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Early Anglo-Saxon Communities in the Landscape of Norfolk

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For my parents
Pat and Bren

Colossians 3:18–21

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Chapter 1

Introduction

Introduction

This work is a study of Anglo-Saxon mortuary and settlement practices in the landscape of Norfolk (Fig. 1.1) from the early fifth to the early seventh centuries AD. It considers the places chosen by communities as cemeteries and settlements, and asks why they made these choices. It also investigates how metal-detector finds reported by members of the public, and commonly interpreted as mortuary material, may be used to inform an understanding of these issues.

Important to the approach is a contextual analysis, both for understanding the data and for contributing to the formation of ideas in Anglo-Saxon archaeology. Metal detected artefacts, which have been disturbed from their original deposits, are given meaning by incorporating them into the full body of evidence from excavations, strayfinds, fieldwalking, and aerial photography. These are interpreted from a clear understanding of the separate development mortuary and settlement studies have undergone, and work is done to find common ground between questions of social structure and ideology, and those of subsistence and economy. Key to attempting this is the concept of 'the community', which is a form of social interaction above that of the household, but below that of the region. The local community was perhaps the most salient communal experience for people in Anglo-Saxon England.

Background and Questions

Historically, the early Anglo-Saxon period is often considered to begin with the Roman withdrawal from Britain which was completed by AD 410. It includes the migration of settlers from northern Germany and southern Scandinavia and the rise of individual subject kingdoms by the late sixth century. The period ends around the time of the Conversion of the English people to Christianity in the seventh century. Archaeologically, it is characterised by a rapid change in material culture

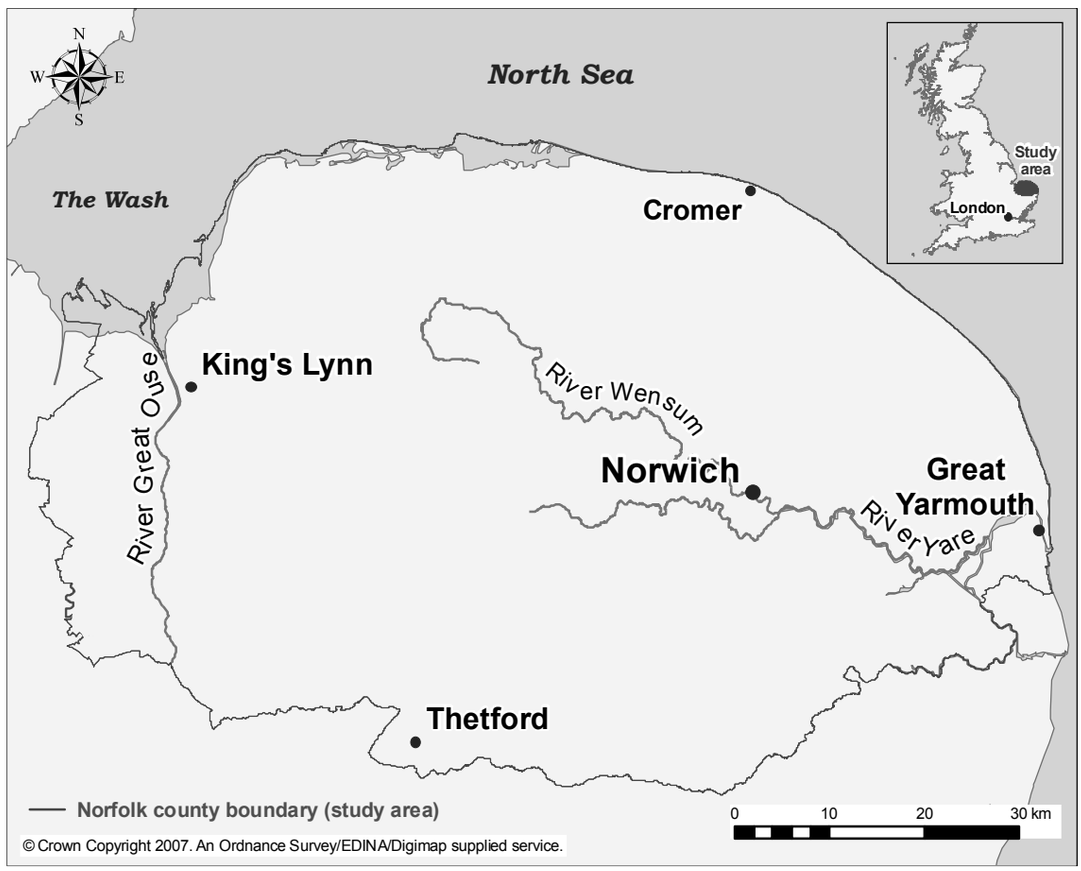


Fig. 1.1 Location map of the case study area of Norfolk with major rivers and modern settlements for context.

during the fifth century, with the adoption of distinctive mortuary practices in particular, and the gradual cessation of cremation and accompanied inhumation during the seventh century. Material culture studies and chronology have been traditional foci of early Anglo-Saxon archaeology, but in recent years there has been an explosion of work into the significance of cemeteries in their landscape context. The proximity of sites to prehistoric and Romano-British remains, boundaries, routeways and waterways has been examined for ritual and ideological meaning. Likewise, the deliberate selection of topographic features and certain soils has been attributed significance (Brookes 2002; 2007; Lucy 1998; Richardson 2005; Semple 2003; Williams 1997; 1998; 2006).

Open-area excavation techniques coupled with extensive survey have also shown the extent and complexity of occupation, and the whereabouts of settlement sites have been thought of in terms of subsistence and economy (Aston and Gerrard 1999; Hey 2004). It is increasingly recognised that cemeteries and settlements should be considered in relation to one another, as part of a single landscape (Reynolds 1999: 24–5). The question is how to achieve this when mortuary archaeology and settlement studies have largely developed, over the years, divergent methodologies and interpretative frameworks.

Another recent strand in Anglo-Saxon archaeology is a focus on the diversity of mortuary practices within cemeteries and, most relevantly, among cemeteries at the local and regional scales (Lucy 2002: 86–7). Although some of these differences were observed by earlier scholars, the ethnicity of the deceased can no longer be considered an adequate explanation for the range and extent of the variation. Ideological and political causes for differences between regions and areas have been explored (Semple 2003) and patterning within cemeteries has been interpreted as expressing gender, status and household identities (Stoodley 1999a). Variation in practice among communities, particularly the locations chosen for cemeteries, still needs to be understood better. Pertinent issues are the influence of local landscape in structuring what was possible or desirable, and how local practices form regional patterns; regional studies are needed. An important question is how to understand community practices when they are relevant at a scale below that of narratives derived from historical documents, but above that of personal information obtained from individual burials and groups of burials.

One of the most interesting developments in British archaeology over the last decade has been the growing recognition of the potential of finds recorded as a result of metal detecting. Hundreds of thousands of artefacts dating from almost all periods have been recovered by metal detectorists over the last thirty years. Early Anglo-Saxon artefacts found by metal detecting have generally been interpreted as gravegoods, indicating the locations of many undiscovered cemeteries, but this may not always be the case (Chester-Kadwell 2004; 2005). The Portable Antiquities Scheme (PAS) was set up in 1997 to encourage finds reporting, partly as a response to concerns about the loss of archaeological information, and many archaeologists are now working on ways to utilise the on-line PAS database. What is less well recognised is the contribution of some Sites and Monuments Records, or Historic Environment Records, to the recording of artefacts since the 1970s. A major question is how to assess and correctly interpret third-party metal-detector data in accordance with rigorous criteria so that the information can be used to its best advantage in high-quality research. In turn, the results of such an assessment are needed to revise the standards of future finds recording.

The county of Norfolk is a fitting case study area for addressing these questions. The landscape context of its numerous cemeteries has not received detailed attention, in contrast to other well-studied counties such as East Yorkshire and Kent. Geographically, Norfolk does not have the high topography of the Yorkshire Wolds or South Downs and so a study of Norfolk provides a desirable contrast with other parts of the country. It does have a variety of landscape zones which makes it a microcosm of much of England, and therefore it is an excellent place to test ideas with a wide relevance. Norfolk has a very large number of metal-detector finds available on the Historic Environment Record as the result of recording since the 1970s. Utilising these together with traditional sources of information (excavations, strayfinds, fieldwalking, and aerial photography) greatly contributes to the investigation of landscape questions and to broader issues of how detector finds can be used to inform archaeological research.

Aims and Objectives

This volume aims to address the foregoing questions by examining the juxtaposition of cemeteries and settlements in relation to the geographical and historical landscape. It will focus on trying to fit cemeteries back into the context of local communities, particularly considering the soils which may have helped to structure the practices of rural life. An attempt is made to understand metal-detector finds in the context of their deposition and so provide suitable data over an extensive area. The result is a narrative of community practices at a variety of scales, including aspects of chronological change where it is possible to discern it. The objectives of this research are as follows:

- To advance explicit definitions of community and so combine the study of mortuary sites with settlement archaeology;

- To develop a methodology for the interpretation of metal-detector finds;

- To explore the relationships between site patterning and the landscape at different scales over time;

- To propose a model of how different communities were created in Norfolk.

Structure

The first part of the book (Chapters 2–4) is devoted to establishing an interpretative framework and advancing an argument about community practice. The development of mortuary and settlements studies in early Anglo-Saxon archaeology is critically reviewed in Chapter 2 in order to understand the nature and extent of their divergent development. It also examines the production of knowledge concerning the landscape context of cemeteries. Outstanding issues are defined and incorporated into a suggested program for integrating mortuary questions with settlement issues.

Chapter 3 is designed to demonstrate the variation in spatial relationships and landscape context among excavated cemeteries and settlements, so that the complexity of associations and the effects of geography and long-term landscape continuity may be understood. This also serves as context to the interpretation of metal-detector and fieldwalking finds later in book. The second half of Chapter 3 considers the range of activities undertaken by the early Anglo-Saxons, beyond those of burying the dead and building settlements, and discusses the locations of all these things as deliberate choices made by communities. The nature of the term 'community', as it has been implicitly understood in Anglo-Saxon archaeology, is examined in Chapter 4. Drawing on the extensive literature of community theory, an explicit definition of community is established and explored. The identification of everyday, cyclical and intermittent practices is used to incorporate ritual and mundane actions under one scheme.

The second part of the book (Chapters 5–8) is concerned with community practice in the case study area of Norfolk. Chapter 5 introduces the geographical and archaeological background of the modern county of Norfolk as pertinent to the study. The use of metal-detector finds recorded on the Historic Environment Record is a major resource in the county. A methodology for using them to identify cemeteries and other activities is developed in Chapter 6 from a robust understanding of their collection and patterning. The detected finds are combined with fieldwalking and stray finds, and the results of excavation and aerial photography, for a statistical analysis of the landscape context of cemeteries, settlements and other sites in Norfolk (Chapter 7). This includes the location of such sites with respect to the geographical elements of landscape—rivers, elevation, slope, aspect, and soils—and their proximity to the historical elements of the landscape—barrows and ring-ditches, Romano-British sites and Roman roads. The statistics are used to identify typical and atypical practices, and this knowledge is elaborated in Chapter 8 to give meaning to a series of example areas. The identification of varying community practices is advanced from the most detailed scale of a site and its immediate environs, through to valleysides, local areas, and patterns in Norfolk as a whole. Conclusions on the implications of this analysis are made, and some directions for future research are suggested.

Terminology, Definitions and Terms of Reference

The terms 'early Anglo-Saxon' (c. AD 410–650), 'middle Anglo-Saxon' (c. AD 650–850), and 'later Anglo-Saxon' (c. AD 650–1100) are applied to denote periods in time and do not indicate a cultural or ethnic interpretation. They are based on definitions used by the Norfolk Historic Environment Record. The use of the term 'early Anglo-Saxons' is meant as a shorthand for people living during the early Anglo-Saxon period. As with most chronologies, the dates are not strictly precise, and the thresholds rely on assumptions about the importance of historical events (Hills 1999: 177–8). Nevertheless, the focus of this work is the early Anglo-Saxon landscape, its formation from the late Romano-British landscape, and its development during the period, before the widespread changes brought about in middle Anglo-Saxon times.

Sunken-featured building is abbreviated to 'SFB' and this term is preferred over *Grubenhaus*, although no interpretative difference is implied by this usage. Norfolk Historic Environment Record is commonly abbreviated to 'HER'. This abbreviation is also used to prefix the numbers of individual sites recorded in the Norfolk Historic Environment Record (e.g. HER 1012). 'NMP' means the National Mapping Program and 'NAU' stands for Norfolk Archaeological Unit. 'GIS' is used to mean Geographical Information System(s). The GIS used here for spatial analysis is the software package 'ESRI ArcGIS'. Other abbreviations are introduced as necessary.

Due to the constraints of time, the records of metal-detector finds in the HER were included until the beginning of 2004.

Chapter 2

Life and Death in the Early Anglo-Saxon Landscape

Introduction

This chapter introduces what is known about the early Anglo-Saxon landscape and considers what issues remain to be explored. The discussion focuses on mortuary and settlement studies and how the dominant influences in the development of this knowledge have caused the interests and methods of mortuary and settlement interpretation to diverge. This review gives context to a discussion of past and present perspectives on the landscape context of early Anglo-Saxon cemeteries, paying particular attention to the recent contributions of Stuart Brookes, Sam Lucy, Sarah Semple and Howard Williams.

Several themes emerge as desirable lines of enquiry: the diversity of mortuary and settlement practices among sites, localities and regions; the recognition of extensive ritual landscapes; and the identification of chronological change—both long-term landscape continuity, and short-term developments during the course of the early Anglo-Saxon period. The chapter ends by suggesting two major ways in which these pertinent subjects are to be explored. The first is by identifying the inclusive social level at which both life and death are experienced on a communal basis, most commonly termed the 'community'. The second is by using multiple sources of evidence to form bridges between the study of life and death, between large and small-scales of existence, and between isolated sites and the landscape. This notably includes the use of the considerable new resource presented by recorded metal-detector finds.

The Development of Ideas

The complex history of ideas that have come to form Anglo-Saxon archaeology as we know it today has been the subject of extended review by Sam Lucy (1998). For a wider and more detailed analysis of the trends, including the influence of broader developments within archaeology to early medieval archaeology, it is there that the reader should look. What is presented here is necessarily a relatively brief exploration of the themes.

Mortuary interpretation

Ethnicity and large-scale explanations (1790s–1970s)

The material culture in England of the fifth and sixth centuries AD was first identified as 'Anglo-Saxon', rather than Roman or prehistoric, by the Rev. James Douglas in his publication of 1793. The interpretation of these Anglo-Saxon artefacts quickly came to be based on the historical sources such as Bede's *Historia ecclesiastica gentis Anglorum* and Gildas' *De excidio Britanniae et conquestu*. In particular, Bede identified three tribes of the Settlement: Angles, Saxons and Jutes. An invasion of German settlers in the early fifth century was strongly supported by the significant change in material culture that had been distinguished between the fourth and fifth centuries AD. By 1870, Rolleston felt able to assert that the widespread appearance of cremation urns was the result of England having been 'overrun by a heathen population' (Rolleston 1870: 118). The artefacts present in both cremations and inhumations were the objects of interest, and they were interpreted to indicate to which of Bede's tribes the wearer had belonged. The typology of grave goods developed increasingly fine precision (Wright 1852, followed by Roach Smith 1861).

Numerous variations on the theme of Invasion or Migration fell into and out of fashion over the years, broadly in line with the contemporary political climate (Lucy 1998: 2). In the nineteenth century, archaeological evidence was used to support the existing historical consensus of an extermination of the native Britons, or their expulsion to the West. The landscape was therefore empty, and free to be populated by Teutonic tribes, who recreated the 'forest clearings' of their homelands, a narrative that had been made popular in the eighteenth century by Montesquieu (1750).

In the early twentieth century, a scepticism of the historical sources, first ventured by Kemble and Wright, was elaborated by E. T. Leeds (1913). His work showed how material culture had much to contribute quite apart from historical sources, and he did so by comparing Anglo-Saxon with Continental artefacts through chronology and typology. Although the pertinent issues of the time continued to be to characterise the Germanic invaders and their progress, to distinguish the areas where different tribes settled, and to discover the fate of the Britons, some considerations other than these did come to be entertained. Baldwin Brown (1915: 24, 47), for example, saw the possibility of discerning 'appearance', 'habit' and 'equipment' from grave goods, and even 'social status' and the presence of women. At the same time, the invasion came to be viewed as a single, organised army of Teutonic force (Chadwick 1907: 12), not as 'the result of a series of separate expeditions' (Stubbs 1874: 59).

In the 1930s and 1940s, the idea of British survival became much more agreeable, perhaps due to the unpopularity of Germany engendered by their aggression around the

time of, and during, World Wars I and II (Collingwood and Myres 1936: 319; Petrie 1937: 98). The Anglo-Saxons themselves became characterised as 'an impoverished people, a race of pirates' (Leeds 1936: 20), and the material culture which had been taken as evidence of a substantial Anglo-Saxon influx was even attributed by Kendrick (1938: 60; in specific reference to Kent) to the native population there. The typological method used in the first half of the twentieth century became increasingly sophisticated and specialised, with many scholars working only with one artefact type (e.g. Myres 1969). They continued to create art-historical typologies based on style in order to catalogue changes over time and differences between areas.

Lethbridge came to challenge many of the assumptions about equating grave goods with the ethnicity of the wearer: the presence of Anglo-Saxon objects, he argued, indicated 'no more than the presence in that district of people with a taste for barbaric ornaments of Teutonic type' (Lethbridge 1956: 114). However, it was not until the late 1970s and 1980s that doubts about traditional interpretations started to become mainstream (Hills 1979a; Dickinson 1980). These two articles expressed an increasingly critical approach to the archaeological evidence, and as more settlements came to be well excavated, there was a shift from the studies of ethnicity to an interest in settlement, economy and social structures.

Politics, economics and historical revision (1970s–1980s)

James' study of the Frankish settlement of Gaul (1979) argued that changes in burial rites during the Migration Period were associated with changes in social and political structures rather than large-scale immigration. This new focus was influenced in part by prehistoric archaeology where prehistorians such as Clark (1966), and others (Hodson 1962; 1964), had challenged the 'invasion hypothesis'. Instead of accounting for all cultural change as the result of the distinct peoples moving around, shifts in material culture were better explained by internal change, with culture seen as an adaptive response (Renfrew 1973). Accompanying this new focus came the development of analytical techniques, such as computer-aided models and mathematical calculations (Clarke 1968).

In Anglo-Saxon archaeology, Chris Arnold (1977; 1980; 1982; 1984; 1988) and Richard Hodges (1982; 1989) were most evidently influenced by this approach. Arnold (1980) examined grave goods, using statistics, to gather evidence for social structure and wealth, and used Thiessen polygons to model territories (Arnold 1977). He explained the cultural shift of the fifth century as the result of a few Germanic-speaking warriors taking military and political control, rather than as a result of significant invasion. The new warrior elite intermarried with the native British women rather than bringing over their own kin (Arnold 1984: 122–33). The term 'Anglo-Saxon' was therefore only used to define a period of time and an assemblage of material culture. Although these ideas came to be debated and refined by subsequent scholars (e.g. Higham 1992), Arnold's processual methods failed to make a significant impact on how most Anglo-Saxon archaeologists practised.

Hodges' *Dark Age Economics* (1982) used systems theory to explain the rise of 'wics' and towns from the early Anglo-Saxon kin-based society to a later stratified society, while *The Anglo-Saxon Achievement* argued for a 'North Sea culture zone', the interactions of which were seen as responsible for the exchange of ideas that wrought change in material culture (1989: 9). Although both culture-historical and processual approaches shared the idea that great events shape society and its material culture, the attempts of Hodges and Arnold to rewrite Anglo-Saxon archaeology were met with a lively critical response (e.g. Härke 1989; Scull 1990) and many did not embrace processualist methods of working (e.g. Eagles 1979; Hawkes 1982; Myres 1986).

Around the same time, historians came to critically assess the written sources traditionally used to explain mortuary material by the ethnicity of the dead (Dumville 1977; Lapidge and Dumville 1984), and Sims-Williams (1983a; b) expressed how impossible was the task of finely calibrating the chronology of historical events in the fifth to sixth centuries. Geary (1983) questioned the assumptions about the nature of ethnicity as used by historians in the interpretation of texts, and others concluded that the 'Anglo-Saxons' were an historical creation (Reynolds 1985; Wormald 1983). By the end of the decade Reece (1989: 236) was able to state: 'the whole "problem" of the Dark Ages is caused by the irrelevance of our historically constructed models'.

Ideology, identity, meaning and practice (1980s–1990s)

By the late 1980s and 1990s, there was a retreat from the idea that people merely adopted unconscious strategies to adapt to an environment, that individuals had no volition of their own. This purposeful reaction to processualism played a part in starting to shift the quality of explanation in Anglo-Saxon archaeology from large-scale explanations characterised by the movement of peoples, or the adaptive response of society to internal and external forces, to altogether more detailed explanations on a smaller scale.

Alternative perspectives of great variety were introduced, many of which were allied to contemporary political movements. Gender archaeology with its relationship to feminism (Sørensen 1991; 2000), is one example; another was the Neo-Marxist view of ideology as a tool used to naturalise, legitimise or deny inequalities in society (Champion 1991: 135). Others, such as John Barrett (1987; 1988a), stressed the role of human agency, whereby individuals in the past could make choices about their actions, and mortuary practice is not unconscious and everyday, but intermittent and deliberately articulated

(Barrett 1990). Ian Hodder (1982a; b) proposed the active role of material culture in social interaction: artefacts are not merely reflections of social identity, but form part of their ongoing construction. Hodder (1986; 1987; 1989) also advocated a contextual approach, so that all available evidence should be considered, rather than concentrating on one type of artefact, or form of evidence, as had been the case in Anglo-Saxon mortuary studies.

Selected aspects of these approaches started to make their way into Anglo-Saxon archaeology. Ellen-Jane Pader's treatment of three East Anglian inhumation cemeteries in structural and symbolic perspective (1982), Julian D. Richards' investigation into the symbolic aspects of funerary urns (1987), and Karen Brush's inquiry into gender and the structure of mortuary material (1988; 1993) were all innovative in their treatment of artefacts as marking aspects of social role. Other studies followed which avoided assumptions about the meaning of mortuary practice and placed material culture in a broader context. For example, Sam Lucy (1998) and Nick Stoodley (1999a) observed the construction of identities related to gender and age, and how these changed over time.

With respect to the meaning of such practices, and the reception and impact of the messages they engendered, Heinrich Härke (1990; 1992) dwelt on the highly symbolic nature of inhumations with weapons. Richards (1992: 135) argued for the early Anglo-Saxon burial rite as 'a symbol used to assert domination of Germanic culture, not the annihilation of the previous inhabitants'—perhaps an attempt to create a communal identity *in their own time* through the creation of an Anglo-Saxon invasion origin myth (Lucy 2000: 180–1; my emphasis).

In another direction, the uptake of structuration theories (Bourdieu 1977; Cohen 1989; Giddens 1979; 1981; 1984) in archaeology as a whole has been one of the defining features of the last twenty years. These theories state that society is constituted of social practices and the actions of people, that there is a dialectic between people's actions and the material conditions of the world, and that individuals have knowledge of the way in which their society works and are able to manipulate it. John Barrett (1988b; 1990) and Julian Thomas (1991), for example, were heavily influenced by structuration, and in turn influenced some Anglo-Saxon archaeologists (e.g. Lucy 1998: 22–6; 2002: 77; Williams 2002a: 67).

Anthony Giddens (1979; 1981: 27) makes a distinction between practical knowledge of the everyday; discursive knowledge, whereby individuals consciously assign meaning and reasons to their actions; and unconscious motivations which may result in unintended consequences. In this way, ideology, which is such a common explanation in Anglo-Saxon archaeology, is discursive knowledge knowingly used and manipulated (Lucy 1998: 23). Structural theories have also had other implications: burial is not a separate area of society, but an essential part of all human experience (Barrett 1988); and mourners are active participants in burial practices, while the dead are like symbolic artefacts for the purpose of ritual display (Barrett 1988: 30; 1990: 186; Thomas 1991). Sarah Tarlow (1992; 1999) has emphasised how different people, and the communities they constitute, react differently to death, so that there is no one interpretation that will do for all.

Current mortuary approaches (1990s–2000s)

A healthy array of mortuary approaches have arisen as a result of the critical response of some Anglo-Saxon archaeologists to various influences from the broader discipline of archaeology, of which only a relevant few are detailed here. The traditional spheres of material culture studies and chronology have continued in the work of John Hines (1999), Karen Høilund-Nielsen (1997; 1999) and others, through the innovations of matrices and correspondence analysis taken from continental approaches, and the radiocarbon dating of bone (Scull and Bayliss 1999).

Although a resurgence in discussion of migration and ethnicity has been initiated (Hamerow 1994; Härke 1998; Hines 1994; Scull 1998) it is notable that these studies are not necessarily allied directly with explanations of migration. Hines, for example, explains the changing form of wrist-clasps in the sixth century as the result of ongoing cultural contact with Scandinavia as much as a possible migration (Hines 1993). Hines (1997a) also considers social, economic and ideological dimensions of material culture type through traditional approaches in his *A New Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Great Square-Headed Brooches*.

At a completely different scale, an important development in Anglo-Saxon archaeology is the rise of work dedicated to landscape context. The very large body of work in prehistoric landscape research which has influenced early medieval studies has been reviewed by Darvill (1997) and Knapp and Ashmore (1999). These latter identified four major current themes—landscape as memory; landscape as identity; landscape as social order; landscape as transformation—all of which are evident to varying degrees in the recent work of scholars such as Howard Williams (1997; 1998; 1999), Sarah Semple (1998; 2002; 2003) and Stuart Brookes (2002; 2007a; 2007b; in press). Williams suggests that the landscape context of early Anglo-Saxon burial sites provides considerable evidence for the beliefs and social structures of communities, their relationships with the past, and the social and ideological significance of the dead in early Anglo-Saxon society.

The rejection of under-examined large-scale explanations has led to an emphasis on the internal dynamics of society. Lucy (1992: 99), for example, puts forward the idea of local continuity of tradition in East Yorkshire (which was later to become the core of the

kingdom of Deira) and the use of unusual burial rites, in order to maintain distinctions between neighbouring areas. Many studies now concentrate on regions and areas with a view to examining social practices, rather than examining broad country-wide distributions. A few consciously emphasise the importance of context, the active role of material culture, and the agency and practices of individuals, as their reasons for doing so (e.g. Williams 2002a). That is not to say that local practices do not have a bearing on broader understanding, since it is 'only by starting with the most detailed level of analysis that the local patterns which combine to create the large-scale picture can be understood' (Lucy 2002: 77). The critical scale at which social practices are to be understood in this way is the 'community'. It is everyday behaviour which establishes norms and values and creates and maintains society, Lucy argues, so that each community is subtly different from its neighbours and changes over time.

With respect to sources of evidence, there has been some resurgence in interest for using multiple sources (e.g. Reynolds 2002). Although a long-standing tradition in early medieval archaeology is one of interdisciplinary contact (e.g. Hawkes 1974; Hunter 1974; Meaney 1981) recent work is partly a response to contextual concerns, with a particular contribution to the knowledge of local and regional practice. Semple (2002), for example, incorporates archaeological, historical, art-historical sources and place-names to identify the differences between her three study areas in North Wiltshire, East Yorkshire and West Sussex. The rich narratives she is able to write are explained by the nature of local or regional political structures, in contrast to a blanket explanation of increased societal stratification and the formation of kingdoms between the early and middle Anglo-Saxon periods.

Finally, the popularity of metal-detecting by members of the public over the past thirty years has led to the accumulation of thousands of finds from all periods. While metal detectors are also used on excavations to locate graves and improve the recovery of metallic grave goods (e.g. Penn 1998), or as part of surface surveys (e.g. Pestell 2005), it is publicly recorded finds lodged with the Portable Antiquities Scheme and local Historic Environment Records that have contributed the majority of new material. Although these artefacts are disturbed from their original contexts, the effect of this new body of data is manifold. The study of rare artefacts is improved with the benefit of more examples (e.g. Mortimer 1994). Widespread distributions of material culture are being revisited (e.g. Naylor and Richards 2005b), and numerous fresh research agendas are being put forward (see http://www.finds.org.uk/learning/research.php; accessed 14 March 2007). For the specific case of early Anglo-Saxon cemeteries, abundant new sites have been recognised in recent years (Chester-Kadwell 2004; 2005).

Settlement studies

Settlement understood through cemeteries (1850s–1940s)

Anglo-Saxon rural settlement archaeology has had three foci of particular interest with respect to landscape: the design and use of buildings and structures; the internal organisation of individual settlement sites; and the broader pattern of settlements. The first two of these were hardly contemplated in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, when settlement remains, ephemeral and fragile, could barely be recognised. Only limited reports of 'dwelling-places' were made in the late nineteenth century (e.g. Stone 1859). Instead, the presence of settlements continued to be inferred through the presence of cemeteries. Even by the mid-twentieth century, in the general absence of settlement finds, cemeteries were still the only established way to study the early Anglo-Saxons: 'the graveyards are unlikely to have been far distant from the habitations of the living', and their geographical distribution was 'considered in relation to the soils selected for exploitation and to the points of entry of the invading farmers' (Clarke 1939: 170). The dominance of the cemetery as the subject of Anglo-Saxon study was the result of its particular visibility with respect to settlement. Webster (1986: 123) records that even by the late 1940s, over 1000 burial sites were known, compared to fewer than ten settlement sites.

New discoveries of settlement sites (1920s–1970s)

The focus on broad settlement patterns remained very much the norm until the seminal work of E.T. Leeds at Sutton Courtenay in Abingdon, Oxfordshire, discovered in 1921 by C.W. Cunnington. Leeds spent sixteen years excavating the site, drawing up the plans of thirty-three 'huts'. In his reports, Leeds dated the 'village' to the fifth century from the presence of a silver brooch, and recognised prior occupation during the Bronze Age, but with nothing intermediate (Leeds 1923; 1926; 1947). His interpretation was of the time: the Anglo-Saxon settlers lived in these pits in the ground, surrounded by 'a filthy litter of broken bones, of food and shattered pottery' (Leeds 1936). The publication of the Sutton Courtenay discoveries soon encouraged the reports of other similar features and assemblages in local journals, such as the *Grubenhäuser* at Waterbeach, Cambridgeshire (Lethbridge 1927), Bourton-on-the-Water, Gloucestershire (Dunning 1932), and Postwick, Norfolk (Clarke 1937; but only later properly dated by the excavator, Clarke 1957).

Radford (1957) was the first to review the progress of the sub-discipline of Anglo-Saxon settlement archaeology. His major contribution was to compare the English sites with those on the continent, and thereby emphasise that the *Grubenhaus* was only one element of Anglo-Saxon settlement. He advocated that open-area excavation should be used to recover the other elements, most substantially, timber buildings and halls. From the 1950s

onwards, meticulously recorded open-area excavation transformed Anglo-Saxon settlement archaeology, with excavations most notably carried out at Yeavering, Northumberland, 1953–62 (Hope-Taylor 1977) and Cheddar, Somerset, 1960–2 (Rahtz 1979). Early Anglo-Saxon settlement archaeology, in particular, took off in the 1960s, with important excavations at Mucking, Essex, 1965–77 (Hamerow 1993); West Stow, Suffolk, 1957–61, 1965–72 (West 1985); Puddlehill, Bedfordshire, 1962–70 (Matthews and Chadwick Hawkes 1985); Witton, Norfolk, 1960s, 1973 (Wade 1983); Bishopstone, Sussex, 1967 (Bell 1977); and New Wintles, Oxfordshire, 1968 (Chadwick Hawkes and Gray 1969).

As more settlements were excavated, early Anglo-Saxon buildings continued to be interpreted much as Leeds had done, as part of a wider conception that the Anglo-Saxons were impoverished folk, living in squalor. Stanley West suggested that the *Grubenhäuser* at West Stow may have had planked floors at ground level covering the pit, elevating these structures to a more substantial status (West 1969), but the accumulated debris under and around them continued to be understood in terms of deprivation.

Peter Addyman played a major role in the evolution of Anglo-Saxon settlement archaeology with his excavations at Maxey, Northamptonshire, and Chalton, Hampshire (Addyman 1964; Addyman et al. 1972; Addyman and Leigh 1973). Addyman's 1972 paper reviewed the evidence acquired during the 1960s for new buildings and structures. Like many scholars working in diverse fields at this time, his explanations tended towards the functional, suggesting that the difference between early Anglo-Saxon post-hole buildings and continental long-houses was due to the milder climate in Britain precluding the need for cattle stalling.

The last comprehensive review of Anglo-Saxon settlement archaeology was by Philip Rahtz in Wilson's *The Archaeology of Anglo-Saxon England* (Rahtz 1976: 49–98), although Helena Hamerow (2002) reviewed early medieval rural settlement in north-west Europe more recently. In synthesising the results of excavations made during the 1960s and early 1970s, Rahtz coined the term 'sunken-featured building' (SFB) to describe the 'sunken huts' or *Grubenhäuser*, thereby accommodating structures whose function was not necessarily that of a house, and those with both sunken and suspended floors. Rahtz also drew attention to more unusual structural features—which failed to attract the contemplation of scholarship until very recently (Reynolds 2003: 99). During this period settlement archaeology became a firmly separate part of Anglo-Saxon archaeology, devising its own methods and questions quite apart from those in mortuary studies. Bell (1977: 240) and Davies (1979: 179), for example, observed the relative proportions of sheep and cattle bones in their assemblages, to expose the nature of the pastoral economy (see also later work by Crabtree 1989).

Settlements and landscape history (1870s–1950s)

Many historians, geographers and place-name scholars were also interested in settlement in early Anglo-Saxon times, although from a slightly different perspective—the origins of landscape structure. In the 1870s, Petrie (1878) pioneered topographic analysis. This involved the removal of later features on the earliest maps to reveal stratigraphic patterns of roads and fields, an approach which was to prove worthwhile in the following century. Much of the work in the late nineteenth century, however, centred on historical documents, such as *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, land-charters (diplomas that record the grant of land by a king to an individual) and the Domesday Book. These were used to investigate the development and origins of villages and field systems with reference to land tenure and agricultural processes such as plough sharing (Maitland 1897; Seebohm 1883).

With respect to the early Anglo-Saxon landscape in particular, there was a notable difficulty with historical documents since with few exceptions most only came into existence in the ninth century. The most informative texts, such as surveys and court rolls, only survived in numbers from the beginning of the thirteenth century, and even the Domesday Book was a late document dating to the eleventh century, by which time many changes had already occurred (Williamson 2003: 6). For the general problems involved in the availability and use of documentary sources at this time, particularly charters, see Chaplais 1973, Hooke 1981a: 4–13 and Kelly 1990.

In East Anglia, in particular, few early charters and other manuscripts survive, a fact which is usually attributed to the destruction by Viking raids and the subsequent influence of the Danelaw (Pestell 2004: 72–6; Whitelock 1972, 1; Yorke 1990: 58–60). Nevertheless, landscape scholars had an idea of the early landscape, and this was linked with the concept of the British flight to the West, leaving an overgrown, blank slate of land; the Germanic settlers in the fifth and sixth centuries brought with them the open-field system, and impressed it upon the landscape for the first time (Vinogradoff 1892: 162). The origins of the whole English countryside was therefore assumed at that time to lie with the Germanic settlers.

The open-field system was associated with 'nucleated' villages and communal agricultural management. It was thought of as the dominant landscape structure in the medieval period before the 'inclosure' of the early modern period and beyond, although enclosure was later recognised to have begun in the late Middle Ages. The landscape which had previously been open with cultivation in multiple strips became a landscape of small fields divided by hedges. However, Howard Gray (1915) demonstrated there was actually a great deal of local variation in field systems; there was no one generalised type. Gray identified six systems in total, such as the 'Midland System', which he explained as being the product of direct import from the Anglo-

Saxon homelands, and the 'East Anglian system' of Norfolk and Suffolk, where existing Romano-British landholdings were taken over by the Anglo-Saxons and fragmented through partible inheritance.

Others have characterised lowland England in medieval times as falling into two broad forms of countryside: the open-field, 'planned' or 'champion' landscape of the Midlands (Rackham 1986); and the 'ancient' or 'woodland' countryside of the west and south-east (Rackham 1976), which was characterised by dispersed settlement and larger amounts of woodland and, in some places, more common land. The ancient countryside did have common fields in medieval times, but these were smaller ('irregular') and associated with dispersed farmsteads and hamlets, rather than being the dominant landscape feature of the parish around a nucleated village (Williamson 2003: 1–5). G. C. Homans (1942) made a key observation that showed how field systems and settlement patterns were intimately related: champion country produced uniformly built houses together in settlements, while woodland country produced single houses scattered about.

The influence of the historical sources continued to be significant, and co-existed with similar thoughts about tribal origins in the interpretation of cemeteries. Place-names scholars used the names of settlements to suggest their origin, history or siting, and searched for areas of 'primary' settlement (Ekwall 1923; Smith 1956). Meanwhile, historical geographers were embracing new concepts about the importance of soils and water supply in determining the location of settlement, and the clearance of forests from areas of heavy soils (Wooldridge and Linton 1932; Wooldridge 1935; Fox 1952: 78–82). This complementary work resulted in the view that the early Anglo-Saxons chose to settle initially on favourable sites identified with what were considered 'early' names, only later expanding into less favourable environments, as the population increased. Later settlements were identified as less in nucleated form, with 'late' place-names. By the early to mid-1900s, therefore, landscape scholars were focussed on regional variations in the early medieval landscape, using individual parishes or areas which could be examined in topographic detail and linked to specific textual sources. These developments in knowledge were transformed by Hoskins in his ground-breaking work *The Making of the English Landscape* (1955) into a process for analysing changes in the morphology of historic landscapes over time.

New techniques, theories and ideas (1920s–1990s)

Several important developments occurred in the twentieth century which changed many of the preceding ideas, albeit with variable pace, and fed into the new sub-discipline of Anglo-Saxon settlement archaeology. Aerial photography (Crawford and Keiller 1928; Crawford 1953; St Joseph 1966) revealed the presence of numerous cropmarks from the Iron Age and Roman periods on almost all soils, showing that Britain was far more densely populated in these periods than previously imagined (Taylor 1975; Cunliffe 1978). Aerial survey also played a central role in detecting early Anglo-Saxon settlements, since SFBs create distinctive cropmarks on gravelly soils. Sites discovered in this way include Mucking, Essex, and New Wintles, Barton Court Farm (Miles 1986) and Barrow Hills (Chambers and McAdam 2007) all in Oxfordshire. The detection of post-hole buildings by this method was less common since post holes are far less substantial in nature.

Environmental research, such as pollen analysis, demonstrated that the land had been well cleared of forest for many hundreds of years and was not a sparsely cultivated wilderness in the early Anglo-Saxon period (Hoskins 1955; Turner 1979; Bell 1989). Evidence from topographic analysis suggested that various field systems were stratigraphically earlier than Roman roads (Drury 1976; Drury and Rodwell 1978; Rodwell 1978) indicating long-term continuity of land use. Although there was some evidence of a reduction in population and retreat from some marginal land in the post-Roman period, the laying out of a new system of open-field agriculture on virgin land was no longer a tenable idea (Taylor 1981: 19).

Fieldwalking surveys came to be used to investigate the origins of villages and their associated field systems. In particular, Glen Foard showed how medieval villages in the Midlands were not founded by incoming Anglo-Saxon settlers in the fifth and sixth centuries, but were located on different sites altogether, demonstrating a discontinuity between early and later Anglo-Saxon settlement (Foard 1978). Historians and historical geographers also started to express doubts about the origins of landscape and suggested there was no evidence of open-field systems at all in the early Anglo-Saxon period. Joan Thirsk (1964; 1966) argued that documented systems had undergone considerable change to produce the bewildering array of field systems that comprised regional variations. In particular, she argued that the Midland System (classic nucleated villages with communal strips in open fields for agriculture) was a relatively late development in the twelfth or thirteenth century. Thirsk's explanations were framed in terms of population growth, and owed some of their character to the prevailing views in the 1960s.

Surface collection was not, however, an efficient method by which to stock the landscape with all the missing early Anglo-Saxon settlements. Settlement sites were, and continue to be, under-represented by fieldwalking in comparison to Roman sites because of the differences between the two assemblages of material culture (Williamson 1984a; b; Gaffney and Tingle 1989). In particular, early Anglo-Saxon pottery is poorly fired and weathers rapidly in the soil so that a site may be represented by as little as one potsherd. The settlement at Chalton was successfully defined by fieldwalking

before excavation, but many sites had good evidence for settlement while producing few or no surface collection finds at all (Tipper 2004: 19).

Nevertheless, early Anglo-Saxon settlement was apparently less extensive than the Romano-British pattern, with some retreat from heavier clayey soils onto lighter sandy soils—but it was just as dispersed (Williamson 2003: 13–14). The exact time at which nucleation occurred continued to be debated, with Foard (1978) and Hall (1981; 1982) favouring an eighth or ninth-century date, while Taylor (1983) argued for a longer chronology extending into the late Anglo-Saxon, or even post-Conquest periods. Either way, the process of nucleation came to be understood as a later development.

The most recent contributions to the study of early Anglo-Saxon settlement have taken several forms. Sophisticated analyses of buildings have drawn attention to many subtleties of structure and use which continue to challenge the traditional explanations of ethnicity. For example, Philip Dixon (1988) has convincingly argued for some continuity, or influence, of design between Romano-British and early Anglo-Saxon building traditions, an idea expanded upon by Marshall and Marshall (1993). This sentiment has also been echoed in John Blair's paper about the design of Anglo-Saxon shrines or cult structures (Blair 1995). Jess Tipper's study of *Grubenhäuser* (2004) presents considerable experimental evidence (carried out in the 1990s) in support of the fact that many SFBs had wooden floors above the pit and that the debris which characterises the fill of sunken features is the result of infilling following the disuse of the structures. Full-scale reconstructions have been undertaken at museums, notably West Stow Country Park and Anglo-Saxon Village (Kenward and Tipper 2008; West 2001) and Bede's World: The Museum of Early Medieval Northumbria at Jarrow (Mills 1999).

These investigations of the design and use of buildings and structures have only an indirect bearing on the landscape questions which concern us here. Of more immediate relevance is the internal organisation of individual settlements, and the structure and position of these sites with respect to the wider landscape. Open-plan excavation and aerial survey made a significant contribution to these subjects by revealing the internal complexities of Anglo-Saxon sites, extensive palimpsests of prehistoric and Roman features, and potential relationships between the two. At Mucking, for example, a large complex of SFBs and post-built buildings, two cemeteries, and various pre-Saxon features were documented through open-plan excavation, some of which had clearly structured the Anglo-Saxon activity. Aerial photography of the gravel terrace showed how prehistoric and Roman ring-ditches, enclosures, burials, and buildings extended over a significant area beyond the Anglo-Saxon sites (Clark 1993; Hamerow 1993; Tipper 2004).

Andrew Reynolds (2003) has drawn attention to the development of boundaries within and around settlements from the later sixth century as an indicator of social distinctions and increasing elite control, concomitant with the development of legal culture around AD 600. Before then, in the fifth to mid-sixth centuries, boundaries are largely absent from settlements, and even cemeteries were generally unbounded. The development of boundaries in the late sixth century is not associated with a 'comprehensive re-shuffling of the geography of farms and hamlets in the landscape' (Reynolds 2003: 130) raising interesting questions about the mechanisms of estate formation, and other later landscape changes.

In addition to the new techniques already mentioned, geophysical survey is the most recent to have made a significant further contribution to the understanding of settlements as structured by, and embedded in, the landscape. Large-scale fluxgate gradiometer surveys have been used to clearly define settlements at Barrow Hills, Oxfordshire (David 1994) and West Heslerton, East Yorkshire (Powlesland et al. 1986: 163–7) where the distinctive morphology of SFBs could be detected by their infill of magnetically enhanced material. Magnetometry often fails to perform well where the geology has low magnetic susceptibility and as with aerial photography when in the pursuit of timber post-holes (Tipper 2004: 23). The exciting value of large-scale geophysical survey has been underlined by the Heslerton Parish Project, led by Dominic Powesland. The results, as yet unpublished, show a densely populated landscape over an area of 10km by 10km, not only in the form of regularly spaced medieval settlements, but also the full spectrum of multi-period remains (Tipper, pers. comm.).

The last thirty years have seen the rise of one final type of data, and these are finds found by metal detector. In some periods, such as the Roman and later medieval periods, these artefacts are useful for defining settlement sites. In the early Anglo-Saxon period, metal-detector finds have been assumed to represent cemeteries. Nevertheless, their value for settlement studies has been two-fold: the use of metal detectors on excavations has improved retrieval of datable artefacts within features (Gregory and Rogerson 1984); and the use of metal detectors in controlled field survey has allowed comparison of presumed mortuary sites with settlement sites identified from fieldwalking (Newman 1995).

Current landscape approaches (1980s–2000s)

Settlement and economy in Anglo-Saxon archaeology is now examined through an integrated landscape approach. Open plan excavation is combined with extensive techniques such as aerial, geophysical and surface collection surveys, as well as documentary, environmental and materials analysis, to facilitate a consideration of activities within the local geographical and historical environment. Several landscape projects like those at Mucking and West Heslerton have already

been mentioned. The most recently published project of this kind was carried out at Yarnton, Oxfordshire over an area of around 55,000m² (Hey 2004). Presented as a synthetic overview, rather than a series of standard excavation reports, it aims to understand the choice of Anglo-Saxon settlement location, the landscapes in which the settlements were established, and changing settlement patterns and land-use strategies from the end of the Roman period into the medieval.

As well as these relatively local and detailed landscape projects, there have also been a number of attempts over the last twenty years at integrated regional surveys. The historical geographer Della Hooke wrote *The Anglo-Saxon Landscape* (1985) which explored the West Midlands from an interdisciplinary perspective. In archaeology, the Raunds Area Project, Northamptonshire (Foard and Pearson 1985; Dix 1986/7) was the first of its kind, followed by the Meon Landscape Project, Hampshire (Hughes 1988); the East Anglian Kingdom Survey (Newman 1989; 1992); and the Shapwick Project, Somerset (Aston and Gerrard 1999). The parish of Whittlewood is the latest (but smaller) area to receive this kind of attention, although for the ninth–fifteenth centuries (Jones and Page 2006). The aim of these studies has been to link elements of Anglo-Saxon settlement and economy with broader social and political trends in land territory, ownership and organisation as they were expressed at the regional level. They are notable for incorporating many of the issues and techniques more usually associated with landscape historians and historical geographers, and for their focus on regional variation.

Although functional and environmental explanations went out of fashion in the mortuary archaeology of the 1980s and 1990s, it is still that case that landscape historians and medieval archaeologists engage with the effects of population growth, tillage technology, and the affordances of different soils and climate. For example, ploughing in the early Anglo-Saxon period was almost certainly achieved with a wooden ard (Fowler 2002: 186). This implement forced its way through the soil, throwing the earth symmetrically on both sides of the ploughshare (Payne 1957: 76–7), a challenging feat in anything but light and non-clayey soils (Hall 1981: 35). Tom Williamson's recent book *Shaping Medieval Landscapes: Settlement, Society, Environment* (2003) makes a persuasively argued case for the role of soils and agricultural regimes in the development of regional differences in landscape and settlement patterns. Williamson's argument (2003: 20–1) is that variation in settlement patterns and field systems were the result of the responses by local communities to the challenges of local environment: soils, climate and topography.

Early Anglo-Saxon Cemeteries in the Landscape

Introduction

This section introduces the current themes in the understanding of early Anglo-Saxon cemeteries in the landscape, with a focus on the trends in its development. Although the previous sections have dealt with the development of mortuary and settlement interpretation in Anglo-Saxon archaeology separately, in reality the formation of ideas ran in parallel, and their combined influence is apparent in the following discussion. Knowledge of the landscape context of early Anglo-Saxon cemeteries started in the nineteenth century with a recognition of their proximity to both historical and geographical features. Since then there have been numerous developments from a variety of disciplines. The form of explanations has moved away from concerns about the settlement and whereabouts of invading farmers, towards ideology, identity and ritual life; but the original observations by Wright, Kemble, Leeds, Clarke and others still form the basis of today's knowledge. As a result, this section is ordered primarily by theme.

Geographical associations

The earliest scholars of the early Anglo-Saxon period were concerned with the nature and extent of Germanic settlement. In so thinking, mention was made of geographical landscape features such as rivers and soil, and historical landscape features such as Roman sites. Wright produced the first distribution map of Anglo-Saxon cemeteries, placing eighty-one in relation to Roman roads, rivers and towns, and he used them to argue for different areas of tribal groupings (Rhodes 1990: 54). At this time cemeteries were considered to be physically related to settlements, and their distribution was characterised by a pattern along the banks of major rivers and their tributaries (Kemble 1863: 230).

Since cemeteries meant the presence of Germanic settlers, their position in the landscape was also evidence for an advance of the invasion along watercourses by boat, or along other routes of communication. Leeds, for example, advocated a narrative that the West Saxons penetrated inland along the Icknield Way in East Anglia (a long-distance trackway with questionable existence in East Anglia; see Harrison 2003) from the limits of navigation on the southern edge of the Fens (Leeds 1912; 1925; 1933). Not long after this, interpretation began to broaden from the initial focus on migration and ethnicity to matters more concerned with rural life. Still making the assumption that settlements were nearby, the general placement of cemeteries on the sides of valleys where lighter soils could be found came to be explained in several ways. Rivers were used as the chief means of communication, as well as for their water supply and fishing opportunities. The waterways were often flanked by terraces of well-drained sandy or

gravelly soils suitable as dry settlement sites. Valleys, even those in clayey areas, were likely to have had areas cleared of woodland, plus lighter soils (suited to the ard) (Clarke 1939: 168–73).

The various significant developments in landscape archaeology and history in the following decades came to challenge the details of these broad explanatory themes. Aerial photography, environmental analysis, and fieldwalking surveys showed that the Anglo-Saxon landscape was anything but empty and overgrown when the settlers arrived, and that they did not bring a way of life unchanged from their homelands (Taylor 1981: 19). The observation that early Anglo-Saxon sites have a valley-side distribution and are most often found on lighter valley-side soils has continued to form the basis of knowledge about the whereabouts of these sites. However, since the boom of settlement excavations in the 1960s and the subsequent development of Anglo-Saxon settlement archaeology, practical explanations concerned with the benefits of lighter soils for tillage with the ard, for example, were transferred from cemetery to settlement studies, and mortuary interpretation went in a different direction. Developments in the theory of cemetery interpretation in the 1980s and 1990s de-emphasised ethnicity in favour of significant social and cultural explanations of other sorts (Lucy 2000: 174–81) making it possible to investigate more complex patterns of engagement with the landscape.

The broad observations about early Anglo-Saxon cemetery location in the natural landscape were taken up and examined for nuances by Sam Lucy (Lucy 1998: 79–101). In the county of East Yorkshire, she noted that there were significant differences in location between inhumation and cremation cemeteries. In particular, the four cremation cemeteries were more likely to have been placed at higher altitude, on the top of a slope, facing the south-west, and over 500m from fresh water—in other words, along the edge of the Wolds and away from settlement. In contrast, the only significant natural association that was indicated for the far more numerous inhumation cemeteries was that of proximity to sand and gravel, or gravel terraces, making them otherwise far more variably placed.

Lucy explains the physical separation of inhumation from cremation cemeteries as symbolic of the differences that distinguish the two rites. Cremation destroys the body, its gender, age, and any pyre goods while inhumation is essentially preservative (Brush 1988: 83; Lucy 1998: 98). Cremation involves an additional mortuary rite thus separating the transition of the person to the afterlife from the act of burial. In contrast, inhumation fixes the individual at the moment of transition in the landscape (Barrett 1988: 32; Barrett et al. 1991: 223; Bevan 1999), although Williams has since argued slightly differently (2002a: 67–71).

Lucy also made a valuable observation with respect to changes in location over time and space. Cemeteries of the fifth and sixth centuries were generally found off the Wolds, or on the edges, with a wide distribution, while those of the late sixth to seventh centuries were similarly distributed, but with a greater proportion on the Wolds themselves. There are potential problems with inconsistent survey and excavation strategies, and with the extent of site preservation and recovery, but settlements appear to have been relatively restricted to the north and east of the Wolds, on low slopes and in valleys (Lucy 1998: 100). Following Parker Pearson (1993: 206) Lucy suggested this might represent an increasing marginalisation of the dead, 'with the dead becoming less directly important in the social relations and strategies of living communities' (Lucy 1998: 100). Alternatively, a parallel decrease in some of the cemetery sizes in the later period could suggest a restriction of the rite to particular members of the community, with a concomitant desire to separate and control physical access through relatively remote location (Lucy 1998: 99).

A supplementary explanation for this apparent change in the size of cemeteries at higher altitudes is suggested by reference to the Bronze Age barrows that often accompanied them. Many of the sites were dug by nineteenth-century excavators such as Mortimer and Greenwell who tended to excavate only the mounds themselves, possibly missing any burials which surrounded them (Lucy 1998: 99). Lucy's work was influential and encouraged others to incorporate different elements of mortuary study into inclusive interpretations. Sarah Semple's work in East Yorkshire offered yet another logical explanation: the movement of funerary material away from settlements into higher zones was not caused by the desire to place them on the escarpment edge and Wold top, but rather to place them nearer the prehistoric monuments which happen to be more numerous there (Semple 2002: 116).

Andrew Richardson (2005) included an examination of landscape context in his study of the cemeteries of Kent and noted an expansion of cemetery sites from limited valley floor or lower slope locations in the fifth century, through to new sites in the late sixth and early seventh centuries on the higher slopes or plateaux of the North Downs, predominantly barrow cemeteries. The construction of Anglo-Saxon barrows in Kent and the reuse of monuments in East Yorkshire therefore emerge as significant regional traditions (Lucy 1992: 97; Semple 2002: 11). Barrows and their associations are another major theme in the study of early Anglo-Saxon cemetery landscape context.

Barrows, burials and boundaries

Beginning with the discovery of Anglo-Saxon inhumations and cremations as secondary interments in Bronze Age barrows, as well as in primary mounds of Anglo-Saxon date, barrow digging was a popular

pastime for antiquarians in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries (Marsden 1974). Following the earliest discoveries of this sort, and with increasing focus during the latter half of the twentieth century, the relationship between burials and boundaries was frequently discussed through the examination of Anglo-Saxon land charters. Boundary clauses for estates often contain mention of both prehistoric and Anglo-Saxon barrows, with specific terms used to describe them (Gelling 1976; Grinsell 1953; Hooke 1981b). The essence of the ongoing question has been whether 'heathen burials' were more likely to have been placed on territorial or tenurial boundaries (for whatever reason), or whether these sites were simply used as convenient and prominent boundary markers in later times.

Bonney (1966; 1972; 1976) combined Anglo-Saxon charter boundaries in Wiltshire, Hampshire, and Dorset, with the evidence from known manorial estate boundaries and parish boundaries. By comparing this improved set with archaeologically known Anglo-Saxon burials, many of which represented secondary use of prehistoric barrows, he demonstrated that 28 per cent of his sample were on parish boundaries. However, rather than considering the possible social and ideological meanings behind this juxtaposition, Bonney argued for the continuity of land division from at least the Anglo-Saxon period, or even before.

Arnold (1977), in a study of the Isle of Wight and part of Sussex, constructed Thiessen polygons around the early place-names, finding that Anglo-Saxon burials tended to occur on the boundary of these polygons. Arnold took this to show there was a clear choice for burial on the edge of contemporary land units. He subsequently revised his opinion, preferring instead to explain the phenomenon by virtue of settlement shift: in the early period the dead were buried near to settlements on the light and tractable soils, but by the eighth century the settlements had moved to heavier, more fertile soils, leaving the old settlements and cemeteries on marginal land in the boundary zones between new territorial units (Arnold and Wardle 1981). In other words, the whole phenomenon was an artefact of later landscape change, elements of which have already been discussed in relation to settlement nucleation, the laying out of open-fields and the demarcation of estates.

With opinions being of such considerable diversity and based on small areas, Goodier (1984) set out to analyse these relationships more robustly. Like Arnold, she also made use of a processual approach, asserting hypotheses and attempting to falsify them by using the statistics of a relatively large sample. Goodier argued the results of her study showed that the relationship between civil parish boundaries and early Anglo-Saxon burials was produced by their decisions to bury the dead on their own boundaries, some of which were then incorporated into later estates. The proportion of burials before AD 600, on what became later administrative divisions, was not of overwhelming significance (12 per cent, N=75). Instead, Goodier's study showed a genuine increase in the proportion of burials on boundaries after the beginning of the seventh century (~25 per cent, N=93), refuting Arnold's settlement shift explanation.

Goodier recognised several possible models by way of explanation: burial reflected a process of boundary formation; existing boundaries were 'reinforced' against the competition of neighbours to protect vital resources; and ideological change 'required structural differentiation between the zone occupied by the living and the dead' (Goodier 1984: 15). The interests of rival elites (such as the development of charter estates) may have played a part in these processes. In response, it is possible to say that none of these themes are mutually exclusive, and variations on the sentiment of boundary demarcation with burial as a social signal continues to be acknowledged and debated, although not in quite the same fashion. Country-wide generalisations made on the basis of statistics have fallen distinctly out of favour, and most recently the concept of boundary burial in the early Anglo-Saxon period as a whole has been disputed.

Andrew Reynolds argues that there is no apparent evidence for an actual association between barrows and burials, and that the 'heathen burials' to which the charter bounds refer were not referring to the memory of 'pagan' Anglo-Saxon burials at all, but actually represent burials of social outcasts contemporary with the documents that record them (Reynolds 2002). Reynolds also discusses the importance of addressing the hierarchy of boundaries, showing that 'heathen burials' were more likely to have been placed on hundredal boundaries, as appropriate to those who were lawfully precluded from consecrated grounds, while the burials of named individuals appear to be lying on estate boundaries, perhaps as a result of the process of estate forfeiture by a previous owner.

The contribution of Reynolds (2003) to the broader issue of boundaries in the Anglo-Saxon period has already been mentioned. Any possible use of long-term boundaries associated with burials through the early and middle Anglo-Saxon periods appears to be unrelated to the development of boundaries within and around cemeteries and settlements in the second half of the sixth century. It therefore makes sense, in more than one way, for boundaries to bear little or no relation to early Anglo-Saxon burials—the importance of marked boundaries was a later development. However, long-term survival of a physical boundary is indicated at the later fifth- and sixth-century cemetery at Portway, Andover, in Hampshire, where the western limit of the plot is formed by a prehistoric boundary ditch (Cook and Dacre 1985; Stoodley forthcoming). The reasons why some earlier boundaries are marked by mortuary practice and became part of later landscape organisation, but not others, are clearly complex and locally contingent.

Instead, several authors have addressed the issue of mortuary practice and boundaries in reference to early territorial or community areas, and the social processes that created them, rather than actual physical borders. Lucy observes that the early Anglo-Saxon cremation cemeteries in East Yorkshire all faced the Vale of York to the west, and may have formed or marked a territorial boundary of some kind. Fifth- and sixth-century inhumation cemeteries, in contrast, tended towards the eastern edge of the Wolds, suggesting a distinction of some kind between the two areas (Lucy 1998: 98–9). Addressing the origins of such areas means asking what exactly they might represent. In the area that later became the kingdom of Lindsey, Kevin Leahy (1999: 129) suggests that the five large and evenly spaced cemeteries may reflect the 'original folk groupings of the settlement period'. In contrast to Lucy's view in East Yorkshire, Leahy (1999: 130) interprets the increasing use of inhumation in smaller, local burial sites from the late fifth century as a breakdown of the original folk groups and a coalescence into the kingdom of Lindsey.

Semple's work in Wiltshire also demonstrates the development of struggles between groups as marked by mortuary practice. In the sixth century, the Avebury region was 'an area of conflict between the *Gewissae* and the British—a form of margin or corridor of British and Anglo-Saxon interface' (Semple 2003: 82) and the Anglo-Saxon side was marked by distinctive burial in ancient barrows with continental-style gravegoods. In the sixth and seventh centuries the area continued to be contested by the developing Anglo-Saxon kingdoms, with the development of single, isolated, primary and secondary inhumations in topographically prominent locations as evidence for the tightening control of a minority elite over the population.

Reuse of prehistoric and Roman remains

Barrows are just one of a range of monuments and pre-Saxon remains that structured early Anglo-Saxon mortuary features. This wider understanding of the reuse of prehistoric and Roman sites has become a major theme in the study of early Anglo-Saxon cemetery landscape context. Perhaps the first explicit recognition of monument reuse by the early Anglo-Saxons was in John Mortimer's book on the burial mounds of East Yorkshire (1905). Since then, numerous scholars from different disciplines have turned their attention to the meaning of the practice, many of them from a literary or historical rather than an archaeological background.

Margaret Gelling (1978) and Kenneth Cameron (1996) showed how the Anglo-Saxons classified, named and described prehistoric monuments, such as Roman fortifications and towns (*cæster*), ancient forts (*burh, eorðburh*), burial mounds (*hläw, hâugr, beorg*), ditches (*dïc*) and standing stones (*stän*). Leslie Grinsell (1991) and Della Hooke (1981b) looked at descriptive terminology for monuments and landscape elements noting that different names were used for prehistoric barrows (*beorg*) and Anglo-Saxon barrows (*hläw*), but prehistoric barrows reused for burial by the Anglo-Saxons could be referred to by either term. This, they both realised, meant that the late Anglo-Saxon terminology for burial mounds indicated their perceived antiquity.

The Norse mythologist Hilda Ellis Davidson based her work on interpretation of Old Norse and Old English source material, arguing for an early medieval belief in the dead inhabiting burial mounds in a supernatural form (Ellis 1943; Ellis Davidson 1950; 1964). Audrey Meaney (1995) also used surviving documentation as evidence of popular belief in practice—the use of monuments as locations of public assembly. A consistent theme throughout most of these interdisciplinary papers was that the Anglo-Saxons viewed ancient monuments as inhabited by the spirits of the dead, although the date of source materials and place-names made these inferences far less conclusive for the early Anglo-Saxon period.

This was accompanied, over the course of the twentieth century, by a steady increase in archaeologically excavated sites demonstrating a growing recognition and utilisation of earlier monuments for funerary purposes. However, even the best excavation reports and synthetic reviews (Ozanne 1963) lacked an explanatory element, or referred to the invasion hypothesis (Meaney 1964). Others believed that the Anglo-Saxons did not care for the whereabouts of their burials so long as the bodies could be discarded (O'Neill and Grinsell 1960), or that the reuse of barrows was a practice for poor individuals who could not afford burial under a new barrow (Van de Noort 1993: 70).

The pivotal discovery after 1950 was at Yeavering, Northumberland, where Brian Hope-Taylor (1977) recognised that the settlement there was deliberately structured by a complex of prehistoric monuments, demonstrating geographical association, and change through time and space, as well as just physical imposition. Hope-Taylor's original interpretation was that of long-term continuity from the prehistoric use of the site to the seventh-century occupation. Anglo-Saxon activity on Roman sites seemed to follow a similar course. Morris and Roxan (1980) argued that the association of churches with certain Roman structures, towns or cemeteries might indicate the continuity of late Roman Christian sites as cult places through into the fifth and sixth centuries. Richard Bradley (1987), however, made an important argument for the intentional renegotiation of the past instead of continuity of practice: references to ancient monuments at Yeavering were purposeful statements of legitimation for the rising elite.

Bradley's paper marked a turning point in the interpretation of monument reuse and, after a period of reflection, a new generation of interest emerged for the elucidation and explanation of early Anglo-Saxon cemeteries and monument reuse. Drawing on Garwood

(1989), Lucy (1992) argued that the communal early Anglo-Saxon barrow rite in North Yorkshire was an attempt to legitimise and naturalise the power relations emergent from growing hierarchy in society. Some of the legitimation may have drawn on perceived links with the past and on making associations with supposed ancient ancestors, perhaps for the purpose of staking a claim to the landscape in which the barrow was sited. In other areas of the country, though, monument reuse was seen chiefly as a single burial, seventh-century burial rite (Shephard 1979; Blair 1994; 1995; Härke 1994). Martin Carver (1989; 2005) interpreted the seventh-century Sutton Hoo mounds as an ideological form of resistance to Christianity.

Howard Williams (1997) then wrote an important country-wide review of all available evidence for the reappropriation of monuments in the early Anglo-Saxon period for mortuary use. He provided the first solid statistics for the frequency of the practice, demonstrating that between one fifth and one quarter of all known burial sites appeared to reuse monuments, with the figure rising to 54 per cent for a sample of seventy-one well-excavated cemeteries. Massive variation in the monument types used was defined (round barrows, long barrows, chambered tombs, square barrows, hillforts, henges, enclosures, stone circles, linear earthworks, Roman ritual monuments, burial sites, villas, rural settlements, forts, towns, and even natural features resembling ancient monuments) and the exact manner of their reuse was scrutinised. Burial sites of all sizes (isolated graves, small burial groups and large cemeteries), of both rites (cremation and inhumation), from the fifth century onwards, were incorporated into monuments. Regional variation was identified and related in part to differential distribution of monument types. A general increase in the frequency of monument reuse in the seventh century was noted, both for higher and lower status sites.

Several of Williams' findings are worth noting in particular: prehistoric round barrows were clearly preferred, perhaps due to their ubiquity in lowland Britain and their similarity in form to Anglo-Saxon barrows. The relatively low frequency of Roman ruins reused might be related to their insufficiently ancient provenance, or perhaps the common difficulty of determining deliberate reuse in the archaeological record. The diversity of monument types may partly have been due to a lack of concern for differentiation, and partly due to the symbolic power of distinctive practice in constructing community identity. Williams contended that 'ancient monuments were one of the most important factors determining the placing of the dead in the early Anglo-Saxon landscape' (1997: 24). Given the association of monuments with later boundaries, he argued, it seems very likely that monument reuse was indeed related to the control of land and territory (as previous authors asserted), but that this was only one part of a much wider significance. The essence of his explanation for this florescence of practice was based on the reading of anthropological studies, the influence of prehistoric archaeology, and analogies from later written sources: 'early Anglo-Saxon communities were constructing and reproducing their idealized visions of the past and present, their mythical origins and their social identities, through the placing of the dead at old monuments' (Williams 1997: 25).

A subsequent paper focussed more closely on the details of spatial organisation at sites, the potential rituals and communal gatherings associated with mortuary practice, and the reappropriation of these existing practices by the elite as it emerged in the seventh century (Williams 1998). In a concurrent and complementary paper, Semple engaged with Anglo-Saxon perception of the landscape in the later period (Semple 1998). Taking an interdisciplinary approach, she placed the evidence of attitudes attested by place-names and literature within their appropriate chronological context, and argued for sentiments of superstition, wariness, and fear of spirits and monsters, toward prehistoric barrows in the middle and late Anglo-Saxon periods (Semple 1998). Semple's more recent work has included detailed construction of similar explanatory narratives for the whole Anglo-Saxon period in three counties (East Yorkshire, Wiltshire and Hampshire), focussing particularly on political change, including with it the evidence for early Anglo-Saxon reuse of both prehistoric and Roman sites (Semple 2002; 2003).

In summary, explanations for the phenomenon of monument reuse in the Anglo-Saxon period have converged on social and political change, ritual practice, and ideological beliefs, with an increasing interest in regional variations. It is also now recognised that ancient monuments were not just reused as the locations of individual burials. In the Anglo-Saxon period as a whole they were also used as refortified burhs, places of political assembly, judicial execution, communal burial, high-status burial, and other ritual practices (Semple 2002). These facts show not only how the functions of monuments and the details of their use changed through time, but also how they were integrated into the broader landscape of settlement, boundaries, topography, routeways and waterways.

Routeways, waterways and topography

In the early twentieth century the relationship between roads, watercourses, the relative height of land and cemeteries were separate areas of thought, and none were well developed for many years. The popularity of demonstrating a common relationship between cemeteries and routeways (such as Roman roads) and waterways (such as rivers) coincided with the common use of the distribution map (see, for example, Wheeler 1935, fig.2; Leeds 1936, fig.12; Collingwood and Myres 1936, map VII). The distribution of cemeteries along the valleysides of rivers was taken to indicate the presence

of Anglo-Saxons, and J.N.L. Myres famously travelled by boat along the main navigable watercourses in eastern England to reproduce the experience of Germanic settlers in the fifth century (Myres 1986).

Baldwin Brown (1915) was perhaps the first to consider that burial may have been deliberately placed in highly visible locations, but when Shephard (1979) analysed barrow burials in Kent and England as a whole he stressed that any apparent correlation of high ground with mortuary sites was, in fact, a by-product of their position on marginal land, an assumption which has since been dismissed (Welch 1985: 20). Yet Shephard's study marked a general move away from concerns about the fall of Roman civilisation and the invasion by Germanic migrants, and from simple observations in excavation reports.

In 1985, Stafford argued that Roman roads became less important in the early Anglo-Saxon period and settlements favoured trackways, spring lines and river confluences instead. Roman roads were no longer maintained since the expertise to do so had lapsed or because the economic networks, for which they formed the infrastructure, were no longer in operation. However, Hooke (1985) stressed the importance of Roman roads in the social construction of landscapes, using the evidence of place-names to show how they continued to be recognised, often delimiting boundaries, with their crossings serving (in the later period) as hundredal meeting places. Carver (1998; 2002) described the positioning of the Sutton Hoo cemetery on the estuary of the River Deben in Suffolk as a social and religious symbol aimed at those who were travelling along the river to enter, or leave, the East Anglian kingdom. These arguments formed the basis of more involved contemplation, and the same authors who invigorated study in the area of monument reuse also tackled the subject of routeways, waterways and topography.

Williams (1999) argued that high status graves during the seventh century in Oxfordshire and Wessex were placed according to clearly defined strategies, located with wide and distant views, close to important routeways, and on the edge of local and regional boundaries some distance from settlement. Semple (2003) concentrated on a group of burials in North Wiltshire, emphasising a growing need for elaborate or ostentatious display between the sixth and eighth centuries, since over time larger barrows were constructed or used, and high visibility plus proximity to routeways became increasingly important.

Perhaps the most interesting recent work has come from Stuart Brookes, who emphasises the importance of human movement in the landscape (Brookes 2002; 2007a; b). In common with many advances in the field of early medieval landscapes he uses new analytical methods (a Geographical Information System—GIS) and some ideas borrowed from prehistoric archaeology to invigorate his study of East Kent. Drawing on Tilley (1994), Chapman (1997), Barrett (1994) and Thomas (1993a; b), Brookes suggests that habitual travel along recognised pathways was the basis of the experience the early Anglo-Saxons had of their mortuary sites. He recognises two forms of movement—the pattern of transhumance across the Weald by people rearing pastoral animals, and travel perpendicular to this along major Roman roads—and that 61 per cent of his sample of cemeteries lay within 300m of such features. Brookes identifies the likely codified behaviour of travellers on these routes, suggesting that for those of lower status their daily praxis would have been along routes associated with economic activity, while freemen, aristocrats, foreigners and kings travelled over longer distances. This would mean those of higher status came into contact with proportionately more conspicuous burials, thereby crystallising political contest into the landscape. Finally, it is noticeable, Brookes writes, that while the majority of Bronze Age barrows in his study area have some evidence of Anglo-Saxon reuse, a few, which are removed from the main routes of communication, showed no such evidence upon excavation. In a similar vein, Brookes has also argued for the role of waterbourne travel in the positioning of funerary monuments around the eastern Kent seaboard (2002; 2007a; in press).

Moving Forward

Current knowledge

Diverse practices

The locations of early Anglo-Saxon cemeteries encompass considerable diversity. The reuse of earlier remains as mortuary sites is perhaps the single most important practice in determining where cemeteries are located (Williams 1997: 24), but within this there is a great range not only of types of monuments, but also of the exact ways in which the reappropriation occurred (Williams 1998). These observations have been linked to intervisibility with settlement, viewsheds resulting from particular elevations (Williams 1999), and high visibility from routeways and waterways mediated by movement through the landscape (Brookes 2002; 2007a; b; in press).

The issue of burials indicating the genesis of later estate or parish boundaries has been challenged by Reynolds (2002), but the cemetery at Portway, Andover, in Hampshire (Cook and Dacre 1985; Stoodley forthcoming), and evidence from topographic analysis showing the continuity of some prehistoric or Roman landscape organisation (Drury 1978; Williamson 1987; 1998; Upex 2002). This indicates that long lasting boundaries may still be involved. As for geological and pedological associations, these appear to be related to the use of prehistoric monuments (Semple 2002: 116) or proximity to settlements (Richardson 2005: 76) rather than being of importance in themselves. Similarly, there is much diversity in the form of settlements (Reynolds 2002: 130) and since most settlements appear to have

been sited close to rivers and on lighter soils (Hamerow 1992) this has affected the apparent locations of cemeteries.

Ritual landscapes

A number of different elements in the early Anglo-Saxon landscape have been recognised, not only the obvious cemeteries and settlements, but also religious structures (Blair 1995). Hamerow (2006) has interpreted some deposits in settlements as deliberately placed, and possibly ritual in nature. As for the relationships between these sites, the close association of some cemeteries, or mortuary areas, has been highlighted at Mucking, Essex (Hamerow 1993). While Lucy (1998: 101) claims that the known settlement pattern in East Yorkshire is almost entirely dissimilar to the pattern of cemeteries so that 'cemeteries cannot be used to infer settlement patterns', Semple (2002: 114) concludes quite differently about the same area. Other places, like Mucking, have clearly associated settlement.

Andrew Reynolds (1999: 24–5) writes 'in recent years archaeologists have become increasingly aware of the importance of viewing [settlements and burial sites] in relation to each other', and so a realisation has dawned that the archaeological elements of landscape, the sites, should not be explored in isolation from it. Their spatially continuous relationships reflect the holistic experience of life. Semple's conclusions are clear: 'the perceived separation between religious sites, settlements and cemeteries should be reassessed ... ritual structures and religious activities may have been integrated within the domestic scene' (2002: 375).

Regional and local variation

The recognition of regional variations in the distribution and nature of material culture was well established by the middle of the twentieth century (Leeds 1945). It is only more recently that regional variations in the landscape context of early Anglo-Saxon cemeteries have come to be considered. With the exception of some important country-wide studies (Goodier 1984; Williams 1997; 1998) most of the recent work on the landscape contexts of early Anglo-Saxon cemeteries has been carried out in specific case study areas, in recognition of the importance of regional distinctiveness (Brookes 2002; 2007; Lucy 1998; Richardson 2005; Semple 2002; 2003; Williams 1999). The material practices of early Anglo-Saxon England were not homogeneous. Differences from place to place can be explained in terms of local social and ideological, not ethnic, differences between communities (Lucy 2002).

Although cemeteries may no longer be taken to indicate the presence of settlers or settlements in the grand migration scheme, regional and local variations in the configuration of the early Anglo-Saxon landscape as a whole are likely to have been the result of necessary differences between agricultural regimes, and the distribution of resources (Williamson 2003). It seems that here too cemeteries and settlements have a potential conjunction: 'the success of a regional and localised approach [allows] cemetery evidence to be considered in tandem with that for settlement' (Semple 2002: 375).

Transitions and chronology

Bassett (1989) writes of the fragmentation of power following the end of Roman rule, and the concomitant plethora of autonomous or semi-autonomous tribal groups, each with small territories. Some of the tribal groups were still in existence when the Tribal Hidage was drawn up in the mid-seventh century, but had become part of larger and more sophisticated polities, or tribal kingdoms (Davies and Vierck 1974). A portion of these then rose to dominance in the form of centralised kingdoms. These were divided into territorial units much larger than the later manors of the Domesday Book, called 'multiple estates' by some scholars (Faith 1997; Jones 1971; 1976).

Both settlement and cemetery studies have emphasised long-term development of the Anglo-Saxon landscape in the context of these transitions. Many authors write of changes in the landscape context of mortuary sites towards the end of the early Anglo-Saxon period, as elite individuals and groups emerged (Lucy 1998, Williams 1999, Semple 2002; 2003). Alongside this there was an associated multitude of changing social roles (Geake 1997) and boundaries begin to appear in and around settlements as middle Anglo-Saxon estates coalesced (Reynolds 2002).

The Roman to Anglo-Saxon transition is less clear. Williamson argues for a thread of continuity from the late Roman administrative district (*pagus*) through the early tribal territory to the multiple estate, citing the evidence that some early Anglo-Saxon cemeteries can be found alongside late Roman camps and towns, sites which later become in close proximity to estate centres (Williamson 1993: 93–104). Yet, there is no simple development from the Roman villa estate to the primary Anglo-Saxon manor (Foard and Pearson 1985: 6; Hamerow 2002: 124). Multi-period landscape projects have also shown how the general locations preferred for settlement remained unchanged over very long periods and existing patterns of dispersed, rural settlement were merely added to, or complemented, in the early Anglo-Saxon period (Aston and Gerrard 1999: 20). At the same time the reuse of Roman sites for mortuary purposes is almost certainly not an element of continuity, but a deliberate choice to renegotiate the past for contemporary purposes (Williams 1997). Semple (2002) advocates the use of careful chronology to explore changes over time.

Outstanding issues and general approach

Current knowledge of the landscape context of early Anglo-Saxon cemeteries raises a number of issues, perhaps the most challenging of which is the incomplete

integration of cemetery and settlement archaeology. There is an increasing understanding that sites are interrelated, sometimes forming discernible ritual landscapes which incorporate funerary, settlement, and other sites or areas together with historical and geographical elements. Mortuary archaeology is frequently concerned with ideology, social roles, status, identity, origins, ritual, and religion; while settlement archaeology concentrates on subsistence, agriculture, animal husbandry, boundaries, economy, and trade. Yet, death is not a separate aspect of community experience, so settlement and cemeteries are interrelated, and this deserves to be explored (see Chapter 3).

Also evident is a tension between different scales of explanation—between broad historical narratives and the reality of local variations. Thus, large-scale migrations and the rise of kingdoms do not relate to the minutiae of gendered social role. This tension is also evident between archaeological methods which address different scales, e.g. between a distribution map and a grave illustration; between field survey and excavation; between statistical treatment of sites across an area, and the meticulous examination of one parish, or field, by topographic analysis and historical records.

A 'bottom-up' approach is one path to reconciliation: variation in funerary practice can be understood at the detailed, local level, in order to build up broader chronological and regional trends. In the case of early Anglo-Saxon cemeteries, which are communal locations, this necessitates analysis at an inclusive social level, one at which people engage with both life and death, above that of the household, but below that of the region. This is most commonly termed the 'community', but the term and its implications for Anglo-Saxon archaeology deserve to be explored (see Chapter 4).

In order to highlight important regional differences various authors have looked at the landscape context of cemeteries through the use of case study areas, but the number of counties so far examined is somewhat small, and there are some omissions in coverage. On the one hand, the often explored counties of Yorkshire, Wiltshire, Hampshire and Kent are in areas where chalk geology gives rise to elevated plateaus of downland, or wold. On the other hand, the Upper Thames Valley (most commonly, Oxfordshire) is characterised by a large river system and gravel terraces, and is familiar from many excavations of both cemeteries and settlements (Dickinson 1976; Hawkes 1986).

Apart from potential differences in political climate in other areas, there is a noticeable lack of studies in counties with more subdued topography. For example, despite some consideration by Hoggett (2007), Penn and Brugmann (2007) and the truncated East Anglian Kingdom Survey (Newman 1989; 1992), it is surprising that Norfolk, with its notable concentration of Anglo-Saxon population and cemetery sites, has yet to attract a dedicated landscape project in the same vein. This book contributes to fulfilling this need, and tests whether many of the findings about early Anglo-Saxon landscape context hold true for a different region (see Chapters 5 and 7). The varied geography of Norfolk also means that many of the conclusions will be relevant to other areas as well.

Different sources of evidence need to be used to identify ritual landscapes, and their change over time, to integrate the study of life and death, and to reconcile several scales of existence. Where studies have incorporated evidence from a wide range of disciplines they have improved contextual understanding. The landscape also needs to be treated as a 'continuous artefact' (Bintliff, Kuna and Venclová 2000b: 2), and this can be achieved through collecting the results of techniques routinely used by other landscape projects.

Excavation gives detailed information over a small area about very localised social practices, most notably in the mortuary sphere, as settlements are difficult to find and often have insubstantial remains. Fieldwalking gives a broader view, especially and almost exclusively with respect to settlement, but potsherds are difficult to date and survey areas are often relatively limited. Stray finds may be derived from either mortuary or settlement deposits but are, by their very nature, accidentally found and often have poor provenance. Aerial photography is of little use for discerning cemeteries, but in some soils can suggest the presence of settlement features. What is needed to supplement these data is something to help form a bridge between cemetery and settlement, and between broad scale and small scale.

This extra form of evidence would ideally complement continuous settlement evidence from systematic fieldwalking with widespread mortuary evidence, but should also be comparable, to some degree, with excavated material. Third-party metal-detector finds, that is those artefacts found and reported by members of the public, have the potential to form such a body of data, and present several advantages: early Anglo-Saxon objects found by metal detector appear to come from cemeteries; the popularity of the hobby and successful liaison between detectorists and archaeologists mean a great many finds have been recorded; these artefacts are spread over a wide area, while at the same time providing evidence for individual sites. In this way, metal-detector data is somewhat akin to the continuous data surfaces produced by systematic fieldwalking, and fit in well with the aim of treating landscape as a continuous artefact. However, this new class of data also presents a number of challenges, and these need to be addressed (see Chapter 6).

To conclude, the approach taken in this work is to supplement traditional sources of archaeological evidence for early Anglo-Saxon sites in Norfolk with third-party metal-detector finds. By assembling a detailed picture of life and death in the landscape across a relatively large area the aim is to identify community practice, attempt to explain differences in terms which are relevant to both mortuary and settlement studies, and contribute to an understanding of how regional and country-wide trends may be constructed from localised identities (see Chapter 8).

Chapter 3

Cemeteries and Settlements

Introduction

Variation and complexity in the relationships between cemetery, settlements and the landscape are known from excavation. Here it is considered in what ways the study of cemeteries and settlements can be integrated within the current paradigms of mortuary and settlement archaeology. The discussion explores how relic reuse, settlement patterns, subsistence and landscape structure may have had an effect on where people chose to locate cemeteries. Also considered is how to define an association archaeologically, and whether cemeteries really 'served' the settlements of local communities. It is argued that a varied range of activities by people have left evidence in the landscape, not just those of burial and building. As a result, the choices made about cemetery and settlement locations should be understood within the whole context of the community.

Settlements and Their Cemeteries

Archaeological evidence

There are few settlement sites which have been excavated on a sufficiently large scale to capture both the typical sprawl of early Anglo-Saxon settlement features and any nearby cemetery, but those that have been subject to generous open-area excavation provide compelling evidence for funerary activity that may be contemporary. The sites discussed here are those which have been well published and provide a selection from much of England. Fig. 3.1 shows the location of sites discussed here.

Mucking

Mucking, on the 100ft gravel terrace of the River Thames in south-east Essex, proves to be an enduringly exceptional early fifth- to late seventh-century site (Hamerow 1993: fig.195). Eighteen hectares were excavated over the course of thirteen years; within this area a significant number of SFBs and post-built buildings were found, and amongst them, two cemeteries. These features appear to form a 'single unit' with Cemetery I merely 25m from the nearest SFB, and settlement features actually 'spilling over' onto areas of Cemetery II (Hamerow 1993: 89). The aerial photography interpretation at Mucking, and the subsequent excavation of the features identified, have shown that the early Anglo-Saxon activity was just one phase of the history of land use on the terrace. Numerous ring ditches, enclosures, burials, houses, buildings and other features show that this spot was favoured intermittently for settlement and funerary activity as far back as the Neolithic (Clark 1993). Therefore, it is important to bear in mind that if the earliest Anglo-Saxon settlements reused sites that were also favoured in the Roman and prehistoric periods, then any closely associated cemeteries would also be near Roman and prehistoric features without necessarily being linked.

West Heslerton

The next largest early Anglo-Saxon settlement excavation is the 13ha area at West Heslerton in East Yorkshire, which forms part of a larger landscape project for the Vale of Pickering as a whole (Powlesland et al. 1986: fig.4). While the final settlement publication is still pending (Powlesland et al., forthcoming), the cemetery publication (Haughton and Powlesland 1999) and interim reports (Powlesland et al. 1986; Powlesland 1990; Powlesland 1999a; b) give a good indication of a settlement and associated cemetery in close proximity: the Anglian cemetery focuses on a barrow cemetery dated to the Bronze Age, while the usual spread of SFBs and post-built structures form the settlement 500–800m to the south (Haughton and Powlesland 1999: 78). It differs from Mucking in the reuse of the prehistoric features, and the relatively large distance between the cemetery and settlement, but the two facts are not necessarily related.

Bishopstone

Bishopstone, Sussex, while being a considerably smaller excavation of 1ha in size, demonstrates that cemeteries, associated with barrows and settlement can be as closely related as the kind of cemeteries and settlement at Mucking. Bishopstone lies on a dip slope of the South Downs chalk, overlooking valley alluvium, and although the excavation of the site was carried out in far from ideal conditions (bungalows were erected around the excavator as he worked) David Thompson made the discovery of settlement right on the edge of a large inhumation cemetery which was associated with a Bronze Age barrow (Bell 1977). A post-built building was found only 2m away from the nearest burial adjacent to the barrow (although this may have been ritual in nature) with subsequent buildings stretching to the east and north-east of the cemetery until approximately 170m distant.

Cowdery's Down

It is unfortunate that even with relatively large open area excavation the identification of settlement and funerary features is often not assured. At Cowdery's Down in Hampshire, some 1.4ha of land was excavated revealing exceptionally well preserved high-status buildings from the sixth and seventh centuries, as well as later prehistoric and Romano-British occupation features (Millett and James 1983). The nearest evidence for Anglo-

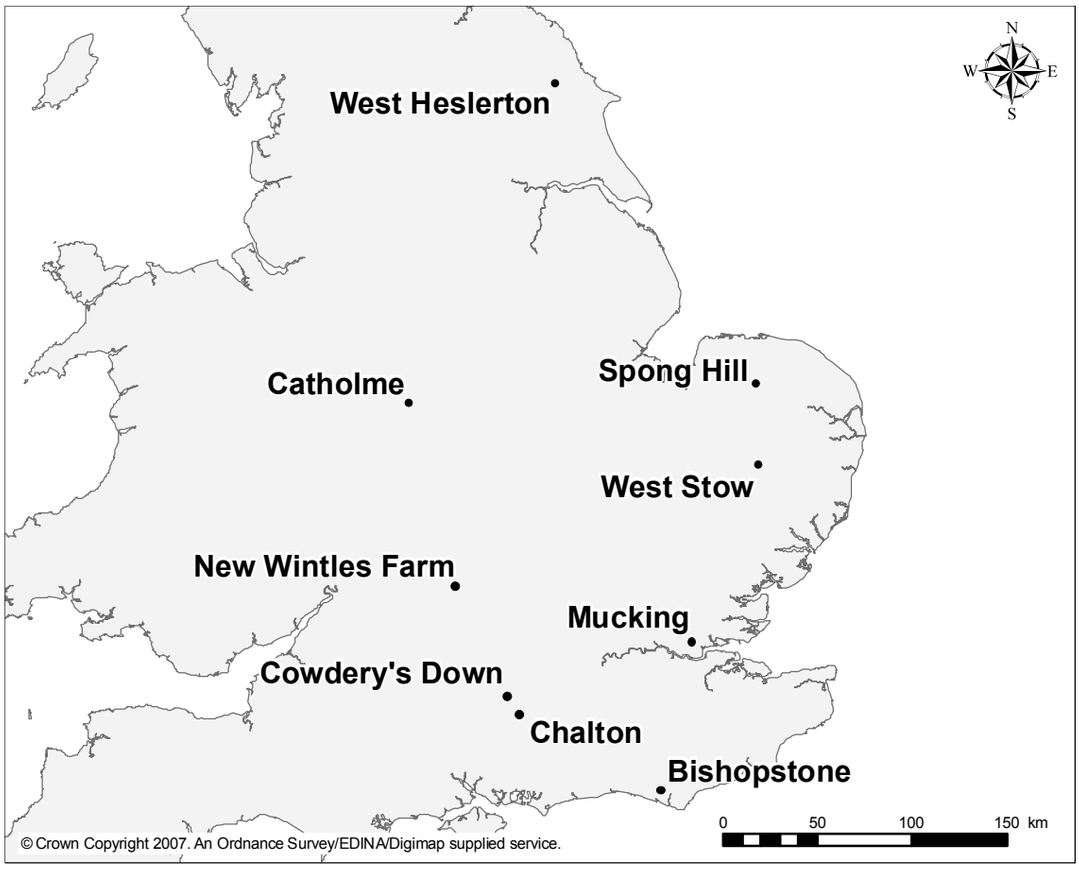


Fig. 3.1 Location of excavated early Anglo-Saxon settlement sites discussed in the text.

Saxon burials was not associated with the nearby early Bronze Age ring ditches (which did produce Bronze Age burials) as might be expected for this period, but was a questionable reference to burials c. 1.8km to the north-west. Various trenches were dug to try to establish the limits of the settlement, but because of the generous gaps between the buildings, it is difficult to be sure that the limits were really reached, and also that a cemetery wasn't simply further away still, as at West Heslerton.

New Wintles Farm

Similarly, New Wintles Farm in Oxfordshire, with 3ha of excavations, produced a sprinkling of early Anglo-Saxon occupation evidence, but no cemetery (Chadwick Hawkes and Gray 1969; Gray 1974). Three adult burials found dispersed in the centre, west and far north of the settlement, respectively, raise the intriguing possibility that no centralized cemetery existed at all.

Chalton

Discovering associated cemetery material is often a matter of chance, but might also be affected by the kind of questions being pursued. For example, the estimated size of the settlement at Chalton, Hampshire, was 6ha, of which 2ha was excavated by the time of the second interim report (Addyman and Leigh 1973). The stated aim of the excavation was to investigate the extensive scatter of hand-made potsherds, loom-weights, whetstone and lava fragments identified as part of a fieldwalking survey by Barry Cunliffe and John Budden (Addyman, Leigh and Hughes 1972). Two long exploratory trenches were dug which suggested that the settlement continued to spread some way down the slopes and along the 'saddle-back' of the hill.

Even though the excavation had the luxury of not being a rescue effort, nothing was done to explicitly search for funerary material in the vicinity. Obviously it is easy to be critical in retrospect. The fieldwalking survey of Chalton was one of the studies which pioneered the techniques that form a significant part of the integrated landscape studies of today, but it is important to bear in mind that for earlier excavations, such as Chalton, on which we might be tempted to base particular conclusions about the association of cemetery material, absence of evidence is not necessarily evidence of absence either by accident of happenstance or by design of research questions.

A conclusion at this point may be that various excavations of settlement sites in the last few decades suggest that there is indeed a close relationship between settlement and cemeteries in some significant cases, but whether these represent exceptions or the rule remains a matter for discussion. It is certainly the case that many cemeteries, which still form the majority of known

early Anglo-Saxon sites, have no recognised associated settlement features. It may be that mortuary areas associated with some well-excavated settlements have yet to be found, or were found in former times when excavation was unsatisfactory, making an association difficult to demonstrate.

Catholme

At Catholme, located on a gravel terrace of the River Trent in Staffordshire, 3.4ha of land designated for quarrying was excavated between 1973 and 1980 (Losco-Bradley and Kinsley 2002). Here, as at Mucking, West Heslerton and Cowdery's Down, cropmarks along the terrace-edge contours indicated a range of settlement and monumental activity from different periods (Losco-Bradley and Kinsley 2002: fig.1.3). The Anglo-Saxon settlement itself appears to continue beyond the excavated area to the north-west and the south. It may even have reached all the way to the Wychnor cemetery discovered in 1899, which lay c. 500m south of the settlement excavations. The artefacts from this inhumation cemetery suggest a sixth- to early seventh-century date, but because the excavations did not continue south into Field C, and because gravel quarrying has removed the possibility of further investigation of any sort, the exact relationship between the two remains unclear.

It is also worth noting that while there are three prehistoric monuments to the south-east of the excavated area at Catholme, and their presence may have influenced the layout of the settlement (Losco-Bradley and Kinsley 2002: 3), they do not seem to have been the subject of Anglo-Saxon funerary activity. A preference for placing cemeteries on such monuments, even where they can be shown with reasonable certainty to have been visible in the Anglo-Saxon period, does not necessarily mean that they determined the placement of cemeteries in every instance. At the same time, graves within the settlement itself, apparently at the entrance to two contemporary enclosures (Losco-Bradley and Kinsley 2002: 40), serve as a reminder that not all funerary activity in the early Anglo-Saxon period took place within a cemetery (cf. New Wintles Farm), and that it might, in some cases, be related to beliefs and rituals of the household, rather than wider matters of identity (Hamerow 2002: 193).

West Stow

Like Catholme, West Stow in Suffolk (West 1985) is another excavated settlement site for which the associated cemetery was the subject of discovery in the nineteenth century and so could not be investigated in modern times. The settlement site was excavated over an area of 1.8ha, but didn't include the cemetery that lay 200-300m to the north-east, a site that had been the subject of numerous incursions by locals in the years following its discovery, nor the land in between. The broad issue here is that a landscape approach to the relationship between settlements and cemeteries, in the absence of excavation over the whole area of interest, continues to present several problems. One is whether nearby cemetery or settlement features have been identified, a second is whether they are sufficiently close as to be associated, and a third problem is the exact nature of such a relationship. At Catholme, these points are underlined by the presence of a mixed cemetery, also found in the nineteenth century, c. 1.5km to the north of the excavated settlement. Whether this cemetery was associated with Catholme, or signifies the presence of another settlement further along the gravel terrace, is an interesting, but unanswered, question.

Sites in context

The collection of sites mentioned so far have varied by date and by size, and similarly broad variation has been noted in the nature of cemeteries. The landscape contexts of these sites have varied with respect to both geographical and historical landscape features too: broad generalisations are difficult to make. When sites are examined in their regional context, however, some of the variability becomes more explicable. The relationship of cemeteries to settlements is one example which encompasses a number of points.

The four cremation cemeteries in East Yorkshire (Lucy 1998) were found in a line along the western edge of the Wolds, high up and away from water. Inhumation cemeteries in the same study area were found to be far more numerous and more variable in their position, sometimes lying high up on the chalk like the cremation cemeteries, sometimes near water on the sand and gravels, and sometimes in the dry valleys. This pattern led Lucy to the conclusion that it cannot be assumed that cemetery locations reflect the location of settlement—but the dating of her sites is crucial. She identifies a general, temporal trend that cemeteries in the fifth and sixth centuries are sited on the margins of the Wolds, while by the seventh and eighth they had moved to higher situations up on the Wolds (Lucy 1998: fig.95). Since settlement 'tended to cluster on the low slopes of the Wolds and the valleys running off them' (Lucy 1998: 99), the location of inhumation cemeteries in the fifth to sixth centuries, most of the period which concerns us here, is not inconsistent with a close association to settlement.

Leahy's interpretation (1999: 129) of the five large cremations cemeteries in Lindsey as reflecting the 'original folk groupings' of the mid-fifth century, before the development of smaller, local inhumation sites from the late fifth century, would also suggest that this is the case for all but perhaps the very earliest part of the Anglo-Saxon period as we understand it. The distributions of cemeteries both north and south of the River Humber underline the point that the details of cemetery type and date are important variables.

Taking a wider, regional view may provide valuable context for the few excavated examples, but in taking such a view it is important not to generalise from one area to another. The sites discussed here are Spong Hill, West

Stow, Mucking, Bishopstone, Chalton, Cowdery's Down, New Wintles Farm, Catholme and West Heslerton, and these, between them, form the corners of an area that covers a significant proportion of Anglo-Saxon England as a whole—over 480km separate West Heslerton and Bishopstone, north to south, and c. 180km separate Catholme and Spong Hill, east to west. In Chapter 2, the contribution of political differences among some of these areas was mentioned in relation to differences in the landscape context of cemeteries. Different areas of the country also have relief and geology that vary in character thereby affecting the configuration of available landscape contexts, and perhaps contributing to the ways in which local practices are likely to vary (cf. Fox 1952).

At Spong Hill, in Norfolk, for example, occupation features are quite clearly associated with a large cremation cemetery, at least for some period in its use (Rickett 1995: 154–5). The cremations lie on a slope that is relatively spectacular for the area, but they are not far from the nearest river and suitable settlement areas. In East Yorkshire such a cemetery might have been sited on the Wolds far from settlement. Recent developer-funded excavations, just c. 1.5km distant from Spong Hill, have found cremations and occupation features very closely associated in the parish of Hoe (Fig. 3.2; Sutherland and Roberts 2003; Trimble 2002; Trimble and Underdown 2002; HER 37159). This might suggest that cremations may be found near settlement quite commonly in Norfolk, and that the meaning of cremation rites there was different from in East Yorkshire, at least with respect to settlement proximity. Similar regional differences in the frequency of later prehistoric and Romano-British feature reuse are already well established (Williams 1997).

There are many more examples of early Anglo-Saxon settlement excavations in England together with those already discussed and a number of these are summarised in Table 3.1. Some of these have produced direct funerary evidence which is likely to be broadly contemporary, or they have nearby funerary material known from other sources. Some appear to have no cemetery material in the vicinity at all. Although these examples largely contribute to the argument that settlement and cemeteries are frequently related in the early Anglo-Saxon period, compared to the large open-area excavations discussed above, they do not provide the kind of detailed information necessary to examine more closely the nature of the association. In fact, Table 3.1 shows that the distance between the settlements and what the excavators have assumed to be, or suggested might be, the 'associated' cemeteries, varies wildly from 0–1800m. Since even this simple conception of an 'association' is difficult to define, it seems that what is needed is a proper consideration of what 'associated' really means.

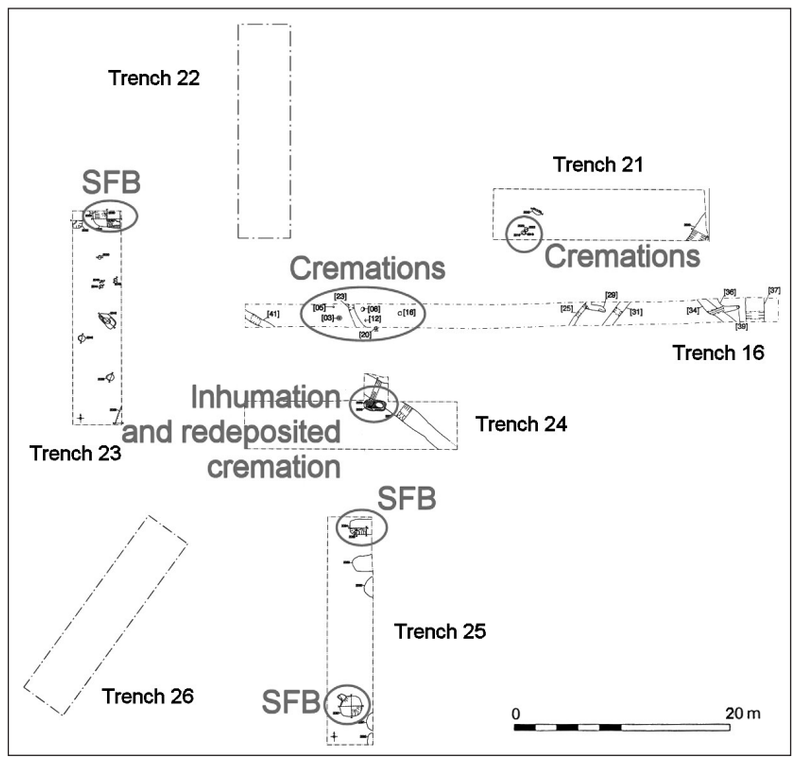


Fig. 3.2 Overall site plan of excavations conducted on land adjoining Swanton Morley Airfield in the parish of Hoe, Norfolk (HER 37159). Courtesy of Gary Trimble and Norfolk Archaeological Unit.

Settlement Name	County	Settlement Chronology	Geology	Distance to Associated Cemetery (m)	Distance to Next Nearest Cemetery (m)	Main Settlement Reference
Barton Court Farm	Oxfordshire	C5th-C6th	Upper Thames gravel	400	unspecfied	Miles 1986
Bentley Green Farm	Hampshire	Early Saxon	Gravel over chalk, and stone-free red/ brown clay loam (brickearth) over gravel over chalk	unknown	unknown	Ford 1997
Bishopstone	East Sussex	unspecified	Thin silty over chalk downlond	2–170	unspecfied	Bell 1977
Bourton-on-the-Water	Gloucestershire	Early Saxon	Gravel	unknown	unknown	Dunning 1932
Bloodmoor Hill	Suffolk	Late C5th/C6th–C8th	Sand/clay	0–50 (AD 625–700)	c. 500–800 (C5th/C6th)	Dickens et al. 2005
Catholme	Staffordshire	C5th/C7th–C9th	Gravel	c. 500	c. 2000	Losco-Bradley and Kinsley 2002
Chalton	Hampshire	C6th–C7th	Chalk downland	unknown	unknown	Addyman and Leigh 1973
Collingbourne Ducis	Wiltshire	C5th–late C7th	Upper Chalk, and gravel over chalk	150	unspecfied	Pine 2001
Cowage Farm, Foxley	Wiltshire	C6th–C7th	Unspecified	unknown	unknown	Hinchliffe 1986
Cowdery's Down	Hampshire	C6th–C7th	Chalk and clay over chalk	c. 1800	c. 2800	Millett and James 1983
Dorchester-on-Thames	Oxfordshire	C5th	Unspecified	unknown	unknown	Frere 1984
Harston	Leicestershire	Early Saxon	Unspecified	unknown	unknown	Dunning 1952
Harston	Cambridgeshire	Early Saxon	Sand and gravel over chalk, sometimes overlain with chalky-marl colluvium	c. 1000	c. 2100	Malim 1993
Heybridge	Essex	C5th	Gravel	300	c. 800	Drury and Wickenden 1982
Lechlade	Gloucestershire	Early Saxon	Unspecified	'short distance'	unspecfied	Holbrooke et al. 2002
Linford	Essex	C5th	Lower Thames gravel	unknown	unknown	Barton 1962
Mucking	Essex	Early C5th–early C8th	Lower Thames gravel	0–25	c. 2000	Hamerow 1993
New Wintles Farm	Oxfordshire	C6th–early C8th	Upper Thames gravel	unknown	unknown	Chadwick Hawkes and Gray 1969
Northbrook	Hampshire	Mid-C5th–C9th	Clay-with-flints over Upper Chalk	0	c. 1000	Johnston 1998
Old Down Farm	Hampshire	unspecified	Loam and broken chalk over Upper Chalk	c. 1100	unspecfied	Davies 1979
Orton Hall Farm	Cambridgeshire	C5th–early C6th	Oxford clay and thin Third Terrace gravel over Oxford Clay, with perched water tables	unknown	unknown	Mackreth 1996
Pennyland	Buckinghamshire	EarlyC5th–late C8th	Gravel over Boulder and Oxford clays	unknown	unknown	Williams 1993
Riby Cross Roads	Lincolnshire	C6th or C7th–mid C9th	Unspecified	c. 1500	2500	Steedman 1994
Salmonby	Lincolnshire	unspecified	Unspecified drift over Spilsby Sandstone	unknown	unknown	Everson 1973
Waterbeach	Cambridgeshire	Early Saxon	Silt over gravel	unknown	unknown	Lethbridge 1927
West Heslerton	North Yorkshire	C5th–C9th	Sand and gravel on chalk	300	c. 7000	Powlesland et al. forthcoming
West Stow	Suffolk	Early C5th–mid-C7th	Sand on Boulder Clay on Chalk	200–300	c. 2200	West 1985
Whitfield	Kent	Early C7th	Unspecified	unknown	unknown	Bennett 1996
Yarnton	Oxfordshire	Late C5th–C9th	Upper Thames gravel	c. 100	c. 1900	Hey 2004

Table 3.1 Selected early Anglo-Saxon settlement excavations in England and their proximity to mortuary features.

Defining an 'association'

Proximity, contemporaneity, structured deposition, and artefactual connections

What defines an 'association' is simply that people from a given settlement were interred at a given cemetery. At least, this is the definition most commonly implied in the literature—'ancestral cemeteries with which settlements had been closely linked for centuries...' (Hamerow 2002: 123). There is a particular expectation that most cemeteries and settlements have a one-to-one relationship, that is, that one cemetery 'serves' a particular settlement. This is the suggested interpretation for the sites in the Yarnton area, so that by the sixth and seventh centuries 'each settlement had its own small cemetery' (Hey 2004: 42).

An exception is large cremation cemeteries which may have drawn the deceased from many different places (e.g. Spong Hill—Hills and Penn 1981: 22; see also Arnold 1981: 246 and Scull 1993: 72–3), presumably for the purposes of maintaining some greater identity. Alternatively, there may be more than one contemporary cemetery associated with one settlement, as we have seen at Mucking. In some cases, particular sections of society might be buried together separately from others, although these cemeteries are frequently smaller and later in the Anglo-Saxon period (Scull 2001: 73). So, while the definition of an 'association' seems plain enough, the potential permutations of cemetery-settlement relations do not appear to be so simple.

How these relationships are identified from archaeological evidence is not straightforward either. In the absence of written material detailing the home address and corresponding cemetery plot of every early Anglo-Saxon resident, there are four ways in which an association, as it has been defined, might be demonstrated. The first is that of proximity, a criterion used liberally in the preceding discussion of excavated settlement sites. Setting aside for the moment those cemeteries that apparently lie a significant distance from any settlement they might 'serve', such as the four cremation cemeteries in East Yorkshire, it is generally assumed that an association is demonstrated by simple proximity.

Logically, it appears extremely unlikely that a settlement should host a cemetery on its doorstep for the sole use of another settlement entirely. If a cemetery lies immediately adjacent to a settlement, then it seems valid to assume that at least some of the settlement's residents made use of the funerary area after death. Problems may arise when there is more than one cemetery associated with a settlement, or when there is a complex of settlement features and/or funerary areas of different kinds. One of the most interesting recent discoveries in this vein is that of the cemetery complex at Lakenheath, Suffolk, where unpublished excavations by Suffolk County Council Archaeological Service have revealed three contemporary, but morphologically different, inhumation areas, clearly separated by up to 120m, with a scatter of settlement features to the north (Caruth 1998; 2000; 2002; pers. comm.).

Equally important is the criterion of contemporaneity. If settlement precedes or follows the time period in which a nearby cemetery was in use (determined by the study of the grave goods), then the two are not associated. Dating is not without its own problems, especially if sites are only known from inadequate antiquarian descriptions, for which any associated artefacts have become lost in the mists of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century obscurity, or from surface artefact surveys. Where there are artefacts extant, many grave goods do not provide dating more precise than 'fifth to sixth century' or 'sixth to early seventh century', and settlements suggested from fieldwalking rarely produce reliably datable material, because early Anglo-Saxon domestic pottery is notoriously difficult to date by typology (Newman 1992: 31).

Even if relative dating is available, it may be insufficient by itself to tease out the relationships between settlement and mortuary areas. For example, Barton Court Farm (Miles 1986) which lay on the edge of a second gravel terrace, near Abingdon in Oxfordshire, provides a particular problem. Here there is some evidence for a small settlement in the fifth century, possibly continuing into the sixth, with four or five inhumations north of the settlement, two carefully placed in rooms of the disused Roman villa, and two in another building 30m to the east. These graves 'best fit a mid-sixth century context' (Miles 1986: 19). The small number of graves alone should suggest that not everyone from Barton Court Farm was buried there, but it is also possible from the imprecise nature of the chronology that the interments occurred entirely after the settlement had been abandoned.

There are several candidates for nearby settlements that might have buried their dead at Barton Court Farm, such as the large settlement at Barrow Hills (Miles 1986: 37; Chambers and McAdam 2007) which lies just 300m to the north-east, although this has a possible adjacent cemetery of its own. Miles notes that there are several 'hut sites' nearby (1986: 25). Similarly, candidates for contemporary cemeteries that might have 'served' Barton Court Farm's residents are available nearby (Miles 1986: 3; Miles 1974). Unfortunately, this all raises more questions about the cemetery-settlement associations in this area than it answers, and leads to the conclusion that the model of a one-to-one cemetery-settlement relationship is, at best, misleading, at least where settlements might be numerous and their histories complex, as in the wider Abingdon area (Miles 1986: 1).

Allied to the evidence of proximity and contemporaneity is that of deposition structured by associated features, that is, when burials can be shown to have followed or

'respected' settlement features or enclosures, or vice versa. Clearly, this is strong evidence, but it is only available where there are extensive and good quality excavations, and also where sites are in very close proximity.

Artefact connections provide a fourth way to suggest an association in the absence of direct linkage from excavation; this is when objects like pottery or metalwork found in funerary contexts have close parallels or links to those in the fills of settlement features. For example, a few antler tine pottery stamps in the fills of SFBs at West Stow were found to have similar designs to the stamped cremation urns from the nearby cemetery (West 1985: 125, 135). Assuming, not unreasonably, that people from West Stow were not only making the pots, but also using them, this is a relatively good piece of evidence for a cemetery-settlement association. Unfortunately, the parallels are not clear and this sort of evidence is also rare.

Complex relationships

This examination of the term 'association' points to two conclusions. First, the model is unlikely to be a simple one-to-one cemetery-settlement relationship, nor a one-to-many, or many-to-one. Early Anglo-Saxon settlements have been characterised as impermanent, shifting, and sprawling (Blair 1994: 18), with few boundaries or apparent concern for structure (although Catholme has ditched 'holdings', Losco-Bradley and Kinsley 2002), at least until the later sixth and seventh centuries (Reynolds 2003: 130). This view has been contested by Tipper's analysis of Mucking, which suggests that the 'two settlement nuclei had some sort of permanency' (Tipper 2004: 52), and by Powlesland's analysis of West Heslerton, which if not planned was at least structured by activity zones (Powlesland 1997a: 111–3; 1999a: 58–9). Our contemporary characterisation of the archaeological palimpsest, the result of decades of replacement and rebuilding, therefore obscures what may have been clearly structured farm space and buildings which were secure in their setting.

Turning to mortuary contexts, the West Heslerton cemetery is said to present 'no attempt to define the limits or contain the cemetery within an enclosed area' (Haughton and Powlesland 1999: 78), but there does appear to be some kind of focus near the largest Bronze Age barrow in the south, and the dearth of inter-cutting graves might suggest long-term 'careful maintenance' (Haughton and Powlesland 1999: 78). However, the features which seem to provide bounds to the south, such as the barrows and hengiform enclosure, are not seen to do so sharply and the burials are of variable orientation and in dispersed locations. Reynolds (2003: 130) makes the observation 'the settlement record appears to reflect the nature of society as accurately as do the cemeteries', and in both cases we can postulate a complex social reality that is not always easy for archaeologists to understand at first sight.

Settlements have also been shown to range from one farmstead to ten or more, forming large settlements, although the limited scope of excavation thus far means that our understanding of settlement size and characteristics leaves much to be desired (Hamerow 2002). This suggests some evidence of different sizes of settlement, even if hierarchy might be too strong a concept for the available evidence. Funerary sites also range in size from single burials (which can hardly be termed cemeteries) to enormous sites with thousands of interred individuals. What this suggests in the broadest terms is that, without even considering the symbolism and meanings of funerary activity, the character of early Anglo-Saxon life and death appears to have been flexible within a range of culturally specific aspects. Similar conclusions have been reached with respect to the use of grave goods, and the range of individuals included in mortuary sites (Hines 2002: 90–1, 98). We should expect differences in choices, constrained by physical circumstance and social practice, to be reflected in cemetery location, such as in the reuse of different monuments in different ways (Williams 1997), and in the relationships between cemeteries and their associated settlements.

The second conclusion concerns the practicalities of discerning potentially complex cemetery-settlement associations. Certainly, in the case of most landscape study, the kind of evidence that provides the most concrete cemetery-settlement associations is first and foremost that of proximity. As we have seen, the evidence for proximity varies in quality from long-term, open-area excavation, to the reportage of antiquarian weekend expeditions. The establishment of contemporaneity relies on the quality and nature of artefacts recovered from any kind of investigations, again highly variable. Structured features and artefact connections can provide superb evidence of cemetery-settlement association, but this relies on high-quality excavation of well-preserved contexts. An examination of the landscape context of early Anglo-Saxon cemeteries with respect to settlement must therefore be expected to depend on collecting all sorts of evidence from different sources with varying quality; some will provide detailed information about a small area, while others will provide more general information over a wider area. The aim should be to characterise the flexible cemetery-settlement relations that typify sites, areas and regions in the early Anglo-Saxon period.

Continuity, coincidence, convenience and choice

The late Romano-British landscape

The influence of settlement location on the whereabouts of cemeteries has already been touched upon. Places like Mucking, West Heslerton, Cowdery's Down, Catholme and West Stow were founded in areas with long histories of settlement in preceding periods. The use (intermittent or otherwise) of areas favourable to rural subsistence in prehistoric and Roman times appears to have been the

norm (Aston and Gerrard 1999: 20). In short, settlements grew up 'within an inherited landscape which already possessed structure and form from earlier periods, and offered opportunities or imposed limitations' (Jones and Page 2006: 31). The corollary of this is that cemeteries associated with settlements located within such areas of extended exploitation are likely to be found near prehistoric and Roman features. Yet, as at Cowdery's Down and Catholme, it is not necessarily the case that neighbouring monuments or ditches were reused for mortuary activities, even if they can be shown with some certainty to have been visible in the early Anglo-Saxon period.

Potential continuity from the Roman landscape is of particular interest here for several reasons. A retreat from the valley-bottom soils of the villa system was accompanied by the collapse of the country-wide economic structure, but left agricultural regimes broadly intact (Dark 2000: 130), so that the pattern of previously existing rural settlement formed the basis of the early Anglo-Saxon pattern (Williamson 1988). At Orton Hall Farm, Cambridgeshire, the excavator suggests continuous development from the mid-first to the early sixth centuries (Mackreth 1996) but at many similar sites discontinuity seems more likely. For example, although there is site location continuity at Worton, Cassington and Purwell Farm in Oxfordshire, the stability of land units may have been responsible, rather than absolute continuity of habitation (Hey 2004: 86).

These arguments suffer from the fact that continuity is difficult to define: recent fieldwalking in Northamptonshire and Cambridgeshire strongly supports the continuity of Roman field systems through to the form of medieval furlongs, probably due to the durability of the agricultural economy (Upex 2002) but this says little directly about the people involved. Whether or not continuity of purpose is indicated, the favoured locations for settlements in the early Anglo-Saxon period affected the availability in the vicinity of relic features for reuse. Studies of the landscape context of cemeteries suggest that these available Roman sites were carefully chosen for symbolic meanings particular to Anglo-Saxon ideology (Williams 1997; 1998).

Millett (1990: 181–4) estimates that the number of rural Roman sites is 0.70 per square kilometre on average demonstrating just how ubiquitous the relics of former times may have been. It seems difficult to imagine how the early Anglo-Saxons could have avoided reusing sites in this case, or at least, how archaeologists can distinguish coincidence from choice using the evidence of surface artefact survey, rather than excavation. The wider significance of these observations is the impression of a landscape imbued with the constant presence of the past, an observation which concurs with Williams' interpretation of the mortuary reuse of pre-Saxon sites (1998). This is not necessarily the case for prehistoric monuments, however, since Williams (1997) also notes that the distinctive distributions of monument types in different areas of the country affect frequencies of monument reuse among regions. Similarly, Semple has explained the movement of cemeteries in East Yorkshire to higher ground, from the late sixth century onwards, as a function of the common occurrence of desirable round barrows on the Wolds (Semple 2002: 116).

'Difficult' soils

In another connection, cemeteries near settlements will also share underlying pedology and topography, and so it behoves us to consider the geographical environment of early Anglo-Saxon settlements more closely. It is noticeable that almost all of the largest open area settlement excavations discussed above, and the majority of other settlement excavations in Table 3.1, lie on gravel or sand, or some other relatively poor, but freely draining soil. Whether these geologies were generally preferred for settlement in the early Anglo-Saxon period, or are the result of the ease of finding sites on these soils, continues to be much debated.

The thrust of the argument is that archaeology is more often found on light soils, sands and gravels in particular, because the common practice of quarrying for these aggregates disturbs archaeological deposits in the ground, and because cropmarks associated with archaeological sites are more readily formed on free-draining soils, and so may be spotted more often during the interpretation of aerial photography (Rahtz 1976: 49–98). In tandem, the effect of alluvial (riverine sediment) and colluvial (hillwash) deposits is to bury valley floor and downslope settlement features where they might not be discovered (Hamerow 1992: 40–1).

The extent to which these effects distort the settlement distribution is the subject of Hamerow's paper (1992) and to this end she presents some slight examples of settlement (or hints thereof) on clay soils and valley floors in order to mitigate the overwhelming impression of Anglo-Saxon settlement on high, light soils—but the evidence remains thin. Even where settlement has been shown in clay areas, for example by Williamson in his fieldwalking survey of the north-west Essex boulder clay (1984; 1986), the sites are found on the least inhospitable valley-side soils; or they may carefully avoid clay outcrops altogether, such as at the early sixth- to late eighth-century site of Pennyland in Buckinghamshire (Williams 1993). This strongly suggests to Hamerow, together with environmental and archaeological evidence showing a retreat from first terrace and floodplain land occupied in the late Roman period, that the classic picture of early Anglo-Saxon settlement is by no means solely an artefact of differential discovery. Yet, the great variability of early Anglo-Saxon settlement characteristics from site to site, and between regions, continues to present various subtle exceptions to the light soil 'rule' (Hamerow 1992: 45–6).

Recent excavations (Dawson (ed.) 2000; Evans et al.

2006; Shotliff and Crick 1999) and aerial photography interpretation (Mills 2003; 2005; Palmer 2005) have demonstrated the presence of prehistoric settlement in clay areas. Archaeologists recognise that clay landscapes were not simply avoided in the past (see also Mills and Palmer (eds) 2007). It is necessary, therefore, to maintain an open mind to the possibility of greater utilisation of clay in the early Anglo-Saxon period than has previously been imagined, and consider the ways in which this might have occurred.

The problems with soils derived from clays are waterlogging and stickiness. Waterlogging delays the warming of the soil in the spring, and hence plant germination and growth (Cook 1999). It also impedes the uptake of nutrients (Robinson 1949: 36–7). Stickiness, or 'puddling', creates adherent clods which interfere with the operation of ploughs and other tools when wet, and then dries into a solid mass. This explains why the preference for lighter soils in the early Anglo-Saxon period has been accounted for by the lack of a mouldboard plough, which is able to deal with heavier soils in a way that ards cannot (Fowler 2002: 182–204).

What the farmer must do to remedy the problems of clay soils is encourage 'flocculation', that is, get the fine clay particles to consolidate into larger ones. This can be achieved through carefully timed cultivation during dryer periods, and by the incorporation of organic matter, exposure to air and frost, and the installation of drainage measures. Improved texture allows the clay to be worked more easily, and to drain better (Seymour 1975: 14).

Clay soils also display considerable variation in structure and mineral content (Williamson 2003: 142–7). 'Pure' clay soils, such as those formed in the Oxford Clay of Bedfordshire, are sticky and difficult to plough, but Boulder Clay has significant 'impurities' such as the chalk and glacial tills of Norfolk, and are more workable. There is also a distinction between pelo soils, which are clay throughout, and non-pelo soils which have loamy or silty horizons above impermeable or slowly permeable lower layers (Thomasson 1975). 'Better' clay soils and other soil outcrops on clay may also be extremely localised, such as at Cowdery's Down (Millett and James 1983: 151), so that it is important not to rule out the presence of settlement on the basis of the general drift geology of an area.

More than this, the use of clay soils is intimately connected with their properties, which vary from place to place, and the details of agricultural technique, which are rarely considered in studies of the early Anglo-Saxon landscape. There is no reason why farmers at this time would not have practised cultivation with skill, and in a slightly different context, there is evidence that appropriate soils were utilised with care. Pennyland is held up as an example of avoiding clay soils because the early Anglo-Saxon features 'die away where the gravels merge onto clay' (Hamerow 1992: 42), but it is noticeable that Well 3 was dug to take advantage of the high water table on the clay part of the site, while the buildings were positioned to take advantage of better drainage on the gravel. Iron Age pits on the sand were dug to the same depth as Well 3, yet are completely dry (Williams 1993: 86).

It is therefore not useful to reduce soil associations to crude generalisations: different activities imply the skilful use of different conditions. This also applies to the choices made about cemetery locations, of course. The majority appear to have been sited on lighter soils, but the minority is equally important. Whether cemeteries found on sands and gravels are the inevitable result of proximity to settlement remains to be seen, but the preceding discussion does suggest that deliberate placement, within the variables that any particular locality afforded, is likely to play a role in location, rather than simply being a matter of convenience or coincidence.

Boundedness

There is one final consideration here, and this is the issue of boundedness: 'It is unthinkable to suggest that Anglo-Saxon society in its earliest form existed without any form of physical constraint on a settlement and landscape context' (Reynolds 2003: 130). This implies that choices about cemetery and settlement location were potentially constrained by issues like the available land (such as defined by neighbouring settlements), land use (agricultural, pastoral and other activity areas), and land rights (territories, established and contested). In any one place, not all the soils and monuments would necessarily have been available for mortuary deposition. At the same time, existing boundaries might also create conditions appropriate for the placement of cemeteries, and prior settlement and cemetery configurations might create the conditions for boundaries to arise.

Chapter 2 mentioned many kinds of boundaries—territorial, tribal, parish, estate, field and plot boundaries—and introduced the discussions about their genesis and continuity. In general, it is fair to say that we still know little about boundaries in early Anglo-Saxon England. This is not because there is a particular scarcity of examples to draw upon to suggest some principles, but because many of them are incomparable, and all of them are necessarily regional, if not very localised. For example, the cemetery at Portway, Andover, in Hampshire (Cook and Dacre 1985; Stoodley forthcoming) is bounded on the western side by a prehistoric ditch, which is marked by a Bronze Age round barrow, in a similar way to those described in charters for estate boundaries, but at Overton Hill in North Wiltshire (Semple 2002) burials reuse several conspicuous round barrows along a broad boundary interpreted as politically contested. In addition, it is not always possible to be sure of the dating of boundary features. For example, the linear bank-and-ditch earthworks of Norfolk (Wade-Martins 1974) and

Cambridgeshire (Malim et al. 1997) may or may not have been early Anglo-Saxon territorial defences.

In order to make a regional study in the way that is intended for the present work, it would be necessary to attempt a reconstruction of a hierarchy of landscape boundaries for an area far larger than any attempted before. The scholarship in this area forms a very large body of knowledge, and requires the detailed and specialist consideration of evidence from later Anglo-Saxon and medieval times that falls outside the immediate scope of this work. The social groupings that give meaning to, and drive the development of many such boundaries have been discussed by numerous scholars.

Chris Scull (1993: 79) has suggested that the early Anglo-Saxon period is characterised by transient and personal power structures confined to the small-scale level of the descent group, and that this sort of hegemony need not have any strong territorial expression (Scull 1992a: 15–16). Davies and Vierck (1974: 228–9), in the context of the Tribal Hidage, demonstrated evidence that the authority of seventh-century kings was maintained primarily through investment in people, and only indirectly over territory. The shifting and ephemeral nature of early Anglo-Saxon settlements has already been discussed, and their reorganisation and demarcation from the middle of the period is attested at places such as Pennyland (Williams 1993) and West Stow (West 1985). As a result, I believe that it is not practical, nor necessarily helpful, to try to find definite boundaries. Instead, the focus here will be on the sorts of social and economic practices that might give rise to boundaries, rather than their absolute expression at any one place at any particular time.

Integrating Life and Death

Beyond burials and buildings

The concept of ritual landscapes was touched upon in Chapter 2. The essence of this idea is that ritual practice pervaded and structured the landscape as a whole, and that ritual and mortuary practice was not confined to cemeteries but also had real meaning and presence in the domestic scene. Semple (2003) demonstrates alignments along standing posts and barrows. Burials are evident within settlements at New Wintles (Chadwick Hawkes and Gray 1969) and Catholme (Losco-Bradley and Kinsley 2002: 40), and cemetery deposits overlap settlement features at places such as Mucking (Hamerow 1993) and Spong Hill (Rickett 1995). Blair (1995) gives examples of square ritual enclosures and other smaller, possibly ritual, structures in association with mortuary sites and with settlements (such as the seventh-century structure at New Wintles). Hamerow (2006) suggests that some 'special' deposits within settlements, mainly of humans and animals, may have been votive or ritual in nature.

These researches suggest the ways that life and death were interrelated through the real and practical medium of ritual practice, and go some way toward enlivening our mental images of what it was like to exist in early Anglo-Saxon times. To understand the continuously experienced nature of the landscape at that time it is important to consider evidence beyond that of the standard settlement and cemetery sites, and their associated ritual practices and structures.

Ritual activities may also have created deposits that are not associated with the sites with which we are most familiar. In Norfolk, an early Germanic sword was laid, apparently deliberately, within a gap in a villa hypocaust at Feltwell (Chadwick Hawkes 1986). Early Anglo-Saxon artefacts are sometimes found in river dredgings: two spearheads, two cruciform brooches and one rectangular plaque have been recovered by metal detector from dredging spoil in Norfolk (HERs 8442, 8448, 15636, 16552, 24553). These may well be the result of cemetery features eroded by wandering rivers (Hines 1997b: 381) but in the light of the Feltwell sword, and contemporary ritual deposition in the lakes and bogs of Scandinavia (Jørgensen et al. 2003), deliberate deposition cannot be ruled out. The excavated cemetery at Snape, Suffolk, included an area of fired material which might represent an unusual example of a funeral pyre (Carnegie and Filmer-Sankey 1993; Filmer-Sankey and Pestell 2001: 252–5). The rarity of this find may be because most pyres were constructed and used locally, and finished cremations were transported to the cemetery for interment at some later date (Arnold 1988: 41). This is plausible if we accept that large cremation cemeteries drew people from a wide area, and may mean that finding the pyre at Snape is the result of its unusual position within a cemetery area, since most were relatively isolated from recognisable sites.

In contrast to these ritual examples, prosaic activities may also have created deposits away from sites as we understand them. At Outwell in Norfolk (HER 37647) evaluation trenching revealed a cut buried beneath dumped deposits and topsoil. 'A number of Early Saxon artefacts including an antler/bone comb and fifth- to sixth-century pottery were retrieved from the earliest fill of this feature which may represent the earlier, wider course of the River Nene with the artefacts deposited in the river prior to its silting' (Hall 2003: 5); the deposit also included domestic hearth waste and charred cereal seeds. Crucible sherds, lead brooch models (Mortimer 1994) and slag found by metal detector are evidence that places of manufacture for metalwork exist, although no actual workshops have been found. This might be because craft activities went on in or around settlement buildings, such as the pottery suggested at Sutton Courtenay (Leeds 1947: 83), the clay reserve at West Stow (West 1985: 125), and the metalworking debris at Carlton Colville (Dickens et al. 2005: 73; Lucy pers. comm.), but the possibility of specialist workshops or the seasonal workplaces of itinerant craftsmen remains. The activities associated with cultivation, animal

husbandry, and the management of timber and other natural resources, should also be mentioned, although we have little direct evidence of these apart from the slender hints of staked enclosures and ditches within excavated settlements (e.g. Rickett 1995: 154), and the informative presence of plant remains in environmental samples (Dark 2000). Finally, trackways and roads, such as those discussed by Brookes (2002; 2007) would have been used to travel between sites and through non-site areas, increasingly ordered by the statutes of law.

So settlement and cemetery sites are not the only places which should concern us since activity in the wider landscape is attested by ritual and mundane deposits, and movement through it was experienced and achieved, partly structured by travel along roads and trackways. These latter examples suggest that the 'ritual landscape' exists alongside and interleaves with other cognitive landscapes; these should also be considered. Pathways and alignments influenced the placement of cemeteries (Brookes 2002; Semple 2002), but it is perhaps more productive, in the context of understanding the integrated experience of life and death, to consider the landscape as a continuous surface which included the experience of all kinds of activities. These may have been circumscribed by boundaries of various kinds, but they were unified in contemporary perception.

It is not too much of a speculation to suggest that the apprehension of supernatural involvement in the world would have been more obvious during the course of some activities than others, but also may have been drawn to the fore at some times, while falling into the background at others. Research highlights similar processes of contextual importance with respect to many aspects of identity (e.g. ethnicity—Geary 1983). Studies of early Anglo-Saxon grave goods show how considerable investment was made in different aspects of gender at death (Hines 2002), while little evidence exists of gendered space in everyday life (Härke 1997: 136). To return to the question at hand—how to combine the study of cemeteries and settlements within the current paradigms of mortuary and settlement archaeology—the investigation can be informed by knowledge of the physical relationships between sites, non-site deposits, and the historical and geographical elements of the landscape. It can be understood through the subsistent, ritual and social contexts of life.

Reconciling landscape choices

Anglo-Saxon archaeology of the last few decades has encouraged the study of cemeteries for their own sake, and moved beyond the restrictive interpretation of burial sites and grave goods as indicators of the ethnicity and progress of Germanic invaders. Numerous researchers in this area have concentrated on exploring the symbolism and ideology of funerary practice, while settlement archaeology has moved in a different direction, formulating concerns for matters of subsistence and economy. On the one hand, social groupings and hierarchy are examined through the study of grave goods and mortuary structures, while on the other hand, objects and features in settlement contexts are studied for indications of craftworking, animal husbandry, and the use of space and resources.

This division is related to the way that these branches or sub-disciplines of Anglo-Saxon archaeology developed, although of course this division is by no means absolute. It is also driven in part by the different kinds of evidence available: early Anglo-Saxon settlement has relatively few artefacts which are not 'rubbish' and little apparent structure and hierarchy, but may have ecofacts relating to environment and subsistence; cemeteries, in contrast, are full of artefacts and their contexts which bear witness to the nature of social life.

Settlements and cemeteries appear to represent two different spheres of existence—non-deliberate, unstructured, everyday deposits; and deliberate, structured, intermittent deposits—but as the preceding discussion has suggested, this is an unhelpful dichotomy, and one which belies the evidence. Deaths may have been sporadic, but the original decision to locate a cemetery somewhere particular continued to be felt over the several generations who maintained the cemetery and continued to bury in that place. Of course, living was a continuous experience, but settlements were periodically remade, and life was perhaps frequently punctuated by ritual practice specifically related to domestic life.

The study of landscape context should ideally be a holistic endeavour, and the clues to integration have already been touched upon: the ritual and mundane aspects of life were interconnected; landscape was the subject of enduring and everyday experience, and rendered unified (or contested) through ideology; variability in burial customs and settlement morphology demonstrate local and regional developments in, and responses to, politics and the environment. Considering the effects of individual and group agency with respect to the landscape is therefore one way in which to contribute to achieving an inclusive archaeology. The role of choice in configuring mortuary practice is already well accepted, but the role of choice in configuring the use of landscape in the rural economy would benefit from elaboration in this connection.

Variability in later Anglo-Saxon and medieval landscapes is closely related to the patterns of soils and topography, and as Tom Williamson (2003: 23) has argued, this 'should not occasion surprise as the rural landscape is one of farming communities intimately connected with the soil ... but this view has become distinctly unfashionable'; most modern studies of the medieval landscape 'tend to hurry through an obligatory description of geology and soils as if these things were a mildly relevant backdrop to the main objects of enquiry'. Christopher Taylor has described the high gravels

and other light soils apparently preferred by the early Anglo-Saxons as 'distinctly unfavourable ... in terms of location and position when viewed by the normal rules of settlement study' (Taylor 1974: 7). So the reasons for settling there wait to be explained, and all theoretical fashions seem to have been invoked at some point in order to do so.

The 'migration explanation' is that the landscape was too busy and so the Anglo-Saxons were forced onto marginal land (Jones 1978: 68). The 'barbarian inability explanation' is that the Anglo-Saxons didn't know how to drain land or plough with a mouldboard any more so they had to retreat from the more fertile land of the Roman villa pattern. The 'settlement continuity argument' is that the Anglo-Saxons continued to use Roman rural sites on the more marginal land away from villas (Williamson 1988). None of these really take into account the wealth of information apparent from settlement and landscape studies about the nature of the early Anglo-Saxon rural economy.

Only a brief summary is possible here; more detail is available in dedicated works (e.g. Crabtree 1989; Dark 2000; Fowler 2002; Rackham (ed.) 1994; van der Veen 1992). These works comprise a mixture of direct evidence and inference from other places in Europe, later periods in England, and farming manuals. In summary, the character of Anglo-Saxon farming can be described as a mixture of crop cultivation, animal husbandry, and management and use of other resources, perhaps timber, thatch, and peat. There would, of course, have been significant variation by region; by scale, nature and social context of landholding; and by the extractive or redistributive regime, if any. But a general list of crops grown in early Anglo-Saxon times is known from cereal evidence in samples from settlement excavations: mainly bread wheat suited to valley slopes, with possibly the hardier crops of barley and oats, and rye (suited to sandy soils) in less favourable regions, plus flax and hemp, and perhaps legumes as part of crop rotations. 'In all significant respects, crop production in the first millennium AD was similar to that of the last prehistoric centuries' (Fowler 2002: 216) with arable land at a premium, and most often cultivated near to the homestead.

There was an emphasis on the pastoral economy (Oosthuizen 2005: 187–8) and the most commonly kept animals were sheep (for meat and wool), cattle (for traction mainly) and pigs (for meat and other products). Oxen were expensive to keep since they only worked at a few intervals during the year, but required shelter during the winter months and feeding (grass and hay) all year round; their ownership and management may well have been shared between groups. The grazing of sheep and cattle would leave no discernible mark in the archaeological record in the way that manuring spread or ard marks might attest to arable land (although neither of these have ever been attributed to the fifth or sixth centuries). Nevertheless, feeding stock out of doors was most likely an organised affair, arranged locally where communal rights existed over areas of pasture, and perhaps involving inter-community negotiation where unimproved rough pastures were further away. This may have even involved seasonal transhumance, taking the flock away during the summer months, either to a far part of local territory, to land marginal or otherwise unproductive, or further away still where grazing was allowed 'by custom or precedent'. This would have provided cheap grazing while resting the relatively intensively grazed home pastures for the hay crop in the height of summer. As in later times, fen areas may have been utilised for grazing in the colder parts of the year, and for hay in the summer, and where available, cut for peat for fuel. Woodland grazing would have been designed to reduce secondary growth, remove the sylvan understorey and create 'short-grassed sunny glades' of wood-pasture, perhaps particularly important for the poorest on the margins of society (Fowler 2002: 226).

The manure of animals would have been essential for the maintenance of quality arable. It was necessary to fold sheep on this land when it was fallow, or collect and distribute the dung by hand. Other ways of improving soils may have included marling and liming (necessitating the procurement of marl and chalk), the spreading of ash (by the burning of vegetation), and crop rotation, particularly with beans, to replenish the nitrogen content of the soil and reduce pests (Dark 2000: 82). Sustainability was an important element of farming life which could otherwise change the possibilities afforded by the land. For example, downland soils in the south-west were used in the Roman period for arable, but these were thin soils on chalk subsoil and deteriorated during the third and fourth centuries forcing a change to pasture thereafter (Bowden et al. 1993; Fowler 2000).

The relative proportions of different crops and animals, and the interrelations of practices would have depended a great deal on how favourable were the local soils, climate and topography. The cereal remains apparent at West Stow were the result of extreme environmental conditions peculiar to the dry, sandy Breckland soils there, and manuring would probably have been of critical importance (Murphy 1985: 108). In addition, keeping pigs is cheap if pannage (beechnuts, acorns, etc.) is available, but this would not have been easy to obtain on the Brecklands. The swine may instead have been taken to forested areas on the clay plateau (although pigs are difficult to herd and this may not have been possible).

This example demonstrates how animal and crop management were one, with the timing and order of activities critical to the functioning of a successful economy. A formalised infield/outfield system, where outlying areas were utilised for extensive grazing and temporary cultivation, while intensively using the older and more fertile central areas, was not in evidence until AD 1000 (Dodgshon 1980). The possibility of more

informal mixed agricultural arrangements earlier in the Anglo-Saxon period may certainly be entertained though (Fowler 2002: 217). This form of farming was suited to low-density, dispersed settlement of the kind apparent in early Anglo-Saxon times, but which is obscured in documents like the Domesday Book that concentrates on formalised arrangements (Sawyer 1998a: 140–4).

The position of many settlements on valley sides, on gravel outcrops where buildings can be safe from flooding, is therefore only half the story. The untold part can be envisaged as well: ready access down the valley to water, and peaty soils for grass and hay (or thatch and litter perhaps); but nearby arable land for cultivation and home pasture, and the folding of animals for manure after harvest and during fallow, with perhaps clay outcrops for potting; plus more remote rights to rough grazing and wood-pasture in the interfluvial zones. Later in the Anglo-Saxon period, with the rise of multiple estates, these arrangements were instituted in law and the business of lordship (Faith 1997), the beginnings of which we start to become aware of in the archaeology of the late sixth century.

Considering the benefits of access to a range of geographical zones, and the skilful and deliberate use of different soils and resources that may be inferred, a more useful model for agency in the rural economy may be termed the 'resource exploitation explanation'. This way of thinking is more common in the context of prehistoric archaeology (e.g. Eriksen 1996) but has been applied to the archaeology of Anglo-Saxon England (e.g. Gray 1974: 51–2; Miles 1986: 20–6; Powlesland et al. 1986; Reynolds 2003: 99). Reynolds (2003: 99). Another concept is that of 'affordance', which was originally defined by psychologist James J. Gibson (1977; 1979) as all action possibilities latent in the environment. One use of the concept of affordance in archaeology has been as part of predictive modelling approaches (e.g. Blumenschine and Peters 1998) and so it is less relevant in this strict technical sense to the current work. Nevertheless, the concept that the environment has qualities which afford persons certain actions, dependent on their capabilities, is one that informs the analytical approach taken here.

The important thing to emphasise is that resource exploitation is not deterministic; it presents some element of choice, and suggests that early Anglo-Saxon land use was, in fact, resource management, rather than the result of pure necessity or incompetence. Furthermore, it gives meaning to all the variation between sites and regions by allowing the exploitation of land and the morphology of settlements to be seen as a localised matter, related to restricted patterns of soils and topography. In this way, the study of settlements and cemeteries in the landscape may be conceptualised in similar terms: cemetery location can be seen as an ideological choice, positioned to utilise high ground for visibility or a round barrow (for example), and settlement location, a subsistence choice for the rural economy, positioned to utilise a range of geographic zones. Perhaps considerations of status and wealth, for example, also informed the location and growth of particular settlements, and through the formalisation of land circumscription and routeway controls, their relationship with cemetery sites, other activity areas, the landscape, and each other.

The landscape provided symbolic and subsistence resources; what the early Anglo-Saxons believed were the important ones, how they availed themselves of these, and the ways in which these choices were interrelated, form the present interest of this work. This has the benefit of enriching our understanding of cemetery situation within the landscape, which is essential if the decisions surrounding death are to be seen in the context of everyday life.

'Serving' the community

The integration of early Anglo-Saxon cemetery and settlement studies is desirable, for all the reasons so far discussed, but the focus now turns to making sense of choices regarding landscape, and the place of cemeteries within it. 'There must always have been an original decision to make the first interment in a certain location, and the positioning of future burials there depended on the recognition of that place as suitable. There must also have been a final decision to stop interring people in that place' (Lucy 1998: 76). The question is, who made these decisions? For whom did they make them, and why?

The relationship of a cemetery to the living people who interred their dead there could be described by the concept of 'service'. Those living in settlements were 'served' by cemeteries for the disposal of bodies because people have always required that something is done with them. Yet burial practice is incredibly varied from period to period, and place to place. Perhaps it is better not to think of cemeteries in functionalist terms at all, but cemeteries clearly 'served' a variety of other purposes as well.

The way cemeteries are often seen to serve the living is by presenting a place where a *community* can bury their dead. Cemeteries therefore provide 'direct evidence for sizes of local communities and their structures' and 'internal structuring of cemeteries suggests the existence of distinct sub-groups within local communities' (Härke 1997: 138). In one example Härke describes a cemetery as 'the burial ground of three households, perhaps farmsteads, representing the community of a hamlet or similar settlement' (Härke 1997: 139). One could imagine a replication of the community in death, each corpse or cremation with a symbolic living counterpart, but Härke (1997: 127) also stresses that some individuals, notably neonates and young children, were not well represented in cemeteries.

To return to the issue of choice, the decision to begin

interring at one particular location could, therefore, be thought of as being made by the community, or on its behalf, by one or more individuals. The continued use of that particular place might be maintained by the uninterrupted existence of the community, and perhaps, one might speculate, the cessation of use relates to the community's discontinuance in that form. This is conjecture, but is nevertheless of considerable interest, because the definition of community so far presented is that of a residential group, of those who lived and worked together everyday, and presumably made choices about the use of their landscape in the way that interests us here.

Yet there is evidence that such a community is not easily defined. Scull believes 'it seems unlikely that any of the inhumation cemeteries known represent large communities' but at the same time, he recognises that 'large urnfields, even if initially associated only with one settlement, came to serve a wider area and may even have acted as the focus for a burial community dispersed between a number of settlement sites' (Scull 1993: 73). This seems to suggest that a community is defined by a settlement, but also by those buried in a particular cemetery. Williams (1997: 14) sees any monument reused for a cemetery as 'a symbol of the community and its identity' and the cemetery as the 'embodiment of an idealized community of ancestors' (Williams 1998: 96). This suggests that communities existed separately from cemeteries, but also that they constructed themselves through burial.

Hines (2002: 100–1) models the demographics of a 'normal' community from a variety of cemeteries, and achieves a quantification of 'just how different, and how unpredictable, separate communities were'. Communities also apparently changed over time. Scull (1993) models the development of rural settlement structure over the fifth to seventh centuries based on descent and population growth. In this scheme each inheriting individual established a farm in a settlement, so that by the fourth and subsequent generations the settlement had grown to contain several farmsteads, some lineages of which fissioned from the parent community. All these groups and their relationships then formed the building blocks of regional hegemonies, and eventually formalised kingdoms (Scull 1993: figs 2–4). Hamerow (2002: 193) writes of changes in the relationships between individuals, households and communities over a similar period, and despairs that the quality and quantity of available data renders them a mystery. However, she does say that people increasingly saw themselves 'as members of several communities—not only of a household, farm and village, but also of a district or territory' (Hamerow 2002: 4). The definition of community is thereby expanded to a variety of groups that already have other terms, and are not solely synonymous with a settlement or a cemetery.

'Community' appears to be the key context in which the decisions about cemetery location can be understood. Many authors recognise that communities existed at a range of scales and intersected, and they appreciate the contingency and complexity of social identities. Explicit definition of what is meant by community, and the manner in which it can be recovered from the archaeological record, are explored in the following chapter.

Chapter 4
Communities in Theory

Introduction

This chapter explores what is meant by the term 'community', and considers in what ways local communities may be fully understood so that the study of cemeteries and settlements can be integrated within a single landscape. It is argued that concepts of community have been used in social explanation but that some assumptions and contradictions need to be addressed. Drawing on approaches developed in cultural anthropology, ethnography and social theory, an explicit theoretical definition of community is established and explored for the early Anglo-Saxon period, based on practice theory. The range of activities undertaken by the Anglo-Saxons in the landscape are unified under a single scheme so that mortuary and settlement sites can be understood together.

The Nature of 'Community'

Implicit definitions in early Anglo-Saxon archaeology

What is 'community'? Community is 'one of the most important and meaningful contexts for social interaction' (Yaeger and Canuto 2000: 1), but its definition is not often considered explicitly in the literature of Anglo-Saxon archaeology. In Stoodley's important study of Anglo-Saxon gender he begins a chapter on 'Community and Gender' with explicit definitions of 'household' ('a social unit made up of distinct status groups that did not intermarry') and 'family' ('a biological unit') but not 'community' (1999a: 126). The way in which he understands 'community' is apparent instead by examining the nature of his subsequent argument about community and household sizes.

Without an explicit definition of community it is easy to assume that scholars working on social explanations (e.g. Härke 1997; Hines 2002; Scull 1993; cf. Sayer 2007) share a common view that a local community is co-terminous with a settlement, that there is a one-to-one relationship between a settlement and an inhumation cemetery. The study of one may therefore inform us of the other. Härke (1997: 141) notes a 'good correspondence' between 'cemetery data and settlement evidence' on the basis that sub-groups within cemeteries show a correlation with the structure and distinctiveness of households. Since households are marked in the archaeological record by farmsteads, and one or more farmsteads comprise each settlement, cemetery sub-groups may correspond to settlement farmsteads.

On the other hand, Scull has explicitly argued against the automatic assumption that there is a simple relationship between cemetery and settlement, or community and single settlement (Scull 1992: 258; Haselgrove and Scull 1992: 11).

In contrast to the idea that a single community would bury their dead in an individual inhumation cemetery it is thought that many communities may have contributed to large cremation cemeteries (Hills 1979: 202). This practice may even have resulted in a 'burial community' (Scull 1993: 73), which is not a community defined by settlement. While the formulation 'community = settlement = cemetery' has some basis in archaeological evidence, therefore, its use is also an informed choice made for analytical purposes, and as such has been open to exploration, adjustment, elaboration and reformulation by a number of different scholars.

Williams (1997: 14) sees aspects of mortuary practice as symbolic of community identity suggesting that its definition and meaning were consciously constructed rather than necessarily being spatially circumscribed unconsciously. Fisher describes an extended population cluster in the River Lark valley as a community and this she distinguishes by the common use of Illington/Lackford pottery rather than shared settlement or burial space (1995: 159). Hamerow uses the word 'community' to apply to 'household', 'farm' and 'village' and further implies that the concept of community changed during the Anglo-Saxon period itself, from a purely local identity based on co-residence to later include districts and territories as well (2002: 194). Woolf (2000) and Yorke (2000) both talk freely of communities in the sense of kingdoms and their subdivisions such as *provinciae* and *regiones*.

Scull's model (1993) of the development of power structures could be interpreted as implicating local communities as the building blocks of these later identities. 'Weak' communities may have been 'annexed' during the development of kingdoms and the isolated male barrow burial rite may signal the 'breakup of the traditional community' (Stoodley 1999b: 12–3). Taking these examples together it would seem that community is at once natural and constructed, whole and divided, local and regional, enduring and fragile, constant and changeable.

It can therefore be argued that 'community' in Anglo-Saxon archaeology is a complex concept of considerable interest and discussion, but often it lacks explicit definition. Sometimes its meaning is considered self-evident, and at others it encompasses contradictions. The term bounds groups by the living space they share,

but it is also stretched to fit non-residential groups. It is assumed that living together produces communal feelings which motivate communal burial, that these feelings are 'very strong' in the fifth and sixth centuries (Stoodley 1999b: 12), but also that similar feelings must have been generated by non-residential concerns in order for large cremation cemeteries to have included those from a number of settlements, or for communities to have been constructed territorially. Here community shades into other terms such as 'tribe', 'kingdom' and 'ethnicity'. In other words, community is elastic and made to fit whatever evidence concerning communal identity falls under the gaze of the inquirer. The focus is laid on understanding the cohesive aspects of community, and less on external opposition or internal struggle. It is not that any of these notions are 'wrong' but rather that the focus of enquiry has been on broader notions of social explanation so that different authors have used the term to mean different things. While the social terms 'gender', 'status', 'age' and 'ethnicity' have all come under scrutiny in recent years it is apparent that the definition of 'community' is under-examined.

Explicit definitions and their application

At its simplest, 'community' is one of a number of words used to describe groups of people—other terms have been 'kin group', 'class', 'ethnicity', 'people', 'nation', 'culture' and 'society'—and like these groups 'community' is an inclusive collective that counts among its members those of various ages, genders, and statuses. The local community, which is represented in Anglo-Saxon archaeology through questions concerning cemeteries and settlements, is also different from these other groups in an important way: community can be seen as the key context in which daily or frequent *contacts* occur between people of different identities or roles (age, gender, status, kinship, ethnicity, nation, etc.). Few could claim that a nation or ethnic group actually maintain their coherence through frequent interactions between all individuals in their membership, nor would that be necessary because much of what constitutes these large groups can be seen as 'imagined', 'fictive' or 'all in the mind' (Anderson 1991: 6), and may be a concern only for political reasons, potentially playing little or no part in everyday life for the majority (Geary 1983; Jones 1997: 60).

A community, on the other hand, could be described as something 'real' that you can walk through: a village, a settlement, a group of people to whom you can point with one gesture; people who will say 'we live here, in this community' and then show you around. The remains of this community for the archaeologist may be a discrete spatial pattern of material culture, such as buildings and artefacts, in other words a 'site', but this is by no means to be assumed. The variety of uses for the term 'community' in Anglo-Saxon archaeology demonstrates that the definition and identification of communities in the archaeological record should be a matter for discussion.

Cultural anthropologists and sociologists have spent over fifty years debating what exactly defines a community and their work will be drawn on here in the following discussion. In addition, much recent research in New World archaeology has focused on communities as an object of study, and a variety of relevant work has been generated. These ideas are introduced and integrated into the discussion as a didactic aid, and this usage is not intended to be a comment on cultural universality or relativism. The comparison of Anglo-Saxon and New World examples is used simply to open the mind to the possibilities that might exist in proto-historic and historic societies and the different factors that might be involved in community identity (e.g. kinship, lordship, houses, farmsteads, centrality, dispersion, origin and naming).

Internal structure and function

The typical structural-functionalist definition of community is 'the maximal group of persons who normally reside together in face-to-face association' (Murdock et al. 1945: 29). This is elaborated in Murdock's *Social Structure* (1949) to mean a group of co-residential individuals or households who share day-to-day interaction and experiences and have a common culture. This most conveniently translates in early Anglo-Saxon archaeology into a settlement site with its farmsteads and households. This community is seen as a natural unit for humans to form, one which is the principal level at which reproduction occurs, both biological and cultural (Arensburg 1961; Redfield 1955). The 'little community' of which Redfield (1973: 1–5) writes is common to all parts of the world throughout history, although it has numerous variations; it is stable, homogeneous, and persists over generations; its distinctiveness is obvious to everyone; it is expressed in a 'group-consciousness'; and it can be discerned by personal observation and common sense.

The concept of community used to articulate explanation in much archaeological research into Anglo-Saxon society broadly corresponds to the structural-functionalist definition of community (e.g. Härke 1997; Hines 2002). Furthermore, the community serves particular functions within the social structure (Arensburg and Kimball 1965: 328). We see the structural-functionalist view in the language often used by Anglo-Saxon archaeologists: a cemetery 'serves' a settlement. One of the main problems with this view is that it does not question the origins, integration, maintenance and change of the community because community feeling is thought to arise spontaneously and decisively from pre-existing and economically necessary everyday interactions (Homans 1950). This community is an isolated and integrated institution without internal factions or disagreement (cf. Stoodley 1999b: 12).

External and historical forces

In 1950, Julian Steward criticized community studies for divorcing local groups from their regional contexts, and Oscar Lewis (1951) found that the Mexican village he studied was characterised by internal strife and complex interactions with the outside world. Eric Wolf (1956) and others began to ask how communities had come into existence and showed how seemingly isolated communities participated in world systems with many ramifications. Similar issues in the early Anglo-Saxon period might concern, for example, the preceding disruption of the Romano-British way of life and the extent to which this changed the form of communities, or perhaps the connections of the English elite with the Merovingians. Indeed, Wolf (1955), Gould (1959), Marriott (1955), and Mintz (1956) 'stressed the roles of external and historical forces in conditioning a community's internal structure arguing that distinct conditions would create different kinds of communities' (Yaeger and Canuto 2000: 2). Examining external factors meant the rejection of community as an isolated institution resulting only from natural, internal mechanisms.

If applied to early Anglo-Saxon England this view would shift an examination of community from the archaeology of settlement to the historical sphere of regional, national and European politics and economy. The salient facts here would be the transformation of social organisation, firstly as a result of the disruption of the national Roman economy and the influx of some number of Germanic settlers, and later due to the formation of kingdoms and the rise of Christianity. In fact, Stoodley suggests that early Anglo-Saxon England and Iron Age society on the continent were similar in character (1999a: 126), implying that the homelands of Germanic settlers were the origin for the nature of the early Anglo-Saxon household, and by association the community. Several authors have also commented on changes in the form, size and recognition of communities which may have resulted from seventh-century events (Hamerow 2002; Härke 1997: 141; Scull 1993; Stoodley 1999b).

The emphasis on external forces brought by an historical-developmental paradigm represents a 'top-down' approach that is different from the 'bottom-up' approach of the structural-functionalists. These approaches do not engage with one another to explain, for example, how external forces are transformed when 'refracted' through local community social structures (Yaeger and Canuto 2000: 2). They are also both limited by the extent to which they give individuals agency and consciousness in their experience of community.

Imagined and symbolic communities

Other approaches to community align with the belief that identity is socially constructed, the result of mutually agreed and self-ascribed perceptions of what is the same and what is different between individuals and groups. The focus is on how people see themselves and how they perceive their place in the community. This is quite different from seeing community as natural and homogeneous or as the result of external forces. Anderson's *Imagined Communities* (1991) describes communities that never meet *en masse*, but nevertheless feature strongly self-ascribed identities, in this case, of nationalism. While this might be seen as less applicable to the small-scale communities of the early Anglo-Saxon period, well before the rise of nationalism as understood today, the idea that communities can be created and maintained through ideology is highly relevant. Non-residential communities, like those which Hamerow (2002: 194) and Fisher (1995: 159) propose, must have arisen, by necessity, out of various practices that in whole, or in part, did not include frequent face-to-face contact.

However, even a residential community could be seen as 'imagined' (sensu Anderson 1991). Charles-Edwards (1998: 171–210) describes early Anglo-Saxon kinship as based on a system with clearly defined status roles, heads of household and lines of descent. These were closely linked to the format of farmsteads (Scull 1993), i.e., kinship and residence were coupled. So despite the suggestion that households included slaves and other non-kin (Härke 1997: 140), communities may have been conceived in the mind of the early Anglo-Saxons through the motif of kinship. In the same way, ethnicity has been perceived as a fictive identity based on, but not limited to, a perception of genetic origin (Jones 1997; Yorke 2000: 88–9). Instead of talking of 'real' or 'true' communities, which is one way to describe those communities defined by individuals who live together, the ideational paradigm encourages interest in the 'style' in which communities are imagined (Anderson 1991: 6), explaining communities as an experience and a mental construct, not a morphology.

This view also emphasises differences in thought between individuals within a community. In *The Symbolic Construction of Community* (1985) Cohen writes of the symbols that communities use to form their bounds, whether they be emblems or signs decorating a piece of material culture (such as a rune), modes of behaviour (like language and customs), physical borders (parish boundaries or a range of hills), or even ideas. The power of these symbols to unite a community comes from their ability to gloss endless differences of experience and opinion within the group, and to mean different things to different people. Community is 'a commonality of *forms* (ways of behaving) whose content (meanings) may vary considerably among its members' (Cohen 1985: 20, original emphasis). Individuals may invest their feelings in such symbols because they are sufficiently malleable to accommodate everyone, and because the community gives their other identities (gender, age, ethnicity, etc.) meaning through interactions with others of similar and different identities: 'individuality and commonality

are thus reconcilable' (Cohen 1985: 21).

In early Anglo-Saxon archaeology there is plenty of evidence to suggest multiple experiences of life within communities: the use of grave goods has been thought of as signalling different roles associated with age, gender, status and so on. These identities have their own symbols (in the case of the warrior—Härke 1990; 1992; or gender—Brush 1988; 1993; Stoodley 1999a), which show fluidity from individual to individual (such as cremation urn designs—Richards 1987) particularly in the case of women (Hines 2002: 90–1). Differences in mortuary practice among cemeteries have been interpreted as signalling the perception of divergent community identities (Lucy 2002; Williams 1997: 16) and any monument reused for mortuary practice has been called 'a symbol of the community and its identity' (Williams 1997: 14); each community constructed through these practices can be viewed as glossing evident internal heterogeneity while maintaining symbolic boundaries. However, since 'these boundaries are symbolic receptacles filled with the meanings that members impute to and perceive in them' (Cohen 1985: 19) the ideational view understates the effect of external conditions which constrain, complement and develop identities. Other challenges to the ideational view include recovering the content of symbols from archaeological evidence, particularly with respect to the individual, and the extent to which redefining community according to 'style' can usefully reconcile residentially defined communities with alternatively defined communities.

Interaction and structuration

Finally, although the interactions of community members have been recognised as highly important in the theoretical perspectives so far examined it is practice theory that has emphasised this most strongly, and the influence of Bourdieu (1977) and Giddens (1984) can be seen as one of the most widely adopted trends in recent archaeology. At its most basic this view sees society as created and recreated by the patterns formed by what numerous individuals do. In turn what the individual does is structured by, and responsible for, spatial and material conditions—which is why this stance has appealed so strongly to the archaeologist. It emphasises that which others do not: the effects of the material realm on behaviour, and vice versa.

Jason Yaeger and Marcello Canuto, for example, in the introduction to their recent edited volume *The Archaeology of Communities* (2000) explicitly consider the benefits of this paradigm for the archaeology of the New World. They reject the notion that community structure arises fully formed as a result of human nature, and instead emphasise the repeated interactions which foster a shared sense of identity with particular reference to the physical venues where this occurs. Community members thereby do not require to be co-resident, but they do need meaningful interactions. Any shared understandings they gain from such practices, whether everyday or more infrequent, may be knowingly used to create, maintain or contest community identity. They also acknowledge that meanings associated with these practices are historically contingent and should not be generalised. Yaeger and Canuto's rather inelegant definition is as follows: community 'is an ever emergent social institution that generates and is generated by supra-household interactions that are structured and synchronised by a set of places within this span of time' (2000: 5).

This definition noticeably excludes wholly imagined communities, such as nations and ethnicities, leaving the issue of large-scale communities unresolved, but for a study of early Anglo-Saxon landscape it has several benefits. By referring to physical venues in such a way settlement and cemeteries might no longer be conceived of separately but instead could be viewed as the places and spaces of repeated and meaningful communal interaction. This could be linked with work on cemeteries as possible 'places of assembly' (Williams 2004; Semple 2004), or as 'central places' (Williams 2002b).

The cemetery-settlement relationship, already identified as key to further work on cemetery location, may therefore be thought of in terms of its contribution to community life. Furthermore, the social aspects of cemetery location and mortuary practice, such as the construction of group memories (Williams 2006), may be conceived of as integral to the creation, maintenance and contestation of community feeling, along with the more mundane frequent co-presence achieved through everyday existence in a settlement context. Questions about what size, and how many cemeteries 'served' which settlements of what size and where could be reformulated. If the great variation in settlement and mortuary practice is accepted not as an inconvenience nor as a mystery but as the very essence of how communities were continually formed and reformed in the early Anglo-Saxon period, then it might be possible to achieve a greater clarity of understanding.

Exploring early Anglo-Saxon communities

Historical knowledge

There are several aspects of community that deserve further discussion. The integration of textual and archaeological sources is a stated goal for some recent authors (Pantos 2004; Reynolds 2003; Semple 2002) on the basis that they provide important meaningful content and context for the practices we discern from archaeology. This has had some considerable success in the later Anglo-Saxon period but has more limited applicability in the fifth to sixth centuries because of the dearth of documents. Nevertheless, it is possible in theory for written sources to contribute to the knowledge of the ways in which communities were conceived of in the early Anglo-Saxon period and even to attest to the existence of particular communities.

Work from the New World points to how this may be achieved. Joyce Marcus' synthetic paper (2000) collects together a variety of indigenous models of community in the New World known from documentary sources and colonial dictionaries, and tries to see in what ways archaeological remains might fit. Marcus' definition of community is taken from Chambers and Young (1979: 46): 'a group of people living in close proximity, most often in a place with geographical or political boundaries' but she is quick to point out that community was not isomorphic with the village.

For example, in many New World societies a community was considered to be all those claiming descent from a common ancestor, regardless of how many, or how large, the villages were (Marcus 2000: 231). In the case of the Atzecs the term *altepetl* meant 'community' but was a word used for specific settlements, territories or even 'all the people under one lord', encompassing everything administered by the ruler, both sites and outlying landholdings. In contrast for the Maya the house (*na*) and household (*nalil*) were the 'building blocks' of community, because of the sense of belonging said to arise from daily routines, while larger units were given names as well, and community could also encompass those who shared the same surname. In the Andes, the *llaqta*, nucleated town or civic-ceremonial centre, may have had occupants dispersed among hamlets above and below it, and high-lying pastures, while the Quechua word *ayllu* is one which may refer to a ward, village, district, major region, family, community, or all those who share the same place of origin (Marcus 2000: 233–8). This work demonstrates a range of communities within local contexts highlighting descent, lordship, territory, settlements, and households as basic (although not simple) considerations.

Similar explorations into the nature of society have been achieved using textual sources for the early medieval period: kinship, household, lordship and lineage were significant factors in the creation and manipulation of Anglo-Saxon identities. The fictive genealogies of kings, for example, attest to power based on an ultimately sacred lineage (Dumville 1976; Sisam 1953). The earliest references to graves in Anglo-Saxon law codes link mortuary rites with kin-right and property (Bullough 1983: 195).

Jos Bazelmans (1999) uses the epic poem of *Beowulf* to argue that important entities (relationships) in Anglo-Saxon society were developed through gift giving. The introduction of people in *Beowulf* is always accompanied by a description of their relationship with someone else, and those who are outsiders are represented through their lack of any such relationship (Bazelmans 1999: 114–5). The bonds of the lord and his retainer involve an oath of allegiance for life (Bazelmans 1999: 112). References to fathers are almost universal and this is related to the importance of the ancestry of the male line (Bazelmans 1999: 116). All women in *Beowulf* are referred to as daughters and/or (future) wives of kings or other powerful men (Bazelmans 1999: 119). Thus, the most important relationships in the aristocratic world of *Beowulf* are those 'between the king and his wife and their mutual descendants (together within the royal hall the community in its narrowest sense) and between the king and his retainers (together within the royal hall the community in its broadest sense)' (Bazelmans 1999: 170). There are several things that emerge from this which are of value to the study of communities: the centrality of the lord or king in the worldview of the period; the practice of gift giving in the creation and maintenance of social relationships and the complete human being (which is not readily apparent through archaeological evidence alone); and the physical and social focus of the hall.

Frands Herschend (1998) combines textual and archaeological evidence in pursuit of how individuals and society strove towards what is 'good'. 'One of the roots of the good is to be found within the family' (Herschend 1998: 161) and, again, the hall is the social room, an 'interface between the farm owner and his guests' (Herschend 1998: 32). The socialisation of the family with others is through feasting and drinking with selected invitees. Herschend (1998: 20) sees a 'strong indication of a Continental origin for the Anglo-Saxon hall'. If this accepted, although by no means can this remain unchallenged (see Chapter 2), his conclusions are of potential value in understanding the construction of community.

What is less apparent in the archaeological evidence from Anglo-Saxon England is what Herschend proposes concerning the hierarchic structure of the hall-farm as extending to the hierarchy of farm groups: 'In the settlement structure we can see these hierarchies as one large farm surrounded by several smaller ones' with the eventual expectation that the hierarchies 'grew' 'to cover regions' (Herschend 1998: 162). The lack of this sort of well-defined settlement structure may reflect a difficulty in actually seeing the 'the leader's farm or the leading farm and its hall, while the magnates of a society may own several widely separated farms' (Herschend 1998: 162). But the parallels with Southern Scandinavia where there is 'unity of grave and settlement' (Herschend 1998: 46) must be drawn with caution since differences in settlement and cemetery sizes, and changes in their form and distribution during the Anglo-Saxon period, demonstrate complex relationships with the ways communities were conceptualised and reorganised.

Both Bazelmans (1999) and Herschend (1998) highlight the power of the aristocracy in shaping society through the lordly household and its physical manifestation, the hall. Territorial groups, which could be seen as one result of such social manoeuvrings, are also recorded by those in power. Information drawn from the Tribal Hidage, other documents and place-names, may provide potential comment on community identity not *directly*

unified by personal interaction with a lord and his family in his hall. As a list of peoples in the genitive plural, the Tribal Hidage may also represent specific examples of distinct communities (Davies and Vierck 1974). There are significant problems concerning its origins and interpretations however (Higham 1995: 74–111; Yorke 2000: 83–4).

The Tribal Hidage may have been drawn up in the last quarter of the seventh century (Bassett 1989: 26; Dumville 1989: 132–3), with later additions, possibly by Mercia (although see Brooks 1989 who prefers a Northumbrian origin and Higham 1995 who more specifically prefers Deira) and possibly for the purposes of tribute accounting (Yorke 1990: 10). Each name has a corresponding figure of assessment in hides, which was a variable unit of land defined according to its arable yield and taxable potential. Vierck maps the groups from the Tribal Hidage onto settlement and cemetery patterns known from archaeology, although current source-critical approaches would not now see this as a useful exercise. The Tribal Hidage groups are listed 'at different times and in different political circumstances' (Higham 1995: 97) so the document does not provide a 'snapshot' of community relationships.

What is clear, though, is that these groups are non-local: a mixture of small (perhaps groups of settlements), medium (perhaps dependant administrative units) and large (major subject kingdoms). Some of the small groups were subject to direct overlordship, whereas comparable small groups, such as the *Wissa* of East Anglia, were dealt with as constituent parts of their kingdom (Davies and Vierck 1974: 240; cf. Yorke 2000: 83). This gives a suggestion of cross-cutting social and political relations. As a result, the Tribal Hidage provides some comment on the emergent political structure of the middle Anglo-Saxon period (parts of which may have origins in early Anglo-Saxon times), but any attempt at completing a hierarchy of all groups in England is thwarted by the fact that only thirty-four of probably hundreds of groups are mentioned due to the selective nature of the document—although others are attested in charters and in place-names.

Nevertheless, the Tribal Hidage does indicate that both landscape and kinship were important elements in defining the identities of these groups. Names with geographical elements appear to refer to those who live in one area (e.g. *Pecsætan*, 'peak dwellers'), whereas others refer to groups of people based on a personal name (e.g. *Hwicce* and *Hæstingas*) (Davies and Vierck 1974: 239). This might suggest that individuals were part of multiple higher-level groups or that membership varied in style from area to area. But even those these groups appear to be tangible, the assumption must not be made that they arose from their geographical location or kin group by some 'natural' process. The cause of solidarity in non-local communities up to the size of kingdoms is not immediately apparent as it might be for those based locally around households and their interactions.

Emic and etic perspectives

In the New World, textual sources apparently give an insight into the thoughts of people about which communities existed at the time, which ones they belonged to, and how these related to one another. Since the village was demonstrably not equivalent to the community Marcus concludes that for the archaeologist a community is a 'cluster of artefacts and ruined structures that exists in space', but for the local people a community is a 'network of interactions' (Marcus 2000: 239). This raises the question of whether archaeologists are successfully accessing the form and content of communities as they would have been understood at the time.

The work on the Tribal Hidage does not provide quite the same kind of information as those sources described by Marcus. The Tribal Hidage groups are spatially imprecise and represent communities which cannot be tallied satisfactorily with individual settlements, cemeteries, or groups of the same, and so the full native conception of early Anglo-Saxon communities is potentially more difficult to infer. The construction of individual local communities is only accessible through archaeology by the analysis of cemeteries and settlements to recover the social roles of individuals; the nature of sub-groups or the existence of households; and the spatial organisation of activities. But this makes the assumption that those buried, or burying, in a particular cemetery or living within a particular space were a community in a meaningful sense. It is not clear whose thoughts about community should be the object of study. Is the term community to be 'applied *emically*, affirming solidarity experienced by members, or *etically*, affirming the inferences of an external investigator' (Isbell 2000: 243, original emphasis)?

For the New World Marcus argues that while we could just ignore the ethnographic reality and build our own typologies the challenge of fitting archaeology to the indigenous conception of community is worthwhile (2000: 232). For early Anglo-Saxon England the task is more difficult. The Tribal Hidage provides evidence of groups that are known to have existed, at least in the minds of the later Anglo-Saxon individuals who collated the documents, but the writers were unlikely to have been members of the communities of which they wrote. In other words, the experience of identity by those people who fell within such groups as recorded by their overlords, may have been quite different to what the overlords had in mind. This is basic source criticism, and another example would be the way that Bede's perspective on the ethnicity of fifth-century Germanic migrants was an external (and later) view that served his particular interests (Hills 2003: 26; Reynolds 1983: 375). Nevertheless, while these documents did not reflect personal experience, neither were they constructed arbitrarily.

It could be argued, that the 'external investigator' of the etic view applies equally well to the authors of any of the textual sources cited above. This may have created differences of opinion at the time about the existence and meaning of communities and which people belonged to them. For the New World example of Cahokia, Preucel (2000) analyses the attempts of Pueblo leaders to manufacture an ethnic consciousness in opposition to the Spaniards. The Sutton Hoo mounds have been interpreted as an attempt to oppose incoming Christian ideas and people (Carver 1989; 2005) by exaggerating 'pagan' practice. In New World Cahokia, cross-cutting changes in local village and group identities also resulted from large population relocations, and for Preucel, these represent 'competing discourses'. This may be compared to the population movements characteristic of the Migration Period which uprooted and transformed communities.

The provision of material culture items and assemblages, and other aspects of burial practice, were intended to symbolise aspects of identity, some idealised (Härke 1990; 1992), some selective (Stoodley 1999a) and some constructed (Hakenbeck 2004; in press), thereby expressing competing 'voices'. The material culture and ideas of 'outsiders' may even have been manipulated and reused. In the New World, for example, members of 'Appalachian' (Blue Ridge Hollows) communities lived lives of apparent isolation, primitive simplicity and one ethnic origin. Yet they did own modern consumer items and actually self-defined themselves into different groups. Their descendants formed a public education movement to turn these views to their own ends (Horning 2000).

Likewise, gravegoods in the Sutton Hoo mounds included 'Christian' artefacts such as the silver bowls with crosses and the spoons with Greek names (Bruce-Mitford 1983: 71–146) which could also be interpreted as the selective use of 'outsider' material culture and ideas to create an identity. In other words, the existence of any single community is not self-evident contrary to the structural-functionalist view. The way outsiders choose or are compelled to view a community must be considered alongside conformity, factionalism, and multiple experiences within that community.

Whether any particular community was internally constructed by its membership or externally constructed by observers (e.g. distant elite individuals) is therefore a matter for investigation rather than assumption one way or the other. The potential for competing discourses of early Anglo-Saxon community should be recognised in the minds and actions of different parties within and between communities. The judgement by archaeologists that any particular community existed is another opinion obviously external to those people who were part of that community. We may attempt to arrive at an 'authentic' perspective that reflects the reality of people living at the time, but we must also recognise explicitly whether this 'authentic' archaeological opinion aligns with the views and experiences of community members, or with its observers at the time. There may, of course, have been a consensus opinion amongst members and outsiders concerning the existence of any particular community.

Residential and non-residential communities

The study of social structures, relations and dynamics is a central preoccupation of early medieval archaeology in England, but community is usually seen as an interpretative concept rather than an object of study *per se*. The word 'community' has been applied to social groups defined by co-residence; to groups of individuals associated with burial sites; and to communities that encompass more than one co-residential community—whether they are evident from clusters of material culture, or from names known by textual sources. It is not clear which of these groups may be usefully termed a community and form the object of study.

What intuitively separates those living together in a community from those of a community that is not co-resident is the extent of daily or frequent face-to-face contact (cf. Murdock and Wilson 1972: 225). The implication is that shared goals and sentiments developed through day-to-day living give rise to a 'natural' community, which is both essential for life and its logical result. It is inevitably bounded by the extent of the space that people share, and is therefore more 'real' than the shifting and manipulated 'imagined' communities of regions, tribal areas or kingdoms.

The reason archaeologists studying the Anglo-Saxon period often focus on the natural community is because, by this definition, it is the essence of the experience of life, and it gives rise to culture through unconscious and consequently compelling processes. The reason non-residential communities have also been of interest is in their relation to the manipulation of residential ones, such as how inward-looking farming collectives were transformed through the actions of powerful agents giving rise to estates, territories and kingdoms, and how these processes may, in turn, have affected co-resident groups.

To characterise these two interests in theoretical terms, the natural community idea reflects concerns about internal structure and function, and the imagined community in this formulation resonates most with concerns about external and historical forces. Archaeologists, therefore, engage with both residentially and non-residentially defined communities, although not in these specific terms. Sometimes the two perspectives are combined, but especially when considering how powerful households came to emerge and/or influence, or result in, the formation of kingdoms (e.g. Bazelmans 1999; Herschend 1998; Scull 1993). It seems inevitable that the experiences of more ordinary folk in the production of community are less obviously accessible,

as Bazelmans (1999: 168) accepts of his own study—'Concerning relations between kings and aristocrats on the one hand, and non-aristocrats (free and un-free) on the other, or non-aristocrats amongst themselves, the poem [*Beowulf*] has relatively little if anything to say. Morever, *Beowulf* provides an exclusively male perspective on the most important relationships'.

As an alternative it is perhaps constructive to think of some experiences of community as more salient than others for those living in the early Anglo-Saxon period. One issue is the relative contribution of everyday interactions from settlement contexts compared with more infrequent but more consciously enacted communal practices in mortuary contexts. Yaeger (2000: 125) articulates this problem through a model where local community identity begins with 'a shared set of mental dispositions', akin to Bourdieu's *habitus* (1977), created by its members' daily routines. Agricultural tasks and caring for family may be understood as daily routines. These feelings may be brought to the surface through 'practices of affiliation', which explicitly represent selected similarities as essential. Mortuary practice may be understood as a 'practice of affiliation', as might feasting in the hall. By transferring feelings into consciousness, community membership is opened up to negotiation and dispute, and similarities and differences may be used as a potential resource in negotiation within and between groups. For example, the apparently 'good correspondence' between cemetery and settlement data (Härke 1997: 141) is not perfect, nor is it consistently imperfect. Variation in mortuary practice is the result of communities not being constructed wholly by 'natural' processes.

Practices of affiliation also play a role in creating and maintaining perceived commonality between individuals who are not co-resident and share extra-local identities. For example, while some inhumation cemeteries appear to approximate the structure of single settlements, some large cremation cemeteries appear to have accommodated individuals from many. Mortuary practice may therefore have a relationship to everyday solidarity and to non-residential community. The symbols of shared residence (e.g. kinship; the hall) may have crossed over from one frame of reference to another through mortuary practices. This is how different experiences of community may have been interrelated.

Yaeger's three-stage model is explicitly used as a tool, but it's hierarchical nature obscures the fact that no group starts *completely* afresh with only daily tasks to form a common bond (although this could be debated with respect to immigrant pioneers). It is the interrelated package of 'higher' and 'lower' level practices that exists and changes over time. By concentrating on the practice of community, rather than internal logical structures or the influence of external forces, archaeologists do not need to choose between studying residential and non-residential communities or to reserve the term 'community' for co-residential groups only. Exploring the various 'styles' and 'discourses' of community in the early Anglo-Saxon period is an end in itself. Since it is the relationships between settlements, cemeteries, other sites, and non-site areas that inform an understanding of varied communal practices landscape is a key context for understanding early Anglo-Saxon communities.

Community in the Early Anglo-Saxon Landscape

Exploring a definition

The definition of community used in the present study is the flexible practice-based definition taken from Yaeger and Canuto: community is 'an ever emergent social institution that generates and is generated by supra-household interactions that are structured and synchronised by a set of places within this span of time' (2000: 5). The reasons for using this definition have been explored from two different angles—developments in social theory and their application to early Anglo-Saxon archaeology, and an argument concerning the kinds of community that should be the object of study.

There are numerous and specific benefits to be gained by using this definition for studying early Anglo-Saxon communities in the landscape. It encourages an in-depth exploration of the many aspects of early Anglo-Saxon community that are apparent from different forms of evidence, and that are structured by the places in which practice occurs and the routes between them. Although the definition is broad and inclusive it does not necessarily include large groupings that have other names such as 'kingdom' or 'ethnicity' because they would never have met in one place together, but wholly imagined identities may have played an important role in community practice and should be considered alongside.

The fact that community resists true essentialisation is accepted as unresolved. Instead, the definition de-emphasises the *logic* of community identity (such as kin-based, ethnic and spatial structures) and focusses instead on the processes of interaction and identity *formation* (Yaeger and Canuto 2000: 7). This means that whenever individuals interact communally a community may be formed, but equally changes in interaction may break it up. It has been argued that aspects of early Anglo-Saxon kinship and community converged but communities could have dissolved without leading to the disappearance of the kin group. The overlap of the term 'community' with other groups is therefore not a problem. The community may take multiple forms at different scales—not just through domestic practices, but by practices in local and regional contexts as well. The concept of 'practices of affiliation' may be used to explore how early Anglo-Saxon communities were formed through burial practices, with greater or lesser correlation to other logical groups such as settlements

and territories. Some of these community forms may have been less incidental and more consciously created than others, and one level or type may have had emic salience.

Since communities leave behind the material outcome of many of their practices it is necessary to look for dynamic patterns throughout the landscape to learn of them. A variety of theoretical tools may be gathered and deployed in order to do this (cf. Joyce and Hendon 2000; Williams 2006). In particular, 'citation' is the practice of repetitively or frequently moving through the same space during the course of habitual or persistent actions (Butler 1990: 12–16; 1993: 101–19) and may be described as the embodiment of a community. Bourdieu (1973; 1977) emphasised that material settings structure routines of passage, which in turn create material settings. This is obvious during the early Anglo-Saxon period in the shifting forms of some settlements around favourable areas. It also has particular relevance to understanding the movements early Anglo-Saxons would have made through and between settlements, cemeteries and other sites that archaeologists recognise during the course of regular subsistence and ritual activities.

These 'practices of bodily incorporation' (Connerton 1989: 72–3) take place in fleeting 'social time' (Herzfeld 1991: 10), and create the personal reality of community to which a definition that emphasises interaction refers. Social time is 'the kind of time in which events cannot be predicted but in which every effort can be made to influence them' (Herzfeld 1991: 10) and this has resonance with the skilful choices necessary to successfully subsist (see Chapter 3): the choice of settlement location for the utilisation of multiple resources and the timely movement between these different zones according to conditions and the seasons.

Choices made to locate cemeteries within the view of settlements and routeways (Brookes 2002) may be understood as practices of affiliation that deliberately utilise everyday movement to elevate particular symbols of kinship, lineage and ancestry salient to the household experience, and bring them into the discourse of community. The practice of using cemetery locations chosen in this way effects the negotiation, manipulation or contention of community, but also seeks to normalise and generalise the results. The fixing of mortuary performance in the material form of a cemetery may be termed 'inscription' (Connerton 1989: 72–3) and is an attempt to constrain variation in experience. These practices are written into 'monumental time' (Hertzfeld 1991: 7–10), which focusses on the past, with the future in mind ('prospective memory', Holtorf 1996). They are used to create communal histories for the purpose of making some chosen communal identities more enduring, and the reappropriation of round barrows and other past monuments is likely have been a powerful way to achieve these prospective goals through retrospection. The marked correlation of mortuary and community practices in the landscape may be explained by the creation of these social memories. Cemeteries and their associated mortuary sequences were the means by which social memories were worked, reworked (or even deliberately forgotten) by creating links to ancestors and the supernatural, but also by 'the creation of specific genealogies and histories for kingdoms and communities' (Williams 2006: 183).

Large cremation cemeteries may be viewed as 'central places' (Williams 2002b) or 'places of assembly' both for the living, and for 'assembling and burying the dead in order to create the impression of communality and ancestors in the landscape' (Williams 2004: 127). These may represent only the most visible in a number of communal practices including social, political and religious foci, 'complex multi-focal, spatially extensive funerary practice' (Semple 2004: 150), the pathways in between, and any associated relic features. The choice of different burial grounds for different people where there is no clear one-to-one cemetery-settlement relationship may be viewed as a deliberate and knowledgeable act to continue, or break with, what each place may have symbolised. A similar process is suggested for the late Merovingian southern Netherlands where several groups co-existed—the family, the co-resident group, the estate-dwellers, and Christians. These groups were formed and came into contact, gained and lost salience over time, through 'complex symbolic strategies involving different burial grounds' (Theuws 1999: 346).

Over the course of the sixth and seventh centuries the number of burial sites found to be located separately from communal cemeteries and settlements, and in highly visible locations, increased (Semple 2003). This may be seen as part of the major process of change in material culture and social order apparent from the late sixth century, because the wider the landscape setting the more normative the practice is intended to be. The visibility of burial grounds marks continuity of place and therefore attempts to solidify relationships between people and the landscape, which may be termed the creation of territory. The development of bringing territory (rather than primarily kinship) into the practice of community during the course of the early and middle Anglo-Saxon periods may be viewed as reflexively normative, since the bounds of territory feed back into citation and habitual communal action. The power of these settings to create shared dispositions comes from the unconscious nature of their citation.

Everyday, cyclical and intermittent practices

In order to explore communities holistically it is desirable to arrange practices into analytical groups that are not dependant on the limitations of different data sets (such as subsistence vs ritual activities) or on any concomitant differences between settlement studies and mortuary interpretation.

One way of achieving this to divide practices according to their frequency (Table 4.1). Everyday practices are those which can involve members from different nearby households, although not necessarily only in the close vicinity of the farmstead. They may not have been carried out everyday without exception but they are not infrequent, nor are they structured in cycles. These practices are the most likely to create the *habitus* of which Bourdieu writes (1973; 1977).

Cyclical activities are often related to the change of seasons over the course of a year. Weather would have affected the timing of agricultural activities and the production of products, and consequently, the distribution and celebration of those products, and the timing of communal practices associated with their production, distribution and celebration. These are likely to have involved those from nearby households, nearby settlements, or the nearest central place, and ranged over some distance.

Intermittent practices are those which cannot be predicted, or are infrequent, but are not governed by cycles. Although rites of passage are governed by the life cycles of individuals, they are relatively long-term and do not necessarily take place with predictable regularity. Rites of passage have been described here as intermittent. Intermittent practices can involve those from different households and settlements over a wide area, but usually involve central places or formalised routeways rather than more informal movement over and around areas. Extra-local communities may be formed from intermittent practices, which may also be the most consciously enacted.

Through these preliminary theoretical explorations of community in the landscape a number of themes have been proposed to analyse the archaeology of early Anglo-Saxon England. The corollary of following a definition of community based on interaction is that all practices are contingent in time and space, so in order to refine further the concepts of early Anglo-Saxon community it is necessary to use detailed data from a particular case study area.

Frequency	Examples of Practice
Everyday	• Family care • Agricultural tasks: farmyard animal husbandry; overnight sheep folding; crop tending; resource collection, e.g. peat and wood for fuel • Household subsistence tasks: cooking and food processing • Eating in the hall • Craft: weaving; leather working; whittling; metal working; bead making • Ritual practice/votive deposition associated with daily observances
Cyclical	• Agricultural activities structured by seasonal timetable: movement of animals from one pasture to another; seasonal transhumance associated with distant pasturage; harvest, crop processing and ploughing, with associated labour pooling • Religious/ritual festivals associated with the agricultural year • Feasting in the hall; gift-giving • Household subsistence tasks: building maintenance including collecting materials, e.g. thatch and wood • Travel to central places for market and trade • Craft: potting
Intermittent	• Marriages, including exogamy/endogamy, and other rites of passage • Cremation • Funeral rites and burial of cremations and inhumations • Votive deposition • Feasting in the hall; gift-giving • Assemblies, such as *things* • Travel to central places for market and trade • Travel associated with the movement of elites around their territories

Table 4.1 Examples of communal practice in early Anglo-Saxon experience and the frequency or regularity with which they were enacted.

Issues of methodology

The aim so far has been to offer an explicit definition of community, and ensure that it is not one arisen unquestioningly from material remains or from preconceptions. Nevertheless, the ideals of community analysis are tempered by the nature of the available evidence, and what materials are recoverable inevitably focus the scholar's eye on particular aspects of community. This is not a particular problem as long as the enquiry is reflexive, contextual and explicit in its methods, outcomes and drawbacks.

The present study is defined by reference to the meaningful choices made about cemetery locations in the landscape alongside a framework of choices made about settlement and subsistence. The intention is to explore these in detail for a particular region in order to examine the variation that is typical of early Anglo-Saxon England with respect to the construction of communities and the frequency of different practices. Chapter 2 specified the county of Norfolk as the chosen candidate for this treatment and the approach of using third-party metal detector finds to complement detailed knowledge from cemetery and settlement excavations, extensive data from fieldwalking, and other sources. This evidence is appropriate in a number of ways for examining early Anglo-Saxon communities in the landscape, and constructing a narrative about communities and landscape that articulates both ideological and economic concerns.

As has been observed, there is a potential lack of fit between the etically defined local community, the 'site', and the emically meaningful group, the 'community'. It is not possible to assume that a settlement 'equals' a community because domestic life is not the sum of its interactions. Equally, there is no standard one-to-one, one-to-many, or many-to-one relationship between settlements and cemeteries, so a community is not 'equal' to those interred in a cemetery because the logic behind the inclusion of some and the exclusion of others is not necessarily related to who lived together.

'The community is not a spatial cluster of material remains to be observed, but rather a social process to be inferred' (Canuto and Yaeger 2000: 9). A community is the sum of the interactions of individuals and these are not homogeneous, static and unquestioned, but varied, changeable, contested and manipulated. There may have been overlapping communities with varied construction and salience. As such, it is the range and variation of sites and surrounding activities, their interrelations, their landscape context in space and change over time that is the focus of a community analysis, rather than simply describing sites from excavation and survey artefacts.

The use of multiple sources of evidence is preferred to recover the different practices of community, and an understanding of these within ritual, mortuary, subsistence, ideological, symbolic and economic contexts depends upon the collection of both geographical and historical landscape information. The main challenge is to identify sites and areas of activity in order to give them landscape context and this is of particular importance with respect to metal-detector finds and other surface artefacts which do not have self-evident definition (see Chapter 6), but which provide potentially spatially-continuous information.

Another important concern is the issue of scale. A landscape community approach requires an explicitly middle-level approach since it needs to bridge the gap between the details of site excavation and those of regional settlement. Excavations provide excellent information about settlement households or cemetery sub-groups, but community is not simply an additive process and so these results cannot be generalised without further context. Top-down approaches which characterise regional settlement archaeology do not, by themselves, provide the resolution necessary to address the workings of individual communities. The 'micro-region' is an area which is larger than an individual site but which is smaller than a region, and includes both sites and inter-site areas (Gaffney and Gaffney 1988). The typical application of the 'micro-region' (e.g. Kolb and Snead 1997) is more detailed and extensive than the evidence from early Anglo-Saxon England allows because of the limited extent and low number of excavations. The alternative presented here is to use relatively high-resolution metal-detector data to define areas of activity around known sites and generalise these to other areas where there is only non-excavation data. The valuable unit of micro-region analysis must also be combined in a multi-scalar approach, not just in order to consider the construction of communities at different scales, but also to examine their interrelations and test the validity and salience of one to another.

Finally, the evidence available is inevitably a palimpsest representing the material outcomes of interactions over a period of time. The problem of identifying contemporaneity was discussed in Chapter 3. This will be addressed here by using available dating information from excavations and surface artefacts, from both published and unpublished reports. The dating of metal detected finds in particular suffers from a very variable quality of recording. On this basis, artefacts are grouped into 'earlier' (fifth- or early sixth-century finds) and 'later' (late sixth- or seventh-century finds). It is inescapable at the present time that this will provide temporal information more coarse than is desirable. Poor chronological precision can mask complexity and change, giving an appearance of stasis. Although consistent and meaningful social interactions may be apparent over the *longue durée* (Braudel 1980) the experience of change over a single generation is lengthy to those who lived in the past, while frequently being barely registered by the archaeologist. When the conclusions from ongoing carbon dating and

correspondence analysis projects are well known (e.g. Scull and Bayliss 1999) it may be possible to improve the interpretation of the result presented in this study.

The main drawback of these data and methods is one which most archaeological study shares—the tendency to generalise and normalise past interactions and experiences—but it is hoped that the outcome of the present study will still be sufficient to contribute to knowledge of intra-regional practice and variation in the interactions of communities. With this agenda for exploring early Anglo-Saxon communities in the landscape now described it is possible to move to a description of the region of study and its available data.

Chapter 5
Introducing Norfolk

Investigating Norfolk

The county of Norfolk is a relatively recent creation and has undergone numerous boundary changes to include the land it does today. The Romano-British territory of the *Iceni* was broadly coincident with modern Norfolk and Suffolk, and in the late sixth century much of these counties formed most of the East Anglian kingdom (Yorke 1990). There is little clear evidence that Norfolk was politically or territorially separate from Suffolk during the early Anglo-Saxon period (Scull 1993: 20), nor is there any evidence that the two counties were necessarily a single political entity. Although a division of some sort between the two has been suggested (Yorke 1990: 69) the names of Norfolk and Suffolk are not recorded until the eleventh century (Yorke 1990: 61; 69). Either way, we are presentedly concerned with local practices rather than regional structures. Sites in Suffolk such as the settlement at West Stow (West 1985) and the cemeteries at Eriswell (Caruth 1998; 2000; 2002) are drawn on as useful comparisons, but the focus remains on Norfolk.

As an area chosen for extensive but detailed landscape study it has much to recommend it. Norfolk has no work dedicated to early Anglo-Saxon landscape although a number of scholars have written on the subject (e.g. Clarke 1939; 1940; Hoggett 2007; Penn and Brugmann, forthcoming; Williamson 1993). Norfolk is a county with relatively little high topography in contrast to others in England such as East Yorkshire and Hampshire that have generally received more attention (see Chapter 2). Trends identified in these other areas may not be the same in places of more subdued topography and this needs to be given consideration. At the same time Norfolk has a wide variety of landscapes with which to test hypotheses concerning early Anglo-Saxon landscape preferences, and there are many parallels with other counties such as to the marshland of Kent (Richardson 2005: 46) and East Yorkshire (Eagles 1979: 15) and the valley-sides of Oxfordshire.

Geographically, the county is bounded by coast, fens and marshes on three sides making it a naturally circumscribed place with specific routes of communication. Most contact would have been made either across the rivers Little Ouse and Waveney (Fig. 5.1), which form the modern boundary with Suffolk, or by sea, primarily to and from Germany and Scandinavia (Carver 1990; Hines 1984). This latter characteristic makes it one of the first places to have shown large-scale evidence for continental Germanic material culture and mortuary practices (Hills 1999: 184) and in the later Anglo-Saxon and medieval periods it was the most densely populated and prosperous region in England (Williamson 1993: 2). Finally, Norfolk also has excellent archaeological evidence, most recently and significantly supplemented by metal-detector finds recorded through one of the earliest schemes in the country. As a large county these resources provide many intriguing examples of early Anglo-Saxon landscape use.

Geographical Background

Modern geography

Topography and drainage

Norfolk is a lowland county in Eastern England with no land above 105m over sea level (Fig. 5.1). The major rivers flowing towards the former estuary at Yarmouth are the Wensum, Yare, Bure and Waveney with a number of their tributaries. Into the Wash flow the rivers Little Ouse, Great Ouse, Nar, Wissey and other smaller rivers. The River Nene and other watercourses from the Midlands also flow into The Wash at the very west of the county. The Burn, Stiffkey and Glaven flow northwards and drain into the sea on the north Norfolk coast. These valleys form important dendritic features in the topography of Norfolk, being absent only along a north–south band of chalk geology in the western half of the county. The pattern of interfluves forms a central watershed which arcs across the county. The gentle escarpment forms the highest land along with the Cromer Ridge in north Norfolk. The Boulder Clay Plateau is of intermediate relief, while the Fens and Broads are the lowest lying areas, much of which are near, or at, sea level. Highly numerous modern drainage channels have reclaimed this land from the sea, and other relatively recent artificial watercourses are also found in these areas (not shown).

Geology

Precambrian and Palaeozoic rocks are the most ancient of formations in Norfolk and do not reach the surface (Larwood and Funnell 1978: 271). Overlying these are more recent solid geology, the oldest Upper Jurassic West Walton Beds and Kimmeridge Clay in the west with progressively younger formations towards the east (Fig. 5.2). Three ages of Chalk form an escarpment that faces west and runs approximately north–south in West Norfolk, a more subdued northerly continuation of the feature that creates the Chiltern Hills (Chatwin 1961: 1). The dip-slope is formed of Upper Chalk which underlies the majority of later drift in the county. The calcareous sands and gravels of the Norwich Crag in the east were formed over it by marine transgressions before the Quaternary Ice Age.

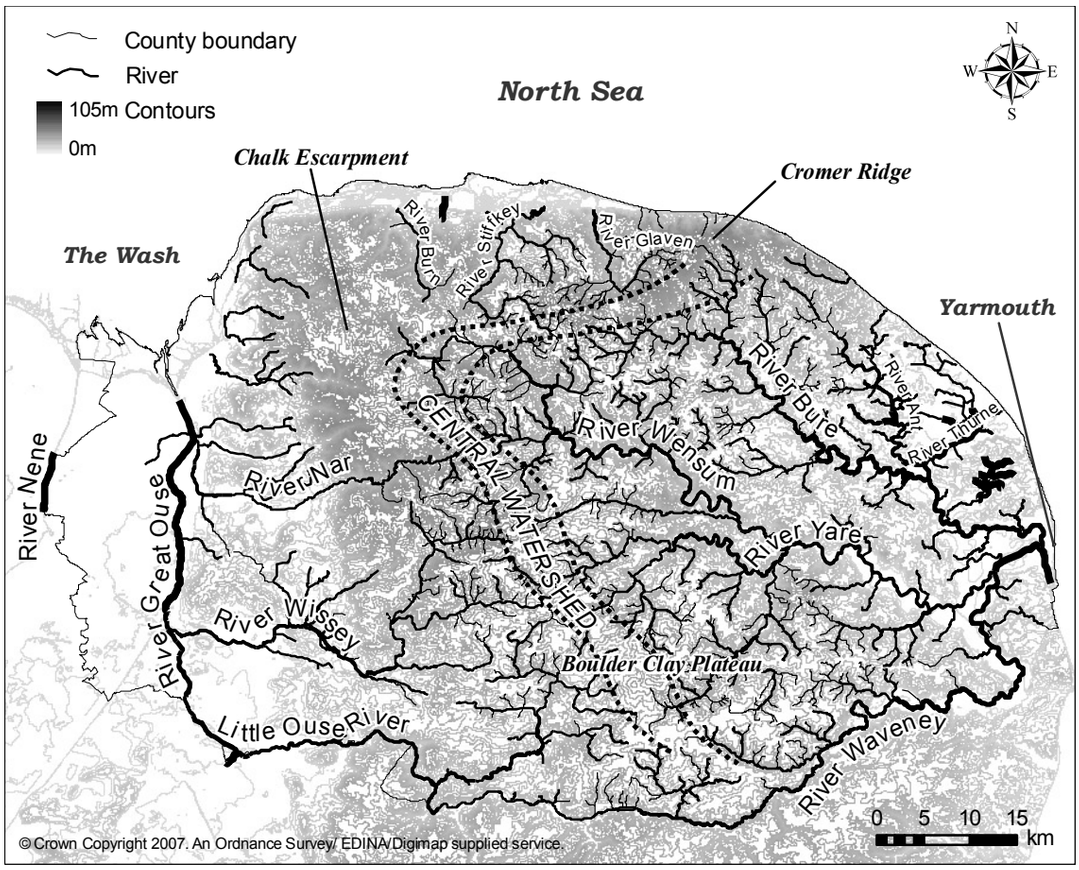


Fig. 5.1 Rivers and topography of Norfolk. Rivers labelled are named in the text.

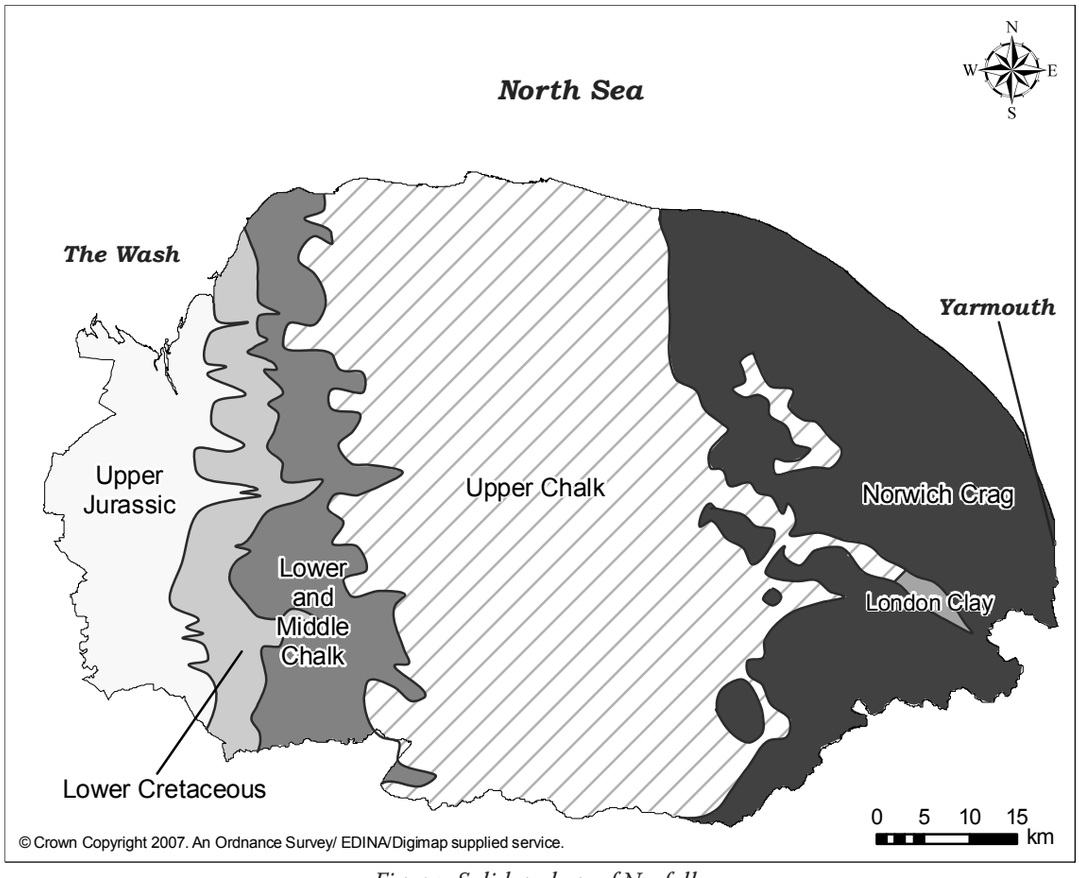


Fig. 5.2 Solid geology of Norfolk.

More recent drift geology is dominated by tills from a number of glacial events (Fig. 5.3) (Larwood and Funnell 1978). During the Anglian Glaciation (c. 440–472,000 years ago), a glacier travelling from east to west transported a large quantity of Jurassic Clay and Chalk (Lowestoft Till) creating the Boulder Clay Plateau and excavating the Fenland Basin. A second glacier encroached on north-east Norfolk forming the clayey Cromer Till of the coast and the sandy Norwich Brickearth inland. The Cromer Ridge on the North Norfolk coast is the result of contortions in the glacial till and underlying geology caused by the interaction of the two glaciers. During the Devensian Glaciation (c. 18–22,000 years ago), the Hunstanton Till along the north coast was created, and outwash sands and gravels from these and other glaciations are found in various places, marking their repeated encroachment and retreat and forming Salthouse and Kelling Heaths. Most recently silts and clays from a number of intermittent marine transgressions in the east and west of the county have covered formations of fresh-water peat in the Fens and the Broads.

Pedology and landscape zones

The soils formed in the geological deposits take much of their character from them and are perhaps the single most important influence on the development of Norfolk's varied landscapes, affecting the pattern of settlement and the organisation of farming in all periods (Williamson 2005: 8). Fig. 5.4 shows the soils used in this study in the form of soil associations (rather than soil series).

Full descriptions are available in *Soils and their Use in Eastern England* (Hodge et al. 1984) and *Soil Classification for England and Wales* (Avery 1980). Various soil landscapes that characterise the totality of each area's relief, drainage, soil type, fertility, suitability for agriculture and natural habitats have been described or proposed (Corbet and Dent 1994: 18–19; Williamson 1993: 11–14; 2005: 8–9). Modified versions of these annotate the map and are summarised in Table 5.1.

Major divisions may be drawn between the water-retentive clay plateau of central Norfolk; an arc of freely draining light soils over the west, north and east; and the low-lying waterlogged peats and silts of the far west and east of Norfolk. The dissections of river valleys create important features within these broad landscapes by revealing underlying deposits of different character to the general area. This is most apparent in the clay plateau where the valleys are sandy and lighter than the chalky boulder clay of the interfluves.

Inevitably, these broad descriptive areas fail to show the complexities of local soil patterns. The intention is not to gloss over these, as they are recognised in Chapter 8, but rather to draw attention to the variety of landscapes in Norfolk so their relationships to early Anglo-Saxon activity may be examined and understood. The analysis undertaken in Chapter 7 divides the soils slightly differently, according to their various properties (group, drainage, fertility and habitat) in order to test hypotheses variable by variable.

Land use

Modern land use (Table 5.2) is of interest particular for its effects on the recovery of archaeological material (see below, and also Fig. 6.19). Norfolk is an agricultural county with large areas of farmland. It has been this way for much of its history and has some of the most productive land in England, but the Fens and Broads have been thoroughly drained in modern times and are now used for arable in a way that differs from their previous history. Large plantations of evergreen trees, particularly in Breckland, are a significant and widespread inhibition to both accidental and deliberate recovery of artefacts and sites. Development in urban areas frequently results in the intermittent recovery of archaeological material while surface collection in agricultural areas has produced many finds and continues to do so.

Early Anglo-Saxon geography

Drainage

There have been relatively minor changes in the courses of the major rivers since the early Anglo-Saxon period due to the natural process of meandering. Some small tributaries are likely to have disappeared ('palaeochannels') while others may have since appeared. The overall pattern of natural drainage in most of Norfolk has changed little, though, with the exception of the low-lying areas in the west and east of the county. Particularly in the Fens, freshwater draining from higher ground would have found many alternative channels and been affected by periodic marine inundation. The exact configuration of these rivers in early Anglo-Saxon times is not well known although patterns of extinct watercourses are present in the soils of many areas (Silvester 1988: 54). In the Broads, the courses of the Rivers Ant and Thurne (and perhaps even the River Bure; refer to Figs 5.1 and 5.5) are suggested to have flowed originally into an estuary to the north of Flegg although this would have been much impeded by the formation of a sand bank (Williamson 1997: 76–7). The exact points of exit into the sea of the various courses probably varied frequently as a result of various sand banks growing and shifting across the estuarine mouths.

With respect to artificial channels, there were no widespread drainage measures taken in the low-lying areas, no known canalisation or redirection of major rivers, or construction of sea defences, although these adjustments are known to have been made in both Roman and middle Anglo-Saxon times (Hall and Coles 1994: 105–9; 127). Relatively little is known about the early Anglo-Saxon Fens but one example of early Anglo-Saxon material is found in the vicinity of the silted Aylmer

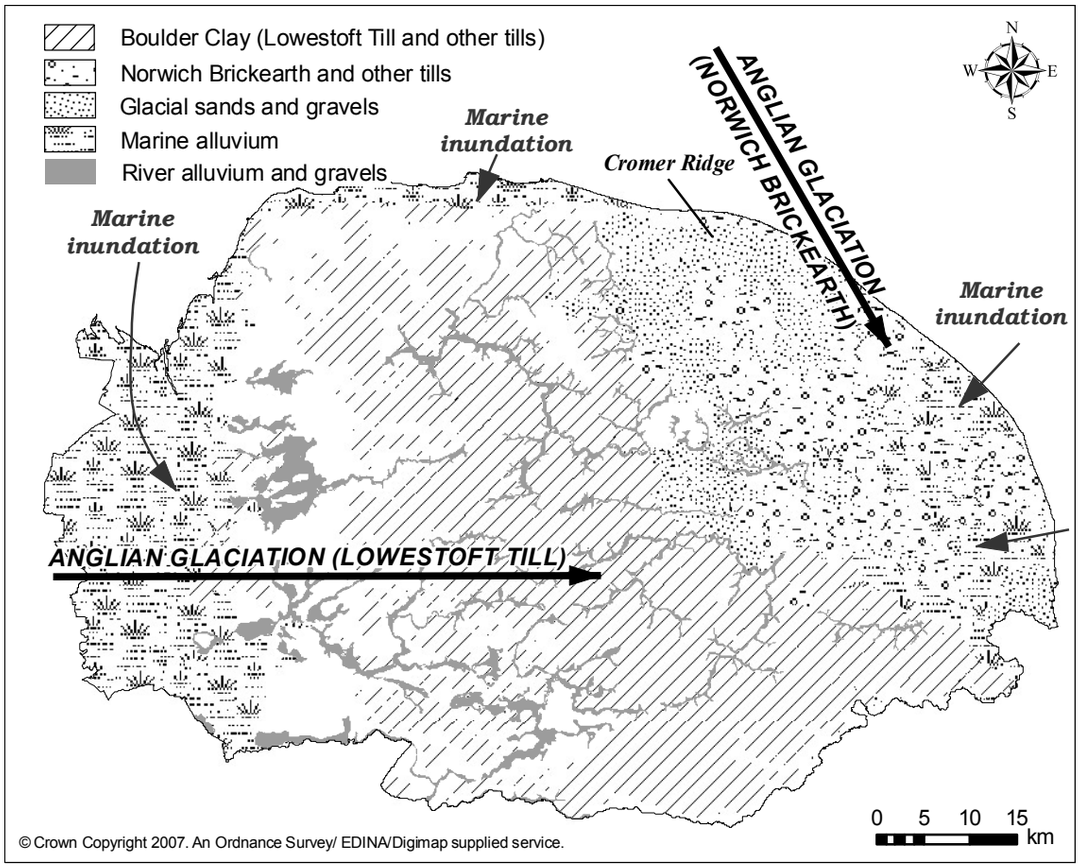


Fig. 5.3 Glacial and recent drift geology of Norfolk (approximate).

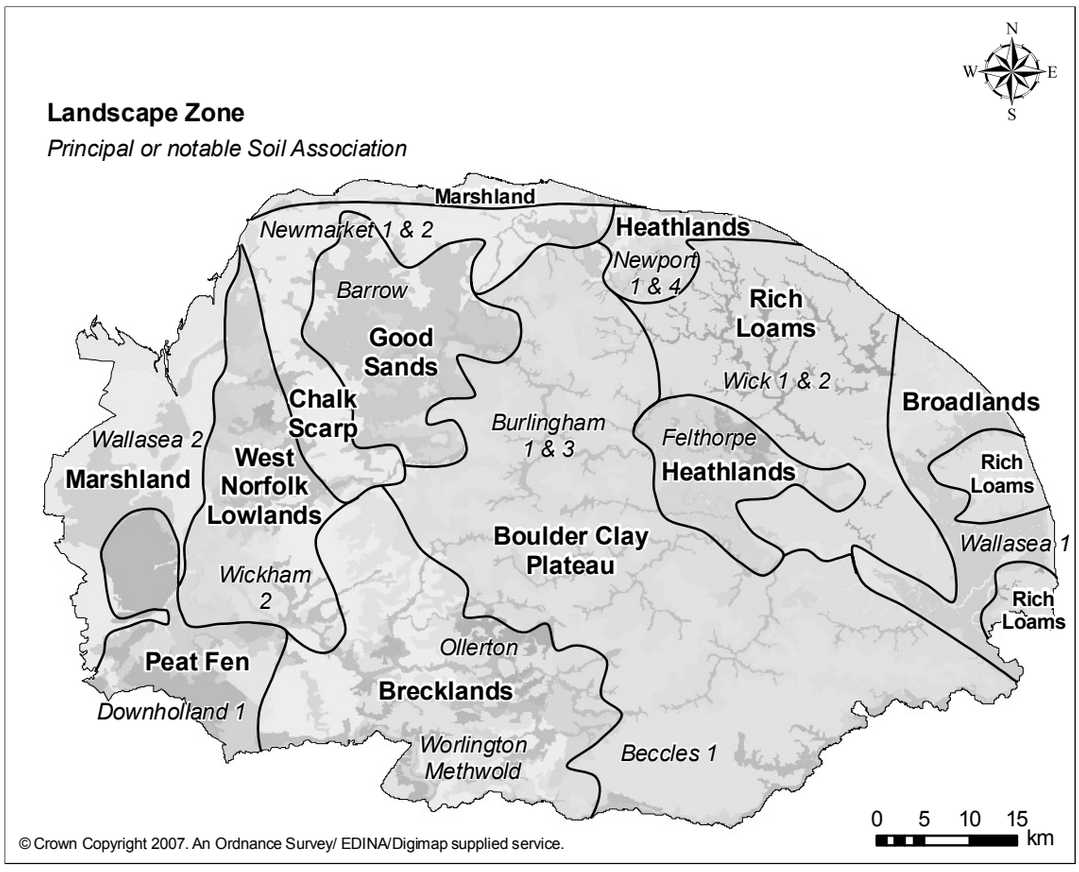


Fig. 5.4 Soil associations and landscape zones used in this study. Principal/notable soil associations are labelled.

Landscape Zone	Principal Soil Associations	Primary Characteristics
Marshland	Wisbech Agney Wallasea 2	Marine alluvium. Naturally wet. Lime-rich, or of mixed fertility, supporting wet meadow and wood.
Peat Fen	Downholland 1 Adventurers' 1 & 2 Altcar 1	Deep peat and mixed marine alluvium and peat soils. Naturally wet. Lime-rich, or of mixed fertility, supporting wet meadow and wood.
West Norfolk Lowlands	Blackwood Newport 4 Burlingham 1 Downham Wickham 2 Isleham 2	A variety of soils, including sandy soils, both naturally wet and freely draining; slightly impeded and impeded loamy soils over clay and mudstone; and sandy hummocks alongside peaty hollows in the valleys. These vary in fertility and support a variety of habitats.
Chalk Scarp	Newmarket 1 & 2	Shallow, well-drained, lime-rich soils, loamy soils, supporting pasture and wood. Rendzinas.
Good Sands	Barrow	Deep, well-drained, coarse loam over clayey soils, incorporating aeolian sand, and of low fertility, supporting acid dry pasture and wood.
Brecklands	Worlington Methwold Ollerton	Deep, acid or calcareous, well-drained, sandy soils, with intricate local soil patterns. Podzols. Characteristic heathland, and some pasture and wood.
Boulder Clay Plateau	Beccles 1 Burlingham 1 & 3	Pelo and non-pelo stagnogleys—heavier clayey soils, with impeded drainage; and lighter, fine loamy stagnogleys over slowly permeable subsoils, in the valleys, supporting seasonally wet, and a wide range of, pasture and wood. Fertile where adequately managed.
Heathlands	Newport 1 & 4 Felthorpe	Well-drained, sandy soils, some stony and very acid, and of poor fertility, supporting acid, dry pasture and wood. Also, sandy, very acid soils, affected by groundwater, supporting lowland heath.
Rich Loams	Wick 2 & 3	Deep, coarse loams, with sand and clay components, variable in drainage, although mostly well-drained, supporting neutral and acid pasture, wood and heath.
Broadlands	Wallasea 1 Gresham Altcar 2	Naturally wet marine alluvium. Impeded stagnogleys of deep loam and silt over clayey soils. Also, naturally wet peaty soils in the valleys supporting fen carr woodland and grazed marshland.

Table 5.1 Landscape zones used in the this study, their relationship with accepted soil associations and their characteristics.

Landscape Zone	Notes	Modern Land Use (Relative Proportion)				
		Urban	Arable	Pasture	Forest	Heathland
Marshland	Much reclaimed from The Wash since the seventeenth century. Arable and some permanent grassland.	Medium	**Major**	Minor	None	None
Peat Fen	Intensive vegetable farming on arable.	Minor	**Major**	Medium	None	None
West Norfolk Lowlands	Complex area including with some extensive modern plantations and grassland, but mostly arable.	Medium	Medium	Medium	Medium	Medium
Chalk Scarp	-	Minor	**Major**	None	Little	Little
Good Sands	-	Medium	**Major**	Minor	Minor	Little
Brecklands	Forestry Commission conifer plantations; heathland and rough pasture; some arable.	Minor	Medium	Minor	**Major**	Medium
Boulder Clay Plateau	Mainly arable.	Medium	**Major**	Minor	Little	None
Heathlands	Arable; extensive conifer plantations; heathland and rough pasture.	Medium	Medium	Minor	Medium	Medium
Rich Loams	Mainly arable; a few forested areas.	Medium	**Major**	Little	Minor	None
Broadlands	Permanent grassland; some arable.	Minor	Minor	**Major**	Little	Little

Table 5.2 Landscape zones used in the this study and the range of their modern land uses.

Hall Roman canal (a 'roddon') (Crowson et al. 2000: 212; Crowson et al. 2005: 48; Silvester 1988: 156), which suggests that defunct Roman works would have been usefully dry places to utilise in an otherwise changeable and waterlogged environment. In the Broads, medieval peat cuttings and later flooding created artificial lakes (Lambert 1960) that would not have been present in the early Anglo-Saxon period.

Topography and coastal change

The relief of inland Norfolk was largely no different than today (Funnell 1994: 16), but the coastal and low-lying areas had important differences in configuration. Post-glacially (c. 10–8,000 BP), the coastline moved rapidly landward from its farthest point by the Dogger Bank and impeded the drainage of freshwater causing the development of peat and marshes in the east, west and north of the county (Murphy 2005: 6). Subsequently, there were episodes of marine and estuarine mud deposition, and marine retreat once again favouring the development of peat, which was later exploited. The formation and change of sand spits across the mouths of the western estuaries was part of these processes.

During the Romano-British period effective sea level was higher than today causing the estuaries to be inundated and the coastline pushed inland to create what was later known as the Isle of Flegg (Williamson 1993: 13) (Fig. 5.5). The sea level began to fall in early Anglo-Saxon times and continued to do so throughout the Anglo-Saxon period creating open marshes in the estuaries suitable for resource exploitation rather than settlement (Green 1961). The coastline of the Fens is also uncertain but most probably included a significant tidal range. Marine transgression was a common event and in some places Anglo-Saxon archaeology is likely to have been buried under a layer of silts (Crowson et al. 2005: 54). In contrast, the soft tills, peat and alluvium of the northern coastline have been subject to significant marine erosion since the early Anglo-Saxon period. It is estimated that the Roman coastline would have been up to 2km further out to sea in places than today (Murphy 2005: 7). The early Anglo-Saxon coastline would not have been very much further inland. Some coastal sites must have been lost in the intervening years.

Pedology

Modern soils formed in those coastal and fen areas, which have been subject to the numerous changes described above, are not good analogues of those present in the early Anglo-Saxon period. Otherwise the deposits left by the Anglian Glaciation have exerted a strong influence on the county's soils and these may be regarded as equivalent to those known from modern survey for the purposes of the current study. However, the ways in which land has been managed over the course of history

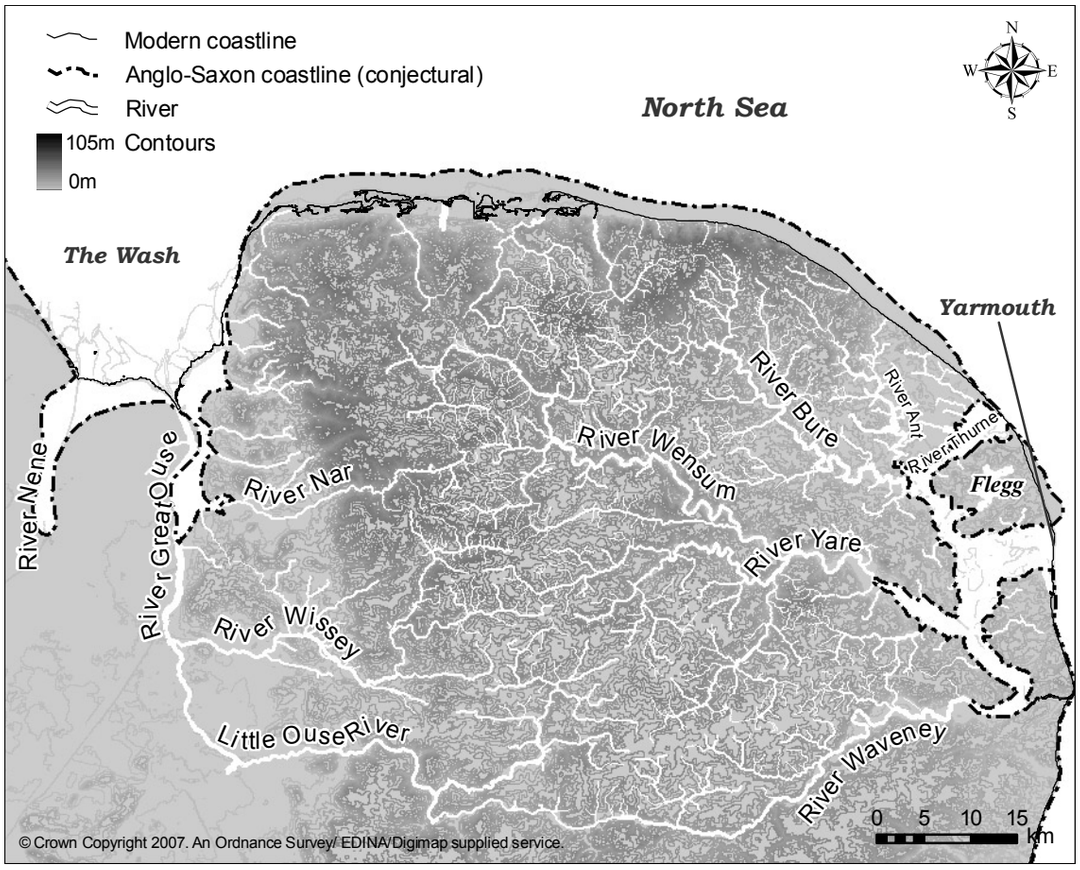


Fig. 5.5 Possible early Anglo-Saxon coastline based on the putative Roman coastline.

has impacted on the vegetation and character of the different zones of landscape. Heathlands, for example, have appeared on droughty soils where agriculture damaged their structure.

Land use and vegetation

Historic land use enables us to understand the possibilities afforded to early Anglo-Saxon farmers better than the modern land use. There is relatively little direct evidence of the early Anglo-Saxon environment, although some environmental analyses give a general picture (e.g. Murphy 1994; Wiltshire 2001). Later place-names and Domesday information have been used to suggest land cover (Williamson 1993; 2005) but the apparent distribution of woodland is not directly determined by soils, and there were local variations in coverage and clearance. Knowledge of the land cover before the onset of modern farming, of traditional agricultural techniques, and of historic population densities and settlement patterns are informative (Table 5.3). 'The main regional differences in settlement patterns existed by the twelfth century' (Williamson 1993: 10) and the extent to which these developed from practices in the early Anglo-Saxon period is of considerable interest.

There is no simple overall picture but rather a wide variety of landscapes providing a wide variety of resources, some requiring greater sophistication, specific timetables, or simply more work than others. In some places the configuration of resources are likely to have influenced the density and pattern of settlement, but almost everywhere is suitable for settlement or exploitation of some kind.

Landscape Zone	Historic Land Use	Historic Settlement and Population Density
Marshland	Colonised in Roman times, largely abandoned and recolonised from the middle Anglo-Saxon times. Later extensively farmed in medieval times. No woodland at Domesday.	Variable population density.
Peat Fen	Reclaimed only from the seventeenth century. Before this, a common fen exploited by communities on its margins. No woodland at Domesday.	Low population density, as seasonally flooded.
West Norfolk Lowlands	Complex pattern of zones, with marshy valleys, heaths, and heavier fertile soils suitable for agriculture in the south. Almost no woodland at Domesday, but evidence of felling and/or coppicing of woodlands, scrub and heath for fuel in Roman times.	Settlement on ridges between valleys.
Chalk Scarp	Reasonably fertile if maintained with regular folding. Almost no woodland at Domesday.	Moderate population density. Medieval larger estates with nucleated settlement pattern.
Good Sands	Extensive chalk heath until the eighteenth century. Calcareous marl dug from the underlying chalk used to neutralise the acidity ('marling') for medieval agriculture. Almost no woodland at Domesday.	Low population density. Medieval large nucleated villages, often widely spaced, near water (including perched water tables).
Brecklands	Agriculturally marginal, but easily worked, with fertility traditionally maintained by folding of sheep at night, after grazing. Almost no woodland at Domesday. Rabbit warrens and sheepwalk on higher ground until the nineteenth century.	Historically low population density, but important area in prehistory. Medieval loosely nucleated settlements along the valleys or margins.
Boulder Clay Plateau	Southern section has deep valleys with sandier soils for settlement and extensive arable in the medieval period. Plateau more suited to woodland (much at Domesday, and many *leah* and *thveit* placenames) and pasture, but many areas were also under the plough. Northern section has more outwash gravels giving rise to poor soils, and heathland until the eighteenth century, so has had a lower population density.	Variable settlement density. 'Ancient countryside' with dispersed settlement pattern.
Heathlands	Traditionally heathland. Some woodland at Domesday.	Low.
Rich Loams	Exceptionally fertile soils in places, but higher land possibly covered by thick forests.	One of the most densely settled regions in medieval England. Medieval settlement was dispersed and common-edge.
Broadlands	Traditionally used for pasture rather than arable. Some woodland at Domesday.	Settlement traditionally characterised by isolated farms rather than villages.

Table 5.3 Landscape zones used in the this study, their historic land uses, land cover, and settlement density and characteristics. Information from Williamson 1993; 2003; 2005.

Archaeological Background

Romano-British sites

Settlements and cemeteries

The influence of the landscape inherited from the Romano-British period has been identified as an important consideration. The most relevant sites and issues are briefly mentioned here (see Gurney 2005 for a more comprehensive map). The Romans established a hierarchical settlement administration with the capital of the province at Caistor St Edmund (HER 9786) (Fig. 5.6). A second town grew up at Brampton to the north (HER 1124) and more than a dozen other major settlements also came into existence over the course of the Romano-British period often alongside roads and at crossing points (Davies 1996b: 26). Bridgam/Brettenham (HER 5653) has been investigated and Billingford (HER 7206) has been subject to recent excavations (Wallis, forthcoming). Many small towns, large villages or substantial rural settlements have been identified from fieldwalking evidence and metal-detector finds, for example, those at Toftrees, Narford, Saham Toney and Ditchingham (Gurney 1995). The small town at Great Walsingham has also been explored using only metal-detector finds (Davies and Gregory 1991), but there is a vast amount of material around Norfolk recorded on the HER which must await significant future efforts in its interpretation. The use or abandonment of major centres of population in the early Anglo-Saxon period is of considerable interest.

Outside of urban areas around twenty villas (the central buildings of large rural estates) have been identified, many of which are found in the west of Norfolk along the edge of the chalk escarpment. The villa at Congham (HER 3560) is one example. The landscape was also host, of course, to numerous small rural settlements and farmsteads. Millett (1990: 181–4) estimates the number of rural Roman sites to be on average 0.70 per km^2. The NMP has recorded a great number of cropmarks of ditches and other feature which may date to the Romano-British period in the north-east of Norfolk and an example of a small settlement was excavated at Spong Hill, laying underneath the early Anglo-Saxon cemetery and settlement (Rickett 1995). The farmstead at Brettenham has also been excavated (Mudd 2002). This evidence shows extensive exploitation and settlement of the landscape immediately prior to early Anglo-Saxon times and some reuse of the same areas.

The Roman period lasted several hundred years and it is perhaps those sites with a presence in the fourth and early fifth centuries which are the most relevant for a study of early Anglo-Saxon archaeology. Particular

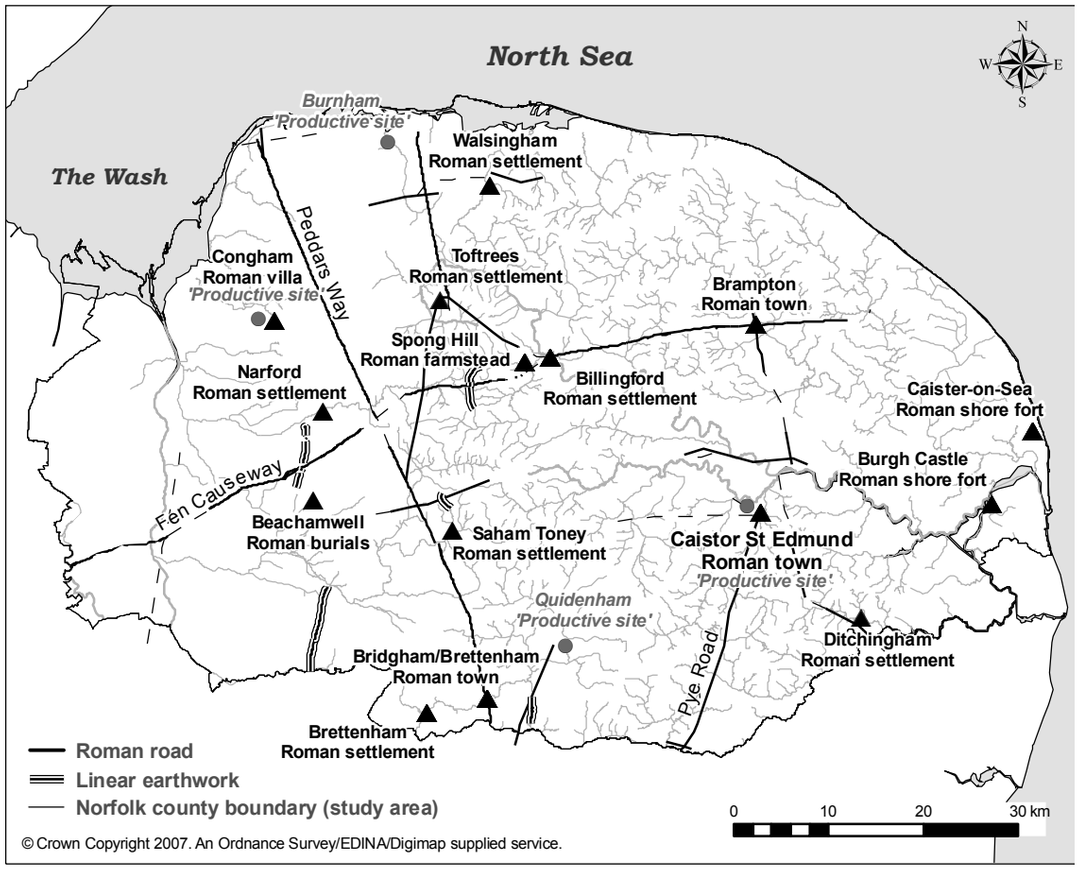


Fig. 5.6 Romano-British sites, Roman roads, linear earthworks and middle Anglo-Saxon 'productive sites' mentioned in the text.

features of late Roman Norfolk that are of interest are the 'Saxon shore forts', for example, those at Caister-on-Sea (Darling with Gurney 1993) and Burgh Castle (Johnson 1983) in the east overlooking the Yarmouth estuary. Traditionally these have been seen as defensive structures built to resist Saxon raiding but this simple interpretation has been questioned (Cotterill 1993). They may have played a part in the ongoing export of massive quantities of grain and other goods (Gurney 1996: 37). To what use the relic structures were put in the early Anglo-Saxon period is an interesting question.

Finally, there are only 245 recorded Roman burials in Norfolk and these represent only the 'tiniest percentage of the total population of Roman Norfolk' (Gurney 1998: 1). It is therefore quite difficult to explore any relationship between early Anglo-Saxon cemeteries and late Roman mortuary sites. Nevertheless, it is worth drawing attention to a range of contexts: the five inhumations discovered in the parish of Beachamwell in 1912 (HER 4561); the cemeteries outside the Roman towns of Billingford (Wallis, forthcoming) and Caistor St Edmunds (Darling 1987); and the cemetery at the farmstead at Brettenham (Mudd 2002). All of these places also have early Anglo-Saxon activity of various sorts.

Roads

Integral to the the Roman administration of Norfolk was the establishment of a network of metalled roads to speed travel and communications. The Roman roads of Norfolk are imperfectly known and many entered into the HER have been suggested without the recovery of any physical remains. The main ones known with some certainty are the Pye Road running south to Colchester, the east–west Fen Causeway and the north–south Peddars Way (Margary 1973). A network of roads served Caistor St Edmund, and various others running to and from small towns are known (Fig. 5.6). The Icknield Way is a suggested long-distance prehistoric route between regions, also perhaps used by the Anglo-Saxons (Leeds 1925). The presence of a Roman road along the Icknield Way has long been assumed, but Sarah Harrison has recently cast doubt over the status of the routeway (Harrison 2003). An Icknield Way Roman road is therefore not included here, although there may have been any number of informal routeways along its course instead. Linear earthworks are sometimes found in conjunction with Roman roads (see below).

Early Anglo-Saxon sites

Excavated cemeteries

The best evidence for early Anglo-Saxon mortuary practice in Norfolk is found at a series of published excavated sites (Fig. 5.7). For an exhaustive description

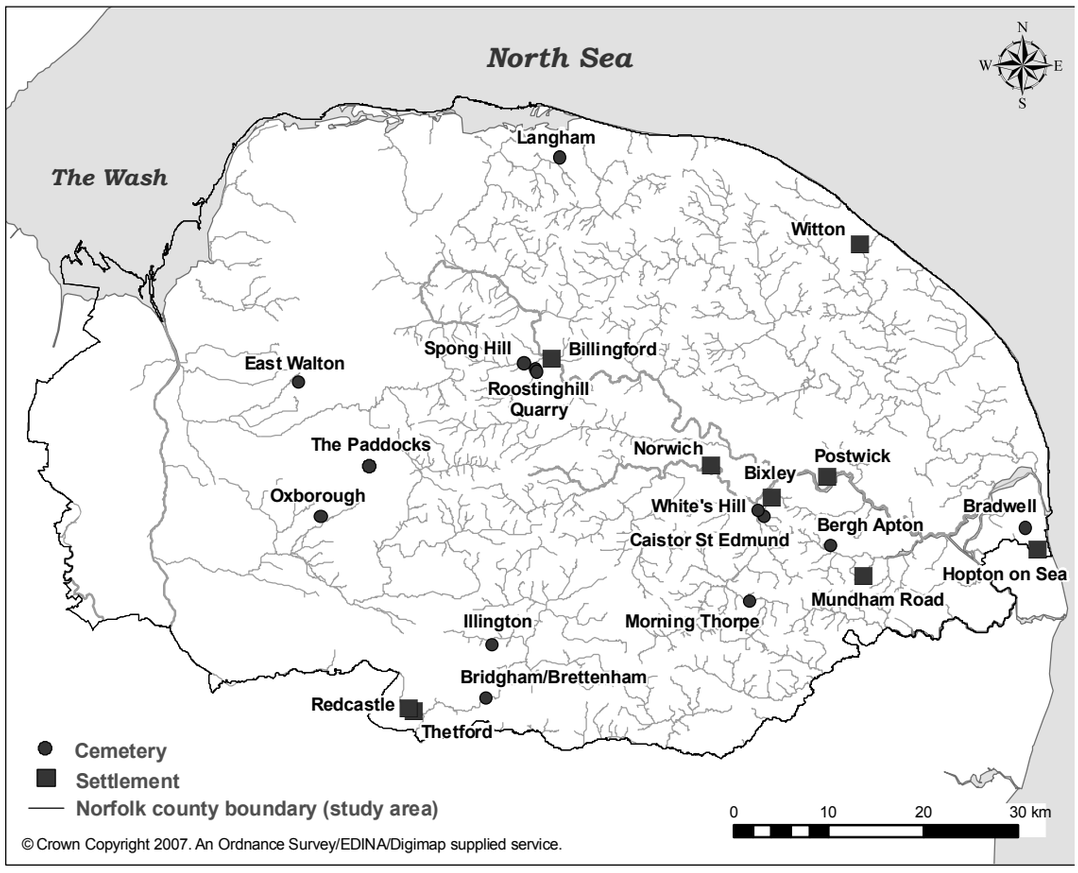


Fig. 5.7 Excavated early Anglo-Saxon sites mentioned in the text.

of all early Anglo-Saxon sites in Norfolk see appendix 1 in Chester-Kadwell 2008. Spong Hill, North Elmham, is perhaps the most well-known (HER 1012; Healy 1988; Hills 1977; Hills and Penn 1981; Hills, Penn and Rickett 1984; 1987; 1994; McKinley 1994; Rickett 1995). The mortuary deposits were excavated to their fullest extent over eleven seasons revealing c. 2300 cremations and fifty-seven inhumations.

The luxury of several years' work was not possible for any of the other sites, many of which were rapid rescue excavations. The Paddocks, Swaffham, (HER 1125; Hills 1976), for example, was excavated by Peter Wade-Martins in 1970 in response to ongoing building development. This was also an inhumation cemetery and produced sixty-four metal finds to add to others recovered from the same site in 1969 and at another unspecified date.

Morning Thorpe (HER 1120; Green, Rogerson and White 1987) was excavated as an emergency measure after quarrying disturbed its deposits. Over 300 inhumations and thousands of finds were recovered dating to the late fifth and sixth centuries. Similarly, the inhumation cemetery at Bergh Apton (HER 1011; Green and Rogerson 1978) was discovered in 1973 when five copper-alloy objects were found in a gravel screening machine and one spearhead was found in a spoil heap in the gravel pit. The rescue excavations resulted in the recording of sixty-three inhumation graves, and 387 metallic finds, although 'it is impossible to determine what proportion of the original cemetery these represented, because gravel extraction on both the southern and western sides had destroyed an unknown number of graves' (Green and Rogerson 1978: 1).

These sites give the impression that most cemeteries in Norfolk were predominantly inhumation in rite, but other cemeteries recovered in the early nineteenth century, and before, show quite the opposite. The Illington cemetery, Wretham (HER 1047; Davison, Green and Milligan 1993) is a cremation cemetery of 104 cremations with four inhumations. It was excavated in 1949 by G. M. Knocker and only later written up and published. The large cremation cemetery at Caistor St Edmund (HER 9791; Myres and Green 1973) was first revealed in 1754 when cremation urns were found. Subsequently numerous finds of urns were made (1814, 1835, 1840–60, 1870) followed by excavation in 1932–7 by Surgeon Commander F. R. Mann, which was only eventually published forty years later.

Nearby another cremation cemetery was discovered 1km to the north-west on the other side of the River Tas, on White's Hill (HER 9788; Myres and Green 1973). Initial discoveries were made in 1815, yielding four urns for exhibition. In 1822 a small antiquarian excavation revealed further urns, and 1948–9 saw the rest of the cemetery excavated by G. P. Larwood, revealing over 100 urns. The concentration of cemeteries around Caistor reflects a notable and general trend in Norfolk for the juxtaposition of Romano-British and early Anglo-Saxon remains (see also Penn 2000).

HER 5653, Bridgam/Brettenham, the site of a Romano-British township, has been subject to numerous excavations and discoveries since the eighteenth century. The first known early Anglo-Saxon finds were made in 1907 with the discovery of one inhumation with gravegoods in a Romano-British rubbish pit. In 1966, further skeletons and gravegoods were uncovered by deep ploughing. Again in 1972 finds were found on the surface of a ploughed field, and in 1978 a skull was found along with eleven artefacts found by metal detecting. The complex site biography has continued to be supplemented by metal-detector finds found at this site, and in adjacent fields. This frequent phenomenon has caused a number of cemetery sites to be suggested throughout Norfolk, but only one site, in the parish of Oxborough (HER 25458; Penn 1998), has been properly confirmed by excavation.

Oxborough also draws attention to another phenomenon common in the excavated assemblage of sites and that is the reuse of prehistoric barrows for mortuary practice. These have been revealed in a variety of ways. For example, a barrow excavated by J. Sainty and A. Watson in 1936 (HER 6153, Langham; Lawson et al. 1981) revealed a secondary inhumation with weapons. In another example, cremation pottery was found in 1974 on the site of a possible round barrow (HER 1060, East Walton) marked by an area of 'very gravely soil'. Amateur excavation was undertaken of early Anglo-Saxon cremations there in 1986. Finally, professional excavations by NAU in 1998 revealed a possible early Anglo-Saxon barrow site in Bradwell (HER 11787).

Small parts of cemeteries continue to be discovered as a result of developer-funded work, but incomplete excavation does not necessarily mean it is uninformative. The site at Roostinghill Quarry, Hoe (HER 37159; Trimble 2002; Trimble and Underdown 2002; Sutherland and Roberts 2003) has been subject to evaluation excavations by NAU and further excavations by Hertfordshire Archaeological Trust (now Archaeological Solutions Ltd). These have revealed cremations, an inhumation, SFBs, pits and post-holes overlapping in the same areas (see Fig. 3.2). These deposits are quite dispersed and show a different picture from that at the nearby site of Spong Hill.

Overall, the character of excavated cemetery sites in Norfolk ranges from large to small, from predominantly cremation to predominantly inhumation, and from amorphous to more structured. Some are seen to directly reuse pre-Saxon monuments, some are several hundred metres distant from such sites, while others appear to have no such associations. Many are found on sandy or gravelly valley-side soils. Without full excavation of every site it remains difficult to be sure of the size, extent and context of most, but the variation

in form and location recognised among sites around the country (Chapter 3) is also found within Norfolk. In comparison with other areas of England, cremation was a dominant rite and many of the mixed-rite cemeteries in Norfolk are dominated by cremation.

Cremation is often thought of in terms of large cemeteries such as Spong Hill, and those in East Yorkshire, which are likely to have drawn people from a wide area. The extent to which cremation was frequently and widely used in smaller, more localised cemeteries in Norfolk is an interesting question. Also outstanding is the extent to which the excavated sites are a representative sample of the types and pattern of sites in Norfolk, considering their modes of discovery.

Excavated settlements

In comparison to cemeteries there are relatively few excavated early Anglo-Saxon settlements (Fig. 5.7) but more than might be expected. R.R. Clarke's (1937) excavation in 1935 of a half-destroyed SFB at Postwick (HER 10219) was amongst the first in the country (see Chapter 2).

There are also many sites around the modern town of Thetford discovered over the course of the last fifty years. The site of HER 5756, for example, produced some pottery in 1955 during trial excavations carried out by school children under the supervision of R. R. Clarke, and was later the subject of excavation in 1964–66. At that time four SFBs, one with a hearth, and one with a long pit for large, fitted equipment were uncovered (Davison 1967). These SFBs were suggested as being scattered outliers of the main early Anglo-Saxon settlement revealed by G.M. Knocker during the Redcastle excavations in 1957–8 (HER 5746). The loose conglomeration of settlement features is a general characteristic of much of the excavated evidence in Norfolk, reflecting a more general trend around the country. However, this may be due in part to the fact that very few of the excavated settlements have been extensive excavated.

Other than the settlement at Spong Hill (Rickett 1995), the sites at Witton in the north-east of Norfolk are perhaps the most well-known of the more recent excavations (Wade 1983). HER 1009 is the site of excavation between 1961 and 1973, at first by the land owner John Owles and later, professionally, by Keith Wade. Nine structures were recorded, most of which were interpreted as SFBs, as well as various internal and external hearths, one floor, and possible drainage features. To the north-west further excavation was undertaken by Owles at HER 16641 where maybe three SFBs and other features were recovered. HER 6969 also produced an excavated structure of a series of post-holes and a shallow sunken feature. The excavation of these sites was initiated by the finds recovered from fieldwalking by Owles over a long period of time, and the number of potsherds recovered provides a useful guide to what surface finds might be expected to represent underlying occupation—twenty potsherds at HER 1009; forty-three potsherds at HER 16641; five potsherds at HER 6969.

Further SFBs are inferred from soilmarks in the Witton area, and interpretation of aerial photography is another way that early Anglo-Saxon settlement has been suggested or discovered. Mostly these sites are not excavated, for example, in the case of cropmarks at HER 31550 (Caistor St Edmund) which appear to show a possible group of SFBs and a rectangular enclosure. Given the apparent importance of Caistor in the early Anglo-Saxon period it would be desirable to excavate the features, especially as aerial photography is not particularly reliable. In 1956–7, for example, cropmarks at HER 9585 (Bixley) suggested the possibility of SFBs, but excavation in 1959 found no features.

Most recently, developer-funded excavations continue to produce a steady stream of occupation evidence, although usually without the possibility of full investigation. The site of HER 35757 in Norwich, for example, is the site of evaluation excavations in 2001 (Trimble 2003). These revealed three or four SFBs, post-hole alignments, and gullies, with twenty-one sherds of early Anglo-Saxon pottery from SFB, pit and post-hole contexts. An evaluation carried out by NAU at the site of HER 29198, Mundham, consisted of fieldwalking and 2-per-cent sample trenching (Bown and Flitcroft 1992). This revealed the presence of two SFBs, one within an enclosure, with possibly associated pits. One of the SFB fills and one of the pits contained a large quantity of domestic animal bones, and red deer bones. The fieldwalking, however, turned up only three sherds of early Anglo-Saxon pottery, demonstrating that it is not always easy to infer the presence of settlement from surface finds, particularly if the features are still intact below ground.

Even without full excavation, these sites and many others like them (e.g. HERs 33812, 24849, 24822, Thetford; HER 17269, Brettenham; HER 36289, Broome; HER 36802, Snetterton (Robertson 2003)) give the locations of confirmed settlement and the wider dissemination of excavation results found in the 'grey literature' is desirable. Not only this but some developer-funded excavations are potentially particularly important. The Romano-British town at Billingford has been subject to excavation and watching briefs by NAU (Wallis, forthcoming). Although only one early Anglo-Saxon SFB and several post-hole groups were found the context for these features is an area of Romano-British post-hole buildings (Wallis, pers. comm.). In 1997, the Romano-British cemetery associated with this settlement was excavated leading to the discovery of a handmade vessel with stamped decoration dated to the fifth century.

This 'demonstrates that Romanised wares were used along side the handmade fifth-century pottery for a considerable length of time' (Wallis, forthcoming). The interesting mixed cemetery and settlement area at HER

37159, Hoe, has been already mentioned (Chapter 3 and above; Sutherland and Roberts 2003; Trimble 2002; Trimble and Underdown 2002).

At the other end of the spectrum, many more excavations have produced stray sherds of early Anglo-Saxon pottery, often as the result of deposition in the fill of features. For example, six unabraded sherds of early Anglo-Saxon pottery were recovered from one or more pits excavated by NAU in 1999 (HER 16168, Hopton on Sea; Bates 1999). Potsherds at other sites may simply be intrusive into later features.

In summary, there is a useful body of early Anglo-Saxon settlement evidence available particularly in the form of developer-funded excavations, some of which have not yet been published. Most of the buildings have been SFBs, but there are a wide range of other features as well and this compares favourably with well-excavated sites such as the settlement at Spong Hill (Rickett 1995) and at West Stow in Suffolk (West 1985). The sorts of finds recovered from settlement excavations are somewhat different to those recovered from cemeteries and include quantities of domestic pottery. Sometimes, but not always, it has been possible to locate settlement features from potsherds recovered by fieldwalking.

Fieldwalking finds

There have been a number of fieldwalking projects in Norfolk: for example, the Fenland Project (Hall and Coles 1994; Silvester 1993); the Launditch Hundred (Wade-Martins 1971; 1980a; 1980b); Barton Bendish and Caldecote (Rogerson et al. 1997); the Mannington and Wolterton Estates (Davison 1995); Loddon, Heckingham and Hales (Davison 1990); Illington (Davison et al. 1993) and Little Hockham (Davison 1987); West and East Harling (Davison 1983); West Acre (Davison 2003); Fransham (Rogerson 1995); Hargham (Davison with Cushion 1999); and Witton (Wade 1983).

Fig. 5.8 shows the modern parishes in which the fieldwalking has occurred, although the coverage is by no means complete within the areas indicated. Estimated coverage for Norfolk is in the region of 10 per cent of the total land area. There have also been a number of amateur, unpublished fieldwalking surveys, and pottery is often recovered casually when metal-detecting. Also included are stray pottery finds and a few recovered during watching briefs carried out by archaeological contractors as part of developer-funded work. As the map indicates, there are many places where pottery has been recovered outside of the major fieldwalked areas, but relatively few where substantial numbers of sherds

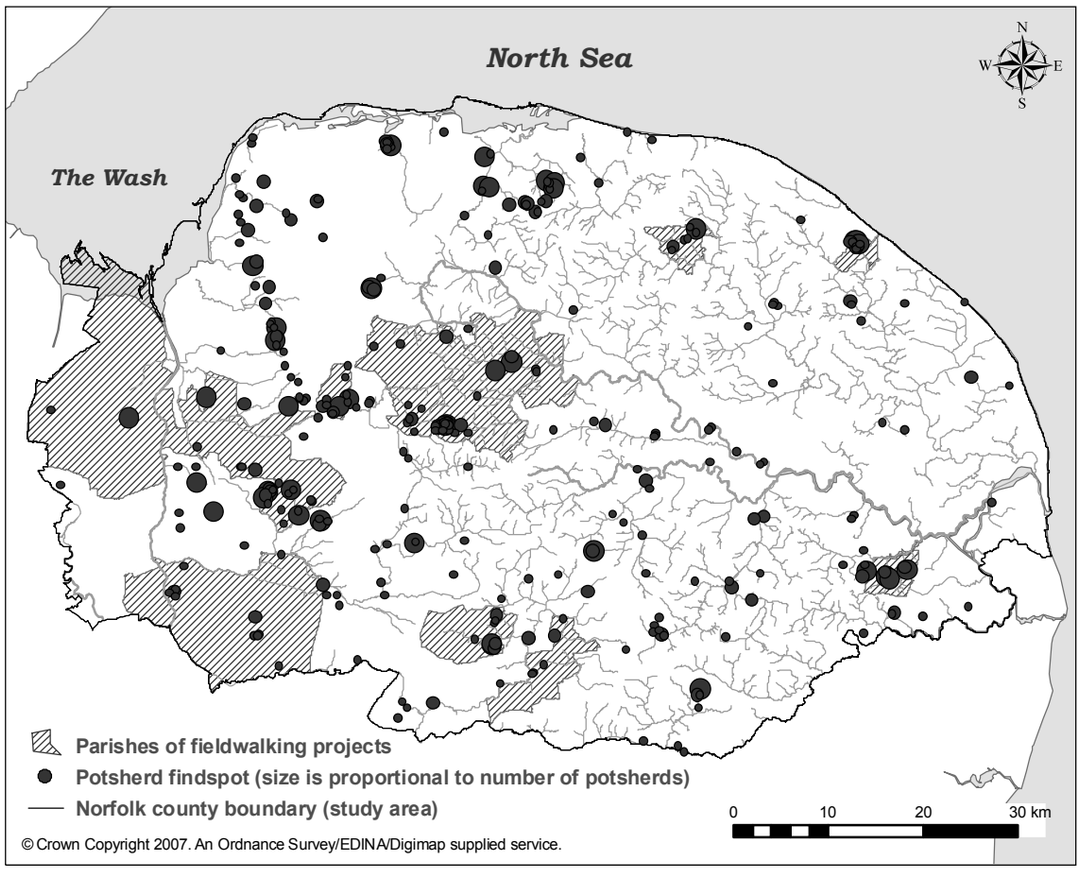


Fig. 5.8 Modern parishes in which fieldwalking projects have been undertaken and the locations of potsherds recovered by these and other instances of fieldwalking.

Name	Date	Length	Direction	Beginning–End	Parishes
Bichamditch (HER 3937)	Early Saxon?	c. 7.5km	NNE–SSW	River Nar–River Wissey	Narborough, Beachamwell
Fossditch (HER 1089)	Early Saxon?	c. 9.2km	NNE–SSW	River Wissey–Little Ouse	Northwold, Cranwich, Methwold, Feltwell, Weeting with Broomhill, Hockwold cum Wilton
Launditch (HER 7235)	Iron Age?	c. 6km (0.9km surviving)	N–S	Black Water–Gressenhall River	Mileham, Wendling, Beeston with Bittering, Longham, Mileham
Panworth Ditch (HER 1082)	Iron Age?	c. 1.8km (0.6km surviving)	NW–SE	River Nar–River Wissey	Ashill
Devil's Ditch (HER 6115)	?	c. 3.2km	N–S	River Thet–Little Ouse	Harling, Garboldisham, Riddlesworth

Table 5.4 Summary of five linear earthworks in Norfolk.

have been found. Some of those shown may be Iron Age or middle Anglo-Saxon since it is sometimes difficult to distinguish them, and some are sherds of cremation urns rather than coarse domestic wares.

Major concentrations of early Anglo-Saxon domestic pottery finds have been made in the parishes of Loddon (Davison 1990); Runcton Holme (by the land owner and his family); Great Ellingham (amateur fieldwalking); West Acre (A. Rogerson); Fransham (Rogerson 1995); Dersingham (student fieldwalking); Feltwell and Tilney St Lawrence (Silvester 1993; Hall and Coles 1994); Barton Bendish (Rogerson et al. 1997), to name but a few. Norfolk, therefore, provides a reasonable amount of evidence for settlement supplementary to the excavated sites described above although there are certainly many gaps. The crucial question for understanding extensive mortuary and settlement relationships is how far the areas that have been fieldwalked overlap with those that have been metal detected (see Chapter 6).

Linear earthworks

Linear earthworks are a notable feature of East Anglia. In Norfolk there are five surviving examples, four of which have been described in detail by Wade-Martins (1974) (see also Ashwin and Flitcroft 1999; Clarke 1940: 233–4; Clarke 1955; Lewis 1957; Reid and Wade-Martins 1980). Each consists of a single bank and ditch, in some places well preserved but in others destroyed. Their precise lengths are not known. The Bichamditch and the Fossditch lie in the west of Norfolk with their ditches on the eastern side while the Launditch, Panworth Ditch and Devil's Ditch lie further east with their ditches on the western side (Fig. 5.6). Table 5.4 summarises their details.

The purpose of these linear earthworks has been the subject of much discussion over the years (Clarke 1955: 193; Fox 1923; Lethbridge 1935; Ridgeway 1893; Thackray 1980). The general consensus is that ditch-and-bank structures are defensive in nature and form territorial boundaries. They may also have controlled movement along the line of associated routeways or Roman roads. It is notable that the Bichamditch and the Launditch both straddle the Fen Causeway (Wade-Martins 1974: 23), and the Cambridgeshire dykes appear to have controlled access along the broad Icknield Way corridor (Malim et al. 1997: 106). The Bichamditch and Fossditch were perhaps designed to define the eastern edge of a territory bounded to the west by the Fens (Rogerson et al. 1997: 17; Williamson 1993: 70). This area has been linked to the historically-attested people of the *Wissa* (Rogerson et al. 1997: 17). Anglo-Saxon burials in the vicinity of the Cambridgeshire dykes suggest that they may have had ideological or ritual significance as well (Malim et al. 1997: 111–2, 114–5; see also Hinton 1990: 42–4) and this is of particular interest.

The date of the linear earthworks in Norfolk has also been controversial. Often they have been considered post-Roman because they cross Roman roads. Investigations into many of the Cambridgeshire dykes have shown them to be fifth to sixth century in date (Malim et al. 1997), but recent work has suggested that the Launditch has its origins in the Iron Age (Ashwin and Flitcroft 1999). The Panworth Ditch has many similarities with the Launditch (Reid and Wade-Martins 1980: 311) and a case has been made recently for a pre-Roman origin for all the linear earthworks in Norfolk (Davies 1996a: 75–7). The Bichamditch and the Fossditch are the most likely to date from the fifth or sixth century (Clarke 1955: 194; Rogerson et al. 1997: 17). Nevertheless, an Iron Age origin for the linear earthworks in Norfolk does not necessarily preclude their having ideological connotations in the early Anglo-Saxon period, nor even their use for territorial control. It is not likely that they marked enduring and unchanging boundaries, however, since the fifth to seventh centuries were a period of considerable change in group identity (Scull 1992a: 6–10; 15).

Middle Anglo-Saxon sites

'Productive sites'

In this work some effort is made to examine the early Anglo-Saxon evidence on its own merits rather than

seeing it purely in the context of later transition, but middle Anglo-Saxon 'productive sites' do have a possible bearing on understanding early Anglo-Saxon communities, and they are especially relevant because they are found by metal detecting. 'Productive sites' are identified by a concentration of coins and metalwork and have typically been interpreted as representing high-status settlements, monastic sites, inland trading places or periodic markets or fairs (Metcalf 1984: 27, 41; Ulmschneider 2000a; b).

Recent work has suggested nuanced and wide-ranging interpretations (Pestell and Ulmschneider (eds) 2003) and Julian D. Richards has proposed that there is nothing special about 'productive sites' at all, apart from the way in which they have been discovered (Richards 1999b: 79). Rather, they may be part of a 'complex set of inter-connected trading networks, functioning on a number of levels from local to international, and to the benefit of a range of groups' (Naylor 2004: 134). Similar sites, or their forerunners, may be visible in the archaeological record for the early Anglo-Saxon period.

In Norfolk, examples of 'productive sites' may be found at a range of places, some historically central, and others far less so, but all with some early Anglo-Saxon presence: for example, Caistor St Edmund, the largest Roman town with several Anglo-Saxon cemeteries; Congham, a probable Roman villa site with many early Anglo-Saxon metal-detector finds; Burnham, which was little more than a small Romano-British settlement, and Quidenham, which has a sprinkling of Romano-British metalwork finds (Fig. 5.6) (see Rogerson 2005 for a more comprehensive map).

The Archaeological Resource

The data set

There are a large number of early Anglo-Saxon sites in Norfolk that are of use in considering landscape context. These have been discovered by a variety of means since the sixteenth century, both accidentally and more deliberately, although many must have been lost in the years before the advent in the nineteenth century of sustained interest in antiquities. The database of early Anglo-Saxon archaeology used for the present analysis combines *all* the evidence for settlement, mortuary and other activities known in Norfolk. The approach to inclusion was to concentrate on recovered finds so that metal detected artefacts, which are of particular interest in this work, may be successfully compared to those finds from better contexts, and those recovered in other ways. The goal is to identify consistently sites of all kinds by a series of standard criteria.

It is therefore *individual finds*, rather than sites in themselves, which form the data (N>14,500). As a result, hazy suggestions of cemeteries with no extant material or confirmation of finds have been excluded, and finds are compared according to their method of recovery, rather than the way in which the site as a whole was discovered.

A number of gazetteers have been published which cover Norfolk cemetery sites (Clarke 1940; Meaney 1964; Myres and Green 1973; O'Brien 1999; Smith 1901; see also Hoggett 2007, and Penn and Brugmann 2007). These and their copious published sources were scrutinised and cross-referenced with the records from Norfolk Historic Environment Record (HER), and where relevant, museum collections, particularly through the online Norfolk Museums catalogue (http://www.culturalmodes.norfolk.gov.uk/projects/nmaslib.asp; accessed 7th December 2008).

Those finds which were of dubious provenance or which could not be properly located were removed. This was the procedure for all finds recovered as stray and metallic finds recovered by excavation. Metal detector finds were treated separately, their records collated from the HER with no prejudice as to their interpretation, since the intention was to formulate a methodology to do so (see Chapter 6). In this way, detected artefacts which were subsequently published (e.g. Ashley, Penn and Rogerson 1990; Ashley and Rogerson 1992; 1995; Penn and Ashley 2003; Webster 1980) were not given special privilege, and nor were those annotated as cemetery material in the HER.

A similar rationale was followed for finds recovered by fieldwalking, these being mostly sherds of pottery, but including some spindle whorls, loomweights and querns. The results of published fieldwalking surveys (see above) were included alongside those recovered more casually. The HER was also the source for notification of developer-funded excavations and all finds from the numerous corresponding unpublished reports were incorporated, as well as SFBs suggested by the interpretation of aerial photography (mainly as a result of the NMP). The accurate areas of all sites were digitised by hand, and spatial mid-points generated to represent the sites as points, when required. Due to the vast quantities of material involved, the cut-off date for inclusion in the database was the beginning of 2004.

Discovery and recovery

The ways in which finds are found tend to be peculiar to the development and character of an area and this may affect the pattern of sites in the landscape. For example, where the organised fieldwalking surveys, and smaller and more haphazard ones have taken place, settlement is more likely to have been discovered. Aerial photography is more likely to find success on soils which retain and dry moisture at the correct rate (Evans 2007), or where earthworks have been laid to pasture. Developer-funded excavations are a frequent source of partially recovered occupation deposits and these may be undertaken in urban or in rural areas, wherever development is to take place.

Richard Hoggett (2007: 183–4) simplified the diverse biographies of the Anglo-Saxon cemeteries he identified in Norfolk into nine categories. Taking those he dates to the early Anglo-Saxon period (N=126), the majority of which are also used here, accidental discovery is topped by agricultural practice (24.50 per cent), followed by building work (18.90 per cent), and mineral extraction (16.00 per cent). These incidents have revealed cemeteries most often in agricultural fields, urban areas and on glacial outwash gravels along valleysides, respectively. The deliberate excavation of archaeological remains accounts for 5.66 per cent (barrow-digging) and 0.94 per cent (other excavations) of Hoggett's sample. These sites are inevitably found to coincide with prehistoric monuments or Roman remains possibly skewing the sample towards such associations.

Also included in the figures are cemeteries discovered by metal detection (35.46 per cent) (Hoggett 2007), which is the largest category. Yet there are still more detector finds to be taken into account, and it is here that the figures may be significantly augmented. Chapter 7 shows how the number of cemeteries identified from metal detection can be increased considerably.

Metal-detector finds

In order to properly use the records of metal-detector finds from Norfolk their nature and recovery needs further discussion (for previous work see Chester-Kadwell 2004; 2005; Green and Gregory 1978; Gurney 1997; Hoggett 2007: 206–9). Detector finds are the result of metal detecting by members of the public since the 1970s when the popularity of this hobby soared, and in 1993, 43 per cent of finds reported in Norfolk were found by metal-detector (Dobinson and Denison 1995, table XII).

The recording of these artefacts in Norfolk was the result of an initiative by Barbara Green (Keeper of Archaeology) and Tony Gregory (Assistant Keeper) at the Norwich Castle Museum (NCM) in the mid–late 1970s. Their work to encourage reporting was a response to members of the public bringing artefacts to the museum for identification, and they recorded findspots and took photographs, or made drawings of interesting objects, providing the groundwork for what is common practice today.

A leaflet *Archaeological finds: some suggestions about the use of metal-detectors* was produced jointly by the Norfolk Archaeological Rescue Group and the Norfolk Research Committee and distributed to the purchasers of metal-detectors. This development was partly prompted by a local metal-detector dealer who, worried by the antagonism between archaeologists and detectorists in the nation as a whole, made contact with the Archaeology Department at NCM, and with NAU. Whatever the situation around the country it was readily apparent that in Norfolk 'there was goodwill on both sides' and 'a genuine desire to work together' (Green and Gregory 1978: 161). Soon after, the Norfolk and Suffolk Metal Detecting Society was formed to promote an understanding between detectorists and archaeologists. The leaflet was adopted as their code, and in these days before legislation about detecting on Scheduled Monuments they even agreed to submit the locations of organised searches for approval to a consultant archaeologist.

It is perhaps difficult to see from this perspective how it was that in 1979 the Council for British Archaeology (CBA), and a group of other organisations, saw fit to start the 'STOP' campaign to ban metal detecting. Metal-

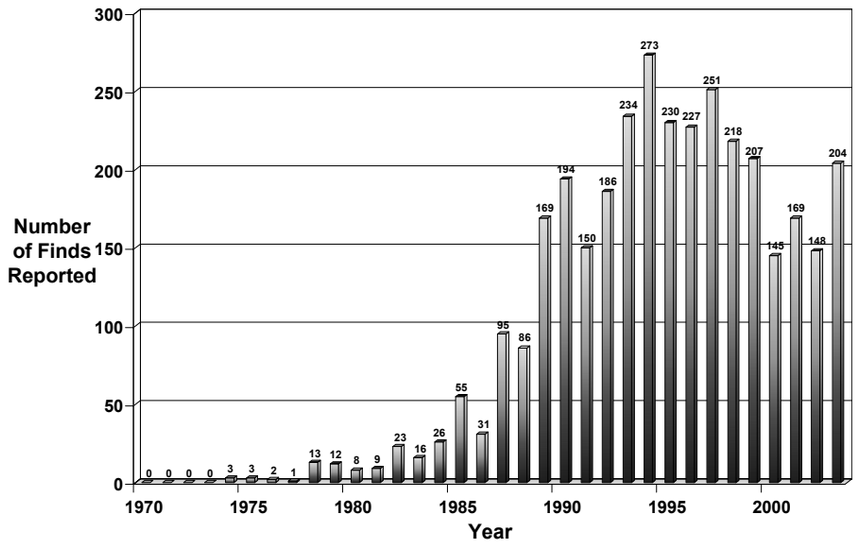


Fig. 5.9 The number of early Anglo-Saxon metal-detector finds recorded by the Norfolk HER per year from 1970–2003. Eleven finds are of unknown date and are not included. N=3,388.

detector users were described as 'treasure hunters' and a 'menace' who 'pillaged' Britain's landscape (Cleere 1980). Despite the furore this caused Barbara Green managed to persuade the Norfolk Museums Committee to support the work of liaison and recording they were doing (A. Rogerson, pers. comm.). The eventual result has been the tens of thousands of finds from every period recorded on the modern HER, perhaps the largest assemblage of any HER, and the foundation on which this study is largely based.

The earliest record of an early Anglo-Saxon artefact found by detecting in Norfolk was made in 1974. The total number of early Anglo-Saxon metal-detector finds found in Norfolk by public surface collection between 1974 and 2003 inclusive (the period used in this study), comes to 3,399 (eleven of these were found at an unknown date). Between these dates the accumulation of early Anglo-Saxon artefacts has been on average, over that time, about 120 per year. Just over ten objects were recorded per year in the late 1970s, increasing to a peak in the mid-1990s (with 273 objects found in 1994) and then falling in the early 2000s (Fig. 5.9). Peaks in some years can be ascribed to the discovery of individual sites with particular productivity. The dip in recording in the year 2000 is associated with staff restructuring. When Helen Geake and Kate Sussans, Finds Liaison Officers, were moved from NCM in Norwich to the Museum of Rural Life at Gressenhall, near Dereham, there was a period of time before things had been sufficiently reorganised to allow business as usual (A. Rogerson, pers. comm.).

The graph shows a noticeable recovery in reporting during 2003 to a total of 204 finds, and evidence suggests this has continued during the period 2004–8. There are now numerous members of staff who work at the Finds Identification and Recording Service (FIRS) based at Gressenhall, including Andrew Rogerson and Steven Ashley, who identify finds, and Erica Darch and Ellen Bales, who maintain the Norfolk section of the national Portable Antiquities Scheme (PAS) database. They are kept extremely busy, and in short, there are more finds being reported and identified than ever before. Whether this translates into more sites being identified or simply more finds from areas known to be productive has yet to be established. There is no doubt, however, that these finds are a considerable resource. The best way to use metal-detector finds is the subject of the next chapter.

Chapter 6
Using Metal-Detector Finds

Introduction

There are numerous challenges arising from this relatively new class of data. This chapter examines these problems in order to better interpret the huge resource metal-detector finds represent in Norfolk. The objective is to identify sites from early Anglo-Saxon metal-detector finds and check to see if their distribution is likely to be close to the original distribution of sites. Much of this chapter is an extended essay on a methodology first formulated several years ago (Chester-Kadwell 2003; 2004; 2005). However, this field of study is in its infancy and the pace of recording outstrips the rate at which academic research can be kept up to date. The target of the current study is to determine what can be achieved with the metal-detector finds as they have been presented, via the records lodged with Norfolk HER.

The Quantity and Quality of Recording

The aim of this chapter is to establish several things: 1) whether the number, quality and range of finds is sufficient to identify the cultural deposits from which they came; 2) whether the surface spread of finds and the precision and accuracy of findspot recording allow deposits to be located exactly; 3) whether all surface scatters have been recovered and recorded ('positive evidence'), and if not, whether those discovered provide a representative sample of the deposits; and 4) whether areas apparently devoid of finds really indicate an absence of underlying deposits ('negative evidence').

To begin there must be an appraisal of the data themselves, and this starts with a *résumé* of how the records of detector finds have accumulated over the last thirty years or so. This condenses to a narrative of contact between archaeologists and metal detector users. In Norfolk today, metal detectorists may report finds either at a visit of a FIRS archaeologist to their detector club, or by contacting the HER or NCM, or any other museum or archaeologist directly. There is a large variation in the level of reporting and the motivations for doing so. Some people have never reported a find and, in particular, this includes illicit detecting by 'nighthawkers' on Scheduled Monuments and other land, about which little can be done (Gregory 1991). Others report as a means to acquire proper object identification and do with this information what they will. A growing number are interested in the archaeological agenda and are open to being directed to where work is needed, a common occurrence on professionally excavated sites (see Gregory and Rogerson 1984 for an influential perspective on this phenomenon), and more recently on organised survey work (e.g. Foard 2004; Pestell 2005). Some are even moved to start their own community projects and digs, and in Norfolk there are several known to this author. These are the detectorists who are more likely to provide useful contextual information when they report their finds.

Dobinson and Denison (1995) describe the proportion of finds making their way into archaeological records as 'minuscule', but describe liaison in Norfolk as 'particularly strong'. Links between archaeologists and detectorists have been in place in the county since the 1970s and the amount of reporting has increased over the years. This has lead to the discovery of more and more early Anglo-Saxon objects, scatters of which have been interpreted more and more often as cemeteries. By the end of 2003, there were forty-nine sites recorded in the HER interpreted as early Anglo-Saxon cemeteries on the evidence of metal-detector finds alone, but the criteria for this interpretation are inconsistent. For example, two of these sites have only one find while other sites, which are not included, have over twenty-five. There is currently a programme to add interpretative labels more uniformly throughout the database (A. Rogerson, pers. comm.) but this could greatly benefit from research-based definitions that clarify what number and character of finds constitute what type of cemetery site.

The quality of metal detecting, reporting, identification and recording of finds has increased over the years making this goal more realistic. The typical description of a find in the early years was something like: 'head-plate of cruciform brooch, punched decoration, detachable side knobs missing'. More recently it is far more common for photographs and drawings to be made and descriptions to include over 200 words. A typical range of drawings showing many of the common artefacts is illustrated in Fig. 6.1. Similarly, the range of finds found and/or identified has increased. For example, in 1985 nine classes of early Anglo-Saxon find were reported. By 2000 this had doubled to eighteen classes of object. The sum total of detector finds found 1974–2003 is presented by class in Fig. 6.2. showing in the first instance a significant range of finds (thirty-seven out of sixty classes are present), but with particular classes most prominent (brooches, buckles, girdle-hangers, pendants, wrist-clasps and some of unknown class). These have the potential to provide a valuable indication of the nature of deposits from which they came and a method to interpret surface metalwork in this way will be discussed later in the chapter.

In tandem to characterising a site, an accurate and precise location is also desirable. Most finds are recorded *to the*

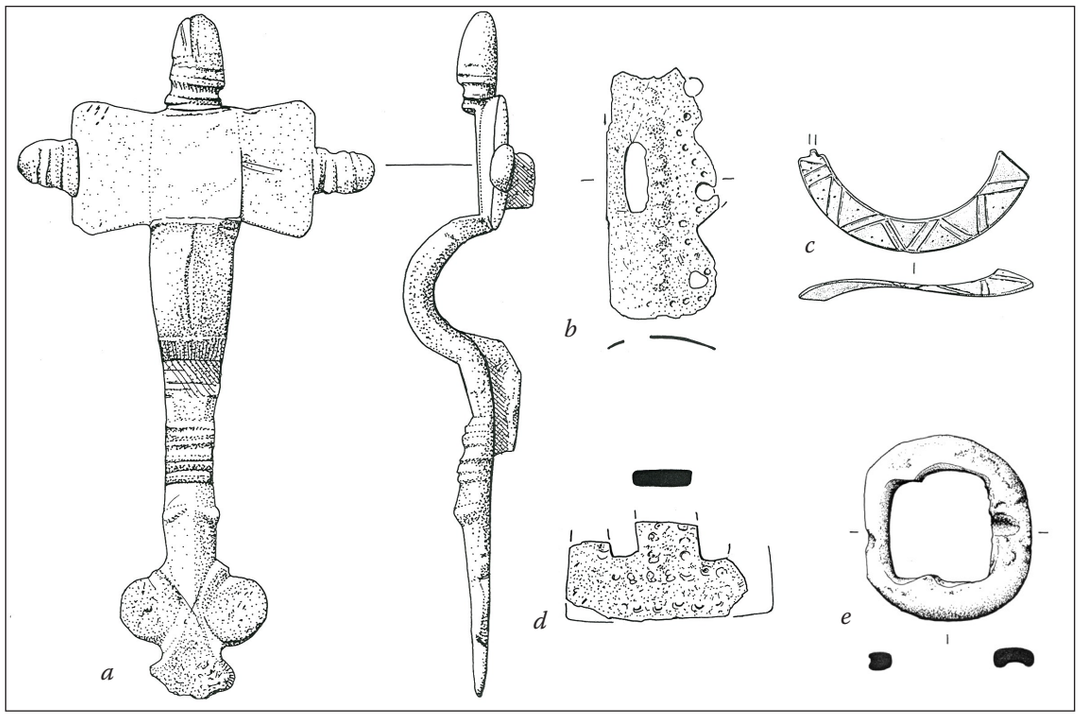


Fig. 6.1 Drawings of commonly recovered early Anglo-Saxon metal-detector finds: a) cruciform brooch, b) wrist-clasp eye-plate fragment, c) annular brooch fragment, d) girdle-hanger fragment, e) buckle frame. Scale 1:1. Drawings courtesy of K. Penn (a, b, d), M. Hoyle (c) and S. White (e).

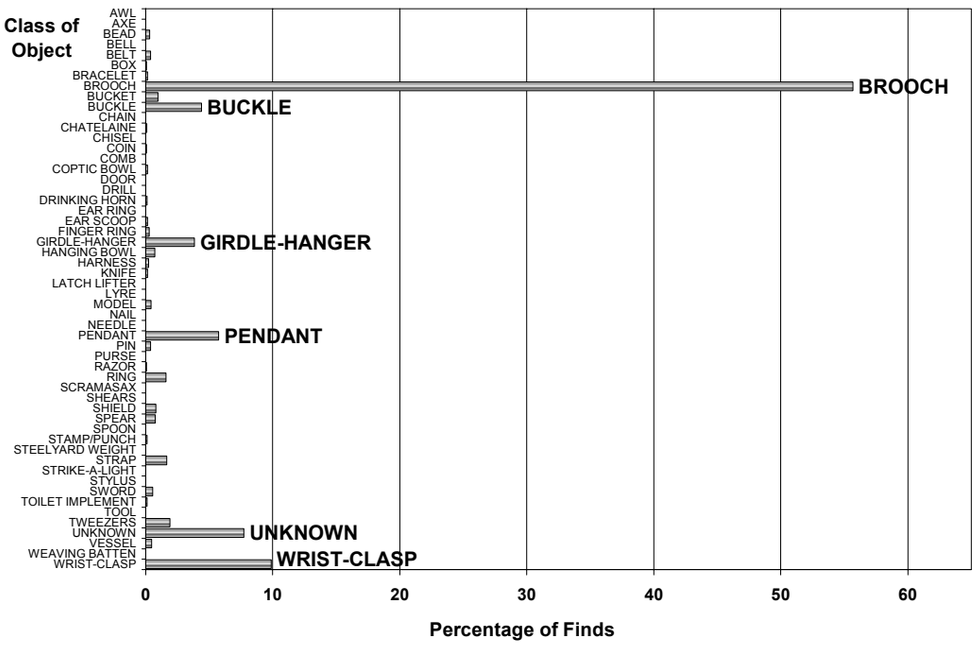


Fig. 6.2 Percentage of different object classes in the metal detected assemblage. Artefacts of uncertain provenance have been removed. N=3,373

field in which they were found, fields which are many times the size of even the largest of cemeteries. Spong Hill, for example, was excavated to an area of 1.4ha (Rickett 1995: 1) of which the cemetery covered less than half, to the approximate dimension of 100m x 100m at its widest points. Fig. 6.3 shows a typical arrangement of reported finds over a series of fields, some of which are 25ha in area, and some are 500m from side to side (see Sutherland 2004 for a similar observation). A black dot represents the size of Spong Hill for comparison and shows just how far a scatter of finds in a field can dwarf the site it might represent. Some artefacts have

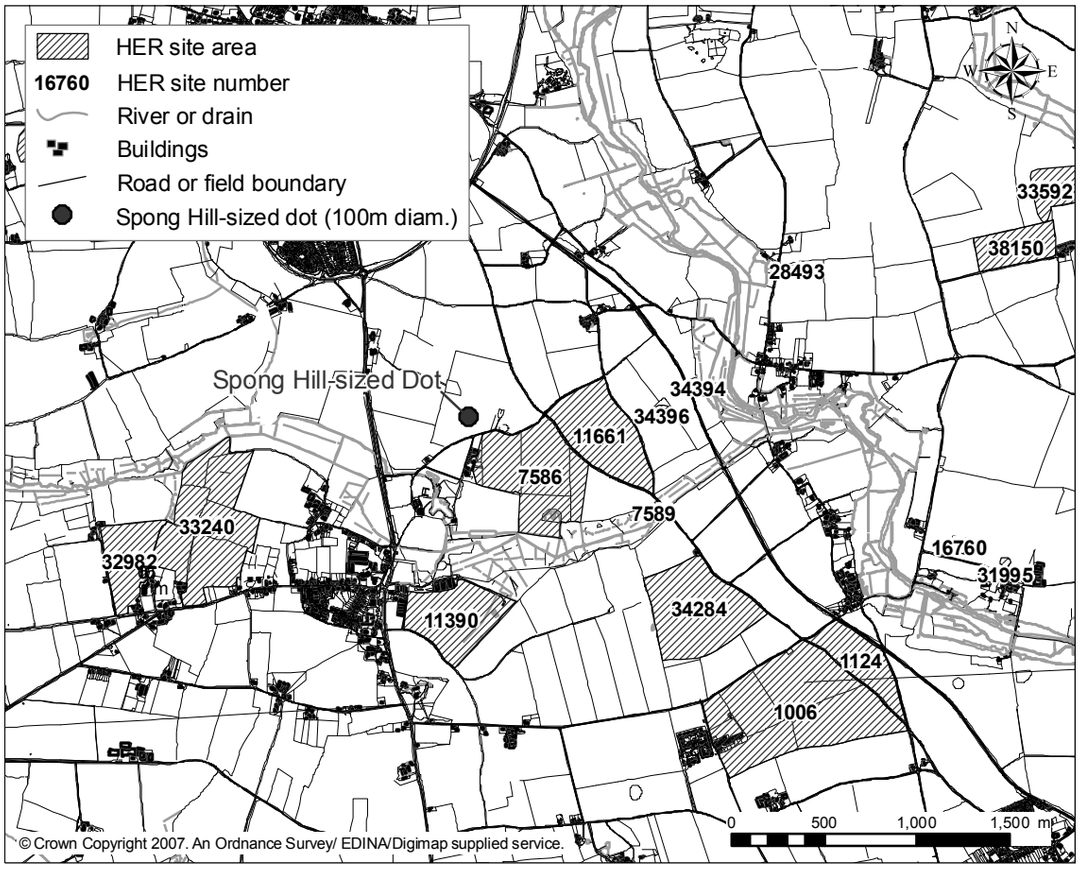


Fig. 6.3 Typical arrangement of reported early Anglo-Saxon finds over a series of fields in the parishes of Brampton, Aylsham and Marsham, Norfolk. The black dot represents an area approximately that of the excavated cremation cemetery at Spong Hill, North Elmham (100m in diameter).

individual find spots, and this is largely to do with the quality of recording by the detectorists themselves because some people may provide plans with crosses to mark their finds (Fig. 6.4).

It is from these maps that more useful information may be reconstructed which may be used to tackle detailed questions about community practice. The value of detailed recording has been demonstrated by metal-detector survey work at Bromholm Priory, Bacton, with a team lead by Tim Pestell, Department of Archaeology, NCM (Pestell 2005); and another similar survey at the extramural Roman temple, Caistor St Edmund, supervised by the late Tony Gregory (Gregory 1991). Both used the talents of experienced metal-detectorists rather than trained archaeologists, and both investigated the use of space in and around the sites by plotting artefacts by different classes, types and/or dates on a site map. This remains possible for only a minority of places with publicly recorded finds, so much more interpretation must be done with conventional distribution maps.

Of course, those areas where early Anglo-Saxon finds have been found, but reporting has not occurred, remain anonymous and are effectively invisible to study. Any sites found here will not become known, possibly affecting the validity of site patterning. There is little that can be done to remedy this though the relatively confined coverage of metal detecting in the earliest years of recording may limit the effect. As the majority of metal detecting is increasingly done by more dedicated people the practice of recording has burgeoned. Dobinson and Denison (1995) make a similar observation that 'today's detectorists are fewer in number but more dedicated'. The issue of unreported detecting is of concern for analyses of findspots, but sites recovered by other methods are also likely to have been lost, and some are still satisfied to report that these are 'an accurate reflection of the real, early medieval pattern' (Richardson 2005: 62).

Perhaps more worrying is the destruction of sites which makes metal detecting possible. A significant loss of cultural information occurs at an unparalleled pace due to modern farming techniques (Oxford Archaeology 2002), for example at Hayton, East Yorkshire (appendix Ji) and Owmby, Lincolnshire (appendix Jix). By the time of Green and Gregory's paper 'An initiative on the use of metal-detectors in Norfolk' (1978) metal detecting already had been a problem for ten years. As recording struggles to keep up with this florescence of exposure more is being learnt about early Anglo-Saxon cemeteries (and finds from other periods) than ever before. Despite the damage that is inherently involved the results of metal detection are a cause for optimism.

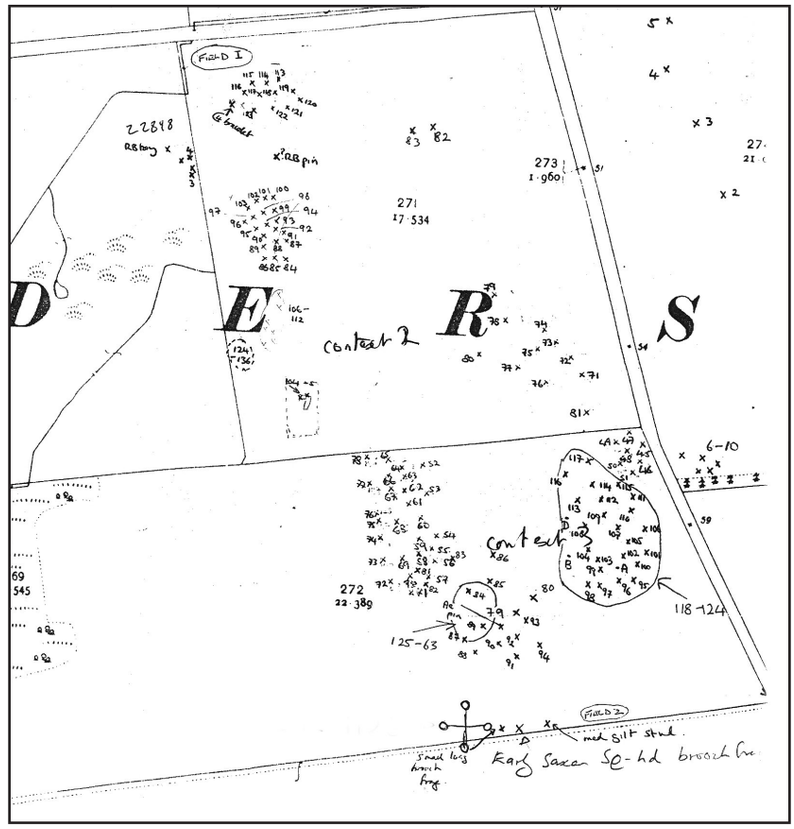


Fig. 6.4 Plan with individually located finds typical of those provided by some of the more conscientious metal detectorists. The numbers correspond to a list of find descriptions. Courtesy of Norfolk HER.

Arguably, the most important aspect of metal detecting that remains a problem is that of 'negative evidence'. Norfolk HER (and the PAS in general) only record those areas where finds have been found ('positive evidence') and have no record of areas which have been detected but have, as yet, proved unproductive ('negative evidence'). Wendy Scott, PAS Finds Liaison Officer for Leicestershire and Rutland, recently wrote to *British Archaeology* (May 2004, vol. 76: 34) to report that both the positive *and negative* results of fieldwork by volunteer detectorists over the last twenty-five years have been recorded on their HER. Unless it is known that detecting has occurred on a 'blank' area, it is misleading to rule out the presence of archaeological deposits (Gurney 1997: 529), and it is as important to know where cemeteries are *not* as it is to know where they are.

The issue considered so far is how the quantity and quality of finds recording over the years may affect the identification and location of sites, and in particular, whether a scatter of finds is found or not; how accurately and precisely a scatter can be located; what number and type of artefacts are available for interpretation; and whether a lack of finds really means a lack of underlying deposits. To couch this issue in slightly different language, what needs to be considered in more detail is the extent to which reported metal-detector finds represent a useful sample of the archaeological deposits or population.

The Taphonomy of Metal Detected Sites

Sampling

In theory

The issue of sampling has been studied in considerable depth by those working with the interpretation of surface artefact survey results. Almost without exception these researches have been concerned with flint and ceramic scatters from systematic archaeological surveys looking at settlement and activity areas (though see Crowther 1981 for an early attempt at professional survey using metal-detectors). To draw the contrast, metal detected material is metallic, collected unsystematically, over unspecified areas, with a machine that can penetrate the ground surface and, for the case of early Anglo-Saxon metalwork, it is commonly assumed to derive from cemeteries. Critical to identifying sites and collection bias is the question of how far and in what ways the numerous observations made by those involved with surface artefact survey and the methods they have developed to deal with these issues can usefully be applied to metal-detector data.

The interpretation of surface collection finds can be described as a problem of sampling (Haselgrove 1985). Artefacts collected from the surface are an 'archaeological sample' of the artefacts available for collection on the surface of the soil, the 'sampled population'. Those artefacts on the surface of the soil are

a sample of those in the soil, the 'target population', and those in the soil are a sample of the artefacts originally in the archaeological deposits, the 'deposit assemblage'.

To reveal the character of the original archaeological deposits from those artefacts collected from the surface we need to know how accurate a representation the surface sample is of the subsurface deposits. This requires a robust understanding of what could be termed 'sampling error' at every stage of the process. This means how the objects were disturbed from their original context and entered the soil, and what effect this and subsequent processes in the soil have on horizontal and vertical location, assemblage composition and condition of the artefacts.

Those factors which affect the collection of the surface material, such as poor visibility, and differences in ability or performance between one individual and another are discussed later in the chapter. These human factors are likely to be quite different for the case of metal detectorists when compared with professional fieldwalkers while soil processes that affect metalwork are likely to be quite similar to those that affect pottery and flint.

Tillage and disturbance

The soil disturbance caused by ploughing has long been recognised as a mechanism by which deposited artefacts make their way to the surface, and once there can be discovered by the fieldwalker. Barclay Willis, for example, writes about field walking for flint on ploughed fields in 1932 (Allen 1991: 39). Recent visibility studies have shown that ploughed fields are the most likely of all types of land to reveal sites from field walking. At Cecina, Italy, for example, almost 90 per cent of sites were found in ploughed fields, representing a density of sites about ten times higher than in the rest of the landscape (Terrenato and Ammerman 1996). The cycle of exposure and burial means the population of artefacts is constantly undergoing renewal (Haselgrove 1985: 8), which translates for the detectorist into plenty of artefacts to find.

Certainly in Norfolk, land that has been subject to the plough at one time or another makes up a significant proportion of the total. The county is an agricultural area and 291,878 ha (54.3 per cent) was classed as 'crops or bare fallow' in 2005 (source: Defra Agricultural and Horticultural Census 2005). This means that, in principle, over half of Norfolk is a good place to metal detect and could reveal early Anglo-Saxon metalwork.

No research has been done specifically on how metal artefacts enter the ploughsoil from the archaeological deposits, nor on how changes in composition, condition and movement occur, but the issues are potentially significantly similar to those addressed in the ploughzone archaeology literature. Put simply, tillage disturbs archaeological deposits, including those which contain metal finds, while minimal tillage leaves deposits undisturbed. This affects whether artefacts are available for discovery and therefore whether sites can be discovered or not in the first instance.

Taylor (2000) broadly characterises the relevant soil processes as agricultural practices initially disturbing the archaeological deposits and bringing artefacts into the ploughzone, and the many processes affecting what happens to the artefacts after they have entered it. Ploughing, subsoiling and land drainage are those agricultural activities (common in Norfolk) that churn and erode the soil, thus revealing artefacts from deposits below. In particular, the mouldboard plough works up to 300–350mm down, turning over the sod, thus bringing material up from the depths. Tillage, therefore, reveals 'fresh' artefacts through occasional episodes of deeper ploughing and subsoiling (c. 700mm), while rigid tine or chisel ploughs, and panbusters are probably more likely to drag or damage artefacts without necessarily exposing them to the surface. The proportion in the ploughzone of the original assemblage is thought to be variable depending upon the factors of soil and tillage depth, as well as the frequency and type of tillage activities. This affects how easily disturbed sites can be discovered and recognised.

Tillage and tillage history are not normally recorded by detectorists in the way a fieldwalker would. This information is potentially available by undertaking interviews with detectorists, landowners and tenant farmers, but it is not possible to do this for every field in Norfolk. In fact, the frequency with which land is bought and sold between owners with very different agendas, and the speed with which crops are rotated and changed, and fields set aside, mean the variation of practice in any one particular place over the years is simply too complex. Such a reconstruction is not attempted here.

There is no doubt though that deep ploughing has frequently had the effect of revealing hitherto preserved cemeteries in spectacular fashion. At Spong Hill, North Elmham, deep ploughing by 1968 had produced large numbers of cremation urn sherds over an area of 1ha (Rickett 1995: 1) and regular subsoiling over a forty-year period on the site of a cemetery at Oxborough dispersed the metalwork of many graves into the ploughsoil (Penn 1998: 1). In both these cases artefacts were recovered (by field walking and metal detecting, respectively) in a very tight radius overlying the original deposits as revealed from excavation (Rickett 1995: 65; Penn 1998: fig.5). These spectacular and sudden revelations are straightforward enough, and they suggest that metal detecting on a site as it is in process of being damaged is likely to yield numerous artefacts densely distributed—this is an ideal recovery with the maximum of possible context retained.

Tillage and recovery

Unfortunately, the majority of sites are not of this type and changes in the position, number and composition of finds after they have been churned in the soil for a longer period are the real challenge. Variation in the position and number of finds in the 'target population' may affect the apparent visibility and size, or richness of a mortuary site. Changes in the composition of artefact classes will affect the interpretation of site character (inhumation or cremation rite).

If a field produces a small number of finds, widely scattered, it is possible that the original deposits may not be mortuary at all, although settlement excavations typically record very little metalwork. At Spong Hill, for example, the settlement area produced only forty-three metallic finds in total, thirty-one of which were nails or metal fragments (Rickett 1995). Significantly more metalwork was found at West Stow in Suffolk (West 1985) because of unstratified material found in a layer of wind-blown sand overlying the deposits (Layer 2). On top of the 227 stratified (non-coin) metalwork finds, there were 222 metallic artefacts recovered from Layer 2. The kinds of objects found were broadly similar in both stratified and unstratified contexts (Fig. 6.5). Both contained brooches, knives, pins, and rings that are found in greater numbers as gravegoods, but the stratified contexts had more nails, while the Layer 2 material had a small but significant percentage of bracelets and finger rings. This, presumably, reflects a difference in the pattern of discard: stratified contexts are mostly rubbish; while Layer 2 is likely to include a higher proportion of accidental losses. Almost all of the classes mentioned here have been found by metal detecting (see Fig. 6.2).

It is difficult to tell how typical West Stow is of a settlement site, but the site lies on chalk with overlying boulder clay capped with sands and gravels, a geology it shares with the rest of the Brecklands in the south of Norfolk. West Stow Heath is part of a large area where 'there is extensive evidence of the sand blows which are such a common phenomenon in this region even today' (West 1985: 3), and similar wind-blown heathland is also found in many parts of Norfolk, most notably to the north of Norwich, and along the northern Norfolk coast. Other 'Layer 2s' might conceivably have formed in Norfolk. Similarly, all sorts of non-mortuary sites of different sizes and characters may wait to be found including non-settlement sites, such as workshops, and 'off-site' areas that are the result of temporary or ephemeral activities (see Chapter 3 and below).

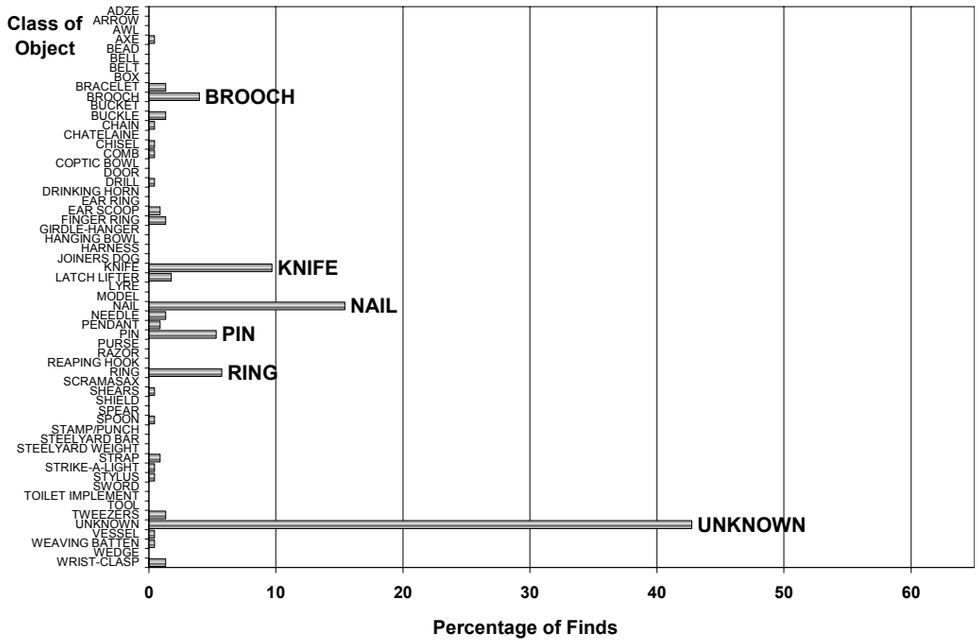
As well as simple ploughing, the practices of harrowing, disking and direct drilling may act on artefacts already in the soil (Taylor 2000) and the nature of these changes for ceramic artefacts has been the subject of a number of actualistic studies, such as at Butser Ancient Farm (Reynolds 1987; 1989). In addition, attrition by plough impact, abrasion and freeze-thaw action has the effect of quickly breaking fragile items into undiagnostic fragments, thus changing the composition of the scatter in the favour of large, robust items. Metalwork may inevitably be prone to the effects of such processes, although the precise mechanisms and their effects are currently unknown, and the answers must await future experimentation. Speculation might suggest that attrition would favour the visibility of inhumations over cremations, for example, since cremated metalwork is likely to be more fragmentary and fragile to begin with. A comparison of the condition and fragmentation of detected artefacts with those from known contexts, may be informative, but is beyond the scope of this thesis.

Once changed, the sub-surface 'target population' undergoes further processes to produce the 'sampled population' which is available for collection on the surface. Results from computer simulations suggest that a 'sampled population' of pottery is further skewed towards large and numerically abundant artefact types, which also exhibit less variability in their pattern of types. In contrast, numerically small or rare type classes display greater variability and are distinguished by a presence-absence pattern (Boismier 1997).

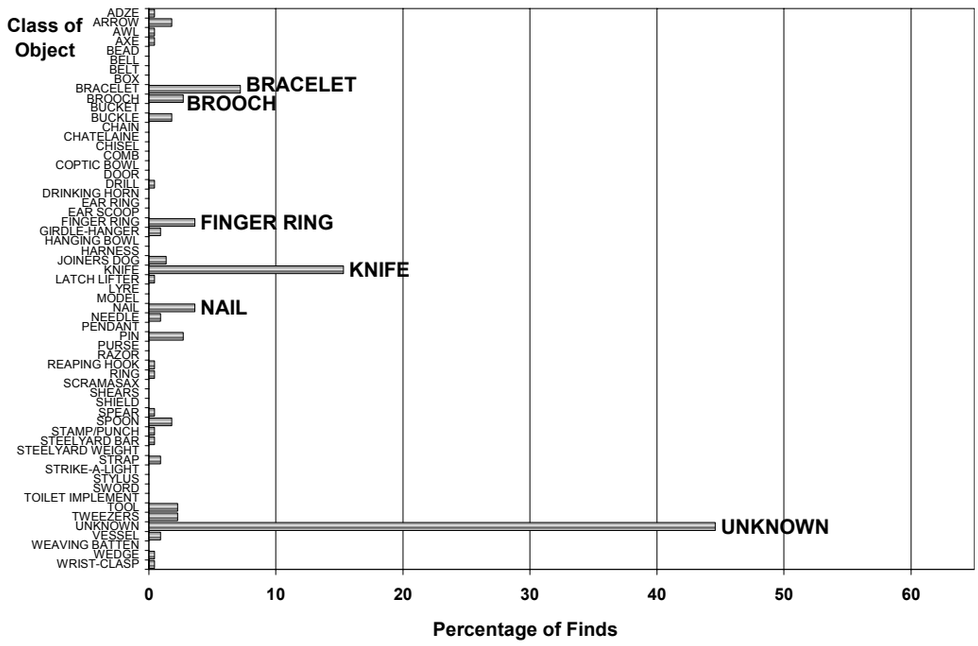
Detecting and recovery

Finally, part of the sampled population is detected and becomes the archaeological population. Obviously, metal detectors do not detect pottery, bone or other non-metallic materials. This in itself creates a bias in the sample, but the preferences of metal detectorists may further affect the composition of the assemblage that is recovered. Detectorists have a strong interest in what they choose to find so it is also important to understand what bias this might introduce. Much metal detected material is lent to archaeologists for identification and recording but a very large percentage of those artefacts will end up being sold on the antiquities market or lodged in the private collections of finders or landowners. To this end, many metal detectorists may well be primarily interested in attractive pieces that will sell well or impress their friends. For the early Anglo-Saxon period this may mean large, copper alloy pieces with ornate decoration of which brooches are an excellent example.

On the other hand, detector users are now encouraged to collect everything and bring it all in for identification, which should mitigate to some extent against the effects of collecting only the shiniest and most desirable objects. Items of unknown type, or dubious value, are put into 'scraps bags' where they too can be offered for identification. Perhaps more important is the ability of metal detectors to discriminate between different kinds of metal. This means that most detectorists are able to ignore ferrous items, or look only for precious metals, which also has the advantage of avoiding the scrappy iron objects of all periods that seem to be so ubiquitous in ploughsoil: Crowther's (1981) study found that of 1,200 finds recovered, about 900 were undatable iron



a) Stratified finds from West Stow



b) Unstratified finds from West Stow in Layer 2

Fig. 6.5 Percentage of different object classes in a) stratified (N=227) and b) unstratified (Layer 2; N=222) contexts at West Stow, Suffolk (West 1985). Roman coins have been removed.

nails. The extent to which these factors of 'preferential pick-up' are important is an outstanding question, and there is still much left to understand about how 'deposit assemblages' become 'archaeological assemblages'.

Assemblage composition

Calibrating scatters

Millett (1985; 1987; 2000) advocates the approach, also recommended by Foard (1978), of comparing excavated assemblages with those from surface collection in order to learn how to infer from an 'archaeological sample' what the 'deposit assemblage' once was. This 'calibration' is designed to be applied from controlled field walking and excavation studies to surface collection surveys by defining a site 'signature' (Schofield 1991b). Various projects have compared surface finds from a survey before an excavation with stratified finds from the excavation itself in order to guide survey

data interpretation elsewhere (e.g. Bowden, Ford and Gaffney 1991; Crowther 1983b; Gaffney and Tingle 1989; Pryor and French 1985). The calibration approach is straightforward and has the merit of using relatively few resources but it is also extremely specific to period and region. To calibrate early Anglo-Saxon artefacts in Norfolk requires a range of sites where both metal detection and excavation has taken place, and preferably in that order.

Metal detecting has become common practice before and during excavations in a development from the reticence showed by archaeological units fifteen years ago (Dobinson and Denison 1995). In Norfolk, a range of metal detecting practices are performed by NAU (G. Trimble, pers. comm.), which is the organisation that performs excavations most often in the county. On small evaluations and watching briefs metal detectors owned by the unit are used by staff members to scan exposed surfaces and features ('prediction'), and spoil heaps ('salvage'). On larger scale evaluations and all excavations a 'very experienced metal detectorist' is sub-contracted to assist staff in detecting during topsoil stripping and excavated spoil. He uses a more sophisticated machine than the four currently owned by the unit (the purchase of a better model is planned) and has found a superior number of finds over the years.

There is no doubt that these practices are of significant benefit to dating obtained through these interventions (Gregory and Rogerson 1984) but they do not provide a calibration for surface collection. It is only 'sometimes' that topsoil is scanned prior to stripping ('prospection'), and although the location of finds are noted, there has been no systematic or gridded scanning (Dobinson and Denison 1995 make a similar observation). Norfolk Landscape Archaeology (NLA), which specifies the standards for developer-funded interventions, requires that metal detector surveys should be carried out alongside field walking surveys and both are undertaken at 20m transects. Although transects are not really ideal results from developer-funded metal detecting could be co-opted, with care, for calibration. Of those carried out over the years no examples of relevance to the early Anglo-Saxon period could be recalled. A review of literature reveals few sites where metal detectors were used to scan the soil surface before excavation in recent years. The only example of note is Gregory and Rogerson's gridded topsoil detector survey at Thetford (1984), which recovered objects of late Iron Age to Roman period in date.

The fact that many settlement and activity areas have virtually no metallic artefacts is reiterated here: of the thirteen sites excavated in Norfolk with some early Anglo-Saxon non-mortuary features, a paltry total of 119 pieces of metalwork were obtained in stratified contexts. These sites may, therefore, be almost invisible to metal detecting. At Melford Meadows, Brettenham (Mudd 2002) the only finds prior to the excavation of the settlement there were one cruciform brooch from metal detecting in 1981 and one girdle-hanger fragment from the spoil heap of a building site there in 1995. Similarly, metal detecting also took place over the cemetery site of Spong Hill, North Elmham, but this produced very few metalwork finds compared to the hundreds of cremation urn sherds recovered from field walking (Rickett 1995: 65). Nevertheless, site biographies are complex things so undisturbed contexts do not appear at the surface while thoroughly disturbed deposits may give a false impression of richness.

The inhumation cemetery in Oxborough (Penn 1998), for example, was excavated in the summer of 1990 in response to the discovery of forty-two early Anglo-Saxon artefacts by a local metal-detector user named Steve Brown. Only ten disturbed graves were recovered by Kenneth Penn and his team from what is most likely to have been a larger cemetery. Further metal detection was done during and after the excavation, although not in a gridded way. Fig. 6.6 shows the composition of the assemblages collected by different methods.

The graph demonstrates the inflation of the brooch and wrist-clasp categories for surface metal-detector finds before, during and after excavation, and the deflation of most other categories compared with the sub-surface and in situ material. There are also obvious differences between the range of unstratified finds found by metal detection and that found by eye during excavation at Oxborough. The metal detector is better at picking up tweezers, girdle hangers and knives, whereas the eye is better at recovering small objects of unknown type. In contrast to all of these,small iron objects such as rings and pins tend only to be picked up during excavation of stratified contexts. The observations from Oxborough are very valuable, especially in recognising inhumation contexts, but one site is not enough to calibrate metalwork scatters.

A comparative analysis of Norfolk finds

In the absence of further examples the idea of comparing excavated finds with detector finds can be extended instead to the collection of early Anglo-Saxon metalwork from Norfolk as a whole. This is achieved by collating finds from all excavated early Anglo-Saxon contexts in the county to present a general picture of site characters in the area (see Appendix 1 for the list of sites). All metallic objects are included but with a few exceptions due to time constraints: a 13.8 per cent sample (300 finds) was made of graves at Morning Thorpe (Green, Rogerson and White 1987); a 16.0 per cent sample (403 finds) was made of cremations at Spong Hill (Hills, Penn and Rickett 1994). Since there is a paucity of substantial excavated settlement sites in Norfolk, West Stow in Suffolk is included to increase the number of settlement artefacts (all features, but only a 47.0 per cent sample of the SFBs). By comparing the range of finds from these assemblages with the range of finds in the metal-detector assemblage the aim is to see

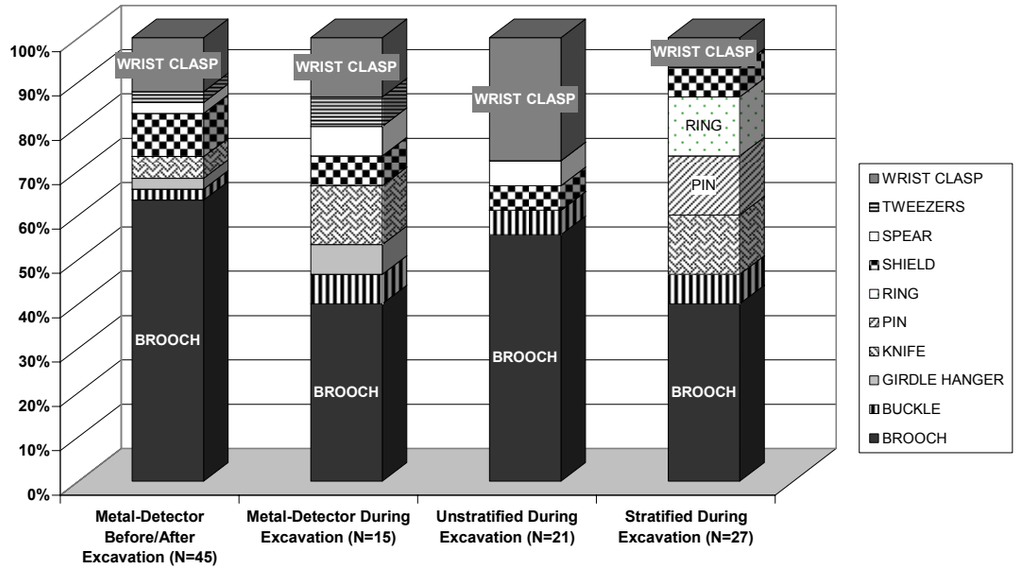
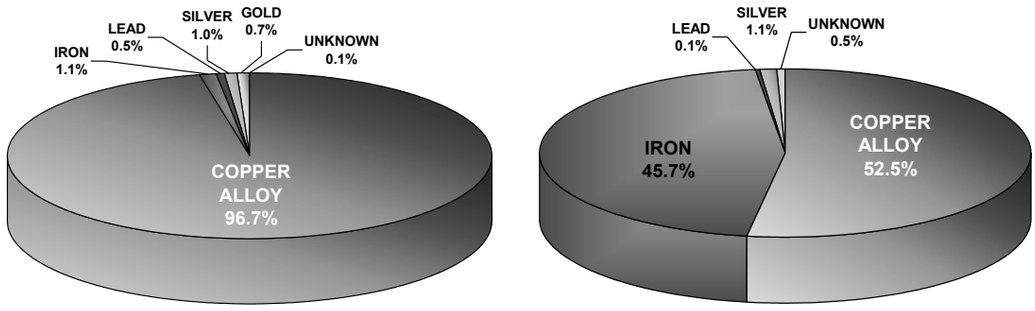
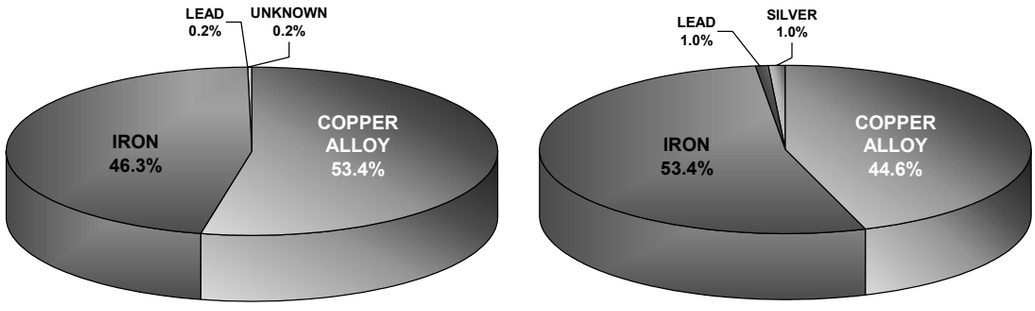


Fig. 6.6 Percentage of different object classes found by different methods in different contexts at Oxborough, Norfolk (Penn 1998). Unidentified objects excluded.



a) Metal-detector finds *b) Finds from inhumation contexts*



c) Finds from cremation contexts *d) Finds from settlement contexts*

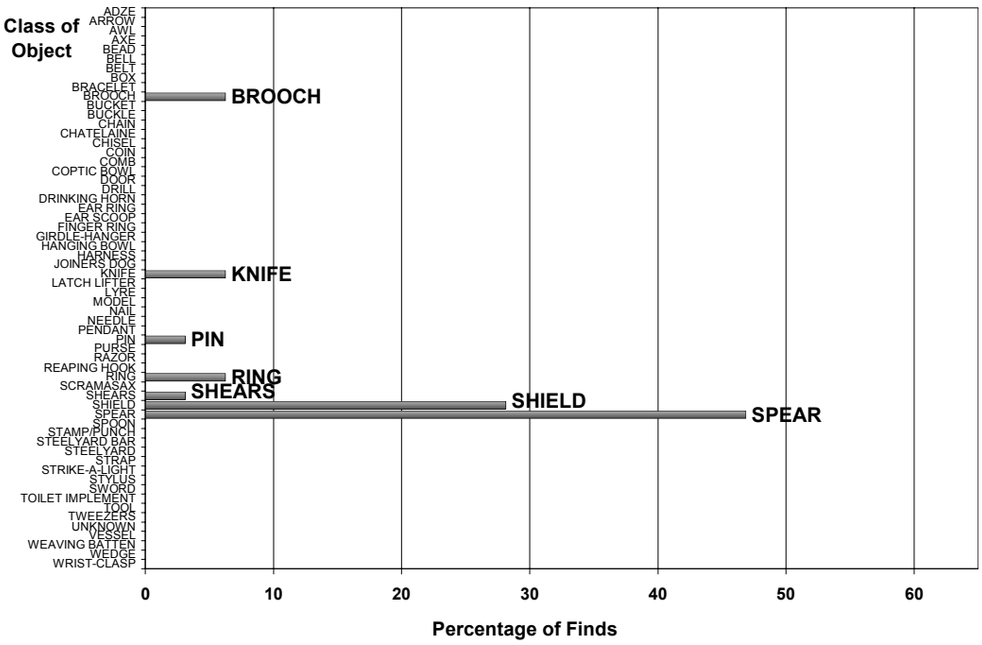
Fig. 6.7 Pie charts showing the percentage of different metals from which the finds are primarily made: a) metal-detector finds (N=3,373); b) inhumation contexts (N=1,263); c) cremation contexts (N=644); d) settlement contexts (N=408).

whether inhumation, cremation and settlement features each have a distinctive range of finds, and to find out if metal detecting picks up sufficient numbers of these finds to successfully distinguish between them. The method followed here based on a smaller study of the district of Breckland (Chester-Kadwell 2003; 2005).

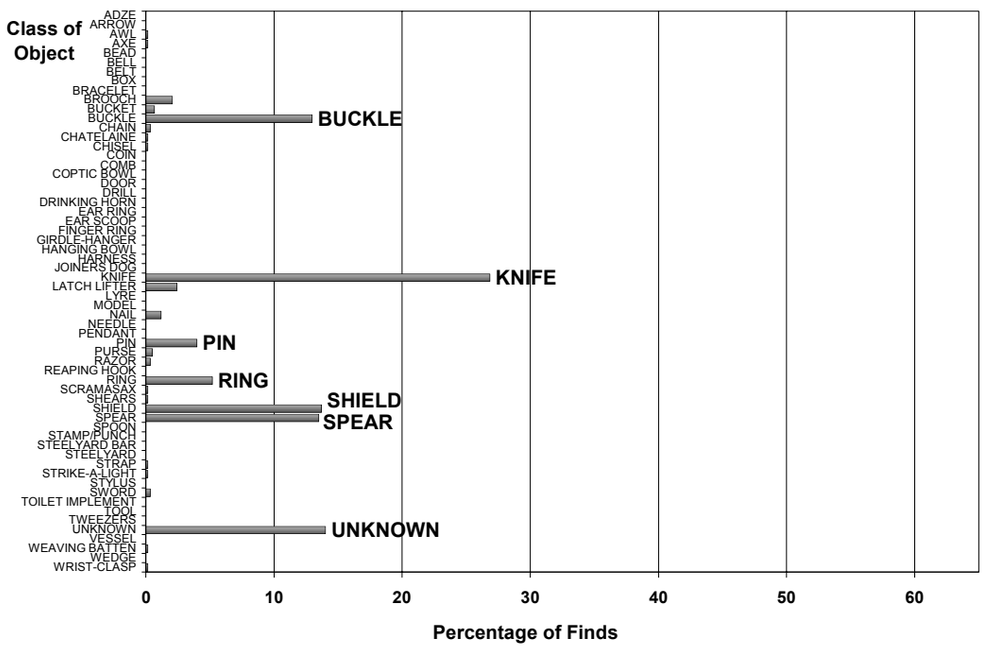
The most obvious difference between the metal-detector finds and those from excavated contexts is the proportion of different metal types. The overwhelming majority of the metal-detector finds (96.7 per cent) are primarily made from copper alloy, with very small numbers of iron, lead, silver and gold items (Fig. 6.7a). In

contrast, all the excavated contexts whether cemetery or settlement contained a substantial proportion of iron finds alongside those of copper alloy (Figs 6.7b-d), over half in the case of settlement. Of particular note amongst these are iron knives, shields, spears and buckles from inhumations (Fig. 6.8b); comb rivets, tweezers, shears, and knives from cremations (Fig. 6.8c); and nails, knives and unidentifiable fragments or parts from settlement deposits (Fig. 6.8d).

This suggests that a large proportion of finds from archaeological sites are not being collected or identified by metal detecting, diminishing the overall visibility of these sites. It could be assumed that since modern metal



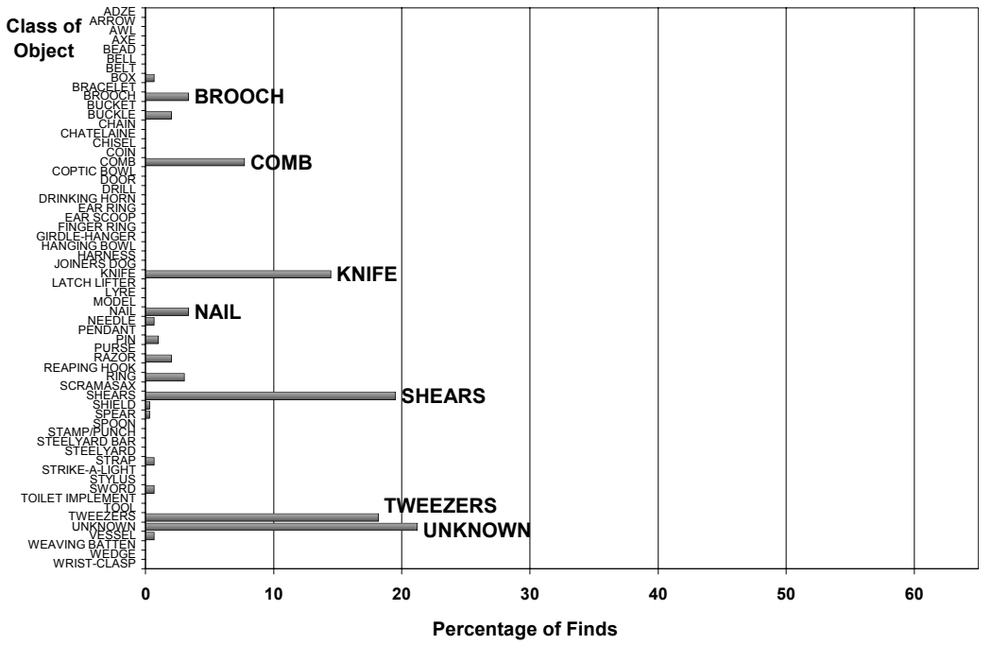
a) Iron metal-detector finds (N=32)



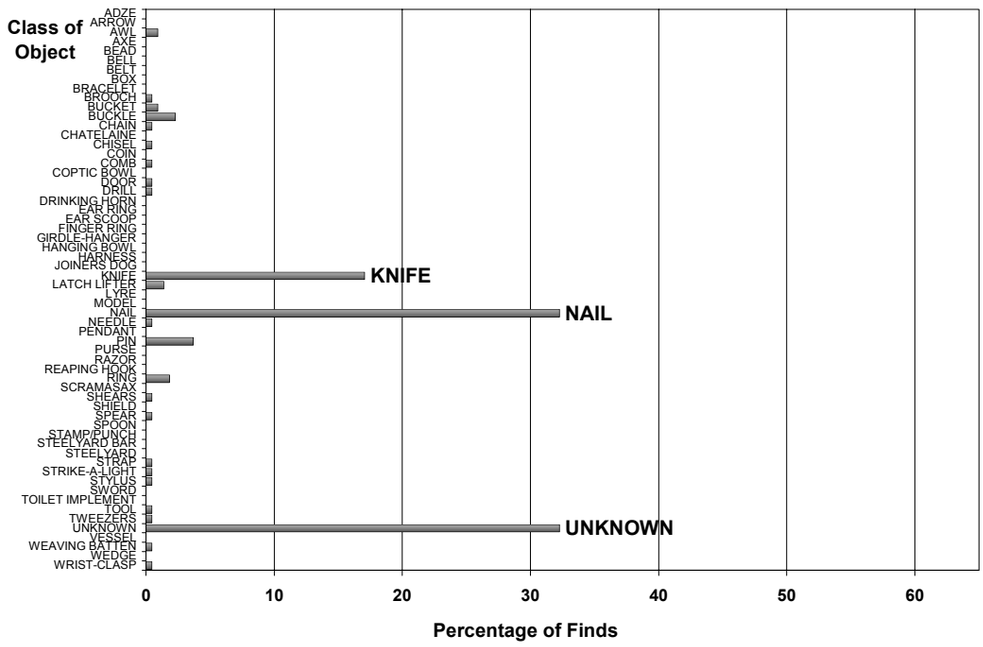
b) Iron finds from inhumation contexts (N=577)

Fig. 6.8 (a & b) Bar charts comparing the percentages of different iron object classes: a) metal-detector finds (N=32); b) inhumation contexts (N=577).

detecting equipment is able to discriminate between ferrous and non-ferrous items this phenomenon must be the result of looking only for precious metals but it is also true that a few detectorists do make efforts to collect iron in case it might be a spearhead or shield boss, and this is reflected in the number of these artefacts in the collection of iron finds found by metal detector (Fig. 6.8a). It has also been suggested that oxidation of ferrous artefacts in the soil can make them more difficult to detect (A. Rogerson, pers. comm.). Furthermore, artefacts such as rivets, knives, nails and fragments or parts can be difficult to identify and date when unstratified (see Crowther 1981 for a similar observation). Therefore, the problem partly lies with



c) Iron finds from cremation contexts (N=297)



d) Iron finds from settlement contexts (N=217)

Fig. 6.8 (c & d) Bar charts comparing the percentages of different iron object classes: c) cremation contexts (N=297); d) settlement contexts (N=217).

the identification of ferrous items that are collected as much as the limited collection itself. This means that identification and characterisation of sites must rely mainly on the analysis of copper alloy finds.

The range of objects represented by the copper alloy detector finds is narrow with the majority of items (57.2 per cent) being brooches, or parts thereof (Fig. 6.9a). Wrist-clasps (10.1 per cent), pendants (of varying designs and origins), girdle-hangers and buckles are the next most numerous items. Just 7.5 per cent of the copper alloy finds are of unknown type or from unidentified objects. This is somewhat similar to the copper alloy finds from inhumation contexts, which are also dominated by parts of brooches (33.8 per cent) and wrist-clasps (19.3 per cent) with a minority of girdle-hangers and buckles, although there is also a slightly higher proportion of finds of unknown type and of vessel fragments (Fig. 6.9b).

In contrast stand the assemblages from cremation and settlement contexts. Over half of the objects from cremations are of unknown type (Fig. 6.9c). A closer look at the descriptions of these finds show that about 34.0 per cent are globules of copper alloy created from objects on the pyre during the cremation process; the remainder are a mixture of sheet metal and miscellaneous fragments (Fig. 6.10c). The size, fragility and type of these finds does not lend them to collection nor identification, although detectorists are now encouraged to collect everything for recording. Nevertheless, some archaeologists claim that examining 'scraps bags' over the years does not tend to turn up any of the rarest artefacts types either (Richardson, pers. comm.). This may have an impact on the overall visibility of cremations as compared to inhumations, although the metal-detector assemblage does include both globules and pieces of sheet which are fairly characteristic of both (Fig. 6.10a–c). It certainly has implications for distinguishing between the remains of the two different burial rites: casting aside the finds of unknown type, the cremation assemblage, like that of the inhumations, is also dominated by brooch pieces. The main difference is the preponderance of bucket parts and tweezers. It is noticeable that all three excavated contexts have a similar range of fragmentary artefacts in the sense that they all contain some proportion of sheet fragments and strips. It is the rivets in inhumations (Fig. 6.10b), the globules in cremations (Fig. 6.10c), and the wire in settlement (Fig. 6.10d) that distinguish them.

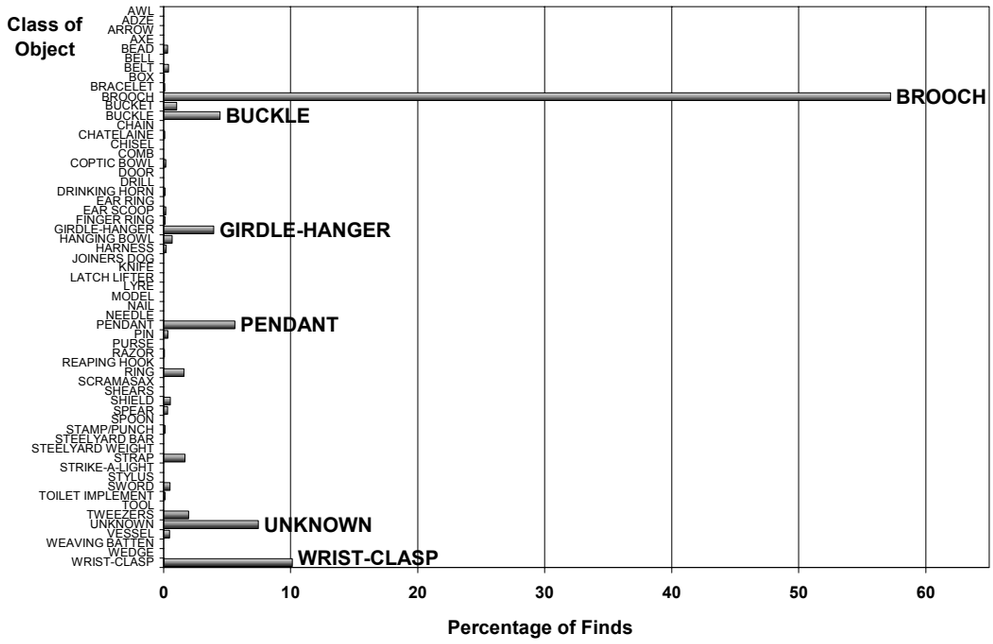
Finally, the settlement contexts provide an assemblage with a sizeable proportion of Roman coins. Such finds were excluded from the metal-detector assemblage since without adequate context it is impossible to distinguish those Roman coins that indicate Romano-British settlement and those that suggest early Anglo-Saxon activity, with the exception of coins perforated for suspension. Therefore, the coins from settlement contexts were also excluded from further analysis. Taking this into account the settlement assemblage is dominated by pieces from unknown objects (49.2 per cent) with the rest of the items spread over a wide range of object classes encompassing both jewellery and practical items (Fig. 6.9d). The difficulty that settlement material presents is therefore four-fold: a significant minority of items (those of unknown type) are unlikely to be collected or identified as early Anglo-Saxon by metal-detector so that the overall visibility of settlement must remain low; some of the most common items such as pins and rings are also difficult to date; those items common to funerary contexts, such as brooches, wrist-clasps and tweezers, are also present in the settlement assemblage, although to a much lesser extent; and no single item or combination of items obviously characterises the settlement assemblage. This melange of settlement material seems unlikely to be found and identified as such outside formal excavation but if the artefacts are recorded they may exhibit a presence or absence pattern rather than the sliding scale more likely on a cemetery site.

Overall the suite of metal-detector finds most closely resembles that of the inhumations and least closely resembles that of the settlement contexts, but it cannot be said that all early Anglo-Saxon metal-detector finds simply represent inhumations. Brooches, in particular, are present in all three assemblages, but most numerously in the metal-detector assemblage.

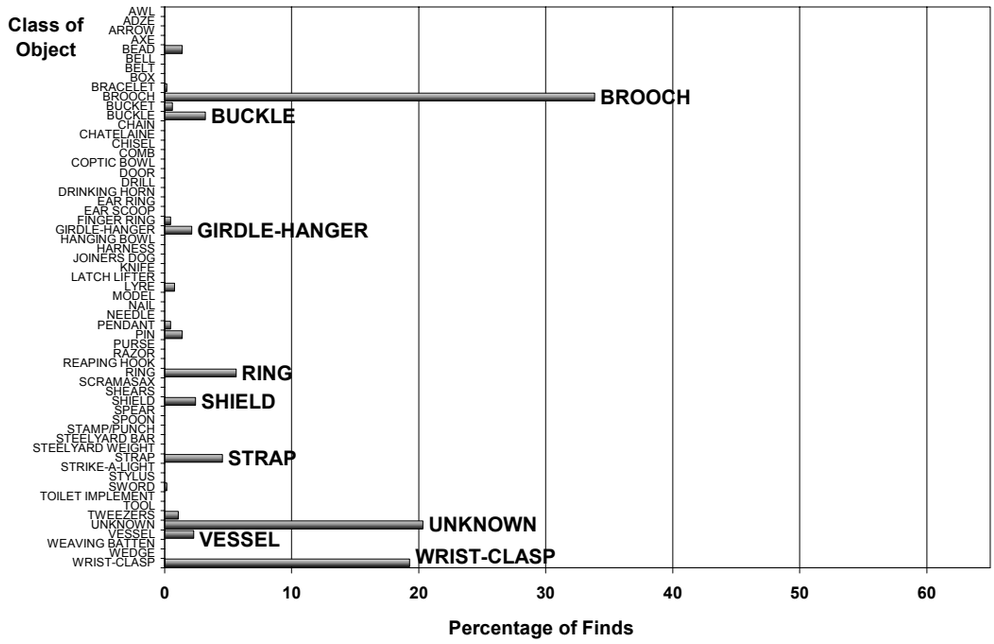
Fragmentation, soil sorting, and accidental losses

Based on original idea by Keith Parfitt, Laura McLean and Andrew Richardson have made similar observations with respect to the proportion of brooches found by detection. They have compared the pattern of Anglo-Saxon brooches found by detector and recorded by the PAS with established brooch distribution patterns in the south of England (2007; forthcoming). In particular, there are more cruciform brooches than other types and this is demonstrated in Richardson's study of Kent (2005: 254). In Norfolk, cruciforms are also the most common type of brooch found by detector (48.9 per cent), while most excavated brooches are annular in form (60.1 per cent). The situation in southern England is somewhat different since only the earliest types of cruciform brooch are present and may be imports of the fifth or very early sixth century, before the widespread adoption of furnished inhumation (A. Richardson, pers. comm.). The implication is that cruciform brooches are accidental losses and do not indicate disturbed burials, but this may not be the only reason.

Cruciform brooches are common in East Anglia and form part of the traditional suite of 'Anglian' material culture (Hills 1979a: 316; Leeds 1945; Parfitt and Brugmann 1997: 113). It is expected that a far higher proportion of graves in Norfolk have cruciform brooches (thirty-seven examples in the sample of nineteen sites with inhumations; a sub-sample of 60 graves was taken from the inhumation cemetery at Morningthorpe) than in southern England (seven examples in the sample of



a) Copper-alloy metal-detector finds (N=3,260)

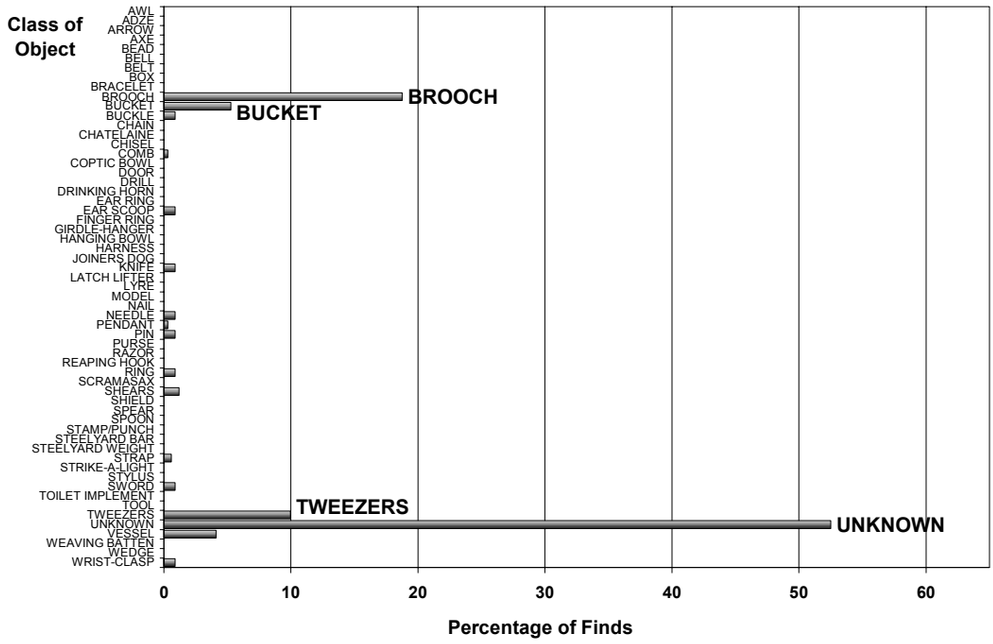


b) Copper-alloy finds from inhumation contexts (N=659)

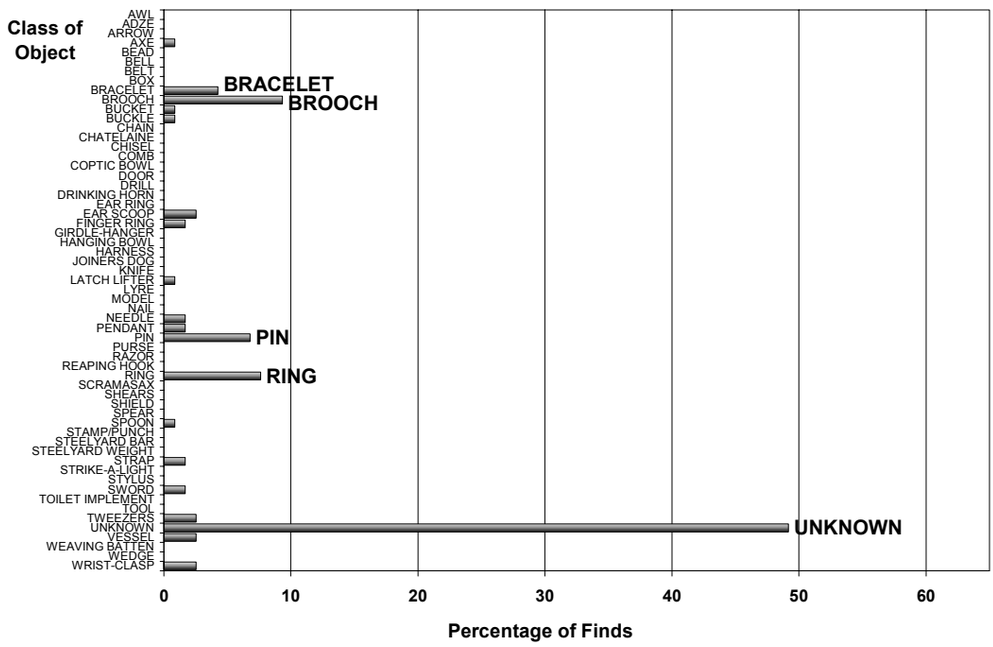
Fig. 6.9 (a & b) Bar charts comparing the percentages of different copper-alloy object classes: a) metal-detector finds (N=3,260); b) inhumation contexts (N=659). Coins have been omitted.

96 sites with inhumations in Kent used by Richardson (2005: 254)).

As in Kent, many detector findspots in Norfolk have produced only one find, that of a cruciform brooch. This is true for 165 (16.4 per cent) of the 1,009 sites with early Anglo-Saxon metal-detector finds in the county. Accidental losses similar to those suggested for coins (Kent 1974) and for medieval and post-medieval finds are certainly an important possible explanation, but the evidence from Oxborough shows that an inflation in the number of brooches has a lot to do with the process of recovery itself. The number of unstratified brooches recovered by detector was proportionally higher than



c) Copper-alloy finds from cremation contexts (N=341)

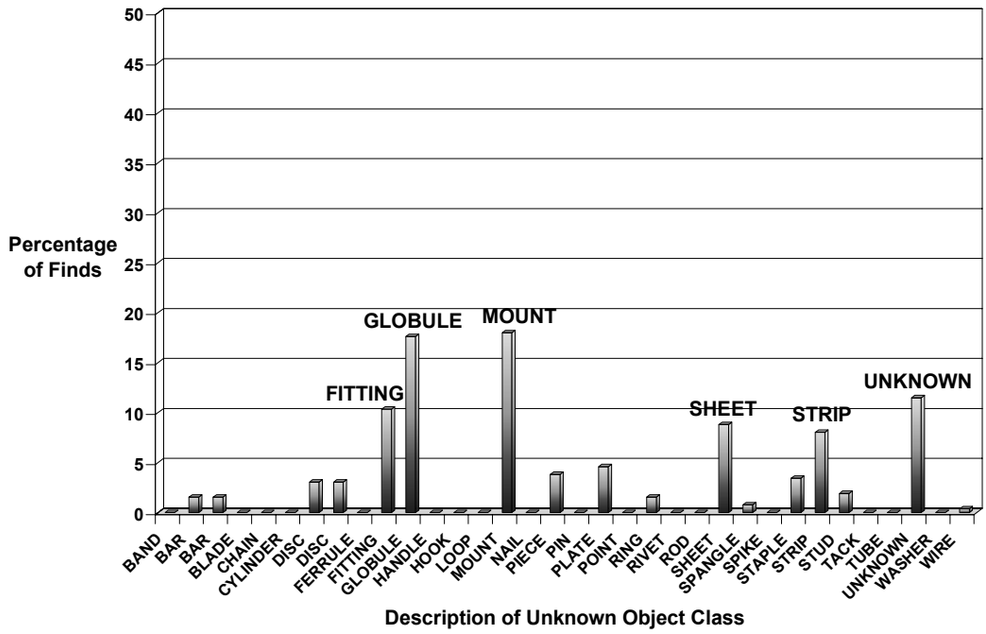


d) Copper-alloy finds from settlement contexts (N=118)

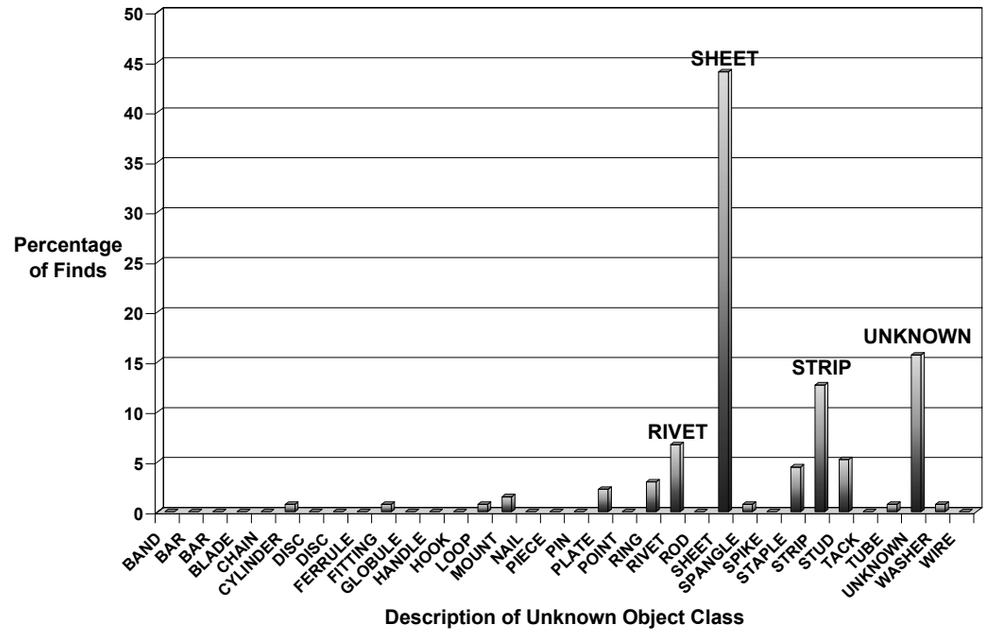
Fig. 6.9 (c & d) Bar charts comparing the percentages of different copper-alloy object classes: c) cremation contexts (N=341); d) settlement contexts (N=118). Coins have been omitted.

the number of brooches found in stratified features (Fig. 6.6). The proportion of unstratified cruciform brooches was higher than those found in the deposits, while the proportion of annular brooches was lower (Fig. 6.11). Crucially, small artefacts such as pins, rings and unidentified fragments were far more likely to be recovered from below the surface than on it (Fig. 6.6).

The most persuasive explanation is that processes similar to those simulated by Boismier (1997) changed the composition of artefact types at the ploughzone surface. In his computer models surface samples were skewed towards large artefacts, and cruciform brooches are certainly larger on average than many of the other find types such as metal fragments. An analogy would



a) Metal-detector finds (N=261)

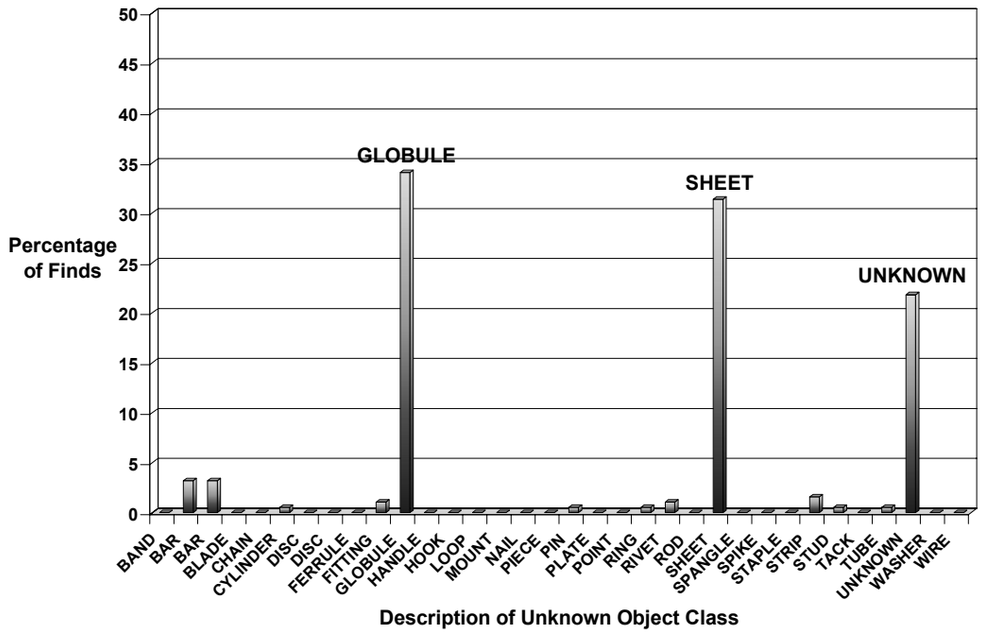


b) Finds from inhumation contexts (N=134)

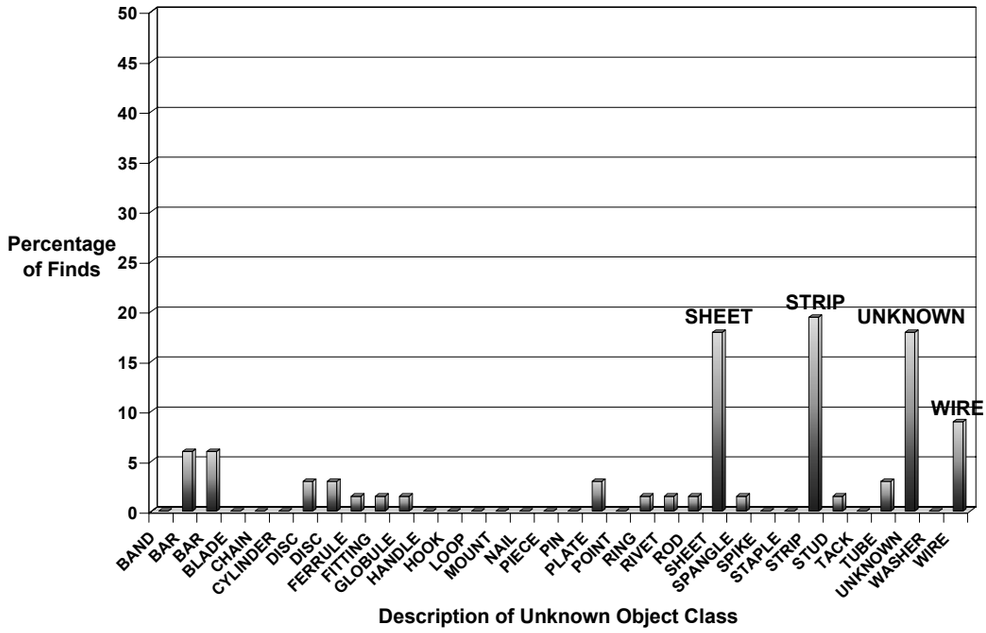
Fig. 6.10 (a & b) Bar charts comparing the percentages of different copper-alloy objects of uncertain identification (='unknown'): a) metal-detector finds (N=261); b) inhumation contexts (N=134).

be to shaking a box of muesli—all the Brazil nuts rise to the top, while the hazelnuts slip down in between. Equations which model this phenomenon in granular materials are available from the literature in mathematics and materials science (Barker and Grimson 1990; Mehta (ed.) 2007). It may be termed 'soil sorting'.

The way in which cruciform brooches fragment in the soil may also be to blame for the inflation of this category in the detector assemblage. 'Knobs' that are attached onto, or moulded integrally into a cross-shaped head are the defining feature of cruciform brooches and each brooch has three knobs (see Fig. 6.1a—top left). Attrition by plough impact, abrasion and freeze-thaw (Taylor 2000) is likely to detach cruciform knobs at the weak join with the main brooch, and if each part is



c) Copper-alloy finds from cremation contexts (N=188)



d) Copper-alloy finds from settlement contexts (N=67)

Fig. 6.10 (c & d) Bar charts comparing the percentages of different copper-alloy objects of uncertain identification (='unknown'): c) cremation contexts (N=188); d) settlement contexts (N=67).

then found separately this could inflate the presence of this type by a number of times. Another comparison of cruciform brooches shows that knobs do indeed make up a significant proportion of the brooches identified from metal detecting (30.1 per cent), compared with those found during excavation (2.7 per cent). It is also worth noting that small-long brooches, which are more similar in overall size and shape to cruciforms than to any other kind of brooch, are also inflated in the surface detector sample at Oxborough (Fig. 6.11). Again this is paralleled in the detector assemblage from Norfolk as a whole (Fig. 6.12). It seems that many of the differences between surface detector finds and stratified metalwork result from a combination of fragmentation and sorting in the soil. Further work on these issues is clearly needed, but lies outside the scope of the present work.

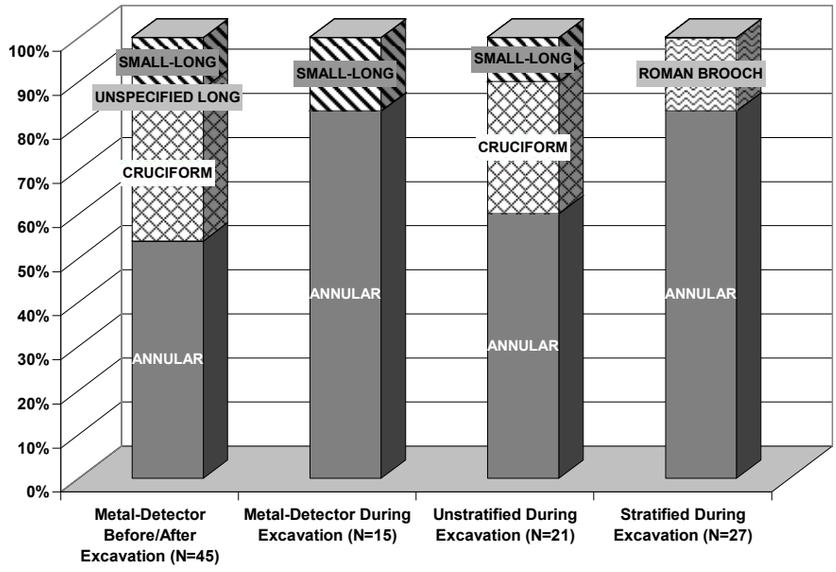


Fig. 6.11 Percentages of different brooch types found by different methods in different contexts at Oxborough, Norfolk (Penn 1998). Unidentified objects excluded.

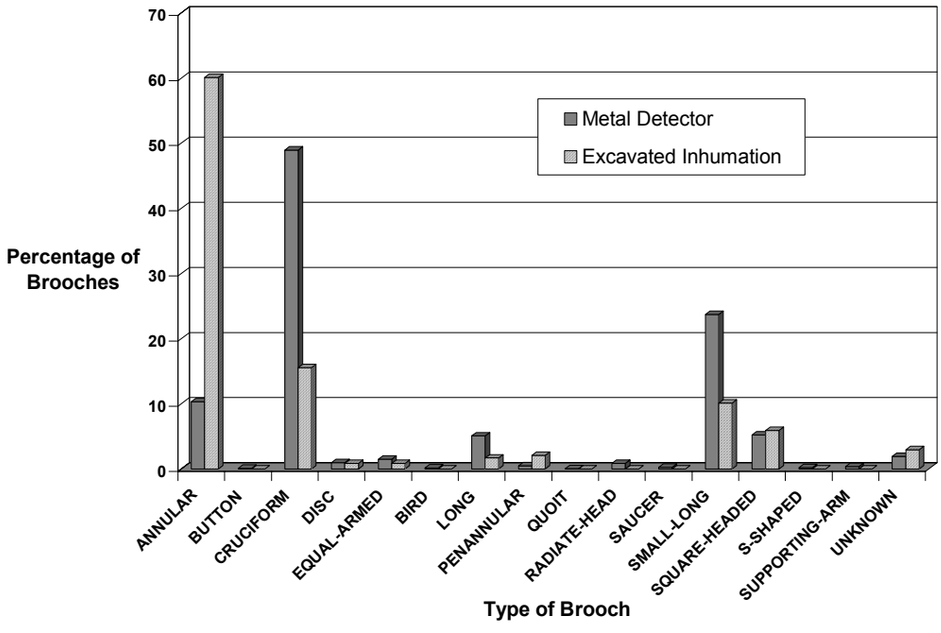


Fig. 6.12 Percentages of different brooch types found by metal-detector (N=1,975) compared with those recovered by excavation in inhumation contexts (N=234) in Norfolk.

The conclusion so far is that discovering and identifying the presence of once-intact inhumation and cremation features from metal-detector finds should be possible. Typical mortuary material—copper alloy brooches, wrist-clasps, girdle-hangers, buckles, globules, and sheet fragments; and iron shield fittings, spears, shears, knives and brooches—is commonly found in the metal-detector assemblage, but the possibility that some detected finds are from non-mortuary features still remains. Direct evidence of settlement is less likely because occupational deposits produce few metallic finds, and many are made of iron or are fragmentary. Accidental losses are more likely and would represent general activity around and between sites.

Spatial displacement

Vertical displacement has already been considered as part of the discussion on soil sorting effects. Horizontal spatial displacement of artefacts in the ploughzone will have three effects. Dispersal over time will make sites harder to find, harder to locate precisely and harder to characterise. This is in addition to the numerous

factors mentioned so far and the consequences of this have already been discussed. Movement downslope and otherwise away from the location of the original deposits, including the generation of spurious concentrations, will affect the accuracy with which sites can be located. Recurring phases of dispersal and aggregation over time, as demonstrated by Boismier (1997), may make the recognition of sites dependent upon when the sample is made: scatters may seem to appear and disappear, and change in artefact density. These effects together means that spatial displacement will have a bearing on questions about the exact position of sites with respect to nearby landscape features and other sites. For example, it would make seeking sites like those at Eriswell, Suffolk, which have more than one burial area, problematic (Caruth 1998; 2000; 2002; see also Chapters 3 and 8). This in turn affects the questions about community practice formulated in Chapter 4.

For all purposes it is necessary to consider very carefully how to interpret a pattern of finds that is anything other than a dense scatter of freshly disturbed objects. Fields that produce a few, possibly well-worn finds may merit a number of interpretations: they might be the remnants of a disruption event that damaged stratified deposits below some time in the past; they might be the result of a small disruption event that did not substantially expose the features below; they might be the outliers from a larger scatter; they might be accidental losses during on-site or off-site activities; they may be the result of manure spreading, or otherwise moving soil from another location.

The displacement of artefacts in the soil has been the subject of many studies. At first it was suggested that tillage might result in a 'rocking motion'; the plough may move objects in alternate directions over a period of years, resulting in no net displacement (Foard 1978; Lambrick 1980). However, numerous controlled experiments in a variety of climes and over different soils and slopes show that displacement can be significant (Ammerman 1985; Clark and Schofield 1991; Frink 1984; Lewarch and O'Brien 1981; Odell and Cowan 1987). Experiments at Butser Farm (Reynolds 1987; 1989; Yorston, Gaffney and Reynolds 1990) and Boismier's simulations (1997) show that a concentrated assemblage will, in fact, gradually disperse, while the effects of slope and soil type will create spurious concentrations of material away from their original centres. Rick (1976) showed that the angle of slope and the distribution of lithics were positively correlated, but specifying more details from this collection of studies starts to make them appear inconclusive and/or contradictory. For example, artefacts may be displaced over the course of several decades by 0.2–10m (Roper 1976), or by 1–5m (Ammerman 1985) or barely at all (Gingell and Schadla-Hall 1980).

These effects are specific to the environment in which the experiments took place and to the shape and weight of the artefacts (Clark and Schofield 1991). This means it is inappropriate to transfer results from one region of the world, with a particular pedology and tillage regime, to another, and that it is also problematic to apply conclusions from pottery or lithics to other materials.

No actualistic or simulation studies have been undertaken with respect to metallic finds and certainly none using early Anglo-Saxon facsimiles; this is an avenue for future research. Having said this, a broad inference may be made that could prove enlightening. Clark and Schofield (1991) learnt that irregularly shaped and larger artefact classes tended to suffer the most displacement. Furthermore ploughing brings a disproportionally high percentage of large objects to the surface, while artefacts on the surface move farther horizontally than those in the ploughsoil (Lewarch and O'Brien 1981b): large, irregular artefacts like brooches will move farther than small, rounder ones. Once again, cruciform and small-long brooches are singled out as those artefacts with the most perturbed distribution characteristics in comparison to the other suite of finds expected from early Anglo-Saxon assemblages. In short, brooches are outliers with good reason.

Surface artefact movement studies have limited relevance to metal detected data for a more substantive reason and this is because of the way it is most usually recorded, that is, with precision only to within a field. No matter what kind of displacement occurs finds will stay at least within the fields in which they were originally deposited, whether freshly disturbed or more latterly so. As we have seen, a cemetery site is generally small compared with the modern field it inhabits (see Fig. 6.3). If the field is used as the unit of analysis then wider patterning can be regarded as intact. Sometimes a site will cross more than one field and this confounds the HER site system far more effectively than artefact creep. Obviously, this is less than ideal and in the case of sites where the artefacts have been located with far more precision, and which might indicate separate areas of deposits, we must await future experiments to make a quantitative contribution to interpretation.

In the meantime, the general conclusions that can usefully be applied are that artefacts do disperse over time, preferentially downslope, and that it takes several tillage events at least to move artefacts more than a few metres from their original positions. Therefore, for the case of areas which produce only a few, well-worn finds there is every chance that these finds originate from archaeological deposits not far away, either as outliers or as remnants. This is underlined by the fact that a certain proportion of finds placed with inhumations were already well-worn from use during their life before deposition (Hills, Penn and Rickett 1984: 6–8; Lucy 2000: 86). We might even reason with some degree of confidence that the likely location of the original deposits would be at the centre point of the scatter, adjusted for slope. Fieldwalking at the cemetery of Spong Hill showed

that potsherds were 'found scattered in an area which followed closely the real edge of the cemetery' (Rickett 1995: 65), which apart from the evidence at Oxborough (Penn 1998), is the closest comparable evidence that might support such a supposition.

Accidental losses are still a possibility, but in either case the presence of artefacts indicates the movement, if not the location, of early Anglo-Saxon activity in the area. The only real exception to this may be the effect of manuring scatters, that is, those artefacts which 'derive from domestic rubbish scattered on the fields as or with manure' (Foard 1978: 363). While these may serve to inform us about the whereabouts of cultivated fields (Gaffney and Tingle 1985; Wilkinson 1989; Williamson 1984a) they could not be used as evidence for site deposits. Early Anglo-Saxon pottery, like prehistoric pottery, is friabl, and weathers quickly, so any recovered potsherds are likely to be from a newly disturbed reservoir (i.e. a site) (Tingle 1998: 38) rather than manuring scatter, but Layer 2 from West Stow (West 1985) demonstrates that settlement detritus includes many metallic finds, which if spread on fields could prove to be more enduring. Parfitt and Brugmann (1997: 9) refer to 'thinly scattered' finds near Deal in Kent as representing just such a spread of household rubbish.

Manuring scatters have been identified as a common result of agricultural practice from as far back as the Bronze Age (Fowler and Evans 1967; Fowler 1961), but in the case of the early Anglo-Saxon farming economy, frequent folding of animals on cultivated land was also an efficient, perhaps more efficient way to enrich the light, nutrition-poor soils they favoured (Williamson 2003). As a result of manuring scatter, potsherds and flints may be found in every field (Foard 1978: 363) and it is only an increase in the concentration of scattered pottery or lithics that indicates a site (Wilkinson 1982), but it is not the case that every field has early Anglo-Saxon artefacts (as much as metal detectorists wish it were true). A fundamental question therefore remains so far unanswered: how many early Anglo-Saxon metal-detector finds 'equal' a site?

Interpreting Finds

Defining sites

Number of finds

Identifying the character of cemetery sites has been discussed but nothing has been said so far about what density of metalwork represents an archaeological site at all. In other words, how many associated artefacts suggests the presence of a cemetery or a settlement? Surface artefact studies have taken differing approaches depending on their context and methods. 'Two or more artefacts in close association' (Anderson 1984: 21), a 'spatially discrete surface scatter' (Ammerman 1985: 33) or even 'any location' where things are found (Massagrande 1995: 58) might imply the presence of a site. In more technical studies a site might be recognisable by 'an isolable aggregate of five or more artefacts having a spatial midpoint that occurs inside a spatial quadrant' (Warren 1982: 339–40).

Theoretically, there is considerable discussion about whether a 'site' as defined in the context of an analysis actually corresponds to an archaeological site of the kind understood through excavation. Sites 'appear to mean something different to the majority of people responsible for their interpretation' and that to draw a boundary for 'site' status is a decision, not an observation (Schofield 1991: 4–5). Indeed, none of the 'decisions' mentioned above are specific to metal detected material and so a new definition is required.

The early Anglo-Saxon period presents a particular difficulty since metalwork from this time is not found in particularly large numbers. While there are numerous findspots interpreted on Norfolk HER as cemetery sites on the basis of dozens of finds the vast majority of findspots have only one or two artefacts. This is in contrast to the large number of potsherds and tile fragments common to some surface collections from other areas of the world (e.g. Turkey and northern Iraq, Wilkinson 1989; Mediterranean, Barker and Symonds 1984; Hodder and Malone 1984),and even to metalwork of the Roman and medieval periods in the same fields as that from early Anglo-Saxon times (see Fowler 1981: 167 for a similar observation about the dominance of Roman potsherds).

The metalwork that is typical of cemeteries is not used in utilitarian activities in the same way as ceramics and lithics, and if population density in early Anglo-Saxon times was lower than in the preceding and following periods the numbers of finds involved may be far smaller and their distribution less extensive. In some cases, it has been suggested that two brooches found together in the same field 'equals a cemetery' (A. Rogerson, pers. comm.) but, equally, single brooch finds should not be assumed to come from burials. Accidental losses, settlement deposits, even manuring scatters are alternative explanations that cannot be ignored entirely.

Ideally, the standard adpoted in this study would take into account find density, not just artefact numbers since freshly eroded deposits are likely to produce clusters of surface artefacts, as at Oxborough (Penn 1998). However, the precision with which findspots are recorded is highly variable and repeated tillage events have the potential to cause artefacts to spread out. More work is needed to assess how to compensate for these issues and to produce density plots of a sufficiently high resolution (each grid square would have to be several times smaller than a typical field and this presents computational problems). For the moment, the presence of sites is to be assessed by the number of detector finds recorded in the area of each HER site. This is basic but has the benefit of directly corresponding to the information recorded for

each area and of preserving the precision and accuracy of the best reporting. The thresholds used should take into account the types of sites which may be recovered.

Site types

The resource of excavated early Anglo-Saxon features provides knowledge of a range of standard sites. These can be summarised as follows: settlement sites (buildings) and mortuary sites (isolated burials, inhumation cemeteries, cremation cemeteries, and cemeteries with a mix of rites to varying degrees). This limited range results from the difficulties of recovering insubstantial early Anglo-Saxon remains, even by excavation; other site types may remain to be documented in more detail (see Chapter 3 and below). Furthermore, all sorts of activities may have occurred 'off-site' and in a seasonal or otherwise ephemeral way (Bintliff 2000; Hayes 1991). It is the activities associated with known sites that provide clues to potential off-site remains as well as to site types that we know little about.

Pits and hollows are common features in settlement and are often found to contain rubbish, but dumping of settlement debris can also occur off-site (e.g. Hall 2003: 5). Metalwork itself, much of which is of insular design and therefore assumed to have been made locally, must have been made somewhere. Crucible sherds, lead brooch models (Ager 2006; Mortimer 1994) and slag are evidence that such places exist. In contrast to these prosaic activities, ritual deposition may also create off-site deposits. Deliberate votive deposition is suggested by the early Germanic sword laid within a gap in the Feltwell villa hypocaust (Chadwick Hawkes 1986), and early Anglo-Saxon artefacts are sometimes found in river dredgings.

Cremation cemeteries contain the burnt remains of people and yet we have almost no clues as to where funeral pyres may have been located. Nothing like the cremation pyres at Liebenau in Germany (Häßler 1983) have been found in England. It seems likely that most were not closely associated with recognisable sites, although the cemetery at Snape in Suffolk does have one area of burnt material which may be a pyre (Filmer-Sankey and Pestell 2001). Whether most pyres might leave artefacts with the potential to be found and recognised is an open question.

Finally, sometimes cemeteries include structures which are neither graves, urnpits nor domestic buildings but ritual structures of some kind. Blair (1995) gives several examples and his paper tackles the issue of pagan shrines, which are attested in written sources, but which have proved elusive to the archaeologist. The square ritual enclosures and other smaller, possible ritual structures he presents may not always have been closely associated with mortuary deposits but rather stood on their own. As with pyres, how these might be recognised from surface deposits is decidedly undetermined, but it is comprehensive to acknowledge them and other structures which may not have a material culture signature in the ploughsoil or on the surface.

As well as these new kinds of sites and off-site activities it has already been noted in Chapter 3 that sometimes burials occur within settlement and sometimes the two are touching or overlap, blurring their distinction. Cemeteries also range from single inhumations, through multiple groups of burials, to large uninterrupted urnfields. The concept of 'cemetery' is without explicit definition even though great diversity of form is acknowledged. It is wise to keep an open mind to forms yet to be discovered.

The comparison of detected and excavated artefacts suggests a series of 'indicator finds' (Chester-Kadwell 2003; 2005: 85). These are artefact classes that indicate the presence of particular kinds of deposits known from excavation (see Naylor and Richards 2005a: 84 for a similar idea). The most solid indicators must be the most numerous classes and the combination of classes that might come from a single area or field. For example, copper-alloy wrist-clasps, buckles, girdle-hangers, and brooches with intact pins and textile impressions indicate inhumations; copper-alloy tweezers, bucket fittings and globules, and iron tweezers and shears distinguish cremations from inhumations. Indicators for settlement activity are much more difficult since there are no particularly diagnostic classes of material but in theory settlement would be indicated by a mixed suite of finds, with markers of cemetery deposits being notably few.

The other possibility is to include other contextual evidence in the analysis. Melted or burnt material, and urn fragments may be used to distinguish cremations from inhumations (although not all gravegoods were included in the pyre of cremation itself). Closed pins and textile impressions on personal items suggest deliberate deposition in a grave (McLean and Richardson, forthcoming, make the same observation). Domestic potsherds may be used to distinguish the presence of settlement from that of funerary deposits (although not all areas have been fieldwalked as well as detected). Inevitably, a scatter of two brooches cannot be interpreted with any confidence but a scatter of two brooches, one burnt, three wrist-clasps, two buckles, a pair of tweezers and two urnsherds is strong evidence of mortuary deposits.

Sites can be categorised as weak, possible or strong candidates for mortuary deposits according to the number of finds. For other sites such as settlement, shrines, or off-site deposits there is currently no practical way to distinguish these from detector scatters and there are many sites where low artefact numbers make the use of indicator finds problematic. These low density sites can be characterised as unspecified 'activity'. The following thresholds and interpretations are proposed for use in this study—see Table 6.1. Sites

Candidate for Mortuary Deposits	Interpretation	No. Metal-Detector Finds
Weak	Activity	1
Possible	Activity	2–4
Probable	Cemetery	5–9
Strong	Cemetery	10–24
Very Strong	Cemetery	>25

Table 6.1 Thresholds of finds numbers for site status and site interpretations.

below the threshold for a cemetery interpretation (1–4 finds) but with the presence of heat-affected artefacts or urnsherds are also included as cemeteries.

The potential success of this approach may be demonstrated by the work of John Newman, Field Projects Manager, Suffolk County Council Archaeological Service, who used the records of metal-detector finds reported by members of the public to the Archaeological Section within Suffolk County Council's Planning Department (Newman 1995). Newman's plots of metalwork at Shottisham and Playford in Suffolk incorporated the results of professional fieldwalking undertaken as part of the Sutton Hoo research campaign (Newman 1992). At Playford, it was therefore possible to suggest the presence of a settlement, based on a potsherd scatter, and a cemetery area to the north, based on a discrete group of metalwork.

Sites and the landscape

The survey literature also tackles one last problem of interpretation and this is whether the concept of 'site' is useful for survey data. Surface collection can create a continuous terrain of data quite different from the discrete excavated deposit (Cherry 1983: 395). Even though this is frequently not the case for early Anglo-Saxon artefacts there were a great many kinds of activities going on in the landscape at that time. Those which are most easily recovered and understood are privileged, but conceiving of landscape as a series of sites surrounded by space does it less justice than it deserves. Landscape is a 'continuous artefact' (Bintliff, Kuna and Venclová 2000b: 2) incorporating biographies of movement from settlement, to dump, to field, to shrine, to wood-pasture, to field, to settlement, to pyre, to cemetery, to settlement, and all the permutations in between—complete with accidental brooch loss along the way. The 'decision' to create sites from finds (Schofield 1991b: 4–5) should be considered as a tool for discussions about landscape context.

Assessing site patterning

Variation in collection

The efficiency of metal detecting is subject to variations in the abilities and experience between individuals as well as bias caused by their motivations and interests. Many of these issues have already been mentioned in passing, such as the use of a detector's discriminator to choose non-ferrous items in the ploughsoil. Anecdotal evidence suggests how easy it is to miss a site. For example, two detectorists go out for a day's fieldwork; they both walk the same ground, but one finds a hoard and the other does not. As well as altering the range of finds discovered behaviour affects the likelihood of finding sites.

Literature on field walking has long recognised that differences in ability from person to person are a problem which can affect the outcome of a survey. Foard (1978: 359) noted that 'inevitable variations in efficiency, even between experienced fieldwalkers, may jeopardize the validity of results'. His own ideal solution was that any survey would be undertaken by only one individual, but of course this assumes that one has control over these matters—the early Anglo-Saxon metalwork finds recorded in Norfolk were found by 374 or more members of the public acting independently. Individuals with more experience can be identified by how long they have been detecting (based on the years in which their finds were recorded) and by the number of finds they have found. On this basis, there are forty-seven detectorists (12.6 per cent of the total) who found early Anglo-Saxon finds over a period of ten or more years, seven (1.9 per cent) of whom did so over twenty years or more (Fig. 6.13). Sixty detectorists (16.0 per cent) found ten or more early Anglo-Saxon finds, four found over a hundred (1.1 per cent) and one person (0.3 per cent) found 498 objects (14.7 per cent of finds) (Fig. 6.14).

A plot of the number of finds against the span of years taken to collect them shows that productivity depends only in part on the time spent practising (Fig. 6.15). The origins of this variability may lie with several factors, such as the number of hours spent detecting within the given period of years, and the contribution of individual sites which prove to be particularly productive. Perhaps most intangibly there is no substitute for talent. It is worth noting that there is a significant difference between the number found by the 'top' detectorist (498 finds) and the next most prolific detector user (271 finds). The 'top' detectorist is Steve Brown who found the Oxborough cemetery; he could be described, perhaps, as an 'ideal lone individual'.

Equipment

On the other hand, Crowther (1981) suggests that it is the type of equipment used rather than the experience of the metal detectorist that affects the ability to pick up objects. His experiments at Maxey, Cambridgeshire, showed that the majority of buried objects were found by the archaeologists using the best equipment available at

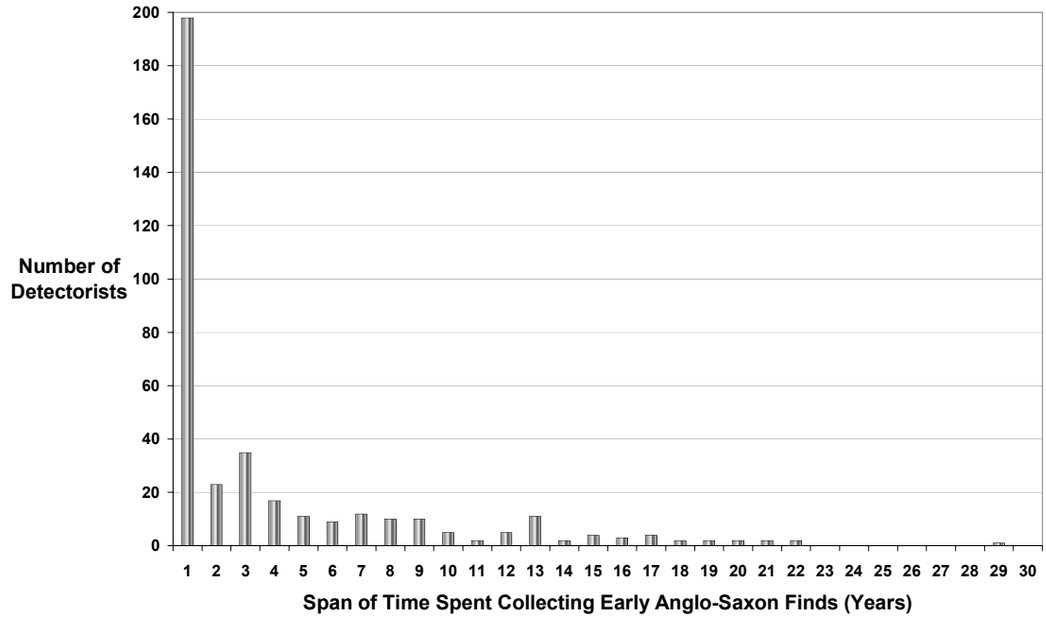


Fig. 6.13 Bar chart showing the spans of time 374 metal detectorists have spent collecting early Anglo-Saxon artefacts between 1974–2003 inclusive. The span of time is defined as the number of years between the first and the last artefact found. It does not take into account years spent detecting but with no early Anglo-Saxon finds (either before, after or during the span); nor does it account for years not spent detecting during the span of time. This measure is indicative of experience. Does not include finds found by persons unknown.

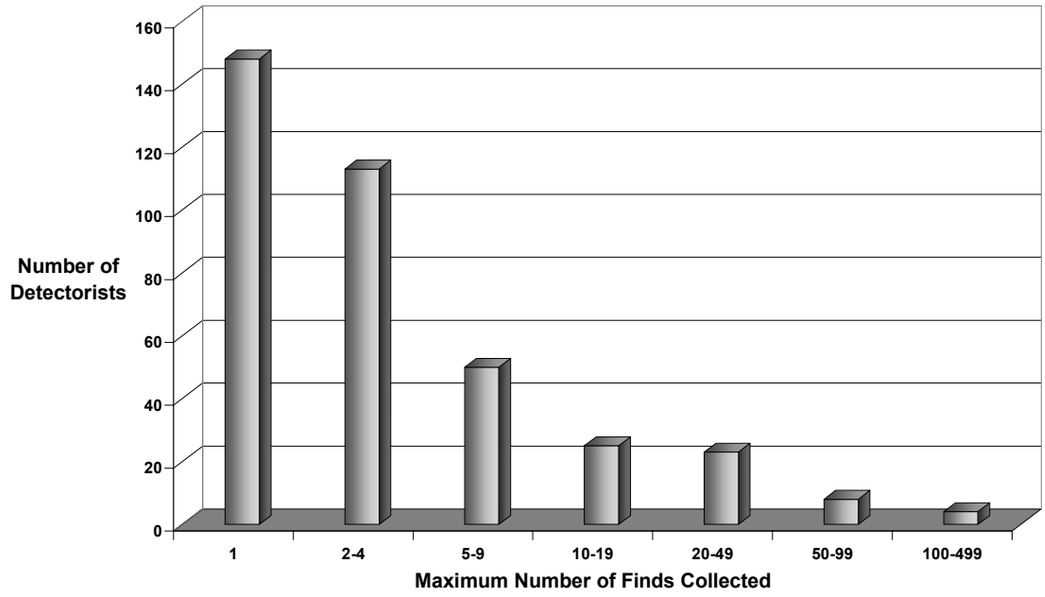


Fig. 6.14 Bar chart showing the number of early Anglo-Saxon finds 374 metal detectorist have collected between 1974–2003 inclusive. The number of finds is a possible maximum including those found when detecting in a group. As such the total number of finds here is more than the actual number of finds. Does not include finds found by persons unknown.

the time (Very Low Frequency; VLF), compared with a search by two experienced detectorists, using Induction Balance (IB) machines, producing only 7 per cent of the VLF yield. Crowther does admit, however, that search techniques were a significant factor regardless of the experience of the user. Similarly, Gregory and Rogerson (1984: 180) are of the view that 'the working methods of individual detector-users can have as great as an effect as the sophistication of the instrument' and, in particular, that 'slow systematic detecting with a good IB detector will be more successful than a VLF machine in unskilled or careless hands'.

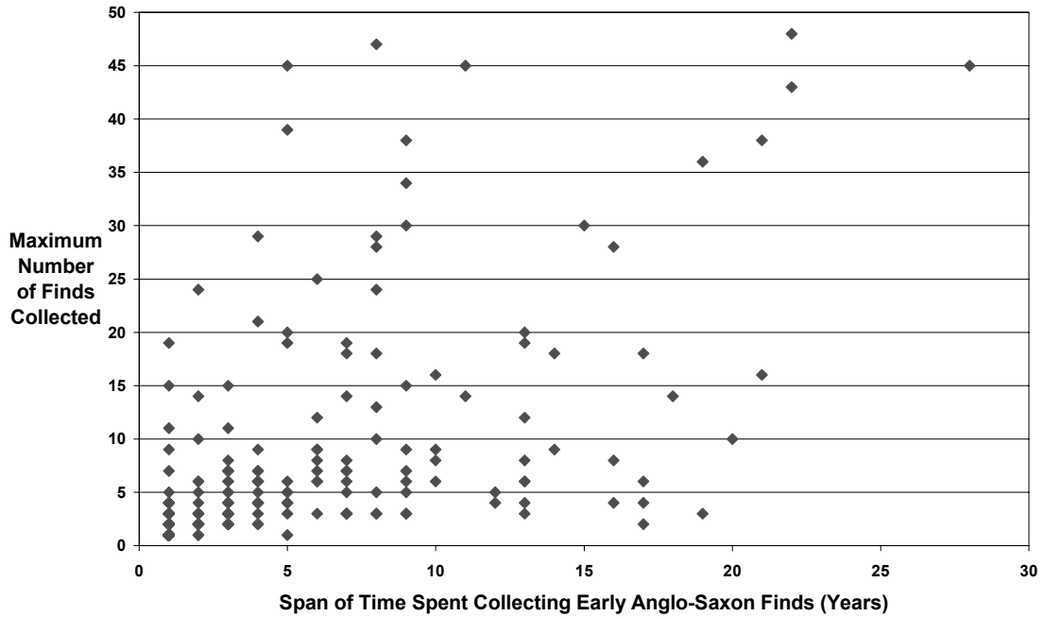


Fig. 6.15 Scatter plot showing the spans of time spent collecting early Anglo-Saxon artefacts by metal detection between 1974–2003 (inclusive) against the number of finds recovered. The number of finds is a possible maximum including those found when detecting in a group. As such the total number of finds here is more than the actual number of finds, and some detectorists' finds totals may be artificially inflated.

Related to the issue of recovery is the depth to which metal detectors can penetrate. This is a considerable difference from the experience of the fieldwalker whose 'surface collection' really means 'surface'. Barber (1990: 23) quotes the VLF/TR (TransmitRecieve, i.e. a model that discriminates between different types of metal) as proven to 'locate a ten-pence-sized coin to some ten to eleven inches [250–280mm]' in optimal conditions, which would suggest that a considerable proportion of the ploughzone should theoretically be open to recovery. The experience of archaeologists and detectorists using machines in real archaeological situations suggests that the reality is not so optimistic. To pick two examples some time apart, Gregory and Rogerson (1984: 180) note that 'at no time were any objects detected at a depth greater than 15cm [150mm] below the modern ground surface, and rarely below 10cm [100mm]'; Pestell (2005: 171, footnote 22) similarly observes that the metal detectorists working on his project found 80 per cent of objects in the top 4in (100mm). Essentially this means that repeated detection of an area following successive tillage events is probably of more consequence than the faculty of this or that model (contra Crowther 1981: 173). An extended discussion of the exact specifications of metal detectors is beyond the scope of this study, but it is argued that the contribution of detector type plays only a small part in the overall recovery of early Anglo-Saxon finds sites in Norfolk. Suffice to say, as with the quality of recording, the quality of detecting has probably risen over time as the result of improvements in machine technology. Barber (1990) and Garrett (1991) write more on the subject but an updated investigation would be desirable.

Conditions on the ground

A wider issue is that of visibility, since ground cover, soil type and weather conditions can all have an effect on the efficacy of surface collection by eye. These factors would affect not only the likelihood of recovering finds within a field or locality but also the broader pattern across the landscape from area to area. Foard (1978: 362) explains that leaving the soil to 'weather' after ploughing until clods of earth are broken down to finer particles increases the number of potsherds recovered but that too powdery a soil hides artefacts. This also means that soil type affects visibility since silty soils are more prone to powdering, and clay soils are perhaps less easily weathered. Natural flint, common in boulder clays, may also impair the recovery of worked flints. In addition to these factors, light conditions are important since bright, low-angle sunlight causes confusing shadows: 'dull weather is ideal'. Concomitant with light conditions is the inherent visual qualities of the artefacts to be discovered. The 'obtrusiveness' (Schiffer, Sullivan and Klinger 1978: 6) of the artefacts themselves, that is, how likely they are to be discovered, has been shown to vary according to their colour, size and shape (Wandsnider and Camilli 1992).

The parallel issues that affect the detectorist are related but also somewhat different. As discussed, metal detecting penetrates below the surface, usually to the order of 100mm at most. The equipment replaces the eye, so that light conditions and tone are irrelevant only up until the final point of recovery when the dug clod, which produces the positive signal from the machine, is broken open. Yet, detectors must be held close to the

ground to work effectively; irregular surfaces and aerated soil (both caused by fresh ploughing) and vegetation will prevent this. Gregory and Rogerson state that 'the best field surface for detecting is the same as the best for field-walking, perfectly flat without any stubble or hard plant growth' (1984: 181–2).

In order to work detectors produce an electromagnetic field, the disturbance of which alerts the user to a possible artefact (Dobinson and Denison 1995). To be effective detectors must cancel out 'ground effect' caused by electrically conductive minerals in the soil, such as iron and salt, so in theory an iron pan in some soils and marine salts on wet beaches would cause problems. The IB machines mentioned above are ineffective over mineralised ground (Garrett 1991: 67) whereas VLF instruments cope far better, particularly those of the 'motion' kind, which must be kept moving (Barber 1990: 24). The efficacy of detecting on particular soils is therefore related to the sophistication of the machine, which is most relevant to older data.

Perhaps more important is the occurrence of clay soils which are prone to 'puddling' and stickiness (Williamson 2003: 143) as much a problem for the boots and trowel of the detectorist as for the plough of medieval farmers. Related to this is the issue of the weather. In the broadest sense, only the most dedicated enthusiast will be out in the pouring rain, but a waterlogged soil is a difficult soil both for the detectorist and his machine. This not only includes clay but also peat deposits in the Fens, Broads and most floodplains. Since the question of early Anglo-Saxon activity on the clay plateau and in the fens is a significant, it is important to compare any absence of evidence with whether anyone has actually looked for it. Fortunately, modern farmland is well drained and not all the soils on the clay plateau are intractable (Williamson 2003: 143). Nevertheless, these factors are likely to affect the efficacy of detecting on clay and fen to some extent, especially in comparison to the very light soils that cover other parts of Norfolk.

Where there are no tillage events, such as on pastures, or the overlying soil is deep, such as on floodplains, metal detectors will not be able to penetrate far enough. In many places, alluvium and pasture coincide because the high water table makes agriculture difficult even with the benefit of modern drainage. In fact, these are often areas detectorists simply choose not to look. Rivers meander in their courses so it is possible that sites lie under alluvial deposits, but it is simply unlikely they would be found by any other method than purposeful excavation or casual digging. There are numerous references in Norfolk HER of spearheads and brooches being found as far as 1.2m down, and a complete small cremation urn was found during digging into some alluvial deposits in a back garden (HER 15189, Aldborough). Colluvium presents a similar problem: the number of sites that lie buried safely under hillwash at the bottom of valleys is a matter for speculation (Hamerow 1992: 40-1).

Taylor (2000: 18) suggests that coarse predictions on the matters of soil erosion, ploughing depth and so on can be made by reference to soil type, slope and drainage, while augering and test pitting is the only way to gain a more specific impression of these factors at any particular site. For a county-wide study such as this fieldwork to determine conditions within individual fields is only practical for small locations, so necessary detail is not obtainable over the whole area. In reality, the available resources could not stretch even to a selection of the sites under consideration. The results of one augering survey at HER 16841 (Fig. 6.16) revealed little different from that which could be assumed from the known soil description and slope: the soil is a light, shallow, chalky loam and the soil depth increased downslope to the south and east (Fig. 6.17). The conclusion in this case is that finds eroded from the higher, shallower soil around the ring ditch and moved slightly downslope; further deposits may be buried more deeply under the ploughsoil downslope.

Negative evidence

The importance of negative evidence has already been mentioned, since it has value for understanding why some superficially similar places are used for cemeteries over others; for questioning traditional expectations that early Anglo-Saxon activity is rarely found on clay or fen; and more generally for explaining apparent gaps or concentrations in the data. The ways in which metal detectorists choose which sites to detect therefore has a direct and appreciable bearing on results. The permissions that detectorists need to walk any particular area of land have a direct effect on determining which areas are detected. Obviously, some owners will choose not to grant permission but a more subtle issue is that some areas have very fragmented ownership and therefore require more effort to contact a larger number of land owners and tenant farmers. Often these areas will not be attempted at all, or if they are, they are likely to result in fragmented detecting with unhelpful gaps. Other places have far more incorporated ownership so one permission goes a long way. These are the lands that are most likely to be repeatedly detected, and at the same time they are potentially the most useful for providing areas with continuous coverage.

Other places which generally preclude detecting in Norfolk include urban areas, military 'danger zones', National Trust property, Royal Estates and other reserves or parks, dense woodland (especially the pine forests around Thetford), lakes (such as those created on the chalk areas of western Norfolk) and inundated or permanently waterlogged lands (in the Broads, northern coastal marshes and sand banks, and Fens below sea level). Similar observations have been made for England as a whole by Julian D. Richards and John D. Naylor of the Viking and Anglo-Saxon Landscape and Economy (VASLE) at the University of York (Naylor and Richards 2005a; 2005b; 2006). By plotting all PAS findspots and Early Medieval Corpus (EMC) coins against these

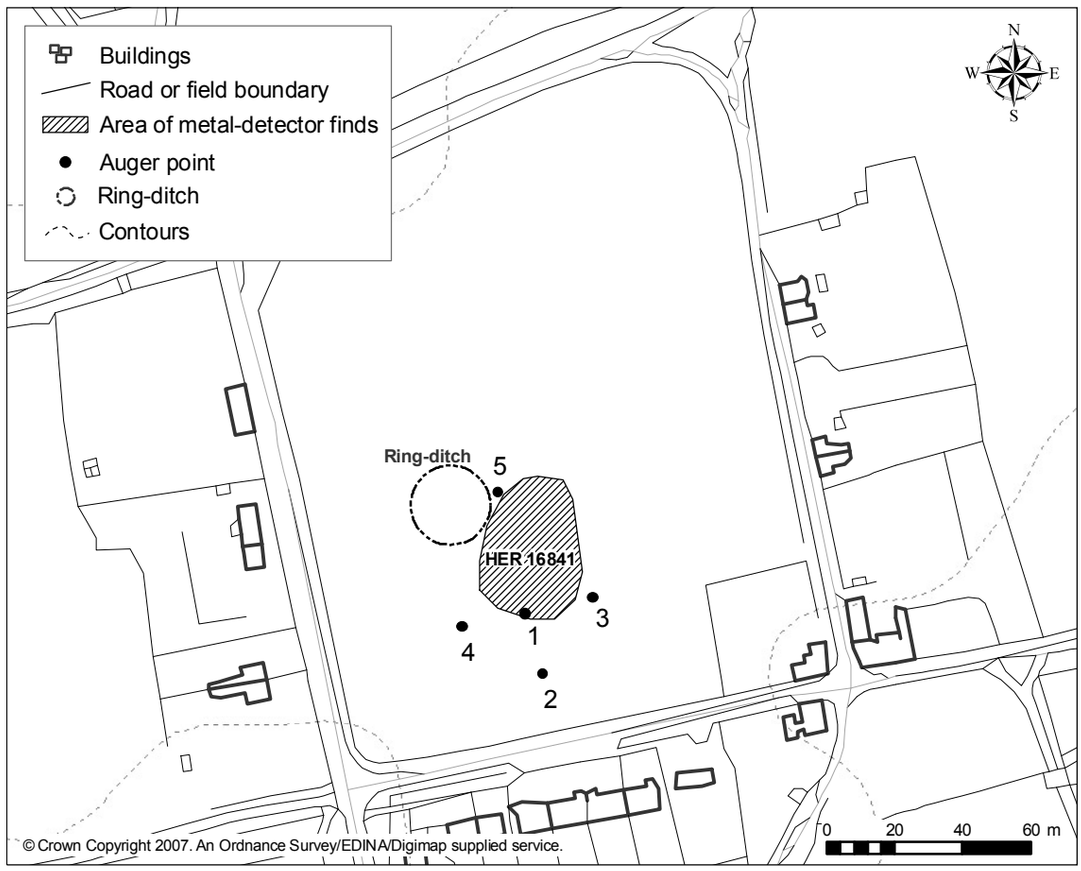
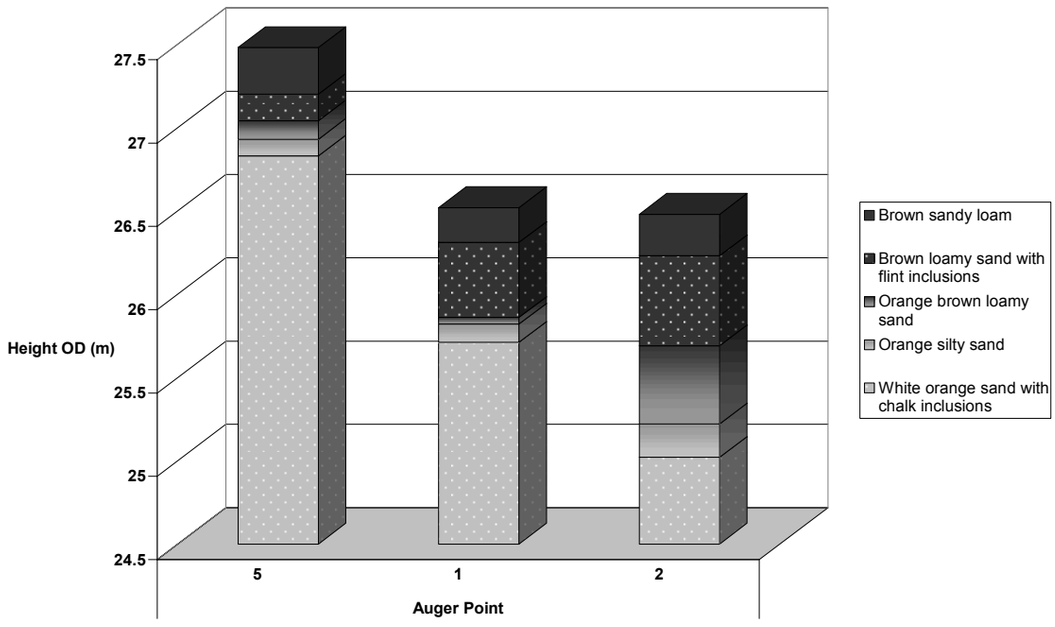


Fig. 6.16 Position of auger points in relation to the area in which early Anglo-Saxon metal-detector finds were collected at HER 16841, West Acre.

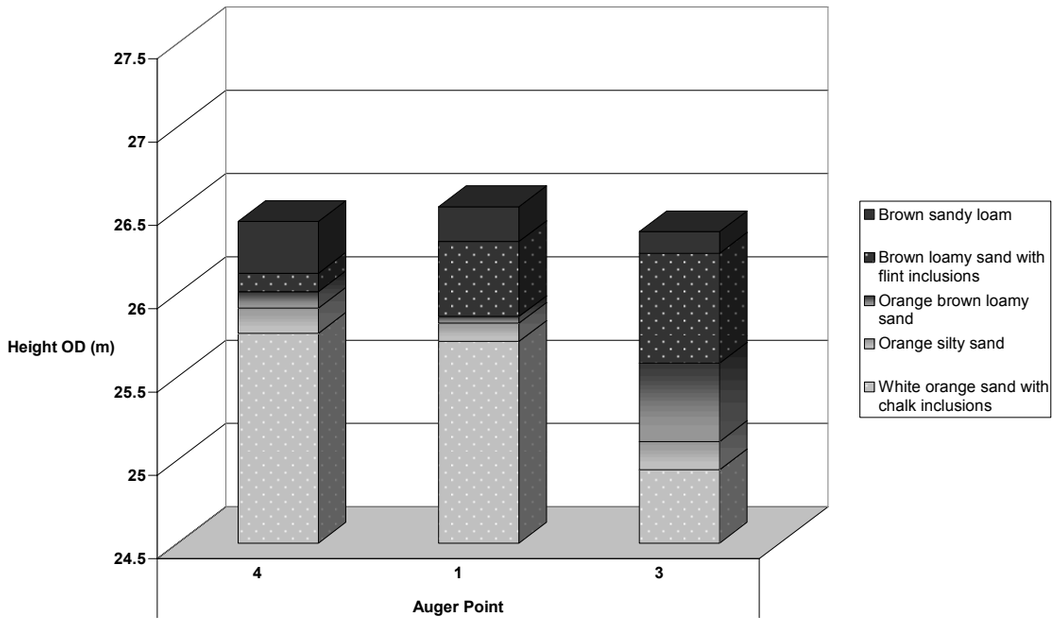
'possible constraints on data recovery' they note that in eastern England (which includes Norfolk) 'constraints on data recovery are generally low, and levels of ploughzone very high, and so here it is likely that the distributions have a basis in ancient patterns of settlement' (Naylor and Richards 2005b: 20, 24).

Within these general parameters the next question is where people choose to detect within the areas they are able, regardless of the conditions. This focusses on the habits of metal detectorists rather than permissions, ground cover, or the technical aspects of the equipment or method. These can be summarised as follows: where they go, what they do, how often, and why (or, in other words, what they are looking for). As well as having an impact on negative evidence they are also relevant concerns to the issues of repeated detection (which will affect whether a site is found or not and how large the assemblage will be); how the 'archaeological assemblage' might differ from the 'sampled population' (which will affect how easily any underlying site can be characterised); and the formation of wider patterns (which will affect whether the distribution of finds reflects the 'real' distribution of early Anglo-Saxon sites).

There are three or four kinds of choices which are regularly cited: investigate the best places; detect on all land you have permission for; detect during a rally organised by someone else; detect with a friend on their patch. The 'best places', of course, depend very much on what the detectorist is looking for since different places in the landscape are likely to yield different kinds of sites and artefacts from different periods. The most straightforward generalisation is that a good place to detect is somewhere with lots of artefacts, such as around a Roman villa, near an isolated church, on ditch-cutting spoil heaps, in gardens and allotments, and on military or prisoner-of-war camps (E. Darch, pers. comm.). This is highlighted, in an unfortunate way, by the actions of nighthawkers who will choose what they know to be productive sites (in the sense of producing lots of artefacts) by detecting on Scheduled Monuments and places they have seen other detectorists frequenting. Licit users, with whom we are concerned here as it is their finds that populate the records of the Norfolk HER, will use all kinds of methods and materials to research the places they choose to go. These include visiting local libraries or HERs for information; looking at OS maps which have sites 'of antiquity', battles, villas, castles and visible earthworks marked; picking up places of interest from reading archaeology books and journals; taking tips from *Treasure Hunting* and *The Searcher* magazines; talking to family and friends about their memories of an



a) Soil profiles at auger points north–south



b) Soil profiles at auger points east–west

Fig. 6.17 Results of soil profiles from auger points at HER 16841, West Acre: a) north–south; b) east–west.

area; asking their fellow detectorists and detector-club members; or even trying to get archaeologists to say where the best places might be.

It is also the case that many detectorists have strong ideas about where sites can be found in the landscape without reference to known places. So, for example, the author has frequently been told that if she wants to find early Anglo-Saxon artefacts she needs to look where there is light soil on the side of a river valley. This observation, born out of field experience, concords most intriguingly with the conclusions of archaeological research. Reading the landscape is also the subject of literature written by detectorists for other enthusiasts. An excellent example is that of *Reading Land* (and other similar books) by Edward Fletcher which states 'the majority of finds are made at places where people gathered in the past', locations he refers to as 'nodal points of communication' (2002: 6–7). Fletcher covers about fifty ways to locate such points, including reference to rivers, contours,

routeways, cropmarks, boundary lines, and place names.

What this means is that detectorists do not go about their hobby indiscriminately or evenly, and they repeatedly detect those areas they know will prove productive while declining to revisit those that have produced very little at the first sweep. This would serve to exaggerate the appearance of rich sites (which may simply be due to recent disturbance in easily detected soils rather than some real reflection of its character), while some sites may be missed altogether (perhaps for the opposite reasons). The effect is similar to soil sorting, which causes common artefacts to become more common on the surface of the ploughsoil and rare artefacts to fall into a presence-absence pattern. In other words, we know that some sites are definitely there, but other sites away from favoured places are poorly represented. If the focus lies with Roman or prehistoric sites this will inflate the figures for the number and/or apparent richness of early Anglo-Saxon sites in association with these remains, thereby having an effect on results.

A final factor worth considering is the influence of metal detecting clubs (Crowther 1983a). There are five of these in Norfolk, some of which have changed their names slightly over the years (HER abbreviations are included in brackets): Norwich Detectors (NMD), Kings Lynn and District Metal Detecting Club (KLMD), Anglia Historical Searchers (AHS), Anglian Detector Recovery Club (AMD) and East Norfolk Metal Detectors (ENMD). Each have a membership largely drawn from people who live nearby and are likely to detect nearby. Fig. 6.18 shows the areas known to have been detected by members from the five clubs indicating that the each club location has a broad, but discernible, 'sphere of influence'. The map shows a few gaps in detecting due entirely, it appears, to the limited area over which clubs have domain. As an aside, rallies may be organised by particular clubs or holiday companies and the sites chosen for these are often revisited every year as a matter of convenience.

Quantitative vs qualitative methods

The many factors that affect site patterning need to be addressed. In the years since the beginning of surface artefact survey considerable progress has been made in the elaboration of methods, and analysis now incorporates significant statistical and mathematical elements. It is still a novelty for those dealing with

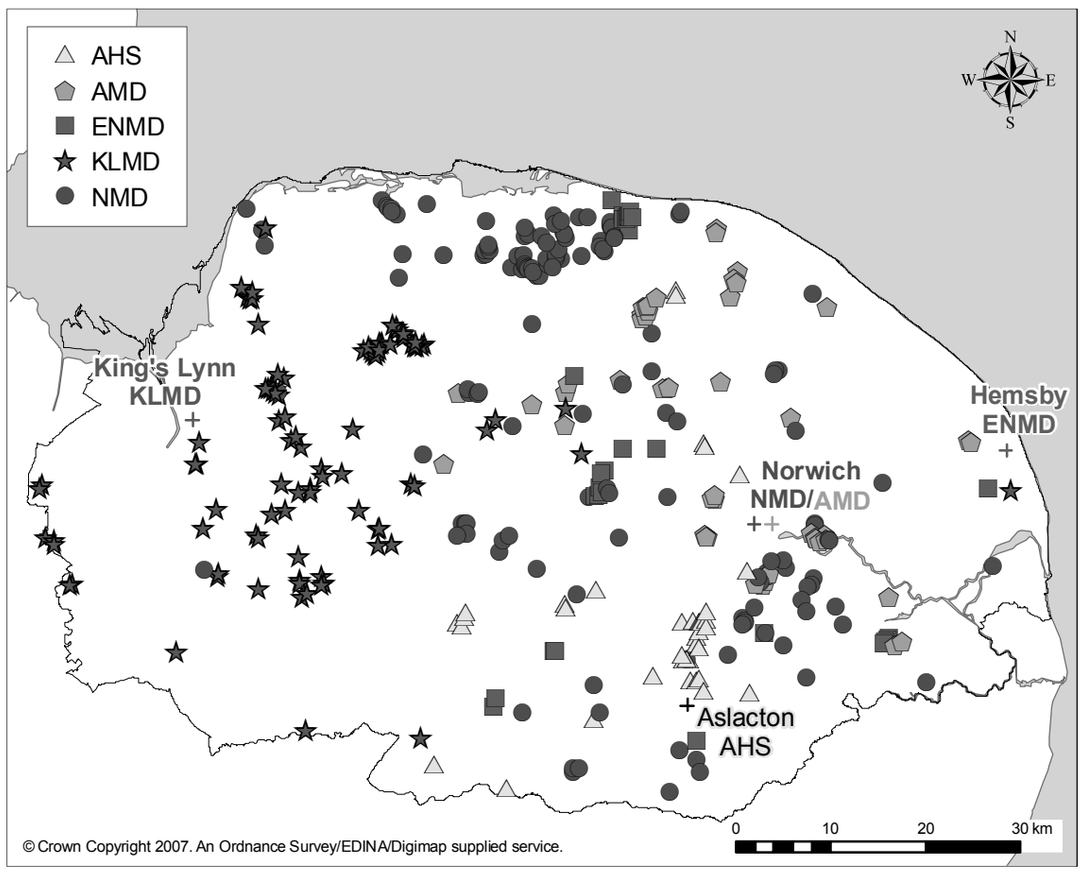


Fig. 6.18 Distribution of a sample of finds found by members of the five metal detecting clubs in Norfolk: Anglia Historical Searchers (AHS), Anglian Detector Recovery Club (AMD), East Norfolk Metal Detectors (ENMD), Kings Lynn and District Metal Detecting Club (KLMD), and Norwich Detectors (NMD). The place where each club currently meets is shown with a cross.

third-party detector data to include maps of visibility information with an overlay of surface collection points (see Naylor and Richards 2005), but such subjective procedures have been characterised by Allen as 'not sufficient' (1991: 39). At the very least it should be possible to statistically compare empirical values which what might be expected from particular areas (Hesse 1971) but various studies have gone further in their attempts to 'correct' artefact counts or density maps on the basis of visibility bias (Bintliff and Gaffney 1988; Bintliff and Snodgrass 1988; Gaffney, Bintliff and Slapsak 1991; Terrenato 2000). Others have attempted to estimate the adequacy of site survey strategies, since wide transects will not necessarily detect small sites (Ford 1987; Richards 1990; Sundstrom 1993). Steinberg (1996) uses excavation and screening of the ploughzone to provide a more accurate representation of the original deposits than comparing surface collection with excavated finds. The signatures derived from this form of calibration are quantitative: 'a series of numbers, percentages and distributions' from representative samples of ploughsoil, expressed in terms of litres (Steinberg 1996: 375). Parker Pearson (1981) and Gaffney and Tingle (1989) have tried similar quantification by comparing surface finds with those from topsoil sieving.

These quantitative methods rely on the researcher having a lot of 'metadata' (literally 'beyond data'; information about data) to hand and, as has already been firmly established, this is not the case for publicly recorded metal-detector data. Many quantitative methods that appear to be superficially relevant, and excitingly so, on further examination fall quite flat in the face of huge uncertainties. In order to correct artefact counts or density maps the fieldwalker must record visibility data for every transect they walk. Quite apart from the fact that metal-detectorists do nothing of the sort, and that factors affecting collection by detector are different from collection by eye, the correction aspect of the method is based on quantitative analysis of the ways in which visibility factors affect recovery, and such studies have not yet been attempted for the case of metal detecting. Similar objections can be raised with respect to estimating the adequacy of coverage: although metal detectorists can provide information about the way in which they tend to detect fields this is no way equivalent to known transects. In order to form quantitative site signatures a known quantity, or area of soil must be examined, but there are no controlled studies of this kind for metal detecting, and there are no comparable figures on the coverage of metal detecting so finds reported by members of the public could not be calibrated like this.

To return to the model of sampling, none of the metal detector finds used in this study have been found in a way that ideally samples a field, and the way in which all fields have been sampled is largely unknown and extremely variable. A common way to 'stake out' a field is to detect along the field boundaries and then cross the field from corner to corner. Only if the field produces something will the detectorist then begin to traverse it more methodically and, even then, some very large fields would require tens of hours to detect at even the most generously spaced transects. The way in which the landscape as a whole has been sampled is similarly complex and difficult to ascertain. This means it is simply impossible to apply statistical tests to metal-detector data to discover what kind of sample they represent and to what extent this sample is adequate for inferring the population.

In short, it is not possible to apply quantitative methods for systematic, controlled, professional fieldwalking surveys to unsystematic, uncontrolled, publicly conducted, metal-detector collections. At the current time qualitative methods must be seen as the groundwork for the future. Qualitative methods are used by those recently working with third party metal-detector finds (e.g. Naylor and Richards 2005a; 2005b; 2006; Newman 1995; Ulriksen 2006), and survey work using metal detectors (e.g. Foard 2004; Gregory 1991; Pestell 2005; Sørensen 2006), although some archaeologists in Denmark have compared metallic artefacts from wet-sieved topsoil with those from metal detecting (Watt 2006: 145). The most valuable approach for the data at hand must be to fall back on finding out where people have and have not detected. This would deal with the problem of negative evidence, which is the most pressing concern the archaeological community professes to hold about metal-detector finds.

Interviews with metal detectorists

The problems concerning variation in collection, conditions on the ground and negative evidence are addressed in this study by interviewing metal detectorists. A selection of eighteen of the most experienced and widely ranging detectorists were chosen so that together they had covered land in all geographical zones of the county. They were asked to mark on a map all the areas they could recall detecting, regardless of what they found, or indeed whether they had found anything at all. The resulting areas were digitised into a GIS. Added to these was information from the HER about all the areas recorded as having produced metal-detector finds (Fig. 6.19).

The results suggest several things. First, they demonstrate that a total of 9.8 per cent (53,945ha) of the land area of Norfolk is known to have been covered, of which 23,844ha were covered by the eighteen interviewees alone. This is not majority coverage by any means, but it is substantial, and comparable with the figure for fieldwalking surveys (Chapter 5). This is a more precise and accurate way of assessing coverage than using the HER records to calculate the frequency of detection by parish (Gurney 1997). Since only a selection of detectorists were interviewed, by extrapolating their average coverage per findspot to all the early Anglo-Saxon detector findspots

in Norfolk, a potential maximum coverage figure can be estimated at 24.6 per cent of the land area, although it is unlikely that this has been reached. In addition, some detecting has occurred on every soil association in the county and, as a further point of interest, an analysis of metal detecting and land use demonstrates a surprising amount of detecting in urban areas. A glance at the map (Fig. 6.19 and Plate I), however, shows that much of this is the result of detection in the fields immediately outside modern towns and villages (the low resolution of the land use mapping is at fault). Secondly, and perhaps more importantly, the interview results can be displayed on maps of finds when discussing local areas so that negative evidence can be assessed in the light of whether gaps have been detected or not.

Conclusion

The critical assumption for ploughsoil assemblages is that scatters can be interpreted as products of past human behaviour despite the fact that they have been subject to a particularly severe kind of post-depositional disturbance (Taylor 2000: 16). Is this interpretation possible for metal-detector finds? All the issues need further work but there are many reasons to be optimistic. A dense scatter of early Anglo-Saxon metal-detector finds, comprising a particular range of types, has been shown with certainty to come from mortuary deposits, so it is possible that metal-detector finds can be interpreted satisfactorily. The assemblage of metal detected artefacts is very large and the overall quality and range of finds is sufficient to represent many kinds of sites, despite the effects of soil sorting, preferential pick-up, and so on. Individual findspots often have few finds which makes site characterisation difficult but standardised interpretative criteria have been proposed, and they may be revised easily in the light of future work.

The poor spatial precision with which most of the finds have been recorded means that local relationships, such as multiple mortuary areas, can only be investigated in a few superior instances, but the accuracy of recording to specific fields means that wider patterns can be investigated with some confidence. There are numerous constraints on recovery, some related to geography and some to the practices of detectorists, but the majority of Norfolk is covered by ploughed fields where finds are most likely to be sought after and found. Repeated visits by hundreds of detectorists over a thirty-year period have occurred over an increasingly wide area. The issues of constraints on recovery and of negative evidence have been addressed by drawing on information from the HER and by interviewing selected metal detectorists about where they have detected.

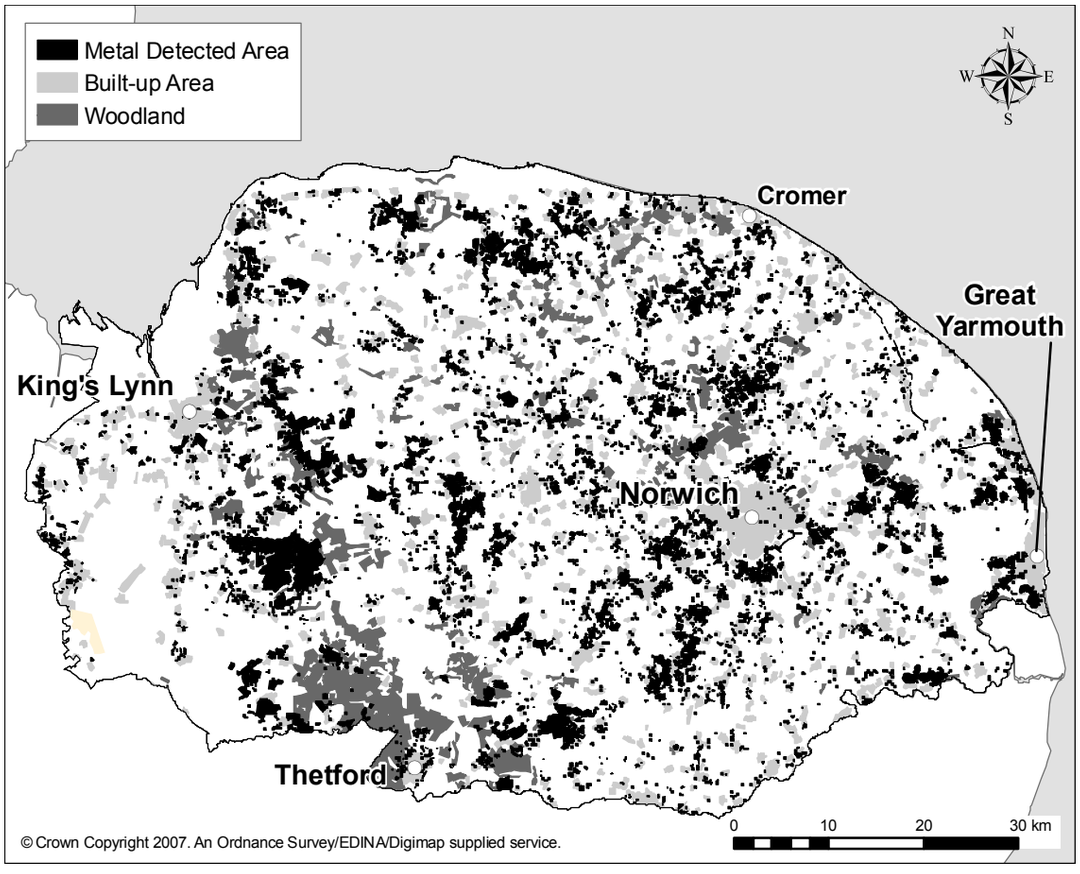


Fig. 6.19 All areas in Norfolk known to have been metal detected including information from interviews with eighteen metal detectorists and HER records. Built-up and forested areas are also included. See also Plate I.

Chapter 7
An Analysis of Early Anglo-Saxon Norfolk

Introduction

This chapter creates a county-wide picture of early Anglo-Saxon activity in the Norfolk landscape. It determines where mortuary and non-mortuary sites are found in relation to rivers, topography, soils, and prehistoric and Roman features, and to each other. The aim is to integrate cemetery and settlement studies by considering the evidence for both side by side. Typical and atypical practices are identified, and variation in practice is demonstrated by the ranges of results, which are seen to overlap. The landscape is treated as a continuous surface, both in the use of extensive surface finds—most notably a significant number of metal-detector finds interpreted using the novel method developed in Chapter 6—and also in the division of the whole land surface into continuous intervals for analysis. The Chi-squared and Kolmogorov-Smirnov statistical tests are used to provide significance and confidence in the results. The conclusions are taken up in the next chapter to be discussed as a series of local variations and community practices.

Early Anglo-Saxon Sites in Norfolk

A detailed and comprehensive database was constructed of all early Anglo-Saxon sites and finds recorded in Norfolk up until the beginning of the year 2004. Alongside the excavated sites and sites suggested from aerial photographs, a very large number of surface finds have been interpreted. This includes 3,399 metal detected artefacts, which have been interpreted as either cemetery or non-specific activity sites (Table 6.1). Probable (5–9 detector finds), strong (10–24 finds) and very strong (>24 finds) candidates for mortuary deposits have been included as inhumation cemeteries, or as cremation cemeteries if any of the objects showed indications of heating. A similar procedure was followed for fieldwalking finds. Those sites which are possible (3–10 potsherds) or strong (>10 potsherds) candidates for settlement deposits, or with fewer potsherds but also including loomweights or spindle whorls, have been classed as settlement. A more complex procedure was followed for stray finds, taking into account the diverse biographies of discovery.

A sum total of 1,416 recorded early Anglo-Saxon sites are presented here. They represent an unusually comprehensive assemblage, presenting an unparalleled level of detail and coverage over a large area. Table 7.1 shows the number and type of mortuary (N=204) and settlement (N=119) sites suggested by all the available evidence.

There are also a further 923 sites which have evidence of early Anglo-Saxon activity in the form of finds recovered by metal detector, fieldwalking or any other method that cannot be interpreted with any confidence. Although these may also represent occupational or mortuary deposits they are simply described as areas of 'activity'. Some may represent other kinds of sites (such as votive deposits, funeral pyres, workshops) or 'off-site' or 'non-site' activities (such as dumping, accidental losses). This demonstrates the extent of early Anglo-Saxon landscape use and de-emphasises the isolation of cemetery and settlement sites. The class 'non-mortuary' sites (N=370) includes excavated settlement and activity material, and stray, fieldwalking and aerial photography finds that are not apparently mortuary in nature. It is not simply the settlement and activity sites added together, because the activity class includes metal-detector finds which might be derived from mortuary acts.

Mortuary sites have also been split according to predominant rite, inhumation (N=119) or cremation (N=85). In contrast with many publications, the term 'mixed' has not been used since its definition is not precise nor equally applicable to sites recovered by different methods. Neither is a distinction made between smaller and larger numbers of deposits, since there is no way to distinguish between 'isolated burials' and 'cemeteries' when whole deposits have not been recovered, as is the case for almost every site.

Class		Of which	
Mortuary	204	Inhumation	119
		Cremation	85
Non-mortuary	370		
Settlement	119		
Activity	923		

Table 7.1 Number of early Anglo-Saxon sites in Norfolk of the different classes used in this study. NB: The figures do not simply add up to the total number of sites.

To satisfy the need to compare change over time sites with metal-detector finds closely dated to the fifth or early sixth centuries (N=401) are compared to those with finds strictly dated to the late sixth or seventh centuries (N=87). These finds were dated using published typological chronologies by the FIRS archaeologists who recorded them on the HER. Not all possible seventh-century finds could be included because many had been classed by the HER as middle Anglo-Saxon (and were not included in the search parameters), and so in practice most of the seventh-century finds included here were dated to the early seventh century. This provides a relatively large and extensive sample of general activity between the two phases in comparison to those few excavated cemetery sites which have been satisfactorily dated.

Fig. 7.1 shows a plot of all the early Anglo-Saxon material on a map of Norfolk. The way the list of sites has been compiled is complex and some categories overlap while some poorly provenanced sites have been excluded. As a result they do not add up to the total number of sites in a simple way. The detailed schema of the interpretation of material and a gazetteer of sites may be found in Appendices 2 and 3.

Following Hoggett's categories of site discovery (2007: 183)—and including his allocations where sites in the two different collections of cemeteries overlap (this is the case for 106 sites)—61.80 per cent of cemeteries (N=126) known in Norfolk may now be recognised with some confidence from metal-detector finds. There is little doubt that many more still remain to be discovered. In descending order, a further 11.80 per cent were recovered by agricultural practices (N=24), 10.80 per cent through building work (N=22), and 7.35 per cent by mineral extraction (N=15). Barrow-digging, other excavations, modern burials and unknown methods each had 4 sites (1.96 per cent of the total). Inevitably, these facts will affect the apparent distributions of sites.

Statistical Testing

Rationale

The benefit of testing archaeological data statistically is to give some measure of confidence to any patterns which may be seen by eye. In particular, statistics may be used to determine how likely it is that the data are drawn from an expected population by chance, rather than representing a genuine difference. Much archaeological data are too poor in quality, too small in number, or distributed too atypically to be suitable for any of the statistical tests relied on by the experimental sciences, but the volume and quality of data gathered in this study and the application of computing techniques allow the simple Chi-squared test to be used here, and another test with greater power and more applicability, the Kolmogorov-Smirnoff.

Simple statistics do not, however, suggest the nature or meaning of any pattern. Interpretation is still in the hands of the archaeologist. The purpose here is to use the statistics to give a measure of significance to the county-wide findings, which characterise the nature of early Anglo-Saxon landscape use in Norfolk. The result can then be compared with confidence to similar studies in other regions and to observations made of more detailed areas in order to indicate which arrangements are typical and which atypical. This is done in the next chapter to show how sites and their environs form local practices that build into the county-wide pattern.

Data

The data used for the statistical testing comprise the site locations to be tested, as detailed above, and the expected values generated from the underlying land surface using ArcGIS. The expected values are the percentage of the total land area in each category or interval, and represent the outcome if sites were chosen with no consideration for elevation, soil or any other resource. For soils and other discontinuous data, the expected value is the percentage of land that falls into each category. For distances to the nearest resource (also known as 'buffers'), such as rivers or barrows, the continuous data have been divided into 100m intervals, and the expected value is the percentage of land that falls into each interval. The percentage of sites which fall within each category or interval may then be compared with these expected values.

Since the data in a GIS is necessarily only a representation of the real world, there is an element of imperfection in the model, and in the methods and software used to generate the result. A certain level of error must be accepted, but not one which inevitably affects the results unacceptably. For example, the soil data is at a resolution of 1:250,000 which renders conclusions drawn from the analysis general, but nonetheless valuable for general arguments. Other data, such as that for elevation, is available at a higher resolution, which is important in a relatively flat county such as Norfolk where potentially small differences are the object of study.

Likewise, the choice of resolution for generating data in the GIS is a compromise between precision, and the power of the available computer to compute the necessary calculations. The raster cell size used in this study is 25m (land parcels of 25 x 25m), a size which is certainly acceptable with respect to the size of sites and the study area (Warren and Asch 2000: 14; Kvamme 1990: 372) with the exception of the elevation data where a more precise 10m cell size is used, and the slope and aspect data where a 50m cell size is used to provide a smoother result. A generous literature is available on these and other related topics (Burrough and McDonnell 1998; Wheatley and Gillings 2002). This is not the place to recapitulate the issues, but they have been taken into account as far as possible in the analysis.

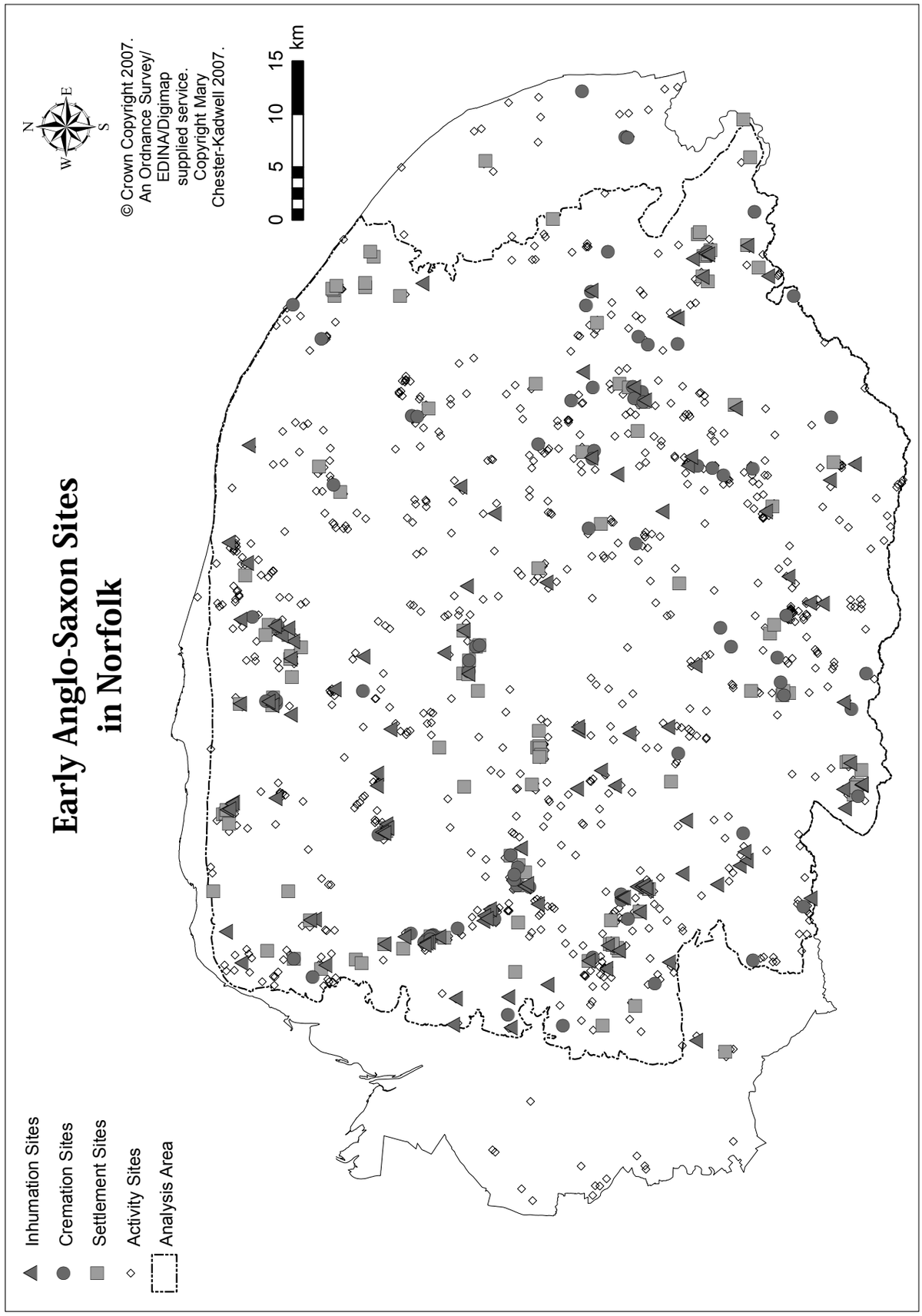


Fig. 7.1 Map of Norfolk showing early Anglo-Saxon findspots recorded in Norfolk AD 1543–2003 inclusive.

Tests

Chi-squared

The Chi-squared (herefter χ^2) test is a basic test that is used when the variables are discontinuous or categorical, measured at the nominal or ordinal scales (for the distinction between nominal, ordinal and ratio measurement see Shennan 1997). The relationship of sites to aspect, soil types, drainage, fertility and habitats are tested in this way. It is supposed that there is no preference for locating sites on particular soils, etc. and this is defined as the null hypothesis. The χ^2 test gives the likelihood that the observed values have been sampled from the expected distribution, and so the smaller the probability (P) the more likely that the null hypothesis is rejected. The threshold value used here is P=0.1, in other words a one-in-ten chance. A probability at or below this value means the difference is significant, and the null hypothesis is rejected, with a value of 0.05 or below indicating a good significance, and of 0.01 or below indicating high significance. Most results presented here are highly significant. Small numbers of sites (N), and numerous categories, are the frequent cause of high values of P, questioning confidence in results which might otherwise be readily accepted. The graphs presented in this chapter are summaries, and the raw analysis may be seen in appendix 6 of Chester-Kadwell 2008.

Kolmogorov-Smirnoff

The Kolmogorov-Smirnoff (hereafter K-S) test produces an exact statistic (D), meaning it is less sensitive to low site numbers. It is used when comparing the distributions of two sets of continuous variables measured at the ratio scale. The relationship of sites to elevation, slope, or distance from a resource, such as the nearest river or barrow, is tested with the K-S test. The percentages of observed and expected values are added cumulatively, and the K-S test assesses the significance of the difference between the cumulative distribution curves. Critical values where $N \leq 100$ have been taken from Miller (1956: 113), and where $N > 100$, values have been calculated using a widely used approximation (see also Stephens 1970). Where D is at or above the critical value that corresponds to a probability (termed α, in this case) of 0.1 the departure between the curves is weakly significant, of 0.05, more strongly significant, and of 0.01, highly significant. In these cases, the null hypothesis is rejected. See appendix 6 of Chester-Kadwell 2008 for the cumulative distribution curves.

Area of analysis

The area of Norfolk which is subject to statistical analysis is not equal to the whole of the county. The uncertain nature of watercourses in the Fens and the Broads during the early Anglo-Saxon period, and other problems concerning the line of the coasts means that these areas are best excluded from the statistics. This approach has the benefit of avoiding multiple outliers which may confound the quality of the results, and also provides statistics which are better comparable to studies undertaken in other places in the country. The area of analysis is therefore formed of inland, 'dry' areas with watercourses and soils likely to have been substantially similar to those observable today. Some excluded areas are considered separately in the following chapter, as considerable points of interest in themselves, and in comparison to the main area of analysis. As a result, the number of sites included is fewer than the totals stated above.

Recovery and Patterning

Methods of recovery differ in their relation to modern land use and to geographical and historical factors. The particular discrimination inherent in metal detected material is of particular interest. These patterns may result in cemeteries and other sites being found more often in particular places than is strictly representative. Far from being a confounding factor, this provides a way to scrutinise the validity of knowledge since different methods of recovery may cover complementary parts of the landscape. As a check on results, sites have been split into categories according to their recovery—excavation, strayfind, fieldwalking, metal detecting, aerial photography—and these are analysed and discussed together. Also included for comparison are all sites where metal detected material of any period has been recovered, in order to gauge how heavily the distribution of early Anglo-Saxon metal-detector finds is influenced by the method of recovery.

Geographical Elements of Landscape

Introduction

Cemeteries and settlement have traditionally been recognised as valleyside phenomena, with a particular association to the light, well-drained, but poor soils in the vicinity of rivers. However, in some cases cemeteries have not followed this pattern. In East Yorkshire, for example, mortuary sites of the cremation rite are found at higher elevations far away from water and settlement (Lucy 1998). Later sixth and seventh-century cemeteries in many areas have been noted for lying more frequently in higher places overlooking settlement, routeways and territory (Lucy 1998; Richardson 2005; Williams 1999). These findings have been discussed in terms of subsistence and economy, for settlements, and in terms of political gesture and ritual viewsheds, for cemeteries. Here, an analysis is used to characterise the range of siting practices particular to the geography of Norfolk and test the assumptions inherent in previous work. Explanations are offered which take into account how the geographical elements of landscape are interdependent, and how choices made about both mortuary and non-mortuary sites are similarly interrelated.

Rivers (Watercourses)

Data and analysis

The watercourses used in the analysis are based on the drainage pattern of today. The term 'river' in the current context is used to mean any watercourse, and the collection of rivers includes those of all sizes, from estuaries to streams, and each is given equal weight. Although modern interventions have been removed and some watercourses have been reverted to their more likely form in the early Anglo-Saxon period, the rivers presented are not intended to be a definitive reconstruction. The pattern of rivers used should be considered as indicative, therefore, but nonetheless of significant value. Over half of the analysis area lies within 600m of a river, indicating that river valleys form a significant land form in the county.

Mortuary and non-mortuary sites

Fig. 7.2 shows the distributions of inhumation, cremation, settlement and activity sites in relation to the nearest river, and Figs 7.3–8 show the corresponding K-S test results, and those of other categories of site; this form of presentation is used throughout the chapter. In general, the majority of mortuary and non-mortuary sites are markedly closer to water than if they followed the underlying land distribution, with very similar peaks between 101m and 400m (Fig. 7.3). This confirms the general observation that early Anglo-Saxon sites are valleyside phenomena. However, both classes of site do have members which are significantly further from water than this, although fewer than expected. This is reason to believe that nearby fresh water was not always a prerequisite for the location of sites or the performance of activities, an observation which is important to bear in mind.

Fig 7.4 shows sites categorised more precisely. Settlement has a distinctive bunched peak at 101–300m, and fewer sites than expected within 100m of water, indicating a very specific preference for locations close to water, but perhaps out of range of potential flooding. The ranges of both inhumation and cremation sites overlap with that of settlement (and each other), but they are also more likely to be found in the 301–400m range, and this is particularly true for cremation cemeteries. Mortuary sites are therefore found at a similar distance from water as settlement, but are often slightly further away, particularly in the case of cremations. Activity sites show a similar curve to that of both settlement and mortuary sites. This may suggest that some represent unrecognised settlement or mortuary sites, while others represent activities in the vicinity of such sites. Changes over time in the relationship of sites to rivers may be evident in Fig. 7.5. Although the spread of findspots in proximity to water is concentrated in the 0–600m range for both chronological spans, there appear to be more sites within the 0–200m range in the late sixth to seventh centuries, than before. This observation does not apparently accord with chronological trends identified in other areas of the country, and its meaning is suggested later.

Recovery and interpretation

A large number of sites used in this study are the result of finds made by fieldwalking and metal detection. Fig. 7.6 shows sites found in these ways categorised according to how they have been interpreted, in order to assess the method. Although the graph is complex, what it shows is that strong candidates for settlement sites have a narrow distribution, clustered in the same range as the overall distribution of settlement sites shown in Fig. 7.4. This range is also similar to that of the few excavated settlement sites (see appendix 6 of Chester-Kadwell 2008), providing confidence in the interpretation. It is noticeable that possible candidate sites have a distribution closer to that of strong candidates than to that of weak ones, suggesting that that many possible candidates may represent settlement, while weak candidates may represent other kinds of activity slightly further away. Similarly, the weak and possible candidates for mortuary deposits are more closely distributed to the underlying land area, while the possible, strong and very strong candidate sites are clustered in the 0–400m range, typical of the overall pattern of mortuary sites. These findings give confidence to the interpretations.

Fig. 7.7 includes all early Anglo-Saxon sites according to their method of recovery in order to assess any possible effect. All methods have produced sites closer to water than expected from the underlying land area, and to a relatively similar degree. Although there are subtle differences between the distributions, these are not considered to have caused erroneous results in this case. A small sample number is mostly responsible for the rough distribution of sites found by aerial photography (N=14), a problem which affects all the results. The influence of metal detection is of particular interest, and Fig. 7.8 compares metal detected sites with finds from any period with those producing early Anglo-Saxon finds. Metal detecting has a broad distribution, but with more sites than expected up to 500m away from water. This may reflect detectorists' search preferences, but equally likely is a long-term preference for valleysides throughout the ages. In comparison, early Anglo-Saxon artefacts are found most often in the 101–300m range, in accordance with similar observations made above for all early Anglo-Saxon sites.

Elevation

Data and analysis

The elevation data used in the analysis is a 10m-cell digital terrain model (DTM). This commercially produced product may have fewer of the minor deviations generated by the process of creating the model which have been discussed in the GIS literature (Burrough and McDonnell: 122–8; 244–7; Wheatley and Gillings 2002: 113–8). The DTM has been categorised into 5m intervals. Over 50 per cent of the land area under analysis is below

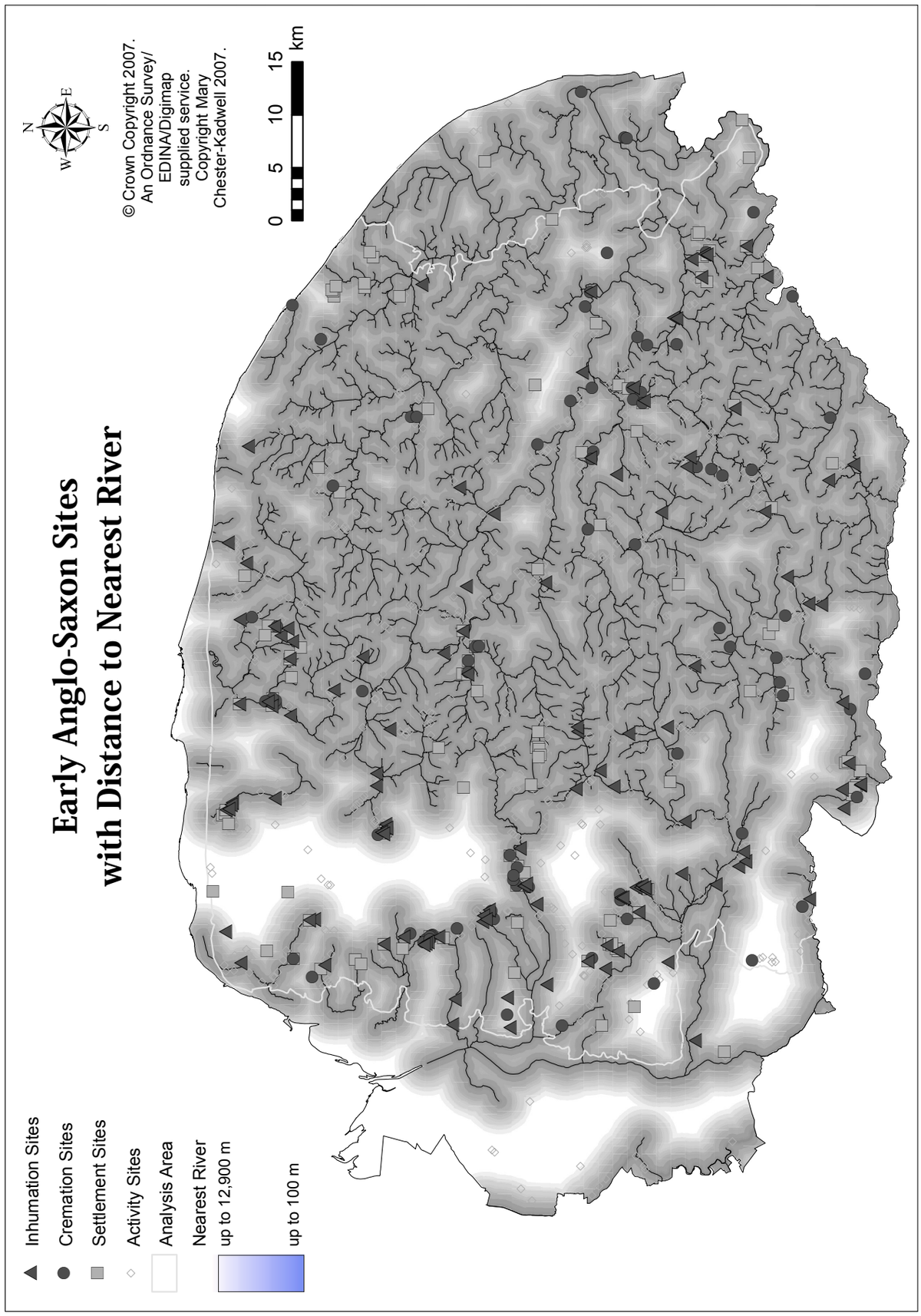


Fig. 7.2 Map of Norfolk showing early Anglo-Saxon sites in relation to the river system.

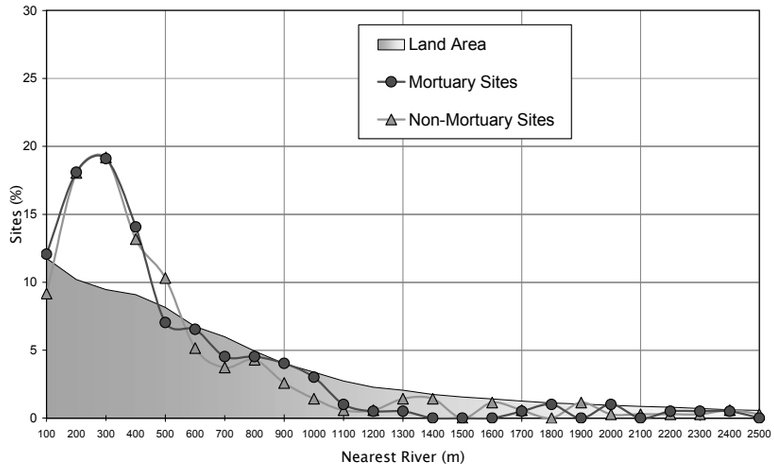


Fig. 7.3 Graph showing the percentage of Mortuary (N=199) and Non-mortuary (N=349) sites at 100m interval distances from the nearest River, in comparison to the underlying land in the Analysis Area. Long tail truncated; maximum distance=6,200m. K-S statistic: α < 0.01 for both categories—a highly significant departure between the cumulative distribution curves.

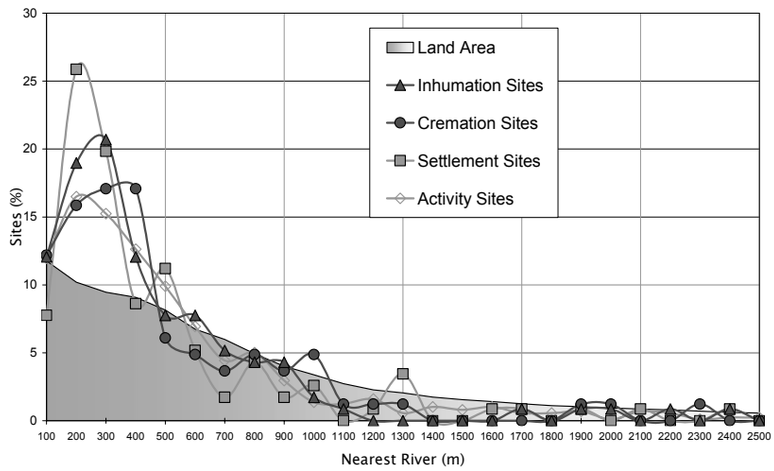


Fig. 7.4 Graph showing the percentage of Inhumation (N=116), Cremation (N=82), Settlement (N=116) and Activity (N=879) sites at 100m interval distances from the nearest River, in comparison to the underlying land in the Analysis Area. Long tail truncated; maximum distance=6,200m. K-S statistic: α < 0.01 for all categories.

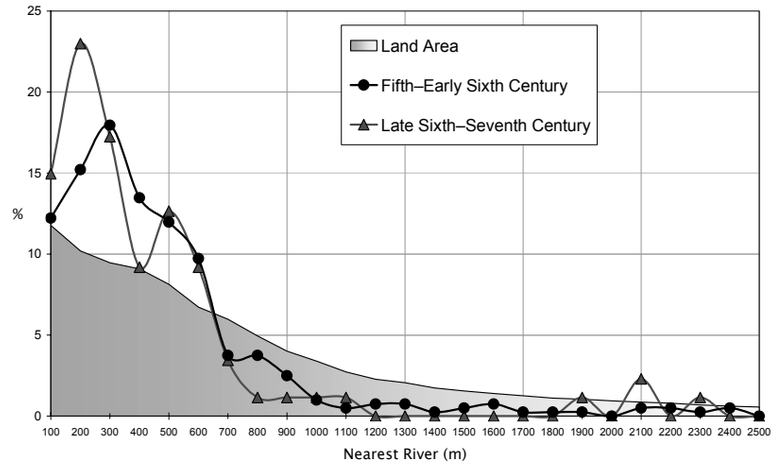


Fig. 7.5 Graph showing the percentage of sites, with metal-detector finds of strictly Fifth–Early Sixth (N=401) and Late Sixth–Seventh (N=87) centuries in date, at 100m interval distances from the nearest River, in comparison to the underlying land in the Analysis Area. Long tail truncated; maximum distance=6,200m. K-S statistic: α < 0.01 for both categories.

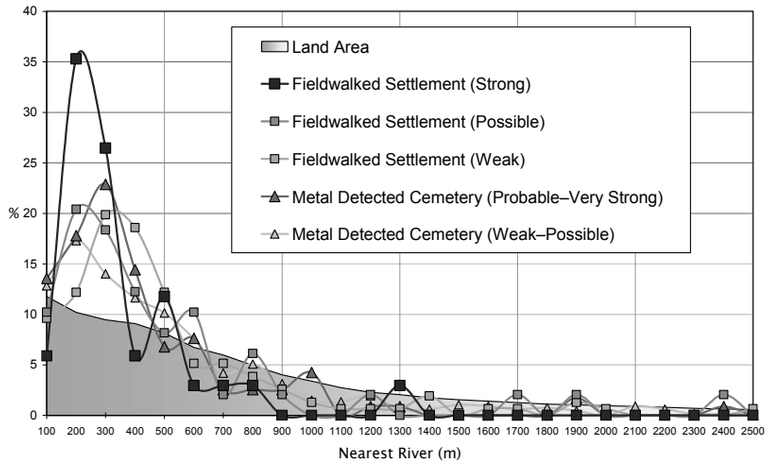


Fig. 7.6 Graph showing the percentage of Fieldwalked Settlement sites—Strong (N=34), Possible (N=49) and Weak (N=156) candidates—and Metal Detected Cemetery sites—Strong (N=118) and Weak (N=671) candidates—at 100m interval distances from the nearest River, in comparison to the underlying land in the Analysis Area. Long tail truncated; maximum distance=6,200m. K-S statistic: α < 0.01 for all categories.

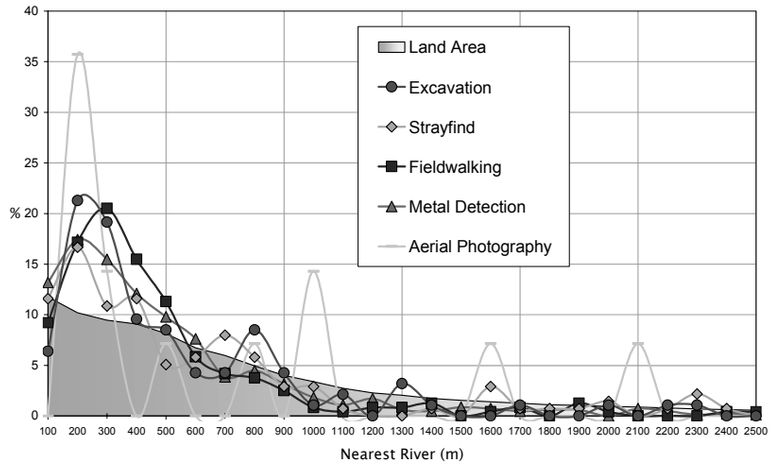


Fig. 7.7 Graph showing the percentage of sites recovered by Excavation (N=94), Strayfind (N=138; α < 0.1), Fieldwalking (N=243), Metal Detection (N=827) and Aerial Photography (N=14; α < 0.1) at 100m interval distances from the nearest River, in comparison to the underlying land in the Analysis Area. Long tail truncated; maximum distance=6,200m. K-S statistic: α < 0.01 for all categories, except where otherwise specified.

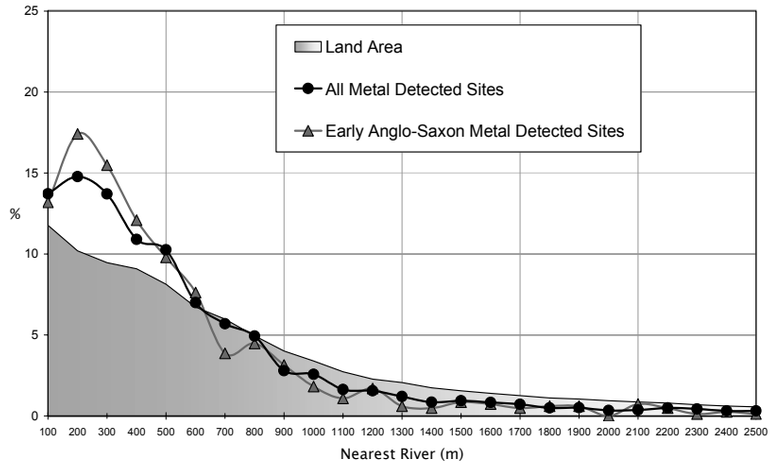


Fig. 7.8 Graph showing the percentage of sites with Metal-Detector finds from Any Period (N=8,319) and Early Anglo-Saxon finds (N=827) at 100m interval distances from the nearest River, in comparison to the underlying land in the Analysis Area. Long tail truncated; maximum distance=6,200m. K-S statistic: α < 0.01 for both categories.

40m in height, emphasising the low-lying nature of Norfolk, but the range 31–55m which is relatively high, has a noticeable peak comprising over 40 per cent of the land area.

Mortuary and non-mortuary sites

Mortuary and non-mortuary sites share a similar distribution with respect to elevation (Figs. 7.9–10). There are significantly more sites in the 6–25m range than would be expected from the underlying land area. This is most marked for mortuary sites in the range 11–25m, and for non-mortuary sites in the 11–15m range, suggesting that although the ranges substantially overlap, mortuary sites are slightly more elevated than non-mortuary sites. This correlates well with the observations concerning distance to water, since rivers flow in valleys where the elevation is relatively low.

When mortuary sites are divided by predominant rite a notable difference is apparent: inhumations are found principally in a narrow range of 11–25m elevation, while cremations have distinctive peaks over a wider range at 11–35m and 41–45m (Fig. 7.11). Both of these lie higher than the settlement peak at 6–10m, suggestive of a deliberate choice. There are, however, sites at all but the loftiest elevations, and the range of activity sites follows the underlying land area distribution more closely than those of mortuary and settlement sites. Some of the higher sites may represent valleyside locations where the land generally rises in the mid-west and north of Norfolk. Others may represent practice which is completely different in nature, such as isolated barrow burials, or remote occupation. Fig. 7.12 demonstrates a difference between earlier and later findspots of metal-detector finds. The twin-peaked distribution of fifth–early sixth-century finds may echo the differences between inhumations and cremations, whereas most late sixth–seventh-century finds fall in the 11–30m range, with a small peak at 56–60m, perhaps representing a minority differing practice, and one which would find parallels elsewhere in the country.

Recovery and interpretation

Probable, strong and very strong candidates for mortuary deposits have a narrow distribution, with peaks in the 11–30m range, comparing closely to the general distribution of mortuary sites (Fig. 7.13). Weak and possible mortuary candidates follow the underlying land area distribution more closely, once again suggesting that many may represent other kinds of activity. The fieldwalking finds have produced some unexpected peaks at elevations of 71–90m, and these may be the result of a cluster of local practice. This is most obvious in comparison to other methods of recovery (Fig. 7.14). Another notable observation is that there are no excavated sites above 55m, as there are with other recovery methods. To rely on excavated sites alone for an elevation pattern would therefore give a misleading impression. Fig. 7.15 compares all metal detected findspots with those producing early Anglo-Saxon finds. While the two distributions are broadly similar, it is clear that there are comparably fewer early Anglo-Saxon finds in the 0–10m range, suggesting a genuine avoidance of these lower elevations.

Slope

Data and analysis

The slope information used in the analysis is derived from the 10m-cell DTM, at a 50m resolution. Most land lies between 0.2˚ and 1.8˚ of slope, which is equivalent to less than 5 per cent slope, or 20:1 ratio, and would be described in most places as 'flat'. This means the analysis area is of markedly gentle terrain, although there are a few significant slopes of up to 32.9˚ (66 per cent; 1.5:1). The degrees of slope have been categorised into intervals of one-half the standard deviation in order to provide more sensitivity to small changes in slope which potentially have more meaning in a flatter landscape.

Mortuary and non-mortuary sites

There are significantly fewer mortuary sites at slopes of 1.3˚ and below than expected, and significantly more at greater slopes (Fig. 7.16–17). Non-mortuary sites more closely follow the underlying distribution, but still present fewer in the range 0–0.7˚, and more between 1.9˚ and 3.5˚. These figures suggest that cemeteries were deliberately sited on greater slopes than non-mortuary sites. In fact, the effect is the result of the difference between mortuary sites of different rites (Fig. 7.18). Cremation noticeably favours greater slopes, while inhumation sites have a distribution which is more closely allied with that of settlement, save a noticeable dip at 1.3˚, the same point as the peak of settlement. One explanation is that inhumation sites are sometimes found below settlement sites on flat slopes making them intervisible, as well as sometimes being on greater slopes, which would also make them more visible from settlement. The difference in slope is slight, however, and may not be significant. The curve of activity sites, once again, follows the underlying land area most closely, suggesting that many of these finds are non-deliberate accidental losses near to recognised sites, and also further away, although sites of all kinds can be found on slopes of almost any degree.

The effects of chronological change on these patterns are quite clear (Fig. 7.19). In accordance with observations so far, slightly steeper slopes are favoured over essentially flat ones, for sites with metal-detector finds strictly dated to the fifth and early sixth centuries (note the small peak at 3.5˚, which may be the result of cremation material), but later finds are found to positively deviate most notably from the underlying land surface distribution between 1.9˚ and 2.9˚. This suggests a further move away from the very flattest areas associated with settlement.

Recovery and interpretation

The difference between the distribution of strong candidates for cemeteries (metal detected) and

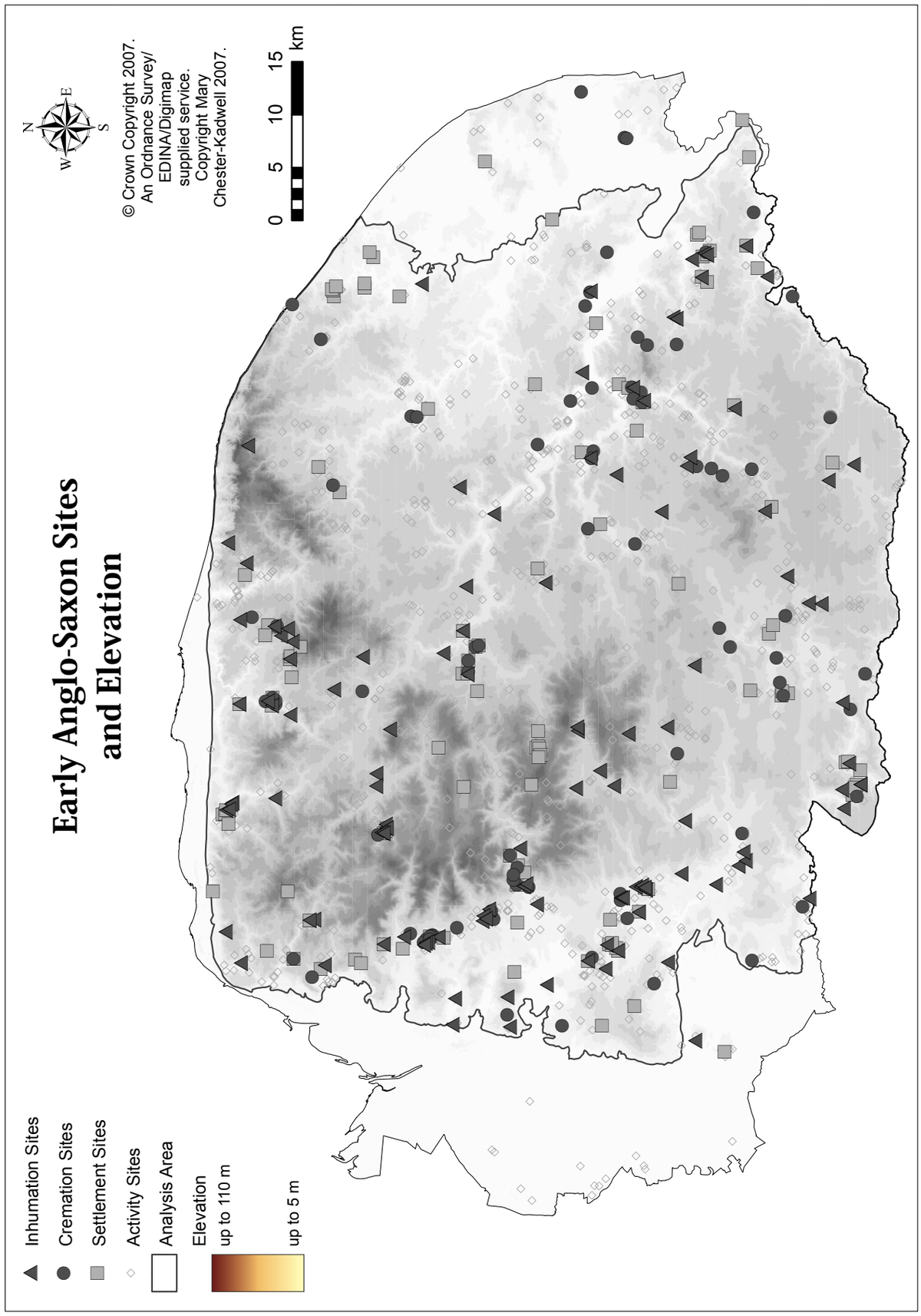


Fig. 7.9 Map of Norfolk showing early Anglo-Saxon sites in relation to elevation.

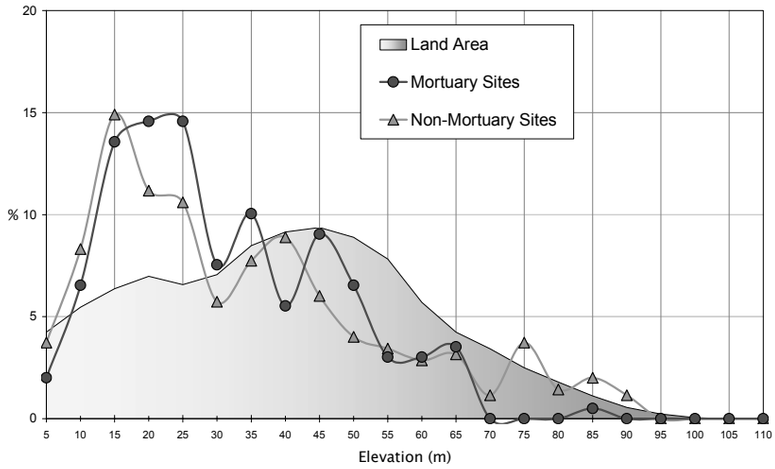


Fig. 7.10 Graph showing the percentage of Mortuary (N=199) and Non-mortuary (N=349) sites at Elevations of 5m intervals, in comparison to the underlying land in the Analysis Area. K-S statistic: α < 0.01 for both categories—there is a highly significant departure between the cumulative distribution curves.

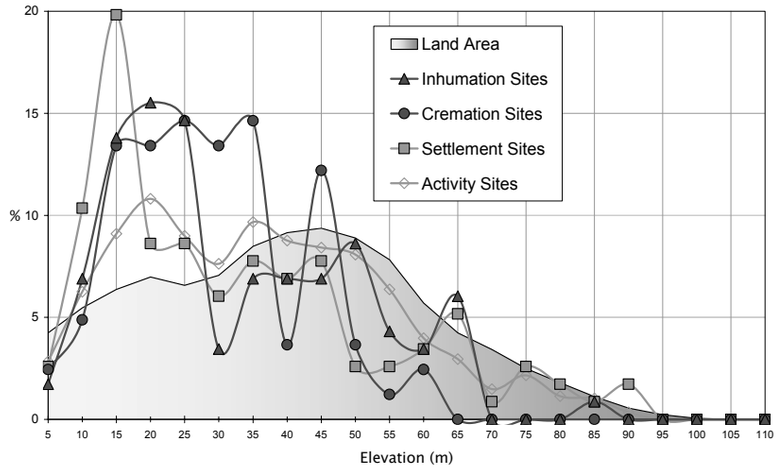


Fig. 7.11 Graph showing the percentage of Inhumation (N=116), Cremation (N=82), Settlement (N=116) and Activity (N=879) sites at Elevations of 5m intervals, in comparison to the underlying land in the Analysis Area. K-S statistic: α < 0.01 for all categories.

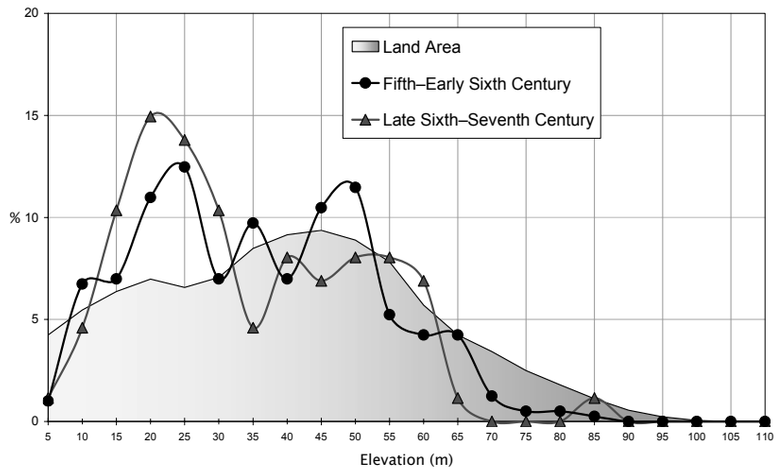


Fig. 7.12 Graph showing the percentage of sites, with Metal-Detector finds of strictly Fifth–Early Sixth (N=401) and Late Sixth–Seventh (N=87) centuries in date, at Elevations of 5m intervals, in comparison to the underlying land in the Analysis Area. K-S statistic: α < 0.01 for both categories.

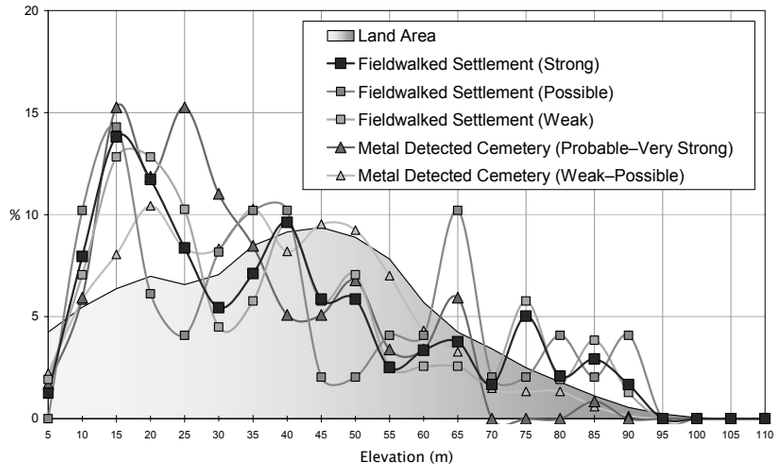


Fig. 7.13 Graph showing the percentage of Fieldwalked Settlement sites—Strong (N=34), Possible (N=49; α < 0.1) and Weak (N=156) candidates—and Metal Detected Cemetery sites—Strong (N=118) and Weak (N=671) candidates—at Elevations of 5m intervals, in comparison to the underlying land in the Analysis Area. K-S statistic: α < 0.01 for all categories, except where otherwise stated.

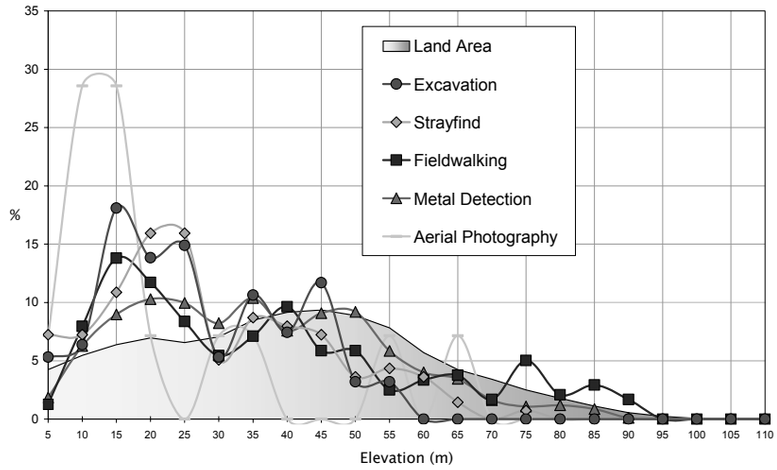


Fig. 7.14 Graph showing the percentage of sites recovered by Excavation (N=94), Strayfind (N=138), Fieldwalking (N=243), Metal Detection (N=827) and Aerial Photography (N=14) at Elevations of 5m intervals, in comparison to the underlying land in the Analysis Area. K-S statistic: α < 0.01 for all categories.

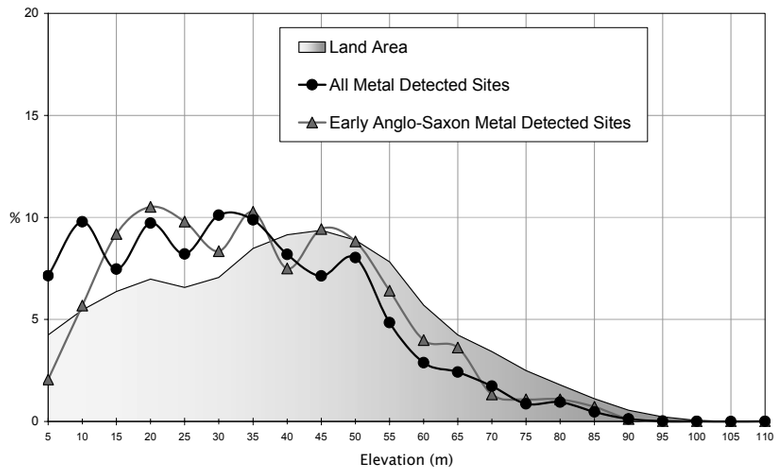


Fig. 7.15 Graph showing the percentage of sites with Metal-Detector finds from Any Period (N=8,319) or Early Anglo-Saxon finds (N=827) at Elevations of 5m intervals, in comparison to the underlying land in the Analysis Area. K-S statistic: α < 0.01 for both categories.

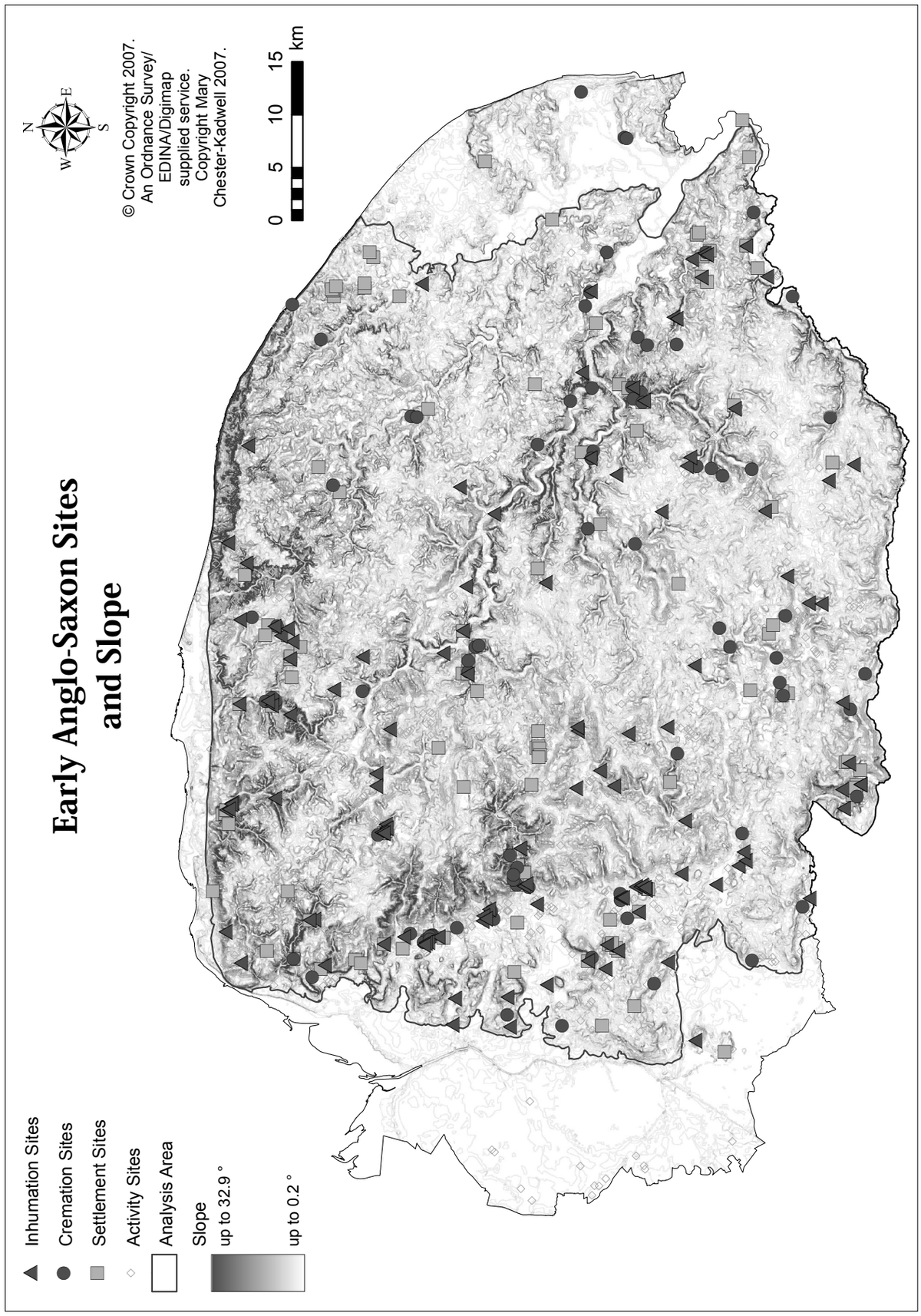


Fig. 7.16 Map of Norfolk showing early Anglo-Saxon sites in relation to slope.

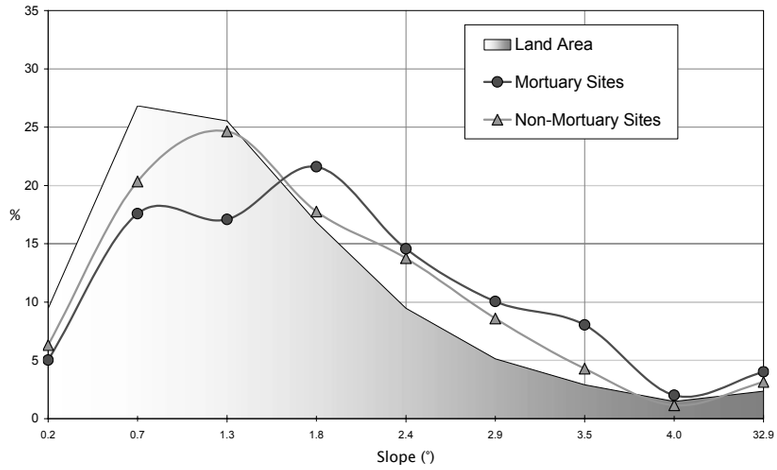


Fig. 7.17 Graph showing the percentage of Mortuary (N=199) and Non-mortuary (N=349) sites at Slopes of ½ s.d. intervals, in comparison to the underlying land in the Analysis Area. K-S statistic: α < 0.01 for both categories—there is a highly significant departure between the cumulative distribution curves.

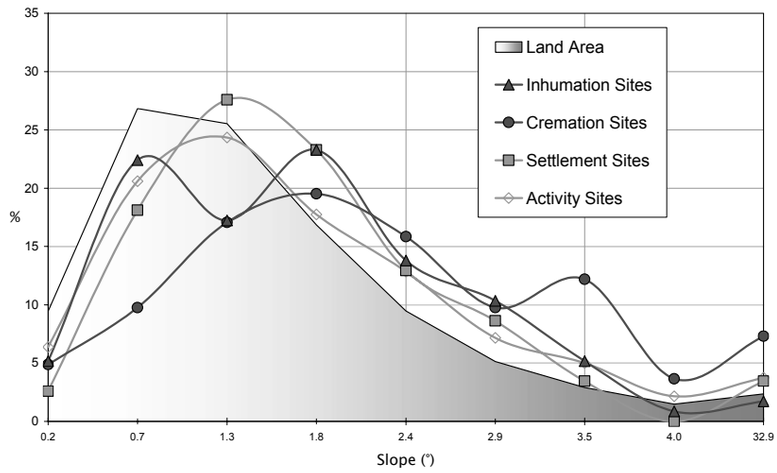


Fig. 7.18 Graph showing the percentage of Inhumation (N=116), Cremation (N=82), Settlement (N=116) and Activity (N=879) sites at Slopes of ½ s.d. intervals, in comparison to the underlying land in the Analysis Area. K-S statistic: α < 0.01 for all categories.

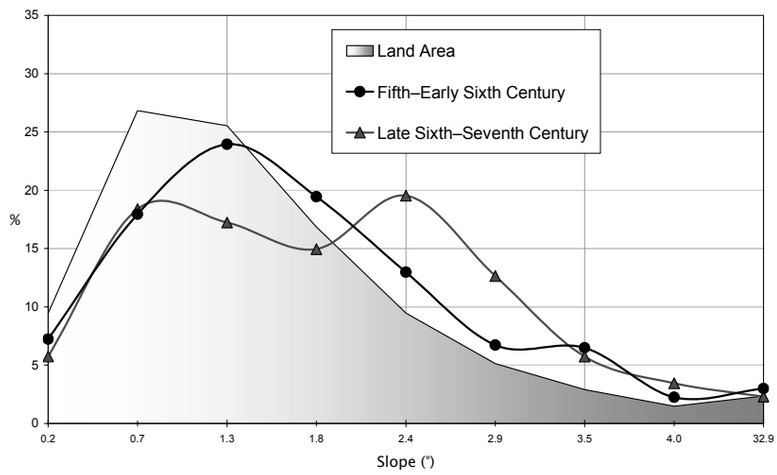


Fig. 7.19 Graph showing the percentage of sites, with Metal-Detector finds of strictly Fifth–Early Sixth (N=401) and Late Sixth–Seventh (N=87) centuries in date, at Slopes of ½ s.d. intervals, in comparison to the underlying land in the Analysis Area. K-S statistic: α < 0.01 for both categories.

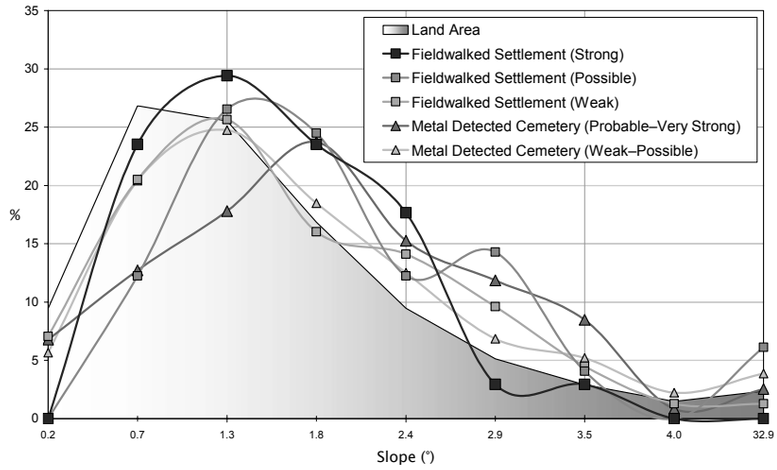


Fig. 7.20 Graph showing the percentage of Fieldwalked Settlement sites—Strong (N=34; α < 0.1), Possible (N=49) and Weak (N=156; α < 0.1) candidates—and Metal Detected Cemetery sites—Strong (N=118) and Weak (N=671) candidates—at Slopes of ½ s.d. intervals, in comparison to the underlying land in the Analysis Area. K-S statistic: α < 0.01 for all categories, except where otherwise stated.

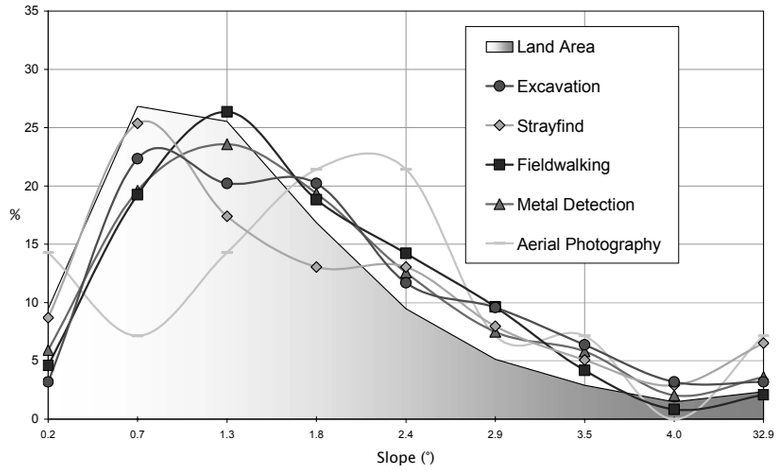


Fig. 7.21 Graph showing the percentage of sites recovered by Excavation (N=94), Strayfind (N=138), Fieldwalking (N=243), Metal Detection (N=827) and Aerial Photography (N=14; α < 0.1) at Slopes of ½ s.d. intervals, in comparison to the underlying land in the Analysis Area. K-S statistic: α < 0.01 for all categories, except where otherwise stated.

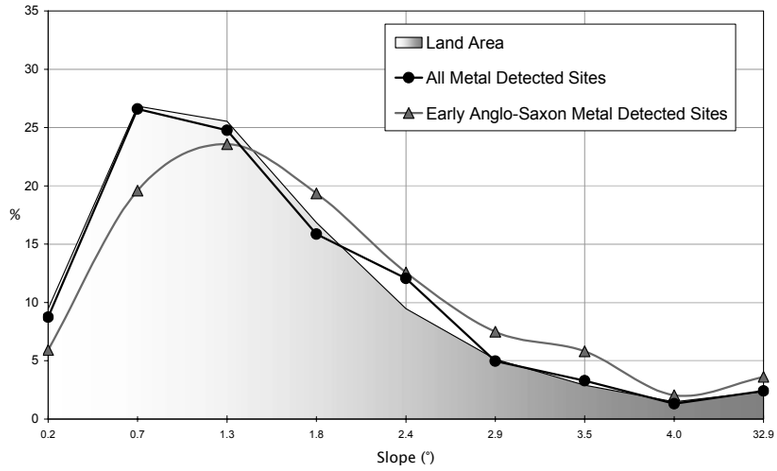


Fig. 7.22 Graph showing the percentage of sites with Metal-Detector finds from Any Period (N=8,319) or Early Anglo-Saxon finds (N=827) at Slopes of ½ s.d. intervals, in comparison to the underlying land in the Analysis Area. K-S statistic: α < 0.01 for both categories.

settlement (fieldwalked) mirrors the general difference between mortuary and non-mortuary sites (Fig. 7.17), in the same way they did for rivers and elevation. However, weak and possible candidates for mortuary deposits tend to lie on shallower slopes than probable–very strong candidates, perhaps hinting that some of the weak candidate sites have low artefact numbers because there is less slope to effect the kind of erosion that reveals finds in open fields. This does not, however, appear to have created an arresting difference between sites recovered by excavation, metal detecting, or indeed any other method (Fig. 7.21). Fig. 7.22 shows metal-detector finds from any period, and demonstrates that their distribution is the most closely matched to the underlying land area than any other seen so far. This suggests that, with respect to slope, metal detecting provides good coverage (although the slight difference is statistically significant). In comparison, it is clear that early Anglo-Saxon metal-detector findspots show a noticeably different distribution akin to those already observed.

Aspect

Data and analysis

The aspect information used in the analysis is derived from the 10m-cell DTM, to a 50m-cell resolution. Eight categories of aspect are used for maximum discrimination without dividing the sites between too many categories and therefore losing analytical power. Nevertheless, in a number of cases apparently meaningful results are not statistically significant when tested using χ^2. The land in the analysis area is not equally distributed between the different points, with more ground facing southerly and easterly directions, reflecting the lie of the drainage system in Norfolk. In each case a certain number of sites will sit on flat ground that effectively has no aspect, and these are necessarily excluded.

Mortuary and non-mortuary sites

Fig. 7.24 is a diagram which shows the distribution of mortuary and non-mortuary sites according to aspect. The expected distribution is indicated by the black line. The two patterns are markedly different (although neither is statistically significant in deviation from the expected distribution, due to the sensitivity of the χ^2 test to site numbers). Mortuary sites are found more often facing the south and south-west than expected and less often facing in the easterly directions. Non-mortuary sites are found more often than expected facing the south-east and less often facing northerly directions. There is therefore a distinctive bias towards the south, in general, although there are sites found facing all directions.

Inhumation sites have a tendency towards facing the south and avoiding the north-east, while cremation sites are found more often facing the south-east and less often the north and east (Fig. 7.25; see also Fig. 7.23). It is of particular interest that the south-west is the same preferred direction noted for cremation cemeteries in East Yorkshire (Lucy 1998: 80). These differences can be seen to result in the combined mortuary bias towards the south and south-west, as noted above. Settlement sites have a bias towards south-east-, west- and north-facing places, and avoid those facing the north and north-east. In contrast, activity sites face the southerly directions slightly more often than expected, and are generally more evenly distributed. The significance of these observations is the lack of a very clear preferred direction, in contrast to the well-defined mortuary sites. There is also little diachronic change between the aspect of earlier and later metal-detector findspots (Fig. 7.26). Both face the south most predominantly, and also the north, but those sites with strictly dated late sixth- and seventh-century finds have a larger positive deviation to the south. This may suggest an increasing concern for the ritual or ideological issues which are associated with this compass direction.

Recovery and interpretation

Fig. 7.27 shows that the relatively low number of strong candidates for settlement deposits has created a presence-absence pattern. This has influenced the pattern of settlement seen in Fig. 7.25 by creating positive deviations to the north and west, in particular. Given the fact that a similar issue holds true for excavated settlements (see appendix 6 of Chester-Kadwell 2008), and the pattern in that case is different, it seems wise to be cautious when drawing conclusions from the settlement pattern, except with respect to the south-eastern bias, which is also shared by weak and possible fieldwalked settlement candidates. In contrast, excavated and strayfind sites share a common bias towards the south-west (Fig. 7.28). This is also in contrast to the probable–very strong metal detected mortuary candidates in Fig. 7.27, which have a positive deviation towards the south. Since the majority of metal detected cemeteries are apparently inhumation in nature, this explains the apparent dichotomy between inhumations and cremations shown in Fig. 7.25. Why these different methods have produced sites which face slightly different aspects remains to be explains, but Fig. 7.29 confirms that the southern bias for early Anglo-Saxon metal-detector finds is not simply a function of where metal-detector finds are found.

Soil group

Data and analysis

The soils information used in the analysis is derived from the Soil Survey of England and Wales at 1:250,000, and is based on soil associations, rather than individual soils or soil series. A more detailed description is available in Chapter 5. For the purposes of analysis, the soil associations have been further categorised into nine groups which reflect the properties under investigation: heavy clayey, lighter clayey, deep loamy, shallow loamy, sandy, peaty, marine alluvium, sand, (and water). Only the first six categories are used in the analysis since the others are very small and frequently result in expected

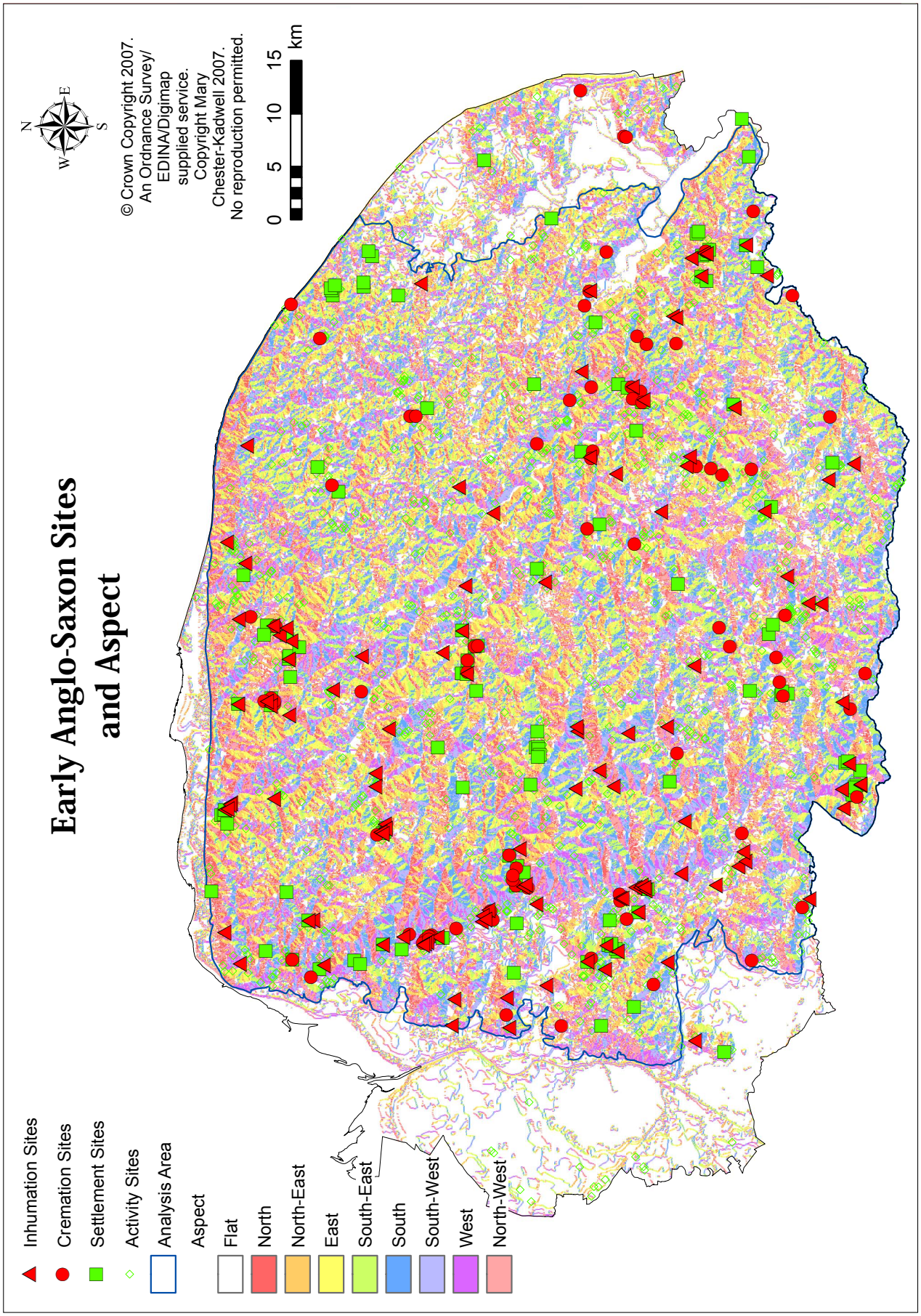


Fig. 7.23 Map of Norfolk showing early Anglo-Saxon sites in relation to aspect.

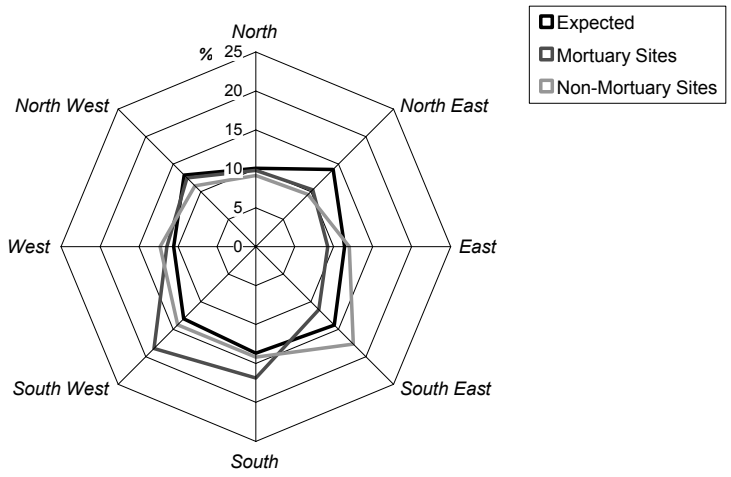


Fig. 7.24 Diagram showing the percentage of Mortuary (N=184) and Non-mortuary (N=317) sites facing different Aspects, in comparison to those values expected from the underlying land in the Analysis Area. Sites on flat ground excluded. χ^2 statistic: P > 0.1 for both categories—the data may be sampled from the expected distribution.

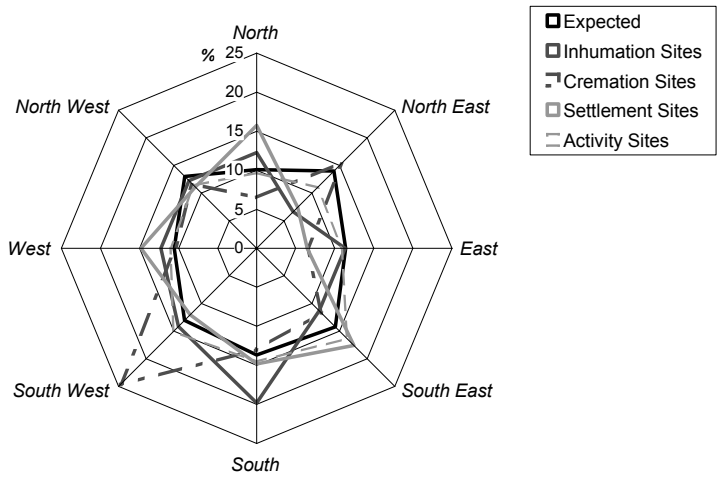


Fig. 7.25 Diagram showing the percentage of Inhumation (N=106; P > 0.1), Cremation (N=77; P > 0.1), Settlement (N=108; P < 0.1) and Activity (N=807; P < 0.1) sites facing different Aspects, in comparison to those values expected from the underlying land in the Analysis Area. Sites on flat ground excluded. χ^2 statistic: as specified.

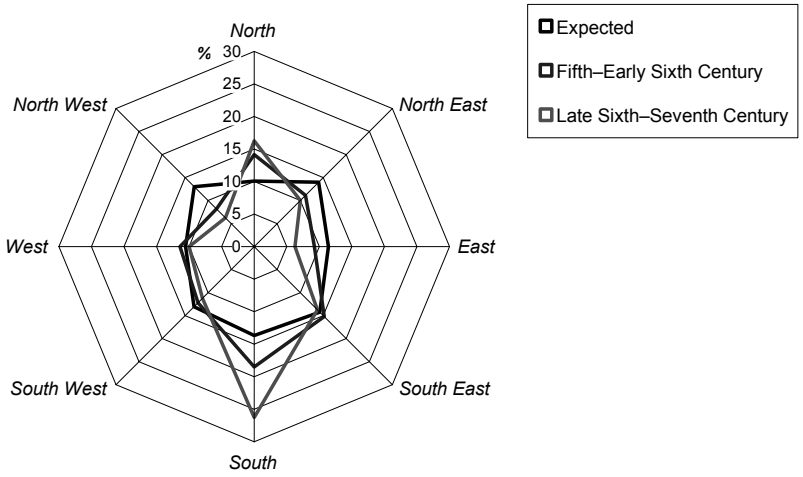


Fig. 7.26 Diagram showing the percentage of sites, with Metal-Detector finds of strictly Fifth–Early Sixth (N=368; P < 0.01) or Late Sixth–Seventh (N=80; P < 0.05) centuries in date, facing different Aspects, in comparison to those values expected from the underlying land in the Analysis Area. Sites on flat ground excluded. χ^2 statistic: as specified.

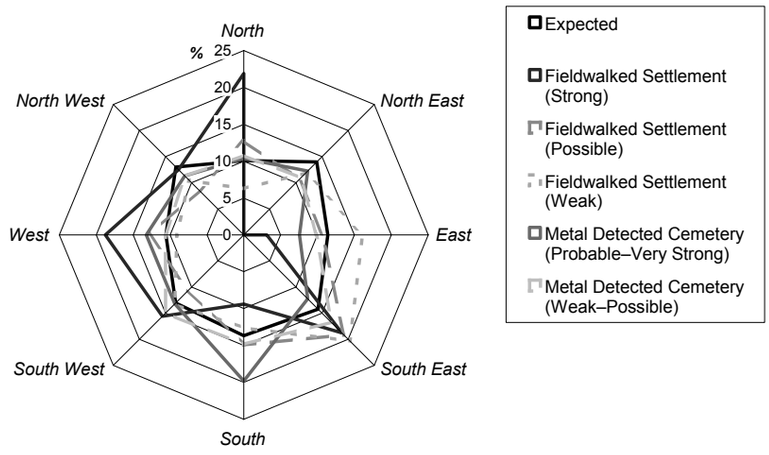


Fig. 7.27 Diagram showing the percentage of Fieldwalked Settlement sites—Strong (N=32; P < 0.1), Possible (N=47; P > 0.1) and Weak (N=143; P < 0.1) candidates—and Metal Detected Cemetery sites—Strong (N=106; P > 0.1) and Weak (N=621; P > 0.1) candidates—facing different Aspects, in comparison to those values expected from the underlying land in the Analysis Area. Sites on flat ground excluded. χ^2 statistic: as specified.

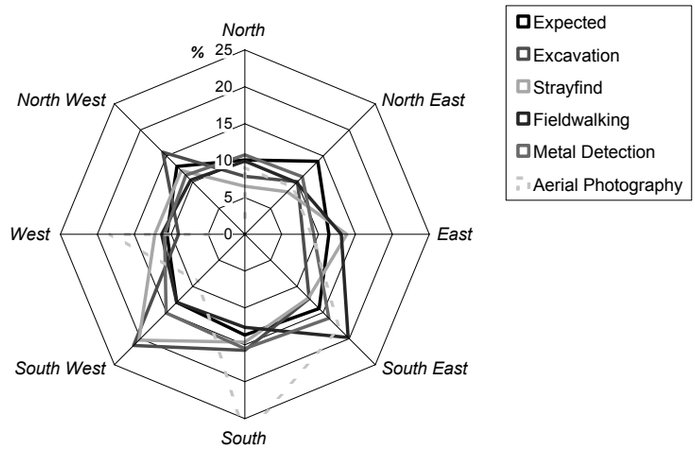


Fig. 7.28 Diagram showing the percentage of sites recovered by Excavation (N=89), Strayfind (N=123; P > 0.1), Fieldwalking (N=226; P > 0.1), Metal Detection (N=762; P < 0.05) and Aerial Photography (N=11; P > 0.1) facing different Aspects, in comparison to those values expected from the underlying land in the Analysis Area. Sites on flat ground excluded. χ^2 statistic: as specified.

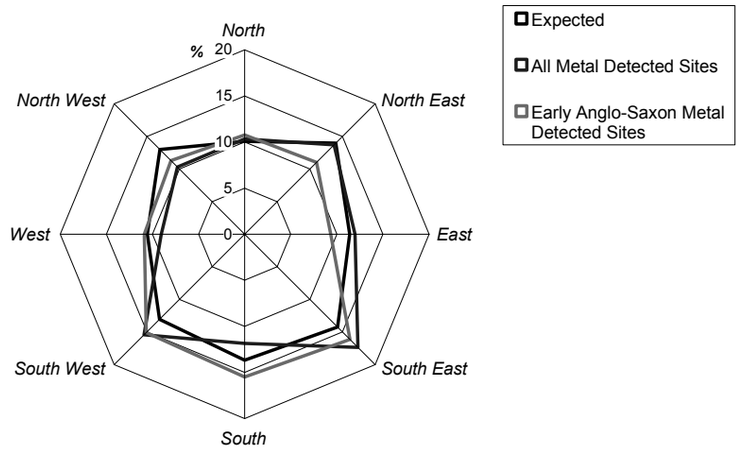


Fig. 7.29 Diagram showing the percentage of sites with Metal-Detector finds from Any Period (N=7,319; P < 0.01) or Early Anglo-Saxon finds (N=762; P < 0.05) facing different Aspects, in comparison to those values expected from the underlying land in the Analysis Area. Sites on flat ground excluded. χ^2 statistic: as specified.

values of less than one. This should not affect the outcome since the sand category is a transient phenomenon of the north coast, and the marine alluvium is mostly excluded from analysis anyway by virtue of being characteristic of the Fens and Broads. Finally, it is important to reiterate that these broad soil groups do not take into account local variation inherent in soil associations. The category 'peaty' soils, for example, includes the Isleham 2 association, which often includes sand and gravels in the vicinity of watercourses. Sites on 'peaty' soils may therefore be sited on these drier patches, although in the immediate vicinity of seasonally waterlogged soils.

Mortuary and non-mortuary sites

Fig. 7.31 shows that mortuary and non-mortuary sites both strongly favour shallow loamy soils, found in the densely settled west of Norfolk, and avoid heavy clayey ones in the central region. There are also more sites than expected on sandy soils, which concurs with the traditional pattern recognised across the country, but also on lighter clayey soils, giving wider significance to Williamson's assertion regarding the use of lighter valleyside soils in clay areas (1984a; 1984b; 1986). In fact, as the map, Fig. 7.30, demonstrates, there are a great number of sites on the clay plateau, mirroring the work of recent scholars in clay regions (Mills and Palmer 2007). The pattern is exaggerated for mortuary sites, and can be seen to result from the addition of differences between sites of the inhumation and cremation rites (Fig. 7.32).

Inhumation sites are found far more often that expected on shallow loamy soils, and also on lighter clays, with no bias towards sandy soils, and some sites on peaty soils. Cremation sites have a similar distribution with respect to shallow loams and lighter clays, but significantly more are found on sandy soils than expected, and far fewer on peaty soils. It is noticeable that the deep loamy soils of north-east Norfolk have few mortuary sites overall and most are cremations. In contrast, settlement and activity sites have a distribution more in line with expectations, suggesting that almost any soil was exploited, and that local variations in soils were more important than the general pedology of an area.

The distribution of earlier and later early Anglo-Saxon metal-detector finds with respect to soil association groups is quite similar (Fig. 7.33), with a preference for shallow loamy soils and avoidance of heavy clay, as noted before. However, there are nearly 80 per cent more late sixth- and seventh-century finds on deep loamy soils than expected, pointing to a potentially significant chronological trend.

Recovery and interpretation

The value of using multiple sources of evidence to understand the early Anglo-Saxon landscape is apparent in Fig. 7.35. First, there are 95 per cent more excavated sites found on sandy soils than expected, in significant contrast to all the other methods, with the exception of strayfinds. Both these methods of recovery are likely to have been biased by the discovery of finds in sand and gravel quarries, and particularly by investigations undertaken on the edges of sandy heaths (see Chapter 5). Since most cremation cemeteries in the sample have been recovered in these ways, doubt must be cast on whether cremations really are found so frequently on sandy soils in disproportion to other classes of site, or whether this is simply the result of a distinctive local practice. The discovery of sites on shallow loamy and lighter clayey soils by the alternate methods of fieldwalking and metal detecting underlines this point (see also Fig. 7.34). Secondly, although the evidence from aerial photography has frequently been disregarded due to small site numbers, it is evident that the impact of the NMP in the north-east of Norfolk, where most of the deep loamy soils are found, has lead to an increased the number of sites found in this otherwise apparently empty area.

Soil drainage

Data and analysis

The information used is taken from the Soil Survey of England and Wales, using the Wetness Class of undrained land, and includes similar categories to those found on the online Interactive Soilscapes Viewer from Cranfield University (National Soil Resources Institute). It is notable that half of all land in the analysis area is freely draining, and about 20 per cent is waterlogged for much of the year (naturally wet).

Mortuary and non-mortuary sites

Looking at the distribution of sites with respect to the specific property of soil drainage (Figs. 7.37–8) shows that sites are found more often on slightly impeded drainage (corresponding to lighter clayey soils) than expected, slightly more often on well-drained land (corresponding to loamy and sandy soils) and more rarely on wetter soils (heavier clayey and peaty soils). This suggests that it was the avoidance of damp soils for the location of sites which was important, rather than a definite preference for well-drained ones. So, for example, in the clay plateau area of Norfolk, soils of slightly impeded drainage are chosen in preference to the alternative of impeded soils. It is perhaps more accurate to say that sites were placed more often on relatively better drained soils, which varied depending on those available in the area of occupation. The positive deviation of cremation sites in favour of well-drained soils (Fig. 7.39) may be explained by reference to the arguments concerning sandy soils above. In comparison, inhumations are not placed on soils of drainage very different from settlement, suggesting that other geographical elements, such as proximity to water, elevation and aspect were more important in differentiating between the two.

A comparison between metal detected sites with strictly dated finds (Fig. 7.40) shows that those of late sixth- and seventh-century are found more often than expected on

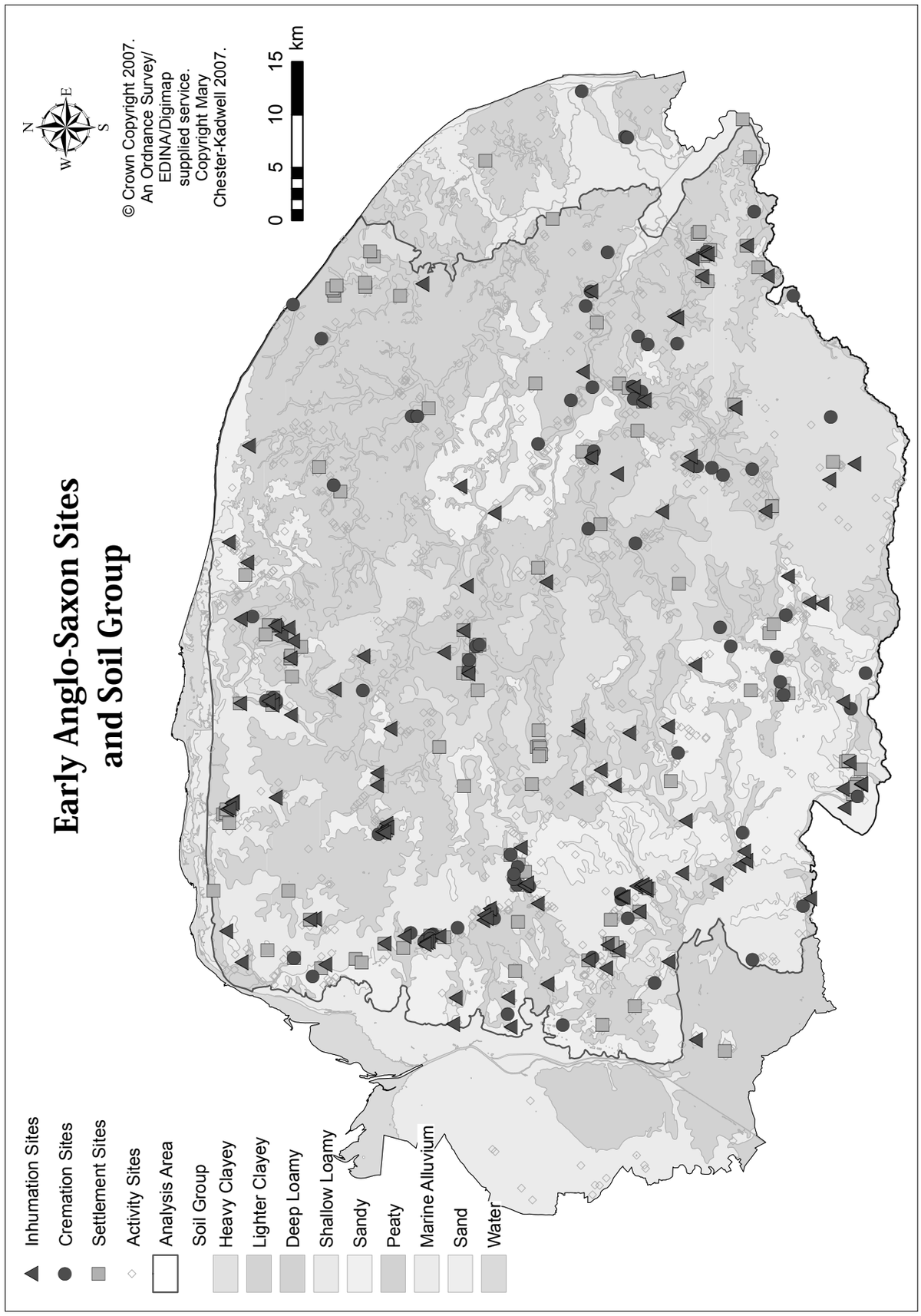


Fig. 7.30 Map of Norfolk showing early Anglo-Saxon sites in relation to soil groups.

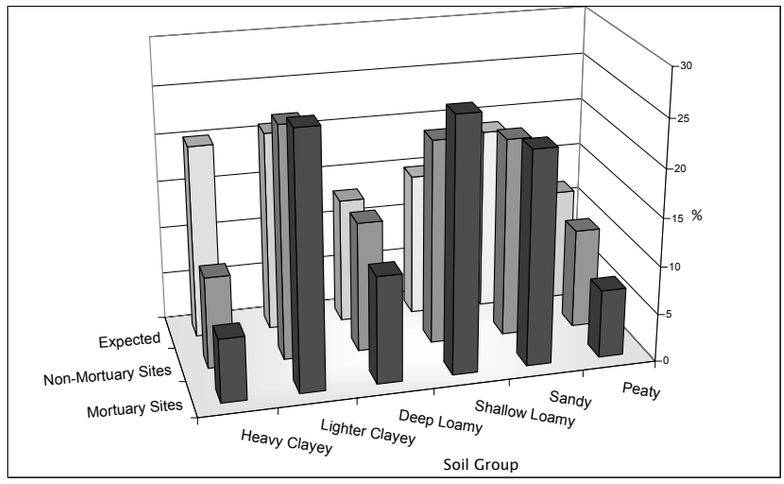


Fig. 7.31 Graph showing the percentage of Mortuary (N=199) and Non-mortuary (N=349) sites on different Soil Groups, in comparison to those values expected from the underlying land in the Analysis Area. χ^2 statistic: P < 0.01 for both categories—the data are not sampled from the expected distribution.

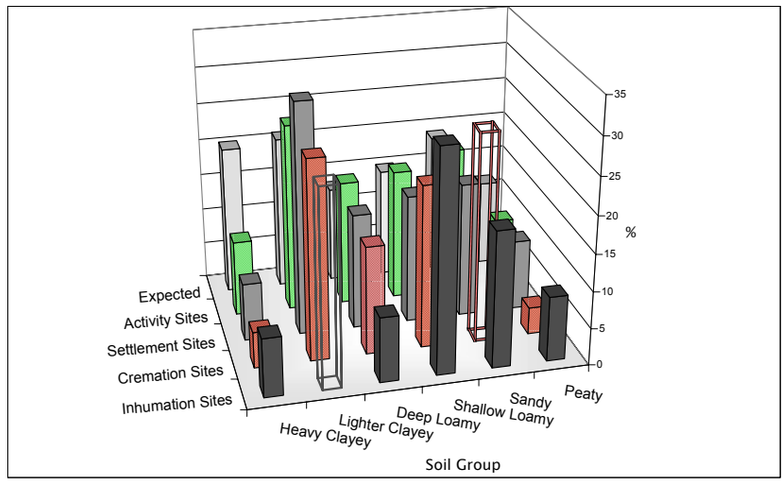


Fig. 7.32 Graph showing the percentage of Inhumation (N=116), Cremation (N=82), Settlement (N=116) and Activity (N=879) sites on different Soil Groups, in comparison to those values expected from the underlying land in the Analysis Area. χ^2 statistic: P < 0.01 for all categories.

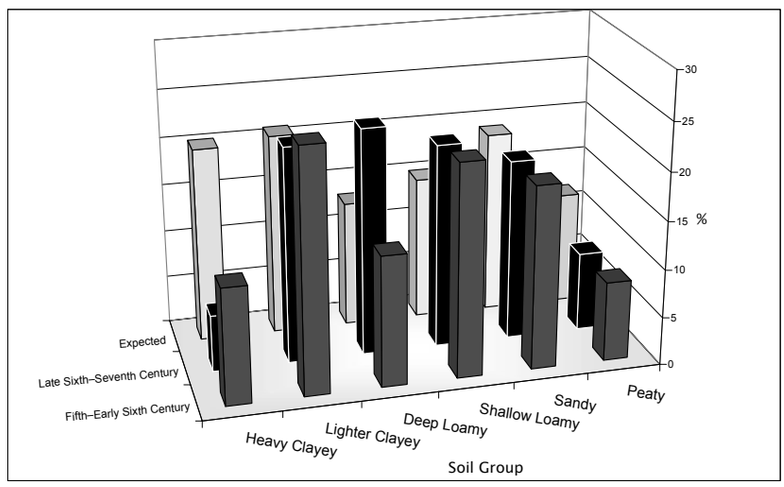


Fig. 7.33 Graph showing the percentage of sites, with Metal-Detector finds of strictly Fifth–Early Sixth (N=401) or Late Sixth–Seventh (N=87) centuries in date, on different Soil Groups, in comparison to those values expected from the underlying land in the Analysis Area. χ^2 statistic: P < 0.01 for both categories.

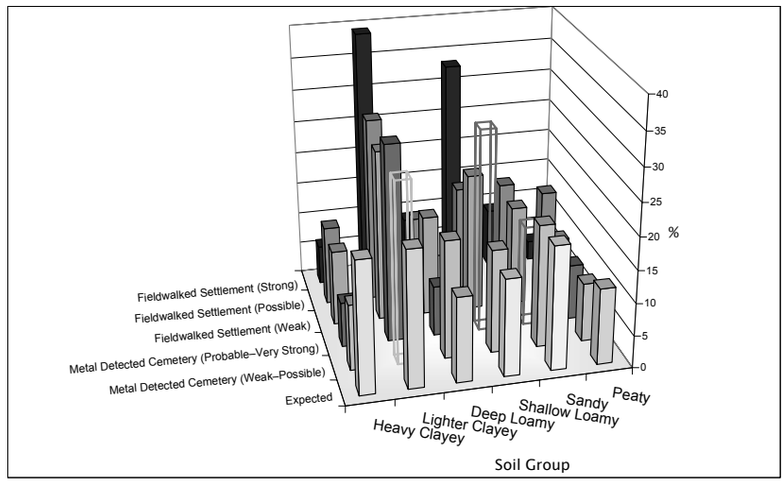


Fig. 7.34 Graph showing the percentage of Fieldwalked Settlement sites—Strong (N=34; P < 0.01), Possible (N=49; P > 0.1) and Weak (N=156; P < 0.05) candidates—and Metal Detected Cemetery sites—Strong (N=118; P < 0.01) and Weak (N=671; P < 0.01) candidates—on different Soil Groups, in comparison to those values expected from the underlying land in the Analysis Area. χ^2 statistic: as specified.

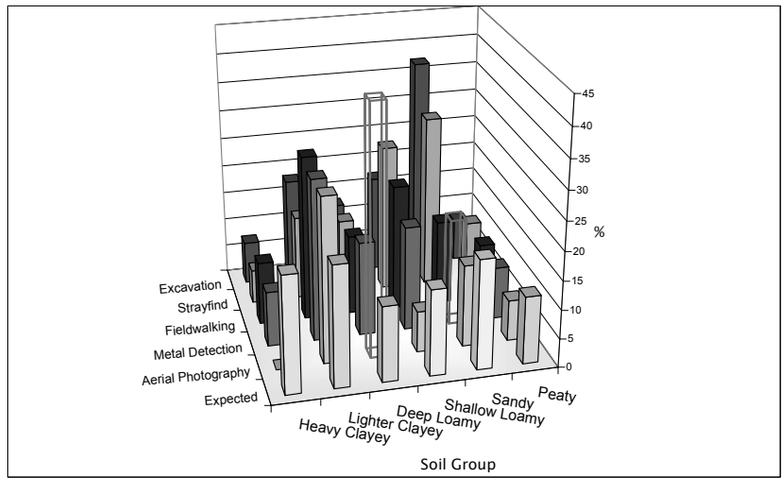


Fig. 7.35 Graph showing the percentage of sites recovered by Excavation (N=94), Strayfind (N=138), Fieldwalking (N=243), Metal Detection (N=827) and Aerial Photography (N=14; P < 0.05) on different Soil Groups, in comparison to those values expected from the underlying land in the Analysis Area. χ^2 statistic: P < 0.01 for all categories, except where otherwise specified.

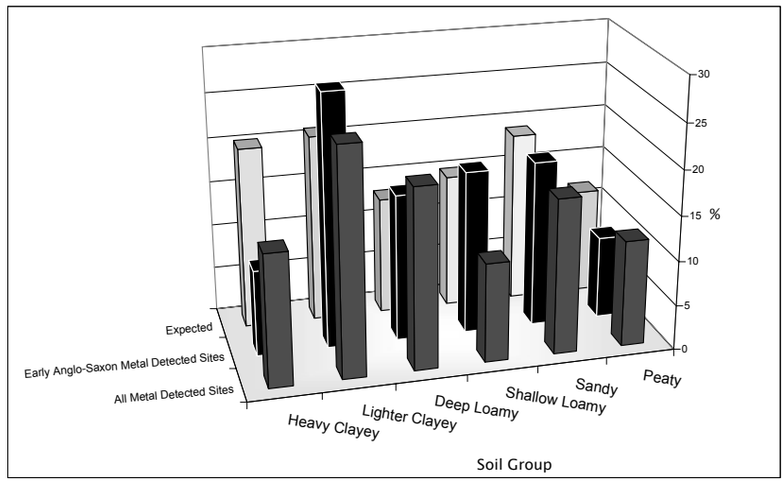


Fig. 7.36 Graph showing the percentage of sites with Metal-Detector finds from Any Period (N=8,312) or Early Anglo-Saxon finds (N=827) on different Soil Groups, in comparison to those values expected from the underlying land in the Analysis Area. χ^2 statistic: P < 0.01 for both categories.

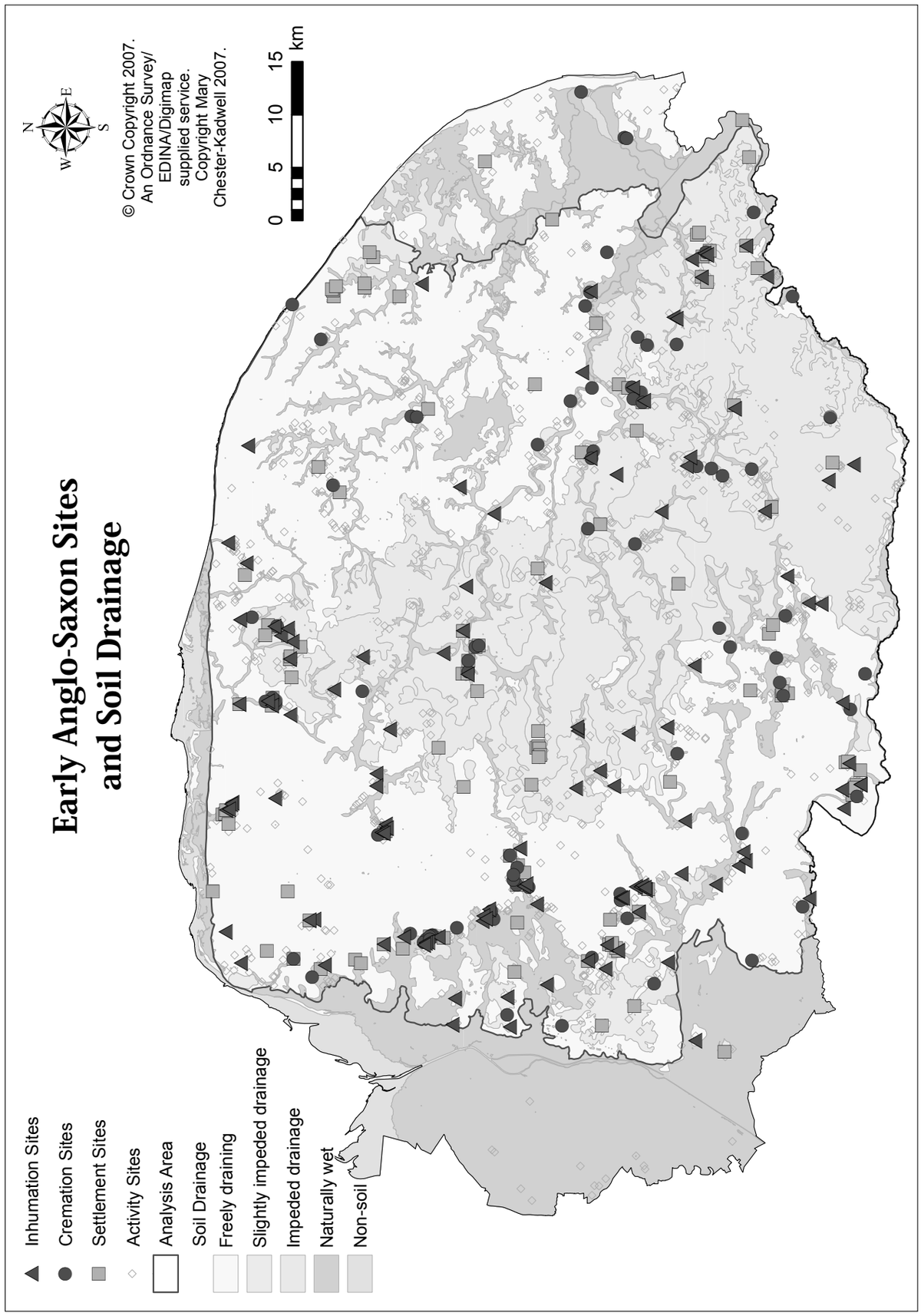


Fig. 7.37 Map of Norfolk showing early Anglo-Saxon sites in relation to soil drainage.

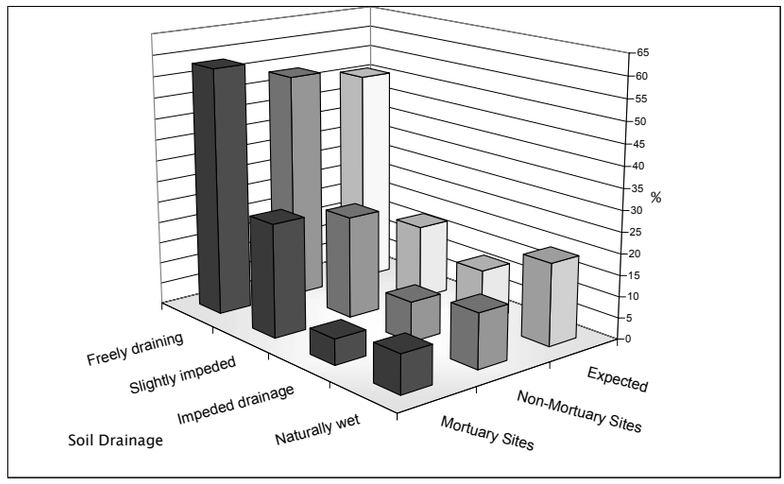


Fig. 7.38 Graph showing the percentage of Mortuary (N=199) and Non-mortuary (N=349) sites on Soils of different Drainage, in comparison to those values expected from the underlying land in the Analysis Area. χ^2 statistic: $P < 0.01$ for both categories—the data are not sampled from the expected distribution.

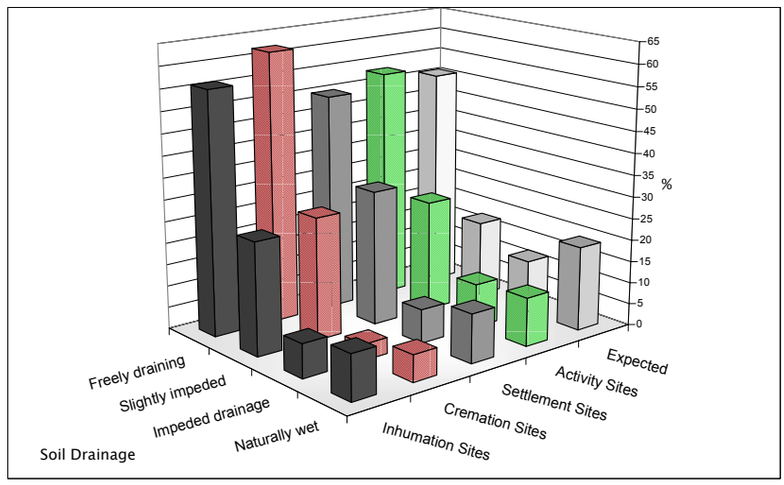


Fig. 7.39 Graph showing the percentage of Inhumation (N=116), Cremation (N=82), Settlement (N=116) and Activity (N=879) sites on Soils of different Drainage, in comparison to those values expected from the underlying land in the Analysis Area. χ^2 statistic: $P < 0.01$ for all categories.

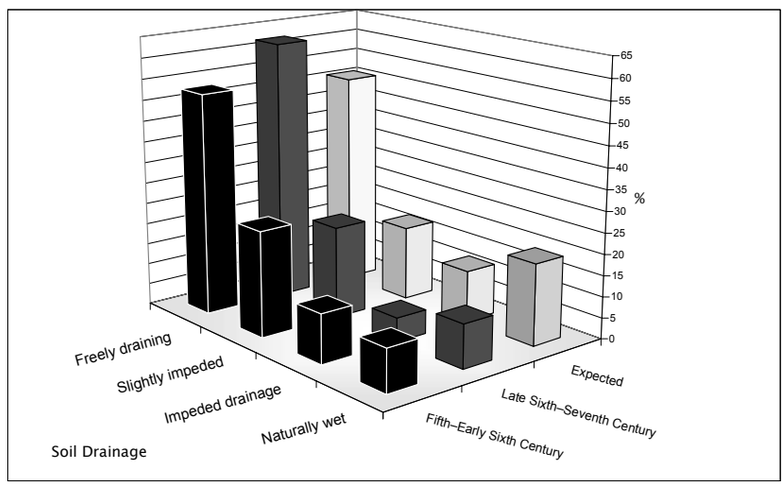


Fig. 7.40 Graph showing the percentage of sites, with Metal-Detector finds of strictly Fifth–Early Sixth ($N=401$; $P < 0.01$) or Late Sixth–Seventh ($N=87$; $P < 0.05$) centuries in date, on Soils of different Drainage, in comparison to those values expected from the underlying land in the Analysis Area. χ^2 statistic: as specified.

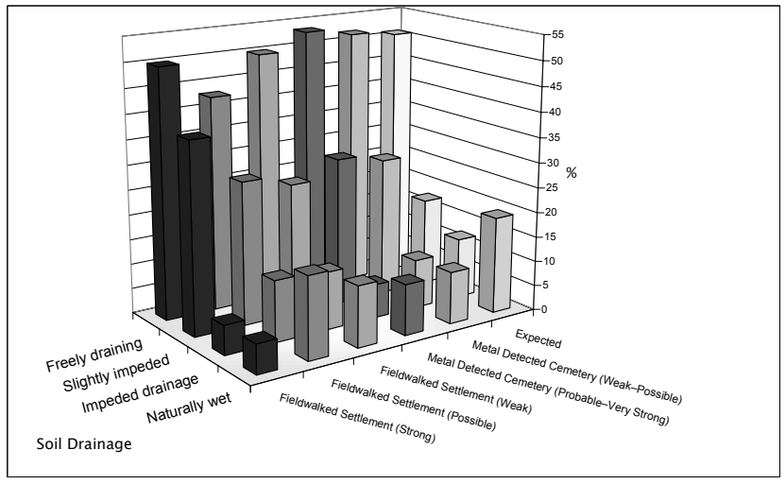


Fig. 7.41 Graph showing the percentage of Fieldwalked Settlement sites—Strong (N=34; P < 0.01), Possible (N=49; P > 0.1) and Weak (N=156; P < 0.05) candidates—and Metal Detected Cemetery sites—Strong (N=118; P < 0.01) and Weak (N=671; P < 0.01) candidates—on Soils of different Drainage, in comparison to those values expected from the underlying land in the Analysis Area. χ^2 statistic: as specified.

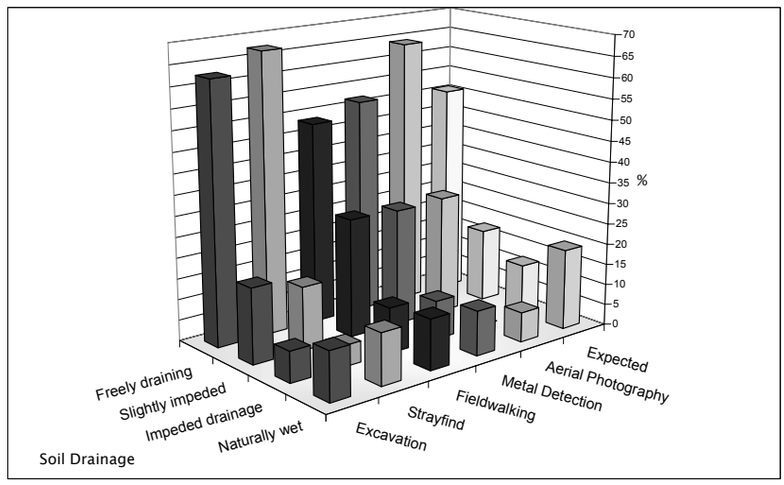


Fig. 7.42 Graph showing the percentage of sites recovered by Excavation (N=94; P < 0.1), Strayfind (N=138), Fieldwalking (N=243), Metal Detection (N=827) and Aerial Photography (N=14; P > 0.1) on Soils of different Drainage, in comparison to those values expected from the underlying land in the Analysis Area. χ^2 statistic: P < 0.01 for all categories, except where otherwise specified.

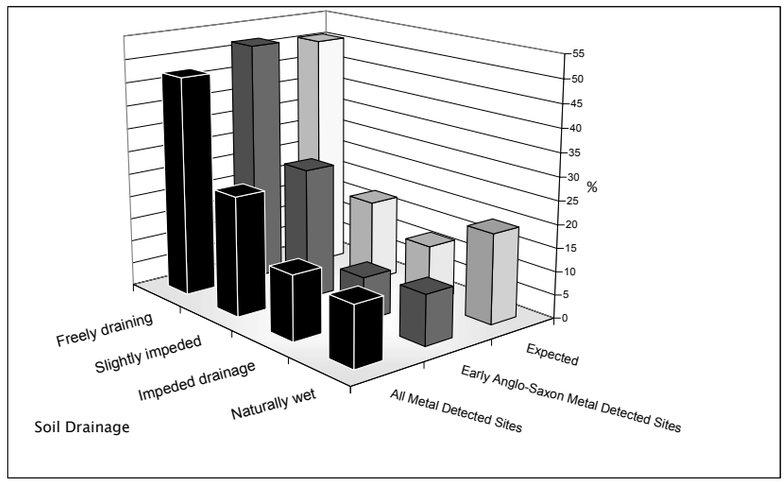


Fig. 7.43 Graph showing the percentage of sites with Metal-Detector finds from Any Period (N=8,312) or Early Anglo-Saxon finds (N=827) on Soils of different Drainage, in comparison to those values expected from the underlying land in the Analysis Area. χ^2 statistic: P < 0.01 for both categories.

freely draining soils and less often on those of impeded drainage. The chronological trend is therefore towards drier soils.

Recovery and interpretation

A larger percentage of fieldwalked weak and possible candidates for settlement deposits are found on impeded and wet soils than for strong candidates (Fig. 7.41). This might be because many of these sites represent ephemeral activity for which good drainage was less important, or even less desirable, in the case of wet meadows. Alternatively, some of these sites may represent rubbish dumps or other incidental deposits, or it may be the influence of dedicated fieldwalking projects on lighter clayey soils in central Norfolk. In contrast to fieldwalked sites, Fig. 7.42 shows that excavated sites and strayfinds are more likely to fall on freely draining soils than expected, which mirrors the preference for sandy soils noted above, and for the same reasons. Metal detected sites follow a similar pattern to that of fieldwalked ones, and Fig. 7.43 shows that this is a genuine (if subtle) bias which does not wholly result from the general coverage of metal detection. As might be expected from aerial photography, cropmarks of SFBs have been found rarely on wet soils.

Soil fertility

Data and analysis

The fertility information used in the analysis is a modified verson of similar catagories that may be found in the online Interactive Soilscapes Viewer from Cranfield University (NSRI). Fertility is a complicated issue since it is not just organic matter which affects fertility, but other factors such as the wetness of soils, which affects root aeration, and the pH of soil in relation to crops being grown, and to the leaching of nutrients. Poor soils may be improved by agricultural practices, as has been the case historically on the Good Sands of Norfolk (see Chapter 5). The fertility rating is also affected by the flexibility of the soils to growing a variety of crops. The general nature of the data also means that the characteristics of local soil districts may contrast with the overall categorisation. The soils of north-east Norfolk, for example, include some of the most fertile and traditionally productive soils in the county (Williamson 2005: 8), and yet are classed overall as low fertility. Nevertheless, since early Anglo-Saxon sites have traditionally been thought of as utilising soils of poor fertility, the analysis is important to accomplish.

The numerous categories have been simplified to make the analysis more robust. Most are self explanatory, but it is worth being reminded that lime-rich soils can be of poor fertility if not well treated, due to leaching and high alkalinity, but equally may be productive if enriched by the folding of sheep or other fertilising practices, and depending on the crop. Lime-rich soils make up a relatively small proportion of the total analysis area. Seventy per cent of soils are easily classified from very low to high fertility.

Mortuary and non-mortuary sites

There is little deviation from the expected values of soil fertility for both mortuary and non-mortuary sites (Fig. 7.45), with the exception of the lime-rich category which has more sites than expected in both cases. This can be attributed to the concentration of sites in the west of Norfolk on the shallow chalky loams as shown in Fig. 7.44. There is therefore no particular difference related to soils of lower or higher fertility, notwithstanding the effects of local soil variations. This is underlined by the fact that neither settlement nor activity sites have any bias towards soils of particular fertility (Fig. 7.46). Inhumation sites, however, are observed over twice as often on lime-rich soils as expected, and fewer than expected on very low–low and mixed (very low–lime-rich) soils. Cremation sites are also found more often on lime-rich soils than expected, but also on mixed (very low–lime-rich) soils. These observations are likely to be related to the overall distribution of these sites. Both rites are found in west Norfolk, but relatively more cremation sites have been found on the edge of the Brecks, and in the north-east of Norfolk.

Chronological change centres on the very low–low and moderate–high categories (Fig. 7.47). Earlier sites are found less often than expected on soils of very low–low fertility, whereas later sites are found more often on soils of low fertility, and less often on those of moderate–high fertility. This may be related to the move of later sites onto the deep loam of north-east Norfolk, which in this analysis is apparently of low fertility, but which may have had significant potential. This would signal an expansion, or move, from the fertile soils of the clay plateau towards the fertile soils of the deep loam, a finding which is of significant interest.

Recovery and interpretation

The most interesting difference between fieldwalked sites of different interpretations (Fig. 7.48) is that strong candidates for settlement deposits are found far less often than expected on the mixed (low–high) soils of floodplains, whereas weak and possible candidates (the latter in particular) are more likely to be found there. This may reflect taphonomic factors of hillwash, and the lack of erosion on these flat, wet soils, but may also give confidence to the idea that these sites do not represent settlement in the form of buildings, but other associated activities. Taphonomic factors associated with shallow, lime-rich loams may also result in the notable positive deviation of probable–very strong candidates for mortuary deposits towards lime-rich soils. However, Fig. 7.50 shows that this is not due to the method of metal detecting, since fewer finds of any period are found on lime-rich soils overall.

Fig. 7.49 reiterates those points made above about the bias of excavated sites and strayfinds being different to those of other methods. In particular, it is possible to see

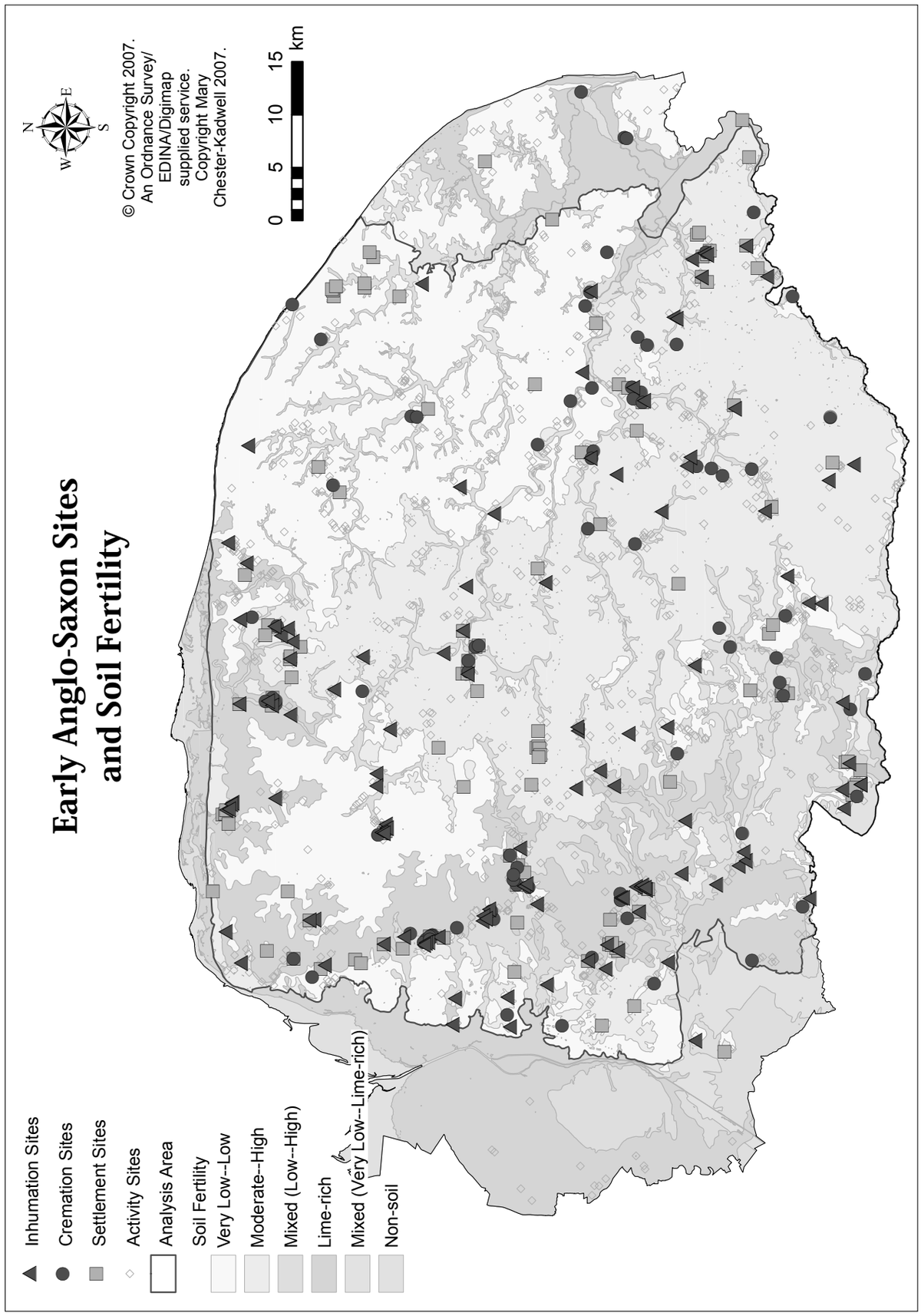


Fig. 7.44 Map of Norfolk showing early Anglo-Saxon sites in relation to soil fertility.

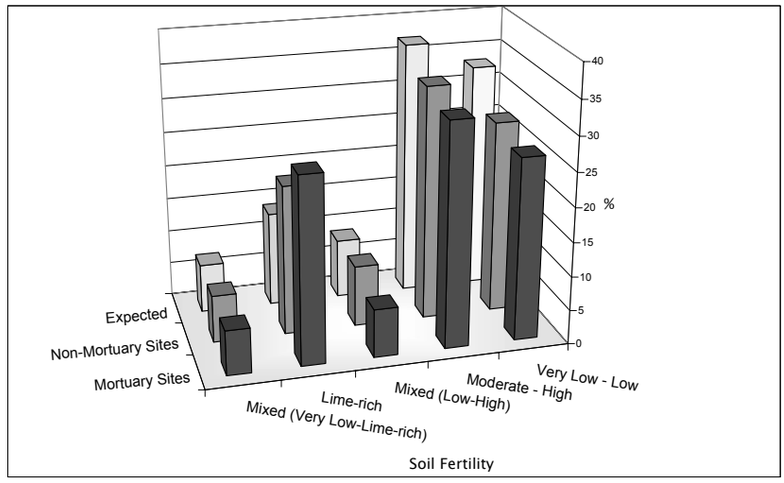


Fig. 7.45 Graph showing the percentage of Mortuary (N=199) and Non-mortuary (N=349) sites on Soils of different Fertility ratings, in comparison to those values expected from the underlying land in the Analysis Area. χ^2 statistic: P < 0.01 for both categories—the data are not sampled from the expected distribution.

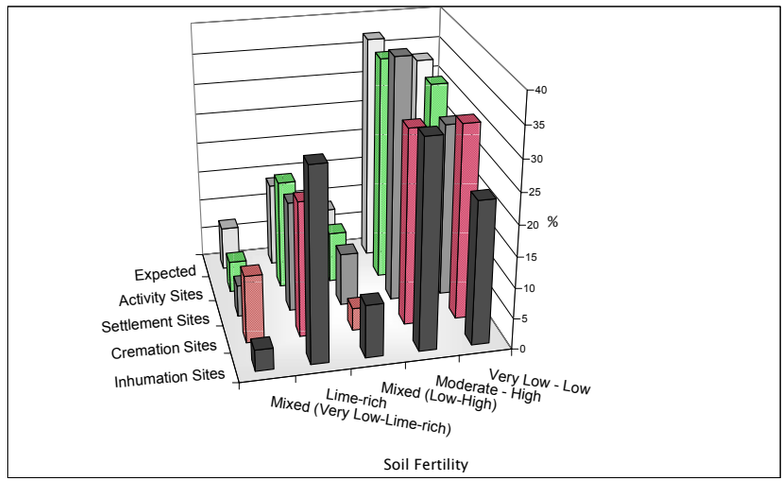


Fig. 7.46 Graph showing the percentage of Inhumation (N=116; P < 0.01), Cremation (N=82; P < 0.1), Settlement (N=116; P > 0.1) and Activity (N=879; P < 0.01) sites on Soils of different Fertility ratings, in comparison to those values expected from the underlying land in the Analysis Area. χ^2 statistic: as specified.

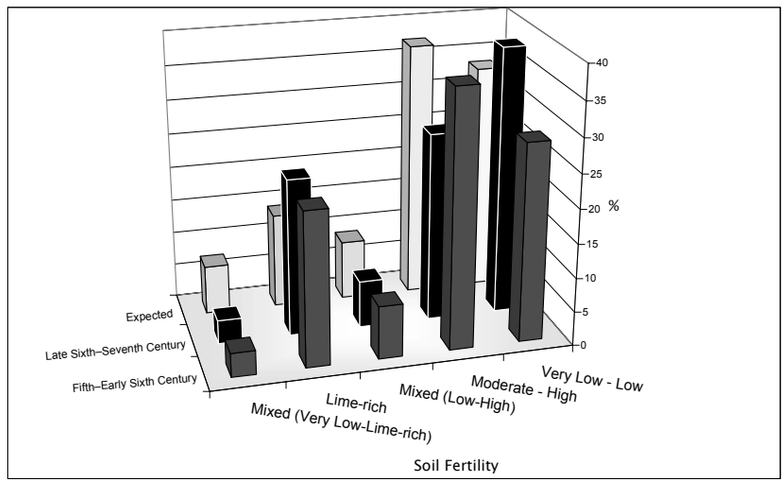


Fig. 7.47 Graph showing the percentage of sites, with Metal-Detector finds of strictly Fifth–Early Sixth (N=401; P < 0.01) or Late Sixth–Seventh (N=87; P < 0.05) centuries in date, on Soils of different Fertility ratings, in comparison to those values expected from the underlying land in the Analysis Area. χ^2 statistic: as specified.

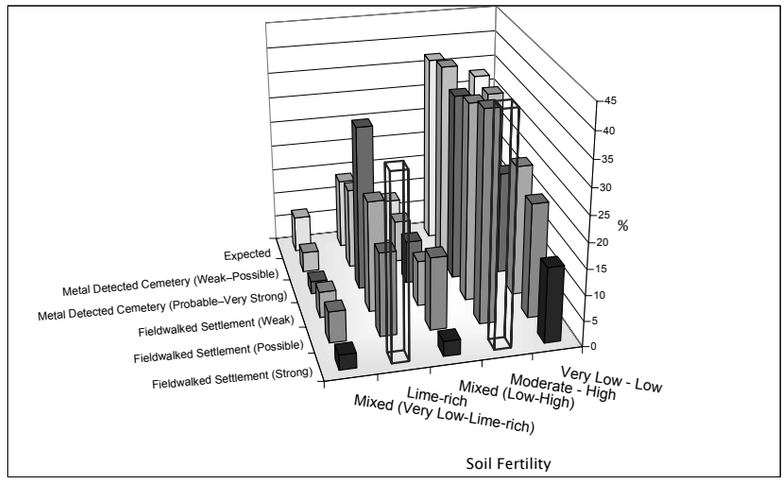


Fig. 7.48 Graph showing the percentage of Fieldwalked Settlement sites—Strong (N=34; P < 0.01), Possible (N=49; P > 0.1) and Weak (N=156; P < 0.05) candidates—and Metal Detected Cemetery sites—Strong (N=118; P < 0.01) and Weak (N=671; P < 0.05) candidates—on Soils of different Fertility ratings, in comparison to those values expected from the underlying land in the Analysis Area. χ^2 statistic: as specified.

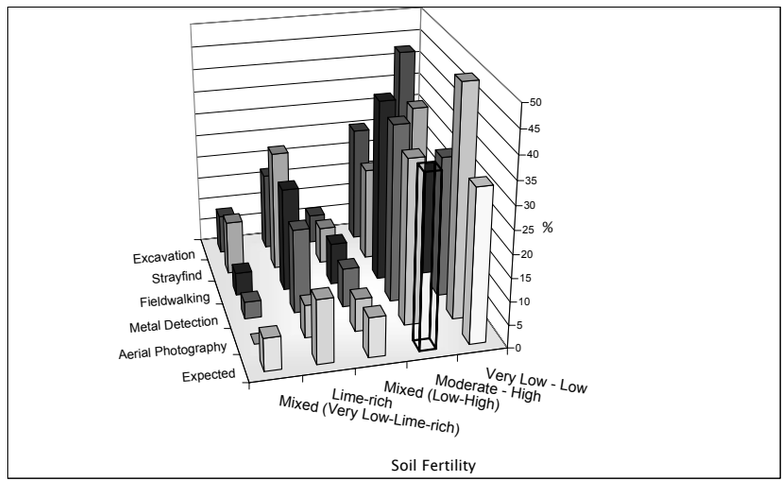


Fig. 7.49 Graph showing the percentage of sites recovered by Excavation (N=94; P > 0.1), Strayfind (N=138), Fieldwalking (N=243), Metal Detection (N=827) and Aerial Photography (N=14; P > 0.1) on Soils of different Fertility ratings, in comparison to those values expected from the underlying land in the Analysis Area. χ^2 statistic: P < 0.01 for all categories, except where otherwise specified.

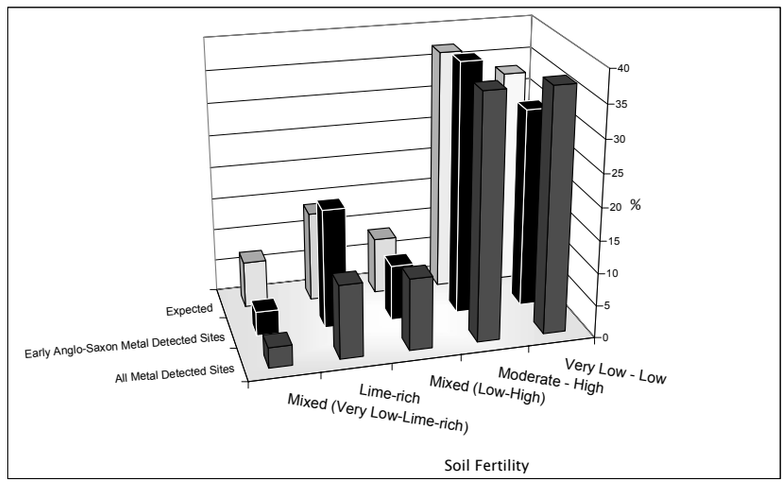


Fig. 7.50 Graph showing the percentage of sites with Metal-Detector finds from Any Period (N=8,312) or Early Anglo-Saxon finds (N=827) on Soils of different Fertility ratings, in comparison to those values expected from the underlying land in the Analysis Area. χ^2 statistic: P < 0.01 for both categories.

that few sites were recovered by excavation or as stray on the moderate–high fertility soils of the clay plateau, in comparison to fieldwalking and metal detecting, but more are found than expected on the mixed (very low–lime-rich) soils of the Breckland heaths, and the very low–low fertility soils in north-east Norfolk.

Soil habitats

Data and analysis

The soil data so far considered is most relevant when understood as a coherent whole, in terms of natural habitats. These have been described for Norfolk in Chapter 5; see particularly Table 5.1. Although the early Anglo-Saxon landscape was no wilderness, the natural affordances and proclivities of the land to certain forms of vegetation is highly relevant, and closely related to various soil characteristics. However, this analysis is necessarily general and brief.

The eight categories used are a modified form of data similar to that on the online Interactive Soilscapes Viewer from Cranfield University (NSRI). Coastal salt marsh, sand dune and non-soil areas have been excluded due to their minute frequency. Less notice should be taken of sites on dry and wet lowland heath since this comprises only 1 per cent of the analysis area and results in this category being very sensitive to the presence and absence of sites. The other categories are broadly comparable in area.

Mortuary and non-mortuary sites

Fig. 7.51 shows there are few places unsuitable to pasture and woodland, although within these very broad categories there is great variability in the species and quality of resources available. As a result, mortuary and non-mortuary sites are found in every habitat, demonstrating the close interrelationship of the two classes of site. They are found more often, though, on the habitats associated with sandy soils (acid dry pasture and wood), shallow chalky loam (lime-rich pasture and wood), and the lighter soils of the clay plateau (wide range of pasture and wood), in line with the other soil results above (Fig. 7.52).

Only the sandy and lowland heaths are largely devoid of vegetation suitable for agricultural life, but even here sites and other activity may be found. Equally, the wet meadows of floodplains and seasonally wet pasture and wood of the heavier clayey soils on the clay plateau tend to be avoided locations for settlement and cemeteries, but do have evidence of activity (Fig. 7.53). Many sites appear to lie on the boundaries between habitats, such as in the west of Norfolk where settlers would have had ready access to both wet pasture on peaty soils to the west, and dry lime-rich pasture to the east. In fact, an emphasis on the pastoral economy (Oosthuizen 2005: 187–8), rather than crop growing, would also explain why soil fertility is shown to have been of relatively little interest.

Fig. 7.54 shows that there is little chronological change, except that metal detected sites with fifth–early sixth-century finds have far fewer sites on the neutral and acid pasture, wood and heath of north-east Norfolk than those of the late sixth–seventh centuries. This is a conclusion that concurs with the results so far discussed.

Recovery and interpretation

The observation that cremation sites are found more often in Breckland heath habitats than expected (Fig. 7.53), may be the result of more strayfinds being made in this area, rather than of recovery by excavation (Fig. 7.56). Breckland was a more important place in prehistory, however. The preponderance of sites found on the acid dry pasture and woodland of sandy soils by both these methods does contrast, though, with incidence of fieldwalked sites in these places. This observation is particularly obvious for strong candidates for settlement deposits (Fig. 7.55) where very few sites are found on acid dry pasture and woodland, and many more than expected on a wide range of pasture and wood, and on lime-rich pasture and woodland. Once again, different methods of recovery provide a complementary picture of early Anglo-Saxon use of landscape, and by comparing all sites with metal-detector finds of any period, and sites with early Anglo-Saxon detector finds (Fig. 7.57) it is possible to see that the larger-than-expected number of early Anglo-Saxon sites found on lime-rich pasture and woodland is likely to be a genuine difference, since detector finds as a whole are found slightly less often than expected on this habitat.

Soil boundaries

Data and analysis

Soil association data was used to generate boundaries for this analysis, which could then be 'buffered' and subjected to the K-S test. Many soil association boundaries correspond to the change in river valleys from the valleyside soil to the valley bottom soil (see previous maps). The idea is to test whether sites are more likely to be found on the borders between different soil associations where they may take advantage of different resources.

Mortuary and non-mortuary sites

Comparing mortuary and non-mortuary sites (Fig. 7.58) shows that both distributions depart from the expected distribution in a statistically significant way. There are more mortuary sites 0–200m away from the nearest soil association boundary than would be expected from the underlying land area, and fewer than expected over 500m away from the nearest boundary. Inhumations and cremations are similarly distributed (Fig. 7.59), and not often found in the middle of expanses of one soil association. Similarly, non-mortuary sites have a large deviation from the expected number of sites up to 100m away from the nearest soil association boundary, with smaller positive deviations at 101–300m. Fig. 7.59 shows that settlement is the class of site with the most bias

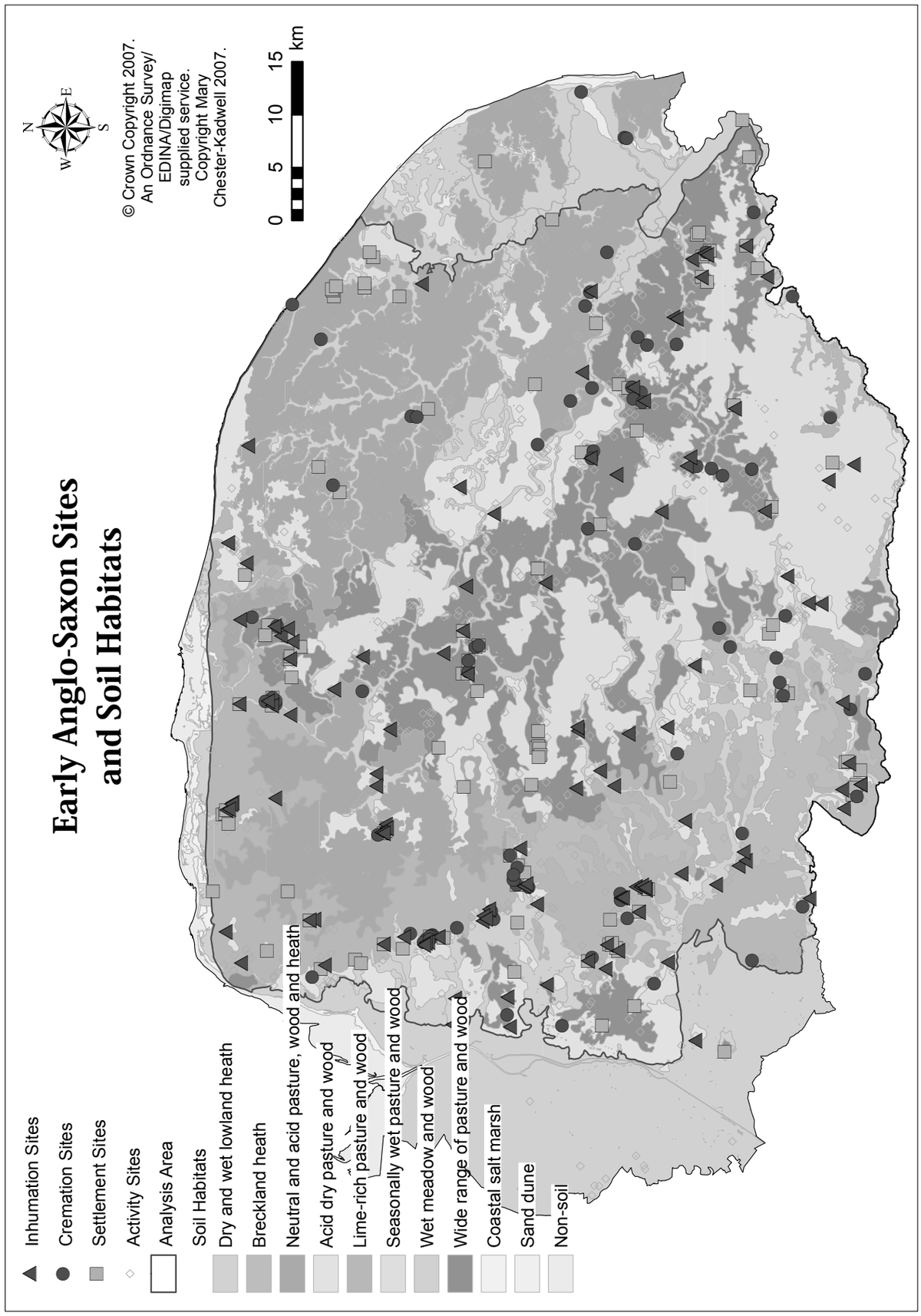


Fig. 7.51 Map of Norfolk showing early Anglo-Saxon sites in relation to soil habitats.

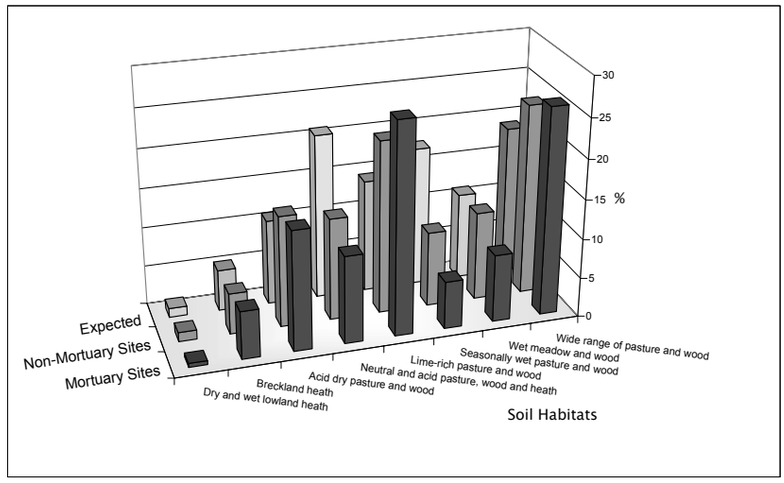


Fig. 7.52 Graph showing the percentage of Mortuary (N=199) and Non-mortuary (N=349) sites on different Soil Habitats, in comparison to those values expected from the underlying land in the Analysis Area. χ^2 statistic: $P < 0.01$ for both categories—the data are not sampled from the expected distribution.

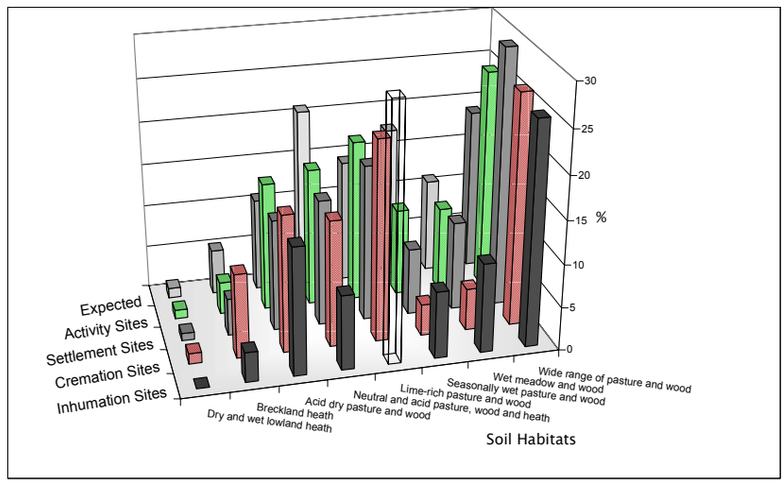


Fig. 7.53 Graph showing the percentage of Inhumation (N=116), Cremation (N=82), Settlement (N=116) and Activity (N=879) sites on different Soil Habitats, in comparison to those values expected from the underlying land in the Analysis Area. χ^2 statistic: $P < 0.01$ for all categories.

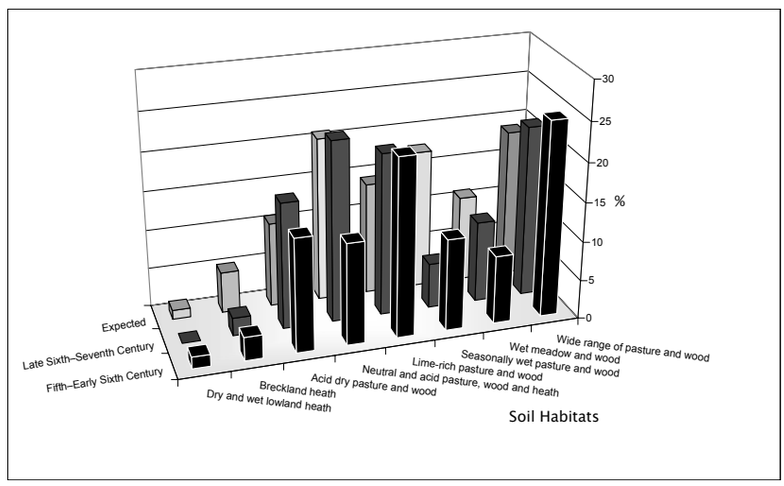


Fig. 7.54 Graph showing the percentage of sites, with Metal-Detector finds of strictly Fifth–Early Sixth ($N=401$; $P < 0.01$) or Late Sixth–Seventh ($N=87$; $P < 0.05$) centuries in date, on different Soil Habitats, in comparison to those values expected from the underlying land in the Analysis Area. χ^2 statistic: as specified.

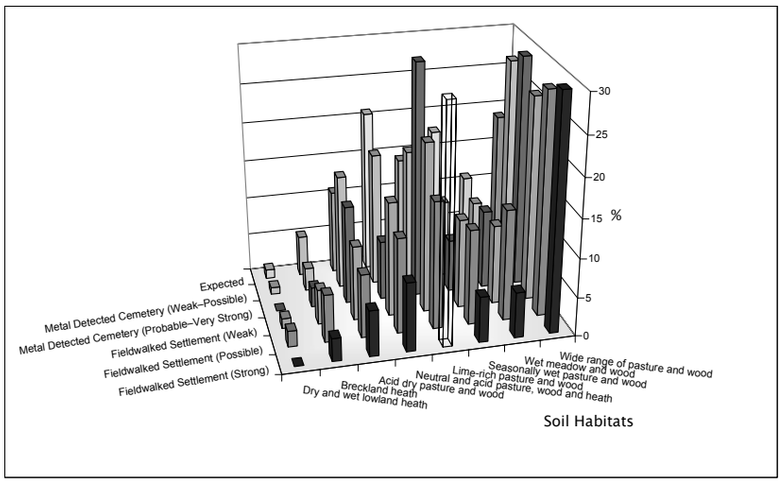


Fig. 7.55 Graph showing the percentage of Fieldwalked Settlement sites—Strong (N=34; P < 0.01), Possible (N=49; P > 0.1) and Weak (N=156; P < 0.05) candidates—and Metal Detected Cemetery sites—Strong (N=118; P < 0.01) and Weak (N=671; P < 0.01) candidates—on different Soil Habitats, in comparison to those values expected from the underlying land in the Analysis Area. χ^2 statistic: as specified.

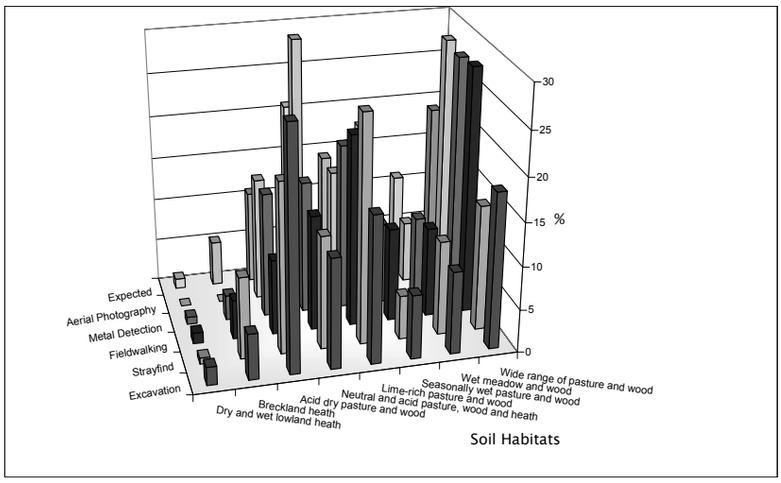


Fig. 7.56 Graph showing the percentage of sites recovered by Excavation (N=94), Strayfind (N=138), Fieldwalking (N=243), Metal Detection (N=827) and Aerial Photography (N=14; P > 0.1) on different Soil Habitats, in comparison to those values expected from the underlying land in the Analysis Area. χ^2 statistic: P < 0.01 for all categories, except where otherwise specified.

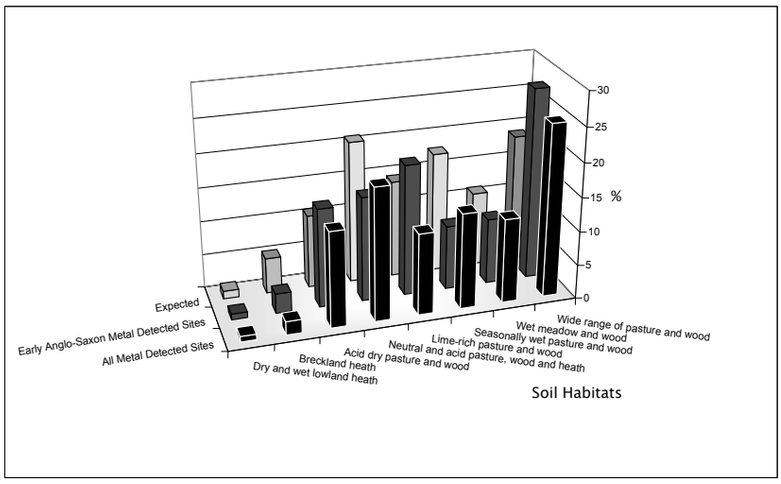


Fig. 7.57 Graph showing the percentage of sites with Metal-Detector finds from Any Period (N=8,312) or Early Anglo-Saxon finds (N=827) on different Soil Habitats, in comparison to those values expected from the underlying land in the Analysis Area. χ^2 statistic: P < 0.01 for both categories.

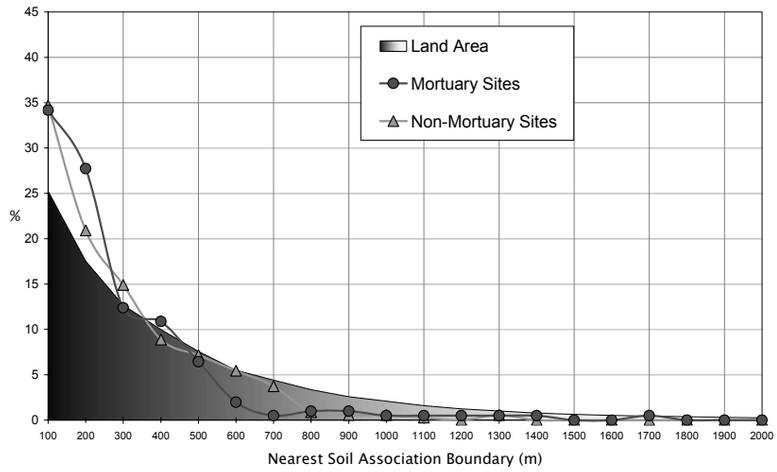


Fig. 7.58 Graph showing the percentage of Mortuary (N=199) and Non-mortuary (N=349) sites at 100m intervals from the nearest Soil Association Boundary, in comparison to the underlying land in the Analysis Area. Long tail truncated; max. dist.=5,100m. K-S: α < 0.01 for both categories—a highly significant departure between the cumulative distribution curves.

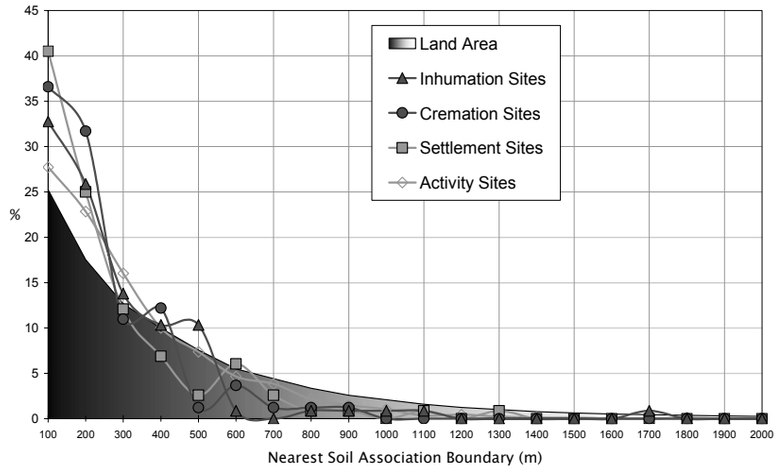


Fig. 7.59 Graph showing the percentage of Inhumation (N=116), Cremation (N=82), Settlement (N=116) and Activity (N=879) sites at 100m intervals from the nearest Soil Association Boundary, in comparison to the underlying land in the Analysis Area. Long tail truncated; maximum distance=5,100m. K-S statistic: α < 0.01 for both categories.

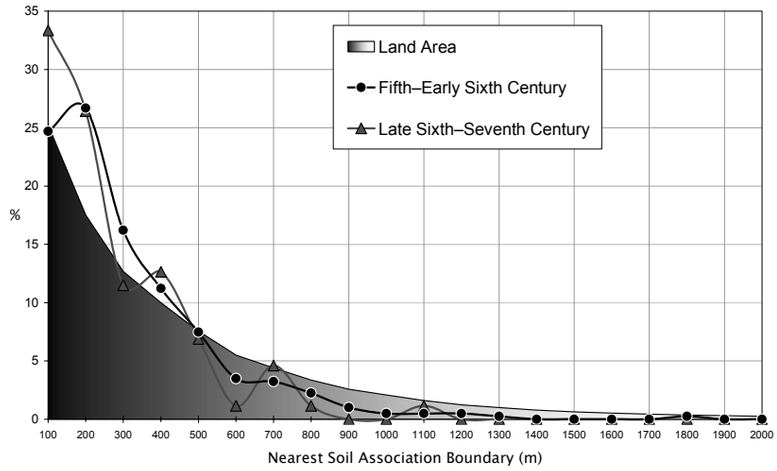


Fig. 7.60 Graph showing the percentage of sites, with Metal-Detector finds of strictly Fifth–Early Sixth (N=401; P < 0.01) or Late Sixth–Seventh (N=87; P < 0.05) centuries in date, at 100m intervals from the nearest Soil Association Boundary, in comparison to the underlying land in the Analysis Area. Long tail truncated; max. dist.=5,100m. K-S statistic: α < 0.01 for both categories.

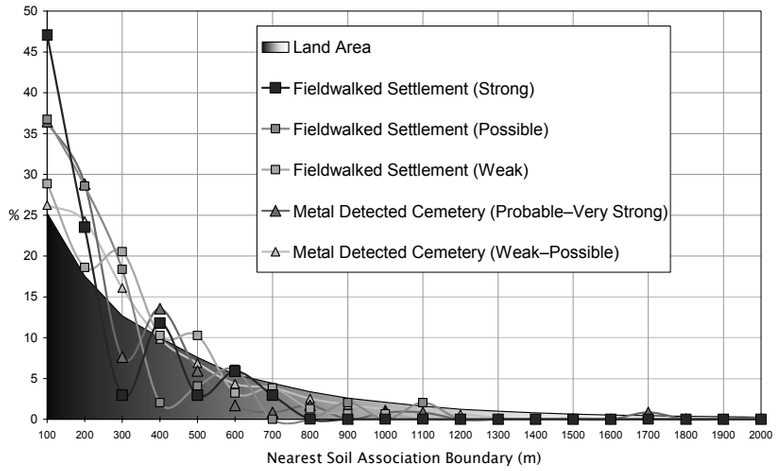


Fig. 7.61 Graph showing the percentage of Fieldwalked Settlement sites—Strong (N=34), Possible (N=49) and Weak (N=156; P < 0.05) candidates—and Metal Detected Cemetery sites—Strong (N=118) and Weak (N=671) candidates—at 100m intervals from the nearest Soil Association Boundary, in comparison to the underlying land in the Analysis Area. Long tail truncated; maximum distance=5,100m. K-S statistic: α < 0.01 for all categories, except where otherwise stated.

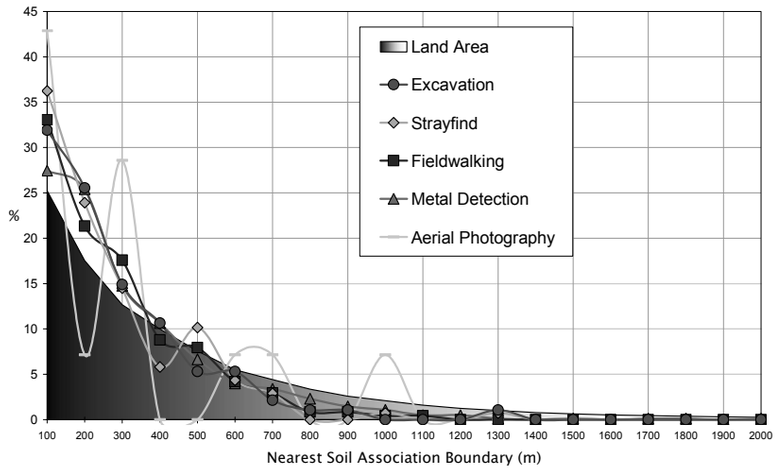


Fig. 7.62 Graph showing the percentage of sites recovered by Excavation (N=94), Strayfind (N=138), Fieldwalking (N=243), Metal Detection (N=827) and Aerial Photography (N=14; P < 0.1) at 100m intervals from the nearest Soil Association Boundary, in comparison to the underlying land in the Analysis Area. Long tail truncated; maximum distance=5,100m. K-S statistic: α < 0.01 for all categories, except where otherwise stated.

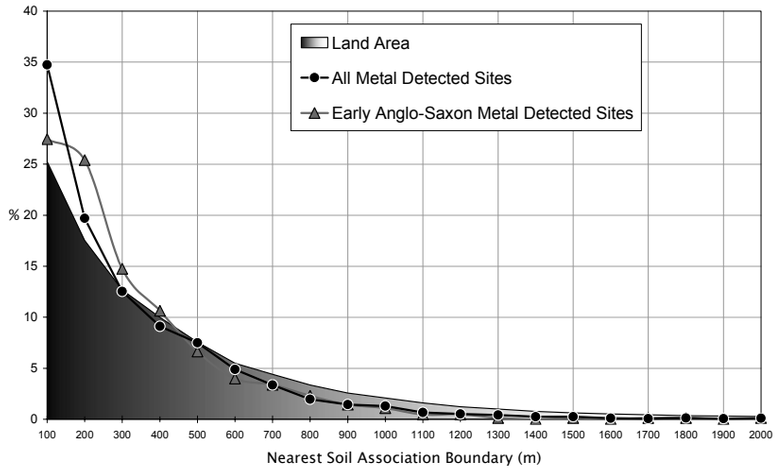


Fig. 7.63 Graph showing the percentage of sites with Metal-Detector finds from Any Period (N=8,312) or Early Anglo-Saxon finds (N=827) at 100m intervals from the nearest Soil Association Boundary, in comparison to the underlying land in the Analysis Area. Long tail truncated; maximum distance=5,100m. K-S statistic: α < 0.01 for both categories.

towards being situated within 100m of a soil boundary. Activity sites are more evenly distributed with respect to the underlying land area, suggesting that settlement sites were more deliberately placed near soil boundaries, while activity sites were a result of movement throughout the landscape with some concentrations in areas around and just beyond settlement sites. If mortuary sites are frequently placed around 100–200m away from settlement sites, these results may suggest that the placement of many mortuary sites in the range 101–400m from soil association boundaries, has an element of coincidence.

Fig. 7.60 shows that there is little chronological change between strictly dated metal detected findspots, with both being found more often with 400m of a soil boundary than the underlying land area would predict. However, later finds are found up to 100m from the nearest soil association boundary significantly more frequently than for earlier finds.

Recovery and interpretation

From Fig. 7.61, the interpretation of fieldwalked and metal detected sites appears to be sound, and there is even relatively little difference amongst methods of recovery (Fig. 7.62). The biggest positive deviation of early Anglo-Saxon metal-detector finds are bunched in the 101–200m range (Fig. 7.63), whereas most metal-detector finds of any period are bunched in the 0–100m range. This gives confidence to the finding that mortuary sites found by metal detector are often less close to soil boundaries than settlements, although, as with all the results so far discussed, there are sites at almost every distance.

Historical Elements of Landscape

Introduction

Pre-Saxon sites have been cited as one of the most, if not the most, important factor in the choice of location of cemetery sites. Cemeteries which reuse, or are otherwise associated with, barrows and Roman villas, for example, have been of considerable interest, and have generated a considerable body of literature on the concomitant ideology and supernatural meanings (Semple 1998; 2002; Williams 1997; 1998).

At the same time, it has been recognised that early Anglo-Saxon settlements, and associated mortuary deposits, often coincide with Romano-British settlements and other multi-period remains due, at least in part, to the choice of similar valleyside locations. Despite the possible, or likely, disuse of Roman roads by the early Anglo-Saxon period they have also been cited as possible linear boundaries used to structure the deposition of mortuary remains. They have also been described as routeways along which mortuary material may have been located in order to be seen by those moving through the landscape (Brookes 2002; 2007).

Many of these findings have been based on the evidence of excavated sites, the skewed frequency of which has already been suggested by the geographical analysis. This section tests the widely held assumptions about the coincidence of pre-Saxon sites with both mortuary and non-mortuary sites, and considers whether this knowledge is a fair representation of the total sum of early Anglo-Saxon sites. A characterisation of siting practices is made with respect to the available pre-Saxon sites in the analysis area, and in reference to their geographical locations.

Barrows and ring-ditches

Data and analysis

The data used to determine the distribution of early Anglo-Saxon sites in relation to prehistoric barrows and ring-ditches comes primarily from the Norfolk HER (with supplemental information from Lawson et al. 1981), but have been checked to exclude those of dubious authenticity, and to ensure that groups are included as a number of individual sites. Barrows and ring-ditches have been included together because their categorisation is not consistent. In some cases a barrow is indicated by a ring-ditch, in others a ring-ditch is not recorded as a barrow.

There are only relatively few barrows which can be discerned by actual or residual earthworks. As a result it is impossible to tell which ring-ditches may have been visible barrows in the early Anglo-Saxon period, and therefore they are all included. Most of the sites are broadly dated to the late Neolithic and/or Bronze Age. There are very few cropmarks dated to the Roman and Iron Age periods. Most of these are mounds, but some are enclosures. All are treated as earthworks and included. The importance of distinguishing between the exact type is recognised, especially at scales below that of the county, but the purpose of the statistics is to demonstrate the potential distribution of earthworks available for mortuary activity in the early Anglo-Saxon period. Very little of the analysis land area lies within 100m of a barrow or ring-ditch, making any associations of importance.

Summary of landscape associations

The analysis so far has correlated early Anglo-Saxon sites with various geographical elements of the landscape. A similar exercise has been completed for barrows and ring-ditches to show which places have more or less earthworks, and so understand their coincidence with early Anglo-Saxon sites, or lack thereof. The results are visible in Figs. 7.64–72 (Roman sites are discussed below), and are summarised here. Barrows and ring-ditches are found in most places in the landscape, but are found more often in a moderately 'high and dry' pattern. They are generally sited far from watercourses, in contrast to early Anglo-Saxon sites, but on land that overlaps with, and is higher in elevation than, early Anglo-Saxon sites. Barrows and ring-ditches are seen to slightly prefer more

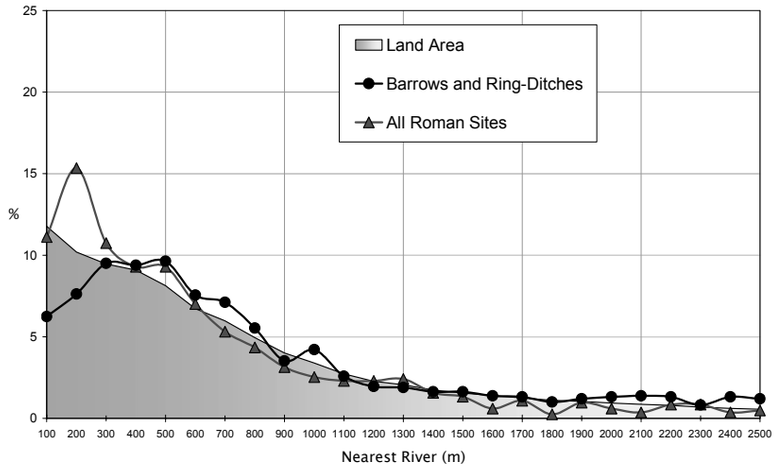


Fig. 7.64 Graph showing the percentage of Barrow and Ring-ditch (N=1,588) and All Roman (N=828) sites at 100m interval distances from the nearest River, in comparison to the underlying land in the Analysis Area. Long tail truncated; maximum distance=6,200m. K-S statistic: α < 0.01 for both categories.

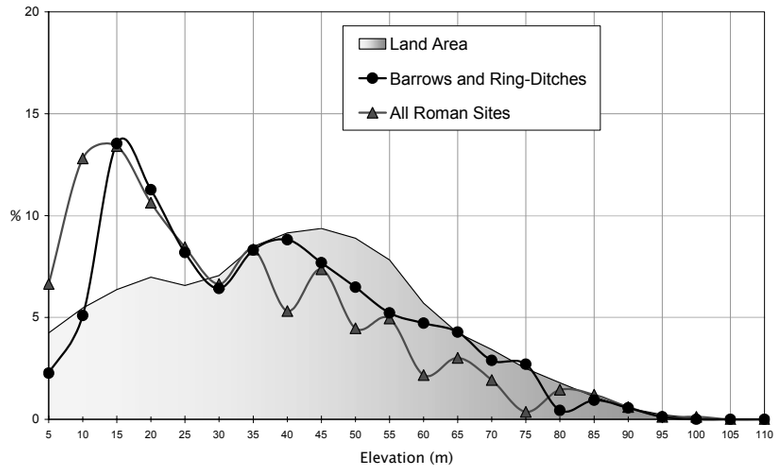


Fig. 7.65 Graph showing the percentage of Barrow and Ring-ditch (N=1,588) and All Roman (N=828) sites at Elevations of 5m intervals, in comparison to the underlying land in the Analysis Area. K-S statistic: α < 0.01 for all categories—there is a highly significant departure between the cumulative distribution curves.

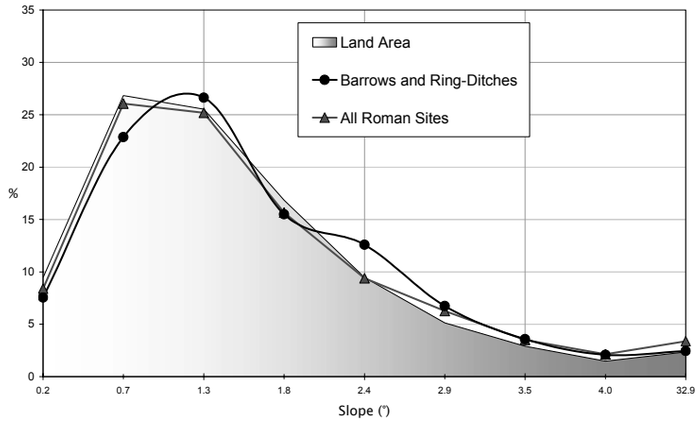


Fig. 7.66 Graph showing the percentage of Barrow and Ring-ditch (N=1,588; α < 0.01) and All Roman (N=828; α < 0.1) sites at Slopes of ½ s.d. intervals, in comparison to the underlying land in the Analysis Area. K-S statistic: as specified.

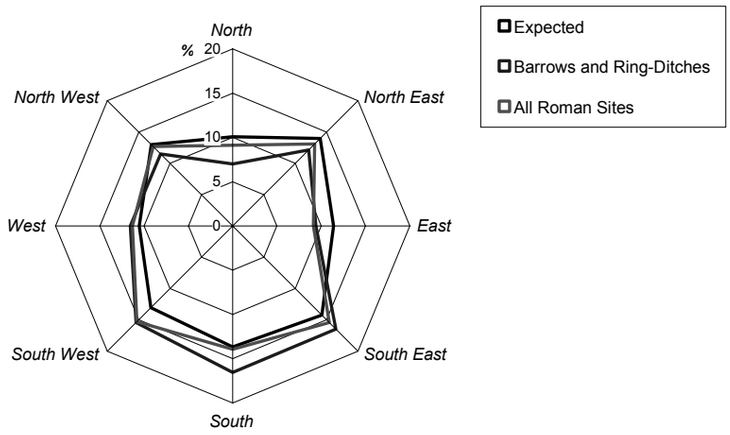


Fig. 7.67 Diagram showing the percentage of Barrow and Ring-ditch (N=1,427; P < 0.01) and All Roman (N=725; P = > 0.1) sites facing different Aspects, in comparison to the underlying land in the Analysis Area. Sites on flat ground excluded. χ^2 statistic: as specified.

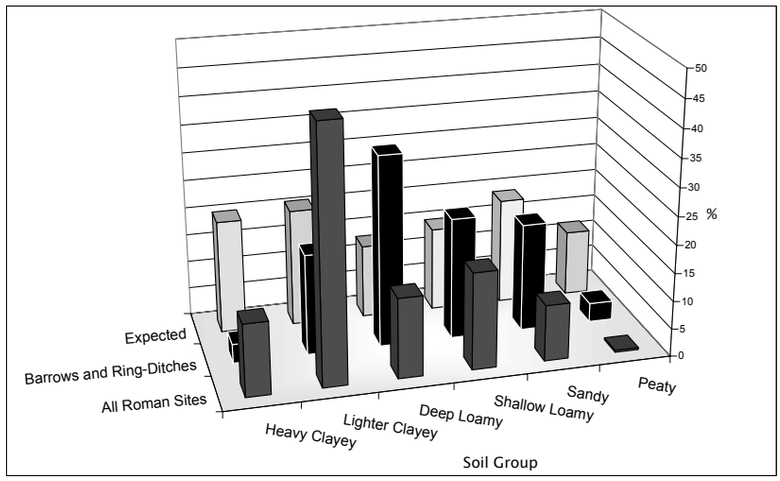


Fig. 7.68 Graph showing the percentage of Barrow and Ring-ditch (N=1,722) and All Roman (N=826) sites on different Soil Groups, in comparison to those values expected from the underlying land in the Analysis Area. χ^2 statistic: P < 0.01 for both categories.

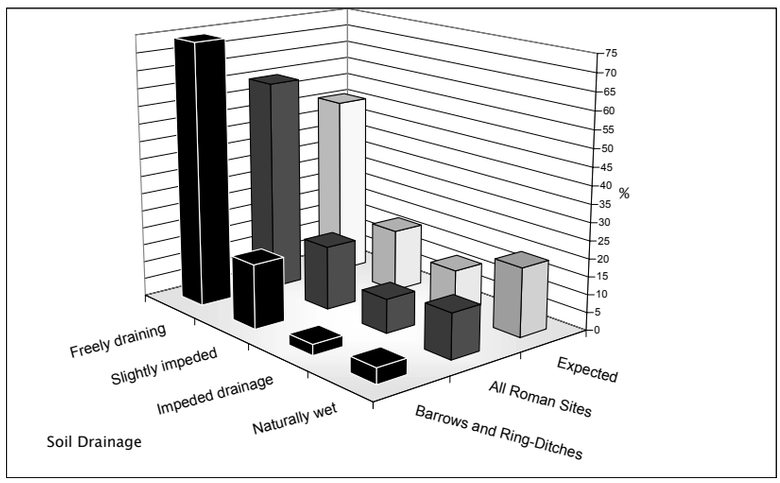


Fig. 7.69 Graph showing the percentage of Barrow and Ring-ditch (N=1,725) and All Roman (N=828) sites on Soils of different Drainage, in comparison to those values expected from the underlying land in the Analysis Area. χ^2 statistic: P < 0.01 for both categories.

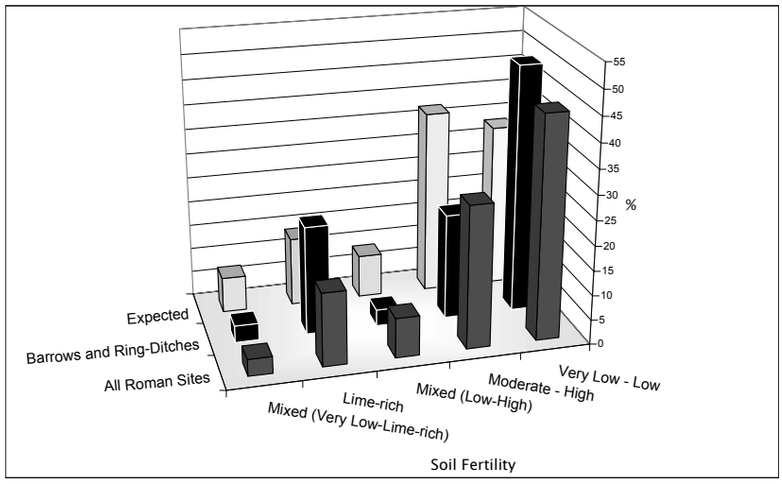


Fig. 7.70 Graph showing the percentage of Barrow and Ring-ditch (N=1,725) and All Roman (N=826) sites on Soils of different Fertility ratings, in comparison to those values expected from the underlying land in the Analysis Area. χ^2 statistic: P = < 0.01 for both categories.

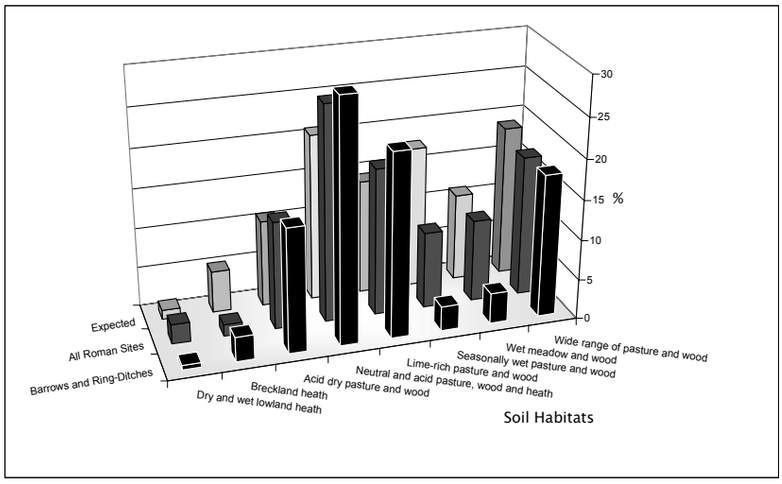


Fig. 7.71 Graph showing the percentage of Barrow and Ring-ditch (N=1,725) and All Roman (N=826) sites on different Soil Habitats, in comparison to those values expected from the underlying land in the Analysis Area. χ^2 statistic: ; P = < 0.01 for both categories.

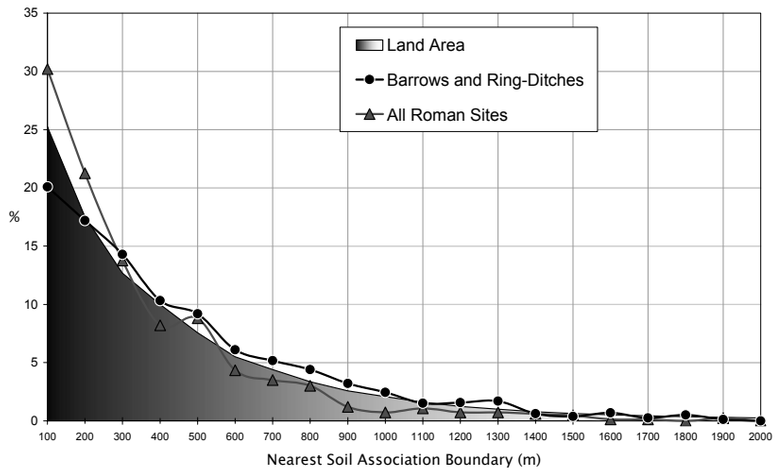


Fig. 7.72 Graph showing the percentage of Barrow and Ring-ditch (N=1,725) and All Roman (N=826) sites at 100m interval distances from the nearest Soil Association Boundary, in comparison to the underlying land in the Analysis Area. Long tail truncated; maximum distance=5,100m. K-S statistic: α < 0.01 for both categories.

sloping ground, and are more likely to face in southerly directions. Both these characteristics they share with some early Anglo-Saxon sites, particularly mortuary ones.

As for soils, barrows and ring-ditches show a bias towards deep loamy and shallow loamy soils, where aerial photography has been most successful, and where the ground is freely draining and of very low–low fertility (although these are mostly north-east soils which may not be this poor in places), or lime-rich. This translates into a preference for certain soil habitats: acid dry pasture and woodland; neutral and acid pasture, wood and heathland; and lime-rich pasture and woodland. Again these are generally favoured places for many early Anglo-Saxon sites as well, with the exception of the neutral and acid vegetation category, but there are also many early Anglo-Saxon sites on soils of slightly impeded drainage where they would be less likely to coincide with barrows and ring-ditches. As a result, it is important not to generalise too far about the coincidence of early Anglo-Saxon sites with barrows and ring-ditches from excavated sites and/or sites on lime-rich soils alone.

Finally, since barrows and ring-ditches are found more often far away from soil association boundaries, and early Anglo-Saxon sites near them, they may share the same soil type without necessarily being nearby. In short, many pre-Saxon earthworks are out of the way of early Anglo-Saxon sites by virtue of being located in the centre of a soil association away from river valleys.

Mortuary and non-mortuary sites

Both mortuary and non-mortuary sites are found nearer to barrows and ring-ditches than would be expected from the underlying land area distribution (Fig. 7.74). In fact, while less than 1 per cent of the analysis area land is within 100m of a barrow or ring-ditch, nearly 10 per cent of mortuary sites, and 6 per cent of non-mortuary sites lie within this distance. The bias continues up to 300m distant, which comprises 6 per cent of the land area, but with 21 and 15 per cent of the mortuary and non-mortuary sites respectively, showing a strong coincidence of prehistoric earthworks and early Anglo-Saxon sites of both kinds.

Despite the rough appearance of plots in Fig. 7.75, the incidence of inhumation and cremation sites within 100m, 300m and 500m of the nearest barrow or ring-ditch is very similar (see Fig.7.73 for the map). Fifteen per cent of the analysis land area is within 500m of a barrow (itself a figure which should caution against too much emphasis being laid on sites at this distance), and the percentage of inhumation and cremation sites within this range is 35 and 32, respectively. Settlement and activity sites also share a similar distribution (the activity plot is smoothed due to a great number of sites), suggesting that much of the correlation of barrows and ring-ditches with early Anglo-Saxon sites is the result of coincident landscape choices. (This is also apparent in Fig. 7.77, where fieldwalked and metal detected sites of all interpretations follow similar distributions.)

Although Fig. 7.76 is difficult to interpret (see appendix 6 of Chester-Kadwell 2008 for clearer trendlines), the number of metal-detector findspots that fall within 300m of a barrow or ring-ditch rise over the course of the early Anglo-Saxon period from 17 per cent in the fifth and early sixth centuries, to 29 per cent in the late sixth and seventh centuries. This concurs with the generally recognised increase of barrow reuse in the later period.

Recovery and interpretation

Ignoring aerial photography, which suffers from low site numbers, excavation is the method of recovery most likely to retrieve sites within 100m of a barrow or ring-ditch, with 15 per cent in this interval, many times the underlying land area (Fig. 7.78). There are also other peaks in the range 301–500m, which may represent those sites, frequently encountered in the literature, where barrows are nearby rather than coincident. The other methods of recovery provide sites that, while being within 500m of a barrow or ring-ditch significantly more often than expected, do not show the same frequency as excavation. It may be that studies which have relied only on excavated sites to determine the general relationship between prehistoric earthworks and early Anglo-Saxon cemeteries have overestimated the coincidence. While 28 per cent of excavated cemeteries are found within 100m of a barrow or ring-ditch in the analysis area (see appendix 6 of Chester-Kadwell 2008), only 4 per cent of metal detected cemeteries are so placed (Fig. 7.77). This significant finding is given confidence by the results displayed in Fig. 7.79 where early Anglo-Saxon detector finds show a bias towards discovery in the vicinity of a barrow or ring-ditch, despite the overall distribution of detector finds from any period.

Roman sites

Data and analysis

The data used to determine the distribution of early Anglo-Saxon sites in relation to Roman sites comes directly from the Norfolk HER, but does not include metal detected sites with no stated interpretation, and does not divide earlier sites from later ones—both these would require future, dedicated study. The aim is to gain a general picture of distribution for statistical purposes. The main analysis also does not distinguish between different kinds of sites. Different sites are discussed in the next chapter. Ten per cent of the land surface lies within 500m of a Roman site, which is less than that which lies within the same distance of a barrow or ring-ditch, making any associations of great interest.

Summary of landscape associations

Which places in the landscape have a greater or lesser number of Roman sites is important in explaining their

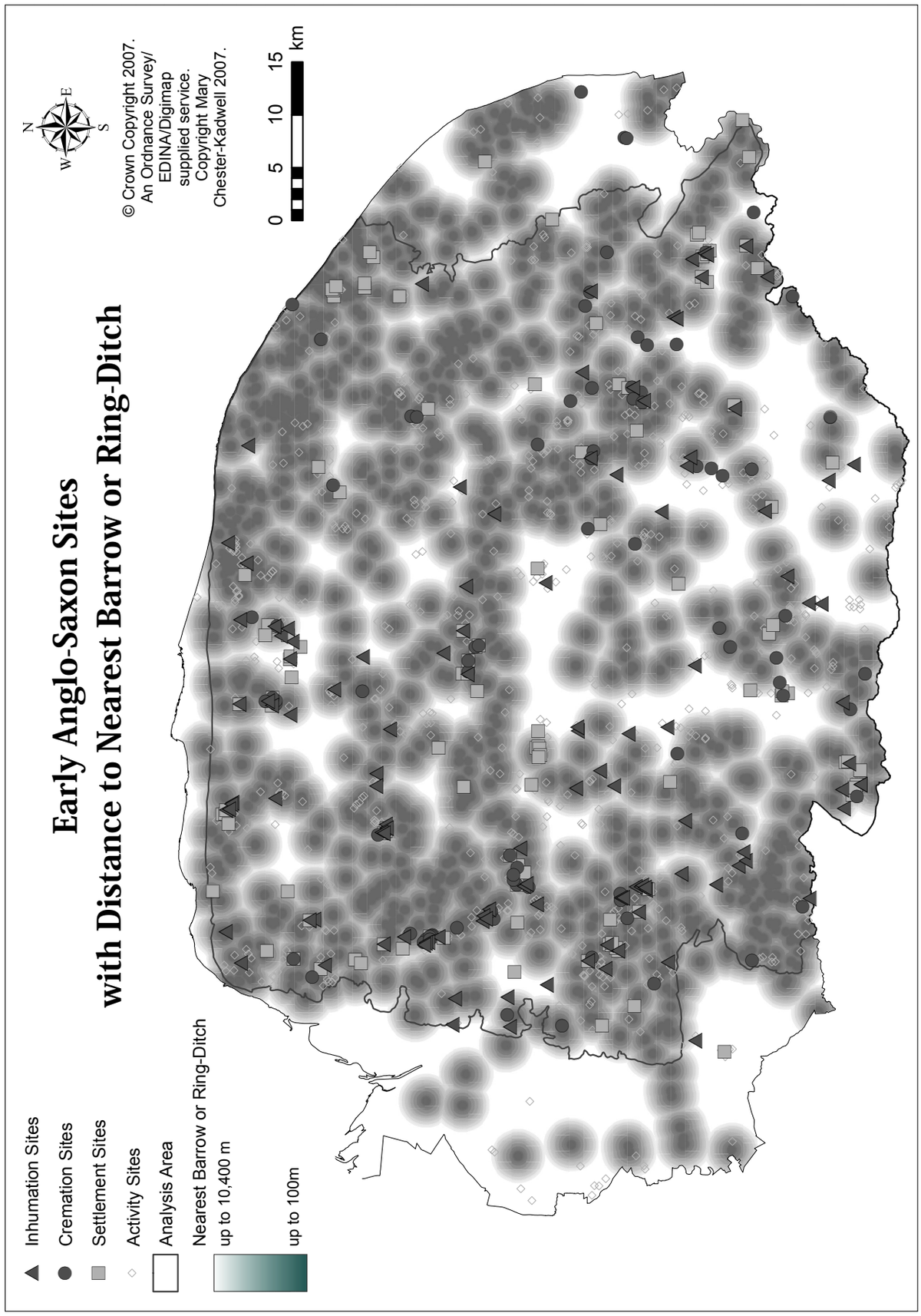


Fig. 7.73 Map of Norfolk showing early Anglo-Saxon sites in relation to barrows and ring-ditches.

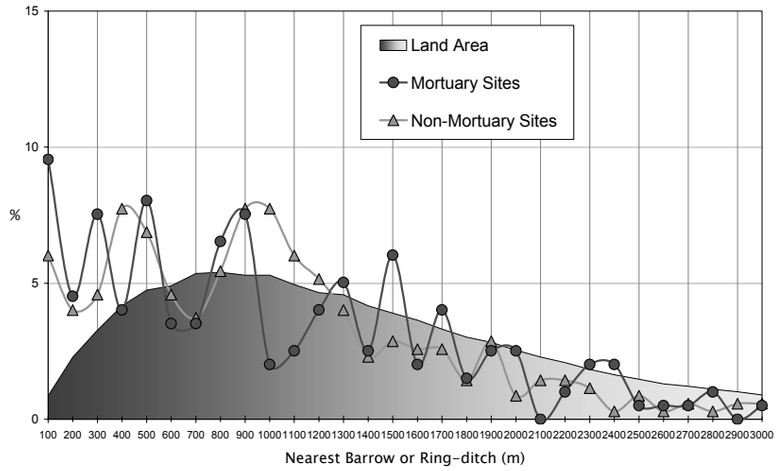


Fig. 7.74 Diagram showing the percentage of Mortuary (N=199) and Non-mortuary (N=349) sites at 100m interval distances from the nearest Barrow or Ring-ditch, in comparison to the underlying land in the Analysis Area. Long tail truncated; maximum distance=5,300m. K-S statistic: α < 0.01 for both categories.

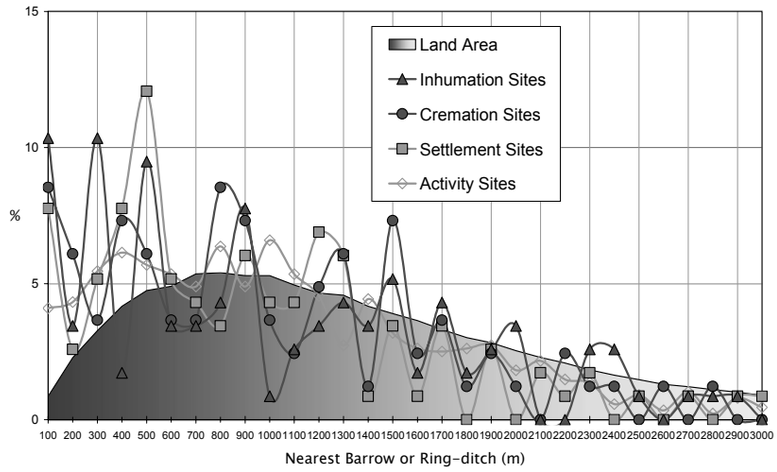


Fig. 7.75 Graph showing the percentage of Inhumation (N=116), Cremation (N=87), Settlement (N=116) and Activity (N=879) sites at 100m interval distances from the nearest Barrow or Ring-ditch, in comparison to the underlying land in the Analysis Area. Long tail truncated; maximum distance=5,300m. K-S statistic: α < 0.01 for all categories.

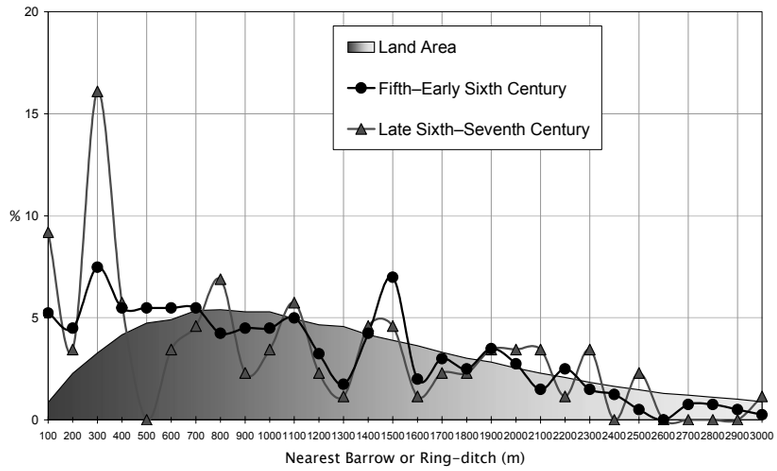


Fig. 7.76 Graph showing the percentage of sites, with Metal-Detector finds of strictly Fifth–Early Sixth (N=401) or Late Sixth–Seventh (N=87) centuries in date, at 100m interval distances from the nearest Barrow or Ring-ditch, in comparison to the underlying land in the Analysis Area. Long tail truncated; max. dist.=5,300m. K-S statistic: α < 0.01 for both categories.

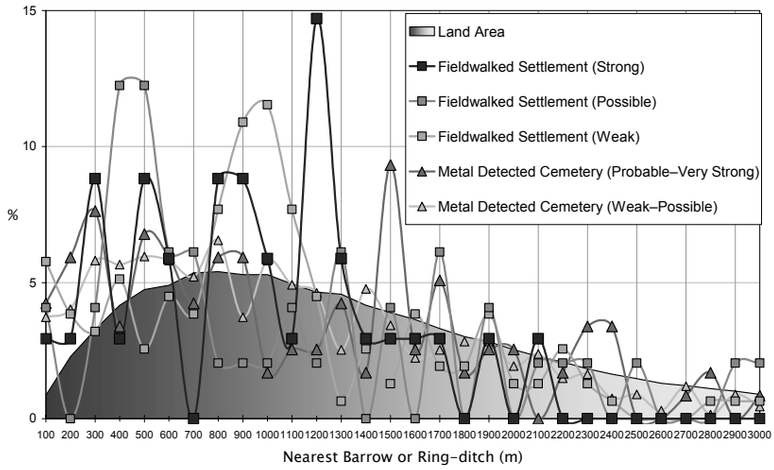


Fig. 7.77 Graph showing the percentage of Fieldwalked Settlement sites—Strong (N=34; α < 0.01), Possible (N=49; α > 0.05) and Weak (N=156; α < 0.05) candidates—and Metal Detected Cemetery sites—Strong (N=118; α < 0.05) and Weak (N=671; α < 0.01) candidates—at 100m interval distances from the nearest Barrow or Ring-ditch, in comparison to the underlying land in the Analysis Area. Long tail truncated; maximum distance=5,300m. K-S statistic: as specified.

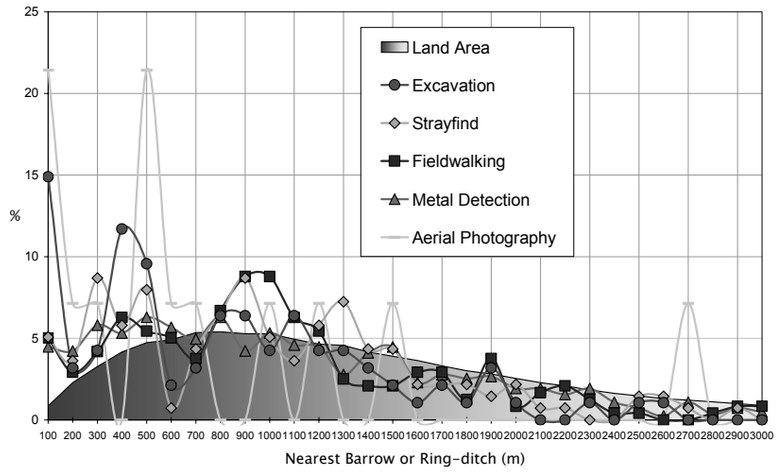


Fig. 7.78 Graph showing the percentage of sites recovered by Excavation (N=94), Strayfind (N=138), Fieldwalking (N=239), Metal Detection (N=827) and Aerial Photography (N=14; α < 0.1) at 100m interval distances from the nearest Barrow or Ring-ditch, in comparison to the underlying land in the Analysis Area. Long tail truncated; maximum distance=5,300m. K-S statistic: α < 0.01, except where otherwise specified.

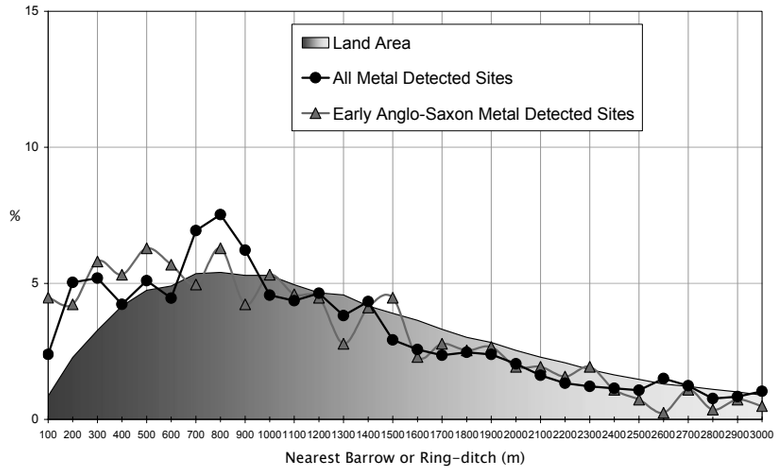


Fig. 7.79 Graph showing the percentage of sites with Metal-Detector finds from Any Period (N=8,319) or Early Anglo-Saxon finds (N=827) at 100m interval distances from the nearest Barrow or Ring-ditch, in comparison to the underlying land in the Analysis Area. Long tail truncated; maximum distance=5,300m. K-S statistic: α < 0.01 for both categories.

coincident location with early Anglo-Saxon sites, if any. As with all the other kinds of sites considered here, Roman sites are found almost everywhere, and there is no simple characterisation to be made, an observation that is not too surprising considered their span in function and date (see Figs. 7.64–72).

The distribution of Roman sites peaks close to water (101–200m), near to the soil association boundaries frequently associated with valleys, and at elevations up to 25m. These locations are similar to those of early Anglo-Saxon sites, making a general correlation likely on the basis of a preference for valleysides. Slope and aspect were of considerably less importance for the placement of Roman sites as a group.

With respect to soils, the number of Roman sites on deep and shallow loamy soils does not deviate greatly from the expected values, but fewer are found on heavy clayey and sandy soils, and very few on peaty soils. Lighter clayey soils are by far the most commonly used, suggesting that Roman sites were placed throughout the period in locations similar to those used for early Anglo-Saxon activities. Freely draining soils were preferred, as were those of very low–low fertility, although both of these categories are inflated by the results of the NMP along the north-east coast. Acid dry, and lime-rich pasture and woodland habitats were those favoured the most. Where early Anglo-Saxon sites are found on such soils there are likely to be many Roman sites as well. However, there are proportionally few Roman sites recovered on the Breckland heaths, on the edges of which a number of early Anglo-Saxon mortuary sites have been found.

Mortuary and non-mortuary sites

Both mortuary (17 per cent) and non-mortuary (14 per cent) sites are found within 100m of a Roman site (Fig. 7.81), far more than would be expected from the underlying land area distribution, even more so than for barrows and ring-ditches, demonstrating considerable co-location. A lesser positive, but still significant, bias is present up to an interval of 600m. Fig. 7.82 shows that settlement is the class of site most likely to coincide with Roman sites, with 23 per cent so located (see also Fig. 7.80). Seventeen per cent of both inhumations and cremations are similarly situated. The results of Fig. 7.83 are difficult to understand by eye because of the large peak in sites with metal-detector finds strictly dated to the late sixth and seventh centuries (see appendix 6 of Chester-Kadwell 2008 for clearer trendlines), but the overall trend is for a slight move away from the locations of Roman sites from the early to later periods.

Recovery and interpretation

Fig. 7.84 shows that strong and possible candidates for settlement (fieldwalking) and probable–very strong candidates for mortuary deposits (metal detection) are both found significantly more often than expected in the 100m range of Roman sites, while sites of weak candidature have a smaller positive deviation. This suggests that strong candidates have been well interpreted, and that the location of these sites in the same places as Roman sites deliberately chosen, for whatever reason. It may also be suggested that fieldwalking and metal detection are fair ways of recovering evidence, since excavated sites are disproportionately likely to be found in the close vicinity of Roman sites, with 37 per cent of excavated sites found within 100m of the nearest Roman site (Fig. 7.85). However, since excavations readily reveal Roman features it may also be true that excavations better represent the true extent of co-location, particularly for settlement. There are nineteen settlement excavations, 79 per cent of which are located within 100m of a Roman site (see appendix 6 of Chester-Kadwell 2008), and most of which are developer-funded excavations rather than specifically targeted.

In comparison, of the thirty-nine excavated mortuary sites included here, only 31 per cent fall in the 100m interval, despite the likelihood that mortuary sites are selected for excavations on the likely favourability and interest of their results. The coincidence of Roman and early Anglo-Saxon settlement features, even by excavation, does not necessarily indicate continuity or deliberate reuse, unless particular stratigraphic relationships can be demonstrated. The results indicate the near ubiquity of Roman activity in the landscape, and the inevitability of early Anglo-Saxon coincidence when using the same locations for settlement, whether or not sites were additionally chosen on a basis of deliberate reuse. This argument is supported by Fig. 7.86 which shows that detector finds from any period also show a positive bias towards Roman sites, an unsurprising conclusion given that a large proportion of these finds are of Roman date, but that early Anglo-Saxon detector finds have an even more positive deviation within the first 300m.

Roman roads

Data and analysis

The Roman roads used in the analysis are those from the HER which are known or have good evidence to suggest their likely existence. Possible and uncertain roads have been excluded, as have very minor roads and trackways about which little is known, except in a few localities. The Icknield Way has also been excluded (see Harrison 2003; contra Margary 1973). The roads therefore represent long-distance militarised routes, but it is worth emphasising that the Roman roads in Norfolk are imperfectly known. The graphs have been truncated at 3000m of a total of 17,700m showing that most of the analysis area lies a considerable distance from any Roman road.

Mortuary and non-mortuary sites

Fig. 7.87 shows sites in relation to the analysed Roman roads, and Fig. 7.88 shows that there is only a weak association with Roman roads for both mortuary and non-mortuary sites. This is most evident in the first

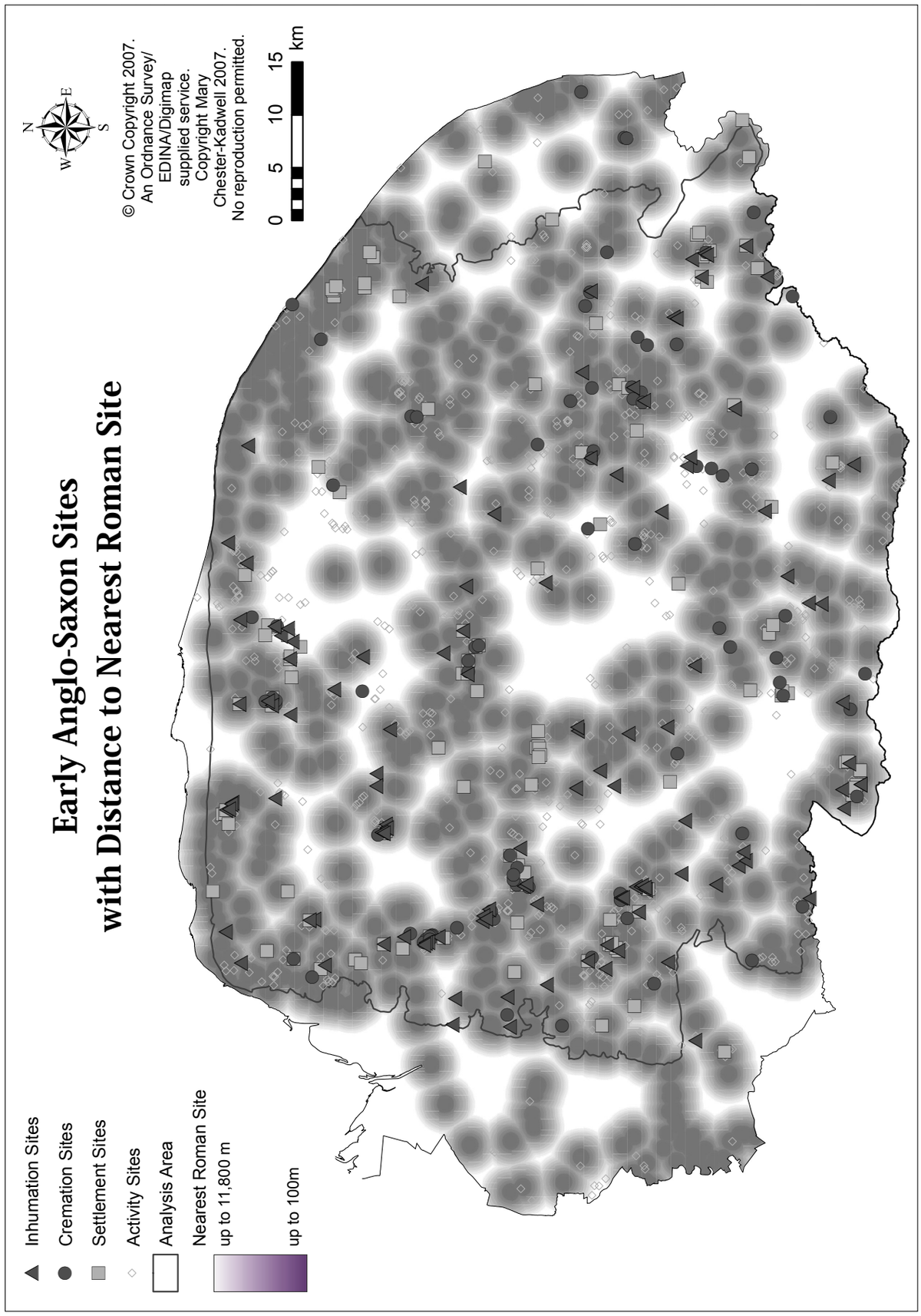


Fig. 7.80 Map of Norfolk showing early Anglo-Saxon sites in relation to Romano-British sites.

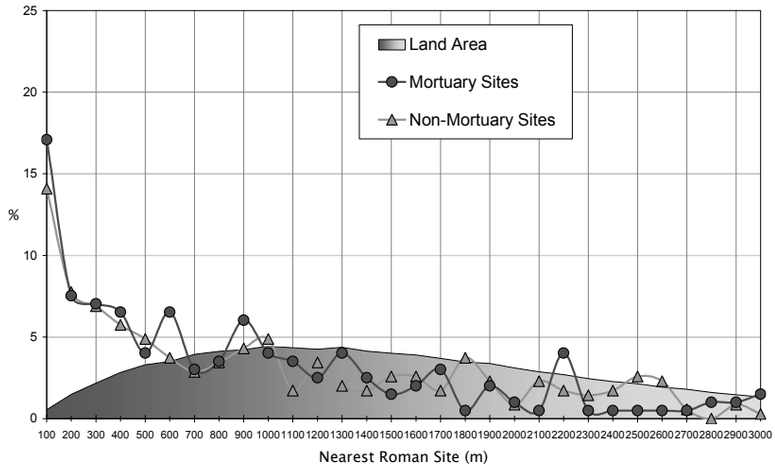


Fig. 7.81 Diagram showing the percentage of Mortuary (N=199) and Non-mortuary (N=349) sites at 100m interval distances from the nearest Roman site, in comparison to the underlying land in the Analysis Area. Long tail truncated; maximum distance=6,200m. K-S statistic: α < 0.01 for both categories.

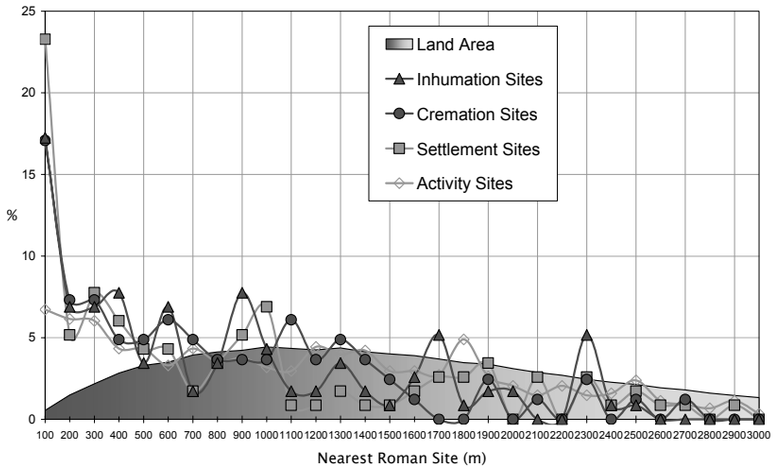


Fig. 7.82 Graph showing the percentage of Inhumation (N=116), Cremation (N=87), Settlement (N=116) and Activity (N=879) sites at 100m interval distances from the Roman site, in comparison to the underlying land in the Analysis Area. Long tail truncated; maximum distance=6,200m. K-S statistic: α < 0.01 for all categories.

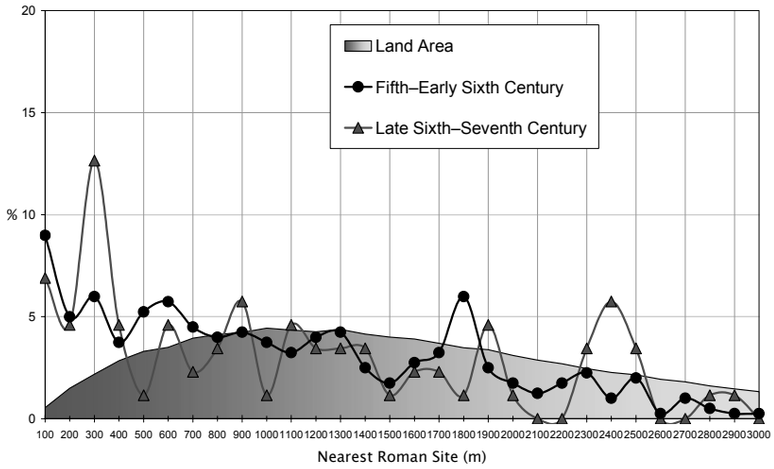


Fig. 7.83 Graph showing the percentage of sites, with Metal-Detector finds of strictly Fifth–Early Sixth (N=401) or Late Sixth–Seventh (N=87) centuries in date, at 100m interval distances from the nearest Roman site, in comparison to the underlying land in the Analysis Area. Long tail truncated; max. dist.=6,200m. K-S statistic: α < 0.01 for both categories.

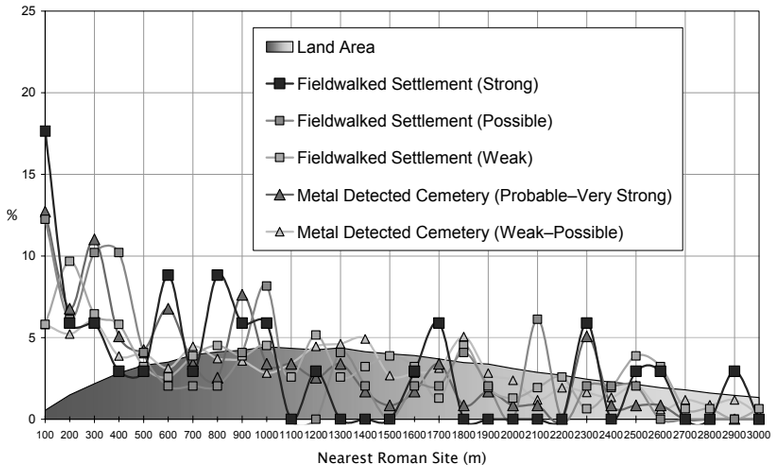


Fig. 7.84 Graph showing the percentage of Fieldwalked Settlement sites—Strong (N=34), Possible (N=49) and Weak (N=156) candidates—and Metal Detected Cemetery sites—Strong (N=118) and Weak (N=671) candidates—at 100m interval distances from the nearest Roman site, in comparison to the underlying land in the Analysis Area. Long tail truncated; maximum distance=6,200m. K-S statistic: α < 0.01 for all categories.

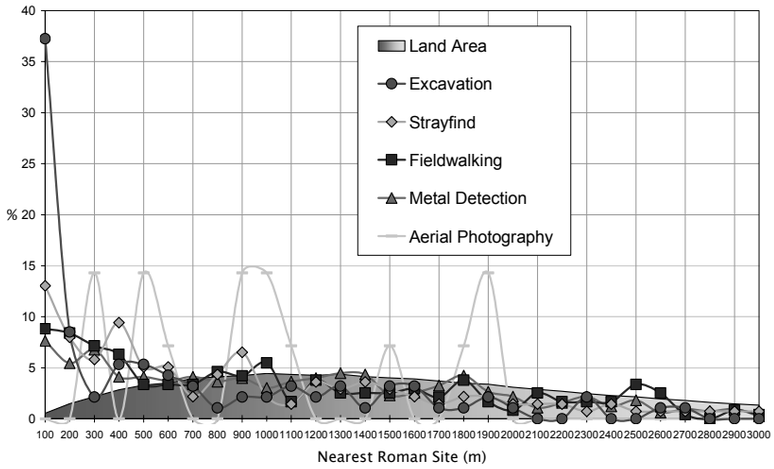


Fig. 7.85 Graph showing the percentage of sites recovered by Excavation (N=94), Strayfind (N=138), Fieldwalking (N=239), Metal Detection (N=827) and Aerial Photography (N=14; α < 0.05) at 100m interval distances from the nearest Roman site, in comparison to the underlying land in the Analysis Area. Long tail truncated; maximum distance=6,200m. K-S statistic: α < 0.01, except where otherwise specified.

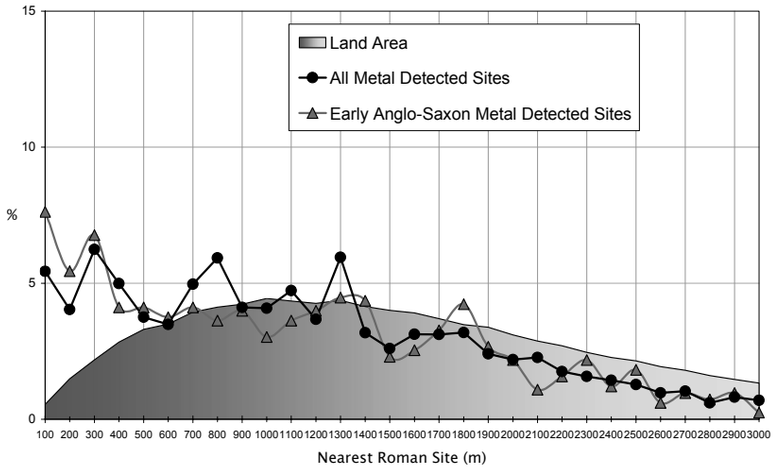


Fig. 7.86 Graph showing the percentage of sites with Metal-Detector finds from Any Period (N=8,319) or Early Anglo-Saxon finds (N=827) at 100m interval distances from the nearest Roman site, in comparison to the underlying land in the Analysis Area. Long tail truncated; maximum distance=6,200m. K-S statistic: α < 0.01 for both categories.

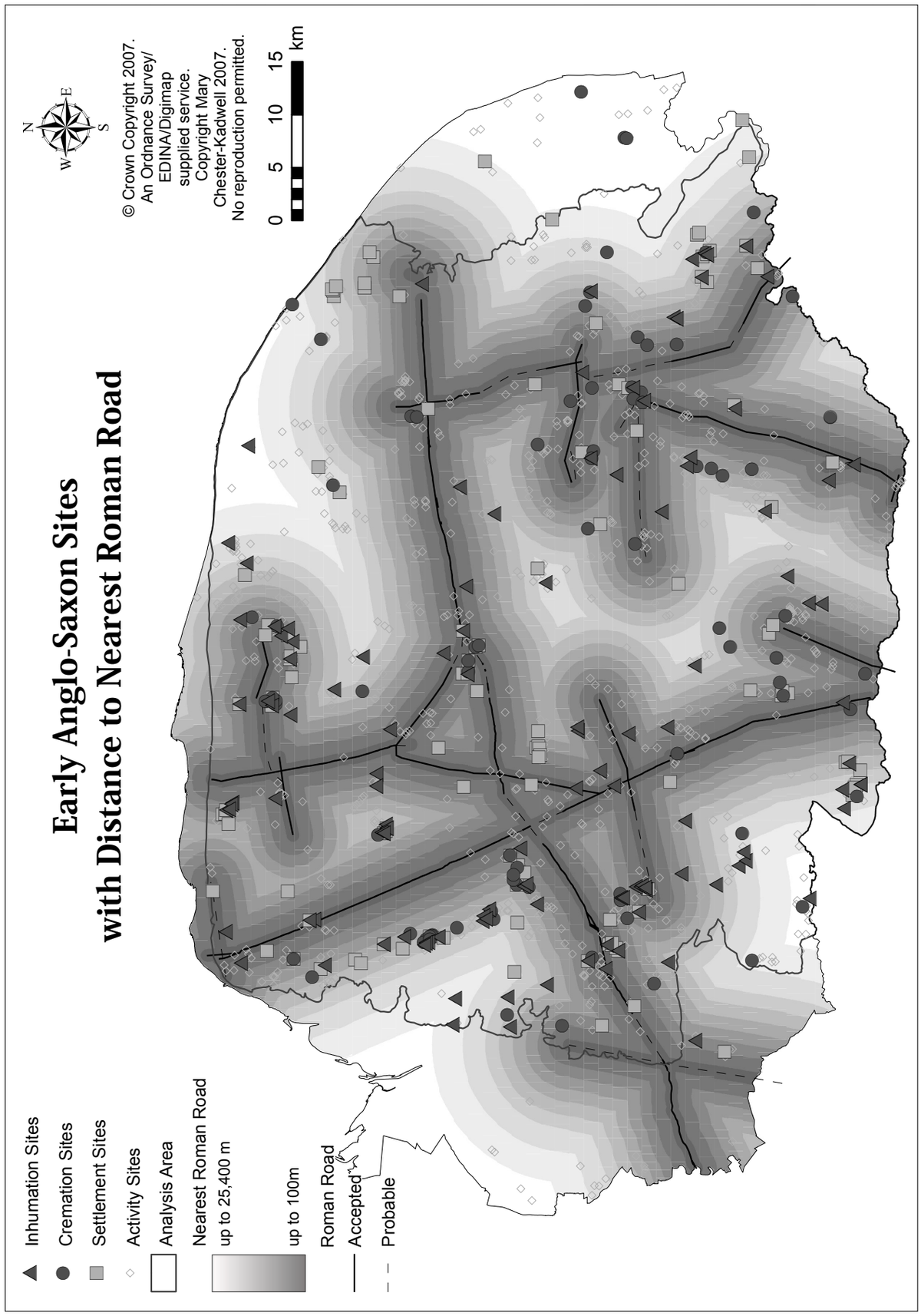


Fig. 7.87 Map of Norfolk showing early Anglo-Saxon sites in relation to Roman roads.

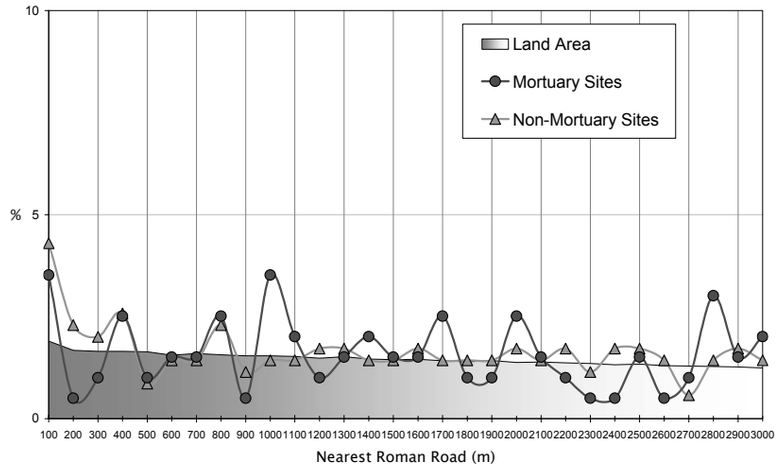


Fig. 7.88 Diagram showing the percentage of Mortuary (N=199) and Non-mortuary (N=349) sites at 100m interval distances from the nearest Roman Road, in comparison to the underlying land in the Analysis Area. Long tail truncated; maximum distance=17,700m. K-S statistic: α < 0.1 for both categories—a weakly significant departure between the curves.

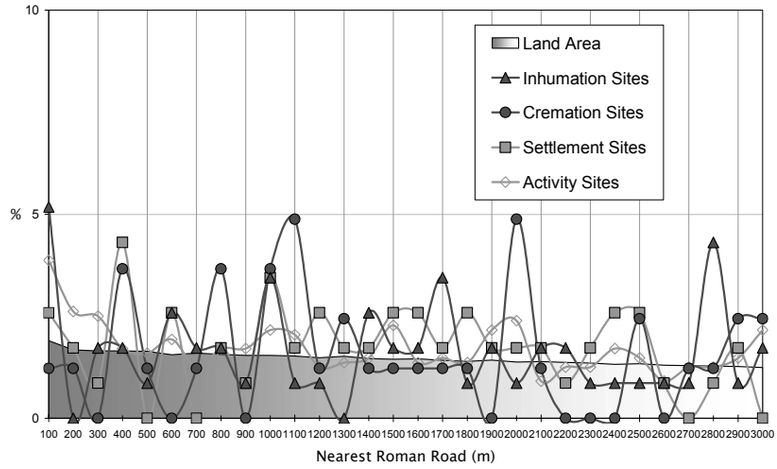


Fig. 7.89 Graph showing the percentage of Inhumation (N=116; α < 0.1), Cremation (N=87; α < 0.05), Settlement (N=116; α < 0.1) and Activity (N=879; α < 0.01) sites at 100m interval distances from the nearest Roman Road, in comparison to the underlying land in the Analysis Area. Long tail truncated; maximum distance=17,700m. K-S statistic: as specified.

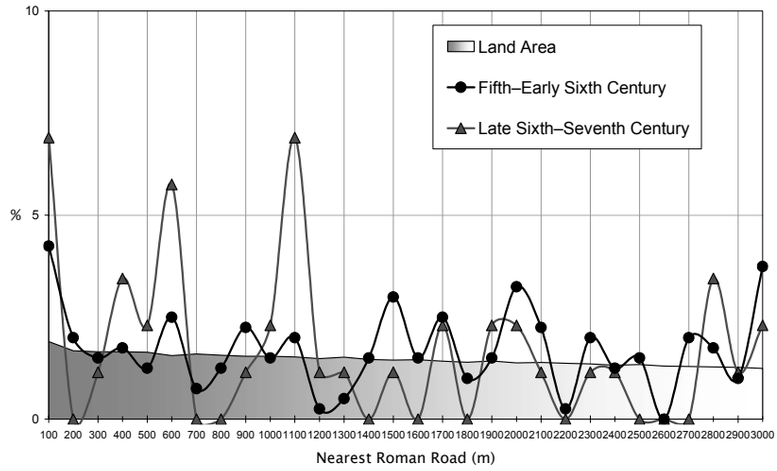


Fig. 7.90 Graph showing the percentage of sites, with Metal-Detector finds of strictly Fifth–Early Sixth (N=401; α < 0.01) or Late Sixth–Seventh (N=87; α < 0.1) centuries in date, at 100m interval distances from the nearest Roman Road, in comparison to the underlying land in the Analysis Area. Long tail truncated; max. dist.=17,700m. K-S statistic: as specified.

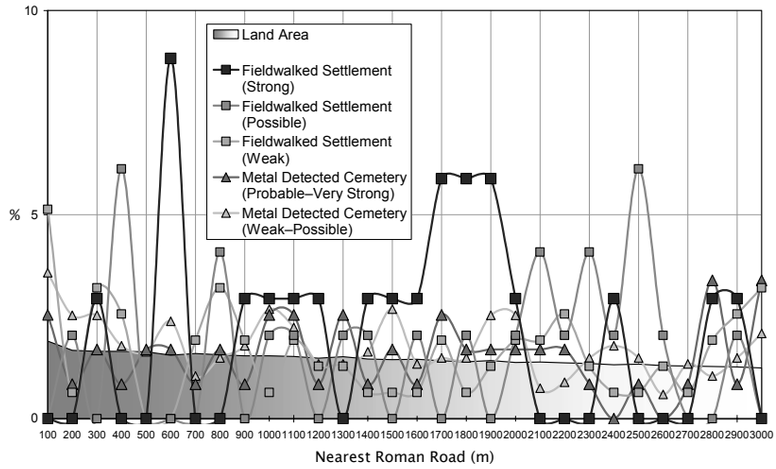


Fig. 7.91 Graph showing the percentage of Fieldwalked Settlement sites—Strong (N=34; α < 0.05), Possible (N=49; α < 0.1) and Weak (N=156; α < 0.1) candidates—and Metal Detected Cemetery sites—Strong (N=118; α < 0.05) and Weak (N=671; α < 0.01) candidates—at 100m interval distances from the nearest Roman Road, in comparison to the underlying land in the Analysis Area. Long tail truncated; maximum distance=17,700m. K-S statistic: as specified.

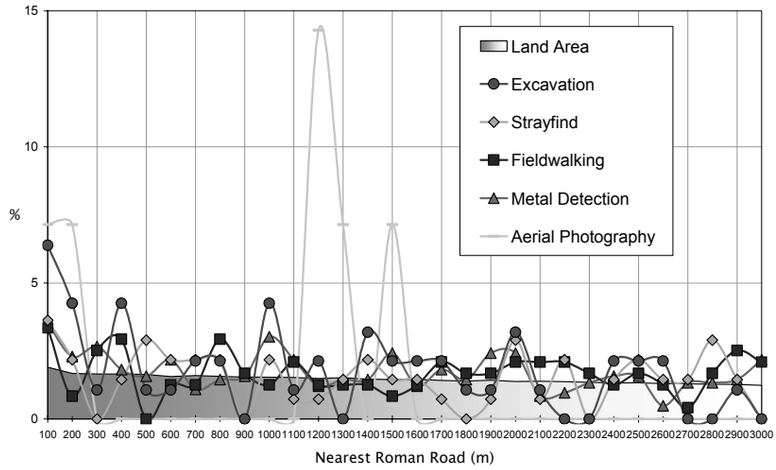


Fig. 7.92 Graph showing the percentage of sites recovered by Excavation (N=94; α < 0.05), Strayfind (N=138; α < 0.1), Fieldwalking (N=239; α < 0.01), Metal Detection (N=827; α < 0.01) and Aerial Photography (N=14; α < 0.1) at 100m interval distances from the nearest Roman Road, in comparison to the underlying land in the Analysis Area. Long tail truncated; maximum distance=17,700m. K-S statistic: as specified.

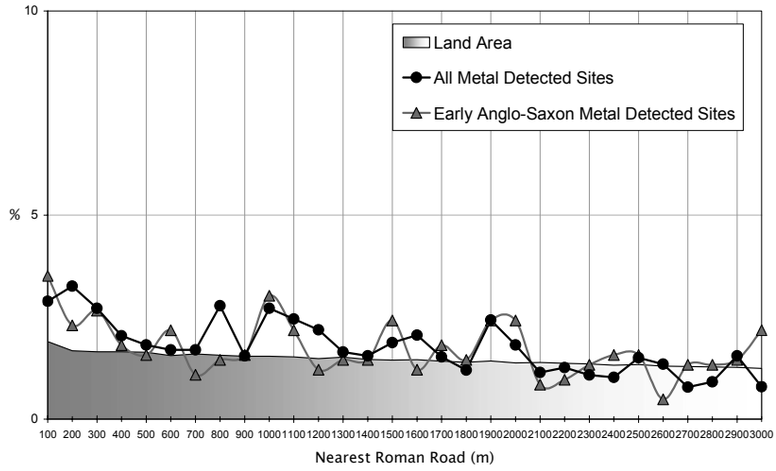


Fig. 7.93 Graph showing the percentage of sites with Metal-Detector finds from Any Period (N=8,319) or Early Anglo-Saxon finds (N=827) at 100m interval distances from the nearest Roman Road, in comparison to the underlying land in the Analysis Area. Long tail truncated; maximum distance=17,700m. K-S statistic: α < 0.01 for both categories.

100m interval, where both kinds are found nearly twice as frequently as expected from the underlying land area, but in comparison to barrows and ring-ditches, and Roman sites, it is a relatively small deviation. Inhumation sites are the most likely to have been discovered within 100m of a Roman road, and cremation cemeteries the least likely, with fewer sites than expected from the underlying land area.

It may be argued, however, that much of the ideological value of Roman roads lies in the ability to see sites while travelling along their length. In this case, associated sites might be expected to fall several hundred metres away in a position of prominence. This may be borne out by the peaks at 301–400m, for example, but may also be due to the presence-absence effects of low site numbers. The overall impression is that Roman roads played only a weak role in determining the location of early Anglo-Saxon sites. There is a possible slight trend towards Roman roads between earlier and later detector finds (Fig. 7.90), which is the reverse of the trend noted for Roman sites.

Recovery and interpretation

The complexity of Fig. 7.91 further demonstrates the weak associative power of Roman roads, since clear plots would have revealed a stronger trend (although this analysis also suffers from low site numbers in comparison to the total number of intervals). Excavation is the kind of recovery that is most likely to reveal sites in the immediate vicinity of Roman roads (when aerial photography is excluded), a trend which is noticeably exaggerated compared with that of other methods (Fig. 7.92). This is true even though detectorists are known for choosing to detect near Roman roads, and more finds from any period are recovered than expected within a 300m distance (Fig. 7.93). Early Anglo-Saxon detector finds do not follow a demonstrably different trend to this, suggesting that cemeteries discovered in this way are a fair representation of the land are covered, and that this reveals only a weak association with Roman roads.

Discussion

Table 7.2 summarises the main trends in the form of positive deviations from the expected values generated by the underlying land area. The interpretation of finds and site reports suggests there are a great number of cemeteries, settlements and other activity sites in Norfolk, although many of the interpretations cannot be conclusively confirmed without excavation. Nevertheless, the finds and sites have the potential to give an account of early Anglo-Saxon activity in the landscape which approaches, or at least attempts to approach, a valley-by-valley study. There is almost no part of the landscape that is not host to some sort of early Anglo-Saxon activity. Even those areas traditionally considered inhospitable, and which are subject to less dedicated metal detection, such as the clay plateau, have a considerable density of sites. Most of these are found on the lighter, valleyside soils, in a pleasing confirmation of Tom Williamson's thesis (1984a; 1984b; 1986).

There are places where few mortuary and non-mortuary sites are found and these are the middle of the Breckland heaths, most of the chalk uplands, much of the heavier clay plateau, and outside the analysis area, most of the Fenlands and Broads. It is notable that these areas are considered inhospitable to settlement, and where sites are found there they are generally apparent around the edges. This is not to say that the early Anglo-Saxons did not utilise these places, as activity sites are present, indicated by a range of finds of no clear interpretation. It is possible that some of these represent mortuary or settlement sites, but the point is that settlements, i.e. groups of buildings which housed families, were best sited on dryer ground (e.g. Pennyland; Williams 1993), but as near as possible to the necessities of life, such as water and pasture. Chalk uplands are most likely to have been used as summer pasture, the heavier clay plateau for woodland resources, and wood-pasture, and wet fen as winter pasture or meadows (Fowler 2002). Along the fen-edge in the west of Norfolk, for example, there is a notable line of sites ideally positioned to take advantage of both the wet, peaty fens and the dry, chalky, shallow loams, while neither being bogged down, nor too far from water. The Broads may have been tidal mud flats at this period, which are also not without their uses. Heathland has relatively few valuable resources, but as the settlement at West Stow in Suffolk (West 1985) demonstrates, this does not preclude settlement. It is also possible that heath-edge locations were desirable for their intervisibility with nearby settlements, as well as the drainage of their soils, or other geographic aspects.

The most puzzling result is the apparent low density of finds from north-east Norfolk, which might otherwise be considered, in some soil districts, as some of the most fertile and productive in the county (Williamson 2005: 8). Metal detecting is certainly known to go on in this area (see Fig. 6.19 and Plate I), and there are low numbers of finds in a similar valleyside pattern to the rest of Norfolk along the Rivers Bure and Ant, and their tributaries, as well as a few more certain sites. A lower susceptibility of the soils to the erosion of deposits, and/or a lower density of metal detection may have contributed to this situation, but the excavation of settlement features at Witton (Wade 1983) demonstrates that when interventions occur sites can be found in this area. A genuinely lower density of settlement may have been the result of dense woodland on the uplands, suggested by the many wood-related later place-names (Williamson 1993: 60–2; 113–15).

It is no longer useful to say that the early Anglo-Saxons avoided any particular soil, but rather that they used and managed the resources as appropriate to each locality. Within the general soil associations, the detailed drift geology would have provided numerous local variations

		Site Class		
Resource	Positive Deviation	Settlement	Inhumations	Cremations
Rivers	Range	101–300m	101–400m	101–400m
	Peak	101–200m	201–300m	201–400m
Elevation	Range	6–25m	6–25m	11–35m
	Peak	11–15m	16–20m	21–25m
Slope	Range	0.8–3.5°	1.4–3.5°	1.4–32.9°
	Peak	1.4–1.8°	2.5–2.9°	3.0–3.5°
Aspect	Range	N, SE, W	N, S, SW, W	SW
	Peak	N (SE)	S	SW
Soil Group	Range	Lighter clayey; deep and shallow loamy	Lighter clayey; shallow loamy	Lighter clayey; deep and shallow loamy; sandy
	Peak	Lighter clayey	Shallow loamy	Shallow loamy, sandy
Soil Drainage	Range	Slightly impeded	Freely draining, slightly impeded	Freely draining, slightly impeded
	Peak	Slightly impeded	Slightly impeded	Slightly impeded
Soil Fertility	Range	Moderate–high; lime-rich	Lime-rich	Lime-rich; mixed (very low–lime-rich)
	Peak	Lime-rich	Lime-rich	Lime-rich
Soil Habitats	Range	Various	Various	Various
	Peak	Wide range of pasture and wood	Lime-rich pasture and wood	Breckland heath
Soil Boundaries	Range	0–200m	0–200m	0–200m
	Peak	0–100m	100–200m	100–200m

Table 7.2 Generalisation of typical landscape results for different classes of site. The range is the widest range of results that deviates positively from the expected values of the underlying land area. The peak is the largest single deviation within the range. In some cases, these are slightly different from the maximum percentage peaks.

to be used or avoided as appropriate. Similarly, a range of mortuary practices is evident from the fact that many sites are found far from rivers, barrows, and Roman sites, even though a significant majority are nearby. The local context is clearly important, and a range of factors may have been taken into consideration when making decisions about the location of cemetery (and settlement) sites, ideas which deserve further exploration.

It is rare that cemetery material (excavated, stray, or detector finds) and settlement material (excavated or fieldwalked finds) are actually found in the same area, but this is because the coverage of different methods tends not to overlap. This has affected the results of the analysis: fieldwalking surveys within the analysis area have concentrated on lighter clayey areas, and metal detecting, the shallow loam. Testing their association statistically is, therefore, not possible at the present time. Nevertheless, a great deal of overlap with respect to the kinds of geographical and historical locations favoured for settlements and cemeteries is apparent. Both are frequently found 100–300m from a river, 0–200m from a soil association boundary, at 11–25m elevation, on slopes of 1.4–3.5°, facing southerly directions, on lighter clayey or shallow loamy soils, which are drier, often lime-rich, and give rise to a variety of woodland and pasture habitats.

The coincidence is closer for settlements and inhumations. Many of the inhumation sites may represent small or large deposits intimately connected with settlements, small or large, in the same fashion as at Catholme (Losco-Bradley and Kinsley 2002) or New Wintles (Chadwick Hawkes and Gray 1969), but there are subtle differences. Inhumations are often 100m further from water than settlement, at slightly higher elevations, on slightly steeper slopes, facing the south, and slightly further from the nearest soil boundary. This

suggests that many inhumations have been deliberately sited to be intervisible with settlement, although not particularly far removed from it.

In contrast, cremations are often 200m further away from water than settlement, at elevations around 10m higher, on more noticeably sloping ground, facing the south west (very specifically), and lying more often on dry sandy, heathland soils. Most of these sites have been recovered by excavation, or are the result of stray finds, and very few have been recovered by metal detection or fieldwalking. It is possible that these cremation sites are genuinely representative of the population, and that there are very few cremation cemeteries left to be discovered, but the impact of metal detection on the number, and particularly the distribution, of inhumations should caution against too great a reliance on excavated sites.

Many cremations are found in similar areas to those occupied by settlements and inhumation, suggesting that cremation does not always have a meaning associated with long distance travel and a wide catchment area. Some of these sites may be of 'mixed' rite, like the site at Hoe (Sutherland and Roberts 2003; Trimble 2002; Trimble and Underdown 2002), which is apparently diffuse and intermingled with settlement features and so not easily categorised. This sort of site may be more common than the corpus of excavated sites would suggest, and would fit with a conclusion that many less well-defined and less spectacular mortuary sites have been missed, but are now being recovered by metal detection.

Despite these important observations, the general overlap of results strongly suggests a close or at least specific relationship between settlements and cemeteries more frequently significant than that suggested by the discussion of excavated evidence in Chapter 3. The implications of this are several. If cemeteries are generally sited relatively near settlement, then the availability of pre-Saxon features for mortuary activity is dictated to a significant extent by those locations which are suitable for settlement, i.e. they are incidental. It is already established that valleysides are the most commonly settled situations. Barrows, ring-ditches, and Roman sites are also found in the same sorts of places, although barrows and ring-ditches are more often found 'high and dry'. These observations find parallels in multi-period sites such as Mucking (Clark 1993). It is difficult to know how many of the pre-Saxon sites included here were visible in the early Anglo-Saxon period, with the exception of those barrows still standing, or well-excavated examples, but the fact that they are generally available in valleyside locations suggests that encountering them must have been a common and familiar experience. Roman sites, in particular, have a pattern which is close to the early Anglo-Saxon distribution, directly suggesting common co-location, and the facility for 'continuity', however it is defined.

Yet, the presence of any particular landscape feature does not predetermine its use for deposition of any kind. Excavated examples, such as Cowdery's Down (Millett and James 1983) and Catholme (Losco-Bradley and Kinsley 2002), demonstrate that barrows could stand near to a settlement, without being reused (although there is no simple way to know if it was used for more ephemeral, communal practices). The evidence from metal detecting suggests that cemeteries may have reused pre-Saxon features significantly less often than has been suggested from excavated sites. Only 4 per cent of metal detected cemeteries, as defined in this study, stand within 100m of a barrow or ring-ditch, compared to 28 per cent of excavated cemeteries. At the same time, far more early Anglo-Saxon sites overall are found with 100m of a Roman site than a barrow or ring-ditch, even though more of the underlying land area lies within 100m of the latter. Perhaps unsurprisingly, prehistoric and Roman sites appear to have been viewed quite differently from each other.

One further issue may be that historical features associated with many metal detected cemeteries are not immediately apparent, being of a more subtle nature than a villa or a barrow. This, in itself, would be of considerable interest. Consider as an example the alignment of cremations along a Romano-British ditch during the earliest phase of Spong Hill (Rickett 1995) an association that could not be recovered easily by other methods. However, it should not be assumed that because excavations provide the most detail they necessarily provide the most representative sample. It may be desirable to revisit the assertion that monument reuse was perhaps the most important factor in the siting of cemeteries in the early Anglo-Saxon period (Williams 1997; 1998). It needs to be understood within a broader context in which the relationship between cemeteries and settlements was crucial, a relationship which inevitably influenced the range, number and relative situation of available pre-Saxon sites.

As for finds which are not easily interpreted, the evidence suggests that activity sites are a mixture of mortuary and settlement sites, as yet unrecognised, together with accidental losses, dumping and other off-site incidentals, both in the vicinity of settlement and further away. Sites which are not commonly recognised, such as metalworking areas and votive deposits, may still be represented by finds such as lead brooch models and isolated weapons finds in water, or at Roman sites, and this issue would benefit from further study. Sites which lie in locations different from the core of settlement are not just activity sites, but also further settlement and mortuary sites.

The range of finds across the whole landscape has already been commented upon, but the implications are that these represent an important part of a whole range of practices, serving as a contrast to typical actions. These practices may be localised or unique, and are influenced

by the affordances of the landscape in that region. For example, settlement overlooking valleys might be of a higher status, or ritually special, or represent temporary or seasonal camps associated with the pastoral economy. Mortuary sites might be highly visible on steep slopes, allied with springs at higher elevations, looking out to sea, or below settlement close to rivers. In other words, while one variable may be extreme, another may be more average.

Several outliers, but by no means all, can be accounted for by 'edge effects' where sites on the edge of the analysis area have resources only on one side (such as along the coasts) or where the configuration of resources is unknown and therefore excluded (such as on the southern Fen edge). Even where some sites have been erroneously categorised, the finds must stand for some kind of activity. There is no suggestion, however, that significant journeys were undertaken to deliberately place mortuary sites in the middle of watersheds and soil associations, where many barrows and ring-ditches are found, in order to specifically reuse these monuments. This may have been the case in the middle Anglo-Saxon period, but there is little evidence of this practice in the early Anglo-Saxon period, even in the late sixth and (early) seventh centuries.

Further chronological trends have been examined through the distribution of metal-detector finds, which can be expected to represent primarily cemeteries, but also general activity. There is an overlap in location between the findspots of earlier (fifth–early sixth-century) and later (late sixth–seventh-century) finds, but later sites are found more often on slightly steeper slopes (peak at 1.9–2.9°), and have a greater positive deviation towards the south (and north). This may indicate a greater concern for intervisibility and ideology, which would be in keeping with conclusions reached in other areas of the country, but there are also more sites within 200m of water, within 100m of a soil boundary, and most later sites fall in the 11–30m elevation range, which does not suggest locations very different from that of settlement.

The greatest difference between the earlier and later findspots is in the soils which underlie them. A greater percentage of later sites are found on deep loamy, well-drained soils, and of lower fertility. This signals an emphasis on settlement in the north-east Norfolk (where some of the local soil districts are actually significantly productive), and at the head of the River Tat in the Good Sands region. This would suggest a relative concentration on soils other than those favoured in the earlier period, which might be interpreted as a settlement expansion, in keeping with similar observations in other places around the country. Caution must be exercised, however, since the number of later findspots is low relative to the earlier ones, and the sample of seventh-century finds is incomplete, with only those from the early seventh century comprehensively included.

In conclusion, the early Anglo-Saxon use of landscape is varied, and locally contingent, but within a range of culturally specific practices. There was a significant element of choice enacted in the placement of both settlement and cemeteries within available environments. The general explanations offered here would be better served by concrete examples in order to understand how the variety of local practices makes up the larger pattern; why certain practices were chosen; and why practices varied at all. This is the goal of the next chapter.

Chapter 8

Communities in Perspective

Introduction

The intention in this chapter is to examine the processes by which communities of different kinds were formed, maintained and contested in the early Anglo-Saxon period in Norfolk, with special reference to the use of landscape. The argument is structured primarily by the concepts of nested and inter-cutting identities, some of which are familiar in style from the morphology of excavated cemeteries, or the distributions of material culture, or the Tribal Hidage, or the formation of later estates. Others appear more unfamiliar. The discussion starts with the most localised practices that can be observed in the landscape, and links them to wider patterns of practice. There is a great deal of material in the county, far more than is possible to detail here (see appendix 1 of Chester-Kadwell 2008 for a full description). The sites and areas selected are those which advance the argument and give meaning to the patterns observed. Fig. 8.1 shows the areas discussed and should be referred to for the locations of later figures.

Local Community Practice

Key concepts

The key concepts to be invoked when discussing the construction of communities are those of practices and locations. Communities can be understood as being formed by the communal activities of their members, some of which occur every day, some in cycles through the year, and some are intermittent. These may involve all kinds of interactions among households and settlements, such as the shared experiences of agricultural routines, gift-giving and feasting in the hall, the assembly at market in the nearest large settlement, or a cremation rite. They are structured by places in the landscape, and by the routes between them.

Some practices create new places, such as building a settlement, or burying the dead to create a cemetery. These places then structure further practice. These practices may change places, structuring the practices of people there in such a way that the places change as

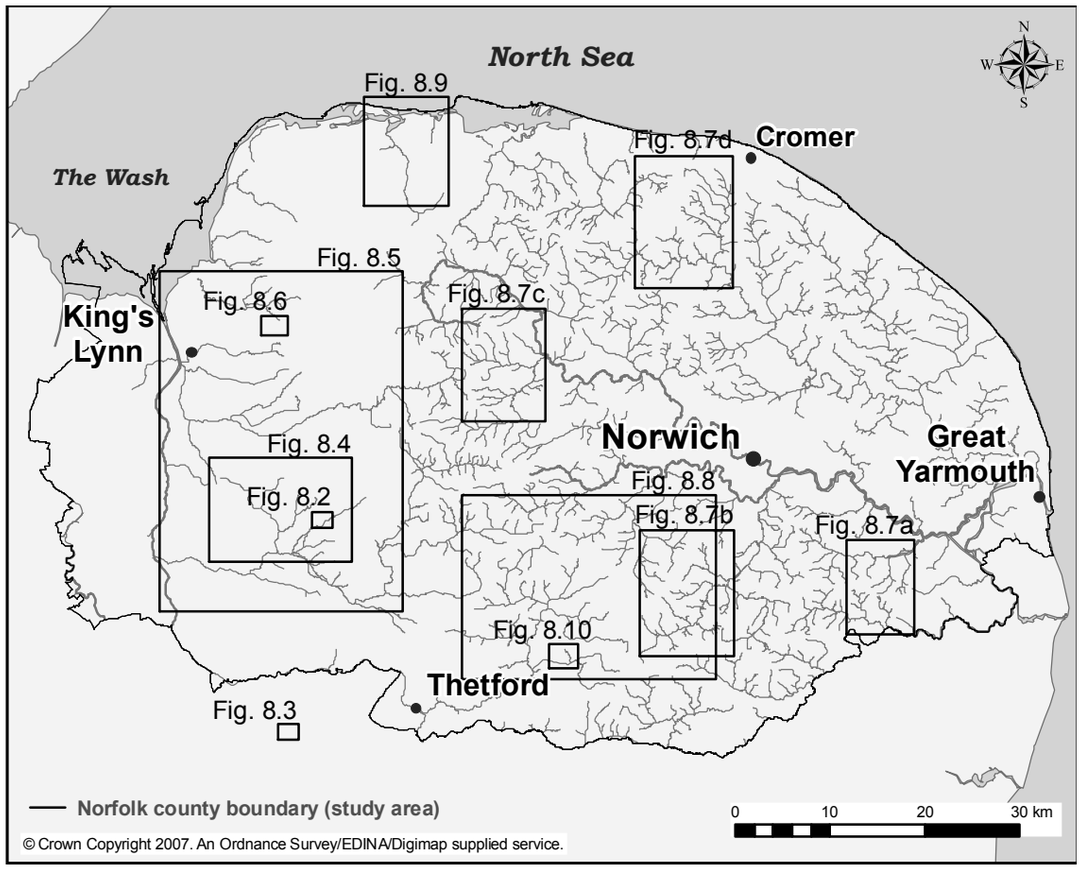


Fig. 8.1 Location of the areas discussed in the text.

a result of further building or burial, or as a result of abandonment or neglect. This also structures further practice.

Both unconscious and conscious actions are important and powerful in the practice of community, and the motifs of different styles of community can cross over from one to another, sometimes deliberately. 'Local community' is the term used to mean the sum of inclusive interactions among people of different statuses between at least two households. It is not necessarily defined by the shared use of settlement or cemetery space, but it is argued that these certainly contributed to the range of communal activities that created community in early Anglo-Saxon times. People could be members of more than one community, although one kind may have had salience over others, and the membership of communities which involved people from many settlements could inter-cut one another, rather than simply being nested or hierarchical.

For this period it is suggested that the local community was the most strongly felt for most people, and the basis of powerful communal experience, despite the evident presence of internal differences (although the strength of this may have varied depending on the status and identity of the individual; see Bazelmans 1999 concerning the institution of the retinue). As a consequence, manipulation of the local community, from both inside and outside the community, through the deliberate contention of established practices, or the keen attempt to enforce conformity, was essential to the developments which occurred during the early Anglo-Saxon period.

Sites and their environs

Funerary landscapes

The site of a cemetery in the parish of Oxborough, western Norfolk (HER 25458) was an inhumation cemetery excavated in 1990 (Penn 1998). It lies on the remains of a heavily ploughed barrow in a region of shallow, chalky loam, about 450m from the River Gadder which is in the range 1–4m in width (Fig. 8.2 and Plate II). Metal-detector finds alerted archaeologists to the presence of the Oxborough cemetery, but they also demonstrate that this one site is not alone in the landscape (Chester-Kadwell 2005: 91). There are a range of other mortuary deposits in the immediate area: one 450m to the north (HER 34965), another 400m to the south (HER 34131), with two more immediately adjacent to the latter (HERs 31759; 34355). There is no evidence that these are contiguous, as metal detecting has been conducted in the whole series of fields in the vicinity. Were they to be so, they would form a cemetery far

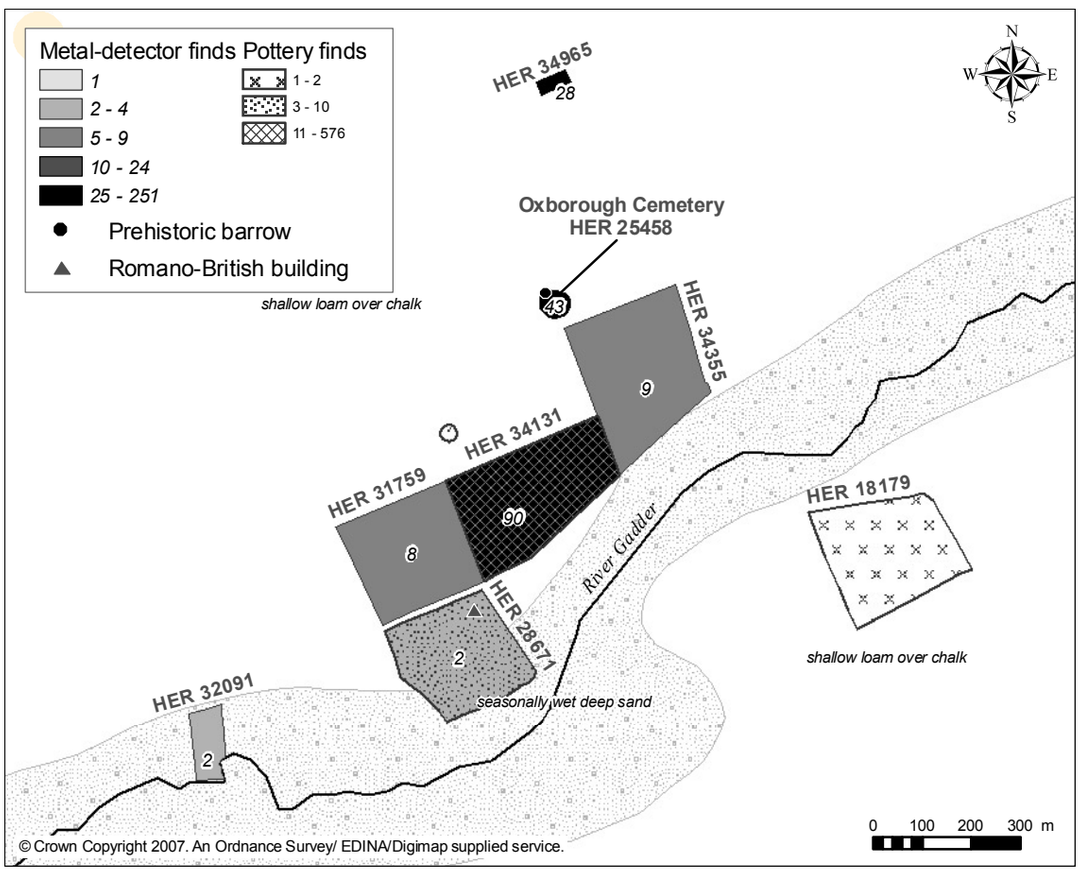


Fig. 8.2 The excavated cemetery at Oxborough with other nearby surface collection finds. See also Plate II.

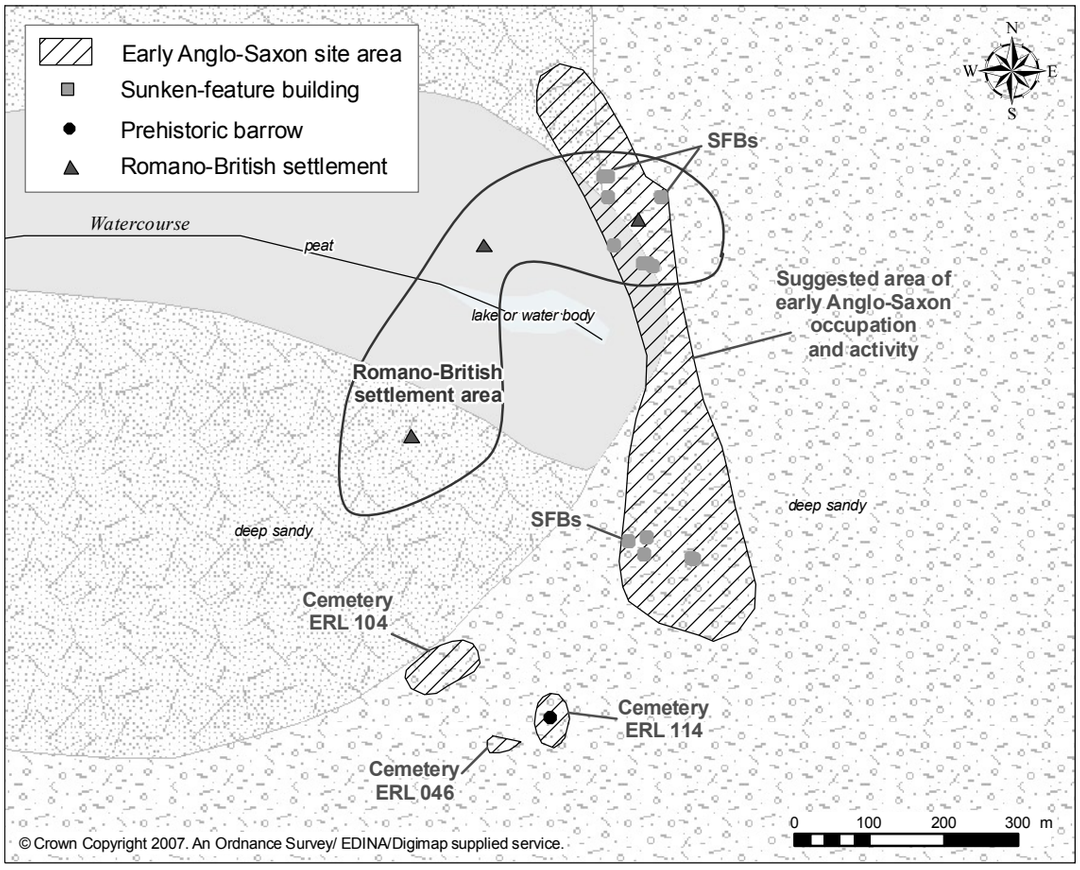


Fig. 8.3 Cemeteries and settlement at Eriswell, Suffolk. Information courtesy of Jo Caruth and Suffolk County Council. See also Plate III.

larger than any known. Instead, the finds appear to represent a series, or complex of mortuary deposits within a wider area.The dating of finds from these sites ranges from the late fifth century through to the seventh century, with all the sites producing most finds dated to the sixth century, early fifth–sixth centuries or sixth–early seventh centuries. This overlap is consistent with sites which had contemporaneous use although it is not possible to rule out the possibility that they were not used contemporaneously.

In East Anglia, a close excavated parallel to Oxborough is the site at Eriswell, Suffolk (Caruth 1998; 2000; 2002) (Fig. 8.3 and Plate III). One cemetery (ERL 114) has burials arranged around a barrow in a circle, while avoiding the centre. Another more amorphous and smaller cemetery (ERL 046) is approximately 60m distant in a south-westerly direction, and is not directly associated with any relic monument, but does include two small Anglo-Saxon barrows overlying single burials. A third cemetery (ERL 104), the largest of the three, lies approximately 120m north-west of ERL 114 and is defined by a layer of grey sand within a chalk hollow. Although the three cemeteries at Eriswell are somewhat closer together than those at Oxborough, they are notably similar in the way that one mortuary area is organised around a barrow, while others lay organised differently at a distance. The evidence from grave goods suggests that the three Eriswell sites are contemporaneous, ranging in date from the late fifth to the early seventh century, but with discernible differences among the assemblages (Jo Caruth, pers. comm.). The gravegoods from the Oxborough cemetery and metal-detector finds also appear to have been broadly contemporary, with no obvious separation in time.

The Eriswell and Oxborough sites may have been extensive, complex and multi-focal funerary landscapes, perhaps with space and movement structured by ditches or stake fences (cf. Semple 2002). The plough damage at Oxborough, and the modern levelling of the sites at Eriswell, mean such evidence may never be recovered, but it is argued that the choice of different, but nearby, locations for contemporaneous mortuary practice was commonplace in the early Anglo-Saxon period. Oxborough has been chosen as an example because of the proven cemetery, but there are many places in Norfolk which could be similar on the basis of metal-detector finds alone.

The practices evident at places like Oxborough and Eriswell may illustrate one reason why metal detected cemeteries show fewer associations with barrows than excavated cemeteries do, since metal detecting recovers

finds in the broad vicinity of barrows and ring-ditches, and not preferentially those directly on or around them. Alternatively, it may be that barrows and ring-ditches associated with detected cemeteries are simply not known from aerial photography. At Oxborough, it was not until the site was excavated that the barrow became apparent. Either way, it seems likely that direct reappropriation of barrows was not the only kind of meaningful practice that could be associated with them. At Spong Hill, for example, barrows are visible 150–300m away from the cemetery (Rickett 1995: fig.2), and at the Morning Thorpe cemetery a ring-ditch was spotted on an aerial photograph 100m to the north-east (Green, Rogerson and White 1987).

If a barrow was the symbol of another community then avoiding it directly may have been appropriate for others. If a barrow was interpreted as the burial place of ancestors, or the home of supernatural beings, as has been suggested from later literature (Ellis 1943; Ellis Davidson 1950; 1964; Semple 1998), then it may have been avoided directly, but the general area may have been considered appropriate because it was imbued with the supernatural.

Alternatively, in some places, the reuse of a barrow may have been secondary to the practice of burying at an appropriate distance from it. This may have signalled a deliberate break with established practice, and avoidance by others would have been desirable, or enforced. In other parts of the country this has been seen increasingly in the late sixth and seventh centuries, and interpreted as practices of an emerging elite. There is little evidence of this at Oxborough or Eriswell. The erection of small Anglo-Saxon barrows in the second Eriswell cemetery (ERL 046), perhaps in emulation of the one around the barrow (ERL 114), does suggest that the symbolism of barrows was desirable for a few, perhaps higher status, individuals. The transformation from communal barrow burial, to individual ones, does find parallels elsewhere (Lucy 1998; Richardson 2005; Semple 2002; Williams 2006), and similar practices are evident at Spong Hill (Hills, Penn and Rickett 1984) and Morning Thorpe (Green, Rogerson and White 1987) where they may be interpreted as later events in the biography of the cemeteries.

Why some groups chose, or were able to choose, a barrow in contrast to others in the vicinity is not easily understood, but the distinctive forms of intermittent behaviour are clear. The fact that people continued to use separate cemeteries, despite being so close by, demonstrates a long-lived 'discourse' of community. The repeated burial of individuals at one site rather than another could be described as a series of ongoing statements, and would not have had the same power or meaning if the cemeteries were not intervisible. Perhaps even more interesting is the fact that communal practice could continue unchanged for so long, despite the potential use of different gravegoods and grave structures within each cemetery, as well as between them. Burial was clearly a powerful communal practice, which by situating the body permanently in one place, created the material conditions to structure consciously-enacted practices of affiliation. Therefore, what is interesting is not only which people used a barrow, especially as so many apparently did not, but the fact that by choosing different locations for mortuary rites separate communities were created over a period of about a century, despite their evident internal heterogeneity.

Cemeteries and settlements

At Eriswell there is a diffuse scatter of occupation 235–700m to the north-east, mostly in the form of SFBs (Caruth pers. comm.). Comparably, a large quantity of pottery has been recovered from HER 34131 at Oxborough. These are mostly coarse domestic wares, and include a small amount of stamped and decorated potsherds in a proportion most commonly found in excavated settlement contexts, rather than mortuary ones. The presence of two lead brooch models at the same site also suggests the possibility of metalworking. A few finds have been found at HER 28671 which has also produced ceramics suggestive of a Romano-British building. One interpretation is that both settlement and mortuary activities were undertaken south of the excavated cemetery at Oxborough. Excavations and aerial photography around England have established how settlement may sprawl across river terraces, with cemeteries interspersed, coinciding with multi-period remains (e.g. Chambers and McAdam forthcoming; Hamerow 1993; Hey 2004; Miles 1986). It is argued that this is commonplace in Norfolk, and is likely to be so in other counties. In other words, cemeteries are not isolated sites, but have an important context beyond their immediate vicinity, and this is the typical situation.

The geographical location of the Oxborough complex is also typical. For example, the sites all lie at 15–20m elevation, and the mixed settlement and mortuary evidence lies 100–300m from the River Gadder, while the excavated cemetery lies about 100m further away. HER 34965 is further away still at 850m from the water. These figures represent the ranges typically encountered in the statistical analysis.

Local areas

In the local area, the Oxborough sites form part of a larger pattern in similar locations (Fig. 8.4 and Plate IV). A number of streams rise and flow in a south-westerly direction to meet the River Wissey. Various finds have been made clustering along them, on the boundary between the shallow loam and the wetter peaty or sandy soils of the flood plains. Since the parishes of Oxborough, Barton Bendish and Beachamwell have been metal detected almost in their entirety it is possible to see a series of mortuary deposits surrounding the river system. Other finds near to, and further away from,

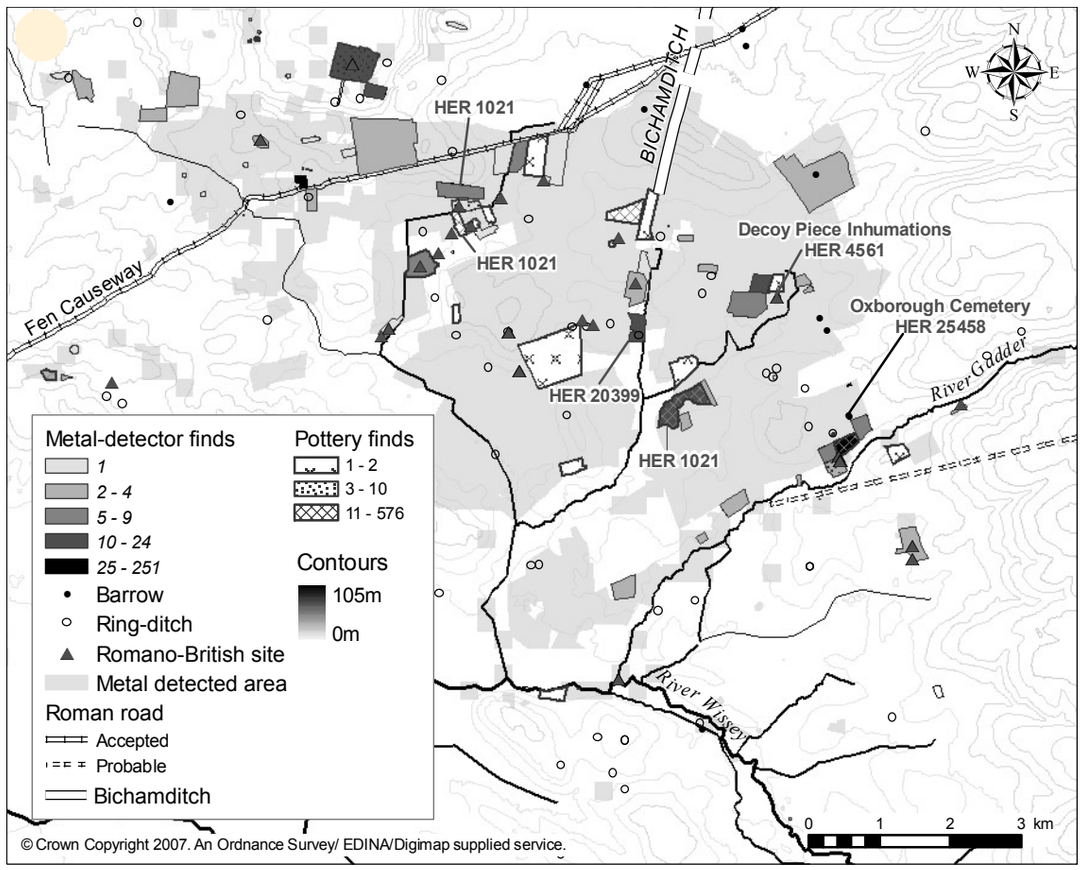


Fig. 8.4 Surface collection finds in an area focused on the parishes of Oxborough, Beachamwell and Barton Bendish. See also Plate IV.

the watercourses may be taken as evidence of general activity. In Barton Bendish, which has been subject to intensive field survey (Rogerson et al. 1997), the picture is enriched by the results of fieldwalking, interpreted here to suggest six areas of possible settlement activity, of which two are the most convincing (cf. Rogerson et al. 1997: 18–19).

The picture presented is of close association between mortuary and settlement areas and of complete intervisibility between the two given a low level of vegetation. Everyday actions and routes through the landscape undertaken during subsistence activities would, therefore, have been intimately juxtaposed with the locations and results of intermittent ritual actions. A cemetery as a symbol of the community practising there may have passed into habitual experience. The ancestors and their descendants could be said to have shared the same space, and this is not dependant on a one-to-one relationship between a cemetery and a settlement as long as inter-visibility was sufficient. It is therefore argued that both mortuary and settlement practice played a part in community life, and further, that the interrelation of cemeteries and settlements was essential to how a local community was practised and experienced.

If a senior individual in a new generation established a fresh settlement, as Scull (1993) has proposed, they may have continued to bury with other members of their family in a plot within an existing cemetery. Another inheriting individual might instead have erected a farmstead within the established settlement, but started their own new cemetery in the vicinity. Exogamy, which Myres (1969) suggested was the reason for stamp-linked pots at different sites (see also Hakenbeck 2004 for exogamy and ethnicity), may also have played a role in such scenarios; so too may have continued migration from Scandinavia (Hines 1993), or other internal population movements (Scull 1992a: 5).

A variety of conjectural settlement-cemetery arrangements may be formulated, all of which would be difficult to demonstrate without exceptionally good and extensive excavation, but the evidence does suggest there was no simple relationship. What can be suggested is that practices of affiliation, in this case mortuary rites carried out at cemetery sites, were closely related to communal activities enacted as part of everyday and cyclical routines as well as intermittent kinship events. The details of these rites may even have formed a continuum with ritual practice integrated within the domestic scene suggested by burials and possible votive deposition within settlements (Hamerow 2006). In this way human relationships, subsistence activities and the supernatural were brought periodically into deliberate

community discourse at funerals, strengthened or transformed in meaning, before being returned again to the normality of community life. This interpretation emphasises what people actually did, rather than the logic of kinship relations or ethnic identity, say, which were probably more fluid than a model will allow.

Prehistoric and Romano-British sites

The close association of cemeteries and settlements may be another reason why metal detected cemeteries show fewer associations with barrows than excavated ones. It could be argued that detecting reveals more 'mundane' mortuary sites which formed the 'bread-and-butter' of local community practice, not those which attempted special status through connections to Germanic mythology. In fact, in this area the focus is far more on Romano-British sites and numerous ring-ditches and barrows appear relatively untouched.

To the north-west of Oxborough, a series of fifty-five metal detector finds at HERs 23536, 4539, 2635 include a number of pierced Roman coins and lie 200m from the site of Romano-British inhumations discovered in 1912 (Decoy Piece Inhumations, HER 4561). Another inhumation recovered from the same site in 1915 was accompanied by two sherds of early Anglo-Saxon pottery. Even if this cannot be interpreted with confidence as an early Anglo-Saxon burial the other finds indicate an arrangement of early Anglo-Saxon cemetery material very close to Romano-British mortuary deposits, and quite likely deliberately so.

Detector finds further downstream, to the south-west, suggest something of a different motivation. A mixed area of possible settlement and mortuary finds are evident in what was at one time believed to be another Romano-British cemetery, but may be simply occupation (HER 1021). Further finds suggest generalised activity to the north, east and south (HERs 4562, 20625, 2634). Amongst these sites, and of particular interest, are two late Roman buckles and one fifth-century 'armbrustfibel' indicating activity there in the late fourth–fifth centuries, whether intermittent or otherwise. In a final example, the coincidence of Romano-British and early Anglo-Saxon material is also apparent on the boundary between the parishes of Barton Bendish and Fincham, where potsherds indicate an early Anglo-Saxon settlement (HER 23928) and metal-detector finds on the opposite side of the stream suggest a cemetery (HER 30059). The finds here are sixth century in date, however, indicating a longevity of favoured locations from the Romano-British into, and throughout, the early Anglo-Saxon Period, which cannot be related directly to intentional continuity. The high frequency of Roman/Anglo-Saxon coincidence apparent from the statistical analysis may be explained by an accumulation of different coincident practices, of varying motivation, such as these, some of which are more deliberate than others.

The co-location of Romano-British remains with early Anglo-Saxon material did not therefore always signal the same thing. Similarly, the reuse of prehistoric earthworks or their association with early Anglo-Saxon mortuary sites at a distance is likely to have been treated quite differently again. This variation is reflected in the statistical analysis, but what is interesting here is that all these different practices went on inside a relatively small area, even though their geographical locations are typical.

At Oxborough the variation in location around the excavated cemetery was explained as part of a 'discourse' of local communities, so that the difference among locations was part of the meaning imbued to the practices taking place there. At HER 20399 it is tempting to think that the cemetery suggested by the twenty-four detector finds was deliberately placed in the vicinity of one ring-ditch rather than any of the others in the area because this was also positioned along a stream which continues the line of the Bichamditch. This linear earthwork, possibly early Anglo-Saxon in date, may have formed the boundary of a territory to the west (Rogerson et al. 1997: 5), although at some undefined point in time. The cemetery at HER 20399 may therefore be a genuine example of a 'barrow-boundary burial' site as discussed by Bonney (1966; 1972; 1976), Goodier (1984), and Reynolds (2002). Either way it contrasts with those mortuary sites in association with Romano-British sites that lie approximately 1.5km to the west and south-west. Since these are further away from one another than the cluster at Oxborough these differences are likely to mark the different community practices of those who also lived separately. Once again this is facilitated by the juxtaposition of landscape features in very specific localised settings.

Communities at Large

The influence of geography

The parishes of Oxborough, Barton Bendish and Beachamwell form part of a yet wider pattern in western Norfolk, which can be related to the geography of the area (Fig. 8.5 and Plate VI). A string of cemeteries and settlements are found in an approximately north–south (more accurately a north-east–south-west) pattern which follows the line between the low-lying peats around the river systems and the higher, dry shallow loams of the chalk escarpment. It starts strongly to the north in the parish of Flitcham with Appleton (although there are sites further north), and is visible in Hillington, Congham, Grimston, Gayton, and East Walton. Sites in West Acre, South Acre, Narford and Narborough form a related group along the sides of the River Nar, which have a different morphology. The Oxborough group form a southern extension.

Confidence in this pattern is not just the result of selective metal detecting, since detecting has occurred away from the line and produced little, and many of

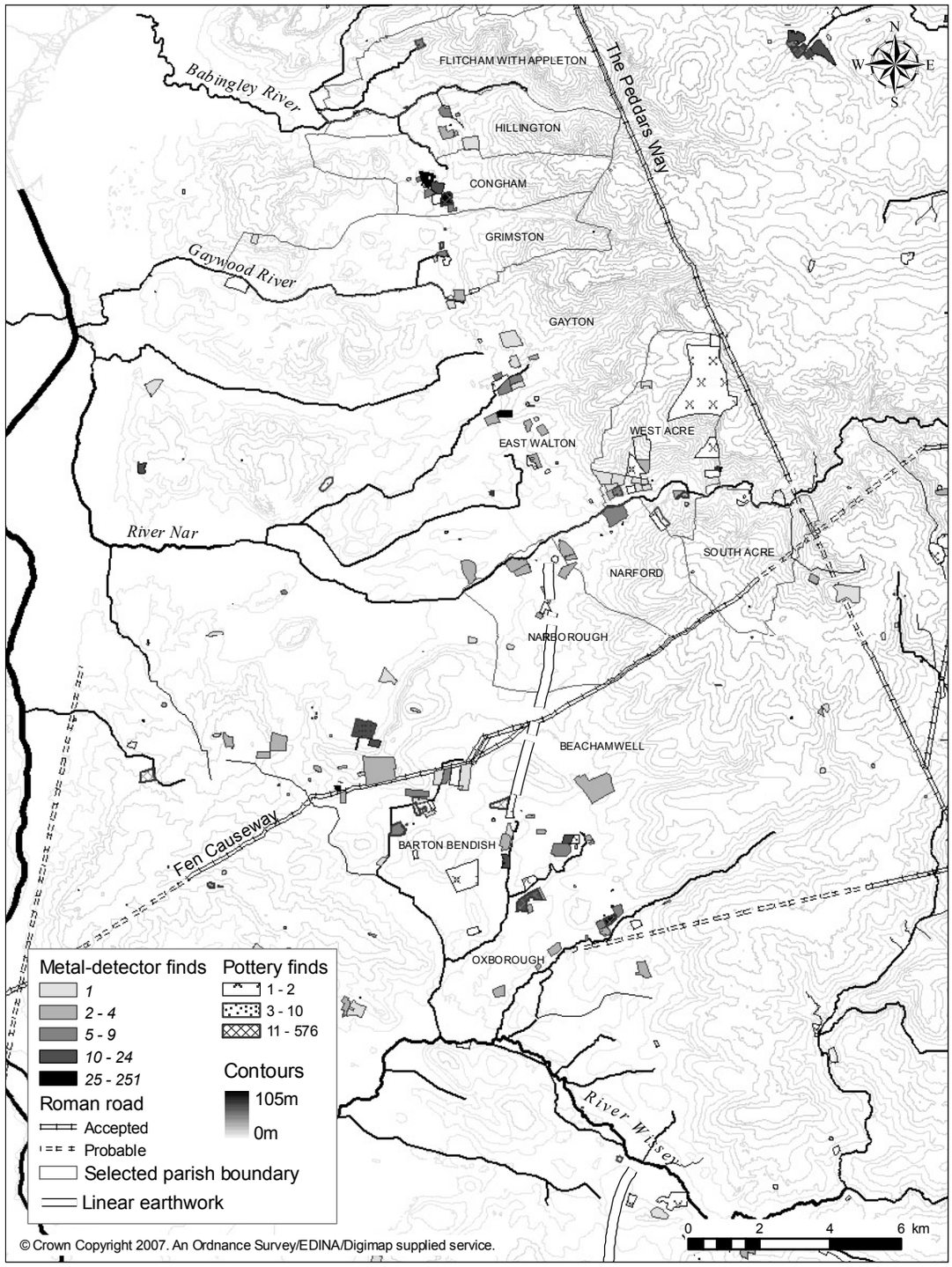


Fig. 8.5 Surface collection finds and sites in western Norfolk. See also Plate VI.

the confirmed cemetery sites along the same line were recovered by other methods. Grimston Bell Cemetery (HER 3573), for example, was discovered during digging works within the modern settlement.

These sites are positioned to take advantage of well-drained areas near water for settlement, while still being able to utilise the range of soils for pasture and cropping timetables. Even more selective use of soils is demonstrated at Congham where detailed geology shows that the sites have been located on a sand and gravel patch within a clayey area (Fig. 8.6 and Plate V). This demonstrates the principle that no area should be dismissed as unsuitable on the basis of general pedology, and that it is not only the use of historical landscape elements which created variety in location.

It is suggested that the pattern of soils and drainage

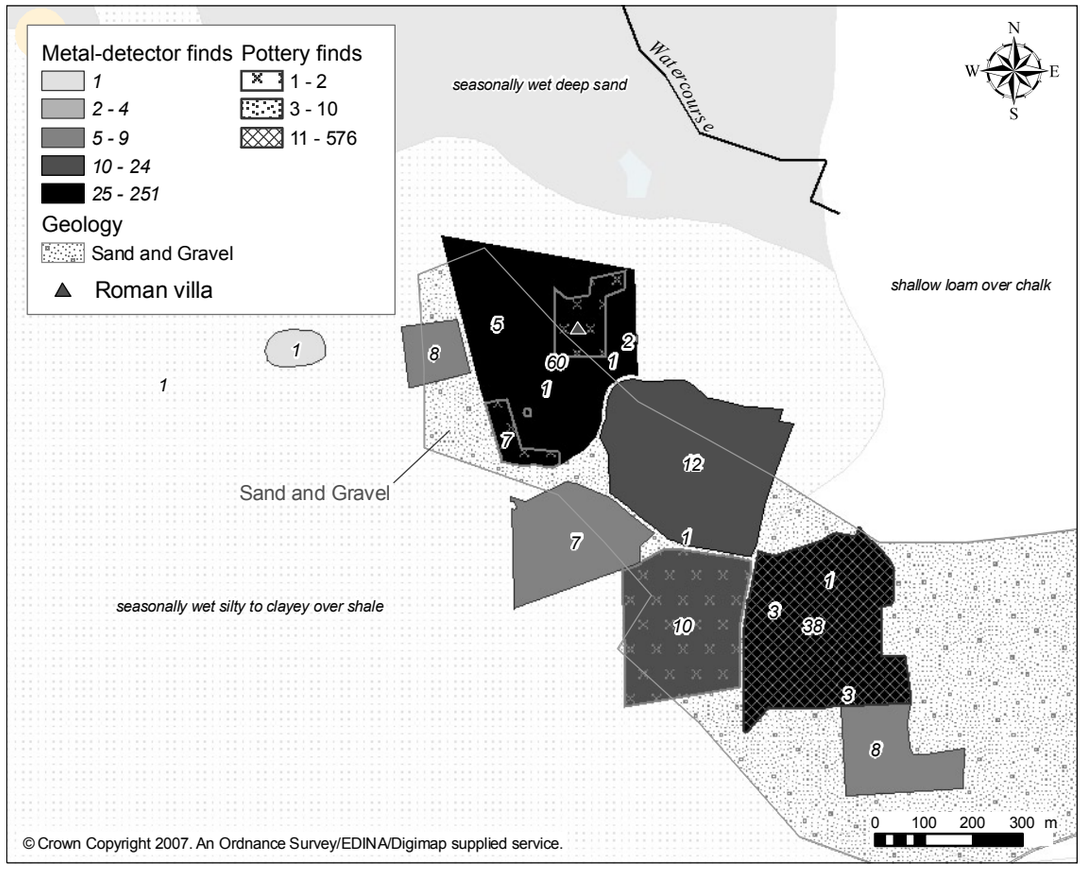


Fig. 8.6. Surface collection finds and detailed drift geology in the parish of Congham.

influenced the practices which created early Anglo-Saxon communities. This section does not attempt to specifically define the spatial extent or identify any particular community in these areas, but provides a preliminary analysis of the environmental factors that may have influenced their formation and character. The approach is very much that this forms a first word, and not the last, on the subject, and the analysis should be taken in this spirit. As a result of western Norfolk's geography, people chose to place their cemeteries and settlements in a cluster to form a specific north–south pattern in order to utilise the north–south distribution of resources. This pattern is similar to that shown for Romano-British settlement in this area by Gregory (1982) suggesting that similar locational factors affected the choice of sites in both periods. Intensive occupation is the result of location at a junction of two or more geological zones (Gregory 1982: 372).

In this area, the *direction* of communal action involving those who lived and worked together can be argued to follow the everyday and cyclical movement from home to pastures and fields at higher and lower elevations, i.e. on an east–west axis. For those co-resident communities bound by communal action at funerary locations, cemeteries would also have 'collected' individuals along the same orientation. For inter-community practices the direction of action would have had to have been at ninety degrees to this, along the line of settlement, north–south. This may have been when travelling to trade at central places and to meet at places of assembly, or more mundanely when traversing the line of communal pastures, if these were in operation. At the same time, boundaries between communities, if given expression geographically, would have been along the east–west axis creating an interesting situation whereby neighbouring communities were far closer to one another than they were to the majority of their lands. An interpolation by Thiessen polygons akin to those used by Brookes (2003: fig.8.2) or a reference to the elongated form of later parishes (see Fig. 8.5 and Plate VI) might demonstrate a similar territorial outcome, but an emphasis on practice helps explain the process of formation.

Activity in the parishes of West Acre, South Acre, Narford and Narborough worked on a similar principle in relation to the use of geographical resources, but in this case the River Nar provided a 'double-sided' valleyside distribution. Instead of being clustered across, and divided by linear watersheds, the communities were brought together and divided by the watercourse, and the watersheds lay at the periphery. By facing one another, but moving away to tend to outer lands, the practice of these communities and the content of their symbolic

boundaries may have been quite different from those in the example above. Yet they all seem to have been places where settlement and cemeteries were concentrated in contrast to the surrounding landscape.

The situation in western Norfolk is unlike that in most of the rest of the county. The patterns in western and eastern Norfolk together form the county-wide settlement pattern which has traditionally been the object of fieldwalking surveys and settlement studies. While the chalk escarpment drains water from the surface too rapidly for overground watercourses to form, in other areas less permeable soils have created a dendritic pattern of drainage. A series of dendritic valley systems from the clay plateau and deep loam landscape zones are shown in Fig. 8.7 and Plate VII (see also Fig. 8.1 for the locations).

These examples show a variety of recovery biographies and this has affected the apparent pattern of sites. For example, Fig. 8.7a (Plate VIIa) shows an area which has been extensively fieldwalking for the Loddon, Heckingham and Hales survey (Davison 1990) with some developer-funded excavations (HERs 29198; 36289), but relatively little metal-detecting. This area therefore shows many definite sites but has little evidence in between. In contrast, the parishes in Fig. 8.7b (Plate VIIb) have been the subject of extensive metal detecting but little fieldwalking. There are some definite sites but much more general activity is visible almost everywhere the metal detecting has been undertaken. If the full range of investigations undertaken in these two areas could have been combined it would have provided a very strong picture of early Anglo-Saxon sites and activities in a clay plateau area.

Also on the clay plateau is the well-known excavated cemetery and settlement at Spong Hill (Fig. 8.7c; Plate VIIc; Hills 1977; Hills and Penn 1981; Hills, Penn and Rickett 1984; 1987; 1994) which can now be seen in the context of further finds: not only the developer-funded excavation at HER 37159 (HER 37159; Sutherland and Roberts 2003; Trimble 2002; Trimble and Underdown 2002) but also another cemetery suggested from metal-detector finds (HER 25848) and various other areas of activity. The metal-detecting coverage in this area is not particularly extensive and more sites are almost certainly waiting to be discovered, but the concept that well-known cemeteries have a local context is very important.

All three of these examples show that the early Anglo-Saxons used the land quite differently on the clay plateau to the way they used it in western Norfolk. Although sites here are associated with the watercourses in the same way as in the west, because the watercourses and associated resources are interleaved each area of activity is closely interrelated with other others over a wider area rather than being concentrated in a particular place. Finally, Fig. 8.7d (Plate VIId) lies in a deep loam area in the north-east of Norfolk. Both fieldwalking (Davison 1995) and metal-detecting has been undertaken here, and this is supplemented by a cremation cemetery found in 1915 (HER 6658) and the stray find of a cremation urn in a back garden in about 1974 (HER 15189). This area has a comparable pattern of settlement and mortuary sites on valleyside soils with possible evidence of other kinds of activity, and shows that the dendritic pattern of sites is more or less typical of Norfolk as a whole.

The basic processes which created early Anglo-Saxon communities were bound with everyday, cyclical and intermittent practices and, it is argued, were fundamentally similar everywhere. However, differences in topography and resource exploitation amongst regions in Norfolk influenced the creation of communities with different characters. This may have been enacted through differing practices and sense of place. This division finds a contemporary parallel in the difference in some aspects of material culture between groups in eastern and central Norfolk and those in western Norfolk and the Lark Valley (Scull 1992a: 15). The processes involved may also have given rise to an early formation of those regional differences in landscape forms which Williamson (2002) describes for the medieval period.

The pattern of land use is more complex in central Norfolk than in western Norfolk. The inter-digitation of watercourses means the range of resources (wet pasture, settlement areas, cropland, pasture and wood-pasture) would back onto one another, and the settlements facing one another would have been divided from those along other tributaries by the intervening watersheds at approximately right angles. In the vicinity of individual sites multiple mortuary areas may be observed, as at Oxborough, and were reiterated at intervals along the tributaries, as at Beachamwell and Barton Bendish. The interrelations of these sites are not clearly or regularly defined and are likely to have been influenced by highly local contingencies. In a slightly wider context, the cohesive power of the streams encouraged people to create further nuclei of activity, akin to those visible at West Acre, South Acre, Narford and Narborough. Consequently a concentration of competing and/or sequential discourses of community may be discerned.

Nested and inter-cutting identities

Material culture

As well as the creation of different local communities, and of different practices within communities, intermittent communal practice among local communities may have created nested identities. The broad community which Fisher (1995) proposed for the River Lark valley on the basis of Illington/Lackford pottery use might have parallels in Norfolk. The best example apparent from the metal-detector assemblage is a cluster of equal-armed brooches in an area 20km x 15km on the edge of Breckland and the Boulder Clay Plateau. It includes sites

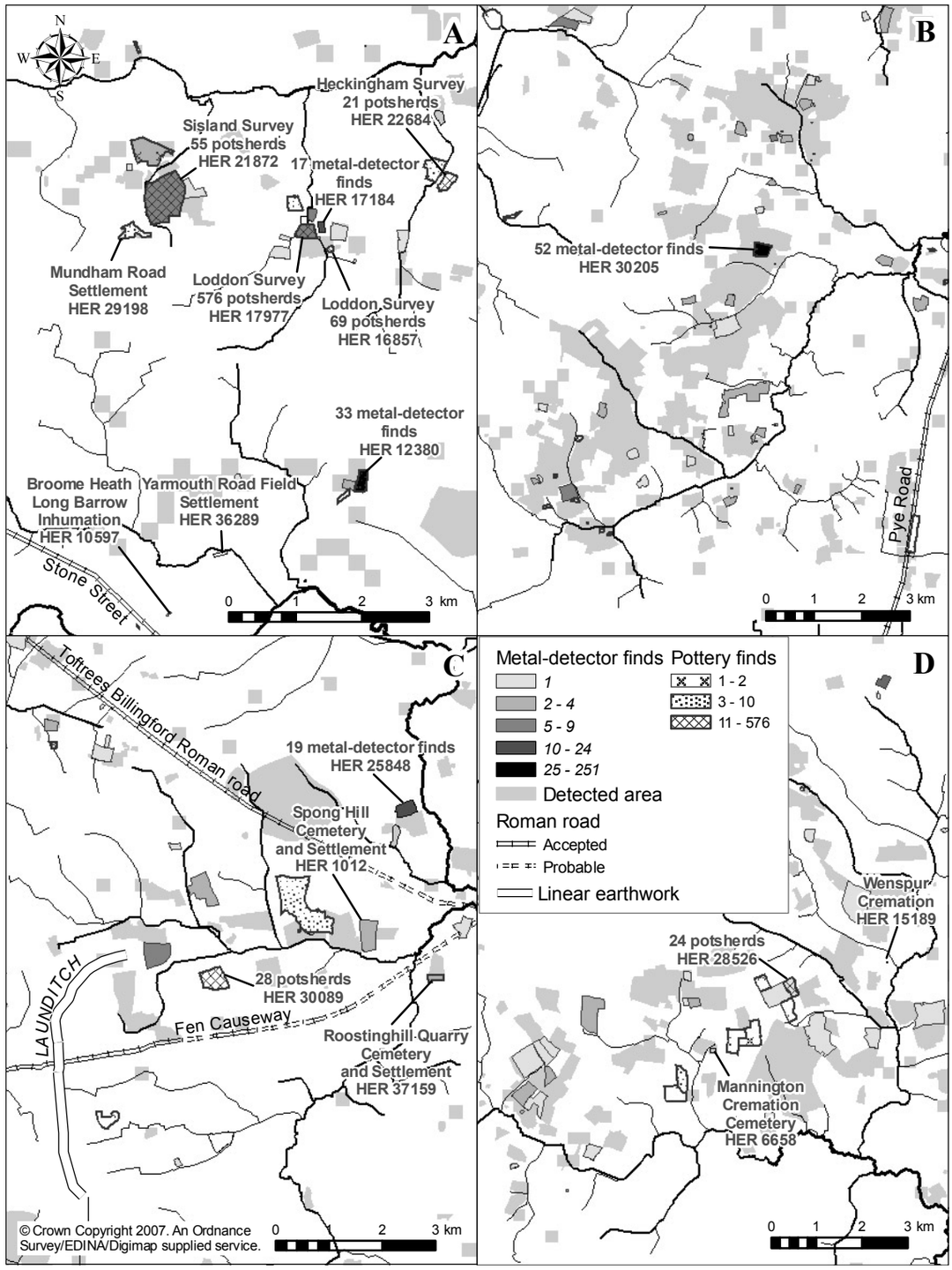


Fig. 8.7 A series of dendritic valley systems on the clay plateau (a, b, c) and north-east Norfolk (d), showing metal detected and fieldwalking finds, excavations and stray finds. Each area comprises a series of modern parishes, focussed on a) Loddon; b) Tacolneston; c) Beetley; d) Wickmere. See also Plate VII.

in the parish of Quidenham (Fig. 8.8 and also Fig. 8.10 below). The valley systems are considerably far apart but the people involved may have been united by the use of the clay upland around which the sites cluster. The low number of finds means the evidence is weak, and there are a few other examples of equal-armed brooches elsewhere in the county, but the grouping of brooches is certainly intriguing and would benefit from further typological investigation. The sort of identity these people may have defined for themselves is not clear, but the practices involved in creating the distribution of shared material culture would not necessarily be strongly cohesive across the whole area. For instance, if itinerant potters or traders distributed products then no

communal practice would have taken place, and the only thing people in these valleys would have had in common was contact by proxy. The practice of meeting at a central place in order to trade for pottery or metalwork would have had greater power. Alternatively, the use of distinctive artefacts may have symbolised the bounds of an imagined community which never met *en masse*. This is a different style of early Anglo-Saxon community to those already described. The influence of coersion may be relevant here, for example, the formation of armies and the compulsion or obligation to provide surplus for tax and tribute. The consideration of these in combination with the more bottom-up approach taken in this thesis would make for interesting future research.

Given the evidence for the creation of a Germanic origin myth (Lucy 2000: 180–1), tribal areas (Davies and Vierck 1974; Scull 1993), *provinciae* and kingdoms (Yorke 1990), even bigger imagined communities are likely and could be considered as the form of communal identity which scholars have traditionally attempted to access through the study of artefact distributions, similar to the distributions discussed here (as well as through a whole range of archaeological and historical data and theoretical approaches). In the case of East Anglian equal-armed brooches with trapezoidal heads, Hines (1984: 253–9) identifies a Norwegian inspiration, but with a gap between the latest Norwegian examples and the earliest insular ones. This suggests a deliberate creation and manipulation of symbolic boundaries through material culture and could be relevant to the example here.

The way in which imagined communities were 'refracted' through local community structures may account for much of the variation in the use of landscape which is apparent in the archaeological evidence. Imagined communities may have been nested above a series of local communities and elements of the broader symbolism may have played a role in the *content* of local community practice, but they would not have *defined* local communities. The selective use of barrows, intimately connected with mythology, is one example of how certain aspects of imagined identity could be taken up and transformed for local concerns, which may in turn have rebounded on the formation of imagined identities, as evidenced in the increasing use of barrows in the seventh century.

Large cremation cemeteries

Not all identities may be neatly nested in this way. Large cremation cemeteries appear to have drawn mourners or participants from a wide area (Hills 1979: 202) and were frequently located in more isolated positions, further from settlement, further from water and on steeper slopes facing the south-west (see Table 7.2). These

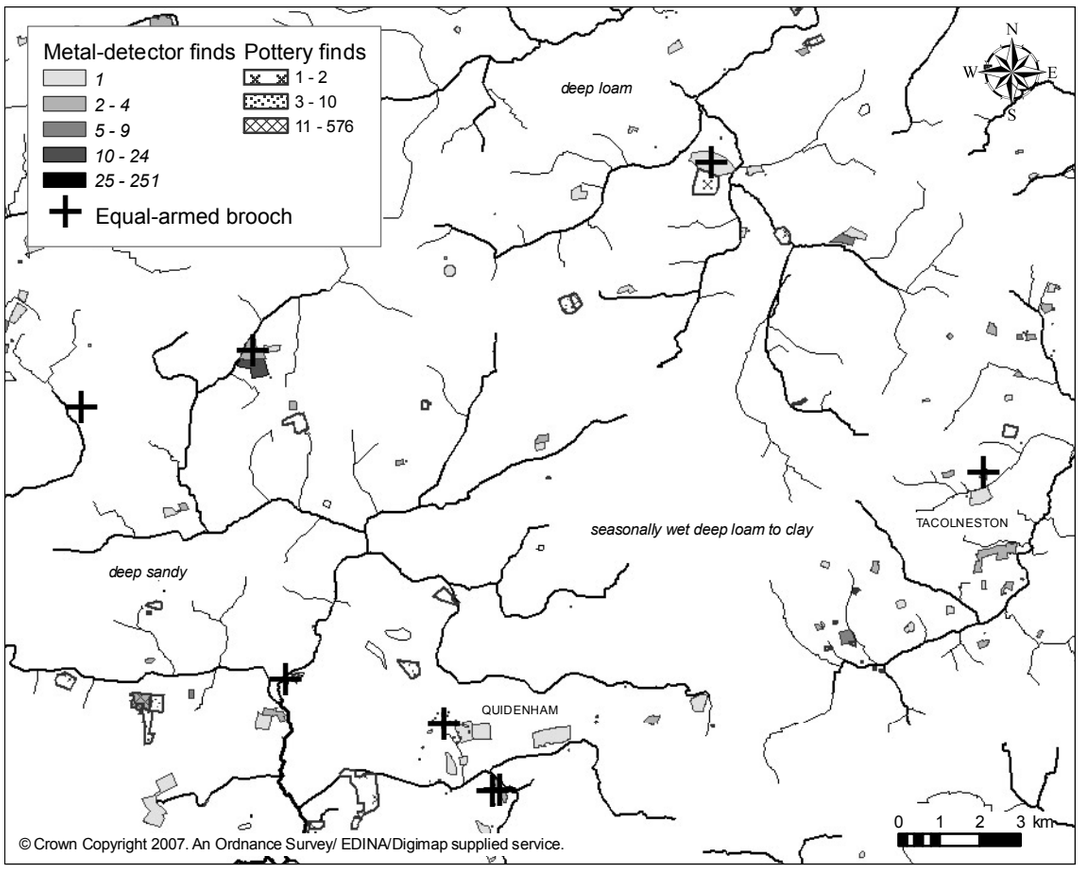


Fig. 8.8 A cluster of metal detected equal-armed brooches in central Norfolk.

may be described as places of particularly powerful but intermittent communal action—powerful because of the potential scope for creating a community from so many people. They may have drawn people from surrounding valley systems, thereby uniting them at the watershed, and dividing them at the watercourses, in a way that contrasts with most (predominantly inhumation) cemeteries found close to settlements in valleys. Yet evidence of cremation, inhumation and settlement activity c. 1.2km to the west of Spong Hill (HERs 1100, 1087, 1065) and c. 1.5km away across the valley in the parish of Hoe (HER 37159) (Fig. 8.7c and Plate VIIc) suggests that not all nearby local communities would necessarily have been part of the Spong Hill phenomenon.

The communities formed by the use of large cremation cemeteries may have inter-cut other forms of community rather than simply embracing them and not done so in a simple way. A 'burial community' (Scull 1993: 73) thus created would not have been wholly imagined and without communal practice, but neither was it associated solely with one or more localised co-resident groups. Big cremation cemeteries of this kind blur the distinction between imagined communities and more localised communities.

Yet the similarities of Spong Hill's location with respect to both the geographical and historical elements of landscape, in comparison with other localities in the area and in Norfolk as a whole, suggest there was a cross-over of concepts from the realm of co-residence, through cremation and interment, into an imagined community. For example, the concept of ethnic origin is based partly on a perceived homeland, which is ultimately a series of local communities. The use of large cremation cemeteries, such as Spong Hill, may have served to intersect the perception of communities historically in existence on the continent with the reality of communal life in England. Hills (1993) has shown that many of the grave-good assemblages at Spong Hill were similar to 'Anglian' material culture in Schleswig-Holstein, Germany, while the most popular pottery styles were derived from Saxony. Meanwhile, annular brooches have no obvious continental origin at all (Hills 1979: 316) and seem to have been an insular creation. Since burial was a powerful way in which everyday and cyclical practice could be brought intermittently into conscious practices of affiliation, large cremation cemeteries may have acted as places where both 'imagined' and 'real' communities were explored, with unexpected results. As with the one-to-one cemetery–settlement issue, the series of deposits created by communal mortuary practice jars with what is logically expected.

The Fens

Finally, some local communities may have been practised at a distance from others with which they were intermittently affiliated. It has been argued that during the Romano-British period activity in the low-lying fens (both peat and marine alluvium) was adjunct to villa estates in western Norfolk, or to the Imperial Estate of Stonea in Cambridgeshire (Potter 1989). Salt-making, peat-cutting and livestock farming were undertaken in a series of small settlements. Gregory (1982: 372) argues that 'special conditions' result in 'restricted activities'. A similar situation has been proposed for the middle Anglo-Saxon period (Silvester 1988: 158) with evidence for the exploitation of rich grasses, the cropping of salt-tolerant barley and the extraction of salt. Recent work has shown that the early Anglo-Saxon Fens were not completely deserted as has been commonly believed.

A sprinkling of metal-detector finds in the parishes of Walpole, West Walton, Emneth, Upwell and Welney, along an arc of ground slightly elevated above most of the area, hint at activity, as does a pit feature found by evaluation trenching in Outwell along a former course of the River Nene (HER 24849; Hall 2003: 5). An unusual site was discovered during fieldwalking by the Fenland Survey at Tilney St Lawrence (HER 21397; Crowson, Lane and Reeve 2000: 211–13; Crowson et al. 2005). A number of potsherds were recovered from a roddon formed of silts overflowed from the defunct Aylmer Hall Roman canal, although no early Anglo-Saxon features were found on subsequent excavation. These sites show that slightly higher ground in the fens was utilised, perhaps for pasture, but perhaps not for permanent settlement. It is this which suggests that these temporary or impermanent communities were both nested and inter-cut with upland ones, but not simply geographically.

Multiple contexts

Linear earthworks

Variation in community practice has been a consistent thread apparent in the evidence. Why some places were chosen, why some monuments or pre-Saxon features were reused, and not others, has been described as a response to local concerns. Relatively subtle choices about location, it is argued, were integral to local community practice and to the distinctiveness of the communities created. Those features which had multiple meaningful contexts of various kinds were particularly likely to be incorporated. The example of the cemetery near the Bichamditch at Beachamwell (HER 20399) has already been mentioned. It is suggested that the monument, which is now visible as a ring-ditch, was reappropriated in contrast to others nearby because it was close to water and also followed the line of the linear earthwork.

Further finds at the northern end of the Bichamditch in the parish of Narborough alongside the River Nar are doubly interesting (see Fig. 8.5 and Plate VI for a general overview). HER 3975 is an Iron Age hillfort (Davies et al. 1991) and while reports of 'bones and armour' around the year 1600 is not good evidence for early Anglo-Saxon burials (although the description would be consistent with such an interpretation) there are various finds of

early Anglo-Saxon metalwork in the area, including an enamelled early seventh-century pyramidal sword mount just 200m to the north-east (HER 32309).

Most intriguingly of all there are also early Anglo-Saxon finds at either end of the Fossditch. Just 400m to the north-west of its probable northern end, and alongside the River Wissey, is the site of HER 4811 where in 1838–9 a series of inhumation burials were uncovered in a barrow (the existence of which is considered doubtful, however) along with at least fifty-two gravegoods and three pottery finds (Meaney 1964). At the southern end of the Fossditch by the Little Ouse River lies HER 5587 which is the site of Leylands Farm Romano-British settlement. This has produced not only a highly unusual Pictish Ogham knife (Clarke 1955), which is now on display at the NCM, but also eleven early Anglo-Saxon finds including a drinking horn or bucket mount. A little way to the north-west of this, approximately 650m from the nearest part of the Fossditch, six metal-detector finds have been recovered including three fragments affected by heat (HER 19576). An unknown number of artefacts were also found at the same site earlier in the late 1970s.

The probable mortuary material at the ends of the Bichamditch and the Fossditch cannot actually date their construction to the early Anglo-Saxon period, but it certainly shows that they had special significance at that time and this has parallels with the Cambridgeshire dykes (Malim et al. 1997: 111–2, 114–5). No such finds are so readily apparent near the terminations of the Launditch, Panworth Ditch or Devil's Ditch, but there has been relatively little metal detecting in these areas so it is not fair to say they were not important in Anglo-Saxon times. The territorial and/or ideological significance of the Bichamditch and the Fossditch, especially in contrast to the other Norfolk linear earthworks, is just the sort of local concern which is proposed to have influenced where people chose to place their cemeteries, especially because of the multiple contexts involved. In this case it is not only the rivers and the linear earthworks but also possibly the Bronze Age, Iron Age and Romano-British remains as well which may have been important.

Routeways and watercourses

Other meaningful contexts are well established in the literature, focussing on movement through the landscape and the visibility of sites. Routeways in the form of relic Roman roads and tracks, and in the form of navigable waterways, coastal inlets and sea routes have been discussed (Brookes 2007; in press b; Carver 1998; 2005; Hooke 1985; Myres 1986; Stafford 1985). The ability to view a cemetery from nearby settlement, from passing routeways and from a distance has also been considered (Brookes 2002; Semple 2003) as has the viewshed over the landscape from the cemetery (Williams 1999). The numerous prehistoric earthworks which do not lie in positions favourable to such goals are likely to have been ignored, and Brookes (2007) makes a similar observation.

Movement and visibility may be understood in the context of communities through the concepts of everyday, cyclical and intermittent practices. Brookes (2002; 2007) uses a similar analytical model in Kent to distinguish between the daily *praxis* of those along routes associated with economic activity; the pattern of transhumance across the Weald by people rearing pastoral animals; and travel perpendicular to this along major Roman roads, often associated with the longer distance travel of elites and foreigners. This emphasises the point that it was not just community practices undertaken at cemeteries which were salient, but the ability of mortuary locations to symbolise these practices, both to those who had taken part and to those who had not. A corollary of this is that places where meaningful landscape features intersected would have been particularly likely choices for mortuary sites. These include the intersections of routeways with other routeways, of routeways with watercourses at crossing points, and the confluence of watercourses.

In northern Norfolk, for example, a series of cemeteries are suggested by metal-detector finds in the parishes of Burnham Norton, Burnham Market and Burnham Overy (Fig. 8.9 and Plate VIII). One is centred on two barrows overlooking the River Burn and its confluence with a small stream (HER 28127) and another faces it on the other side of the valley (HER 18496). A third (and possibly fourth) cemetery lies 500m further inland along the River Burn (HERs 32340, 32951). A sprinkling of fieldwalking finds and further detected artefacts suggest the possibility of settlement (HERs 29185, 25918, 1737, 1759), and of other activities at the springline (HERs 36623, 32087, 32112). There may have been further occupation, but the modern village has precluded much metal detecting in that area.

As well as the confluence, the sites may have been so located because the River Burn was navigable and provided resources concerned with fishing and/or even international trade, thereby becoming a central place. Those people mooring or passing in boats may have been able to view the cemeteries. The modern River Burn is of variable width at this point, in the range 5–9.9m, but the uncertainty of the sea level and the coastline in early Anglo-Saxon times makes this a piece of conjecture until valley sediment analysis is undertaken (Rogerson 2003: 114). Nevertheless, the Burnhams sites demonstrate that it is not only agricultural resources which may have influenced the concentration of settlement and associated cemeteries.

It is also noticeable that, although the Holkham to Toftrees Roman road is only 2km away, it is the River Burn valley that was chosen for the sites. This, it is argued, is because the road is not in a useful position for the early Anglo-Saxon way of life and probably would not have been maintained. Gregory (1982: 360) writes of a similar

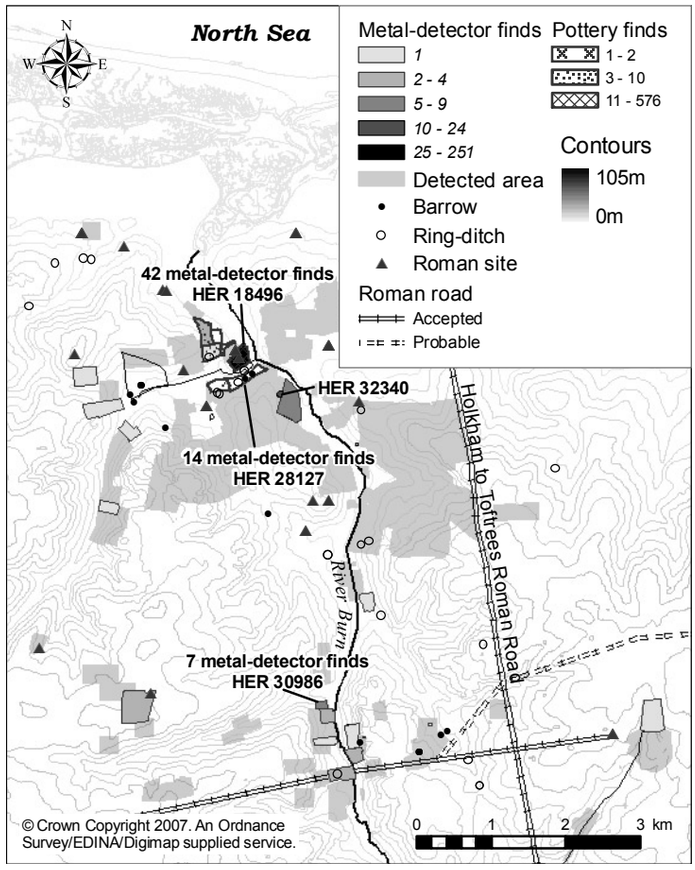


Fig. 8.9 Surface collection finds and sites in the parishes of Burnham Norton, Burnham Market, Burnham Overy, North Creake and South Creake. See also Plate VIII.

situation even in the Romano-British period: 'The high chalk, crossed by Peddars Way, has produced only slight evidence for settlement. In view of its exposed position, and the unattractive nature of the soils this is hardly surprising'. Yet where a Roman road crosses the River Burn further south at North Creake and South Creake detector finds do show up a likely cemetery (HER 30986) and other possible activity areas (HERs 30866, 30240, 29428, 25576, 11707). In this case, the suggestion is that it was the crossing that remained important. While the Roman road may have continued in use as a trackway as well, fords and other kinds of river crossings may be dependent on favourable topography and therefore endure.

Romano-British sites

Other examples of cemeteries lying within 500m of confluences and Roman road crossings in Norfolk show that many of those near Roman roads were centres of importance in the Romano-British period as well. Examples in association with larger Romano-British settlements include the cemeteries around Caistor St Edmund (*Venta Icenorum*) along the River Tas (Myres and Green 1973; and metal-detector finds), which was the administrative and economic centre for the Roman *civitas* (Davies 2001); and the cemeteries around the small Roman town at Walsingham along the River Stiffkey (a cremation cemetery uncovered in the year 1658 (location suggested), plus detector finds). An example in the vicinity of a Roman villa may be found at Fring, near Congham. The large field of HER 1659 contains a Roman villa, as well as a temple complex, four ring ditches, an enclosure and trackway. It is also immediately adjacent to the Heacham River and the Peddars Way. This site has produced fourteen early Anglo-Saxon artefacts, and thirteen further finds with five sherds of pottery in an adjacent field just to the north (HER 23001).

'Productive sites'

In all these cases, the landscape may be viewed as providing both symbolic and subsistence resources utilised not just for the recapitulation of existing central places, but also in the creation of new ones, and in the creation of new status for old ones through the development of new practices. Burnham later became a middle Anglo-Saxon 'productive site' suggested by the large quantity and broad spread of metal-detector finds (Rogerson 2003) despite being only a lower status Romano-British settlement before.

Early Anglo-Saxon detector finds at Quidenham (Fig. 8.10), including lead brooch models and objects affected by heat, might be better described as representing a 'productive site' than a cremation cemetery (HER 35730

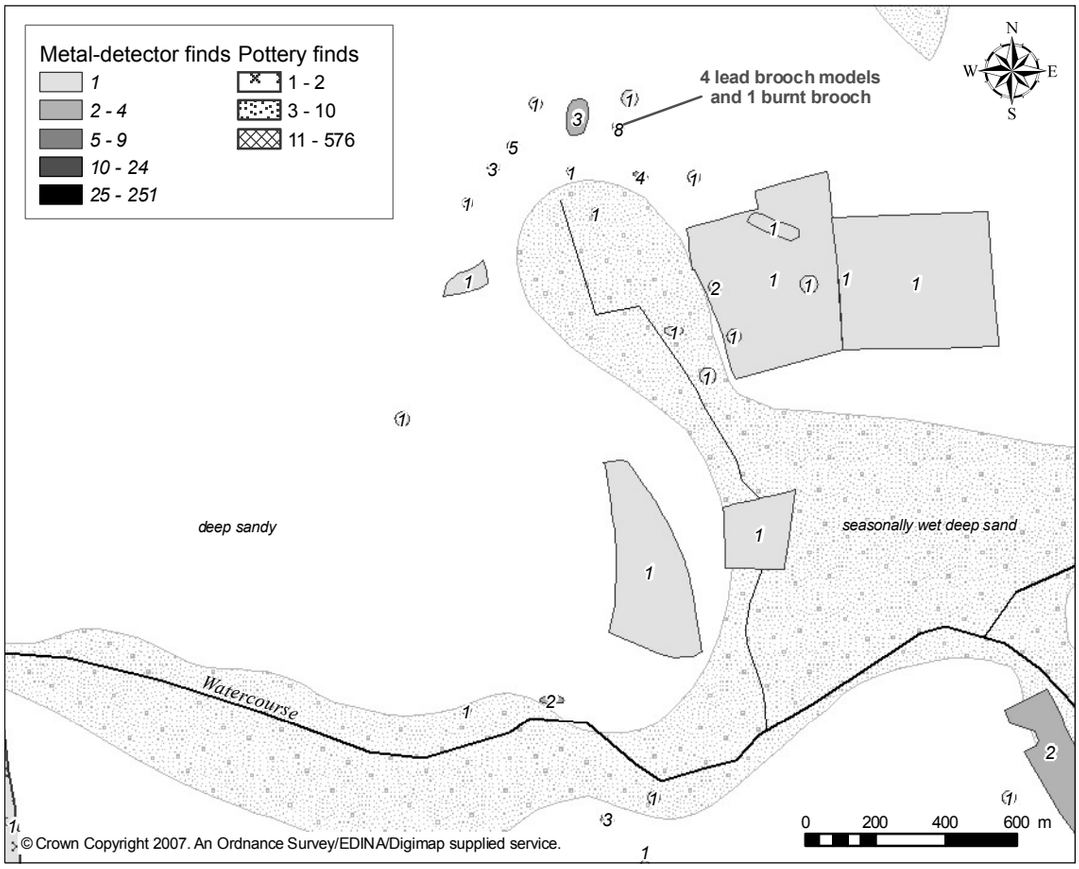


Fig. 8.10 Surface collection finds in the parish of Quidenham.

and others). If correct, this would push the chronology of the middle Anglo-Saxon 'productive site' in the same area back by some decades and suggest an early origin for 'productive sites' in early Anglo-Saxon practice. Perhaps Quidenham was a central place or workshop from where goods were distributed. Since three equal-armed brooches were found in this valley, Quidenham may have been the site frequented or utilised by the people who shared the use of equal-armed brooches in a wider cluster (see Fig. 8.8 above).

The activities undertaken at Quidenham need not have been on a grand scale in order for this to happen. Relevant parallels are the 'productive site' at Cottam in East Yorkshire, which has been described as a prosperous but unexceptional farming settlement with limited evidence for trade or manufacture (Richards 1999a: 51–2), and Cottenham in Suffolk where there was a 'sequence of settlements, whose role and social context changes through time' (Richards 2003: 166). A similar interpretation for Quidenham and Burnham may have implications for the interpretation of other middle Anglo-Saxon 'productive sites' in Norfolk, such as those found at Congham (a villa site with numerous indications of early Anglo-Saxon mortuary material at HER 25765 and many other sites close by) and another at Caistor St Edmund (the *civitas* centre, also with many cemeteries) amongst others (Rogerson 2003).

Central places

In addition to these are examples of mortuary locations which may be said to overlook routeways into central places, such as Spong Hill (HER 1012), which is *en route* to and from the small Roman town at Billingford. The detected cemetery at HER 34396 in the parish of Aylsham is another example and this lies near to the second largest Roman town in Norfolk at Brampton. There is, therefore, little suggestion that the early Anglo-Saxon landscape was ever an undifferentiated place with no distinctions of size, status or function. However, more evidence would be desirable to explore the possibility of what is commonly termed a 'settlement hierarchy'. Either way central places are better understood through the range of practices enacted there rather than the dictates of the market place or the logic of administration.

The longevity of the relic landscape as structure and opportunity has been recognised, but why these places continued to hold, or acquired, status as centres needs to be explained. The geographical affordances of landscape are part of the answer, as are the relic features used for community practice with a deliberately symbolic element. A concentration of cemeteries clustering around, or within, central places demonstrates that mortuary practice was not only important to local rural communities but also to those people who formed the

core of political entities such as tribal areas, or later *provinciae*—in other words, the elite of early Anglo-Saxon society. The power of place came, it is argued, from the fact that local community practice enacted at a central place would become part of the extra-local practice of other communities when they travelled there. The form of this may have been as funeral participant, or as mere observer, trading within sight of mortuary practice locations. These practices and others like them may have created large communities, intermittently practised, neither local nor imagined, and with the central group's ideology and symbolism at its heart. This is one way in which the hegemony of some groups could have been exercised over others and done so in a powerful way. It is perhaps one reason why people might have desired to settle in close association with a large cremation cemetery as at Spong Hill (Rickett 1995).

Yet the centrality of the local community experience to life would have meant that direct control over local communities would have been the most powerful way to acquire complete domination. Eventually the practices and places that created communities were inscribed and enforced by the rule of law, and physical boundaries were defined and documented so that favourable changes could be wrought and normalised and unfavourable changes could be opposed and rejected. This is one way to describe the process by which kingdoms were formed and multiple estates demarcated and controlled.

Chronological change

These developments are evident from the late sixth century onwards (Reynolds 1999) but the effects of chronological change over the course of the early Anglo-Saxon period are reasonably possible to discern if the more chronologically diagnostic material-culture types are used. In this study a diagnostic distinction has been made between the fifth and sixth centuries, on the one hand, and the sixth and seventh centuries, on the other, for the statistical analysis (see Chapter 7). However, the close dating of individual artefacts may be considered, where available, in the smaller areas dealt with here.

The site of HER 32133, West Rudham, is one example of a metal detected parallel which has produced eleven finds dating to the late fifth to the seventh centuries within a small and precise area c. 150 x 25m in dimension (see the far top right-hand corner of Fig. 8.5 and Plate VI for the general location). The longevity of cemetery locations suggests that mortuary rites were a very important part of community practice, which united those of different ages, genders, statuses, households and kinship, despite the development of new ideas about how to recognise status in death. In fact the continuing use of a cemetery was probably a powerful way for individuals and households to enact new identities in full view of those gathered to take part in the funerary rite while also legitimising the message by linking the dead to the ancestors. A community created by the burial of the dead may have even outlived any associated settlement or settlements in their original form. This could be described as the inter-cutting of identities over time, rather than just in space.

On the other hand, each excavated cemetery is usually the only mortuary site in an area which can be confirmed and for which dating evidence is relatively good. The evidence of metal-detector finds has shown that the early Anglo-Saxons chose to locate a number of cemeteries in most valleys, and it is important to understand whether these were all contemporaneous and used throughout the period or whether some of them were started later or finished earlier. Published sites discussed in Chapter 3 (Table. 3.1) show that cemeteries of different dates and sizes have been found within a few kilometres of one another, and the sixth-century metal detected cemetery in Barton Bendish is a relevant parallel. This confirms the suggestion made throughout this work that community identities were not fixed in the fifth century but were constantly changing as belief and practice were renegotiated generation by generation. People continued to introduce new locations for communal practice, thereby creating new communities or new aspects to existing communities.

Yet most of the metal-detector finds are not closely dated or dateable. In some cases the age or brevity of the HER records mean that not enough information about the identification of finds is available. Some artefacts do not have published chronologies (e.g. knives, rings, tweezers); are not certain to be early Anglo-Saxon (e.g. pierced Roman coins; Burnett 2005; cf. White 1988); or tend to be found throughout the early Anglo-Saxon period (Høilund Nielsen 1997: 77). The county-wide analysis in Chapter 7 compared metal-detector finds strictly dated to the fifth to early sixth centuries with those from the late sixth to seventh centuries. This showed that there was significant overlap in the kinds of locations in which they were found. This would fit with both the continued use of early cemeteries and of new mortuary sites being established in different, but nearby locations. Apart from the fact that many of these detector finds probably represent the location of activities other than the burial of the dead, out of the 3,399 finds used in this study, only 164 could be closely dated to the fifth and early sixth centuries, and only 56 dated to the late sixth and (early) seventh centuries. This compares with 2,797 artefacts that were recorded with a general dating of fifth to sixth century or fifth to seventh century.

The diachronic trend identified in the statistical analysis was that a larger proportion of late sixth- to seventh-century detected artefacts are found near to water, on slightly steeper slopes, and on deep loamy and well-drained soils close to a soil association boundary. These general observations are not easily interpreted, but a look at the general distribution of the later finds in Norfolk shows particular concentrations in the

parishes of East Rudham, West Rudham, and Aylsham, which are deep loam areas. The presence of late sixth- to seventh-century activity in these places is of interest in itself, particularly the cluster around the former Roman town of Brampton which has relatively little evidence for earlier activity; but because the majority of well-dated later finds have been found in these few locations, the statistics for Norfolk as a whole may have been affected.

Concomitantly, it is difficult to identify areas where there is sufficient well-dated material to discern the chronology of different mortuary sites. The chronology of settlements in any given area is also problematic even where their presence is suggested from a scatter of potsherds or from the cropmarks of suspected SFBs. Early Anglo-Saxon domestic pottery is not closely datable, and SFBs continued to be used right into the late Anglo-Saxon period (Reynolds 2003). This is exacerbated by patchy metal-detecting coverage. The problem is not only the low number of well-dated finds in any given area but also the lack of sensitivity caused by dividing them into two groups that represent 'early' and 'later'. In order to identify cemeteries in use only in the sixth century, for example, well-dated finds must be divided further by century into groups dated to the fifth, sixth and seventh centuries. This makes the problem of low finds numbers even more acute.

More broadly, the pattern of strictly dated finds shows widespread activity throughout Norfolk by the late fifth century, which is consistent with an early and rapid conversion to the use of Anglo-Saxon material culture, showing no 'invasion progress'. There are, however, three intriguing narrow cruciform brooches that have been dated to the early fifth century. Two of these are found in the far east of Norfolk, one in a field immediately to the east of Burgh Castle (HER 17261) and the other c. 2km west of the Saxon shore fort at Caister-on-Sea (HER 34258). It is tempting to think that these do represent an early presence either side of the Yarmouth estuary, and comments on the brooch at HER 34258 include 'could have been made in Germany'. However, the third brooch was found far inland in the parish of West Rudham (HER 30883) at the head of a stream (a tributary of the upper course of the Wensum) so a general note of caution must be raised again when interpreting very small numbers of metal-detector finds.

Similarly, the early brooch at HER 30883, West Rudham, which is part of an assemblage of ten metalwork finds, is joined by other strictly dated artefacts in the vicinity including those of the fifth- to seventh-century cemetery (HER 32133; already mentioned above), which lies c. 1km to the north-west; and an early-sixth century cruciform brooch knob c. 300m to the north-east (HER 35248). In fact, there is a lot of rich mortuary material in the area, and even with a relatively generous number of finds overall, there is no clear or simple progression of sites.

Despite the evident problems with the data, the statistical analysis shows that more of the late sixth to early seventh-century artefacts were found within 300m of a barrow or ring-ditch (29 per cent, compared with 17 per cent for finds from the fifth to early sixth centuries). This would concur with the general observation made in other counties in England of an increasing preference for barrow burial, or for the use of barrows as execution cemeteries (such as HER 11971, South Acre; Wymer 1996: 58–88). There is little evidence in Norfolk, though, of isolated or individual barrow burials such as that at Swallowcliffe Down, Wiltshire (Speake 1989) within the chronological span considered here. The inhumation at Thorpe St Andrew, Norwich (HER 9628), may have come from a barrow and later examples of possible interest are available in Hoggett (2007). Since some of the later artefacts are likely to have been associated with non-mortuary activities, such as those taking place at 'productive sites', other factors may be at work as well.

A slight move away from Romano-British sites seems to have occurred in the late sixth to early seventh centuries, alongside a possible trend towards activity near Roman roads. While this appears contradictory it is possible that later activity was more focussed around what were once larger Romano-British settlements, such as in the example of Brampton, where Roman roads converge. This is in contrast to the many smaller, rural Romano-British settlements which were not located near Roman roads (Gregory 1982) but which lie in similar locations to those later chosen for the building of settlements in early Anglo-Saxon times. The explanation for this observation is unlikely to be the result of a simple single trend and the relative paucity of later sixth to early seventh century sites compared with those of earlier date in this study mean that further work is needed to clarify and refine the possible intricacies.

Although the chronological evidence presented here is not particularly strong, the creation and formalisation of spatial boundaries evident from the late sixth century seems unlikely to have been simply a reflection of communities that had existed in the same form throughout the early Anglo-Saxon period up until that point. This is despite the decision to continue using certain places for settlement. In fact, the choice of locations for mortuary practice and the decisions people made to continue burying in particular cemeteries, to start new ones, and abandon others appears to have been one of the most important ways that communities of many kinds were created, maintained, manipulated and contested throughout the early Anglo-Saxon period.

Conclusions

Norfolk

The early Anglo-Saxon landscape of Norfolk was a landscape of dispersed rural settlements in an environment not unlike that of the preceding period, including differences in the size or status of sites. It was

not as sparsely populated as the paucity of settlement evidence has traditionally suggested, nor were certain 'difficult' soils simply avoided. The material presented here from multiple sources, and metal-detector finds in particular, shows a landscape full of valley-side occupation with people utilising the range of resources available in every geographical zone of the county. The inhabitants carried out a variety of subsistence and ritual activities in a range of places but settlements and cemeteries were frequently located in association, often 300–500m apart, and this is crucial to understanding them. It was also a landscape full of inherited features from long-term settlement patterns and routeways to monuments and other relics. The landscape had been well crafted by Romano-British farmers and well structured by the administrative and military powers of the Roman empire. Together with the extent of early Anglo-Saxon occupation attested by the archaeological evidence it seems likely that a significant proportion of the Romano-British inhabitants remained and became part of local communities in the fifth to seventh centuries.

Prehistoric earthworks and the remains of Romano-British sites were features encountered frequently by people carrying out a range of activities. Yet the analysis shows variations in the location and relationships of the places chosen to live and bury their dead. The presence of structuring features did not simply determine their reuse and the evidence from metal detecting suggests that barrows were directly reappropriated less often perhaps than the corpus of excavated sites indicates, but more often in the late sixth and seventh centuries than earlier. Typical practices have been identified, but local contexts, such as linear earthworks, were clearly important when making decisions about the location of cemetery and settlement sites. It is the sum of such local practices which built up the regional pattern and this includes differences amongst areas at many scales, most notably between western Norfolk and the rest of the county.

The generous archaeological resource for early Anglo-Saxon Norfolk (and for the county in other periods) awaits a comprehensive published description and this is one possible outcome based on the material contained within the Appendices. Another interesting avenue would be to relate the early Anglo-Saxon material in detail to Romano-British and later Anglo-Saxon landscape history and documentary evidence, in order to seek a further understanding of local contingencies, the effects of external influences brought by kingdoms and the Church, and to document the extent and nature of long-term landscape continuity in the county.

Communities

The concept of 'community' has been used to explore the formation and meaning of this early Anglo-Saxon landscape. In particular, this study has proposed a practice-based model of community which has been applied to some aspects of locational analysis at local and sub-regional scales. From this necessarily limited work a number of tentative submissions may be made: it is argued that communal practice, understood holistically from the bottom-up, lay at the heart of Anglo-Saxon culture, its character, variation and development. The formation of communities through communal practice has been examined at many scales. Local communities were perhaps the most salient style of community in the early Anglo-Saxon Period because they were created by a full range of communal practices, unlike those of purely 'imagined' communities. Some practices were repetitive and enacted everyday or cyclically, for example, when cooperating during harvest. Other practices were intermittent and were used to consciously and deliberately articulate aspects of communal identity, such as when attending a funeral. The variety of site arrangements and their landscape context suggests that there was no single form of local community of the kind based purely on co-residence with an associated cemetery. Communities could be nested within and inter-cut by other community identities, such as those constructed by the use of large cremation cemeteries. Some of these may have involved assembly and other communal actions at central places, while others may be regarded as 'imagined' and did not involve frequent face-to-face contact.

It was through local practices that identities with no residential element may have been enacted, contested and developed in an enduring way. The motifs of kinship and co-residence, both powerful aspects of local community identity, may have been taken up by certain communities in order to achieve hegemony over others. This could have been facilitated by the ability of central places of all kinds to act as venues where the local practices of one community would achieve status as the extra-local practice of many others. Furthermore, the symbolic content of imagined communities, perhaps those of ethnicity or origin, could be taken up and reworked in local practice.

Only those locations with meaningful, often multiple contexts were reused as sites of deliberate communal practice, and this is the way in which the apparent variation in mortuary practice would have been created. Furthermore, changes took place over time, sometimes with the establishment of new cemeteries, or with the practice of new rites at old ones. There is no clear 'break-up' of communities in the late sixth and early seventh centuries from the evidence presented here, but neither is there absolute conservation. Out of processes such as these may have developed agricultural, economic, territorial and social arrangements which are likely to have contributed to the formalisation of boundaries by the society of middle Anglo-Saxon England; but there was no simple transformation from the structure of Roman administration to middle Anglo-Saxon kingdoms, estates, or parishes.

The success of a practice-based definition of community has been to focus on what people did rather than simply on what artefacts and sites they left behind. It has allowed various styles of community to be explored and has avoided making assumptions about what logical structures, or internal or external forces constructed communities without any element of volition. There is, of course, much more that could form the basis of an extended program of scholarship. Changes in the formation of communities over time would benefit from better chronologies, and although the everyday, cyclical and intermittent practices suggested are based on evidence, some of what is proposed is conjectural. Further work could include developing thoughts on practices occurring at different frequencies, and how and why their contributions to communal experience may have differed. These ideas would probably centre on the age, gender and status identities of the people involved, and on how consciously or unconsciously they were enacted. It would also be interesting to link the work to imagined identities attested in historical documents.

Due to the limitations imposed by what is possible within the scope of a doctoral thesis, the model has not been applied critically or in detail to other archaeological data-sets. As a result, the integration of other areas of social practice such as burials, settlement morphology, use of space within settlements, and environmental evidence for agrarian regimes must await future efforts. Numerous other models have been proposed over the years for many of the issues covered here, such as those generated by central place theory. Further work in this direction could be concerned with drawing out parallels and contradictions. Applying community theory more widely for other areas and England as a whole throughout the Anglo-Saxon period is desirable, as is contributing to the social theory of community by using Anglo-Saxon England as an example.

Metal-detector finds

Finally, this work would not have been possible without thirty-years' records of metal detected artefacts on Norfolk HER. This resource has enabled the study of early Anglo-Saxon landscape to approach something that is not just representative of the original pattern of sites but in some places might actually be the original pattern. This is true in places where interviews with metal-detectorists have shown good coverage, although only about 10 per cent of Norfolk has been detected in total and there are still probably many more cemeteries to find. In fact, the finds are likely to represent not just cemeteries but accidental losses during everyday activities and perhaps even early 'productive sites'.

Importantly, the variable quality of dating recorded for the detected material produces an unhelpful chronological imprecision and may mask significant diversity, complexity and change. An ongoing issue is how to refine the methodology to recognise these problems and possibilities, and contribute to the interpretation of 'productive sites' throughout the Anglo-Saxon period.

One approach is the pursuit of rigorous scientific methodology like that established for surface survey. Fragmentation of objects in the soil, the effects of soil sorting, the efficacy of detector machines, and other taphonomic effects are topics to be explored by experimentation or computer modelling.

Many approaches would benefit from a closer working relationship between archaeologists and metal detectorists. A combined program of systematic metal-detector survey, soil sieving and excavation needs to be designed to inform the interpretation of a wide range of sites from surface scatters. Other issues require the improvement of recording standards for the benefit of future research. Chronology, for example, is a central issue with respect to understanding the development of communities, but metal detected artefacts are frequently poorly dated especially those finds recorded some years ago. The way in which detector finds may be used to examine early Anglo-Saxon landscape at the micro-region scale means that it would be of benefit to formulate practical ways to accurately date artefacts at the time of recording using established typologies and the latest chronologies (e.g. Cook 2004; Hines 1999a; Marzinzik 2003), and record characteristics in such a way as to allow for revision at a later date when further results of correspondence analysis and radiocarbon projects are known.

Outcomes and closing remarks

Several questions have been considered: one has been how to integrate the study of mortuary and settlement sites into a single landscape narrative, and this has been addressed by developing the idea that community practice was structured by the locations of both cemeteries and settlements. The diversity of mortuary location within areas and over time, in conjunction with a whole range of other ritual and mundane, everyday, cyclical and intermittent practices, has been understood as creating many different kinds of community. These have been identified as both local and non-local, small and large, nested and inter-cutting, transient and long-lived; but they have all been linked by the use of cemeteries.

The symbolism and ideology associated with kingdom, tribal, residential and kinship identities may have been created, transformed and manipulated through communal practice at cemeteries and other central places, such as those where people took part in production and trade. Together with a nuanced understanding of soil use for settlement and agriculture, these ideas form a model proposed to explain the pattern of sites in Norfolk, from the scale of individual sites and their environs, through to the regional distribution.

This has been possible by utilising a large number of third-party metal-detector finds recorded on Norfolk HER, and a methodology to do this has been developed on the basis of a detailed understanding of collection and patterning. Future refinements to the method for this period and others need to rely as far as possible on rigorous scientific approaches like those already established for fieldwalking surveys and on improved finds recording. The evidence from Norfolk shows how excavated cemetery and settlement sites, and metal-detector finds known from other areas of the country, could be understood more completely; and an agenda is suggested for doing so in the future.

Colour Plates

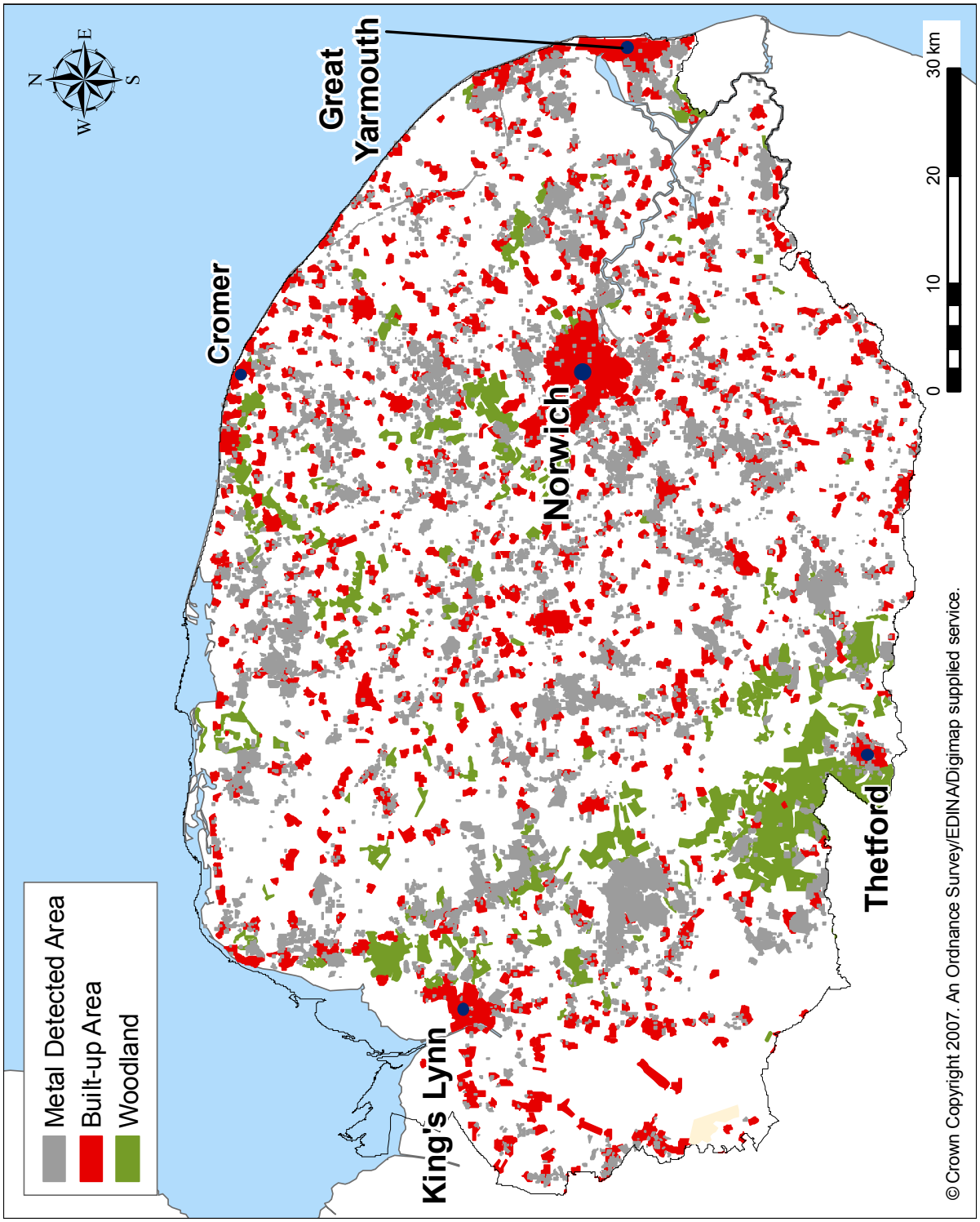


Plate I All areas in Norfolk known to have been metal detected including information from interviews with eighteen metal detectorists and HER records. Built-up and forested areas are also included.

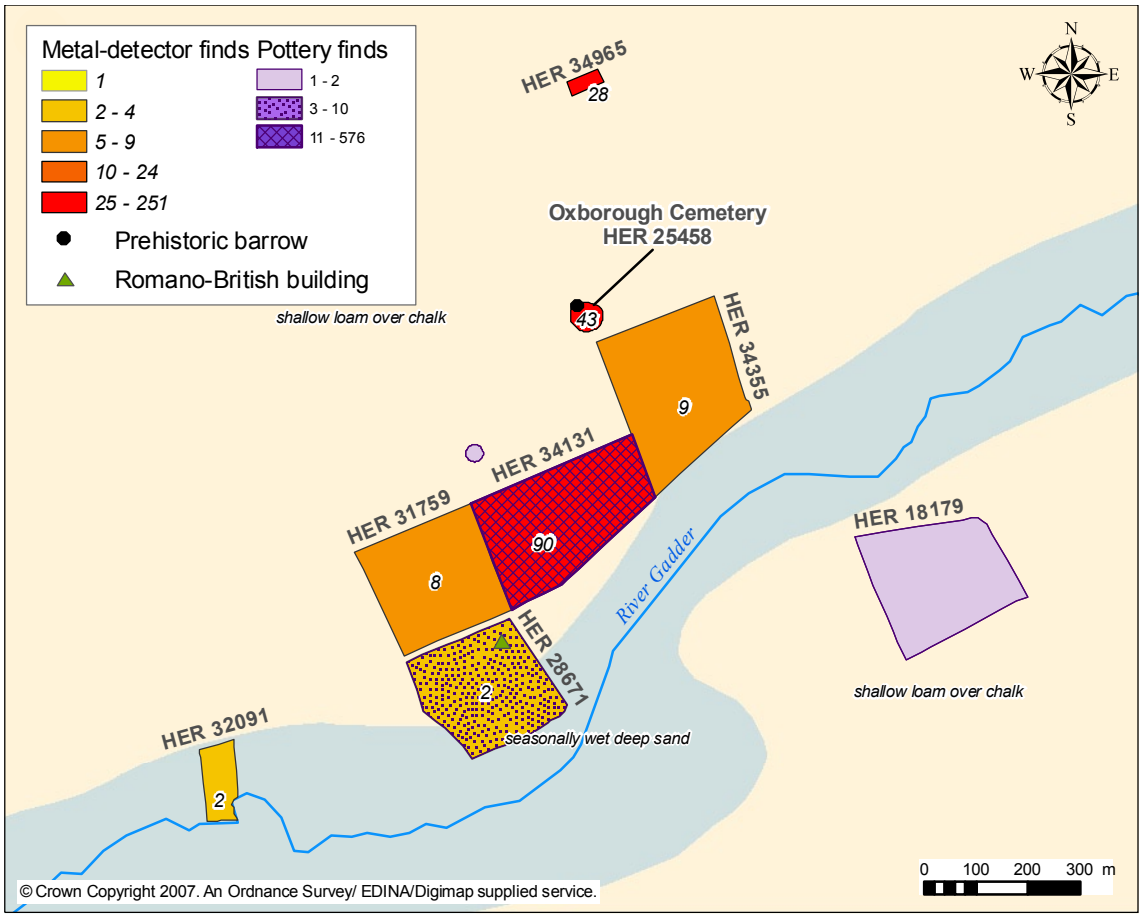


Plate II The excavated cemetery at Oxborough with other nearby surface collection finds.

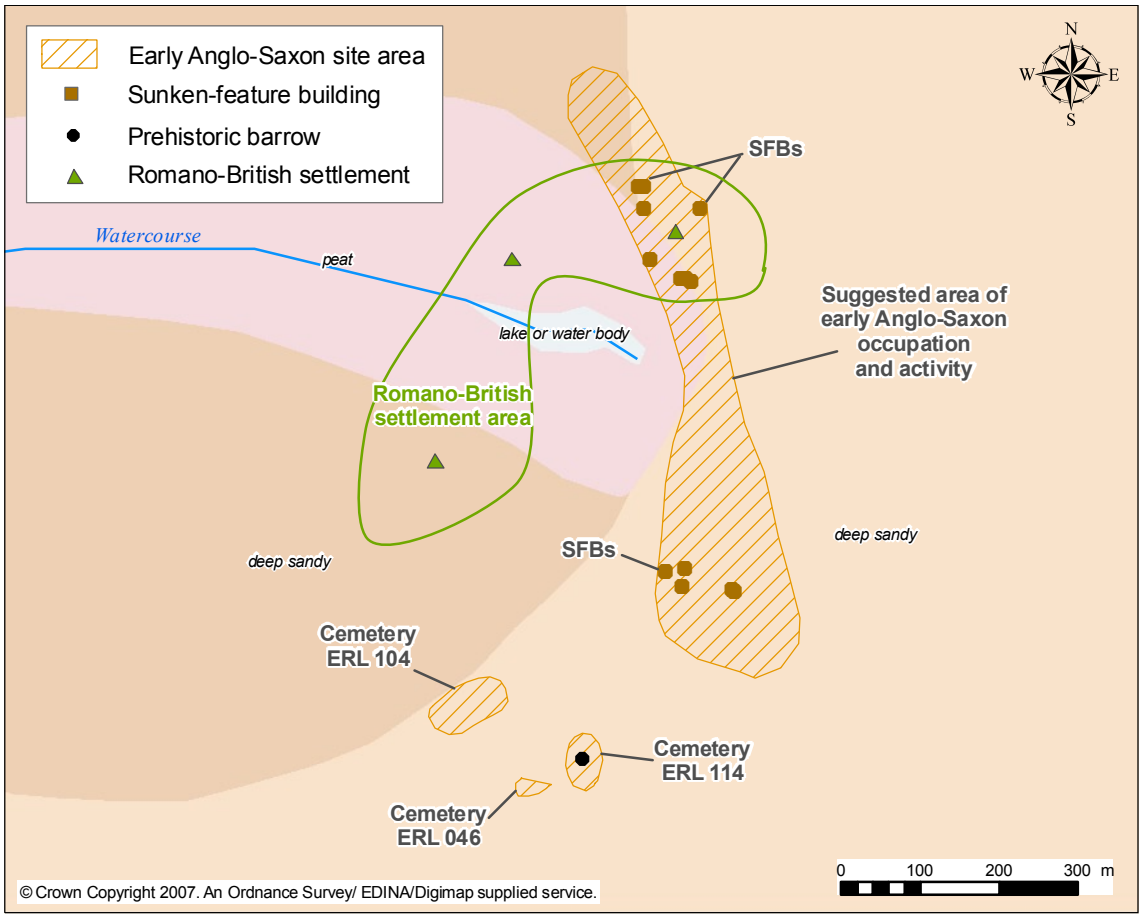


Plate III Cemeteries and settlement at Eriswell, Suffolk.

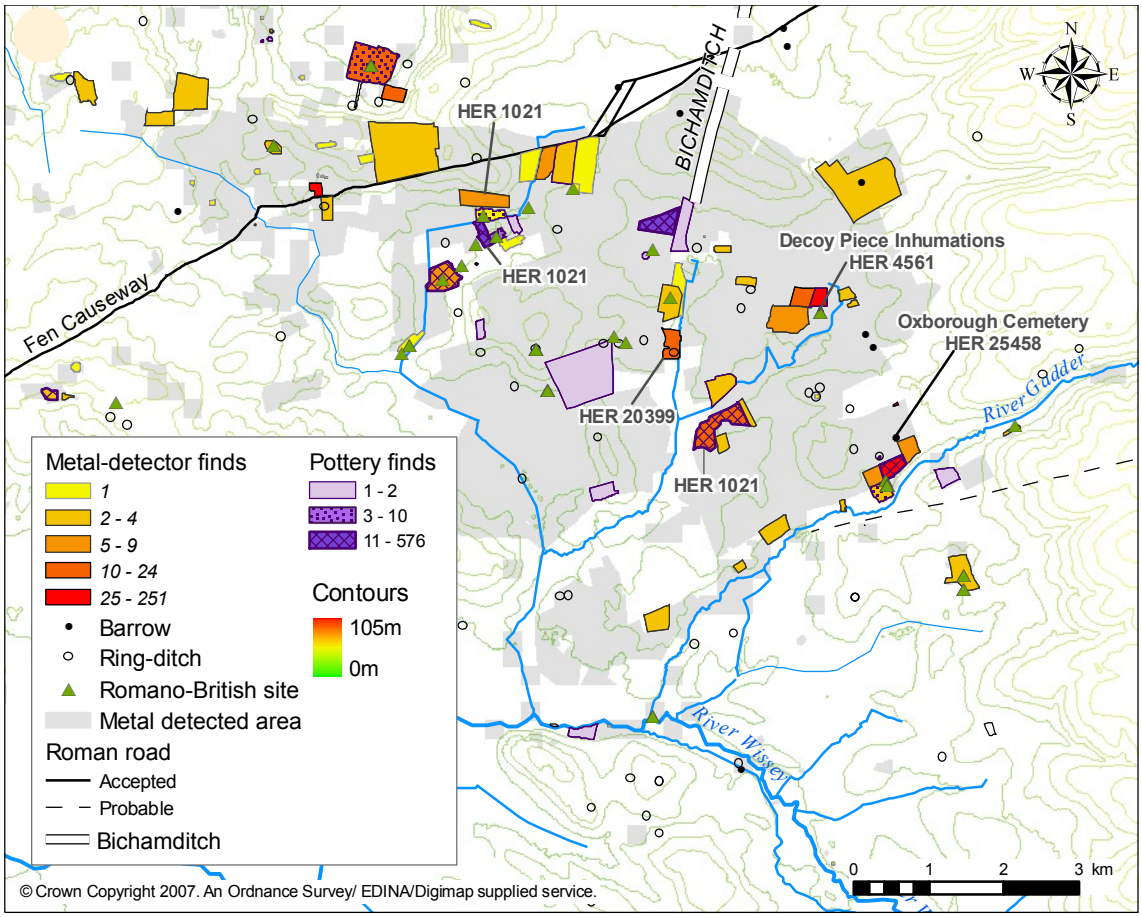


Plate IV Surface collection finds in an area around the parishes of Oxborough, Beachamwell and Barton Bendish.

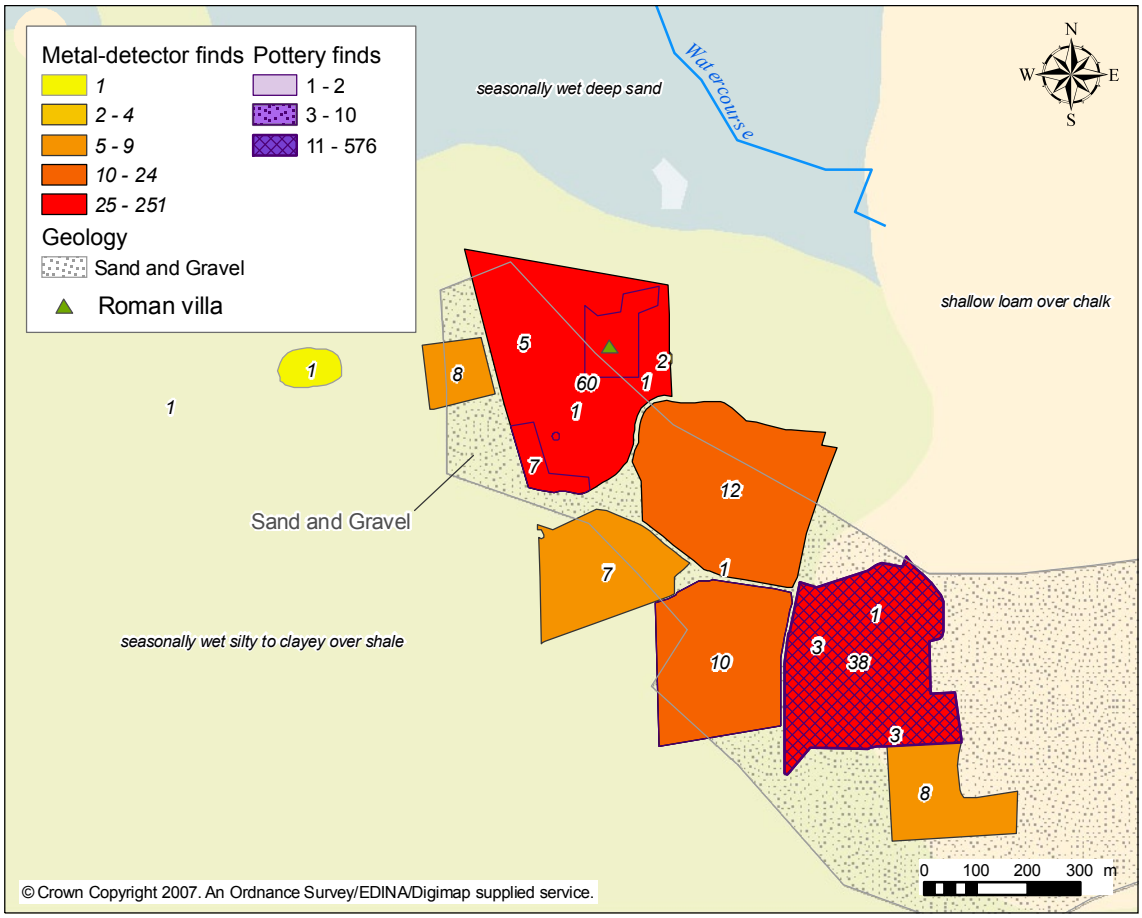


Plate V Surface collection finds and detailed drift geology in the parish of Congham.

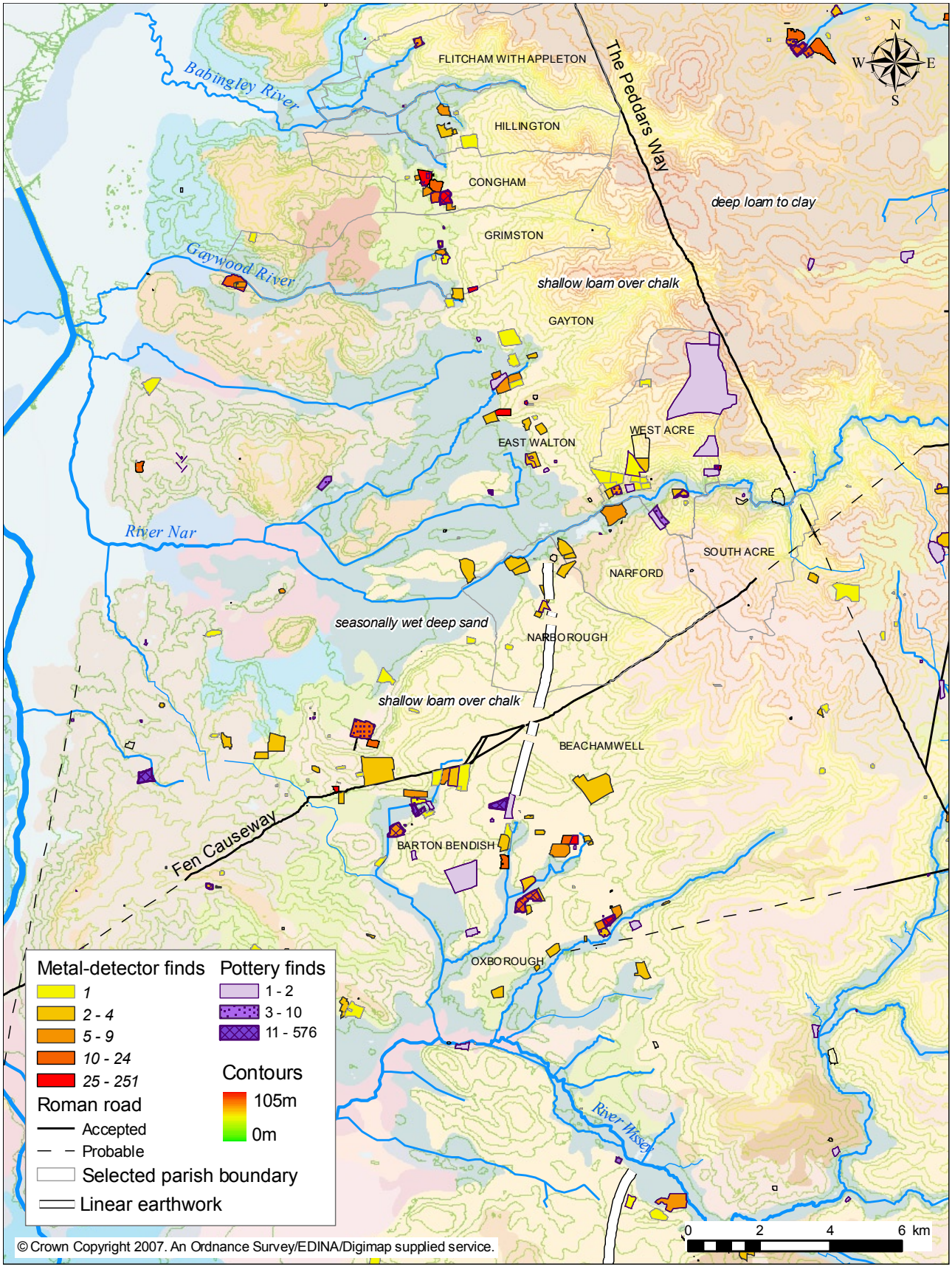


Plate VI Surface collection finds and sites in western Norfolk.

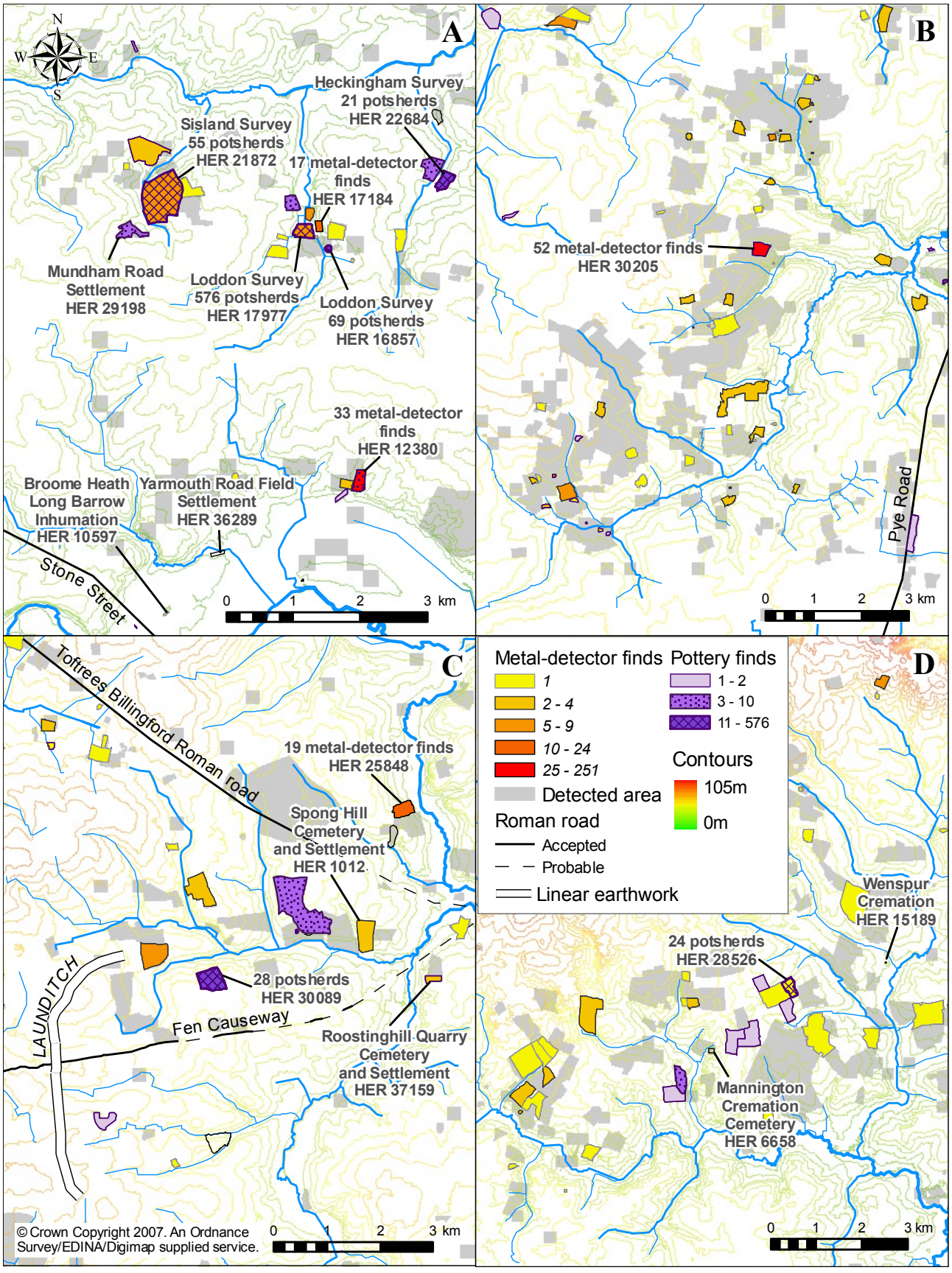


Plate VII A series of dendritic valley systems on the clay plateau (a, b, c) and north-east Norfolk (d), showing metal detected and fieldwalking finds, excavations and stray finds. Each area comprises a series of modern parishes, focussed on a) Loddon; b) Tacolneston; c) Beetley; d) Wickmere.

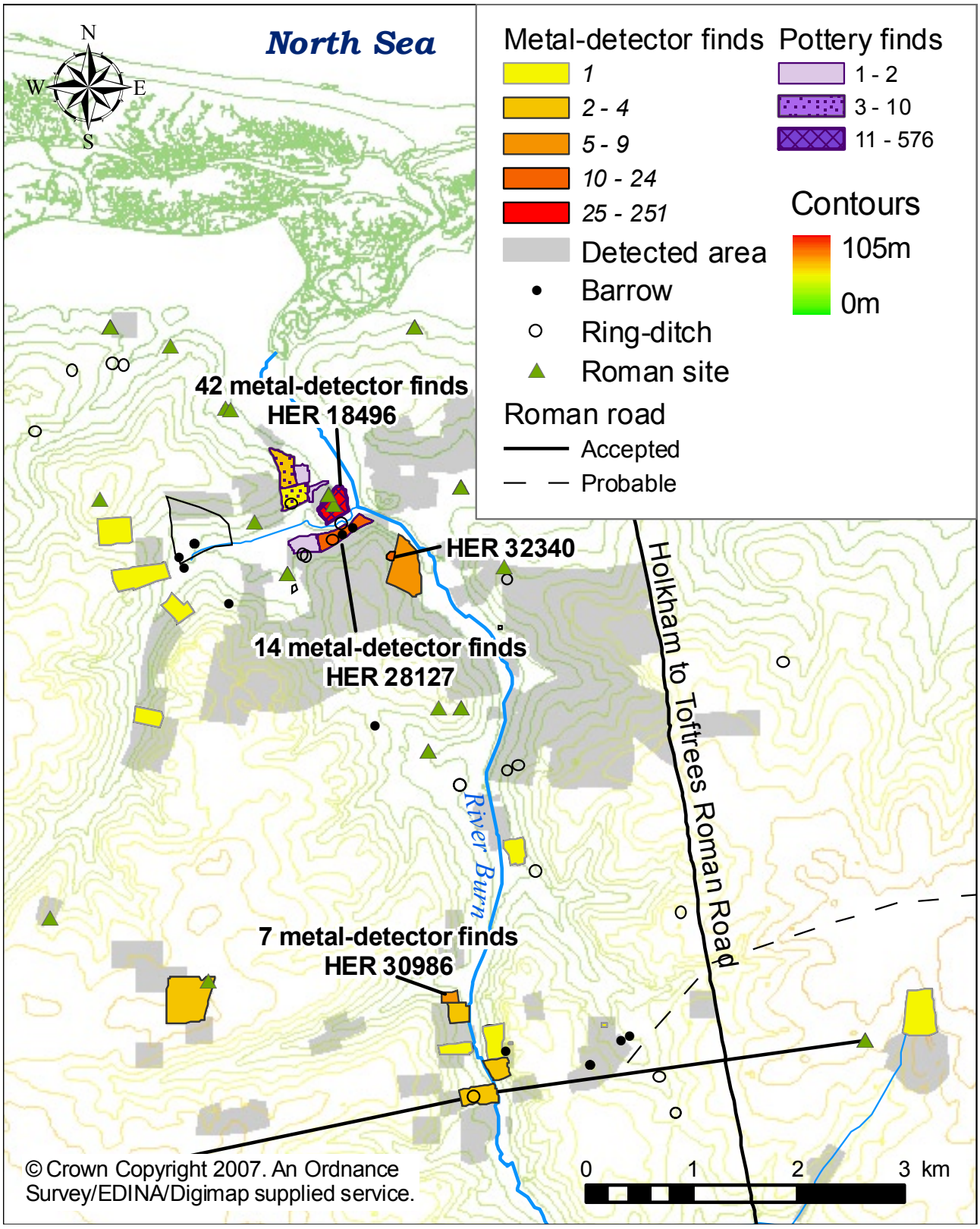


Plate VIII Surface collection finds and sites in the parishes of Burnham Norton, Burnham Market, Burnham Overy, North Creake and South Creake.

Appendix 1

Excavated Metal Finds for Comparative Analysis

There are 43 sites with excavated metal finds (including West Stow, Suffolk). Of these, 25 have stratified finds from mortuary features, 15 have stratified finds from non-mortuary features, and 13 have unstratified finds from excavation, or finds from an unknown context. Sites in **bold** have finds from both mortuary and non-mortuary (settlement) contexts. * indicates a sample of available finds was taken; † indicates that full information about the number and/or type of finds was not available at the time of the study.

25 Sites with Metal Finds in Stratified Mortuary Contexts

HER No.	Site Name	Parish	No. Metal Finds	Feature/Context
1011	Bergh Apton Cemetery	Bergh Apton	378	Inhumation
1012	**Spong Hill***	North Elmham	403	Cremation
			258	Inhumation
			1	Urnpit
1047	Illington Cemetery	Wretham	46	Cremation
			3	Inhumation
1048	Kenninghall Cemetery	Kenninghall	62	Inhumation
1054	Rocklands Cemetery	Rocklands	3	Cremation
1060	PS cemetery	East Walton	3	Cremation
1120	Morningthorpe ES cemetery*	Morningthorpe	3	Cremation
			297	Inhumation
1125	The Paddocks	Swaffham	64	Inhumation
1142	-	Old Hunstanton	32	Inhumation
11971	-	Southacre	1	Inhumation
2030	-	Great Walsingham	3	Cremation
25154	Brunel Way	Thetford	26	Inhumation
25458	-	Oxborough	20	Inhumation
3573	Grimston Bell Cemetery	Grimston	15	Inhumation
37159	Roostinghill Quarry - land adjacent to Swanton Morley Airfield†	Hoe	7	Inhumation
37349	Brown Covert, Kilverstone Area E	Thetford	17	Inhumation
3781	PS cremation cemetery	Westacre	52	Cremation
39358	-	Norwich	1	Cremation
4416	-	Wretton	4	Inhumation
4598	-	Sporle with Palgrave	19	Inhumation
4801	-	Foulden	2	Inhumation
6153	-	Langham	2	Inhumation
6164	Field 502	Field Dalling	1	Cremation
			7	Inhumation
9335	-	Colney	2	Cremation
9788	White's Hill, PS cremation cemetery SW of Markshall Farm	Caistor St Edmund	8	Cremation
9791	Caistor PS cemetery	Caistor St Edmund	119	Cremation
			64	Inhumation

15 Sites with Metal Finds in Stratified Non-Mortuary Contexts

HER No.	Site Name	Parish	No. Metal Finds	Feature/Context
1009	-	Witton	20	SFB
1012	**Spong Hill***	North Elmham	4	Ditch
			9	Pit
			30	SFB
1013	North Elmham Park LS settlement	North Elmham	8	Ditch
			1	Pit
1134	St Nicholas Street	Thetford	1	Pit
11971	-	Southacre	1	Ditch
17269	Melford Meadow	Brettenham	3	Pit
			24	SFB
21	Barn Road	Norwich	1	Pit
24822	Redcastle East	Thetford	1	Ditch
			9	SFB
24849	Thetford Bypass. Brandon Road crossing/Vets/Gittern	Thetford	2	SFB
34099	-	Aldeby	1	SFB
35776	A11	Snetterton	1	PIT
36289	Yarmouth Road Field	Broome	1	SFB
36802	Grange Farm Borrow Pit	Snetterton	2	SFB
5205	-	Feltwell	1	Hypocaust
WSTOW	West Stow, Suffolk	-	231	SFB
			80	Hall
			29	Pit
			35	Ditch
			4	Posthole
			25	Hollow
			3	Hearth

13 Sites with Metal Finds found Unstratified or in Unknown Contexts from Excavation

HER No.	Site Name	Parish	No. Metal Finds	Feature/Context
1009	-	Witton	1	Unstratified
1011	-	Bergh Apton	10	Unstratified - Spoil
1012	Spong Hill*	North Elmham	1	Unstratified - Surface
1054	Early Saxon cremation cemetery	Rocklands	2	Unstratified
25154	Brunel Way	Thetford	5	Unstratified
		Thetford	6	Unstratified - Spoil
		Thetford	17	Unstratified - Subsurface
25458	-	Oxborough	26	Unstratified
			20	Unstratified - Subsurface
29937	Ravens Grove	Morley	1	Unstratified - Surface
33812	Brandon Road West site	Thetford	1	?
3573	Grimston Bell Cemetery	Grimston	1	Unknown
36802	Grange Farm Borrow Pit	Snetterton	3	Unstratified
9584		Caistor St Edmund	1	Unstratified - Spoil
9791	Caistor PS cemetery	Caistor St Edmund	1	Unknown
			35	Unstratified
WSTOW	West Stow, Suffolk	-	222	Layer 2 (Wind Blown Sand)

Appendix 2

Interpretations of Early Anglo-Saxon Archaeological Material

All Sites

All Sites	Definition
All Early Saxon points	The totality of all sites with any Early Saxon presence
All Mortuary Sites	All Excavated Mortuary + All Strayfind Mortuary + All Fieldwalked Mortuary + All Probable, Strong and Very Strong Metal Detected Candidates for Mortuary Deposits
All Non-Mortuary sites	All Excavated Non-Mortuary + All Stray Non-Mortuary + All Fieldwalked Non-Mortuary + All AP Non-Mortuary + Possible Metal Working Evidence sites (not included in the present work)
All Settlement sites	All Excavated Settlement + All Fieldwalked Possible + Strong Candidates for Settlement + All AP Non-Mortuary sites
All 'Activity' sites	All Excavated 'Activity' + All Stray Non-Mortuary + All Fieldwalked Weak Candidates for Settlement + Weak and Possible Metal Detected Candidates for Mortuary Deposits

Excavated Finds

Excavated Sites	Definition
All Excavated sites	Includes all sites where excavation has revealed any kind of Early Saxon presence (Mortuary, Settlement and 'Activity')
All Excavated Mortuary sites	Includes sites where excavation has revealed Mortuary deposits
All Excavated Non-Mortuary sites	Includes sites where excavation has revealed Non-Mortuary deposits (Settlement and 'Activity')
All Excavated Settlement sites	Includes sites where excavation has revealed Settlement features
All Excavated 'Activity' sites	Includes sites where excavation has revealed Early Saxon features which cannot be interpreted as Mortuary or Settlement

Stray Finds

Strayfind Sites	Definition
All Strayfinds	Includes sites where Early Saxon strayfinds have been recovered, both those above and below the surface, but excludes those finds of Uncertain Provenance
All Stray Mortuary sites	Includes sites where Early Saxon strayfinds indicate likely mortuary deposits, both those above and below the surface. This specifically includes sites with confirmatory below-ground evidence, with more than 2 metal finds in the absence of metal detector finds, with more than 2 beads, with spearheads not found in watercourses or waterbodies, or with skeletal remains of certain provenance and dating, and specifically excludes those sites where deliberate cemetery or settlement excavations have taken place, and finds with Uncertain Provenance
All Stray Non-Mortuary sites	Includes strayfind sites excluding those of mortuary interpretation, and excluding those finds of Uncertain Provenance

Fieldwalking Finds

Fieldwalked Sites	Definition
All Fieldwalked Mortuary sites	All sites which have produce Cremation Urn sherds
All Fieldwalked Non-Mortuary sites	All sites which have produced only Ceramic Early Saxon finds, including those collected by Field Observation, Systematic and Unsystematic Fieldwalking, but excluding those with Cremation Urns, and those which have confirmation of Mortuary or Settlement Status from excavation

Fieldwalked Sites	Definition
All Fieldwalked Weak Candidates for Settlement sites	Includes sites with 1-2 Non-Mortuary sherds, but with no Loomweights and/or Spindle Whorls, collected by Field Observation, Systematic and Unsystematic Fieldwalking
All Fieldwalked Possible Candidates for Settlement sites	Includes sites with 3-10 Non-Mortuary sherds, but with no Loomweights and/or Spindle Whorls, collected by Field Observation, Systematic and Unsystematic Fieldwalking
All Fieldwalked Strong Candidates for Settlement sites	Includes sites with >10 Non-Mortuary sherds, and those with fewer sherds but with Loomweights and/or Spindle Whorls, collected by Field Observation, Systematic and Unsystematic Fieldwalking

Metal-Detector Finds

Metal Detected Sites	Definition
All Metal Detected Early Saxon sites	Includes all sites where Early Saxon finds have been found by metal detector, but excludes finds of Uncertain Provenance
All Metal Detected Early Saxon sites (Certain Dating only)	Includes all sites where Early Saxon finds have been found by metal detector, but excludes finds of Uncertain Provenance, and those with Uncertain Dating
Weak (1 find) and Possible (2-4 finds) Metal Detected Candidates for Mortuary Deposits	Includes sites where 1 to 4 Early Saxon finds have been found by metal detector, but excludes sites which have independent confirmation of mortuary or settlement status, sites which have burnt/heat affected finds (of any number), and finds of Uncertain Provenance, and those with Uncertain Dating
Probable (5–9 finds), Strong (10-24 finds) and Very Strong (>24 finds) Metal Detected Candidates for Mortuary Deposits	Includes sites where over 5 Early Saxon finds have been found by metal detector, and those with burnt/heat affected finds (of any number), but excludes sites which have excavated confirmation of mortuary or settlement status, and finds of Uncertain Provenance, and those with Uncertain Dating

Aerial Photography Finds

AP Sites	Definition
All AP Non-Mortuary sites	All SFBs and PBSs suggested by the intepretation of aerial photography, excluding those dated to outside the Early Saxon period, but including those of broad dating

Mortuary Rite

Mortuary Sites by Rite	Definition
Inhumation sites	Excavated Predominantly Inhumation Cemeteries + Strayfind Predominantly Inhumation Cemeteries + Probable, Strong and Very Strong Metal Detected Candidates for Cemeteries with No Heat Affected Finds
Cremation sites	Excavated Predominantly Cremation Cemeteries + Strayfind Predominantly Cremation Cemeteries + Probable, Strong and Very Strong Metal Detected Candidates for Mortuary Deposits with Heat Affected Finds + All Fieldwalked Mortuary sites

Date

All exclude artefacts of Uncertain Provenance and Uncertain Date.

Dated Sites	Definition
Sites with Early C5th Metal Detected finds	Finds closely dated to the early-fifth century.
Sites with C5th Metal Detected finds	Finds closely dated to the fifth century.
Sites with Late C5th Metal Detected finds	Finds closely dated to the late fifth century.
Sites with Late C5th-EarlyC6th Metal Detected finds	Finds closely dated to the late fifth and early sixth centuries.

Dated Sites	Definition
Sites with Early C6th Metal Detected finds	Finds closely dated to the early sixth century.
Sites with C6th Metal Detected finds	Finds closely dated to the sixth century.
Sites with Late C6th Metal Detected finds	Finds closely dated to the late sixth century.
Sites with Late C6th-Early C7th Metal Detected finds	Finds closely dated to the late sixth and early seventh centuries.
Sites with Early C7th Metal Detected finds	Finds closely dated to the early seventh century.
Sites with C7th Metal Detected finds	Finds dated to the seventh century (and possibly beyond). These only include those finds which were recorded under the Early Saxon umbrella in the HER and excludes those recorded under the Middle Saxon umbrella. This divide is recognised as somewhat arbitrary, and an artefact of the HER recording process, but is rationalised on the basis that the thesis is about change during the Early Saxon period, not the Early to Middle Saxon transition.
Sites with Late C5th-Early C7th Metal Detected Finds	Finds broadly dated from the late-fifth to the early-seventh century.
Sites with C6th-Early C7th Metal Detected finds	Finds broadly dated from the sixth to early seventh century.
Sites with a Presence in the Early C5th	Sites with metal detected finds of date ranges that overlap with the early fifth century
Sites with a Presence in the Late C5th	Sites with metal detected finds of date ranges that overlap with the late fifth century
Sites with a Presence in the Early C6th	Sites with metal detected finds of date ranges that overlap with the early sixth century
Sites with a Presence in the Late C6th	Sites with metal detected finds of date ranges that overlap with the late sixth century
Sites with a Presence in the Early C7th	Sites with metal detected finds of date ranges that overlap with the early seventh century

Appendix 3

Gazetteer of Early Anglo-Saxon Sites

All Inhumations

HERNo	Name on HER	Parish
1011		Bergh Apton
1021		Oxborough
1048		Kenninghall
1100		North Elmham
1120	Morningthorpe ES cemetery	Morningthorpe
1125	The Paddocks	Swaffham
1142		Old Hunstanton
1308	Thornham Fort	Thornham
1659		Fring
1826	Warham RB settlement	Warham
2031		Little Walsingham
2154		Little Snoring
2757	Thetford Warren	Thetford
3000		Bawdeswell
3182		Gunthorpe
3392		Middleton
3481	Denbeck Wood Roman Villa	Flitcham with Appleton
3569		Congham
3573	Grimston Bell Cemetery	Grimston
3754		East Walton
3970		Narford
3974	Big Meadow and Squires Meadow	Narford
3975	Narborough Camp	Narborough
3980		Wighton
4416		Wretton
4453	All Saint's Church	Hilgay
4561	Decoy Piece, Beachamwell	Beachamwell
4598		Sporle with Palgrave
4801		Foulden
4811		Northwold
4986		Mundford
5021		Hilborough
5112		Mundford
5587	Leylands Farm RB site	Weeting with Broomhill
5653	Brettenham RB township	Bridgham
5828	London Hill, Thetford Cemetery, London Road, Thetford	Thetford
5860		Thetford
6153		Langham
7206	Lodge Field RB settlement	Billingford
7438		Swannington
8277		Smallburgh

HERNo	Name on HER	Parish
8781		Watton
9628	The Oaks, Harvey Lane	Thorpe St Andrew
9787	Caistor RB Temple Site	Caistor St Edmund
10232		Brundall
10597	Broome Heath Long Barrow	Ditchingham
10961		Gissing
11743		Congham
11971		Southacre
12380	Pewter Hill	Kirby Cane
12574		Caistor St Edmund
13857		Loddon
14673	147 Wootton Road	King's Lynn
16121		Gayton
17212	Pepper Hill	Barton Bendish
17286	Big Men's Bones Field	Wormegay
17977		Loddon
17982		Loddon
18496		Burnham Overy
19449	Immediately north of line of Peddars Way on east side of Wissey	North Pickenham
21317		Field Dalling
21346		Mundford
21862		Hethersett
21872		Mundham
21925		Gunthorpe
21959	Hargate Roman site	Carleton Rode
23001		Fring
23159	NW of Manor Farm west bend in road	Fulmodeston
23345	Dickleburgh bypass	Burston
23536	Well Hill East	Beachamwell
24171		Bergh Apton
24833		Colney
24909	Field 4	Hindringham
25154	Brunel Way	Thetford
25458		Oxborough
25848		North Elmham
25962		Bawsey
28120		West Winch
28127		Burnham Market
28130	Field 1	West Rudham
28494		Wreningham
28645		Shouldham
28732		Bracon Ash
29274		Gayton
29344		Morton on the Hill
29713		Gayton
29913		Hillington
29923		Great Walsingham
30049		Fincham

HERNo	Name on HER	Parish
30059		Fincham
30441		West Rudham
30611		West Rudham
30636	"Big Croft", Field 62	Bradenham
30867		Colkirk
30883		West Rudham
30986		North Creake
31039	Beechams	Bradenham
31073		Congham
31172		Holt
31694		Saham Toney
31759		Oxborough
31934		Aylmerton
32340		Burnham Thorpe
32605		Tattersett
32608	South Mill Field	Tattersett
32821		Gunthorpe
32951		Burnham Thorpe
33069		Wymondham
33176		Banham
34131		Oxborough
34355		Oxborough
34528		Snettisham
34655		Kelling
34965		Oxborough
34984		Rocklands
35597		Holme Hale
36629		Mattishall
37284		Quidenham
37349	Brown Covert, Kilverstone Area E	Thetford

All Cremations

HERNo	Name on HER	Parish
165	Eade Road (Aylsham Road)	Norwich
1012	Spong Hill	North Elmham
1047	Illington Cemetery	Wretham
1050	Pensthorpe PS cremation cemetery	Kettlestone
1054	Early Saxon cremation cemetery	Rocklands
1060	PS cemetery	East Walton
1065		North Elmham
1473		Sedgeford
1529		Snettisham
2024	Great Walsingham RB temple site	Great Walsingham
2030		Great Walsingham
2266	Boons Pit	Tottenhill
3348		North Runcton
3565	Congham MS building	Congham
3781	PS cremation cemetery	Westacre

HERNo	Name on HER	Parish
3969		Narford
4291		Great Yarmouth
4412		Wereham
4539	Well Hill	Beachamwell
4544	North of St. Botolph's Church	Beachamwell
5138	Old Hall, Lynford	Lynford
6076		Brettenham
6164	Field 502	Field Dalling
6658		Wickmere
6872		Mundesley
7589		Aylsham
7853		Drayton
9035		Snetterton
9082		Great Ellingham
9335		Colney
9759	Dunston Field.	Stoke Holy Cross
9788	White's Hill, PS cremation cemetery SW of Markshall Farm	Caistor St Edmund
9791	Caistor PS cemetery	Caistor St Edmund
10132	Brooke PS cemetery	Howe
10231	Site of St. Clement's Chapel	Brundall
10234		Brundall
10279		Strumpshaw
10471	Gariannonum	Burgh Castle
11110		Earsham
11816		Congham
13143		Pulham St Mary
13227	Church Field	Burgh Castle
15404		Gayton
16841		Westacre
17184		Loddon
17403		Wighton
18464		Roudham
19576	West side of wood, SE of bungalow	Hockwold cum Wilton
20399		Barton Bendish
20859	SE of Colney Hall	Colney
21137		Feltwell
21302		Westacre
21435	North of Crudshole Lane.	Swafield
21927		Westacre
24254	In fields between Gillingham roundabout and Winston Hall	Gillingham
24620	Bale Dunstan Field	Gunthorpe
24862	Thetford Bypass	Thetford
25765		Congham
25856	East of The Narboroughs	East Walton
28131	Field 2	West Rudham
28200		Caistor St Edmund
28253	Opposite ruined church	Great Walsingham
28407		Wicklewood

HERNo	Name on HER	Parish
29415		Barford
30039		East Walton
30205		Ashwellthorpe
30652		Congham
30690		Congham
30754		Congham
31418		Forncett
32133		West Rudham
32267		Riddlesworth
32876		Westacre
33109		Yelverton
33277		Framingham Earl
34396		Aylsham
35101		Little Cressingham
35590		Hillington
35712		Wreningham
35730		Quidenham
35831		Tacolneston
35988		Shouldham
37159	Roostinghill Quarry - land adjacent to Swanton Morley Airfield	Hoe
39358		Norwich

All Non-Mortuary Sites

HERNo	Name on HER	Parish
21	Barn Road	Norwich
151	St. Benedicts Gate/Grapes Hill	Norwich
801	Sweet Briar Road	Norwich
1006	Brampton Kiln Field	Brampton
1008	Scole House/ Long Meadow	Scole
1009		Witton
1012	Spong Hill	North Elmham
1013	North Elmham Park LS settlement	North Elmham
1021		Oxborough
1039	Cranwich deserted village	Cranwich
1087	North Elmham Great Wood	North Elmham
1100		North Elmham
1134	St Nicholas Street	Thetford
1425	Church Nursery	Heacham
1473		Sedgeford
1531		Snettisham
1586		Ringstead
1736		Burnham Norton
1737		Burnham Norton
1756		Burnham Norton
1826	Warham RB settlement	Warham
2024	Great Walsingham RB temple site	Great Walsingham
2029	St. Mary's Priory, Abbey House and Park	Little Walsingham

HERNo	Name on HER	Parish
2596		Barton Bendish
3253		Sandringham
3481	Denbeck Wood Roman Villa	Flitcham With Appleton
3565	Congham MS building	Congham
3569		Congham
3671		Rougham
3675	Northall Manor	Weasenham All Saints
3703		Litcham
3768		East Walton
3770	St. Nicholas's Church, Gayton	Gayton
3941	St. Mary Magdalen's Church	Pentney
3957		Southacre
3983	Custhorpe DMV	Westacre
4015	St. Mary's Church, Narford	Narford
4055	Group of four barrows on Sparrow Hill	Merton
4096	Castle Acre Priory	Castle Acre
4193		Fransham
4196		Great Dunham
4198	Field 26	Little Dunham
4206	All Saint's Church, Great Fransham	Fransham
4290	St. Margaret's Church, Shouldham	Shouldham
4499	All Saints' Church, Barton Bendish	Barton Bendish
4562	Furze Hill, Beachamwell	Beachamwell
4717	All Saints Church, South Pickenham	South Pickenham
5019		Hilborough
5179		Feltwell
5188		Feltwell
5205		Feltwell
5210		Feltwell
5214		Feltwell
5303	Gravelpit Wood, 1/4 mile west of Devil's Dyke	Hockwold Cum Wilton
5352	Bowthorpe DMV	Costessey
5455	Ennefer's Field	Hockwold Cum Wilton
5587	Leylands Farm RB site	Weeting With Broomhill
5636	Weeting Villa	Weeting With Broomhill
5708		Croxton
5746	Red Castle	Thetford
5756	Playing Fields	Thetford
5861	Abbey Heath, Thetford	Thetford
5886	Town ditch and bank	Thetford
6018		Bridgham
6029	Harling Hall, Harling. Site of.	Harling
6049	SS Peter and Paul's Church, East Harling	Harling
6062	West of parish church	Bircham
6074	Site of Loose Hall	Hempstead
6228	Six Acre Valley, Kelling	Kelling

HERNo	Name on HER	Parish
6825		Trunch
6938		Witton
6943		Witton
6949		Witton
6969		Witton
6977		Witton
6980		Witton
6988		Witton
7005		Witton
7048		Witton
7206	Lodge Field RB settlement	Billingford
7269		Longham
7438		Swannington
7618	Atlas Aggregates "Litcham" Pit, Beeston with Bittering	Beeston With Bittering
7850		Drayton
7912	St. Edmund's Church, Old Costessey	Costessey
8442	River Bure	South Walsham
8448		Woodbastwick
8514		South Walsham
8842	Thuxton DMV	Garvestone
8897	Crownthorpe Roman temple and settlement	Wicklewood
8935		Merton
9008		Wretham
9047	Holy Trinity Church, Great Hockham	Hockham
9304		Costessey
9584		Caistor St Edmund
9585	Arminghall sites disclosed by air photographs	Bixley
9759	Dunston Field.	Stoke Holy Cross
9966	Flordon Mill	Flordon
10219		Postwick
10679		Ellingham
11008	The Tivetshall Villa	Tivetshall St Mary
11041		Alburgh
11261		Fring
11413		Mundford
11633		Congham
11788	Valley Farm cropmark complex, Mason's Farm	Hopton On Sea
11829		Ingoldisthorpe
11971		Southacre
12137	The Aldeby cropmark complex	Aldeby
12313	Wattlefield	Wymondham
12380	Pewter Hill	Kirby Cane
12513	Finds alongside Roman road	Long Stratton
12834		Roydon (Near Diss)
13059		Congham
13174	Church Hill	Saxlingham Nethergate
13227	Church Field	Burgh Castle
13316	Day's Fen	Barton Bendish

HERNo	Name on HER	Parish
13368		Runcton Holme
13555		Bircham
13854		Hockham
13937	Bypass line and adjacent land	Southery
13955		Morningthorpe
14177		Shouldham
14331		Ickburgh
14353		Dersingham
14521		West Dereham
14752	South-west of New Barn.	Southery
15138		Oxborough
15388		Martham
15404		Gayton
15502	18 Church Hill.	Congham
15539		Crimplesham
15543		North Elmham
15750	25 Gloucester Road	King's Lynn
15875		Fransham
16168		Hopton On Sea
16294	Ingleside Hotel.	Mundesley
16372		Hunstanton
16389		Honingham
16391		Honingham
16525		Southery
16641		Witton
16857		Loddon
17033	North-west edge of quarry extension.	Kimberley
17163	c. 700 yards north-east of Church Farm.	Honingham
17212	Pepper Hill	Barton Bendish
17217		Attlebridge
17269	Melford Meadow	Brettenham
17403		Wighton
17575		Runcton Holme
17754		Heacham
17787		Needham
17868		Tibenham
17896		Wretham
17977		Loddon
18066	Grounds of Old Rectory.	Bridgham
18101		Lethersett With Glandford
18179		Gooderstone
18448		Crimplesham
18496		Burnham Overy
18526		Tivetshall St Mary
18843		Barton Bendish
18852		Barton Bendish
18941		Walsoken

HERNo	Name on HER	Parish
18958		West Walton
19109		East Walton
19316		Loddon
19449	Immediately north of line of Peddars Way on east side of Wissey	North Pickenham
19542		Dilham
19543	Field NW of Dilham Church	Dilham
19549		Banham
19640		Westacre
19796		Gunthorpe
19965		Grimston
20448		Fransham
20466		North Tuddenham
20508		Fransham
20524		Fransham
20543		Fransham
20587		Fransham
20589		Fransham
20604		Fransham
20639		Fransham
20929		Tasburgh
21127		Sprowston
21281	New Village hall	Burnham Market
21302		Westacre
21317		Field Dalling
21397	Hirdling Field	Tilney St Lawrence
21441	Lexham Estate field No. 68	Great Dunham
21455		Barton Bendish
21462		Barton Bendish
21777	Walled garden of Hall	Barton Bendish
21871	Sisland Survey Site 97	Sisland
21872		Mundham
22080		Barton Bendish
22225		Skeyton
22442	Shed Field	Field Dalling
22652	NE area of borrow pit for Hethersett bypass	East Carleton
22670	Hales Survey, Heckingham site 25.	Heckingham
22684	Hales Survey, Heckingham site 44.	Heckingham
22873		Skeyton
23001		Fring
23002		Carleton Rode
23075		Fransham
23076		Fransham
23082		Fransham
23248	South side of road west of Black Horse PH	Skeyton
23345	Dickleburgh bypass	Burston
23418	Hargate, NW angle of road junction north of Carleton Fen	Carleton Rode
23457	On SE slope of hillock sloping down to river valley on south and ea+	Carleton Rode
23536	Well Hill East	Beachamwell

HERNo	Name on HER	Parish
23711	West of bypass	Southery
23753	Kirby Cane bypass	Kirby Cane
23928		Barton Bendish
23934		Barton Bendish
23947		Barton Bendish
24123	West of Goose Lane	Ingham
24220		Barford
24328	Garden of 130 Taverham Road	Taverham
24467		Southery
24570	Mansion Field	Field Dalling
24696	Davison field LC25	Little Cressingham
24703	Davison field LC34	Little Cressingham
24709		Hockham
24716		Wretham
24720		Wretham
24774		Fransham
24775		Fransham
24783		Fransham
24784		Fransham
24822	Redcastle East	Thetford
24849	Thetford Bypass. Brandon Road crossing/Vets/Gittern	Thetford
24900		Hockham
24909	Field 4	Hindringham
25047		Beachamwell
25071	Opposite Church Farm, Field 5	Hindringham
25154	Brunel Way	Thetford
25157	Primrose Farm (Field 10)	Hindringham
25228		Barford
25419	Northwest side of Turnpike.	Bunwell
25490		Upton With Fishley
25624	Dove House Piece	Costessey
25670	East of Ploughman's Lane	Hindringham
25697	Fields north and northeast of church	Wramplingham
25699	The Cross Field, Invisible Field	Field Dalling
25796		Snettisham
25863	Site 4, field 30	Letheringsett With Glandford
25918		Burnham Norton
25923	North Street	Castle Acre
25927	Back Lane	Castle Acre
25948	Beck Wonge or Millholme	Letheringsett With Glandford
25962		Bawsey
26745		Titchwell
28005	Field 38	Hindringham
28022	Field 13	Itteringham
28117	OS Field 7614	Burnham Market
28127		Burnham Market
28130	Field 1	West Rudham

HERNo	Name on HER	Parish
28131	Field 2	West Rudham
28254	Between the Churches	Great Walsingham
28295		Gunthorpe
28355		Harling
28459		East Winch
28479	Bale Road Field	Field Dalling
28521		Wickmere
28526		Wickmere
28529		Wickmere
28532		Wickmere
28533		Itteringham
28534		Wickmere
28632		Tibenham
28645		Shouldham
28671		Oxborough
28672		East Winch
28798		Dersingham
28841		Tivetshall St Mary
28844	Field 48	Hindringham
29185		Burnham Norton
29188	Field 2	Warham
29198	Mundham Road	Mundham
29218		Fransham
29227		Flitcham With Appleton
29247		Gressenhall
29260		Shouldham
29311		Seething
29403		Sporle With Palgrave
29404		Grimston
29630		Quidenham
29691		South Walsham
29923		Great Walsingham
29937	Ravens Grove	Morley
29958	Hargham 45	Quidenham
30089	Rawhall Lane	Beetley
30205		Ashwellthorpe
30217	G15, G22, G172, Wendling 171	Fransham
30236	Field 4	Little Dunham
30273	"Middle 100 Acres" "Field 6"	Little Dunham
30277	"Roundabout" "Field 5"	Little Dunham
30425	The Hedgerows	Field Dalling
30502	Docking Park	Docking
30533	Home Close	Morley
30607	Humphrey's Field	Foulsham
30611		West Rudham
30650		Scole
30679		Hockering

HERNo	Name on HER	Parish
30690		Congham
30841		East Rudham
31165		Westacre
31525		Thetford
31530		Claxton
31550		Caistor St Edmund
31555	Foxburrow Plantation	Keswick
31636	High House Park	Westacre
31818		Emneth
31821	Susans Wood	Stoke Holy Cross
31883	Survey Field 7	Westacre
31897	The Warrener	Thetford
32083		Claxton
32093		Sea Palling
32746	Dalling Home Field	Field Dalling
32814		Westacre
32864		Northwold
32881		Gillingham
33189		Tivetshall St Mary
33522		Cranwich
33664		Westacre
33682		Westacre
33683		Westacre
33812	Brandon Road West site	Thetford
34099		Aldeby
34131		Oxborough
34174		Docking
34489	Norwich Road	Thetford
34742	Metanglia Site, Quaker Lane	Fakenham
34859		Carleton Rode
35083	Little Allgoods	Wretton
35605		Ickburgh
35707	Former Village Hall, The Street	Gooderstone
35757	Bishy Barnabee Road	Costessey
35776	A11	Snetterton
35825	Buckenham Tofts DMV	Stanford
35951		Burnham Market
35981	2 Church Street	Diss
36004		Holkham
36289	Yarmouth Road Field	Broome
36364		Burgh St Peter
36655		Rocklands
36756		Honing
36757		Honing
36758		East Ruston
36802	Grange Farm Borrow Pit	Snetterton
36993		Hockwold Cum Wilton
37094	Chapel Break, Bowthorpe, Site S1	Costessey

HERNo	Name on HER	Parish
37158	Land off Brandon Road	Thetford
37159	Roostinghill Quarry - land adjacent to Swanton Morley Airfield	Hoe
37305	Land adjacent to the Old Rectory	Hillington
37510	Land to rear of Gurney Court, Magdalen Street	Norwich
37553	Garden of 100 Earlham Green Road	Norwich
37647	Land north of Post Office	Outwell
37694		Thetford
38098		Weeting With Broomhill
38600		East Ruston
39273		Whissonsett
39371	Davison Godwick Field 12	Tittleshall
39549		Stow Bedon
39701		Wereham
39960		Scole
40118		Merton
40338		Harling

All Settlement Sites

HERNo	Name on HER	Parish
1006	Brampton Kiln Field	Brampton
1009		Witton
1012	Spong Hill	North Elmham
1021		Oxborough
1087	North Elmham Great Wood	North Elmham
1100		North Elmham
1473		Sedgeford
1586		Ringstead
1826	Warham RB settlement	Warham
2024	Great Walsingham RB temple site	Great Walsingham
3481	Denbeck Wood Roman Villa	Flitcham With Appleton
3703		Litcham
3983	Custhorpe DMV	Westacre
4193		Fransham
5756	Playing Fields	Thetford
6949		Witton
7005		Witton
7206	Lodge Field RB settlement	Billingford
9585	Arminghall sites disclosed by air photographs	Bixley
9759	Dunston Field.	Stoke Holy Cross
10219		Postwick
12380	Pewter Hill	Kirby Cane
13316	Day's Fen	Barton Bendish
13955		Morningthorpe
14353		Dersingham
15388		Martham
15539		Crimplesham

HERNo	Name on HER	Parish
16641		Witton
16857		Loddon
17212	Pepper Hill	Barton Bendish
17269	Melford Meadow	Brettenham
17575		Runcton Holme
17896		Wretham
17977		Loddon
18101		Lethersett With Glandford
18496		Burnham Overy
19316		Loddon
19543	Field NW of Dilham Church	Dilham
19796		Gunthorpe
19965		Grimston
20508		Fransham
20587		Fransham
20639		Fransham
21127		Sprowston
21302		Westacre
21317		Field Dalling
21777	Walled garden of Hall	Barton Bendish
21872		Mundham
22080		Barton Bendish
22442	Shed Field	Field Dalling
22670	Hales Survey, Heckingham site 25.	Heckingham
22684	Hales Survey, Heckingham site 44.	Heckingham
23001		Fring
23076		Fransham
23457	On SE slope of hillock sloping down to river valley on south and ea+	Carleton Rode
23711	West of bypass	Southery
23928		Barton Bendish
23947		Barton Bendish
24703	Davison field LC34	Little Cressingham
24716		Wretham
24720		Wretham
24784		Fransham
24822	Redcastle East	Thetford
24849	Thetford Bypass. Brandon Road crossing/Vets/Gittern	Thetford
24900		Hockham
24909	Field 4	Hindringham
25071	Opposite Church Farm, Field 5	Hindringham
25228		Barford
25490		Upton With Fishley
25670	East of Ploughman's Lane	Hindringham
25699	The Cross Field, Invisible Field	Field Dalling
25796		Snettisham
25918		Burnham Norton
26745		Titchwell

HERNo	Name on HER	Parish
28005	Field 38	Hindringham
28022	Field 13	Itteringham
28130	Field 1	West Rudham
28131	Field 2	West Rudham
28459		East Winch
28526		Wickmere
28645		Shouldham
28671		Oxborough
28672		East Winch
28798		Dersingham
28841		Tivetshall St Mary
29185		Burnham Norton
29198	Mundham Road	Mundham
29227		Flitcham With Appleton
29923		Great Walsingham
29958	Hargham 45	Quidenham
30089	Rawhall Lane	Beetley
30273	"Middle 100 Acres" "Field 6"	Little Dunham
30533	Home Close	Morley
30611		West Rudham
30679		Hockering
30690		Congham
31550		Caistor St Edmund
31555	Foxburrow Plantation	Keswick
31883	Survey Field 7	Westacre
33682		Westacre
33812	Brandon Road West site	Thetford
34099		Aldeby
34131		Oxborough
34174		Docking
34489	Norwich Road	Thetford
35757	Bishy Barnabee Road	Costessey
35951		Burnham Market
36289	Yarmouth Road Field	Broome
36364		Burgh St Peter
36756		Honing
36757		Honing
36758		East Ruston
36802	Grange Farm Borrow Pit	Snetterton
37158	Land off Brandon Road	Thetford
37159	Roostinghill Quarry - land adjacent to Swanton Morley Airfield	Hoe
37694		Thetford
38600		East Ruston
39371	Davison Godwick Field 12	Tittleshall
40118		Merton

All Activity Sites

HERNo	Name on HER	Parish
21	Barn Road	Norwich
151	St. Benedicts Gate/Grapes Hill	Norwich
690	Sweet Briar Road	Norwich
745	Sweet Briar Road	Norwich
748	Sweet Briar Road	Norwich
801	Sweet Briar Road	Norwich
1002	Vicus west and south west of fort	Brancaster
1003	Vicus east of fort	Brancaster
1008	Scole House/ Long Meadow	Scole
1013	North Elmham Park LS settlement	North Elmham
1031		Watton
1039	Cranwich deserted village	Cranwich
1058	Great Palgrave DMV	Sporle With Palgrave
1078		Fring
1124	Fortified RB town, Field 2	Brampton
1134	St Nicholas Street	Thetford
1270	Renaut's Field	Old Hunstanton
1275		Hunstanton
1335		Ringstead
1425	Church Nursery	Heacham
1430		Heacham
1503		Snettisham
1515	Preece's Field RB site	Snettisham
1531		Snettisham
1555		Snettisham
1558		Ingoldisthorpe
1586		Ringstead
1661	Fring Romano-British villa	Fring
1691		Snettisham
1736		Burnham Norton
1737		Burnham Norton
1756		Burnham Norton
1843	Site of Warham Hall	Warham
1910	Bloodgate Hill	South Creake
1913		North Creake
2029	St. Mary's Priory, Abbey House and Park	Little Walsingham
2123		Great Snoring
2157		Little Snoring
2596		Barton Bendish
2634	Caldecote DMV	Oxborough
2982		Hingham
3150	St. Mary's Chapel, Kerdiston	Reepham
3166		Field Dalling
3253		Sandringham
3565	Congham MS building	Congham
3569		Congham

HERNo	Name on HER	Parish
3592	Well Hall Roman Settlement	Gayton
3671		Rougham
3675	Northall Manor	Weasenham All Saints
3768		East Walton
3770	St. Nicholas's Church, Gayton	Gayton
3907	Bungalow or Roman Field	Narborough
3941	St. Mary Magdalen's Church	Pentney
3953		Westacre
3954		Westacre
3957		Southacre
3983	Custhorpe DMV	Westacre
4015	St. Mary's Church, Narford	Narford
4055	Group of four barrows on Sparrow Hill	Merton
4079		Kempstone
4096	Castle Acre Priory	Castle Acre
4145	Guthlacs or Good Luke's Close	Swaffham
4196		Great Dunham
4198	Field 26	Little Dunham
4206	All Saint's Church, Great Fransham	Fransham
4250		Swafield
4251		Winfarthing
4290	St. Margaret's Church, Shouldham	Shouldham
4437		Welney
4499	All Saints' Church, Barton Bendish	Barton Bendish
4511	Chapel Hill	Marham
4530	Toot Hill	Beachamwell
4562	Furze Hill, Beachamwell	Beachamwell
4575		Gooderstone
4624		North Pickenham
4707	Threxton DMV	Little Cressingham
4717	All Saints Church, South Pickenham	South Pickenham
5019		Hilborough
5179		Feltwell
5188		Feltwell
5205		Feltwell
5210		Feltwell
5214		Feltwell
5303	Gravelpit Wood, 1/4 mile west of Devil's Dyke	Hockwold Cum Wilton
5316	Hockwold RB settlement ("Camboritum")	Hockwold Cum Wilton
5351	East Fen Drove	Hockwold Cum Wilton
5352	Bowthorpe DMV	Costessey
5455	Ennefer's Field	Hockwold Cum Wilton
5587	Leylands Farm RB site	Weeting With Broomhill
5636	Weeting Villa	Weeting With Broomhill
5659	Santon Breck	Lynford
5708		Croxton
5746	Red Castle	Thetford
5861	Abbey Heath, Thetford	Thetford

HERNo	Name on HER	Parish
5886	Town ditch and bank	Thetford
6018		Bridgham
6029	Harling Hall, Harling. Site of.	Harling
6033	Middle Harling deserted village	Harling
6049	SS Peter and Paul's Church, East Harling	Harling
6062	West of parish church	Bircham
6066		Harling
6074	Site of Loose Hall	Hempstead
6228	Six Acre Valley, Kelling	Kelling
6230	Kelling Hall	Kelling
6825		Trunch
6829		Swafield
6938		Witton
6943		Witton
6969		Witton
6977		Witton
6980		Witton
6988		Witton
7048		Witton
7269		Longham
7438		Swannington
7455		Swannington
7586	Brampton Piece, Bolwick	Aylsham
7618	Atlas Aggregates "Litcham" Pit, Beeston with Bittering	Beeston With Bittering
7850		Drayton
7912	St. Edmund's Church, Old Costessey	Costessey
8126		Horsham St Faith And Newton St Faith
8442	River Bure	South Walsham
8448		Woodbastwick
8514		South Walsham
8748		Saham Toney
8842	Thuxton DMV	Garvestone
8897	Crownthorpe Roman temple and settlement	Wicklewood
8935		Merton
9008		Wretham
9047	Holy Trinity Church, Great Hockham	Hockham
9082		Great Ellingham
9304		Costessey
9310	Earlham/Bowthorpe Marshes	Costessey
9332	John Innes Centre, Colney Lane	Colney
9584		Caistor St Edmund
9585	Arminghall sites disclosed by air photographs	Bixley
9724		Swainsthorpe
9732		Stoke Holy Cross
9807		Caistor St Edmund
9836	Church Hills, Southgate Field	Caistor St Edmund
9966	Flordon Mill	Flordon

HERNo	Name on HER	Parish
10007	Little Green	Bunwell
10399		Burgh Castle
10486		Burgh Castle
10613	Field north-west of Wainford Mill	Ditchingham
10679		Ellingham
10840	Bronze Age round barrow and Early Saxon inhumation cemetary	Banham
11008	The Tivetshall Villa	Tivetshall St Mary
11041		Alburgh
11261		Fring
11294		Gayton
11304		Ringstead
11390		Marsham
11413		Mundford
11461	Field M18	Marham
11633		Congham
11661		Aylsham
11707	'Field 7'	North Creake
11788	Valley Farm cropmark complex, Mason's Farm	Hopton On Sea
11829		Ingoldisthorpe
11859		South Walsham
11964	Site of Well DMV	Beachamwell
11971		Southacre
12137	The Aldeby cropmark complex	Aldeby
12153	Land between St. John's Farm and church ruins	Beachamwell
12313	Wattlefield	Wymondham
12364		Bawsey
12366		East Walton
12513	Finds alongside Roman road	Long Stratton
12539		Congham
12834		Roydon (Near Diss)
12977		Aylsham
13039		Hockwold Cum Wilton
13059		Congham
13174	Church Hill	Saxlingham Nethergate
13222		Caistor St Edmund
13227	Church Field	Burgh Castle
13368		Runcton Holme
13495		Holme Hale
13555		Bircham
13559		Poringland
13704	East of Heywood Hall	Diss
13800		Grimston
13854		Hockham
13937	Bypass line and adjacent land	Southery
14177		Shouldham
14274		Keswick
14331		Ickburgh
14368		Bircham

HERNo	Name on HER	Parish
14392		Congham
14521		West Dereham
14530		Fincham
14752	South-west of New Barn.	Southery
15138		Oxborough
15140		Oxborough
15170	Great Ketlam kiln site	Pentney
15346		Swaffham
15404		Gayton
15470		Bressingham
15502	18 Church Hill.	Congham
15512		Martham
15539		Crimplesham
15543		North Elmham
15607		Bixley
15656		Bridgham
15664		Northwold
15750	25 Gloucester Road	King's Lynn
15787		Congham
15875		Fransham
15974		Mundesley
15997		Caister On Sea
16168		Hopton On Sea
16294	Ingleside Hotel.	Mundesley
16297	South edge of Torrey's and Golden Gates Fields, along backwater	Heacham
16372		Hunstanton
16389		Honingham
16391		Honingham
16525		Southery
16536		Shouldham Thorpe
16552		Drayton
16738		Hainford
16760		Brampton
16779		Carleton Rode
16838		Tasburgh
16853		Loddon
16869		Hockwold Cum Wilton
17031	North end of field north of Forehoe Hills	Kimberley
17033	North-west edge of quarry extension.	Kimberley
17163	c. 700 yards north-east of Church Farm.	Honingham
17217		Attlebridge
17229		Billingford
17244	East of Quaker's Farm	Bunwell
17261	Field east of Church Loke	Burgh Castle
17268	Along north-west side of Green Lane	Thetford
17342		Fulmodeston
17367		Holverston
17403		Wighton

HERNo	Name on HER	Parish
17429		Burlingham
17515		Carleton Rode
17589		Little Snoring
17626		Ingoldisthorpe
17754		Heacham
17787		Needham
17797		Hilgay
17808		Loddon
17851		Caistor St Edmund
17868		Tibenham
17896		Wretham
17978		Loddon
18066	Grounds of Old Rectory.	Bridgham
18111		Wymondham
18179		Gooderstone
18448		Crimplesham
18455		Trowse With Newton
18514		Hellesdon
18526		Tivetshall St Mary
18590		Stow Bedon
18843		Barton Bendish
18852		Barton Bendish
18941		Walsoken
18958		West Walton
19109		East Walton
19118		Snettisham
19139		Colney
19146	Field south of Saxon burial ground	Kenninghall
19191		Colney
19223		Harling
19307		North Tuddenham
19449	Immediately north of line of Peddars Way on east side of Wissey	North Pickenham
19487	Hales survey site 78	Loddon
19522	Chapel Yards	Cawston
19542		Dilham
19544		Quidenham
19549		Banham
19640		Westacre
19796		Gunthorpe
19821		Forncett
19825	In former park SE of hall	Colney
19965		Grimston
20197		Shotesham
20248		Burlingham
20249		Burlingham
20343		Burnham Norton
20448		Fransham
20466		North Tuddenham

HERNo	Name on HER	Parish
20479		Hellesdon
20524		Fransham
20543		Fransham
20587		Fransham
20589		Fransham
20604		Fransham
20625		Oxborough
20857		North Pickenham
20861		Colney
20929		Tasburgh
20975		Congham
21106		Great Walsingham
21281	New Village hall	Burnham Market
21289		Langley With Hardley
21336		Walpole
21341		Walpole
21397	Hirdling Field	Tilney St Lawrence
21434	Early Saxon brooch	Mundesley
21441	Lexham Estate field No. 68	Great Dunham
21455		Barton Bendish
21462		Barton Bendish
21515		Hales
21617		Fransham
21714		Old Hunstanton
21751		Foulden
21786		Skeyton
21796	West of Clay Lane	Bradwell
21871	Sisland Survey Site 97	Sisland
21955		Coltishall
22010	Field west of St. Thomas's Lane, north of River Ingol, east part	Snettisham
22024	In Fields immediately SE of Cranwich crossroads.	Cranwich
22203		Oxborough
22225		Skeyton
22226		Skeyton
22255	OS field 5036	Ditchingham
22468	East Meadowgate	Emneth
22639	20 acres	North Tuddenham
22652	NE area of borrow pit for Hethersett bypass	East Carleton
22873		Skeyton
22994	East of road west of backwater	Shropham
23002		Carleton Rode
23075		Fransham
23082		Fransham
23091		Bunwell
23223	Former park land between River Wittle, The Roundabout and Keepers Plantation	Quidenham
23248	South side of road west of Black Horse PH	Skeyton
23304	(Former ?) parkland of Congham House	Congham
23309	NW end of field opposite Church Farm	Felthorpe

HERNo	Name on HER	Parish
23345	Dickleburgh bypass	Burston
23357	Field east of Manor House	Marham
23408	In former orchard south of Bullockshed Lane	Rockland St Mary
23415	Angle of Burdock Lane and B1112 to NW	Hockwold Cum Wilton
23418	Hargate, NW angle of road junction north of Carleton Fen	Carleton Rode
23419	Field north of vicarage between Steeple Lane and Pottergate Street	Aslacton
23473	South of road west of Bylaugh Wood	Bylaugh
23506		Oxborough
23522	North of River Ingol	Snettisham
23536	Well Hill East	Beachamwell
23698	West side church, south side moat	Tacolneston
23753	Kirby Cane bypass	Kirby Cane
23755	Kirby Cane bypass	Kirby Cane
23764		Sedgeford
23825	South side of stream, 2 fields NE of railway bridge	Wymondham
23847	NW of Hargate	Carleton Rode
23934		Barton Bendish
24004	Along cliff edge, north of Happisburgh church	Happisburgh
24051	NE of Hall	Quidenham
24052		Cockley Cley
24123	West of Goose Lane	Ingham
24150	SW of Priory	Binham
24151	Field between Vicarage and Halfway House	Binham
24203	SW of Red Barn Farm	Snettisham
24213		Holme Hale
24220		Barford
24261	Southern half of field, immediately east of site 14353	Dersingham
24328	Garden of 130 Taverham Road	Taverham
24333	SE of Roman town, by Splitsprings Ford	Caistor St Edmund
24395		Field Dalling
24405	SW of junction of Church Lane and footpath from Kirkby's Yard	Martham
24431		Shernborne
24456		Bunwell
24467		Southery
24553		Ringland
24568	Bale Barn Field	Gunthorpe
24570	Mansion Field	Field Dalling
24639		Bawburgh
24644		Wymondham
24662	West of Middle Harling church site	Harling
24696	Davison field LC25	Little Cressingham
24709		Hockham
24774		Fransham
24775		Fransham
24783		Fransham
24859	Thetford Bypass	Croxton
24894		Mundham
24896		Taverham

HERNo	Name on HER	Parish
24925		Stoke Holy Cross
25008		Hindringham
25045	Barton Bendish Survey	Beachamwell
25047		Beachamwell
25048	Barton Bendish Survey	Beachamwell
25071	Opposite Church Farm, Field 5	Hindringham
25096		Wymondham
25135		Gunthorpe
25154	Brunel Way	Thetford
25157	Primrose Farm (Field 10)	Hindringham
25252	Sand Pits Field	Langham
25291	Land adjacent to church	West Winch
25295		Bradwell
25313		Thorpe St Andrew
25340	Former school grounds	Shelfanger
25343	West Briggs	Wormegay
25419	Northwest side of Turnpike.	Bunwell
25474	Ploughman's Lane, around spring	Hindringham
25476		Beachamwell
25576		North Creake
25590	Northnorthwest of Highfield Farm.	Great Ryburgh
25591	Northwest of Great Ryburgh village	Great Ryburgh
25624	Dove House Piece	Costessey
25672	Field 20	Hindringham
25673	North of Seamere Road	Hingham
25682		Skeyton
25690	East of Sewage Works	Bylaugh
25697	Fields north and northeast of church	Wramplingham
25708		Keswick
25737		Fincham
25756		Barnham Broom
25759		Foulsham
25762		Horstead With Stanninghall
25773	Field 20	Hindringham
25826	South of St. Peter's Church.	Corpusty
25827		Watton
25853		West Walton
25857		Fincham
25863	Site 4, field 30	Letheringsett With Glandford
25918		Burnham Norton
25923	North Street	Castle Acre
25927	Back Lane	Castle Acre
25938		Hoe
25942		Burlingham
25948	Beck Wonge or Millholme	Letheringsett With Glandford
25962		Bawsey

HERNo	Name on HER	Parish
25965		East Tuddenham
25983		West Winch
25984		Postwick
25986		Bawburgh
25999	Field 30	Hindringham
28008	Field 39	Hindringham
28045	Field 5	Letheringsett With Glandford
28048		Postwick
28114		Mattishall
28116		Binham
28117	OS Field 7614	Burnham Market
28119		East Walton
28124		Shernborne
28126		Holme Hale
28127		Burnham Market
28133	South side of village	Wereham
28139	East of Hall Farm	Kimberley
28151	NCM number TG1002 (128)	Wymondham
28202		Mundford
28213	Field 1	Swaffham
28228	ENE of Playter's Hall	Fincham
28238		Fincham
28252		Sustead
28254	Between the Churches	Great Walsingham
28295		Gunthorpe
28355		Harling
28378	Field 41	Hindringham
28395		Hillington
28416		Ketteringham
28442		Bracon Ash
28443		Saxlingham Nethergate
28479	Bale Road Field	Field Dalling
28495		Wreningham
28503		Heacham
28512		Stow Bedon
28514		Hevingham
28521		Wickmere
28524		Wickmere
28526		Wickmere
28529		Wickmere
28530	Field 4	Wickmere
28532		Wickmere
28533		Itteringham
28534		Wickmere
28580		Field Dalling
28590	Abbey Farm	North Creake
28622		Wreningham

HERNo	Name on HER	Parish
28632		Tibenham
28655		Barnham Broom
28656		Holt
28671		Oxborough
28682		Newton Flotman
28699		Erpingham
28705		Barwick
28711		Bracon Ash
28739		Aslacton
28742		Narborough
28754	Bircham Road, south of former school.	Fring
28778		Roudham
28809	Bunkers Hill	Sporle With Palgrave
28844	Field 48	Hindringham
28850		Heacham
28852		Holme Hale
28911		Bawdeswell
28959		Emneth
28974		Bixley
29031		East Rudham
29092	Field 6	Mulbarton
29102		Keswick
29173		Ditchingham
29185		Burnham Norton
29188	Field 2	Warham
29193		Upwell
29208		Swaffham
29212		Swaffham
29218		Fransham
29247		Gressenhall
29260		Shouldham
29266		Flitcham With Appleton
29273		East Walton
29288		Bracon Ash
29291	Church Craft	Sall
29292		Hevingham
29311		Seething
29380		Sporle With Palgrave
29387		Forncett
29388		North Creake
29389	High Hills	North Creake
29392		Gayton
29394		Bawburgh
29397		Briningham
29401		Ringstead
29403		Sporle With Palgrave
29404		Grimston
29419		Upper Sheringham

HERNo	Name on HER	Parish
29428		North Creake
29440		Fordham
29447		Quidenham
29489		South Walsham
29630		Quidenham
29691		South Walsham
29710		Newton Flotman
29719		Gayton
29724	Field 3	Swaffham
29727		Little Snoring
29807		Kelling
29810		Bixley
29821		Sculthorpe
29875		Deopham
29885		Quidenham
29888		Quidenham
29895		Attleborough
29897		Old Buckenham
29903		Marham
29937	Ravens Grove	Morley
29994		Caistor St Edmund
30015		Little Snoring
30017		Letheringsett With Glandford
30031		Croxton
30045		Ashill
30056		Fincham
30057		Fincham
30074		Horsham St Faith And Newton St Faith
30092		Quidenham
30093		Quidenham
30110		Saxlingham Nethergate
30133		Ringstead
30201		Wreningham
30202		Wreningham
30205		Ashwellthorpe
30217	G15, G22, G172, Wendling 171	Fransham
30236	Field 4	Little Dunham
30240		North Creake
30248		Kelling
30249		Kelling
30272	"Station Field," "Field 8"	Little Dunham
30277	"Roundabout" "Field 5"	Little Dunham
30286		Tattersett
30330		Fincham
30350		Quidenham
30351		Quidenham
30359		North Lopham

HERNo	Name on HER	Parish
30365		Quidenham
30368		Quidenham
30377		Quidenham
30378		Quidenham
30380		Quidenham
30383		Quidenham
30397		Wacton
30425	The Hedgerows	Field Dalling
30430		Ashwellthorpe
30449	Field 1	Haveringland
30454	Cherry Tree Farm field.	North Lopham
30475		Postwick
30502	Docking Park	Docking
30560		Beachamwell
30561		Tuttington
30607	Humphrey's Field	Foulsham
30650		Scole
30651		Congham
30679		Hockering
30689		Bramerton
30743		North Lopham
30820		Westacre
30823		Colkirk
30841		East Rudham
30861		Great Ryburgh
30866		North Creake
30925	Ladies Grove	Riddlesworth
30948		Cawston
30954		North Lopham
30982	Grove Close	Gunthorpe
30984	Little Croft	Bradenham
30995		Brandiston
31010		Barnham Broom
31044		Roudham
31050		Filby
31051		Old Buckenham
31087		Postwick
31096		Ryston
31125	"Double Field"	East Walton
31165		Westacre
31170		Westacre
31173		Narborough
31177		North Lopham
31192		Framingham Earl
31211		Tivetshall St Margaret
31214		Salthouse
31258	Stow Meadow	Warham
31275	Field 18	Surlingham

HERNo	Name on HER	Parish
31294		Tattersett
31316		Quidenham
31326		Quidenham
31331		Quidenham
31345		Somerton
31348		Cley Next The Sea
31391		Surlingham
31402		Roudham
31404		Quidenham
31405		Quidenham
31414		North Lopham
31453		Howe
31490		Shouldham Thorpe
31497		Cranworth
31505		Tacolneston
31525		Thetford
31530		Claxton
31558	Crooked Field	Field Dalling
31559	Bad Corner Field	Sporle With Palgrave
31561	Beck Hall/Coney Hill	Foxley
31569		Tattersett
31589		Tattersett
31596		Letheringsett With Glandford
31618		Horningtoft
31621		Great Massingham
31631		Gunthorpe
31636	High House Park	Westacre
31677		Quidenham
31678		Quidenham
31679		Quidenham
31699		Rocklands
31727	West of Swan Lane	Shipdham
31757		Hockwold Cum Wilton
31800		Whissonsett
31816		West Rudham
31818		Emneth
31821	Susans Wood	Stoke Holy Cross
31841		Congham
31860	North of Green Lane	Cawston
31868		West Rudham
31877		Corpusty
31879		Whissonsett
31897	The Warrener	Thetford
31929		Upwell
31935		Brisley
31949		Forncett
31995		Brampton

HERNo	Name on HER	Parish
32017		Forncett
32018		Kenninghall
32025		Gissing
32035		Wreningham
32037		Holt
32043		Oxborough
32044		Brinton
32083		Claxton
32091		Gooderstone
32093		Sea Palling
32108		Keswick
32112		Burnham Market
32121		Litcham
32135		Snettisham
32136		Banham
32150		Corpusty
32180	Rollicky Field	Langham
32181	Holley Farm	Langham
32188		Fulmodeston
32254	Quidenham Park	Kenninghall
32289		Newton Flotman
32294		Tivetshall St Mary
32298		Stratton Strawless
32302		Shelton
32306		Ashwellthorpe
32309		Narford
32317		North Pickenham
32326	Barchams	Knapton
32333		Cringleford
32338		Felthorpe
32341		Bawdeswell
32353		Emneth
32602	Osier Carr	Tattersett
32603		Tattersett
32604	Rabbit	Tattersett
32606		Tattersett
32607	Milestyle	Tattersett
32737		Corpusty
32746	Dalling Home Field	Field Dalling
32749	Dalling Eastmoor Field	Field Dalling
32805		Crimplesham
32814		Westacre
32864		Northwold
32872		Corpusty
32878		Narborough
32881		Gillingham
32903	Field 707 (Saxlingham Farms)	Brinton
32935		Newton By Castle Acre

HERNo	Name on HER	Parish
32956		Shipdham
32962		Corpusty
32975		Carbrooke
32977		Horningtoft
32982		Marsham
33006		Fincham
33036		Brinton
33038	Round Hill	Letheringsett With Glandford
33040		Letheringsett With Glandford
33044	East of Cley Park	Cley Next The Sea
33045		Kelling
33046		Holt
33048		Kelling
33049		Kelling
33055		Wramplingham
33083		East Carleton
33091		Felthorpe
33116		Tuttington
33189		Tivetshall St Mary
33229	Back of the shops field	Morley
33247	field 4	Blakeney
33270		Merton
33279		Halvergate
33298		Boughton
33306		Narborough
33322		Reepham
33384		Little Barningham
33400		Ellingham
33431		Tacolneston
33433		Pentney
33443		Corpusty
33446		Kelling
33506		Hanworth
33522		Cranwich
33566	Site 5	Letheringsett With Glandford
33592		Tuttington
33640		Alderford
33660		Westacre
33664		Westacre
33683		Westacre
33685		Westacre
33688		Westacre
33819		Blakeney
33820		Blakeney
33866		Foxley
33872		Runcton Holme

HERNo	Name on HER	Parish
33873	Mill Dam Close	Gayton
33887		Hanworth
34051		Langley With Hardley
34101		Saham Toney
34141		Narford
34170	Shallowbrook Lakes	Costessey
34258		Filby
34265		East Rudham
34279		Aylmerton
34284	Field 1	Marsham
34358		Tattersett
34360		Shipdham
34371		Ringland
34394		Aylsham
34457		Wramplingham
34463		Hanworth
34501		Tivetshall St Mary
34520		Sporle With Palgrave
34532		Thompson
34592		Hingham
34595		Kenninghall
34619		Spixworth
34658		Kelling
34659		Kelling
34668		Lyng
34676		Newton Flotman
34685		Ormesby St Margaret With Scratby
34742	Metanglia Site, Quaker Lane	Fakenham
34824		Alby With Thwaite
34859		Carleton Rode
34862		Catton
34868		Corpusty
34875		Costessey
34876		Crimplesham
34884		East Tuddenham
34886		Easton
34888		East Walton
34894	Breck Field	Field Dalling
34896		Fincham
34902		Garboldisham
34905		Great Ellingham
34935		Hockham
34960	Stark Naked Plantation	Narborough
34967		Postwick
34968		Postwick
34970		Postwick
34972		Pulham Market

HERNo	Name on HER	Parish
34987	Fields 5, 6, 10 and 11.	Roudham
34991	Parsons	Sall
34997		Salthouse
35005		Shouldham
35030	HHH1	Tharston
35073		Mundford
35083	Little Allgoods	Wretton
35105		Wendling
35106	Spong Meadow	Wymondham
35125		Diss
35142		Saxlingham Nethergate
35174		Quidenham
35248		East Rudham
35284	Airport site	Horsham St Faith And Newton St Faith
35288		Little Cressingham
35302		Mileham
35316		Postwick
35413		Banham
35441	Field 12	Gresham
35591		Rocklands
35594		Fincham
35605		Ickburgh
35636		Saham Toney
35660		Forncett
35664		Tacolneston
35696	Cottage Field	North Tuddenham
35697		Billingford
35707	Former Village Hall, The Street	Gooderstone
35713		Shouldham
35728		Costessey
35751		Little Ryburgh
35776	A11	Snetterton
35795		Mundford
35819		Runhall
35825	Buckenham Tofts DMV	Stanford
35847		Burnham Market
35848		Foulsham
35913		Hillington
35981	2 Church Street	Diss
36004		Holkham
36158		Somerton
36168		Wood Norton
36170		Pudding Norton
36230		Burlingham
36250		Aldborough
36276		Rocklands
36553		Rocklands

HERNo	Name on HER	Parish
36560		Mattishall
36578		Little Snoring
36583		Wood Norton
36591		Elsing
36604		Swafield
36605		Knapton
36623		Burnham Market
36655		Rocklands
36680		Ketteringham
36813		Letheringsett With Glandford
36814		Letheringsett With Glandford
36984		Congham
36993		Hockwold Cum Wilton
36994		Great Dunham
36996		Roydon (Near Diss)
37094	Chapel Break, Bowthorpe, Site S1	Costessey
37112		Stratton Strawless
37129		Colkirk
37130		Colkirk
37132		Colkirk
37179		Mulbarton
37190		Wood Norton
37195		East Walton
37198		Merton
37201		Shipdham
37252		Sedgeford
37272		Merton
37300		Banham
37302		Colkirk
37305	Land adjacent to the Old Rectory	Hillington
37457		Cawston
37473		Mattishall
37510	Land to rear of Gurney Court, Magdalen Street	Norwich
37532		Hindringham
37553	Garden of 100 Earlham Green Road	Norwich
37561		Cawston
37647	Land north of Post Office	Outwell
37653		Bradenham
37697		Griston
37706		Scole
37793	Blakeney Eye	Cley Next The Sea
38055		Merton
38098		Weeting With Broomhill
38150		Tuttington
39273		Whissonsett
39294		Quidenham
39295		Banham

HERNo	Name on HER	Parish
39299		Watton
39307		Hillington
39363		Sedgeford
39364		Wretton
39528		Little Barningham
39535		Sustead
39536		Loddon
39542		Great Witchingham
39549		Stow Bedon
39620		East Rudham
39701		Wereham
39719		Grimston
39871		Little Barningham
39875		Ashwellthorpe
39892		Sedgeford
39960		Scole
39977		South Walsham
40008		Wretton
40118		Merton
40287		Shouldham
40302		Seething
40304		Bergh Apton
40338		Harling
40425		Horningtoft

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