williams (eds.), *Silver Economy in the Viking Age* (Walnut Creek, 2007).
- Graham-Campbell, James, Søren M. Sindbæk, and Gareth Williams (eds.), *Silver Economies, Monetisation and Society in Scandinavia, 800–1100* (Aarhus, 2011).
- Green, Caitlin, *Britons and Anglo-Saxons: Lincolnshire AD 400–650* (Lincoln, 2020).
- Grierson, P. 'The purpose of the Sutton Hoo coins', *Antiquity* 44 (1970), pp. 14–18.
- , 'The Canterbury (St. Martin's) hoard of Frankish and Anglo-Saxon coin -ornaments', in P. Grierson (ed.), *Dark Age Numismatics: Selected Studies* (London, 1979), pp. 38–51.
- Guihard, Pierre-Marie and Bisson, Marie, "'Nummus": Outil de recherche et de diffusion en ligne des données numismatiques en contexte archéologique', in Jérémie Chameroy and Pierre-Marie Guihard (eds.), *Circulations monétaires et réseaux d'échanges en Normandie et dans le Nord-Ouest européen* (Antiquité- Moyen Âge) (Caen, 2012), pp. 229–240.
- Guillaume, Jean-Marie, 'Les abbayes de femmes en pays franc, des origines a la fin du VIIe siècle', in M. Parisse (ed.), *Remirement, l'abbaye et la ville: Actes des journées d'études vosgiennes Remirement 17-20 avril, 1980* (Nancy, 1980), pp. 29–46.
- Haas, T. de, L. van der Valk, K.M. Cohen, H.J. Pierik, S.A.H. Weisscher, M.P. Hijma, A.J.F. van der Spek and M.G. Kleinhans, 'Long-term evolution of the Old Rhine estuary: unravelling effects of changing boundary conditions and

- inherited landscape', *The Depositional Record*, 5:1 (2019), pp. 84–108.
- Halbertsma, H., *Frieslands oudheid. Het rijk van de Friese koningen, opkomst ondergang* (Utrecht, 2000).
- Hallam, Elizabeth, and David Bates (eds.), *The Domesday Book* (Stroud, 2001).
- Halsall, Guy, *Early Medieval Cemeteries: An Introduction to Burial Archaeology in the Post-Roman West* (Glasgow, 1995).
- , 'Archaeology and historiography', in M. Bentley (ed.), *The Routledge Companion to Historiography* (London, 1997), pp. 805–827.
- , 'Review Article: Movers and Shakers. The Barbarians and the Fall of Rome', *Early Medieval Europe* 8 (1999), pp. 131–145.
- , *Barbarian Migrations and the Roman West* (Cambridge, 2007).
- , *Cemeteries and Society in Merovingian Gaul: Selected Studies in History and Archaeology, 1992-2009* (Leiden, 2010).
- , 'Ethnicity and early medieval cemeteries', *Arqueologia y Territorio Medieval* 18 (2011), pp. 15–27.
- Hamerow, Helena, 'Agrarian production and the emporia of mid Saxon England, ca. AD 650–850', in Joachim Henning (ed.), *Post-Roman Towns, Trade and Settlement in Europe and Byzantium, Vol. 1: The Heirs of the Roman West* (Berlin, 2007), pp. 219–232.
- , *Rural Settlements and Society in Anglo-Saxon England* (Oxford, 2012).
- , 'The circulation of garnets in the North Sea zone', in Alexander Hilgner, Susanne Greiff and Dieter Quast (eds.), *Gemstones in the First Millennium AD* (Mainz, 2017), pp. 71–86.
- Hammer, Carl I., "'Holy Entrepreneur": Agilbert, a Merovingian bishop between Ireland, England and Francia', *Peritia* 22-23 (2011-2012), pp. 53–82.
- Hancock, A.J. and R.J. Zeepvat, *Wulfhere's People: A Conversion Period Anglo-Saxon Cemetery in Wolverton, Milton Keynes* (Aylesbury, 2018).
- Hansen, Abigail, *The Revival of Uncleby: An Antiquarian excavation of an Anglian Cemetery* (Unpublished PhD thesis: University of York, 2018).
- Härke, Heinrich "'Warrior Graves?" The background of the Anglo-Saxon weapon burial rite', *Past and Present* 126 (1990), pp. 22–43.
- , 'Grave goods in early medieval burials: messages and meanings', *Mortality* 19:1 (2014), pp. 41–60.
- Harrington, Christina, *Women in a Celtic Church* (Oxford, 2002).
- Harrington, Susan, and Martin Welch, *Early Anglo-Saxon kingdoms of southern Britain AD 450–650: Beneath the Tribal Hidage* (Oxford, 2014).
- Hartog, C.M. W den, 'Conclusie', in C.M. W den Hartog (ed.), *Appellantje LR55: Een vroegemiddeleeuwse nederzetting aan wilhelminalaan bij Vleuteun* (Utrecht, 2010), pp. 139–142.
- Haselgrove, C., 'The Development of British Iron-Age Coinage', *The Numismatic Chronicle* 153 (1993), pp. 31–63.

- Haughton, Christine and Dominic Powlesland, *West Heslerton: The Anglian cemetery* (2 vols) (Yedingham, 1999).
- Hawkes, Jane (ed.), *The Golden Age of Northumbria* (Newcastle-upon-Tyne, 1996).
- Hawkes, S.C., ‘Eastry in Anglo-Saxon Kent: its importance, and a newly found grave’, *Anglo-Saxon Studies in Archaeology and History* 1 (1979), pp. 81–113.
- , ‘Recent finds of inlaid iron buckles and belt plates from seventh-century Kent’, *Anglo-Saxon Studies in Archaeology and History* 2 (1981), pp. 49–70.
- , ‘The Anglo-Saxon cemetery of Bifrons, in the parish of Patricxbourne, East Kent’, *Anglo-Saxon Studies in Archaeology and History* 11 (2000), pp. 1–94.
- Hawkes, S.C., J.M. Merrick, and D.M. Metcalf, ‘X-Ray fluorescent analysis of some Dark Age coins and jewellery’, *Archaeometry* 9 (1996), pp. 98–138.
- Hawkes, Sonia Chadwick and Guy Grainger, *The Anglo-Saxon cemetery at Worthy Park, Kingsworthy, near Winchester, Hampshire* (Oxford, 2003).
- Hawkes, Sonia Chadwick and Guy Grainger, *The Anglo-Saxon cemetery at Finglesham, Kent* (Oxford, 2006).
- Haworth, Katie, ‘*Most Precious Ornaments*: Necklaces in Seventh-Century England’ (Unpublished PhD thesis: Durham University, 2020).
- Heeren, S. and L. van der Feijst, *Fibulae uit de Lage Landen* (Amersfoort, 2017).
- Heeringen, R.M. van and H.M. van der Velde, *Struinen door de duinen: synthetiserend onderzoek naar de bewongschiedenis van het Hollands duingebied op basis van gegerins verzameld in het Malta-tijdperk* (Amersfoort, 2007).
- Heidinga, H.A., *Medieval Settlement and Economy North of the Lower Rhine* (Assen, 1987).
- Hendrikson, Michel, ‘Metaal’, in C.M. W den Hartog (ed.), *Appellantje LR55: Een vroegemiddeleeuwse nederzetting aan wilhelminalaan bij Vleuteun* (Utrecht, 2010), pp. 95–116.
- Herren, Michael, ‘Scholarly Contacts between the Irish and the Southern English in the Seventh Century’, *Peritia* 12 (1998), pp. 24–53.
- Herren, Michael W., and Shirley Ann Brown, *Christ in Celtic Christianity* (Woodbridge, 2002).
- Higham, N., ‘Land use and landscape in Northern England’, *Landscape History* 9 (1987), pp. 35–44.
- Higham, Nicholas J., *The Convert Kings: Power and Religious Affiliation in Early Anglo-Saxon England* (Manchester, 1997).
- , ‘Bishop Wilfrid in Southern England: A Review of his Political Objectives’, in Hans-Jürgen Hässler (ed.), *Die Altsachsen im Spiegel der Nationalen und Internationalen Sachsenforschung* (Oldenburg, 1999), pp. 207–217.
- Higham, N.J. (ed.), *Wilfrid: Abbot, Bishop, Saint. Papers from the 1300th Anniversary Conferences* (Donington, 2013).
- Higham, Nicholas, and M.J. Ryan, *The Anglo-Saxon World* (London, 2013).
- Hill, David, Margaret Worthington, Julia Warburton and David Barrett,

- 'Quentovic Defined', *Antiquity* 64 (1990), pp. 51–58.
- Hill, David, Margaret Worthington, Julia Warburton and David Barrett, 'The definition of the Early Medieval site of Quentovic', *Antiquity* 66 (1992), pp. 965–969.
- Hill, David, 'A short gazetteer of postulated continental wics', in David Hill and Robert Cowie (eds.), *Wics: The Early Medieval Trading Centres of Northern Europe* (Sheffield, 2001), pp. 104–111.
- Hill, David, and Margaret Worthington, 'La contribution des fouilles Britanniques à la connaissance de Quentovic', in Stéphane Lebecq, Bruno Béthouart and Laurent Verslype (eds.), *Quentovic: Environnement, Archéologie, Histoire* (Lille, 2010), pp. 253–264.
- Hills, Catherine, 'Overview: Anglo-Saxon Identity', in David Hinton, Sally Crawford and Helena Hamerow (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Anglo-Saxon Archaeology* (Oxford, 2011), pp. 3–14.
- Hines, John, *The Scandinavian Character of Anglian England in the pre-Viking period* (Oxford, 1983).
- , 'Units of account in gold and silver in seventh-century England: *Scillingas*, *Sceattas* and *Pæningas*', *The Antiquaries Journal* 90 (2010), pp. 153–173.
- Hines, John and Alex Bayliss, *Anglo-Saxon Graves and Grave Goods of the 6th and 7th centuries AD: A Chronological Framework* (London, 2013).
- Hines, John, and Nelleke Ijssennagger (eds.), *Frisians and North Sea Neighbours* (Woodbridge, 2017).
- Hinton, David A., 'Anglo-Saxon smiths and myths', *John Rylands Library* 80:1 (1998), pp. 3–22.
- , *A Smith in Lindsey: The Anglo-Saxon grave at Tattershall Thorpe, Lincolnshire* (London, 2000).
- Hodges, Richard, *Dark Age Economics: The Origins of Towns and Trade, AD. 600–1000* (London, 1982).
- , 'The 8th-century pottery industry at La Londe, near Rouen, and its implications for cross-channel trade with Hamwic, Anglo-Saxon Southampton', *Antiquity* 65 (1991), pp. 882–887.
- Høilund Neilson, Karen, 'Shield Bosses', in John Hines and Alex Bayliss (eds.), *Anglo-Saxon Graves and Grave Goods of the 6th and 7th Centuries AD: A Chronological Framework* (London, 2013), pp. 148–159.
- Hollis, Stephanie, *Anglo-Saxon Women and the Church* (Woodbridge, 2002).
- Hope-Taylor, Brian, *Yeavering: An Anglo-British centre of early Northumbria* (London, 1977).
- Huclin, Jean, 'Les abbés des monastères Neustriens, 650–800', in H. Atsma (ed.), *La Neustrie, Les Pays au Nord de la Loire de 650 à 850 : Colloque Historique Internationale 1* (Sigmaringen, 1989), pp. 321–340.
- Huggett, Jeremy, 'Imported grave goods and the early Anglo-Saxon economy', *Medieval Archaeology* 32 (1988), pp. 63–96.

- Hunter Blair, Peter, 'Whitby as a centre of learning in the seventh century', in Michael Lapidge and Helmut Gneuss (eds.), *Learning and Literature in Anglo-Saxon England* (Cambridge, 1985), pp. 3–32.
- Jagt, Inge M.M. van der, Lisette M. Kooyker, Thijs van Kolfshoten, Henk Kars and Gareth R. Davies, 'An insight into animal exchange in early medieval Oegstgeest; a combined archaeozoological and isotopic approach', in D.C.M. Raemaekers, K.E. Esser, R.C.G.M. Lauwerier and J.T. Zeiler (eds.), *A Boquet of Archaeozoological Studies* (Groningen, 2012), pp. 139–149.
- James, Edward, 'Elite women in the Merovingian period', in Bonnie Effros and Isabel Moreira (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of the Merovingian World* (Oxford, 2020), pp. 238–254.
- Jitta, A.N. Zadoks-Josephus, 'De Eerste Muntslag te Duurstede', *Jaarboek voor Munt-en Penningkunde* 48 (1961), pp. 1–14.
- Johnson, M., 'Saxon monastery at Whitby: past, present and future', in Martin Carver (ed.), *In Search for a Cult: Archaeological Investigations in honour of P. Rahtz* (Woodbridge, 1993), pp. 85–89.
- Jones, Sian, *The Archaeology of Ethnicity* (London, 2007).
- Jong, Mayke de, 'Monastic prisoners or opting out? Political coercion and honour in the Frankish kingdoms', in Mayke de Jong and Frans Theuws (eds.), *Topographies of Power in the Early Middle Ages* (Leiden, 2001), pp. 291–328.
- Kaiser, Reinhold, 'Royauté et pouvoir épiscopal au nord de la Gaule (VII^e–IX^e siècles)', in H. Atsma (ed.), *La Neustrie, Les Pays au Nord de la Loire de 650 à 850: colloque historique international vol. 1* (Sigmaringen, 1989), pp. 143–160.
- Karkov, Catherine E., 'The body of St Æthelthryth: Desire, conversion and reform in Anglo-Saxon England', in Martin Carver (eds.), *The Cross Goes North: Processes of conversion in Northern Europe AD 300–1300* (Woodbridge, 2002), pp. 397–411.
- , *The Art of Anglo-Saxon England* (Woodbridge, 2011).
- Kazanski, Michel and Patrick Périn, '“Foreign” objects in the Merovingian cemeteries of northern Gaul', in Dieter Quast (ed.), *Foreigners in Early Medieval Europe* (Mainz, 2009), pp. 149–167.
- Keefer, Sarah Larratt, Karen Louise Jolly and Catherine E. Karkov (eds.), *Cross and Cruciform in the Anglo-Saxon World* (Morgantown, 2010).
- Kemp, R.L., *Anglian Settlement at 46-54 Fishergate AY711* (York, 1996).
- Kerkhoven, N.D., 'Metaal', in M. Nokkert, A.C. Aarts and H. L. Wynia (eds.), *Vroegmiddeleeuwse bewoning langs de A2: een nederzetting uit de zevende en achtste eeuw in Leidsche Rijn. Basisrapportage Archeologie 26* (Utrecht, 2009), pp. 211–246.
- , 'Metaal', in R.J.P. Kloosterman and R.D. Hoegen (eds.), *Domplein Revisited. Deel 1: Een proefopgraving in Van Giffens werkput XIX*

- (Utrecht, 2015), pp. 50–61.
- Kershaw, Jane, 'An early medieval dual-currency economy: bullion and coin in the Danelaw', *Antiquity* 91 (2017), pp. 173–190.
- , 'Gold as a means of exchange in Scandinavian England', in Jane Kershaw and Gareth Williams (eds.), *Silver, Butter, Cloth: Monetary and Social Economies in the Viking Age* (Oxford, 2019), pp. 227–250.
- Kirby, D. P., 'Bede, Eddius Stephanus and the "Life of Wilfrid"', *English Historical Review* 98 (1983), pp. 101–114.
- , 'The Genesis of a cult: Cuthbert of Farne and ecclesiastical politics in Northumbria in the late seventh and early eighth centuries', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 46:3 (1995), pp. 383–397.
- , *The Earliest English Kings* (London, 2000).
- Lafaurie, Jean, 'Monnaies d'argent Mérovingiennes des VII^e et VIII^e siècles', *Revue Numismatique* 11 (1969), pp. 98–219.
- , 'Monnaies épiscopales de Limoges des VII^e et VIII^e siècles', *Bulletin de la Société Française de Numismatique* 30 (1975), pp. 778–782.
- , 'Monnaies épiscopales de Paris à l'époque mérovingienne', *Cahiers de la Rotonde* 20 (1998), pp. 61–99.
- , 'Eligius Monetarius', *Revue Numismatique* 19 (1977), pp. 111–151.
- Lafaurie, Jean and Cécile Morrisson, 'La pénétration des monnaies Byzantines en Gaul mérovingienne et visigothique du VI^e au VII^e siècle', *Revue Numismatique* 29 (1987), pp. 39–98.
- Lafaurie, Jean, 'Les deniers Saxons et Frisons de la fin du VII^e et du début du VIII^e', in Jean Yves Marin (ed.), *Les Barbares et la Mer: Les migrations des peuples du Nord-Ouest de l'Europe du V^e au X^e siècle* (Caen, 1992), pp. 131–138.
- , 'VVIC in PONTIO: Les Monnaies Mérovingiennes de VVICVS (Quentovic)', *Revue Numismatique* 151 (1996), pp. 181–239.
- Lafaurie, Jean, and Jacqueline Pilet-Lemière, *Monnaies du haut Moyen Âge Découvertes en France (V^e-VIII^e Siècle)* (Paris, 2003).
- Lapidge, Michael, 'The school of Theodore and Hadrian', *Anglo-Saxon England* 15 (1986), pp. 45–72.
- , *The Anglo-Saxon Library* (Oxford, 2005)
- , 'The Career of Aldhelm', *Anglo-Saxon England* 36 (2007), pp. 15–69.
- Lawrence, C.H., *Medieval Monasticism: Forms of Religious Life in Europe in the Middle Ages* (Abingdon, 2015).
- Lawson, Helen, *Navigating Northumbria: Mobility, Allegory, and writing Travel in Early Medieval Northumbria* (Unpublished PhD thesis: University of Edinburgh, 2016).
- Leahy, Kevin, 'Middle Anglo-Saxon metalwork from South Newbald and the 'Productive Site' phenomenon in Yorkshire', in H. Geake and J. Kenny (eds.),

- Early Deira: archaeological studies of the East Riding in the fourth to ninth centuries AD*, (Oxford, 2000), pp. 76–82.
- , *Interrupting the Pots: The Excavation of Cleatham Anglo-Saxon Cemetery* (York, 2007).
- Lebecq, Stéphane, *Les Origines Franques, Ve-IX^e Siècle* (Paris, 1990).
- , 'On the use of the word 'Frisian' in the 6th-10th centuries written sources: some interpretations', in S. McGrail (ed.), *Maritime Celts, Frisians and Saxons* (London, 1990), pp. 85–90.
- , 'Quentovic: un état de la question', *Studien zur Sachsenforschung* 8 (1993), pp. 73–82.
- , 'Entre Manche et Mer du Nord, entre Grande-Bretagne et continent, les relations à travers le détroit dans les premiers siècles médiévaux', in S. Curveiller, D. Clauzel and M. Mollat (eds.), *Les champs relationnels en Europe du Nord et du Nord-Ouest des origines à la fin du Premier Empire*, (Calais, 1994), pp. 29–43.
- , 'L'emporium proto-médiévale de Walcheren-Domburg: un mise en perspective', in J.M. Duvosquel, and E. Thoen, (eds.), *Peasants and Townsmen in Medieval Europe* (Ghent, 1995), pp. 73–89.
- , 'Routes of Change: Production and Distribution in the West (5-8th Century)', in Leslie Webster and Michelle Brown (eds.), *The Transformation of the Roman World 400–900AD* (London, 1997), pp. 67–78.
- , 'England and the Continent in the Sixth and Seventh Centuries: The Question of Logistics', in Richard Gameson (ed.), *St Augustine and the Conversion of England* (Stroud, 1999), pp. 50–67.
- , 'Les relations entre royautés et élites Franques et Anglo-Saxonnes au très haut Moyen-Âge (Fin VI^e -fin VIII^e Siècle)', in Veronique Gazeau and Jean-Philippe Genet (eds.), *La France et les îles Britanniques: un couple impossible?* (Paris, 2012), pp. 15–28.
- , 'The new *wiks* or *emporia* and the development of a maritime economy in the Northern Seas (7th-9th centuries), in Sauro Gelichi and Richard Hodges (eds.), *From one Sea to Another: Trading Places in the European and Mediterranean Early Middle Ages* (Turnhout, 2012), pp.
- Legoux, R., P. Périn, and F. Vallet, *Chronologie normalisée du mobilier funéraire Mérovingien entre Manche et Lorraine* (Saint Germain, 2004).
- Le Maho, J., 'The fate of the ports of the lower seine valley at the end of the ninth century', in Tim Pestell and Katharina Ulmschneider (eds.), *Markets in Early Medieval Europe: Trading and 'Productive' Sites, 650- 850* (Cheshire, 2003), pp. 234–247.
- Le Jan, Regine, 'Convents, violence and competition for power in seventh-century Francia', in Mayke de Jong and Frans Theuws (eds.), *Topographies of Power in the Early Middle Ages* (Leiden, 2001), pp. 243–269.

- Leman, Pierre, 'Contribution à la localisation de Quentovic ou la relance d'un vieux débat', *Revue Du Nord* 63 (1981), pp. 935–945.
- Leman, Pierre, 'Quentovic: État des recherches', *Revue Du Nord* 72 (1990), pp. 175–178.
- Lendinara, Patrizia, 'The world of Anglo-Saxon learning', in Malcolm Godden and Michael Lapidge (eds.), *The Cambridge Companion to Old English Literature* (Cambridge, 1986), pp. 264–281.
- Leroy, Inès, 'La localisation et les caractères archéologiques du site portuaire de Quentovic. Étude préliminaire du cadre historique et géographique (littoral et basse-Canche)', *Medieval and Modern Matters* 2 (2011), pp. 121–152.
- Levillain, L., *Examen critique des chartes Merovingiennes et Carolingiennes de l'abbaye de Corbie* (Paris, 1902).
- Levison, Wilhelm, *England and the continent in the eighth century* (Oxford, 1946).
- Lillie, Malcolm, 'The palaeoenvironmental survey of the lower Trent valley and Winterton Beck', in Robert Van de Noort and Stephen Ellis (eds.), *Wetland Heritage of the Ancholme and lower Trent Valleys* (Hull, 1998), pp. 32–72.
- Lillie, Malcolm and Benjamin Gearey, 'The palaeoenvironmental survey of the rivers Aire, Ouse, Wharfe and Derwent', in Robert Van de Noort and Stephen Ellis (eds.), *Wetland Heritage of the Vale of York* (Hull, 1999), pp. 35–77.
- Lorren, C., 'Manche et Mer du Nord du III^e au VIII^e siècle', in Jean-Yves Marin (ed.), *Les Barbares et la Mer. Les migrations des peuples du nord-ouest de l'Europe du V^e au X^e siècle* (Caen, 1992), pp. 145–169.
- Love, Rosalind, 'The library of Venerable Bede', in Richard Gameson (ed.), *The History of the Book in Britain: c.400-1100* (Cambridge, 2011), pp. 606–632.
- Loveluck, Christopher, *Exchange and society in early medieval England 400–700 AD* (unpublished PhD thesis: Durham University, 1994).
- , 'The development of the Anglo-Saxon landscape, economy and society 'On Driffield', East Yorkshire', *Anglo-Saxon Studies in Archaeology and History* 9 (1996), pp. 25–48.
- , 'A high-status Anglo-Saxon settlement at Flixborough, Lincolnshire', *Antiquity* 72:275 (1998), pp. 146–161.
- , 'Wealth, waste and conspicuous consumption. Flixborough and its importance for mid and late Saxon settlement studies', in Helena Hamerow & A. Macgregor (eds.), *Image and Power in the Archaeology of Early Medieval Britain* (Oxford, 2001), pp. 78–130.
- , 'The archaeology of post-Roman Yorkshire AD 500-700: Overview and future directions for research', in T.G. Manby, Stephen Moorhouse and Patrick Ottaway (eds.), *The Archaeology of Yorkshire* (Leeds, 2003), pp. 151–170.
- Loveluck, Christopher and Dries Tys, 'Coastal Societies, exchange and identity

- along the Channel and southern North Sea shores of Europe, AD 600–1000', *Journal of Maritime Archaeology* 1:2 (2006), pp. 140–169.
- Loveluck, Christopher, *Rural Settlement, Lifestyles and Social Change in the Later First Millennium AD: Anglo-Saxon Flixborough in its Wider Context* (Oxford, 2007).
- Loveluck, Christopher and David Atkinson, *The early medieval settlement remains from Flixborough, Lincolnshire: The occupation sequence, c. AD 600–1000* (Oxford, 2007).
- Loveluck, Christopher, 'Central-places, exchange and maritime orientated identity around the North Sea and Western Baltic, AD 600–1100', in Sauro Gelichi and Richard Hodges (eds.), *From one Sea to Another: Trading Places in the European and Mediterranean Early Middle Ages* (Turnhout, 2012), pp. 131–165.
- , *Northwest Europe in the Early Middle Ages, c. AD 600–1150: A Comparative Archaeology* (Cambridge, 2013).
- Loveluck, Christopher, Michael McCormick, Nicole Spaulding, Heather Clifford, Michael Handley, Laura Hartman, Helene Hoffmann, Elena Korotkikh, Andrei Kurbatov, Alexander More, Sharon Sneed and Paul Mayewski, 'Alpine ice-core evidence for the transformation of the European monetary system, AD 640–670', *Antiquity* 92:366 (2018), pp. 1571–1585.
- Lucy, Sam, *The Early Anglo-Saxon Cemeteries of East Yorkshire: an analysis and re-interpretation* (Oxford, 1998).
- Luckhardt, Courtney, 'Gender and connectivity: Facilitating religious travel in the sixth and seventh centuries', *Comitatus: A Journal of Medieval and Renaissance Studies* 44 (2013), pp. 29–53.
- Lyon, C.S.S., 'A seventh-century Anglo-Saxon solidus coin pendant of the cross-on-steps type found in Kent', in Rory Naismith, Martin Allen and Elina Screen (eds.), *Early Medieval Monetary History: Studies in memory of Mark Blackburn* (Abingdon, 2014), pp. 399–408.
- MacCarron, Máirín, 'Royal marriage and conversion in Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum*', *The Journal of Theological Studies* 68:2 (2017), pp. 650–670.
- Maddicott, J.R., 'London and Droitwich, c. 650–750: Trade, industry and the rise of Mercia', *Anglo-Saxon England* 34 (2005), pp. 7–58.
- Mainman, Aisla, *Anglian York* (York, 2019).
- Malcolm, Gordon, David Bowsher, and Robert Cowie, *Middle Saxon London: Excavations at the Royal Opera House, 1989–1999* (London, 2003).
- Marsden, Adrian, 'East Anglia's earliest issues: The Trophy type shillings', *Caesaromagus* 120 (2016), pp. 50–59.
- , 'The West Norfolk hoard, East Anglia's Trophy type thrymsas and Anglo-Saxon nummular brooches', *Norfolk Archaeology* 48 (2020), pp. 394–422.
- Marzinzik, Sonja, *Early Anglo-Saxon Belt Buckles (late 5th to early 8th Centuries*

- A.D.) (Oxford, 2003).
- Matthews, C.L., 'The Anglo-Saxon cemetery at Marina Drive, Dunstable', *Bedfordshire Archaeological Journal* 1 (1962), pp. 25–47.
- Matthews, Stephen, *The Road to Rome: Travel and Travellers between England and Italy in the Anglo-Saxon Centuries* (Oxford, 2007).
- Mayhew, Nicholas, 'A Pale Gold Thrymsa in the name of Vanimundus', in Barrie Cook and Gareth Williams (eds.), *Coinage and History in the North Sea World* (Leiden, 2006), pp. 141–144.
- Mayr-Harting, H., *The coming of Christianity to Anglo-Saxon England* (London, 1991).
- McCormick, Michael, *The Origins of the European Economy: Communications and Commerce, A.D. 300-900* (Cambridge, 2001).
- McCormick, Michael et al, 'Climate change during and after the Roman Empire: Reconstructing the past from scientific and historical evidence', *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 43:2 (2012), pp. 169–220.
- McKitterick, Rosamond, 'Queens as Jezebels: The careers of Brunhild and Balthild in Merovingian history', *Studies in Church History Subsidia* 1 (1978), pp. 31–77.
- , 'The diffusion of insular culture in Neustria between 650 and 850: the implications of the manuscript evidence', in H. Atsma (ed.), *La Neustrie, Les Pays au Nord de la Loire de 650 à 850: colloque historique international vol. 1* (Sigmaringen, 1989), pp. 395–432.
- , 'Nuns' scriptoria in England and Frankia in the eighth century', *Francia* 19:1 (1992), pp. 1–35.
- , 'Exchanges between the British Isles and the Continent, c. 400-900', in Richard Gameson (ed.), *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain: c.400-1100* (Cambridge, 2011), pp. 313–337.
- McNeil, Nicola, 'Buckle Up! Buckle use in burials and shifting gender relations in seventh-century England – a contextual analysis', in Heather Christie and Megan Kasten (eds.), *Current Approaches to People, Places, and Things in the Early Medieval Period* (Oxford, 2019), pp. 3–13.
- Meehan, Bernard, 'Book of Durrow', in Rachel Moss (ed.), *Art and Architecture of Ireland I: Medieval c. 400-c. 1600* (Dublin, 2014), pp. 229–231.
- , 'Interactions with Ireland', in Claire Breay and Joanna Story (eds.), *Anglo-Saxon Kingdoms: Art, Word, War* (London, 2018), pp. 39–46.
- , 'The earliest Durham gospel-book', in Claire Breay and Joanna Story (eds.), *Anglo-Saxon Kingdoms: Art, Word, War* (London, 2018), catalogue (number 24), p. 107.
- Meens, Rob, *Penance in Medieval Europe, 600–1200* (Cambridge, 2014).
- Mériaux, Charles, 'Quentovic dans son environnement politique et religieux: cités et diocèses au Nord de la Somme au VIIe siècle', in Stéphane Lebecq, Bruno Béthouart and Laurent Verslype (eds.), *Quentovic: Environnement,*

- Archéologie, Histoire* (Lille, 2010), pp. 195–214.
- Metcalf, D.M., 'Twelve notes on sceatta finds', *British Numismatic Journal* 46:3 (1976), pp. 1–18.
- , *Thrymsas and Sceattas in the Ashmolean Museum Oxford* 3 vols. (Oxford, 1993).
- , 'As easy as A, B, C: the mint places of early sceatta types in the South-East', *British Numismatic Journal* 71 (2002), pp. 34–48.
- , 'The coinage of King Aldfrith of Northumbria (685–704) and some contemporary imitations', *British Numismatic Journal* 76 (2006), pp. 147–159.
- , 'Monetary Circulation in Merovingian Gaul, 561–674', *Revue Numismatique* 162 (2006), pp. 337–393.
- , 'Twenty-one years of progress', in Tony Abramson (ed.), *Two Decades of Discovery* (Woodbridge, 2008), pp. 7–16.
- Metcalf, D.M. and W. Op den Velde, *The Monetary Economy of the Netherlands, c. 690–715 and the Trade with England: a study of the 'Porcupine' Sceattas of Series E. Jaarboek voor Munt- en Penningkunde* 96–97 (Amsterdam, 2010)
- Metcalf, D.M., 'English money, foreign money. The circulation of tremisses and sceattas in the East Midlands and the monetary role of 'Productive Sites', in Tony Abramson (ed.), *Studies in Early Medieval Coinage 2: New Perspectives* (Woodbridge, 2011), pp. 15–48.
- , 'Thrymsas and Sceattas and the balance of payments', in Martin Allen, Rory Naismith, and Elina Screen (eds.), *Early Medieval Monetary History: Studies in memory of Mark Blackburn* (Abingdon, 2014), pp. 243–256.
- , 'Merovingian and Frisian gold in England: Was there a money economy in the sixth and seventh centuries?', in Tony Abramson (ed.), *Studies in Early Medieval Coinage 3: Sifting the Evidence* (London, 2014) pp. 47–67.
- , 'Tremisses and sceattas from the South Lincolnshire productive site', *British Numismatic Journal* 86 (2016), pp. 96–117.
- Meyvaert, Paul, 'Bede, Cassiodorus, and the Codex Amiatinus', *Speculum* 71 (1996), pp. 827–883.
- Middleton, Neil, 'Early Medieval port customs, tolls and controls on foreign trade', *Early Medieval Europe* 13:4 (2005), pp. 313–358.
- Miket, Roger and Sarah Semple, *Yeaving: Rediscovering the Landscape of the Northumbrian Kings* (Northumberland, 2009).
- Milne, Gustav, and J.D. Richards, *Two Anglo-Saxon Buildings and Associated Finds, Wharram; A Study of Settlement on the Yorkshire Wolds*, VII (York, 1992).
- Minter, Faye, Jude Plouviez, and Christopher Scull, *Rendlesham Survey 2008–2014: Assessment report* (Suffolk, 2016).

- Mirrington, Alexander D., *Transformations of identity and society in Anglo-Saxon Essex* (Amsterdam, 2019).
- Moreira, Isabel, *Dreams, Visions and Spiritual Authority in Merovingian Gaul* (Ithaca, 2000).
- , *Heaven's Purge: Purgatory in Late Antiquity* (New York, 2010).
- Moreland, John, *Archaeology, Theory and the Middle Ages* (London, 2010)
- , 'AD536 – Back to nature?', *Acta Archaeologica* 89:1 (2019), pp. 91–111.
- Morton, A.D. (ed.), *Excavations at Hamwic: Volume 1, excavations 1946-83* (London, 1992).
- , 'Concepts of the early medieval economy', in I.L. Hansen and C. Wickham (eds.), *The Long Eighth Century* (Leiden, 2000), pp. 1–34.
- Mostert, Marco, 'Boniface in Frisia' in Michel Aaij and Shannon Godlove (eds.), *A Companion to Boniface* (Leiden, 2020), pp. 327–356.
- Murray, Alexander C. (ed.), *A Companion to Gregory of Tours* (Leiden, 2016).
- Naismith, R., 'Gold coinage and its use in the post-Roman West', *Speculum* 89 (2014), pp. 273–306.
- , *Medieval European Coinage 8: Britain and Ireland c.400-1066* (Cambridge, 2017).
- , *Citadel of the Saxons: The Rise of Early London* (London, 2019).
- Naylor, John, 'Access to international trade in Middle Saxon England: a case of urban over-emphasis?', in Marinella Pasquinucci and Timm Weski (eds.), *Close Encounters: Sea and riverborne trade, ports and hinterlands, ship construction and navigation in Antiquity, the Middle Ages and in Modern Time* (Oxford, 2004), pp. 139–148.
- , *An archaeology of trade in Middle Saxon England* (Oxford, 2004).
- , 'The circulation of early-medieval European coinage: A case study from Yorkshire, c. 650–c. 867', *Medieval Archaeology* 51:1 (2007), pp. 41–61.
- , 'Trade and the origins of the English emporia, ca. AD 650–750', in Sauro Gelichi and Richard Hodges (eds.), *From One Sea to Another: Trading Places in the European and Mediterranean Early Middle Ages* (Turnhout, 2012) pp. 237–267.
- Naylor, John and Martin Allen, 'A new variety of gold shilling of the 'York' group', in Tony Abramson (ed.), *Studies in Early Medieval Coinage 3: Sifting the Evidence* (London, 2014), pp. 143–148.
- Naylor, John, 'Two coin pendants from an Anglo-Saxon burial near Diss, Norfolk', *Medieval Archaeology* 60:2 (2016), pp. 360–362.
- Neal, Cath, *People and the environment: a geoarchaeological approach to the Yorkshire Wolds landscape* (Unpublished PhD thesis: University of York 2010).
- Nelson, Janet L., 'Gendering courts in the early medieval west', in Leslie Brubaker and Julia M.H. Smith (eds.), *Gender in the Early Medieval World:*

- East and West, 300-900* (Cambridge, 2004), pp. 185–198.
- , ‘Queens as convertors of kings in the earlier Middle Ages,’ in C. La Rocca (ed.), *Agire da donna: modelli e pratiche di rappresentazione (secoli VI-X)* (Turnhout, 2007), pp. 95–107.
- Netzer, Nancy, ‘Willibrord’s Scriptorium at Echternach and its relationship with Ireland and Lindisfarne’, in Gerald Bonner, David Rollason and Clare Stancliffe (eds.), *St Cuthbert, his cult and his community to AD 1200* (Woodbridge, 1989), pp. 203–212.
- , ‘The Book of Durrow: The Northumbrian Connection’, in J. Hawkes and S. Mills (eds.), *Northumbria’s Golden Age* (Stroud, 1999), pp. 315–326.
- , *Cultural Interplay in the Eighth Century: The Trier Gospels and the making of a scriptorium at Echternach* (Cambridge, 1994).
- Neumann, Heike, ‘The palaeoenvironmental survey of the Ancholme valley’, in Robert Van de Noort and Stephen Ellis (eds.), *Wetland Heritage of the Ancholme and lower Trent Valleys* (Hull, 1998), pp. 21–31.
- Newman, John, ‘Boss Hall’, *Current Archaeology* 130 (1992), pp. 424–425.
- , ‘Exceptional finds, exceptional sites? Barham and Coddanham, Suffolk’, in Tim Pestell and Katharina Ulmschneider (eds.), *Markets in Early Medieval Europe: Trading and ‘Productive’ Sites, 650- 850* (Cheshire, 2003), pp. 97–109.
- Nicolay, Johan, *The Splendour of Power: Early medieval kingship and the use of gold and silver in the southern North Sea area* (Groningen, 2014).
- Nokkert, M., A.C. Aarts, and H. L. Wynia, ‘Conclusie’, in M. Nokkert, A.C. Aarts and H.L. Wynia (eds.), *Vroegmiddeleeuwse bewoning langs de A2: een nederzetting uit de zevende en achtste eeuw in Leidsche Rijn. Basisrapportage Archeologie* 26 (Utrecht, 2009).
- Nooijen, C., ‘De metaalvondsten’, in J. Dijkstra (ed.), *Het domein van de boer en de ambachtsman: een opgraving op het terrein van de voormalige fruitveiling te Wijk bij Duurstede* (Amersfoort, 2012), pp. 237–292.
- O’Brien, Elizabeth, ‘Contacts between Ireland and Anglo-Saxon England in the Seventh-Century’, *Anglo-Saxon Studies in Archaeology and History* 6 (1993), pp. 93–102.
- O’Hara, Alexander, ‘The *Vita Columbani* in Merovingian Gaul’, *Early Medieval Europe* 17:2 (2009), pp. 126–153.
- , *Jonas of Bobbio and the Legacy of Columbanus* (Oxford, 2018).
- O’Reilly, Jennifer, ‘All that Peter stands for’: the *Romanitas* of the Codex Amiatinus reconsidered’, in James Graham-Campbell and Michael Ryan (eds.), *Anglo-Saxon/Irish relations before the Vikings* (Oxford, 2009), pp. 367–396.
- Ó Carragáin, Tomás, and Sam Turner (eds.), *Making Christian Landscapes in Atlantic Europe: Conversion and Consolidation in the Early Middle Ages* (Cork, 2016).

- Op den Velde, W., W.J de Boone, and A. Pol, 'A Survey of Sceatta finds from the Low Countries', in David Hill and D.M. Metcalf (eds.), *Sceattas in England and the Continent: The Seventh Oxford Symposium on Coinage and Monetary History* (Oxford, 1984), pp. 127–136.
- Op den Velde, W. and D.M Metcalf, *The Monetary Economy of the Netherlands, c. 690 - c.715 and the Trade with England: A Study of the Sceattas of Series D (Jaarboek voor Munt- en Penningkunde 90)* (Amsterdam, 2003).
- Op den Velde, Wybrand, 'The sceattas of Series D', in Tony Abramson (ed.), *Two Decades of Discovery* (Woodbridge, 2008), pp. 77–90.
- Owen-Crocker, Gale R., *Dress in Anglo-Saxon England* (Manchester, 2004).
- , 'Dress and identity', in Sally Crawford, Helena Hamerow, and David Hinton (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Anglo-Saxon Archaeology* (Oxford, 2011), pp. 91–118.
- Ozinga, L.R.P. and M.D. de Weerd, 'De opgravingen in 1936 en 1938', in L.R.P. Ozinga, T.J. Hoekstra, M.D. de Weerd and S.L. Wynia (eds.), *Het Romeinse castellum te Utrecht* (Utrecht, 1989), pp. 63–104.
- Palliser, D.M., *Medieval York: 600–1540* (Oxford, 2014)
- Palmer, James, *Anglo-Saxons in a Frankish World 690-900* (Turnhout, 2009).
- Pasquinucci, M., and T. Weski (eds.), *Close Encounters: Sea and riverborne trade, ports and hinterlands, ship construction and navigation in Antiquity, the Middle Ages and in Modern Time* (Oxford, 2004).
- Pearson, Michael Parker, Robert Van Der Noort, and Alex Woolf, 'Three Men and a Boat: Sutton Hoo and the East Saxon kingdom', *Anglo-Saxon England* 22 (1993), pp. 27–50.
- Penn, Kenneth, *The Anglo-Saxon Cemetery at Shrubland Hall Quarry, Coddensham, Suffolk* (Bury-St-Edmonds, 2011).
- Périn, Patrick, 'Aspects of late Merovingian costume in the Mergen Collection', in Katharine Reynolds Brown, Dafydd Kidd and Charles T. Little (eds.), *From Attila to Charlemagne: Arts of the Early Medieval Period in the Metropolitan Museum of Art* (Yale, 2000), pp. 242–267.
- , 'Settlements and cemeteries in Merovingian Gaul', in Kathleen Mitchell and Ian Wood (eds.), *The World of Gregory of Tours* (Leiden, 2002), pp. 67–98.
- Périn, Patrick, Thomas Calligaro, Francoise Vallet, Jean-Paul Poirrot, and Dominique Bagault, 'Provenancing Merovingian garnets by PIXE and μ -Raman spectrometry', in Henning, Joachim (ed.), *Post-Roman Towns, Trade and Settlement in Europe and Byzantium: Vol 1. The Heirs of the Roman West* (Berlin, 2007), pp. 69–76.
- Périn, Patrick, 'Le costume et ses implications sociales et ethniques possibles dans la moitié nord de la Gaul Mérovingienne', *Revue belge de philologie et d'histoire* 95 (2018), pp. 725–743.
- Perry, David R., *Castle Park Dunbar. Two Thousand Years on a Fortified*

- Headland* (Edinburgh, 2000).
- Pestell, Tim, and Katharina Ulmschneider, 'Introduction: Early Medieval Markets and 'Productive' Sites', in Tim Pestell, and Katharina Ulmschneider (eds.), *Markets in Early Medieval Europe: Trading and 'Productive' Sites, 650-850* (Cheshire, 2003), pp. 1-11.
- Pestell, Tim, *Landscapes of Monastic Foundation: The Establishment of Religious Houses in East Anglia, c.650-1200* (Cambridge, 2004).
- Pestell, Tim, Michelle P. Brown, Elisabeth Okasha and Nicola Rogers, 'Writing and literacy-related items', in D.H. Evans and Christopher Loveluck (eds.), *Life and Economy at Early Medieval Flixborough* (Oxford, 2009), pp. 123-140.
- Pestell, Tim, 'Markets, emporia, wics, and 'productive' sites: Pre-Viking trade centres in Anglo-Saxon England', in David A. Hinton, Sally Crawford and Helena Hamerow (eds.), *Oxford Handbook of Anglo-Saxon Archaeology* (Oxford, 2011), pp. 556-579.
- , 'Bawsey - A 'productive' site in West Norfolk', in Steven Ashley and Adrian Marsden (ed.), *Landscapes and Artefacts: Studies in East Anglian Archaeology presented to Andrew Rogerson* (Oxford, 2014), pp. 139-166.
- , 'The kingdom of East Anglia, Frisia and continental connections', in John Hines and Nelleke Ijssennagger (eds.), *Frisians and their North Sea Neighbours* (Woodbridge, 2017), pp. 193-222.
- Petts, David, 'Coastal landscapes and early Christianity in Anglo-Saxon Northumbria', *Journal of Estonian Archaeology* 13:2 (2009), pp. 79-95.
- Peyroux, Catherine, 'Double Monasteries', in Margaret Schaus (ed.), *Women and Gender in Medieval Europe* (New York, 2006), pp. 226-228.
- Pheifer, J.D., 'Early Anglo-Saxon glossaries and the school of Canterbury', *Anglo-Saxon England* 16 (1987), pp. 17-44.
- Philippe, Michel, 'The River Canche estuary settlements (Pas-de-Calais, France) from the early Bronze Age to the emporium of Quentovic - A traditional landing place between South-East England and the Continent', in P. Clark (ed.), *Bronze Age Connections: Cultural Contact in Prehistoric Europe* (Oxford, 2009), pp. 68-79.
- , 'L'estuaire de la Canche, de la Préhistoire au port médiévale. Aux sources de la localisation géographique de Quentovic', in Stéphane Lebecq, Bruno Béthouart and Laurent Verslype (eds.), *Quentovic: Environnement, Archéologie, Histoire* (Lille, 2010), pp. 57-76.
- Picard, Jean-Michel, 'Church and politics in the seventh century: the Irish exile of King Dagobert II', in Jean-Michel Picard, (ed.), *Ireland and Northern France AD 600-850* (Blackrock, 1991), pp. 27-52.
- , 'De gente Scottorum monachi: The Irish in Merovingian Strategy', in Bonnie Effros and Isabel Moreira (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of the Merovingian World* (Oxford, 2020), pp. 389-406.

- Pickles, Thomas, *Kingship, Society, and the Church in Anglo-Saxon Yorkshire* (Oxford, 2018)
- , 'Conversion, ritual, and landscape: *Streoneshalh* (Whitby), *Osingadun*, and the Anglo-Saxon cemetery at Street House, North Yorkshire', in M. Boulton and M. D. J. Bintley (eds.), *Insular Iconographies: Essays in Honour of Jane Hawkes* (Woodbridge, 2019), pp. 81–100
- Pierce, Rosamond, 'The Frankish Penitentials', *Studies in Church History* 11 (1975), pp. 31–39.
- Pilet, Christian, 'Quelques témoignages de la présence Anglo-Saxonne dans le Calvados, Basse-Normandie (France)', *Frhmittelalterliche Studien* 13 (1979), pp. 351–381.
- , *La Nécropole de Frénouville: étude d'une population de la fin du III^e à la fin du VII^e siècle* (Oxford, 1980).
- , 'Installations Anglo-Saxonnes sur le littoral de l'actuelle Basse-Normandie aux V^e, VI^e et VII^e siècles', in Jean-Yves Marin (ed.), *Les Barbares et la Mer: Les Migrations des peuples du Nord-Ouest de l'Europe du V^e au X^e siècle* (Caen, 1992), pp. 111–130.
- Pilet, C., A. Alduc-le Bagousse, J. Blondiaux, L. Buchet and J. Pilet-Lemière, 'Le village de Sannerville, 'Lirose'. Fin de période gauloise au VII^e siècle', *Archéologie Médiévale* 22 (1992), pp. 32–42.
- Pilloy, J., 'Une balance du VII^e siècle découverte dans le cimetière de Montescourt (Aisne)', *Bulletin archéologique du Comité des travaux historiques et scientifiques* (1898), pp. 108–113.
- Pirie, Elizabeth J.E., 'finds of 'Sceattas' and 'Stycas' of Northumbria', in M.A.S. Blackburn (ed.), *Anglo-Saxon Monetary History: Essays in memory of Michael Dolley* (Trowbridge, 1986), pp. 67–90.
- , 'The seventh-century gold coinage of Northumbria', *Yorkshire Numismatist* 2 (1992), pp. 11–15.
- Plunkett, Steven, 'Some recent metalwork discoveries from the area of the Gipping valley, and their local context', in Paul Binski and William Noel (eds.), *New Offerings, Ancient Treasures: Studies in medieval art for George Henderson* (Stroud, 2001), pp. 61–87.
- , *Suffolk in Anglo-Saxon Times* (Tempus, 2005).
- Pol, Arent, 'De 7e-Eeuwse Muntvondst Nietap', *jaarboek voor munt-en penningkunde* 62–64 (1977), pp. 23–62.
- , 'De Verspreidingsgebieden van in Nederland gaslagen Merovingische gouden munten der 7e eeuw', *Westerheem* 27 (1978), pp. 148–150.
- , 'Remmerden 1988: een vondst van vroeg-middeleeuwse munten bij Rhenen', *De Beeldenaar* (1989), pp. 39–47.
- , 'Middeleeuwse munten van het Domburgse strand', in Robert van Heeringen, Peter Henderikx and Alexandra Mars (eds.), *Vroege-*

- Middeleeuwse ringwalburgen in Zeeland* (Amersfoort, 1995), pp. 44–48.
- , 'Twenty-Two soldiers, a goddess and an emperor: A small group of sixth-century pseudo-imperial tremisses with an unusual reverse type', in Barrie Cook and Gareth Williams (eds.), *Coinage and History in the North Sea World, c.500–1250* (Leiden, 2006), pp. 111–126.
- , 'A new sceat of the Madelinus type', in Tony Abramson (ed.), *Studies in Early Medieval Coinage* (Woodbridge, 2008), pp. 119–122.
- , 'Boeles en het mysterie van het Dronrijp type', in K. Huisman, K. Bekkema, J. Bos, H. De Jong, E. Kramer, and R. Salverda (eds.), *Diggelgoud: 25 jaar Argeologysk wurkferban. Archeologisch onderzoek in Fryslan* (Leeuwarden, 2008), pp. 162–169.
- , 'Madelinus and the disappearing of gold', in Annemarieke Willemsen and Hanneke Kik (eds.), *Dorestad in an International Framework* (Leiden, 2010), pp. 91–94.
- , 'A square Madelinus from Katwijk: Trial piece or die-cleaner', in Tony Abramson (ed.), *Studies in Early Medieval Coinage 2: New perspectives* (Woodbridge, 2011), pp. 185–194.
- , 'pseudo-tremisses', in R.J.P. Kloosterman and R.D. Hoegen (eds.), *Domplein Revisited. Deel 1: Een proefopgraving in Van Giffens werkput XIX* (Utrecht, 2015), pp. 55–57.
- Powlesland, D., 'The Heslerton Parish Project; 20 years of archaeological research in the Vale of Pickering', in T. Manby, S. Moorhouse and P. Ottaway (eds.), *The Archaeology of Yorkshire* (Leeds, 2003), pp. 275–292.
- , 'Reflections upon the Anglo-Saxon landscape and settlement of the Vale of Pickering', in Gale R. Owen-Crocker and Susan D. Thompson (eds.), *Towns and Topography: Essays in Memory of David H. Hill* (Oxford, 2014), pp. 111–123.
- Priego, Manuel Castro, 'Absent coinage: Archaeological contexts and tremisses on the central Iberian Peninsula in the 7th and 8th centuries AD', *Medieval Archaeology* 60:1 (2016), pp. 27–56.
- Prummel, Wietske, *Excavations at Dorestad 2: Early Medieval Dorestad, an archaeozoological study* (Amersfoort, 1983).
- Reynolds, Andrew, and Alexander Langlands, 'Travel as Communication: A Consideration of Overland Journeys in Anglo-Saxon England', *World Archaeology* 48:3 (2011), pp. 410–427.
- Révillion, Stéphane, Laurent Verslype, Pierre Barbet, Gérard Fosse, Isabelle Pourier and Jean-Claude Routier, 'Quentovic. Réalités et perspectives archéologiques', in Stéphane Lebecq, Bruno Béthouart and Laurent Verslype (eds.), *Quentovic: Environnement, Archéologie, Histoire* (Lille, 2010), pp. 511–515.
- Richards, J. D., 'What's so special about "productive sites"? Middle Saxon

- settlements in Northumbria', *Anglo-Saxon Studies in Archaeology and History* 10 (1999) pp. 71–80.
- Richards, Julian D., 'Cottam: An Anglo-Scandinavian settlement on the Yorkshire Wolds', *Archaeological Journal* 156 (1999), pp. 86–99.
- , 'Anglo-Saxon settlements and the archaeological visibility in the Yorkshire Wolds', in H. Geake and J. Kenny (eds.), *Early Deira: Archaeological Studies of the East Riding in the fourth to ninth centuries AD* (Oxford, 2000), pp. 27–39.
- , 'The Anglian and Anglo-Scandinavian sites at Cottam, East Yorkshire', in T. Pestell and K. Ulmschneider (eds.), *Markets in Early Medieval Europe. Trading and 'Productive' Sites, 650-850*. (Macclesfield, 2003), pp. 155–166.
- Richards, Julian D., John Naylor, and Caroline Holas-Clarke, 'The Viking and Anglo-Saxon Landscape and Economy (VASLE) Project', *Internet Archaeology* 25 (2009).
- Richards, Julian D., and Steve Roskams, 'Burdale: An Anglian settlement in the Yorkshire Wolds', *Internet Archaeology* 35 (2013).
- Richards, Julian D., Steve Ashby, Tony Austin, David Haldenby, Madeleine Hummler, Elizabeth Jelley, Jane Richardson, Steve Roskams and Kieron Niven, 'Cottam, Cowlam and Environs: An Anglo-Saxon estate on the Yorkshire Wolds', *Archaeological Journal* 170:1 (2013), pp. 201–271.
- Richardson, Andrew, *The Anglo-Saxon Cemeteries of Kent* (Oxford, 2005)
- Riddler, Ian, 'Characterising middle Saxon Wharram: Artefacts and the iron economy', in S. Wrathmell (ed.), *Wharram: A Study of Settlement on the Yorkshire Wolds XIII: A History of Wharram Percy and its Neighbours*, (York, 2012), pp. 135–163.
- Rigold, S.E., 'The two Primary series of Sceattas', *British Numismatic Journal* 30 (1960), pp. 6–53.
- , 'The 'Double Minsters' of Kent and their Analogies', *Journal of the British Archaeological Association* 31 (1968), pp. 27–37.
- , 'The principle series of English Sceattas', *British Numismatic Journal* 47 (1977), pp. 21–52.
- Rollason, David, *The Mildrith Legend: a study in Early Medieval Hagiography in England* (Leicester, 1982).
- , 'The historical evidence for Anglian York', in Dominic Tweddle, Joan Moulden and Elizabeth Logan (eds.), *Anglian York: A survey of the evidence* (York, 1999), pp. 117–140.
- , 'Hagiography and politics in eighth-century Northumbria', in Paul Szarmach (ed.), *Holy Men and Holy Women: Old English Prose Saints' Lives and their Contexts*, (New York, 1996), pp. 95–114.
- , *Northumbria, 500–1100: Creation and destruction of a kingdom* (2006)
- Rouche, Michel, 'les Saxons et les Origines de Quentovic', *Revue du Nord* 59

- (1977), pp. 457–478.
- , 'Remarques sur la géographie historique de la Neustrie (650–850)', in H. Atsma (ed.), *La Neustrie, Les Pays au Nord de la Loire de 650 à 850: colloque historique international vol. 1* (Sigmaringen, 1989), pp. 1–24.
- Ryan, J., *Irish Monasticism, its origins and early development* (Dublin, 1972).
- Sawyer, Peter, *The Wealth of Anglo-Saxon England* (2013).
- Scharer, Anton, *Changing Perspectives on England and the Continent in the Early Middle Ages* (Farnham, 2014).
- Schofield, John, and Cathy Maloney, *Archaeology in the City of London 1907–1991* (London, 1998).
- Scull, Christopher, 'Scales and Weights in Anglo-Saxon England', *Archaeological Journal* 147:1 (1990), pp. 183–215.
- , 'Burials at Emporia in England', in D. Hill and R. Cowie (eds.), *Wics: the early-medieval trading centres of Northern Europe* (Sheffield, 2001) pp. 67–74.
- , 'Ipswich: Development and contexts of an urban precursor in the seventh century', in B. Hårdh and L. Larsson (eds.), *Central Places in the Migration and Merovingian Periods* (Stockholm, 2002), pp. 303–316.
- , *Early Medieval (Late 5th–Early 8th Centuries AD) Cemeteries at Boss Hall and Buttermarket, Ipswich, Suffolk* (Leeds, 2009).
- , 'Foreign Identities in Burials at the Seventh-Century English Emporia' in S. Brookes, S. Harrington and A. Reynolds (eds.), *Studies in Early Anglo-Saxon Art and Archaeology: Papers in Honour of Martin Welch* (Oxford, 2011), pp. 82–87.
- , 'Ipswich – Transformations of community and settlement in the seventh and eighth centuries', in Titus A.S.M. Panhuysen (ed.), *Transformations in North-Western Europe (AD 300–1000)* (Hannover, 2011), pp. 200–204.
- , 'The Buttermarket cemetery and the origins of Ipswich in the seventh century AD', *Proceedings of the Suffolk Institute of Archaeology and History* 43:1 (2013), pp. 43–50.
- , 'Ipswich: Contexts of funerary evidence from an urban precursor of the seventh century AD', in David Bates and Robert Liddiard (eds.), *East Anglia and its North-Sea world in the Middle Ages* (Woodbridge, 2013), pp. 218–229.
- Scull, Christopher and Naylor, John, 'Sceattas in Anglo-Saxon Graves', *Medieval Archaeology* 60:2 (2016), pp. 205–241.
- Scull, Christopher, Faye Minter and Judith Plouviez, 'Social and economic complexity in early medieval England: a central place complex of the East Anglian kingdom at Rendlesham, Suffolk', *Antiquity* 90:354 (2016), pp. 1594–1612.
- Scull, Christopher, 'Archaeology and geographies of jurisdiction: evidence from

- south-east Suffolk in the seventh century', in Jayne Carroll, Andrew Reynolds and Barbara Yorke (eds.), *Power and place in later Roman and early medieval Europe* (London, 2019), pp.392–413.
- Scully, Christopher and Gabor Thomas, 'Early Medieval great hall complexes in England: temporality and site biographies', *Anglo-Saxon Studies in Archaeology and History* 22 (2020), pp. 50–67.
- Scuvée, Frédéric, *Le Cimetière barbare de Réville (Manche) VI^e-VII^e siècles* (Caen, 1973).
- Seillier, Claude, 'Les migration anglo-saxonnes en Boulonnais et en Ponthieu', in Jean-Yves Marin (ed.), *Les Barbares et la Mer. Les migrations des peuples du nord-ouest de l'Europe du V^e au X^e siècle* (Caen, 1992), pp. 97–109.
- , 'Le Cimetière romain tardif et mérovingien de Nœux-les-Mines', *Gauheria* 31 (1994), pp. 79–86.
- Semple, Sarah, *Perceptions of the Prehistoric in Anglo-Saxon England: Religion, Ritual, and Rulership in the Landscape* (Oxford, 2013)
- Shaw, Philip, 'Orthographic standardisation and seventh and eighth century coin inscriptions', in Tony Abramson (ed.), *Two Decades of Discovery* (Woodbridge, 2008), pp. 97–111.
- Sherlock, Stephen, *A Royal Anglo-Saxon cemetery at Street House, Loftus, North-East Yorkshire* (Hartlepool, 2012).
- Sims-Williams, Patrick, 'Continental influence at Bath monastery in the seventh century', *Anglo-Saxon England* 4 (1975), pp. 1–10.
- , *Religion and Literature in Western England, 600-800* (Cambridge, 1990).
- Skre, Dagfinn, 'Monetary Practices in Early Medieval western Scandinavia (5th-10th Centuries AD)', *Medieval Archaeology* 61:2 (2017), pp. 277–299.
- Soulat, Jean, *Le Matériel Archeologique de type Saxon et Anglo-Saxon en Gaule Mérovingienne* (Conde-sur-Noireau, 2009).
- , 'La présence Saxonne et Anglo-Saxonne sur le littoral de la Manche', in Stéphane Lebecq, Bruno Béthouart and Laurent Verslype (eds.), *Quentovic: Environnement, Archéologie, Histoire* (Lille, 2010), pp. 147–164.
- , 'Le Mobilier de type Anglo-Saxon provenant de la nécropole de 'La Fontaine aux Linottes' à La Calotterie (Pas-de-Calais). Témoins des contacts entre le sud-est de l'Angleterre anglo-saxonne et la vallée de la Canche (VI^e - VII^e siècles)', in Inès Leroy and Laurent Verslype (eds.), *Les cultures des littoraux au haut Moyen Âge* (Lille, 2016), pp. 295–310.
- , *Le mobilier funéraire de type franc et mérovingien dans le Kent et sa périphérie* (Drémil-Lafage, 2018).
- Spall, Cecily A. and Nicola J. Toop, 'Before Eoforwic: New light on York in the 6th–7th centuries', *Medieval Archaeology* 52 (2008), pp. 1–25.
- Spufford, Peter, *Money and its use in Medieval Europe* (Cambridge, 1988).
- Stahl, A.M., 'The Nature of the Sutton Hoo Coin Parcel', in C.B Kendall and P.S Wells (eds.), *Voyage to the other world: The Legacy of Sutton Hoo*

- (Minneapolis, 1992), pp. 3–14.
- Stafford, Pauline, 'Historiography', in Pauline Stafford (eds.), *A Companion to the Early Middle Ages: Britain and Ireland, c. 500 – c. 1100* (Chichester, 2009), pp. 9–22.
- Stancliffe, Clare, 'Kings who opted out', in Patrick Wormald (ed.), *Ideal and Reality in Frankish and Anglo-Saxon Society: essays presented to J.M. Wallace-Hadrill* (Oxford, 1983), pp. 154–176.
- Stancliffe, Clare and Eric Cambridge (eds.), *Oswald: Northumbrian king to European Saint* (Stamford, 1995).
- Stancliffe, Clare, *Bede, Wilfrid and the Irish. Jarrow Lecture 2003* (Jarrow, 2004).
- , 'Disputed episcopacy: Bede, Acca, and the relationship between Stephen's life of Wilfrid and the early prose lives of Cuthbert', *Anglo-Saxon England* 41 (2012), pp. 7–39.
- , 'Dating Wilfrid's death and Stephen's *Life*', in N.J. Higham (ed.), *Wilfrid: Abbot, Bishop, Saint. Papers from the 1300th Anniversary Conferences* (Donington, 2013), pp. 17–26.
- Steedman, Ken, 'Excavation of a Saxon site at Riby Cross Roads, Lincolnshire', *Archaeological Journal* 151:1 (1994), pp. 212–306.
- Stoertz, Catherine, *Ancient Landscapes of the Yorkshire Wolds* (Swindon, 1997).
- Stoodley, Nicholas, *The Spindle and the Spear: A Critical Enquiry into the Construction and Meaning of Gender in the Early Anglo-Saxon Burial Rite* (Oxford, 1999).
- Stoodley, Nick and Mark Stedman, 'Excavations at Shavards Farm, Meonstoke: The Anglo-Saxon cemetery', *Proceedings of the Hampshire Field Club Archaeological Society* 56 (2001), pp. 129–169.
- Stoodley, Nick, 'The Origins of Hamwic and its Central Role in the Seventh Century as revealed by recent archaeological discoveries', in B. Hårdh and Lars Larsson (eds.), *Central Places in the Migration and Merovingian Periods* (Stockholm, 2002), pp. 317–331.
- , 'Burial practice in seventh-century Hampshire: St Mary's Stadium in context', in J. Buckberry and A. Cherryson (eds.), *Burial in later Anglo-Saxon England c 650-1100 AD* (Oxford, 2010), pp. 38–53.
- Story, Joanna, *Carolingian Connections: Anglo-Saxon England and Carolingian Francia, C. 750–870* (Abingdon, 2003).
- , 'The Frankish Annals of Lindisfarne and Kent', *Anglo-Saxon England* 34 (2005), pp. 59–109.
- Stronach, Simon, 'The Anglian monastery and medieval priory of Coldingham: *Urbs Coludi* revisited', *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland* 135 (2005), pp. 395–422.
- Sutherland, C.H.V., *Anglo-Saxon Gold Coinage in the Light of the Crondall Hoard* (Oxford, 1948).
- Tatum, Sarah, 'Auctoritas as Sanctitas: Balthild's depiction as 'queen-saint' in

- the *Vita Balthildis*', *European Review of History-Revue européenne d'histoire* 16:6 (2009), pp. 809–834.
- Teague, Steven, 'The Archaeological Sequence', in Richard Brown, Steven Teague, Louise Loe, Berni Sudds and Elizabeth Popescu (eds.), *Excavations at Stoke Quay, Ipswich: Southern Gipeswic and the parish of St Augustine* (Oxford, 2020), pp. 25–120.
- Thacker, Alan, 'Lindisfarne and the origins of the cult of Saint Cuthbert', in Gerald Bonner, David W. Rollason and Clare Stancliffe (eds.), *St. Cuthbert, his Cult and his Community to AD 1200* (Woodbridge, 1989), pp. 110–117.
- Thiérot, Amaury and Raymond Lantier, 'Le cimetière Mérovingien du Maltrat à Vouciennes', *Revue Archéologique* 15 (1940), pp. 210–246.
- Thomas, A., 'Rivers of Gold? The Coastal Zone between the Humber and the Walsh in the Mid-Saxon period', *Anglo-Saxon Studies in Archaeology and History* 18 (2013), pp. 97–118.
- Tibbetts Schulenburg, Jane, 'Women's monastic communities, 500–1100: patterns of expansion and decline', *Signs* 14:2 (1989), pp. 261–292.
- Tweddle, Dominic, Joan Moulden and Elizabeth Logan (eds.), *Anglian York: A survey of the evidence* (York, 1999).
- Tyler, D., 'Reluctant kings and Christian conversion in seventh-century England', *History* 92 (2007), pp. 144–161.
- Tyler, Damien J., 'Bishop Wilfrid and the Mercians', in N.J. Higham (ed.), *Wilfrid: Abbot, Bishop, Saint. Papers from the 1300th Anniversary Conferences* (Donington, 2013), pp. 275–283.
- Tys, Dries, 'Maritime and river traders, landing places, and emporia ports in the Merovingian period in and around the Low Countries', in *The Oxford Handbook of the Merovingian World* (Oxford, 2020), pp. 765–796.
- Ulmschneider, K., *Markets, Minsters and Metal-Detectors: The Archaeology of Middle Saxon Lincolnshire and Hampshire Compared* (Oxford, 2000).
- , 'Settlement, economy, and the 'Productive' site: Middle Anglo-Saxon Lincolnshire A.D. 650-780', *Medieval Archaeology* 44 (2000), pp. 54–79.
- Van de Noort, Robert and Paul Davies, *Wetland Heritage: An archaeological assessment of the Humber Wetlands* (Kingston-Upon-Hull, 1993).
- Van de Noort, Robert, 'Where are Yorkshire's 'terps'? Wetland exploitation in the early-medieval period', in H. Geake and J. Kenny (eds.), *Early Deira: Archaeological Studies of the East Riding in the fourth to ninth centuries AD* (Oxford, 2000), pp. 121–124.
- , *The Humber Wetlands: The Archaeology of a Dynamic Landscape* (Oxford, 2004).
- Veen, B.J. van der and A. Pol, 'De middeleeuwse munten van Katwijk-Zanderij', in H.M. van der Velde (ed.), *Cananefaten en Friezen aan de monding van de Rijn. Tien jaar archeologisch onderzoek op de Zanderij-Westerbaan te Katwijk, 1996-2006* (Amersfoort, 2008), pp. 311–337.

- Velde, H.M van der, J. Dijkstra, and S. Heeren, 'On the origins of Dorestad? Habitation of the Kromme Rijn area during the Merovingian period', in Sarah Semple, Celia Orsini and Sian Mui (eds.), *Life on the Edge: Social, Political and Religious Frontiers in Early Medieval Europe* (Wendeburg, 2017), pp. 285–294.
- Velde, H.M van der and M.P.F. Dijkstra, 'The Rhine estuary in the Roman period and Early Middle Ages', in H.M. van der Velde (ed.), *Cananefaten en Frieze aan de monding van de Rijn. Tien jaar archeologisch onderzoek op de Zanderij-Westerbaan te Katwijk, 1996-2006* (Amersfoort, 2008), pp. 413–416.
- Verhulst, Adriaan, *The rise of cities in North West Europe* (Cambridge, 1999).
- Verron, Guy, and Christian Pilet, 'un nouveau témoin de la présence anglo-saxonne en Basse-Normandie à l'époque Mérovingienne : la fibule cupelliforme de Vierville (Manche)', *Archéologie Médiévale* 7 (1977), pp. 83–94.
- Verwers, W. and W. van Tent, *Merovingisch grafveld Elst't woud* (Amersfoort, 2015).
- Wade, Kevin, 'The urbanisation of East Anglia: the Ipswich perspective', in J. Gardiner (ed.), *Flatlands and Wetlands: Current Themes in East Anglian Archaeology* (Norwich, 1993), pp. 141–151.
- Walton Rogers, Penelope, 'In search of Hild: A review of the context of abbess Hild's life, her religious establishment, and the relevance of recent archaeological finds from Whitby Abbey', in Gale R. Owen-Crocker and Maren Clegg Hyer (eds.), *Art and Worship in the Insular World* (Leiden, 2021), pp. 121–153.
- Vince, Alan, 'The Aldwych: Mid-Saxon London discovered', *Current Archaeology* 8 (1984), pp. 310–312.
- Wallace-Hadrill, J.M, *The Frankish Church* (Oxford, 1983).
- Weetch, Rosie, *Brooches in late Anglo-Saxon England within a north west European context: a study of social identities between the eighth and the eleventh centuries* (Unpublished PhD thesis: Reading University, 2014).
- Webley, Leo, Marc Vander Linden, Colin Haselgrove, and Richard Bradley (eds.), *Development-led archaeology in Northwest-Europe* (Oxford, 2012).
- Welch, Martin, *Early Anglo-Saxon Sussex* (Oxford, 1983).
- , 'The dating and significance of the inlaid buckle loop from Yeavinger. Northumberland', *Anglo-Saxon Studies in Archaeology and History* 3 (1984), pp. 77–78.
- , 'Contacts across the Channel between the fifth and the seventh centuries: a review of the archaeological evidence', *Studien zur Sachsenforschung* 7 (1991), pp. 261–266.
- , 'Cross-channel contacts between Anglo-Saxon England and Merovingian France: An Anglo-French Research Project' in Delestre Kazanski and Patrick

- Périn (eds.), *De l'Age du fer au haut Moyen Age: Archéologie funéraire, princes et élites guerrières* (Paris, 2006), pp. 103–111.
- , 'Report on excavations of the Anglo-Saxon cemetery at Updown, Eastry, Kent', *Anglo-Saxon Studies in Archaeology and History* 15 (2008), pp. 1–146.
- , 'The Archaeological evidence for state formation in Southern England: A Comparison of the early Kingdoms of Kent, Sussex and Wessex', in T. Panhuysen (ed.), *Transformations in North-Western Europe (AD. 300-1000)* (Hannover, 2011), pp. 149–159.
- Werner, J., *Waage Und Geld in der Merowingerzeit* (Munich, 1954).
- Werner, Martin, 'The Liudhard Medalet', *Anglo-Saxon England* 20 (1990), pp. 27–43.
- West, Stanley, *A corpus of Anglo-Saxon material from Suffolk* (Norfolk, 1998).
- Wickham, Christopher, *Framing the early Middle Ages: Europe and the Mediterranean, 400-800* (Oxford, 2005).
- Willems, Willem J.H., 'Archaeology in the Netherlands: Recent changes and current organisation', *Archaeological Journal* 165 (2008), pp. 8–16.
- Willemsen, Annemarieke, *Dorestad: een wereldstad in de middeleeuwen* (Zutphen, 2009).
- , 'Welcome to Dorestad: A history of searching and finding 'the Dutch Troy'', in Annemarieke Willemsen and Hanneke Kik (eds.), *Dorestad in an International Framework* (Turnhout, 2010), pp. 7–16.
- , 'Dorestad, a medieval metropolis', in S. Gelichi and R. Hodges (eds.), *From one sea to another: Trading places in the European and Mediterranean Early Middle Ages* (Turnhout, 2012), pp. 65–80.
- , 'Golden Ages of Dorestad: Connections and Conclusions', in Annemarieke Willemsen and Hanneke Kik, *Golden Middle Ages in Europe: New Research into Early-Medieval Communities and Identities* (Turnhout, 2015), pp. 145–149.
- Williams, Gareth, 'The gold coinage of Eadbald, king of Kent (AD 616–40)', *British Numismatic Journal* 68 (1998), pp. 137–140.
- , 'The circulation and function of *Coinage* in Conversion Period England, c. AD 580–675', in Barrie Cook and Gareth Williams (eds.), *Coinage and History in the North Sea World* (Leiden, 2006), pp. 145–192.
- , 'The gold coinage of seventh century Northumbria revisited', *Numismatic Circular* 115 (2007), pp. 6–8.
- , 'Appendix IV: Report on two coin-like pendants from the Updown Cemetery, Eastry, Kent (1976)', *Anglo-Saxon Studies in Archaeology and History* 15 (2008), pp. 60–62.
- , 'Anglo-Saxon gold coinage Part 1: The transition from Roman to Anglo-Saxon coinage', *British Numismatic Journal* 80 (2010), pp. 51–75.

- , 'The circulation, minting and use of coins in East Anglia, c. AD. 580– 675', in David Bates and Robert Liddiard (eds.), *East Anglia and its North Sea World in the Middle Ages* (Woodbridge, 2013), pp. 120–136.
- Williams, Gareth and D. Hook, 'Analysis of gold content and its implications for the chronology of early Anglo-Saxon coinage', in Anna Gannon, *British Museum Anglo-Saxon Coins volume 1: Early Anglo-Saxon Gold and Continental Silver Coinage of the North Sea area, c. 600-760* (2013), pp. 55–70.
- Williams, Gareth, 'Why are there no coins in the Staffordshire Hoard?', *British Numismatic Journal* 84 (2014), pp. 39–51.
- Williams, G.I., *Een nieuw stukje Dorestad: een archeologische opgraving in wijk bij Duurstede. Rapport 3467*. (Amersfoort, 2013).
- Williamson, Tom, 'East Anglia's Character and the North Sea World' in David Bates and Robert Liddiard (eds.), *East Anglia and its North-Sea World in the Middle Ages* (Woodbridge, 2013), pp. 44–62.
- Wilmott, Tony, 'The Anglian Abbey of *Streonæshalch* – Whitby: New perspectives of topography and layout', in Gabor Thomas and Alexandra Knox (eds.), *Early Medieval Monasticism in the North Sea Zone* (Oxford, 2017), pp. 81–94.
- Winter, Johanna Maria van, 'Utrecht, the mother of Dorestad: The relations between two early medieval settlements and their Churches in the frontier region of Frisians and Franks', *The Medieval Low Countries* 3 (2016), pp. 1–20.
- Wood, Ian, *The Merovingian North Sea* (Alingsås, 1983).
- , 'Ripon, Francia and the Franks Casket in the Early Middle Ages', *Northern History* 26:1 (1990), pp. 1–19.
- , 'Frankish hegemony in England', in M.O.H. Carver (ed.), *The Age of Sutton Hoo: The Seventh Century in North-Western Europe* (Woodbridge, 1992), pp. 235–241.
- , *The Merovingian Kingdoms, 450-751* (Harlow, 1994).
- , 'Northumbrians and Franks in the Age of Wilfrid', *Northern History* 31:1 (1995), pp. 10–21.
- , 'The Franks and Sutton Hoo', in Ian Wood and Niels Lund (eds.), *People and Place in Northern Europe 500-1600: Essays in honour of Peter Hayes Sawyer* (Woodbridge, 1996), pp. 1–14.
- , 'Barbarians, Historians and the Construction of National Identities', *Journal of Late Antiquity* 1 (2008), pp. 61–81.
- , 'Monasteries and the geography of power in the age of Bede', *Northern History* 45 (2008), pp. 11–25.
- , 'Thrymsas, Sceattas and the Cult of the Cross', in Tony Abramson (ed.), *Two Decades of Discovery* (Woodbridge, 2008), pp. 23–30.

- , 'The Continental Journeys of Wilfrid and Biscop', in N.J Higham. (ed.), *Wilfrid: Abbot, Bishop, Saint. Papers from the 1300th Anniversary Conferences* (Donington, 2013), pp. 200–211.
- , 'The Irish in England and on the Continent in the Seventh Century: Part I', *Peritia* 26 (2015), pp. 171–198.
- , 'The Irish in England and on the Continent in the Seventh Century: Part II', *Peritia* 27 (2016), pp. 189–214.
- , 'Reform and the Merovingian Church', in Rob Meens (ed.), *Religious Franks: Religion and Power in the Frankish Kingdoms* Manchester, 2016), pp. 95–111.
- , 'Merovingian monasticism and England', in Gabor Thomas and Andrew Knox (eds.), *Early Medieval Monasticism in the North Sea Zone* (Oxford, 2017), pp. 17–24.
- Woods, Andrew, 'The early medieval/Anglo-Saxon coinage from Rendlesham', in Faye Minter, Jude Plouviez and Christopher Scull, *Rendlesham Survey 2008–2014: Assessment report* (Suffolk, 2016), pp. 47–51.
- Wormald, P., 'Bede and Benedict Biscop', in Gerald Bonner (ed.), *Famulus Christi, Essays in Commemoration of the Thirteenth Centenary of the Birth of Bede* (London, 1976), pp. 141–169.
- Worthington, Margaret, 'Quentovic: Local and imported wares', in D. Pilet (ed.), *La céramique du Vème au Xème siècle dans l'Europe du Nord-Ouest* (Arras, 1993), pp. 377–384.
- Worthington Hill, Margaret, 'Quentovic', in Gale R. Owen-Crocker and Susan D. Thompson (eds.), *Towns and Topography: Essays in memory of David Hill* (Oxford, 2014), pp. 11–18.
- Wrathmell, Stuart, 'Resettlement on the Wolds', in S. Wrathmell (ed.), *A History of Wharram Percy and Neighbours* (York, 2012), pp. 106–113.
- , 'Wharram before the village moment: a response' in S. Wrathmell (ed.), *Wharram: A Study of Settlement on the Yorkshire Wolds XIII: A History of Wharram Percy and its Neighbours*, (York, 2012), pp. 172–173.
- Yitzhak, Hen, *Culture and Religion in Merovingian Gaul AD 481–751* (Leiden, 1995).
- Yorke, Barbara, "'Sisters under the Skin?' Anglo-Saxon Nuns and Nunneries in Southern England', *Reading Medieval Studies* 15 (1989), pp. 95–117.
- , *Kings and Kingdoms of Early Anglo-Saxon England* (London, 1990).
- , *Wessex in the Early Middle Ages* (London, 1995).
- , *Nunneries and the Anglo-Saxon Royal Houses* (London, 2003).
- , 'The adaptation of the Anglo-Saxon royal courts to Christianity', in M. Carver (ed.), *The Cross goes North: Processes of conversion in Northern Europe, AD 300–1300* (York, 2003), pp. 243–257.

- , *The conversion of Britain: Religion, Politics and Society in Britain c. 600–800* (Harlow, 2006).
- , ‘Aldhelm’s Irish and British Connections’, in Katherine Barker and Nicholas Brooks (eds.), *Aldhelm and Sherborne: Essays to Celebrate the Founding of the Bishopric* (Oxford, 2010), pp. 165–180.
- , ‘The weight of necklaces’: some insights into the wearing of women’s jewellery from Middle Saxon written sources’, in Stuart Brookes, Sue Harrington and Andrew Reynolds (eds.), *Studies in Early Anglo-Saxon Archaeology: Papers in Honour of Martin Welch* (Oxford, 2011), pp. 106–111.
- , ‘Queen Balthild’s ‘monastic policy’ and the origins of female religious houses in southern England’, in Thomas, Gabor, and Andrew Knox (eds.), *Early Medieval Monasticism in the North Sea Zone* (Oxford, 2017), pp. 7–17.
- , ‘Competition for the Solent and seventh century politics’, in Ben Jervis (ed.), *The Middle Ages Revisited. Studies in the Archaeology and History of Medieval Southern England presented to Professor David A. Hinton* (Oxford, 2018), pp. 35–44.

Online resources:

ANASTASIS Project:

<https://www.universiteitleiden.nl/en/research/research-projects/archaeology/reviving-merovingian-archaeology-in-the-netherlands>

[Last accessed: January 2019]

Anglo-Saxon Canon Law: The Iudicia Theodori:

http://individual.utoronto.ca/michaelelliott/manuscripts/texts/iudicia_theodori.html [Last accessed: May 2020]

Archaeology Data Service (ADS):

<https://archaeologydataservice.ac.uk> [Last accessed: January 2021]

Data Archiving and Networked Services (DANS) EASY repository:

<https://easy.dans.knaw.nl/ui/home> [Last accessed: August 2020]

Digital Atlas of Roman and Medieval Civilisations (DARMC):

<https://darmc.harvard.edu/> [Last accessed: November 2019]

Framing the Late Antique and Early Medieval Economy (FLAME):

<https://coinage.princeton.edu/> [Last accessed: December 2020]

Institut national de recherches archéologiques préventives (INRAP):

<https://www.inrap.fr> [Last accessed: October 2019]

People and Place: The Making of the Kingdom of Northumbria AD 300–800:
<https://www.dur.ac.uk/research/directory/view/?mode=project&id=1094>
[Last accessed: October 2019]

Rijksdienst voor het Cultureel Erfgoed (Cultural Heritage Agency of the Netherlands):
<https://www.cultureelerfgoed.nl> [Last accessed: October 2020]

The Heselton Parish Project:
http://www.landscaperesearchcentre.org/AA%20Tier%201%20Primary%20Headings/heselton_parity_project.htm [Last accessed: October 2021]

Wessex Archaeology 'Bath Abbey Footprint project':
<https://www.wessexarch.co.uk/our-work/bath-abbey-footprint-project> [Last accessed: July 2020]

THE (RE-)MAKING OF THE SOUTHERN NORTH SEA WORLD:

Politics, trade and long-distance interactions between the
Anglo-Saxon kingdoms and Merovingian Gaul in the
seventh century AD

KELLY MARIE CLARKE-NEISH



VOLUME II
of two volumes

A thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy,

Departments of History and Archaeology,
Durham University
2021

Cover Image: *Gold coin pendant made from a tremissis
minted at Metz from Wye-with-Hinxhill, Kent*
Image courtesy of the Portable Antiquities
Scheme (KENT-DD91AA)

Contents:

Volume II:

Appendix I: <i>Repurposed seventh-century Merovingian coinage found in the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms</i>	pp. 386–395
Appendix II: <i>Imported dress objects from the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms</i>	pp. 396–422
Appendix III: <i>Imported objects from (northern) Merovingian Gaul</i>	pp. 423–427

Appendix I:

Repurposed seventh-century Merovingian coinage found in the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms

Key:

Type: *S* = Solidus | *T* = Tremissis | *D* = Denier

Material (Mat.): G = Gold | S = Silver

Find context (F/C): G = Grave find | H = hoard | C = Chance/stray find | U = Uncertain

No:	Type:	Mint:	Ruler:	Moneyer:	Mat.:	Weight:	Treatment:	F/C:	Grave number:	Find spot:	County:	Reference:
1	<i>T</i>	Agen		-	G	1.49g	Looped	G	-	Faversham	Kent	Abdy and Williams (2006), H6/Williams (2010), n. 2.6
2	<i>T</i>	Agen/Paseno		Leonardo	G	1.49g	Looped	H		St Martin's, Canterbury	Kent	Grierson, 1952/EMC 1029.001

3	<i>S</i>	Arles	Dagobert I	-	G	4.08g	Looped	G	30	Coddenham	Suffolk	Penn (2011), p. 27
4	<i>T</i>	Brioux		Chadulfus	G	1.24g	Pierced	C		Billingsgate	London	Abdy and Williams (2006), n.162
5	<i>T</i>	Campbon		Francio	G	-	Looped	C		Faversham	Kent	Abdy and Williams (2006), n.167
6	<i>T</i>	Campbon		Francio	G	1.49g	Looped	C		Rendlesham	Suffolk	EMC 2013.0342
7	<i>T</i>	Chalons-sur- Saone (imitation)		Uncertain	G	0.93g	Mounted	G	36	Updown, Eastry	Kent	Williams (2008), pp. 60-62
8	<i>T</i>	Clermont- Ferrand		Uncertain	S	1.26g	Mounted, looped	C		Bawdsey	Suffolk	EMC 1998.2034
9	<i>T</i>	Dorestad		Madelinus (imitation)	G	1.32g	Looped	C		Mersea Island	Essex	PAS ESS- 5D63D4

10	<i>T</i>	Dorestad		Madelinus (imitation)	G	-	Pierced	C		Pontefract	Yorkshire	Abdy and Williams (2006), n.12
11	<i>T</i>	Dorestad		Madelinus (imitation)	G	1.03g	Pierced	C		Rendlesham	Suffolk	PAS SF-59659C
12	<i>T</i>	Dorestad		Madelinus (imitation)	G	-	Pierced	U		Unknown	Unknown	Abdy and Williams (2006), n. 11
13	<i>T</i>	Dorestad		Madelinus (imitation)	G	1.15g	Pierced	C		Unknown	Cambridgeshire	PAS SF-78C948
14	<i>D</i>	Dorestad (Series MA)		Unknown	S	0.78g	Pierced	C		Earl Soham	Suffolk	EMC 2009.025
15	<i>T</i>	Dronrijp		Uncertain	G	-	Mounted, looped	U		Unknown	Unknown	Williams (2010), n. 290

16	<i>T</i>	Huy		Gandolonus	G	-	Looped	C		'Bishop Auckland area'	Durham	PAS DUR-EFD9E4
17	<i>S</i>	Limoges	Dagobert I	-	G	6.27g	Looped	U		Merton (priory site)	Surrey	Abdy and Williams (2006), n.34
18	<i>T</i>	Maastricht		Uncertain	G	1.33g	Mounted, looped	C		Ash	Kent	EMC 1996.006
19	<i>T</i>	Marsal		Totus	G	1.37g	Looped	G	172	Sibertswold	Kent	EMC 1982.9018
20	<i>S</i>	Marseilles	Chlothar II		G		Looped	C		Carlton Colville	Suffolk	Lucy, Tipper and Dickens (2009)
21	<i>S</i>	Marseilles	Chlothar II	-	G	-	Looped	C		Balderton	Nottinghamshire	Abdy and Williams (2006), n.32
22	<i>S</i>	Marseilles	Sigebert	-	G	-	Mounted,	C		Dartford	Kent	PAS KENT-

			III				looped					22CA70
23	<i>T</i>	Marseilles		-	G	1g	Looped	G	-	Faversham	Kent	Abdy and Williams (2006), p. 6
24	<i>S</i>	Marseilles	Sigebert II/III	-	G	-	Looped	G	7	Finglesham	Kent	Abdy and Williams (2006), n.14
25	<i>T</i>	Marseilles		-	G	1.10g	Pierced	C		Naunton	Gloucester	Abdy and Williams (2006), n.9
26	<i>S</i>	Marseilles		-	G	3.61g	Pierced	C		Salisbury	Wiltshire	EMC 2011.0256
27	<i>S</i>	Marseilles	Sigebert III	-	G	-	Looped	G	134	St Peter's Tip	Kent	Geake (1997) (Gazetteer - Broadstairs entry)
28	<i>S</i>	Marseilles	Chlothar II	-	G	4.64g	Looped	C		uncertain	Kent	Abdy and Williams

												(2006), n. 31
29	S	Marseilles	Sigebert III	-	G	-	Looped?	U		uncertain	Unknown	PAS NMS-E95041
30	S	Marseilles	Chlothar II	-	G	4.08g	Looped	U		Unknown	Unknown	EMC 1990.0166
31	S	Marseilles	Chlothar II	-	G	-	Looped	U		Unknown	Kent	EMC 1982.9016
32	S	Marseilles	Sigebert III	-	G	-	Looped	G	-	Winfarthing	Norfolk	PAS NMS-E95041
33	S	Marseilles	Sigebert III	-	G	-	Looped	G	-	Winfarthing	Norfolk	PAS NMS-E95041
34	S	Marseilles		-	G	-	Mounted	U		Unknown	Unknown	EMC 2000.0110
35	S	Marseilles (imitation)	Sigebert III	-	G	-	Looped	G	93	Boss Hall	Suffolk	Abdy and Williams (2006), n.35

36	<i>S</i>	Marseilles (imitation)	Sigebert II	-	G	1.8g	Pierced	C		Old Buckenham	Norfolk	PAS SUR-09EA44
37	<i>S</i>	Marseilles (imitation)	Chlothar II	-	G	-	Looped	G	A	Sarre	Kent	Abdy and Williams (2006), p. 18
38	<i>T</i>	Metz		Audoaldus	G	1.15g	Pierced	C		Farnborough	Greater London	EMC 1987.0035
39	<i>T</i>	Metz		Theudelenus	G	2.02g	Mounted, looped	C		Higham	Kent	EMC 2003.0222
40	<i>T</i>	Metz		Ansoaldus	G	1.23g	Pierced	C		Roxby cum Risby	North Lincolnshire	PAS NLM-BE8DC8
41	<i>T</i>	Metz		Theudelenus	G	1.29g	Looped	U		Unknown	Unknown	Abdy and Williams (2006), n. 38
42	<i>T</i>	Metz		Leudoaldus	G	1.29g	Looped	C		Wye with Hinxhill	Kent	PAS KENT-DD91AA

43	<i>T</i>	Oloron		Uncertain	G	1.52g	Looped	H		St Martin's, Canterbury	Kent	Abdy and Williams (2006), n. 41
44	<i>T</i>	Paris		Landegiselus	G	1.45g	Looped	C		Dry Drayton	Cambridgeshire	PAS CAM- 9287C0
45	<i>T</i>	Quentovic		Dutta	G	-	Mounted, looped	C		Aldeburgh	Suffolk	EMC 1840.0001
46	<i>T</i>	Rodez		Vendemius	G	1.47g	Looped	C		Ash	Kent	EMC 1995.0064
47	<i>T</i>	Rodez		Vendemius	G	1.3g	Looped	C		Ash	Kent	EMC 1994.0111
48	<i>T</i>	St Bertrand		Nonnitus	G	1.72g	Looped	H		St Martin's, Canterbury	Kent	EMC 1029.0009
49	<i>T</i>	St Denis		Ebrigelsus	G	1.24g	Mounted?	C		Rochester	Kent	EMC 1989.0061
50	<i>T</i>	Uncertain		Uncertain	G	1.01g	Pierced	C		Crimplesham	Norfolk	EMC 2011.0106

												50 and 51 possible duplicates in EMC
51	<i>T</i>	Uncertain		Uncertain	G	1.01g	Pierced	C		Crimplesham	Norfolk	PAS NMS-0F87A2/EMC 2009.0414 *50 and 51 possible duplicates in EMC*
52	<i>T</i>	Uncertain		Uncertain	G	-	Looped	G	-	Faversham	Kent	Abdy and Williams (2006), p. 6
53	<i>T</i>	Uncertain		Uncertain	G	-	Mounted	C		Little Walsingham	Norfolk	EMC 2003.0001
54	<i>T</i>	Uncertain		Uncertain	G	1.25g	Pierced	C		Skipton	Yorkshire	EMC 1997.9920
55	<i>T</i>	Uncertain		Protadius	G	1.78g	Pierced	C		Stapleford	Cambridgeshire	EMC

												2003.0055
56	<i>T</i>	Uncertain		Uncertain	G	1.19g	Pierced	C		Thetford	Norfolk	EMC 2001.1153
57	<i>T</i>	Uncertain		Uncertain	G	1.26g	Pierced	C		'Harlaxton area'	Lincolnshire	PAS LIN- SA74DD
58	<i>S</i>	Uncertain (IVEGIO VICO)		Uncertain	G	5.46g	Looped	H		St Martin's, Canterbury	Kent	Grierson (1952)
59	<i>T</i>	Uncertain (imitation?)		Uncertain	G	4.16g	Pierced	C		Bisham	Windsor and Maidenhead	PAS BUC- C36274
60	<i>T</i>	Verdun		Ciselenus	G	1.46g	Looped	G	172	Sibertswold	Kent	EMC 1982.9017
61	<i>T</i>	Vienne-en- Val		Gundomarus	G	1.35g	Looped	C		Unknown	Surrey	Abdy and Williams (2006), n. 44

Appendix II:

Imported dress objects from the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms

Note on Appendix II: Appendix II presents a streamlined version of the dataset produced for this project. It is presented in a list format. Basic details are provided along with each entry and finds are grouped in order by county. A shortened reference is provided along with each entry and full references can be found in the bibliography.

Berkshire:

1. East Shefford

Site Type: Cemetery

Grave Number: OA (inhumation)

Gender: Unknown | Sex: -

Age band: Unknown | Osteological age: -

Object: Brooch

Description: Ansate brooch. C6th-C7th date.

Associated assemblage: Uncertain. Burial not accurately recorded.

Reference: *Tribal Hidage* database

2. East Shefford

Site Type: Cemetery

Grave Number: OA (inhumation)

Gender: Unknown | Sex:

Age band: Uncertain | Osteological age: -

Object: Brooch

Description: Ansate brooch. C6th-C7th date.

Associated assemblage: Uncertain. Burial not accurately recorded.

Reference: *Tribal Hidage* database

Dorset:

3. Pulham

Site type: Stray find

Object: Buckle plate

Description: Fragment. Aquitanian-Frankish type.

Reference: PAS SOM-63594D

Gloucestershire:

4. Lechlade

Site Type: Cemetery

Grave Number: 155

Gender: Masculine | Sex: Male

Age band: Middle Adult (25-44 years) | Osteological age: Adult (30-35 years)

Object: Buckle loop and plate

Description: Openwork buckle

Associated assemblage: Seax, spear, knife (x2)

Reference: Boyle, Jennings, Miles, and Palmer (2011)

Greater London:

5. London (Long Acre)

Site Type: Cemetery

Grave Number: Grave J

Gender: Masculine(?) | Sex: Male

Age band: Unknown | Osteological age: -

Object: Buckle plate

Description: Multipartite belt-set. Similar to set recovered from St Mary's Stadium and Buttermarket (Høilund-Neilson type BU3-f).

Associated assemblage: Uncertain (disturbed burial).

Reference: Cowie and Blackmore (2012)

6. London (Drury lane)

Site Type: Stray

Object: Brooch

Description: Found in pit N at site N. Dated to 'period 3'.

Reference: Cowie and Blackmore (2012)

Hampshire:

7. Bradley

Site type: Stray find

Object: Brooch

Description: Equal armed brooch. PAS date: AD 500-700.

Reference: PAS BUC-C5BC2E

8. Hamwic St Mary's Stadium

Site Type: Cemetery

Grave Number: 3520 (double burial)

Gender: Masculine | Sex: -

Age band: Adult | Osteological age: -

Object: Buckle loop (associated with skeleton 3549)

Description: Multipartite belt-set. Similar to set recovered from Long Acre (grave J) and Buttermarket. (Høilund-Neilson type BU3-f)

Associated assemblage: Seax, scabbard, needle, pinhead, uncertain copper alloy object. Textile remains also found on the buckle.

Reference: Birbeck, Smith, Andrews and Stoodley eds. (2005)

9. Manor Farm, Monks Sherborne

Site Type: Stray (found in pit F117)

Object: Buckle loop and plate

Description: Fragmented loop and plate.

Reference: Marzinzik (2003)

10. Shavard's Farm

Site Type: Cemetery

Grave Number: 1

Gender: Unknown | Sex:

Age band: Uncertain | Osteological age:

Object: Buckle loop

Description: Square copper alloy buckle loop.

Associated assemblage: Iron knife, shield-boss and grip, iron spearhead

Reference: Stoodley and Stedman (2001)

11. Worthy Park

Site Type: Cemetery

Grave Number: 96

Gender: Masculine | Sex: Male

Age band: Middle Adult (25-44 years) | Osteological age: Adult (18-35)

Object: Buckle loop and plate

Description: Triangular buckle plate and loop.

Associated assemblage: Iron knife, copper alloy cup, belt, buckle, iron shield grip, scabbard fitting, sword

Reference: Marzinzik (2003)/Hawkes and Grainger (2003)

Kent:

12. Aerodrome

Site Type: Cemetery

Grave Number: 24

Gender: Feminine | Sex: -

Age band: Adolescent (12-15 years) | Osteological age: Adolescent

Object: Buckle loop and plate

Description: Shield on tongue buckle

Associated assemblage: Spindle whorl, monochrome bead (x4), finger ring, buckle plate, amber bead (x15), glass bead, flint, buckle rivet

Reference: *Tribal Hidage* Database /*ASKED* database

13. Barfreston

Site Type: Cemetery

Grave Number: 23

Gender: Unknown | Sex:

Age band: Middle Adult (25-44 years) | Osteological age: Adult

Object: Buckle loop and plate

Description: Rectangular plate with insert

Associated assemblage: Knife, pottery, coffin

Reference: *Tribal Hidage* Database /*ASKED* database

14. Bellevue

Site Type: Cemetery

Grave Number: OA

Gender: Unknown | Sex:

Age band: Unknown | Osteological age: -

Object: Buckle loop and plate

Description: Kent HER (TR 13 SW 2). HER entry provides limited detail relating to the find.

Associated assemblage: Find not associated with specific grave.

Reference: *Tribal Hidage* Database / Kent HER

15. Bifrons

Site Type: Cemetery

Grave Number: 39

Gender: Masculine | Sex: -

Age band: Middle Adult (25-44 years) | Osteological age: Adult

Object: Belt mount/plate/adjuster

Description: Shield on tongue buckle

Associated assemblage: Shield boss, buckle rivets (x4), mount (x3),

loop, buckle loop, belt, mounts (x2), spearhead, knife, sword, scabbard, knife, nails (x2), pommel, strap, shield grip, strap adjuster

Reference: Chadwick-Hawkes (2000)

16. Bifrons

Site Type: Cemetery

Grave Number: 73

Gender: Masculine | Sex: -

Age band: Middle Adult (25-44 years) | Osteological age: Adult

Object: Buckle plate and loop

Description: Rectangular buckle plate decorated with rivets

Associated assemblage: Strap end, knife x3, ferrule, spearhead, buckle loop

Reference: Chadwick-Hawkes (2000)

17. Bifrons

Site Type: Cemetery

Grave Number: 43/A (double burial)

Gender: Masculine | Sex: -

Age band: Middle Adult (25-44 years) | Osteological age: Adult

Object: Belt mount/plate/adjuster

Description: Rectangular buckle mount (x2) and oval loop.

Associated assemblage: All assemblage linked to burial A. Dagger, strap end, knife, spearhead, ferrule, spearhead.

Reference: Chadwick-Hawkes (2000)

18. Boxley

Site type: Stray find

Object: Buckle plate

Description: Visigothic copper alloy buckle plate c. AD 600-720.

Reference: PAS LON-8577D6

19. Bradstow

Site Type: Cemetery

Grave Number: 4

Gender: Unknown | Sex: Male(?)

Age band: Middle Adult (25-44 years) | Osteological age: Adult (28-30)

Object: Buckle loop

Description: Kidney shaped (noted in ASKED as Kentish manufacture and of continental origin in Tribal Hidage).

Associated Assemblage: Box fittings and knife

Reference: *Tribal Hidage* Database

20. Bradstow

Site Type: Cemetery

Grave Number: 77

Gender: Feminine | Sex: -

Age band: Young adult (16-24 years) | Osteological age: Young adult

Object: Buckle loop

Description: Belt buckle tongue

Associated assemblage: Bead, comb, coin pendant (roman), buckle rivets (x3), beads (x11), silver pendant, potsherd, strap end, rings (x3), wheel-thrown pot.

Reference: *Tribal Hidage* Database /*ASKED* database

21. Breach Downs

Site Type: Cemetery

Grave Number: 15

Gender: Masculine | Sex: -

Age band: Middle Adult (25-44 years) | Osteological age: Adult

Object: Buckle loop

Description: Small copper alloy openwork buckle. Byzantine

Associated assemblage: Knife, sword, spearhead, shield-boss

Reference: Richardson (2005)

22. Breach Downs

Site Type: Cemetery

Grave Number: 33 (cremation)

Gender: Masculine | Sex:

Age band: Middle adult (25-44 years) | Osteological age: Adult

Object: Buckle loop

Description: Openwork buckle

Associated assemblage: Cremation urn, spearhead, glass stud (x2), sword, shield-boss, buckle loop (x3)

Reference: Richardson (2005)

23. Breach Downs

Site Type: Cemetery

Grave Number: 78

Gender: Unknown | Sex: -

Age band: Middle adult (25-44 years) | Osteological age: Adult

Object: Buckle loop

Description: Openwork Byzantine buckle.

Associated assemblage: None

Reference: Richardson (2005)

24. Chatham Lines

Site Type: Cemetery

Grave Number: 16

Gender: Masculine | Sex: Undetermined

Age band: Middle Adult (25-44 years) | Osteological age: Adult

Object: Buckle loop and plate

Description: Shield on tongue. Triangular plate.

Associated assemblage: Spearhead, tweezers, coin (Roman), knife

Reference: *Tribal Hidage* Database/*ASKED* database

25. Dover Buckland

Site Type: Cemetery

Grave Number: 8

Gender: Masculine | Sex: Male(?)

Age band: Uncertain | Osteological age: Unknown

Object: Buckle loop and plate

Description: Compared with buckles found in the Trier region.

Associated assemblage: Unknown, coffin, spearhead (import), knife

Reference: Evison (1987) *Tribal Hidage* Database /*ASKED* database

26. Dover Buckland

Site Type: Cemetery

Grave Number: 30

Gender: Feminine | Sex: Male

Age band: Middle adult (25-44 years) | Osteological age: Adult (30-45)

Object: Buckle loop

Description: Rectangular loop, tongue repaired and replaced. Silver and iron.

Associated assemblage: Silver mounts, knife, glass bead, pin, amber bead, comb, ring, silver pendant, garnet disc brooch, 6 keys

Reference: Evison (1987) / *Tribal Hidage* Database /*ASKED* database

27. Dover Buckland

Site Type: Cemetery

Grave Number: 63

Gender: Masculine | Sex: Male

Age band: Middle adult (25-44 years) | Osteological age: Adult (30-45)

Object: Buckle loop

Description: Shield on tongue buckle. Copper alloy and silver (inlay).

Associated assemblage: Buckle, unknown object, spearhead, knife

Reference: Evison (1987) / *Tribal Hidage* Database /*ASKED* database

28. Dover Buckland

Site Type: Cemetery

Grave Number: 96/a

Gender: Masculine | Sex: Male(?)

Age band: Middle adult (25-44 years) | Osteological age: Adult (40+)

Object: Buckle loop and rivets

Description: Shield on tongue buckle.

Associated assemblage: Shield grip, pin, knife, Frankish inlaid sword, spearhead

Reference: Evison (1987)/*Tribal Hidage* Database /*ASKED* database

29. Dover Buckland

Site Type: Cemetery

Grave Number: D

Gender: Masculine | Sex:

Age band: Unknown | Osteological age: Unknown

Object: Buckle loop

Description: Shield on tongue buckle

Associated assemblage: Buckle, shield-boss, pin/bodkin

Reference: *Tribal Hidage* Database /*ASKED* database

30. Eastry (Updown)

Site Type: Cemetery

Grave Number: 14

Gender: Unknown | Sex:

Age band: Middle adult (25-44 years) | Osteological age: unknown

Object: Buckle loop and plate

Associated assemblage: Buckle loop and plate x2, ferrule, wooden vessel, awl, shield grip, strap adjuster, knife, buckle loop, spearhead, stud (x3), nails, river, shield-boss, awl, unknown object

Reference: Chadwick-Hawkes (1981)/Welch (2008)

31. Eastry (Updown)

Site Type: Cemetery

Grave Number: 16

Gender: Masculine | Sex: -

Age band: Adult | Osteological age: unknown

Object: Buckle loop and plate

Description: Shield on tongue buckle. Filigree design.

Associated assemblage: Buckle loop, potsherd (x4), buckle loop, staples (x3)

Reference: Chadwick-Hawkes (1981)/Welch (2008)

32. Eastry (Updown)

Site Type: Cemetery

Grave Number: 26

Gender: Feminine | Sex: -

Age band: Young adult (16-24 years) | Osteological age: unknown

Object: Buckle loop and plate

Description: Byzantine copper alloy buckle. Repaired with iron tongue.

Associated assemblage: Knife, ring, potsherd, pin, key (x3), chatelaine, strap end, bracteate (suspended Roman coin), amethyst bead (x2), shears, glass bead (x4)

Reference: Chadwick-Hawkes (1981)/Welch (2008)

33. Eastry (Updown)

Site Type: Cemetery

Grave Number: 29

Gender: Masculine | Sex: Male

Age band: Middle adult (25-44 years) | Osteological age: Adult (25-35 years)

Object: Buckle plate

Associated assemblage: Belt mount, Frankish wheel thrown pot, knife, strap adjuster, spearhead, belt plate, iron implement

Reference: Chadwick-Hawkes (1981)/Welch (2008)

34. Eastry (Updown)

Site Type: Cemetery

Grave Number: 29

Gender: Masculine | Sex: Male

Age band: Middle adult (25-44 years) | Osteological age: Adult (25-35 years)

Object: Buckle plate

Description: Counter plate (x2)

Associated assemblage: Belt mount, Frankish wheel thrown pot, knife, strap adjuster, spearhead, belt plate, iron implement

Reference: Chadwick-Hawkes (1981)/Welch (2008)

35. Eastry (Updown)

Site Type: Cemetery

Grave Number: 29

Gender: Masculine | Sex: Male

Age band: Middle adult (25-44 years) | Osteological age: Adult (25-35 years)

Object: Buckle loop and plate

Description: Iron with silver wire and sheet inlay.

Associated assemblage: Belt mount, Frankish wheel thrown pot, knife, strap adjuster, spearhead, belt plate, iron implement

Reference: Chadwick-Hawkes (1981)/Welch (2008)

36. Eastry (Updown)

Site Type: Cemetery

Grave Number: 31

Gender: Masculine | Sex: Female(?)

Age band: Middle adult (25-44 years) | Osteological age: Adult (30-40 years)

Object: Buckle loop and plate

Description: Shield on tongue buckle. Garnet studs and filigree design.

Associated assemblage: Bag, knife (x2), spearhead, uncertain object fragments.

Reference: Chadwick-Hawkes (1981)/ Welch (2008)

37. Eastry (Updown)

Site Type: Cemetery

Grave Number: 35

Gender: Masculine | Sex: unknown

Age band: Young adult (16-24 years) | Osteological age: Adolescence to young adult

Object: Buckle loop and plate

Description: Garnet cloisonné

Associated assemblage: Knife, implement, knife, rivet (x2), ring, spearhead, buckle plate, unknown object, rivet (x2)

Reference: Chadwick-Hawkes (1981)/ Welch (2008)

38. Eccles

Site Type: Cemetery

Grave Number: K07

Gender: Feminine | Sex: -

Age band: Uncertain | Osteological age: -

Object: Buckle loop and plate

Description: Openwork buckle with rectangular plate. Byzantine.

Associated assemblage: Disc (openwork), spindle whorl, ring, iron implement, shears, ring (x2), knife

Reference: Chadwick-Hawkes (1981)

39. Finglesham

Site Type: Cemetery

Grave Number: 25

Gender: Unknown | Sex: Male

Age band: Middle Adult (25-44 years) | Osteological age: Adult
Object: Buckle loop and plate
Description: Evidence of repair. Bronze strap ends added to belt.
Associated assemblage: Wooden vessel, implements (tools), purse
-mount, knife, awl
Reference: Chadwick-Hawkes (1981)/ Chadwick-Hawkes and Grainger (2006)

40. Finglesham

Site Type: Cemetery
Grave Number: 30
Gender: Unknown | Sex: Male(?)
Age band: Middle adult (25-44 years) | Osteological age: Adult (25-30 years)
Object: buckle
Description: Identical to find from Ozengell (grave 47). Repaired before deposition.
Associated assemblage: Iron Knife, glass bead (x2)
Reference: Chadwick-Hawkes and Grainger (2006)

41. Finglesham

Site Type: Cemetery
Grave Number: 144
Gender: Masculine | Sex: Male
Age band: Young adult (16-24 years) | Osteological age: Young adult (20-25 years)
Object: Buckle loop and plate
Description: Openwork buckle.
Associated assemblage: Spearhead, knife, iron implement, buckle loop
Reference: Chadwick-Hawkes and Grainger (2006)

42. Gilton

Site Type: Cemetery
Grave Number: 1
Gender: Masculine | Sex: Adult
Age band: Middle adult (25-44 years) | Osteological age: Adult
Object: Buckle loop
Description: Iron buckle loop. Tribal Hidage compares buckle with Dover Buckland (grave 30)
Associated assemblage: Knife, spearhead, unknown object
Reference: *Tribal Hidage* database /*ASKED* database

43. Gilton

Site Type: Cemetery
Grave Number: 16 (cremation burial)
Gender: Unknown | Sex: -
Age band: Middle adult (25-44 years) | Osteological age: Adult
Object: Buckle loop
Description: Rectangular loop (iron)
Associated assemblage: Unknown object, pottery, knife
Reference: *Tribal Hidage* database /*ASKED* database

44. Gilton

Site Type: Cemetery
Grave Number: 16 (cremation burial)
Gender: Unknown | Sex: -
Age band: Middle adult (25-44 years) | Osteological age: Adult
Object: Buckle loop
Description: Rectangular loop (iron)
Associated assemblage: Unknown object, pottery, knife
Reference: *Tribal Hidage* database /*ASKED* database

45. Gilton

Site Type: Cemetery
Grave Number: 34
Gender: Masculine | Sex: -
Age band: Unknown | Osteological age: -
Object: Buckle loop
Description: Shield on tongue buckle
Associated Assemblage: Nails, shield-boss, knife (x3), coffin, shield mount, spearhead, knife
Reference: *Tribal Hidage* database /*ASKED* database

46. Gilton

Site Type: Cemetery
Grave Number: 38
Gender: Masculine | Sex: -
Age band: Unknown | Osteological age: Unknown
Object: Buckle loop
Description: Rectangular shield on tongue buckle with incised/punch decoration.
Associated assemblage: Coffin, ferrule, shield-boss, nails, spearhead (x3), shield grip, knife, spearhead, shield mount, knife
Reference: *Tribal Hidage* database /*ASKED* database

47. Half Mile Ride

Site Type: Cemetery
Grave Number: OA
Gender: Unknown | Sex: -
Age band: Unknown | Osteological age: -
Object: Buckle loop and plate
Description: Byzantine openwork buckle. Copper alloy.
Associated assemblage: Buckle loop, nails, knife, glass vessels (x2), ring, seax, shield mount
Reference: *Tribal Hidage* database /*ASKED* database

48. Holborough

Site Type: Cemetery
Grave Number: 8
Gender: Masculine | Sex: Male
Age band: Middle adult (25-44 years) | Osteological age: Adult (20-30 years)
Object: Buckle loop and plate
Description: Inlaid wire ring and dot iron buckle
Associated assemblage: Shield-boss (x2), spearhead, shield mount, ferrule, knife, coffin
Reference: Evison (1956) / *Tribal Hidage* database /*ASKED* database

49. Holborough

Site Type: Cemetery
Grave Number: 11
Gender: Feminine | Sex: Undetermined
Age band: Adolescent (12-15 years) | Osteological age: Adolescent (12-15 years)
Object: Buckle loop
Description: Openwork buckle. Byzantine.
Associated assemblage: Knife, box fittings, spoon, suspension loop, needle, bag/pouch, key (x2)
Reference: Evison (1956) / *Tribal Hidage* database /*ASKED* database

50. Hollingbourne

Site type: Stray find
Object: Buckle plate
Description: Copper alloy triangular buckle loop and plate. Front of loop and plate silvered.
Reference: PAS KENT-A0B598

51. Howletts

Site Type: Cemetery

Grave Number: 19
Gender: Masculine | Sex: -
Age band: Uncertain | Osteological age: -
Object: Buckle plate
Description: Garnet inlaid and gilded buckle plate. Burial dated to late C6th/early C7th.
Associated assemblage: Buckle rivets (x2), loop, sword, axe-head
Reference: *Tribal Hidage* database

52. Kingston Down

Site Type: Cemetery
Grave Number: 131
Gender: unknown | Sex: -
Age band: Mature adult (>45 years) | Osteological age: Old adult
Object: Buckle loop
Description: Rectangular loop, garnet set.
Associated assemblage: Nails, coffin, knife
Reference: *Tribal Hidage* database /*ASKED* database

53. Kingston Down

Site Type: Cemetery
Grave Number: 300
Gender: Unknown | Sex: -
Age band: Middle adult (25-44 years) | Osteological age: -
Object: Buckle loop and plate
Description: Openwork rectangular plate. Byzantine.
Associated assemblage: Knife
Reference: *Tribal Hidage* database /*ASKED* database

54. Minster Mount Pleasant

Site Type: Cemetery
Grave Number: 13
Gender: Unknown | Sex: Male
Age band: Mature adult (>45 years) | Osteological age: Adult (40-50)
Object: Buckle loop and plate
Description: Openwork buckle. Byzantine.
Associated assemblage: Iron sheet fragments, wood coffin
Reference: *ASKED* database

55. Ozengell

Site Type: Cemetery
Grave Number: 47
Gender: Feminine | Sex: -

Age band: Young adult (16-24 years) | Osteological age: Young adult
(20-25 years)

Object: Buckle loop and plate

Description: Byzantine buckle. Openwork ring and dot buckle. Identical
to find from Finglesham (grave 30).

Associated assemblage: Knife, box fittings, ring, pendant amethyst,
monochrome bead, spindle whorl, garnet pendant/silver,
chatelaine, shears, glass bead, buckle, pin beater, amethyst
bead

Reference: *Tribal Hidage* database /*ASKED* database

56. Sarre

Site Type: Cemetery

Grave Number: 130

Gender: unknown | Sex: -

Age band: Middle adult (25-44 years) | Osteological age: Adult

Object: Buckle plate

Description: Rounded plaque buckle plate. Broken and incomplete
when deposited in burial.

Associated assemblage: Buckle loop, pot sherd

Reference: Avent (1977)

57. Sibertswold

Site Type: Cemetery

Grave Number: 131

Gender: Unknown | Sex:

Age band: Child (3-6 years) | Osteological age: Child

Object: Buckle loop and plate

Description: Copper alloy openwork buckle. Byzantine

Associated assemblage: Bead and coffin

Reference: *Tribal Hidage* database /*ASKED* database

58. Sibertswold

Site Type: Cemetery

Grave Number: 150/1

Gender: Masculine | Sex: -

Age band: Middle adult (25-44 years) | Osteological age: Adult

Object: Buckle loop

Description: Ring and dot pattern.

Associated Assemblage: Spearhead, buckle plate

Reference: *Tribal Hidage* database /*ASKED* database

59. Sibertswold

Site Type: Cemetery
Grave Number: 176
Gender: Masculine | Sex: -
Age band: Middle adult (25-44 years) | Osteological age: Adult
Object: Buckle loop and plate
Description: Copper alloy Byzantine openwork buckle.
Associated assemblage: Ferrule, spearhead, knife, Frankish wheel
-thrown pot
Reference: *Tribal Hidage* database /*ASKED* database

60. St Peter's Tip

Site Type: Cemetery
Grave Number: 24
Gender: Unknown | Sex: Male
Age band: Middle adult (25-44 years) | Osteological age: Adult (25-35
years)
Object: Belt mount/plate/adjuster, buckle plate, buckle loop and plate
Description: Trapezoidal (iron and silver)
Associated assemblage: Knife, unidentified object, buckle (x2)
Reference: *Tribal Hidage* database /*ASKED* database

61. St Peter's Tip

Site Type: Cemetery
Grave Number: 24
Gender: Unknown | Sex: Male
Age band: Middle adult (25-44 years) | Osteological age: Adult (25-35
years)
Object: Buckle loop and plate
Description: Shield on tongue, silver inlaid.
Associated assemblage: Knife, unidentified object, buckle (x2)
Reference: *Tribal Hidage* database /*ASKED* database

62. St Peter's Tip

Site Type: Cemetery
Grave Number: 24
Gender: Unknown | Sex: Male
Age band: Middle adult (25-44 years) | Osteological age: Adult (25-35
years)
Object: Buckle plate
Description: Silver inlaid buckle plate.
Associated assemblage: Knife, unidentified object, buckle (x2)
Reference: *Tribal Hidage* database /*ASKED* database

63. St Peter's Tip

Site Type: Cemetery

Grave Number: 42

Gender: Masculine | Sex: Male?

Age band: Young adult (16-24 years) | Osteological age: Young adult (17 years)

Object: Buckle loop and plate

Description: Shield on tongue buckle. Silver inlaid.

Associated assemblage: Awl, spearhead, knife, buckle loop and plate

Reference: *Tribal Hidage* database /*ASKED* database

64. St Peter's Tip

Site Type: Cemetery

Grave Number: 68

Gender: Masculine | Sex: Male

Age band: Middle adult (25-44 years) | Osteological age: Adult (40-45 years)

Object: Buckle loop and plate

Description: Silver inlaid iron buckle loop and plate.

Associated assemblage: Spearhead, coffin, sword, shield-boss, spear shaft, buckle loop, shield grip, knife, shield rivets

Reference: *Tribal Hidage* database /*ASKED* database

65. St Peter's Tip

Site Type: Cemetery

Grave Number: 77

Gender: Unknown | Sex: Male

Age band: Middle adult (25-44 years) | Osteological age: Adult (35-45 years)

Object: Buckle loop and rivets

Description: Shield on tongue buckle loop. Copper alloy loop and rivets.

Associated assemblage: Seax, ring

Reference: *Tribal Hidage* database /*ASKED* database

66. St Peter's Tip

Site Type: Cemetery

Grave Number: 87

Gender: unknown | Sex: Male

Age band: Middle adult (25-44 years) | Osteological age: Adult (35-45 years)

Object: Buckle loop

Description: Large iron shield on tongue buckle.

Associated assemblage: Knife

Reference: *Tribal Hidage* database /*ASKED* database

67. St Peter's Tip

Site Type: Cemetery

Grave Number: 212

Gender: Masculine | Sex: Male

Age band: Middle adult (25-44 years) | Osteological age: Adult (25-35 years)

Object: Buckle loop and plate

Description: Oval loop large rivets. Iron and silver. Identified as Kentish manufacture in ASKED and Frankish in Tribal Hidage database.

Associated assemblage: Spearhead, seax, Animal bone, buckle loop and plate, stud (x9), bead, pottery, nails

Reference: *Tribal Hidage* database /*ASKED* database

68. St Peter's Tip

Site Type: Cemetery

Grave Number: 338

Gender: unknown | Sex: -

Age band: Child (3-6 years) | Osteological age: Child (4-8 years)

Object: Buckle loop and plate

Description: Small openwork buckle. Byzantine

Associated assemblage: Textile, knife, coffin, pin.

Reference: *Tribal Hidage* database /*ASKED* database

69. St Peter's Tip

Site Type: Cemetery

Grave Number: 370

Gender: Unknown | Sex: -

Age band: Uncertain | Osteological age: -

Object: Buckle loop and plate

Description: Copper alloy buckle loop.

Associated assemblage: Stud, knife, unidentified artefact.

Reference: *Tribal Hidage* database /*ASKED* database

70. Thurnham

Site type: Stray find

Object: Buckle plate.

Description: Gold and cloisonné garnet setting from tongue plate of buckle. Fragment. Either continental or Anglo-Saxon

manufacture.

Reference: PAS KENT-AC1CE6

71. Valetta House (Broadstairs)

Site Type: Cemetery

Grave Number: OA

Gender: unknown | Sex: -

Age band: unknown | Osteological age: -

Object: Buckle loop and plate

Description: Openwork buckle. Byzantine

Associated assemblage: Box fitments (x2), organic material (x2),
unknown object (x1), rove, buckle loop (x3), knife (x2),
buckle rivets (x3), amber bead (x19), chalk bead, stud (x7),
tweezers (x2), spearhead.

Reference: *Tribal Hidage* database /*ASKED* database

Lincolnshire:

72. Binbrook

Site type: Stray find

Object: Brooch

Description: Ansate brooch. In July 2018, PAS gave object broad early
medieval date range and identified as probable import.

Reference: PAS NLM-83A75F

73. Castledyke

Site type: Cemetery

Grave Number: 94

Gender: Masculine | Sex: Male

Age band: Middle adult (25-44 years) | Osteological age: Adult (30-49
years)

Object: Buckle plate

Description: Copper alloy triangular belt plate.

Associated assemblage: Seax, knife (x3), nail or stud, pebble.

Reference: Drinkall and Foreman (1998)

74. Cleatham

Site Type: Cemetery

Grave Number: 15

Gender: Feminine | Sex: -

Age band: Adult | Osteological age: -

Object: Buckle plate

Description: Cloisonné garnet-inlaid buckle
Associated assemblage: Annular brooch (x2), beads (x4), copper alloy melt, pottery sherds.
Reference: Leahy (2007)

75. Roxby

Site type: Stray find
Object: Buckle plate
Description: Copper alloy buckle plate. Three dome headed rivets to attach plate to strap. Traces of gilding on the display side.
Reference: PAS NLM-60D592/PAS NLM-31181

76. South Kesteven

Site type: Stray find
Object: Brooch
Description: Merovingian ansate brooch.
Reference: PAS NLM-961

77. Riby

Site type: Stray find
Object: Brooch
Description: Brooch fragment. Identified as continental. PAS date c. AD 400–700.
Reference: PAS NLM-21CE21

78. Martin

Site type: Stray find
Object: Buckle clasp
Description: Visigothic-type buckle.
Reference: PAS LIN-F3054B

Lothian:

79. Dunbar

Site type: Stray find
Object: Buckle plate
Description: Gilded buckle plate. Possible Frankish manufacture or Anglo-Saxon imitation.
Reference: Blackwell (2009)/ Perry (2000)

Norfolk:

80. Aslacton

Site type: Stray find

Object: Buckle plate

Description: Gilt copper alloy counter plate.

Reference: PAS NMS-685F19

81. Alington

Site type: Stray find

Object: Buckle plate

Description: Possible imitation based on absence of open work.

Reference: PAS NMS-3D56E5

82. East Rudham

Site Type: Cemetery

Grave Number: (cremation burial)

Gender: unknown | Sex: -

Age band: uncertain | Osteological age: -

Object: Buckle plate

Description: Counter-plate from belt set.

Associated assemblage: Unknown – finds discovered via metal detecting.

Reference: Norfolk HER records - NHER 41004/40787

83. Hevingham

Site type: Stray find

Object: Buckle boss/rivet

Description: Aquitanian buckle plate. Possibly silver plated.

Reference: PAS NMS-8251A2

84. 'near Fakenham'

Site type: Stray find

Object: Buckle plate

Description: Copper alloy buckle. PAS entry suggests continental origin (Marzinzik li.26). Date c. AD 600–800

Reference: PAS NMS-9663F4

85. Paston

Site Type: Stray

Object: Buckle plate

Description: Copper alloy counter plate. Engraved counter-relief decoration.

Reference: Norfolk HER records - NHER 44074. Possibly PAS entry NMS -EBE077.

86.Scole

Site Type: Stray

Object: Buckle plate

Description: Copper alloy counter plate

Reference: Pestell (2017)

87.Stow Bedon

Site type: Stray find

Object: Buckle plate

Description: Copper alloy buckle. Traces of gilding. (Marzinzik type II.24)

Reference: PAS NMS-816A96

Northumberland:

88.Yeavinger

Site type: Stray find

Object: Buckle loop

Description: Silver-inlaid buckle loop

Reference: Welch (1984)

Oxfordshire:

89.Wheatley

Site Type: Cemetery

Grave Number: 14

Gender: Feminine | Sex: Female

Age band: Middle adult (25-44 years) | Osteological age: -

Object: Buckle plate and tongue

Description: Iron buckle with triangular plate with 3 dome-headed copper alloy rivets.

Associated assemblage: Amber beads (x35), saucer brooch (x2), glass bead, amethyst bead, cowrie shell, knife, pin.

Reference: Marzinzik (2003)

Suffolk:

90. Barham

Site type: Stray find

Object: Buckle plate

Description: Copper alloy triangular buckle plate. Ribbed and patterned. Identified as import in British Museum catalogue entry.

Reference: West (1988)/ British Museum catalogue 1984,0103.7

91. Buttermarket

Site Type: Cemetery

Grave Number: 2297

Gender: Masculine | Sex: Undetermined

Age band: Middle adult (25-44 years) | Osteological age: Adult (25-35 years)

Object: Belt suite

Description: Buckle, counter plate and mount paralleled with belt suites recovered from burials from the cemetery at Hamoir, Belgium (grave 86).

Associated assemblage: Iron seax, iron buckle, counter plate, belt mount, buckle, strap protector.

Reference: Scull (2009)

92. Buttermarket

Site Type: Cemetery

Grave Number: 3871

Gender: Masculine | Sex: Undetermined

Age band: Middle adult (25-44 years) | Osteological age: Adult

Object: Belt suite

Description: Buckle, counter plate and mount. Similar to find deposited in grave 2297.

Associated assemblage: Iron knife, copper alloy buckle/mount/counter plate, ring

Reference: Scull (2009)

93. Buttermarket

Site Type: Cemetery

Grave Number: 1306

Gender: Masculine | Sex: -

Age band: Unknown | Osteological age: -

Object: Belt suite

Description: Multipartite belt-set with false rivet-heads. Comparisons to

belt sets from London (Long Acre, grave J) and St Mary's Stadium (grave 3520). (Høilund-Neilson type BU3-f).
Associated assemblage: Spearhead, shield boss and grip, glass palm cup (x2), ring and eyelet, spearhead, iron knife, iron fragments, buckle and strap, seax.
Reference: Scull (2009)

94. Carlton Colville

Site type: Stray find
Object: Brooch
Description: Copper alloy and garnet brooch. PAS date c. AD 450–AD 700
Reference: PAS SF-2151

95. Coddenhham

Site Type: Cemetery
Grave Number: 48
Gender: Masculine | Sex: Male(?)
Age band: Middle adult (25-44 years) | Osteological age: Young-middle adult
Object: Buckle plate
Description: Triangular buckle plate
Associated assemblage: Seax, knife, two iron fittings/mounts
Reference: Penn (2011)

96. Hadleigh Road

Site Type: Cemetery
Grave Number: 26
Gender: Masculine | Sex: -
Age band: Uncertain | Osteological age: -
Object: Buckle loop and plate
Description: Triangular buckle in x3 pieces.
Associated assemblage: uncertain
Reference: Scull (2009)/West (1998)

97. Icklingham

Site Type: Unknown. Part of a museum collection.
Object: Buckle
Description: Shield on tongue
Reference: West (1998)

98. Lakenheath

Site Type: Antiquarian collection.

Object: Buckle plate
Description: Aquitanian buckle
Reference: West (1998)/Briscoe (1979)

99. Milden

Site type: Stray find
Object: Buckle plate
Description: Copper-alloy counter plate. Traces of coating on front of object.
Reference: PAS SF-71AA86

100. Wingfield

Site type: Stray find
Object: Buckle plate
Description: Copper alloy triangular counter plate. PAS entry compares object with openwork buckles found in Amiens.
Reference: PAS SF-672624

101. 'Near Woodbridge' (Rendlesham)

Site type: Stray find
Object: Buckle plate
Description: Copper alloy triangular belt or counter plate. Compared with PAS entries SF-672624 and SF-71AA86.
Reference: PAS SF-220F68.

Surrey:

102. Farthing down

Site type: Cemetery
Grave Number: 7/a
Gender: unknown | Sex: -
Age band: Adult | Osteological age: -
Object: Buckle loop and plate
Description: Iron buckle plate and loop.
Associated assemblage: Uncertain
Reference: *Tribal Hidage* Harrington

Sussex:

103. The Broyle

Site type: Stray

Object: Buckle

Description: Byzantine openwork buckle

Reference: *Tribal Hidage*, Welch (1983)

Wiltshire:

104. Sutton Benger

Site type: Stray find

Object: Brooch

Description: Ansate type brooch. Probable c8th date. (Entry last checked in 2017 – object given C7th-C9th date range).

Reference: PAS NMGW-7EE142

105. Upton Lovell

Site type: Stray find

Object: Buckle plate and tongue

Description: Shield on tongue buckle plate.

Reference: PAS WILT-BF0E40

Yorkshire:

106. Cropton

Site type: Stray find

Object: Buckle plate

Description: Visigothic copper-alloy buckle. Evidence of modification.

Reference: PAS YORYM-BA8B84

107. Wharram Percy

Site type: Stray

Object: Brooch

Description: Frisian bow brooch

Reference: Goodall (1992)

108. Wharram Percy

Site type: Stray

Object: Brooch

Description: Frisian bow brooch

Reference: Goodall (1992)

109. Wharram Percy

Site type: Stray

Object: Belt fitting

Description: Compared to belt fitting from London (Long acre, grave J).

Reference: Goodall and Clark (2000)

Appendix III:

Imported objects from (northern) Merovingian Gaul

Note on Appendix III: As in Appendix II, appendix III presents a streamlined version of the dataset in a list format. Finds are listed in alphabetical order by department/province. A shortened reference is provided along with each entry and the full reference can be found in the bibliography.

Calvados:

1. Blay

Site type: Cemetery

Grave number: 2

Object: Brooch

Associated Assemblage: -

Reference: Decaens (1965)

2. Frénouville

Site type: Cemetery

Grave number: 14a

Object: Brooch

Description: Not included in Soulat's study.

Associated assemblage: Belt buckle, simple buckle and strap, Equal armed brooch

Reference: Pilet (1980)

3. Frénouville

Site type: Cemetery

Grave number: 14a

Object: Brooch

Description: Not included in Soulat's study.

Associated assemblage: Belt buckle, simple buckle and strap, Equal armed brooch

Reference: Pilet (1980)

4. Lisieux

Site type: Cemetery

Grave number: 18

Object: Brooch

Associated assemblage: Umbo (shield boss – sugar loaf type) bossettes (x4), circular brooch, bronze annular brooch

Reference: Pilet (1992)

5. Sannerville

Site type: Cemetery

Grave number: 63

Object: Brooch

Associated assemblage: Buckle, chain, necklace, keys (in bag), knife, pin, flint, nails.

Reference: Pilet, Bagousse, Blondiaux and Pilet-Lemière (1992)/ Pilet (1992)

6. Sannerville

Site type: Cemetery

Grave number: 20

Object: Brooch

Associated assemblage: Buckle, necklace assemblage (glass beads)

Reference: Pilet, Bagousse, Blondiaux and Pilet-Lemière (1992)/ Pilet (1992)

Flanders:

7. Muysen les Malines

Site type: Uncertain

Grave number: Not known

Object: Umbo (shield boss)

Description: Sugar loaf type

Associated assemblage: Museum find - uncertain context

Reference: Evison (1963)

Hainaut:

8. Nimy

Site type: Burial

Grave number: Uncertain

Object: Umbo (shield boss)

Description: Sugar loaf type

Associated assemblage: Uncertain - antiquarian find.

Reference: Faider-Feytmans (1970)/Evison (1963)

Manche:

9. Réville

Site type: Cemetery

Grave number: 143

Object: Brooch

Description: Commonly found in Norfolk.

Associated assemblage: Iron buckle plate, iron pin, bronze brooch,
Bossettes (x3)

Reference: Pilet (1992)

10. Réville

Site type: Cemetery

Grave number: 145

Object: Brooch

Description: Smaller than brooch in 143.

Associated assemblage: Bronze brooch

Reference: Pilet (1992)

Pas-de-Calais:

11. Fréthun

Site type: Cemetery

Grave number: 137

Object: Umbo (shield boss)

Description: Sugar loaf type

Associated assemblage: -

Reference: Soulat (2009)

12. Hardenthun

Site type: Cemetery

Grave number: Uncertain

Object: Umbo (shield boss)

Description: Sugar loaf type

Associated assemblage: Uncertain (museum collection)

Reference: Soulat (2009)

13. Hardenthun

Site type: Cemetery

Grave number: Uncertain

Object: Umbo (shield boss)

Description: Sugar loaf type

Associated assemblage: Uncertain (museum collection)

Reference: Soulat (2009)

14. La Fontaine aux Linottes (La Calotterie)

Site type: Cemetery

Grave number: 489

Object: Umbo (shield boss)

Description: Sugar loaf

Associated assemblage: Spearhead, iron sword, clasp, belt buckle, seal,
sword and knife

Reference: Desfosses, Dilly and Piton (1997)/Soulat (2009)

15. La Fontaine aux Linottes (La Calotterie)

Site type: Cemetery

Grave number: 737

Object: Umbo (shield boss)

Description: Sugar loaf type

Associated assemblage: Sword scabbard fragments, two sword pearls

Reference: Desfosses, Dilly and Piton (1997)/Soulat (2009)

16. La Fontaine aux Linottes (La Calotterie)

Site type: Cemetery

Grave number: 755

Object: Brooch

Associated assemblage: Necklace (amethyst, glass and amber beads),
silver and gold pin, necklace (amber and glass beads).

Reference: Desfosses, Dilly and Piton (1997)/Soulat (2009)

17. Nœux-les-Mines

Site type: Burial

Grave number:

Object: Umbo (shield boss)

Description: Sugar loaf type.

Associated assemblage: -

Reference: Seillier (1994)/Soulat (2009)

Seine Maritime:

18. Sommery

Site type: Stray

Object: Brooch

Reference: Soulat (2009)

Utrecht:

19. Leidsche Rijn

Site type: Settlement

Object: Brooch (possible)

Description: Fragment. Identified as possible Kentish disc brooch

Reference: Kerkhoven (2009)/ Nicolay (2014)

West Flanders:

20. Emelgem

Site type: Cemetery

Grave number: Uncertain

Object: Umbo (shield boss)

Description: Sugar loaf type

Associated assemblage: Uncertain

Reference: Evison (1963)

Zuid Holland:

21. Rijnsburg

Site type: Cemetery

Grave number: uncertain

Object: Buckle

Description: Assumed Kentish in origin.

Associated assemblage: Uncertain (antiquarian find). Linked with mount and Byzantine weight also found during 1913 excavations.

Reference: Dijkstra (2011)/ Nicolay (2014)/ *Rijkmuseum van Oudheden* inventory number h 1913/11.90.