

The Role of Anglo-Saxon Great Hall Complexes in Kingdom Formation, in comparison and in context, AD500-750

This thesis was submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for
the degree of D.Phil. Archaeology

University of Oxford
School of Archaeology

Trinity Term 2018
Adam McBride
The Queen's College

Abstract

The aim of this thesis is to explain why the early Anglo-Saxon great hall complexes were built, why and how they developed over time and why they were abandoned.

This is accomplished through two complementary studies. First, Part I of the thesis (Chapters 2-3) presents a broad comparative study of all known great hall complexes, exploring their characteristics, functions and development over time. Then, Part II (Chapters 4-8) explores the regional context of great hall complexes in the Upper Thames Valley, analysing the development of socio-economic power in the burials and settlements of the Upper Thames Valley and exploring the role of great hall complexes in this development. Chapters 8-9 bring together the conclusions from Part I and II of the thesis, building a comprehensive chronological narrative of the emergence, development and obsolescence of great hall complexes.

In the course of these two studies, this thesis finds substantial and wide-ranging evidence for a chronological development of great hall complexes, paralleling and contributing to the development of a new elite ideology and the consolidation of the newly formed Anglo-Saxon kingdoms.

The great hall complexes appear to have emerged out of the appropriation and monumentalisation of the public assembly, but as the Anglo-Saxon kings became increasingly powerful, the great hall complexes appear to have become increasingly exclusionary, shifting from public assemblies to private royal residences. At the same time, the great hall complexes appear to have become increasingly diverse, fracturing into a range of different high status sites. The combination of these two processes – the shift from public assemblies to private residences and the development of more complex settlement hierarchies – appears to have precipitated the separation of the elite from the wider populace, consolidating the new power structures of the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms and rendering the great hall complexes obsolete.

Acknowledgements

This thesis is not so much the product of an individual as it is the product of a social system – the aggregate actions of individuals beginning long before this thesis was started and, indeed, long before this author was born. Nevertheless, there are many individuals who have had a direct impact on the thesis: first and foremost, my supervisor – Helena Hamerow – and my colleagues at the University of Oxford and in the wider Royal Residences Network – John Blair, Gabor Thomas, Sarah Semple, Chris Scull, Matt Austin, Abi Tompkins and Andrew Holland. I am also greatly indebted to the keepers of the Wiltshire, Gloucestershire, Buckinghamshire and Oxfordshire HERs, especially David Moon of the Oxfordshire Museums Services, as well as Sue Harrington, who generously shared her data from the ‘Beyond the Tribal Hidage’ project. I also owe my gratitude to the many people who made the Long Wittenham excavation possible – Jane Harrison, Anni Byard, William Wintle, Cliff Sofield, Leigh Mellor, Rob Wadley and a great many volunteer excavators – as well as the landowners, the Sylva Foundation and Earth Trust.

This thesis has also benefitted immensely from cross-disciplinary conversations with my colleagues at The Queens College. Ross Speer, Jack Fitzsimons, Steph Carey, Julia Hamilton, Max Lawton, Charlie Troup, Dan Iley-Williamson, Eleri Watson and Marina Lambrakis have all had a tremendous influence in shaping my ideas about power in human society, but above all, one colleague deserves special mention – Morganne – whose energy and ideas gave life to these ancient walls, for whom I would cycle halfway across this country, and without whom these four years would have felt like four centuries.

Of course, I would have never made it to Oxford were it not for the generous grants of the Clarendon Fund, the Cyril and Phillis Long Studentship and Santander. And I would have never made it to undergrad were it not for my parents, Mary and Lee, and my trailblazing sister, Jessica, nor my *gesiths*, Joe, Tommy, Charlie, Zach, Oliver, Dave, Daniel and Patrick.

But, most fundamentally, I must acknowledge the immense privilege that has enabled me to undertake this thesis. More than anything else, this thesis is a product of wealth and vast inequalities in its distribution – indeed, few things could have better prepared me for the study of Anglo-Saxon kingdom formation than a first-hand experience in the creation and reproduction of elite culture at the University of Oxford.

Erratum

After this thesis was completed, the author became aware of new radiocarbon dates for the site at Doon Hill (E. Loth.), re-dating the entire site – Hall A, Hall B, the palisade and the square ‘shrine’ structure – to the Neolithic and Bronze Age (Ralston 2018). In light of this re-dating, a Neolithic date for Whitekirk (E. Loth.) now also seems likely. As such, the reader should disregard all reference in this thesis to the alleged Anglo-Saxon phases at Doon Hill and Whitekirk.

For an updated version of this thesis, see A. McBride, Forthcoming, *The Role of Anglo-Saxon Great Hall Complexes in Kingdom Formation, in comparison and in context, AD500-750*. Oxford: Archaeopress.

Table of Contents

Abstract	i
Acknowledgements	ii
Erratum	iii
Chapter 1: Introduction	1
1.1 The Great Hall Complexes	1
1.1.1 The Sites	4
1.1.2 The Extent of Fieldwork at Great Hall Complexes	6
1.2 The Study of Great Hall Complexes	27
1.2.1 Yeavinger and the Culture-Historical Paradigm	27
1.2.2 Cowdery's Down and the Growing Influence of Processual and Post-Processual Approaches	30
1.2.3 Great Hall Complexes in the 21 st Century	33
1.2.4 Key Themes and Unanswered Questions	34
1.3 Great Hall Complexes in Comparison and in Context	35
1.3.1 The Primary Aims	35
1.3.2 The Methodology	36
Part I: Anglo-Saxon Great Hall Complexes in Comparison	
Chapter 2: The Characteristics and Functions of Great Hall Complexes	41
2.1 The Built Environment	41
2.1.1 Architecture	41
2.1.1.1 The Building Forms	44
2.1.1.2 The Foundations	45
2.1.1.3 The Wall Types	47
2.1.1.4 External Raking Posts	47
2.1.1.5 Great Halls and the Anglo-Saxon Building Tradition	50
2.1.2 Layout	50
2.1.2.1 The Central Precinct	50
2.1.2.2 The Associated Activity	53
2.1.2.3 Evidence for Planning	54
2.1.2.4 Variation in Layouts	59
2.2 The Cultural and Physical Landscape	63
2.2.1 The Physical Landscape	63
2.2.2 The Cultural Landscape	65
2.2.2.1 The Local Scale	65
2.2.2.2 The Regional and Supra-Regional Scale	66
2.3 Material Culture	68
2.3.1 The Material Culture of the Central Precinct	68
2.3.2 The Material Culture of Associated Activity	69
2.4 Dating	74
2.5 Great Hall Complexes and Kingship	81
2.5.1 Peripatetic Kingship	82
2.6 Ritual and Cult Activity at Great Hall Complexes	83
2.6.1 Special Deposits	83
2.6.2 Cult Structures	84
2.6.3 Prehistoric Monuments	87
2.6.4 Standing Posts	95
2.6.5 Burial	98
2.7 Craft-working, Agriculture and Exchange at Great Hall Complexes	98
2.7.1 Craft-working	98
2.7.2 Agricultural Production and Collection	104
2.7.3 Exchange	109
2.8 Variation among Great Hall Complexes	109
2.8.1 Variation in the Documented Terms for Great Hall Complexes	110
2.8.2 Variation in the Archaeology of Great Hall Complexes	110
2.8.2.1 Variation in Overall Size	112
2.8.2.2 Variation in Layout	112
2.8.2.3 Variation in Great Halls	118
2.8.3 Great Hall Complexes and Minor Hall Complexes	121

Chapter 3: The Emergence, Development and Obsolescence of Great Hall Complexes	131
3.1 The Emergence of Great Hall Complexes	131
3.1.1 The Antecedents of Great Hall Complexes	131
3.1.1.1 Great Hall Complexes and the Appropriation of the Public Assembly	136
3.1.1.2 The Origin of Minor Hall Complexes	138
3.1.2 The Emergence of the Great Hall Architectural Style	141
3.1.3 Yeavinger and the Question of British Influence	145
3.2 The Early Development of Great Hall Complexes	151
3.2.1 The Development of Wall Types	152
3.3 The Later Development of Great Hall Complexes	157
3.3.1 New Wall Types	157
3.3.2 New Building Forms	163
3.3.2.1 The New Architectural Style and the Transition from Corporate to Exclusionary Power	169
3.3.3 New Layouts	173
3.3.4 New Diversification	177
3.3.5 The Minor Hall Complexes	181
3.3.6 The New Architecture and the Abandonment of Great Hall Complexes	186
3.4 The Obsolescence of Great Hall Complexes	188
3.4.1 The Eighth Century Transformation	188
3.4.2 The Seventh to Eighth Century Transition	190

Part II: Anglo-Saxon Great Hall Complexes in Context

Power and Place in the Upper Thames Valley	195
The Upper Thames Valley	195
Power and Place in the Upper Thames Valley	198
Chapter 4: Burial Methodology	201
4.1 The Aims	201
4.2 The Methodology	201
4.2.1 The Cemeteries Data	203
4.2.1.1 The Sources and Typology	203
4.2.1.2 The Cemeteries	203
4.2.2 The Chronology	203
4.2.2.1 Phasing	203
4.2.2.2 Dating	204
4.2.2.3 Mercian Hegemony and the Retreat of Wessex	205
4.2.2.4 The Roman Transition	205
4.2.3 The Four Metrics of Socio-Economic Power	206
4.2.3.1 The Distribution of Burials	206
4.2.3.1.1 Kernel Density	207
4.2.3.2 Average Quantified Burial Wealth	207
4.2.3.2.1 The Sample	207
4.2.3.2.2 Gender	207
4.2.3.2.3 The Weighted Artefact Count	208
4.2.3.2.4 The Average Weighted Artefact Count	210
4.2.3.2.5 Normalization	211
4.2.3.2.6 Kernel Density	213
4.2.3.3 The Distribution of High Status Artefacts	214
4.2.3.4 Individual Quantified Burial Wealth	216
4.2.3.4.1 The Wealthiest Burials	216
4.2.3.4.2 The Concentration of Burial Wealth in the Wealthiest and Poorest 10% of Burials	216
4.2.4 Methodological Limitations	218
4.2.4.1 Poorly Recorded and Incomplete Assemblages	218
4.2.4.2 Quantity versus Quality	218
4.2.4.3 The Proportion of Gendered Burials	219
4.2.4.4 Unrepresentative Samples	220
4.2.4.5 Burial Sites and Proximity to their Burying Communities	221
Chapter 5: Power in Burial	223
5.1 The Distribution of Burials	223
5.1.1 The Long Sixth Century	226
5.1.1.1 Cemetery Size in the Long Sixth Century	226
5.1.1.1.1 Alpha Cemeteries	226
5.1.1.1.2 Beta Cemeteries	230
5.1.1.1.3 Gamma Cemeteries	231

5.1.1.1.4 Delta Cemeteries	232
5.1.1.2 The Distribution of Burials in the Upper Thames Valley	233
5.1.1.3 Conclusions	236
5.1.2 The Mid-Seventh Century	237
5.1.2.1 Cemetery Size in the Mid-Seventh Century	240
5.1.2.1.1 Alpha Cemeteries	240
5.1.2.1.2 Gamma Cemeteries	242
5.1.2.1.3 Delta Cemeteries	242
5.1.2.1.4 Isolated Burials	242
5.1.2.2 The Distribution of Burials in the Upper Thames Valley	243
5.1.2.3 Core Areas, Isolated Burials and Supra-Local Communities	246
5.1.2.4 Conclusions	256
5.2 The Distribution of Burial Wealth	257
5.2.1 The Long Sixth Century	257
5.2.1.1 Average Female Burial Wealth	257
5.2.1.2 Average Male Burial Wealth	257
5.2.1.3 Normalized Average Male and Female Burial Wealth	262
5.2.1.4 Normalized Average Artefact Count and Cemetery Size	262
5.2.1.5 Normalized Average Artefact Count and Cemetery Location	265
5.2.1.6 The Spatial Distribution of Quantified Burial Wealth	266
5.2.1.7 The Distribution of High Status Artefacts	269
5.2.1.8 Individual Quantified Burial Wealth	272
5.2.1.8.1 The Concentration of Burial Wealth in the Wealthiest and Poorest 10% of Burials	272
5.2.1.8.2 The Wealthiest Burials	275
5.2.1.9 Conclusions	278
5.2.2 The Long Sixth Century by Period	280
5.2.2.1 AD475-530 to AD530-580	280
5.2.2.2 AD580-630	283
5.2.2.3 Conclusions	291
5.2.3 The Mid-Seventh Century	294
5.2.3.1 Average Female Burial Wealth	295
5.2.3.2 Average Male Burial Wealth	297
5.2.3.3 Normalized Average Male and Female Burial Wealth	299
5.2.3.4 The Wealthiest Burials	301
5.2.3.5 The Distribution of High Status Artefacts	301
5.2.3.6 A Holistic Ranking of Final Phase Burial Wealth	305
5.2.3.7 The Spatial Distribution of Burial Wealth	306
5.2.3.8 Conclusions	308
5.3 The Development of Socio-Economic Power in Burial	310
5.3.1 Power in Numbers	310
5.3.2 The Formation of Supra-Local Socio-Political Units	311
5.3.3 Expansion and Consolidation of the West Saxon/Gewissan Kingdom	312
Chapter 6: Settlement Methodology	315
6.1 The Aims	315
6.2 The Methodology	315
6.2.1 The Settlements Data	315
6.2.1.1 The Sources	315
6.2.1.2 The Settlement Sites	316
6.2.2 The Chronology	316
6.2.2.1 Dating	316
6.2.2.2 Phasing	318
6.2.3 The Two Metrics of Socio-Economic Power	318
6.2.3.1 The Distribution of Settlement Activity	318
6.2.3.1.1 The Distribution of All Excavated Settlement Sites	318
6.2.3.1.2 The Distribution of Excavated Sunken-Feature Buildings	319
6.2.3.1.3 The Distribution of Excavated Earthfast Buildings	319
6.2.3.1.4 The Distribution of Unexcavated Settlement Sites	319
6.2.3.2 High Status Settlements	320
6.2.4 Methodological Limitations	320
6.2.4.1 The Distribution of Anglo-Saxon Material Culture	320
Chapter 7: Power in Settlement	323
7.1 The Distribution of Settlement Activity	323
7.1.1 The Distribution of All Excavated Settlement Sites	323
7.1.2 The Distribution of Excavated Sunken-Feature Buildings	326
7.1.3 The Distribution of Excavated Earthfast Buildings	330
7.1.4 The Distribution of Unexcavated Settlement Sites	333

7.1.4.1 Factors Affecting the Distribution of Excavated Settlement Sites	333
7.1.4.2 The Distribution of Cropmark Settlement Sites	336
7.1.5 Chronological Change in the Distribution of Anglo-Saxon Settlement	336
7.1.6 Comparing the Distribution of Settlements and Burials	341
7.1.7 Conclusions	343
7.2 High Status Settlements	349
7.2.1 Sutton Courtenay	350
7.2.1.1 The Built Environment	350
7.2.1.2 The Wider Site	354
7.2.1.3 Material Culture and Craft-Working	357
7.2.1.4 Ritual Activity	359
7.2.1.5 Chronology and Development	361
7.2.2 Long Wittenham	362
7.2.2.1 The Built Environment	363
7.2.2.2 The Wider Site	367
7.2.2.3 Material Culture and Craft-Working	367
7.2.2.4 Ritual Activity	369
7.2.2.5 Chronology and Development	369
7.2.3 Worton	371
7.2.3.1 The Built Environment	371
7.2.3.2 The Wider Site	371
7.2.3.3 Chronology and Development	374
7.2.4 Benson	376
7.2.4.1 The Built Environment	376
7.2.4.2 The Wider Site	379
7.2.4.3 Chronology and Development	379
7.2.5 Dorchester and Bishop's Court	381
7.2.5.1 The Built Environment	381
7.2.5.2 Dorchester, Bishop's Court and the Wider Site	385
7.2.5.3 Material Culture and Craft-Working	386
7.2.5.4 Chronology and Development	386
7.2.6 Aylesbury	389
7.2.6.1 The Built Environment	389
7.2.6.2 The Wider Site	389
7.2.6.3 Material Culture and Craft-Working	393
7.2.6.4 Chronology and Development	393
7.2.7 Eynsham Abbey	394
7.2.8 Sunningwell	394
7.2.9 Cresswell Field	396
7.2.10 Latton Quarry	396
7.2.11 Other Possible High Status Settlements	400
7.2.11.1 Shakenoak	400
7.2.11.2 Swindon	400
7.2.11.3 Purwell Farm	400
7.2.11.4 Barton Court Farm	401
7.2.11.5 New Wintles Farm	401
7.2.11.6 Black Bourton	401
7.2.12 High Status Settlements and the Development of the Settlement Hierarchy	402
7.2.12.1 The First High Status Settlements	402
7.2.12.2 The Expansion of the Settlement Hierarchy	404
Chapter 8: Great Hall Complexes in Context	407
8.1 The Emergence of Supra-Local Socio-Political Units	407
8.1.1 The First Supra-Local Socio-Political Units in the Upper Thames Valley	407
8.1.2 Supra-Local Socio-Political Units and the Development of Socio-Economic Power	410
8.1.2.1 The Distribution of Socio-Economic Power in the Sixth Century	410
8.1.2.2 The Concentration of Power and the Emergence of Supra-Local Socio-Political Units	412
8.1.3 Corporate Power, Assembly and the Formation of Supra-Local Socio-Political Units	415
8.1.3.1 Corporate Power and Supra-Local Socio-Political Units	415
8.1.3.2 Supra-Local Socio-Political Units and Supra-Local Assemblies	417
8.2 Great Hall Complexes and the Emergence of Supra-Regional Kingdoms	419
8.2.1 The Gewisse and the Emergence of Supra-Regional Hegemony	419
8.2.1.1 Supra-Local Socio-Political Units and the Emergence of Supra-Regional Hegemony	420
8.2.2 Great Hall Complexes and the Consolidation of Power	422
8.2.3 Long Wittenham, Dorchester and the Beginnings of the Settlement Hierarchy	425
8.2.4 Supra-Local Burials and the Expansion of the Gewissan Heartland	427
8.3 The Development of the Settlement Hierarchy and the Emergence of a Stratified Society	429

8.3.1 The Mercian Conquest.....	429
8.3.2 The Development of the Settlement Hierarchy	431
8.3.3 The Dissemination and Dilution of the Great Hall Architectural Style.....	433
8.3.4 The Development of a Stratified Society.....	434
Chapter 9: Great Hall Complexes: from Civic-Ceremonial Centre to Royal Residence.....	439
9.1 Why Were Great Hall Complexes Built?.....	439
9.2 Why and How Did Great Hall Complexes Develop Over Time?.....	441
9.3 Why Were Great Hall Complexes Abandoned?	447
Appendix 1: The Cemeteries.....	449
1.1 The Cemeteries of the Long Sixth Century	449
1.2 The Cemeteries of the Mid-Seventh Century	458
Appendix 2: The Burials Methodology	465
2.1 Phasing.....	465
2.1.1 The Allocation of Burials to Phases.....	465
2.1.2 Exclusive Period AD580-630 (Phase D-E).....	465
2.1.3 Episode B-C, C-D, and D-E.....	465
2.2 The Re-Dating of Male Artefacts	466
2.3 Age Determination.....	471
2.4 Defining the Anglo-Saxon Gendered Burial Rite.....	471
2.4.1 Female Gender in the Sixth Century.....	471
2.4.2 Female Gender in the Seventh Century	472
2.5 Artefact Types.....	473
2.6 Weighted Artefact Types	475
2.6.1 Weapons.....	475
2.6.2 Brooches	476
2.6.3 Medium Status Types	478
2.6.4 High Status Types	478
2.6.5 Highest Status Types.....	479
2.7 Kernel Density	479
2.8 Wealth Inequality in the Wealthiest and Poorest 10%.....	479
2.9 The Proportion of Gendered Burial	480
2.1.1 The Proportion of Gendered Burial in the Sixth Century	480
2.1.2 The Proportion of Gendered Burial in the Seventh Century.....	480
Appendix 3: The Settlements	483
Bibliography	497

Chapter 1

Introduction

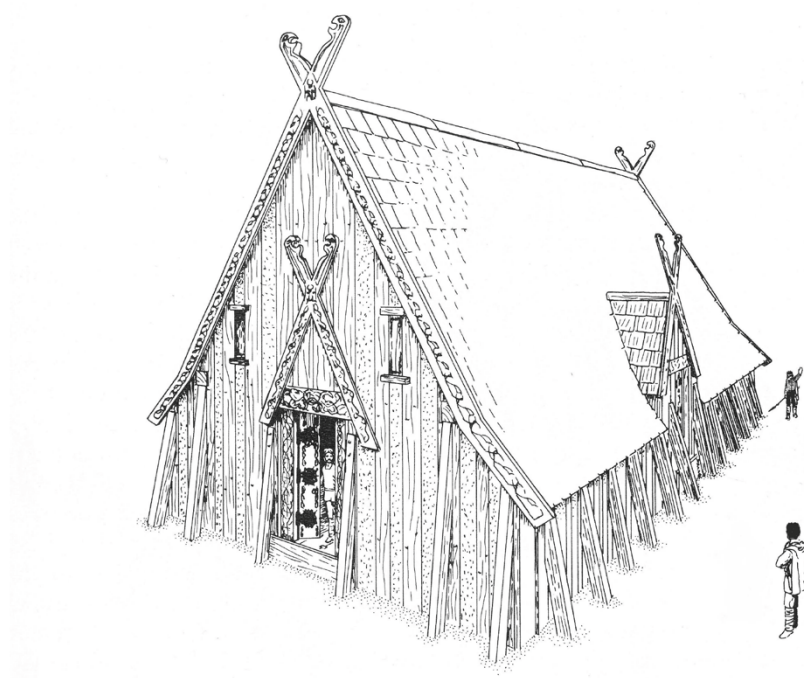
This chapter introduces the subject of the thesis, defining the great hall complexes and reviewing the existing literature, before developing the overarching aims and methodology of the thesis. First, **Section 1.1 The Great Hall Complexes** provides a working definition of great hall complexes, outlining the extent of knowledge for each site. Then, **Section 1.2 The Study of Great Hall Complexes** reviews the literature on great hall complexes, sketching the development of knowledge, interpretation and theoretical perspectives. This section then leads directly into **Section 1.3 Great Hall Complexes in Comparison and in Context**, which sets out the aims and methodology of the thesis.

1.1 The Great Hall Complexes

The term ‘great hall complex’ describes a distinctive group of early Anglo-Saxon sites that exhibit a common architectural and spatial vocabulary, which was exceptional, monumental, ritualized and symbolic.

The architectural style of great hall complexes was characterized by large timber-framed buildings with substantial post-in-trench foundations, elaborate wall types and external raking posts (Fig.1.1). The largest building at each site – the great hall – was at least 18m long, and the smaller buildings at each site were typically 10-20m long (the 18m threshold used in this study is based on the 18m threshold set by Marshall and Marshall 1991, 39 and the 150m² threshold set by James *et al.* 1984, fig.5, which corresponds to a two-square module of 17.3 x 8.7m) (see **Section 2.1.1**). The layouts of great hall complexes were distinctively structured by consistent orientation schemes, linear and perpendicular axial alignments and focal elements (Fig.1.2), and the layout of each site appears to be a coherent, planned entity, in which each element was laid out in reference to the other elements (Reynolds 2003, 104-10; Hamerow 2010; 2012, 103-5) (see **Section 2.1.2**).

Most great hall complexes produce very little material culture (see **Section 2.3**), but great hall complexes are uniformly interpreted as high status sites. In most cases, great hall complexes are assumed to be royal sites, due in large part to the documented royal status of Yeavering (Northum.) and Milfield (Northum.) (see **Section 2.5**). Great hall complexes have also produced considerable evidence for ritual and cult activity (see **Section 2.6**), and a few great hall complexes have produced evidence of specialist craft-working and exchange (see **Section 2.7**).



Cowdery's Down Building C12

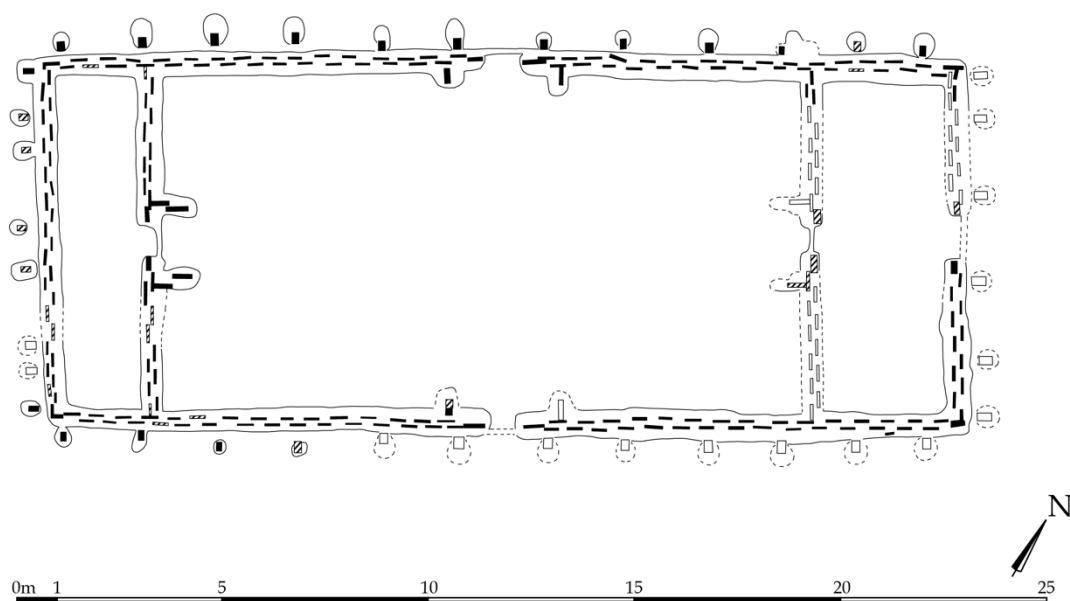


Figure 1.1: The Great Hall (Building C12) at Cowdery's Down (redrawn from Millett and James 1983).

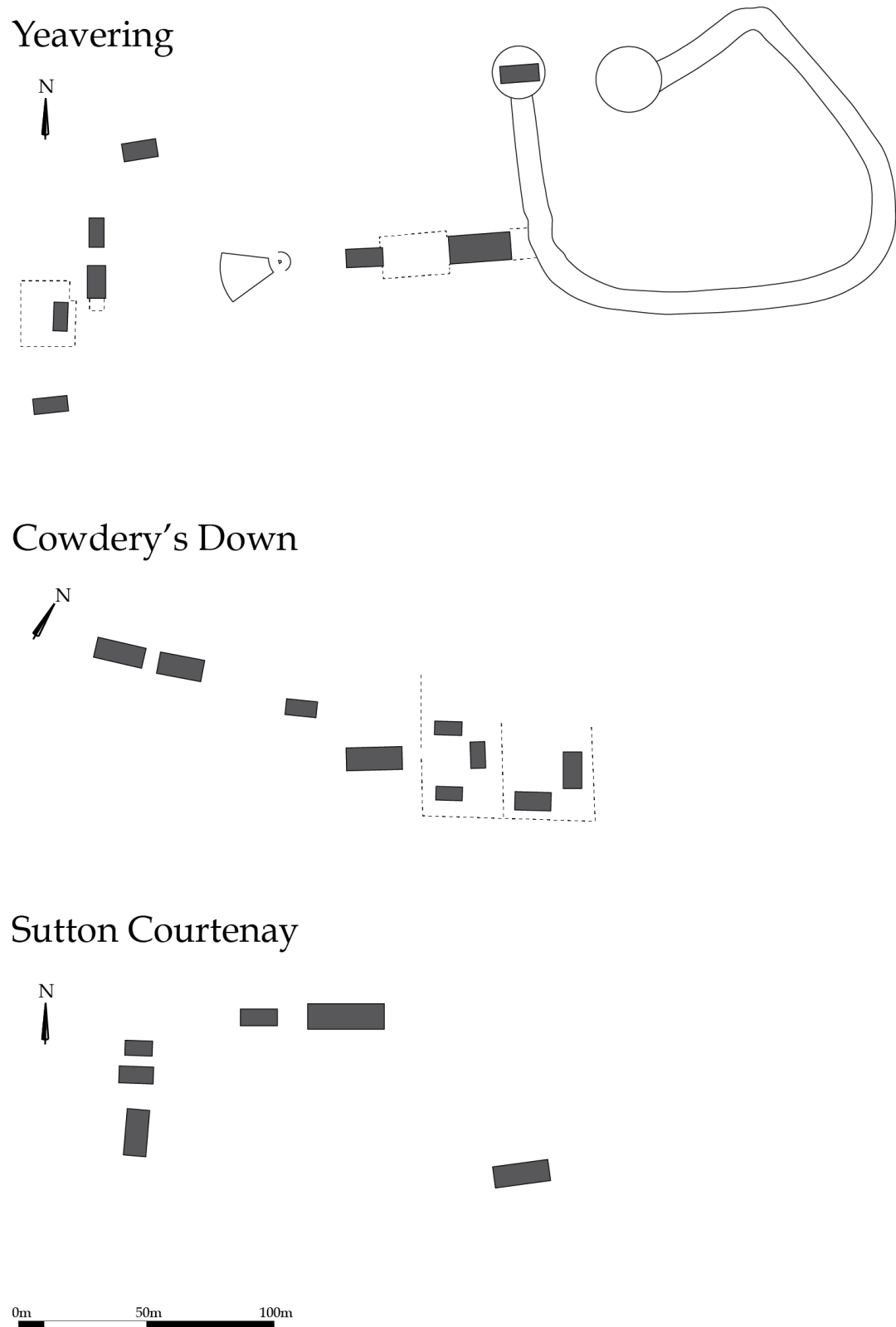


Figure 1.2: The distinctively structured layouts of Yeavinger (redrawn from Hope-Taylor 1977), Cowdery's Down (redrawn from Millett and James 1983) and Sutton Courtenay (redrawn from Booth *et al.* 2007; Wessex Archaeology 2010).

As a group, great hall complexes are typically dated between the late 6th Century and the early 8th Century (see **Section 2.4**). This dating corresponds to the emergence and early development of the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms, and great hall complexes are widely considered to be one of the earliest archaeological indicators of kingdom formation. This parallel chronology, between great hall complexes and kingdom formation, strongly suggests that the great hall complexes played a critical role in the emergence and early development of Anglo-Saxon kingdoms. However, the exact nature of this role remains unclear. The further study of great hall complexes therefore holds significant potential for understanding kingdom formation in Anglo-Saxon England and for understanding the emergence and early development of kingdoms across human history. For these reasons, great hall complexes warrant significant further study.

1.1.1 The Sites

There are sixteen identified sites that share the characteristics of great hall complexes: Atcham (Shrops.), Cowage Farm (Wilts.), Cowdery's Down (Hants.), Doon Hill (E. Loth.),¹ Eynsford (Kent), Hatton Rock (Warks.), Lockerbie (D.&G.), Long Itchington (Warks.), Long Wittenham (Oxon.), Lyminge (Kent), Milfield (Northum.), Rendlesham (Suff.), Sprouston (Scot. Bord.), Sutton Courtenay (Oxon.), Whitekirk (E. Loth.) and Yeavinger (Northum.) (Fig.1.3).

In addition to these sixteen sites, two possible great hall complexes have been identified at Dover (Kent) and Repton (Derbs.), but the interpretation of these sites is complicated by their ecclesiastical associations and by the circumstances of their excavation: the Dover buildings were heavily damaged by intercutting activity, and the Repton buildings are currently unpublished (Philp 2003, 58-72; Blair 2005, 187; pers. comm.; Welch 2007, 203; Biddle and Kjølbye-Biddle 2012; Thomas and Knox 2013, 13) (Several other possible great hall complexes are identified in **Part II** of this thesis, but these sites are not discussed in **Part I** of the thesis).

A further three sites – Chalton (Hants.), Polebrook (Northants.) and Thirlings (Northum.) – share certain characteristics with great hall complexes, but their less formal layouts, smaller buildings and less robust construction methods differentiate these sites from the sixteen identified sites (see **Section 2.8**). In this thesis, these three sites are referred to as 'minor' hall complexes; 'minor' refers to the significant differences in scale and precision between these sites and the 'great' hall complexes, and this terminology avoids the interpretative baggage of terms like 'thegnly' or 'aristocratic'.

¹ Doon Hill has recently been re-dated to the Neolithic (Ralston 2018; see **Erratum**, p. iii).

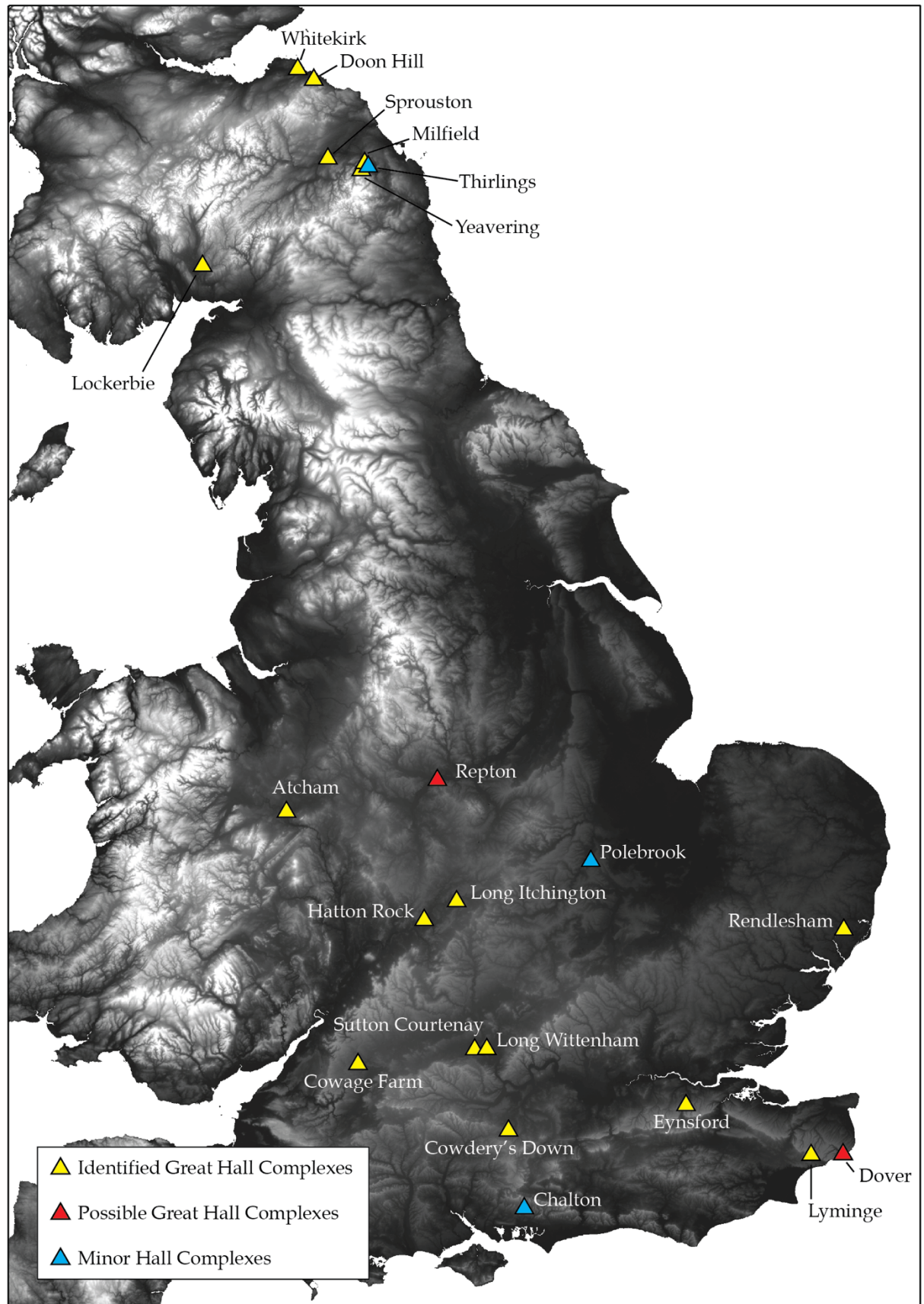


Figure 1.3: The 16 identified great hall complexes, 2 possible great hall complexes and 3 minor hall complexes discussed in Part I of this thesis.

Twelve of the sixteen identified great hall complexes – Atcham, Cowage Farm, Doon Hill, Hatton Rock, Long Itchington, Long Wittenham, Milfield, Rendlesham, Sprouston, Sutton Courtenay, Whitekirk and Yeavinger – were discovered from aerial photography. Only Eynsford, Cowdery's Down, Lockerbie and Lyminge were discovered during excavation. This suggests that there is a bias among the identified great hall complexes towards certain geologies and land uses that are conducive to aerial photography, particularly modern agricultural fields and freely draining gravel geology. Great hall complexes on less conducive geologies and under modern towns or villages are less likely to be discovered, and when discovered, they are less likely to be identified as great hall complexes, because their distinctive layout and monumental scale are often unclear in small-scale excavations, especially in urban situations.

1.1.2 The Extent of Fieldwork at Great Hall Complexes

Yeavinger, Doon Hill, Cowdery's Down and Lyminge have each been the subject of large-scale excavations (Fig.1.4-7) (Yeavinger: Hope-Taylor 1977; Harding 1981; Tinniswood and Harding 1991; Doon Hill: Hope-Taylor 1966; 1980; RCAHMS archive; Cowdery's Down: Millett and James 1983; Lyminge: Thomas 2008; 2009; 2010; Thomas and Bray 2010; Thomas and Knox 2013; 2014; 2015; Knox 2014). However, the Doon Hill excavations remain largely unpublished, and the recent excavations at Lyminge are still in post-excavation, leaving Yeavinger and Cowdery's Down the most completely recorded great hall complexes at the time of writing.

Smaller scale excavations have been carried out at Cowage Farm, Sutton Courtenay, Lockerbie, Eynsford, Rendlesham, Long Wittenham and Atcham (Fig.1.8-14), and a watching brief was carried out at Hatton Rock when a pipe trench was cut across the site (Fig.1.15) (Cowage Farm: Hinchliffe 1986; Sutton Courtenay: Hamerow *et al.* 2007; Wessex Archaeology 2010; Brennan and Hamerow 2015; Lockerbie: Kirby 2012; Eynsford: Philp 2014; Rendlesham: Scull *et al.* 2016; Long Wittenham: McBride Forthcoming; see **Section 7.2.1.2**; Atcham: White 2017; Hatton Rock: Hirst and Rahtz 1973). Large cemeteries have also been separately excavated at Lyminge (Jenkins 1885; Warhurst 1955; Parfitt 2002), Long Wittenham (Clutterbuck 1848; Akerman 1860; 1861; 1862) and Milfield (Fig.1.16) (Scull and Harding 1990).

Long Itchington (Fig.1.17), Sutton Courtenay, Rendlesham, Long Wittenham and Atcham have also been metal-detected (Long Itchington: Jones and Wise 1997; 1998a; 1998b; Sutton Courtenay: Hamerow *et al.* 2007; Rendlesham: Scull *et al.* 2016; White 2017; Long Wittenham: McBride Forthcoming; see **Section 7.2.1.2**), and Hatton Rock, Milfield, Cowage Farm, Long Itchington, Sutton Courtenay, Rendlesham, Atcham and Long Wittenham have been subject to

geophysical surveys (Hatton Rock: Rahtz 1970; Milfield: Bartlett 1978; Cowage Farm: David 1983; 1994; Hinchliffe 1986; Long Itchington: Jones and Wise 1997; 1998a; 1998b; Sutton Courtenay: Hamerow *et al.* 2007; Wessex Archaeology 2010; Rendlesham: Scull *et al.* 2016; Atcham: Roseveare 2011; Long Wittenham: McBride Forthcoming; see **Section 7.2.1.2**). However, the Hatton Rock and Milfield surveys did not return significant results, and the Long Itchington survey is unpublished and apparently lost (Warwickshire HER pers. comm.).

The remaining sites – Sprouston (Fig.1.18) and Whitekirk (Fig.1.19) – are known almost exclusively from aerial photographs (St. Joseph 1971, 1982; Reynolds 1980a, 50-2; Smith 1983; 1992; Brown 1983). Nevertheless, field-walking at Whitekirk has produced charcoal and burned clay from the vicinity of the cropmark buildings (Brown 1983), and ‘hearths, and foundations of houses and kitchen utensils’ were allegedly ploughed up from the area of the Sprouston cropmarks in the 1840s (Smith 1992, 265). The Sprouston cropmarks are also exceptionally clear, revealing discrete-posthole buildings and individual graves.

The possible great hall complexes at Dover and Repton have been extensively excavated, but as previously mentioned, the Dover features were heavily damaged (Fig.1.20), and the Repton excavation is currently unpublished (Fig.1.21). The minor hall complexes at Chalton (Fig.1.22), Polebrook (Fig.1.23) and Thirlings (Fig.1.24) have also been extensively excavated, and Thirlings and Polebrook have been fully written up (O’Brien and Miket 1991; Upex 2002; 2003; 2004; 2005). However, the Chalton excavations remain only partially published (Addyman *et al.* 1972; Addyman and Leigh 1973; Champion 1977).

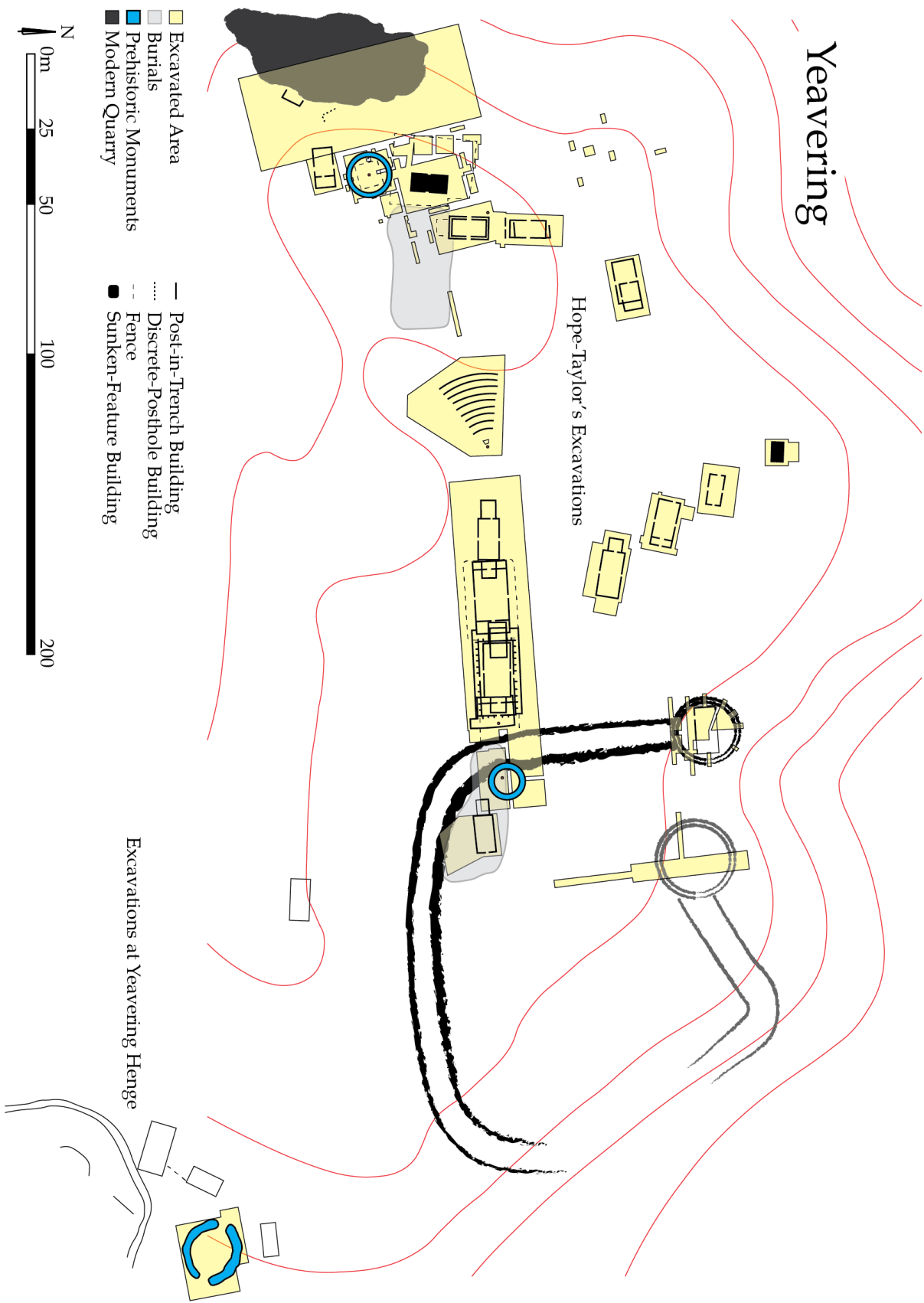
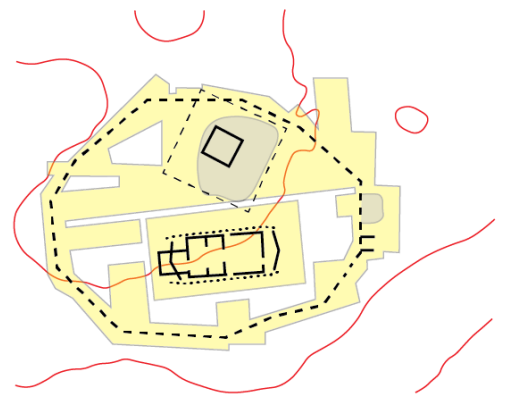


Figure 1.4: Brian Hope-Taylor's excavations at Yeavinger (redrawn from Hope-Taylor 1977) and the 1976 excavations at Yeavinger Henge (redrawn from Timmiswood and Harding 1991) (Due to discrepancies in the published plans, this plan is more schematic than accurate).

Doon Hill

- Excavated Area
- Burials
- Post-in-Trench Building
- Discrete-Posthole Building
- Fence or Palisade



Possible Building



Figure 1.5: Brian Hope-Taylor's excavations at Doon Hill (redrawn from archived excavation plans). A possible building identified from aerial photographs in Hope-Taylor's plans has also been included – the exact location and nature of this building are uncertain (Note that this plan and all the following plans, except Milfield, are depicted at the same scale as Yeavering).

Cowdery's Down

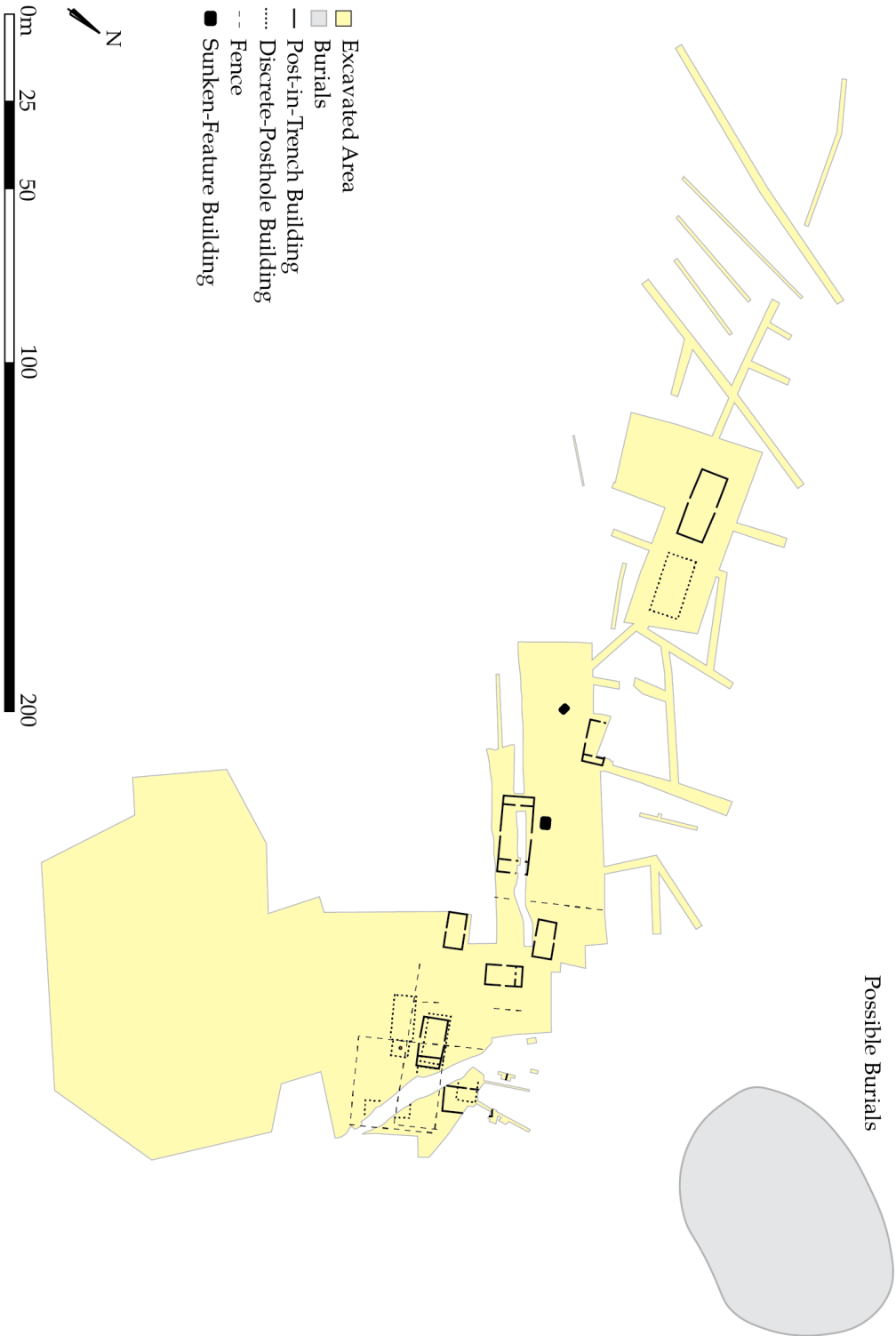


Figure 1.6: Martin Millett's excavations at Cowdery's Down (redrawn from Millett and James 1983). The nearby 'Lych Pit' recorded in AD945 is included as a possible cemetery.

Lyminge

- Excavated Area
- Prehistoric Monuments
- Midden
- Post-in-Trench Building
- Discrete-Posthole Building
- Sunken-Feature Building

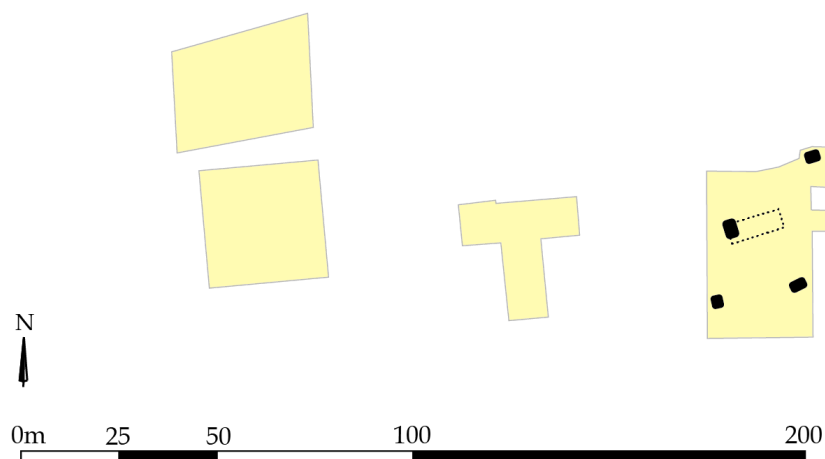
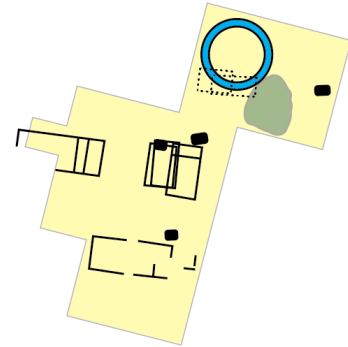


Figure 1.7: Gabor Thomas' excavations at Lyminge (redrawn from Thomas 2017). Only the 6th and 7th Century features are depicted in this plan; the 8th Century minster buildings are not included (Due to discrepancies in the currently available plans, this plan is more schematic than accurate).

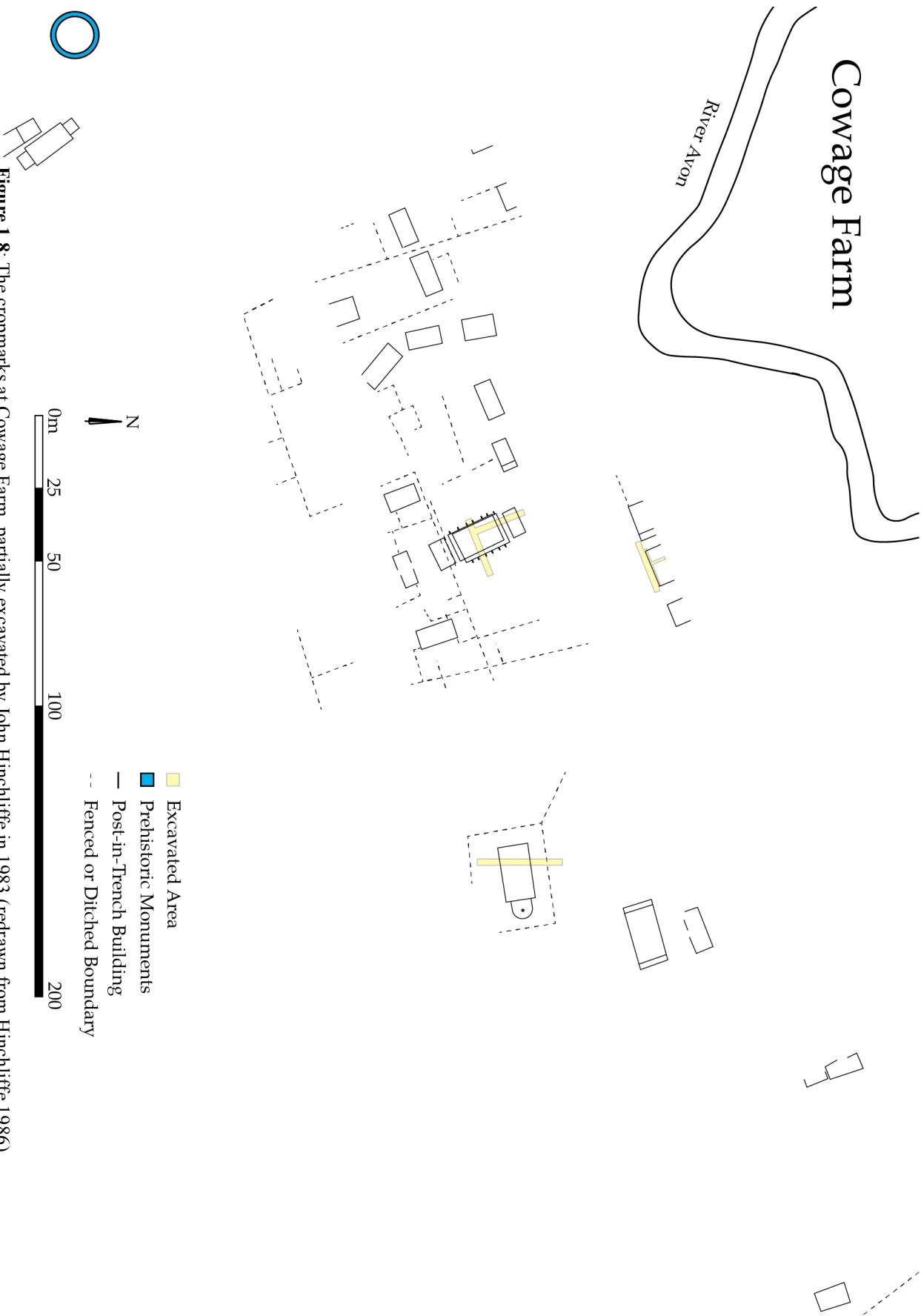


Figure 1.8: The cropmarks at Cowage Farm, partially excavated by John Hinchliffe in 1983 (redrawn from Hinchliffe 1986).

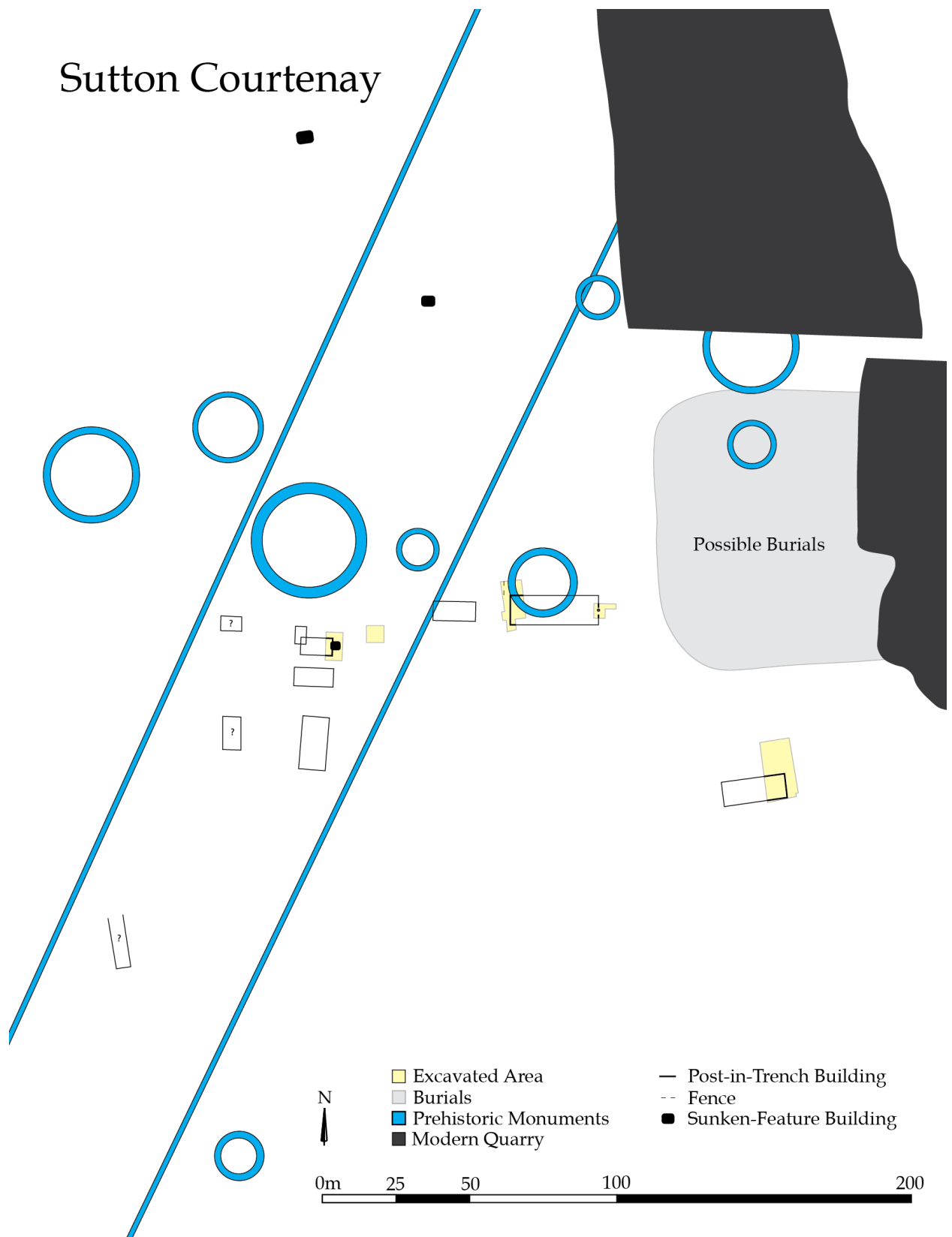


Figure 1.9: The cropmarks at Sutton Courtenay, partially excavated in 2001-3 and 2010 (redrawn from Booth *et al.* 2007; Hamerow *et al.* 2007; Wessex Archaeology 2010) (Due to discrepancies between the different published plans, this plan is more schematic than accurate).

Lockerbie

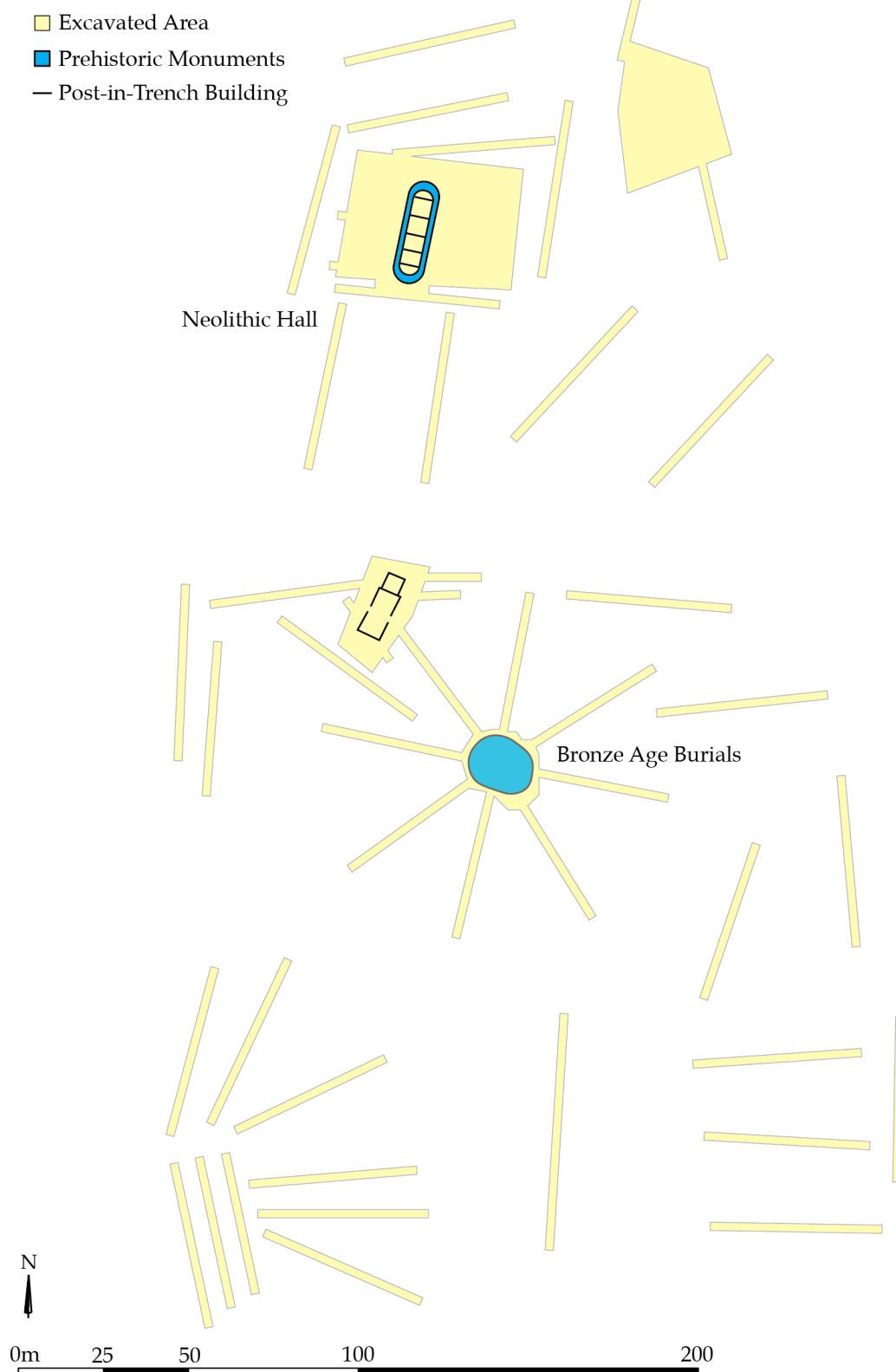


Figure 1.10: The Anglo-Saxon hall building excavated at Lockerbie (redrawn from Kirby 2012).

Eynsford

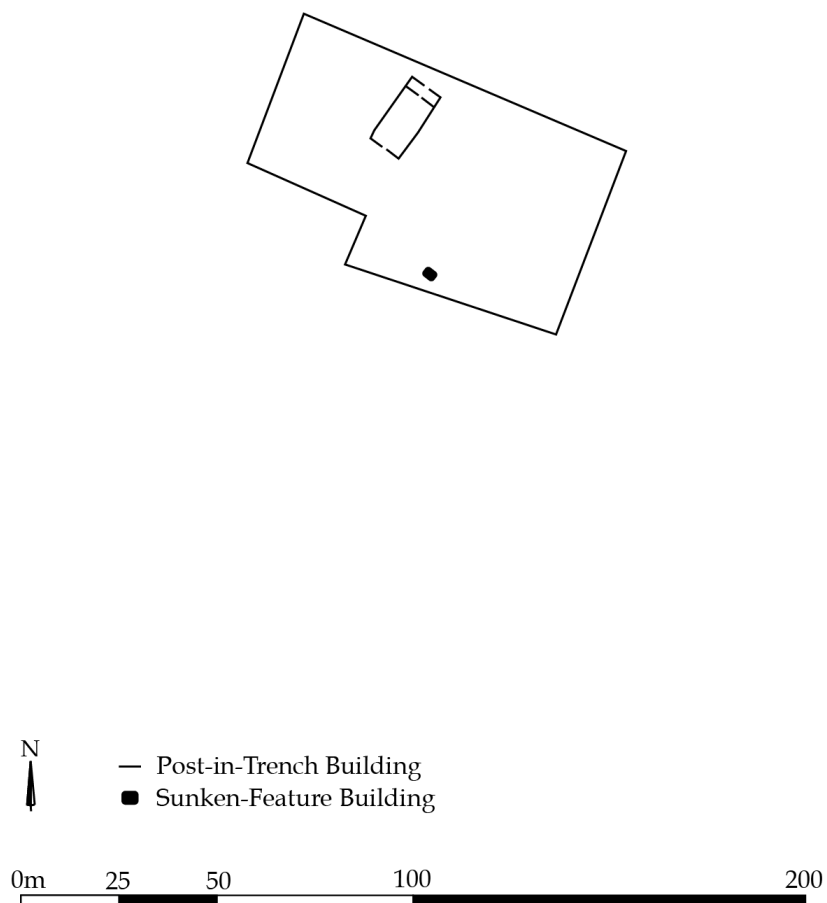


Figure 1.11: The great hall complex at Eynsford (redrawn Philp 2014) (The exact location of the hall and the sunken-feature building and the extent of the excavated area are not depicted in the published plans; as such, this plan is a best guess based on the total investigated area and the description of the features' location).

Rendlesham

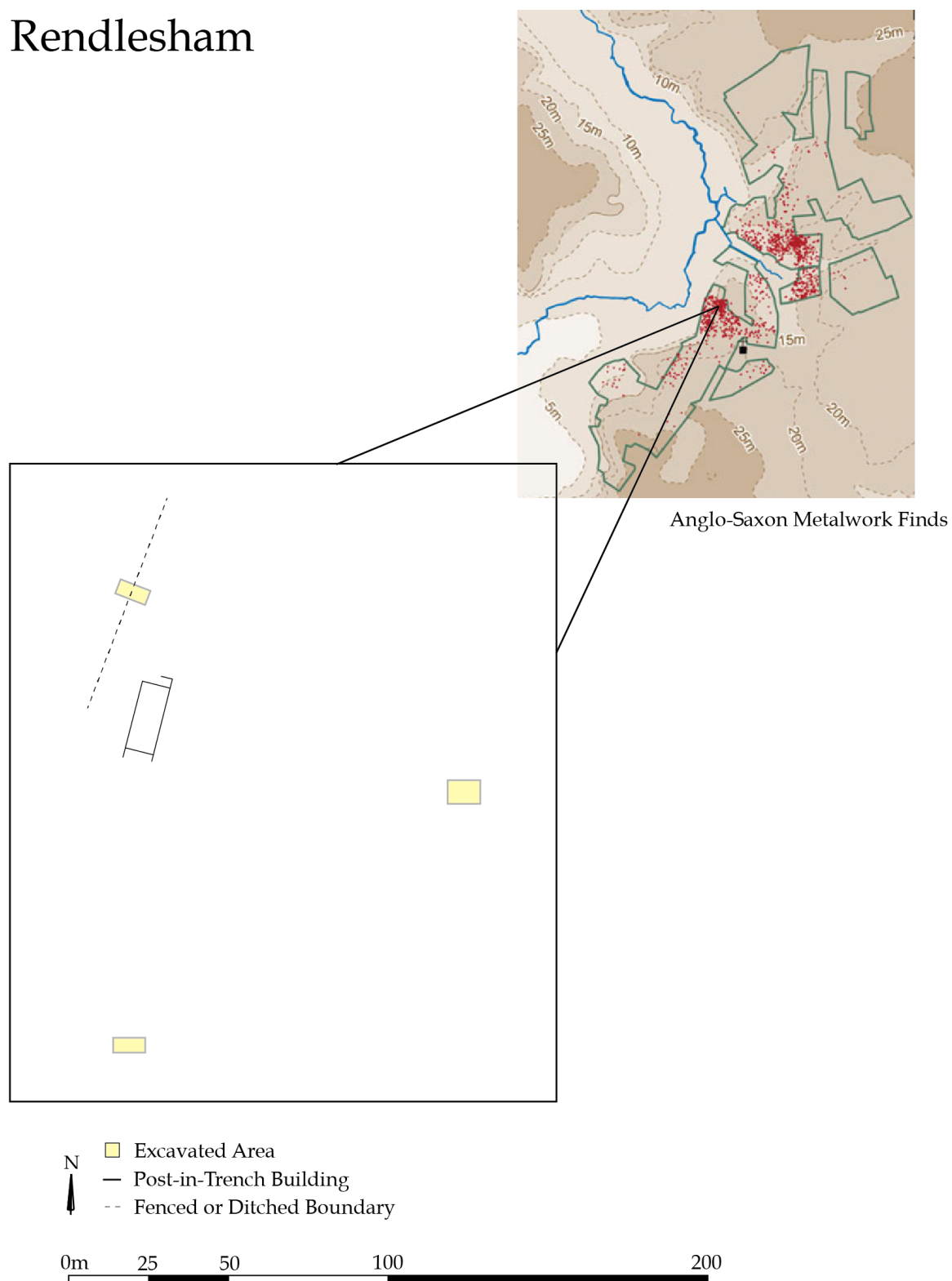


Figure 1.12: The great hall at Rendlesham, identified from aerial photographs and geophysical survey (redrawn from Scull *et al.* 2016). Metal-detecting and test-pitting have revealed strong evidence for high status Anglo-Saxon occupation, but the great hall has yet to be ground-tested.

Long Wittenham

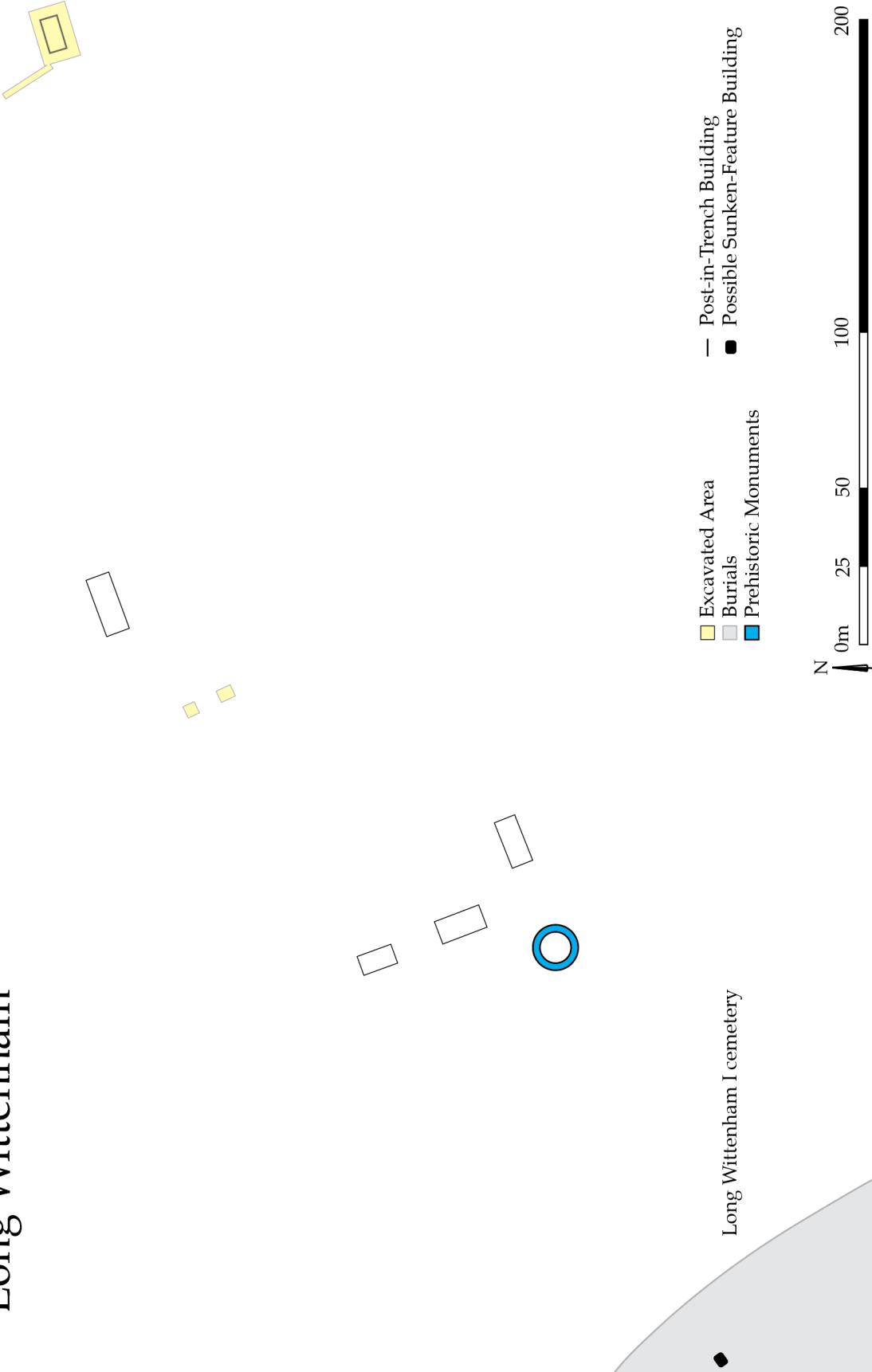


Figure 1.13: The recent excavations at Long Wittenham, undertaken by the author, in collaboration with Helena Hamerow and Jane Harrison. A probable sunken-feature building, excavated in the 19th Century, has also been included, although the location is only approximate (cf. Hamerow *et al.* 2013).

Atcham

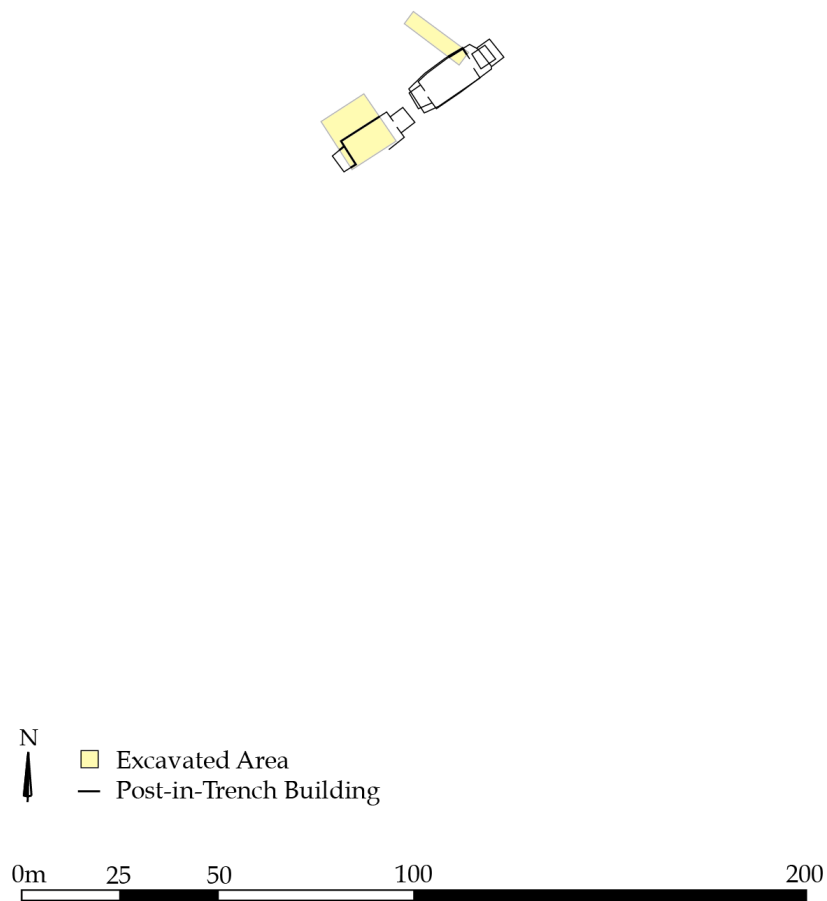


Figure 1.14: The great halls at Atcham, partially excavated by Roger White (redrawn from White 2017).

Hatton Rock

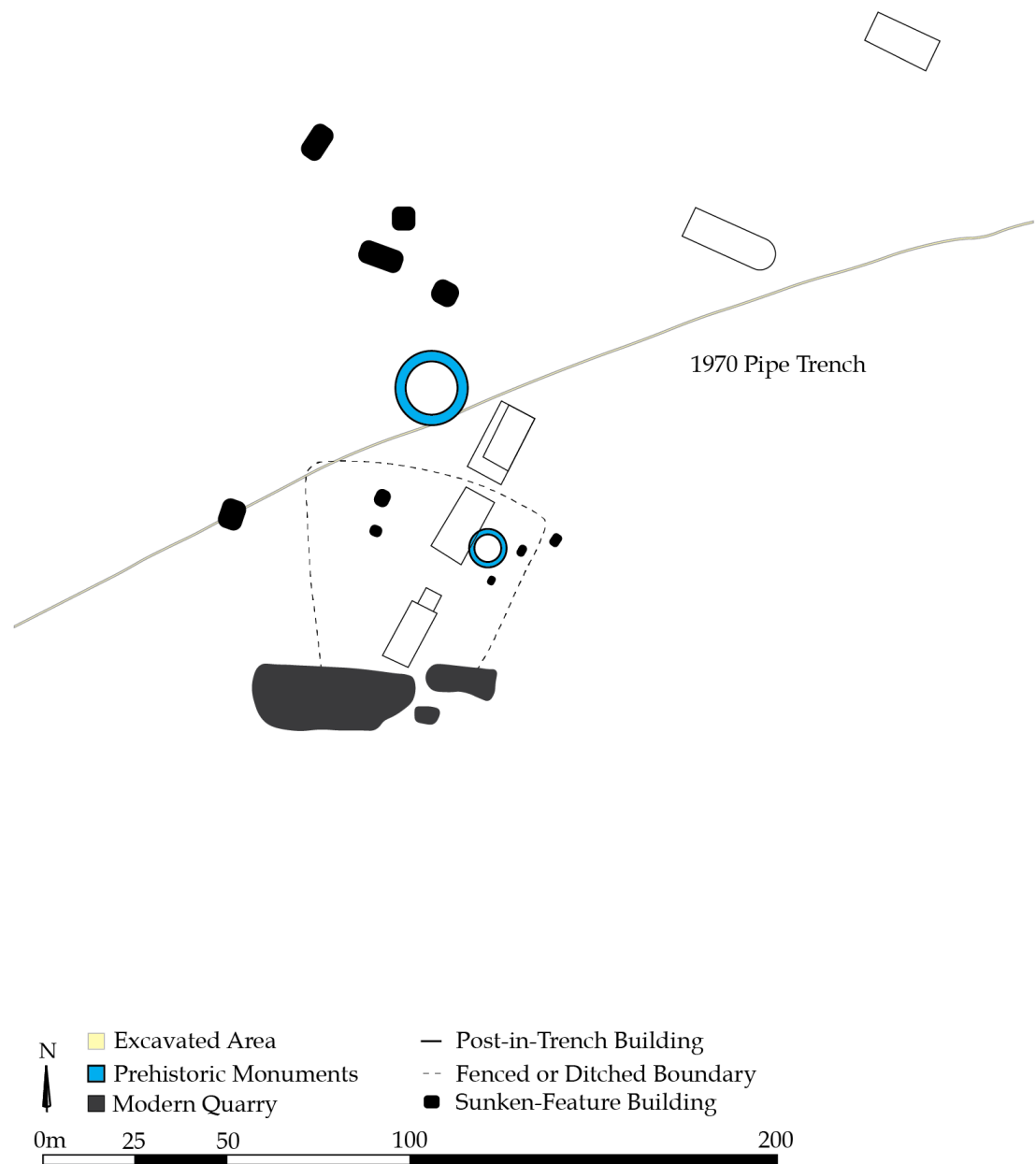


Figure 1.15: The cropmarks at Hatton Rock, bisected by the 1970 pipe trench (redrawn from Hirst and Rahtz 1973; Gethin 2007).



Figure 1.16: The cropmarks at Milfield (redrawn from Gates and O’Brien 1988) (Note that the scale is different on this plan – the site is simply too extensive to be depicted at the same scale as the other sites).

Long Itchington

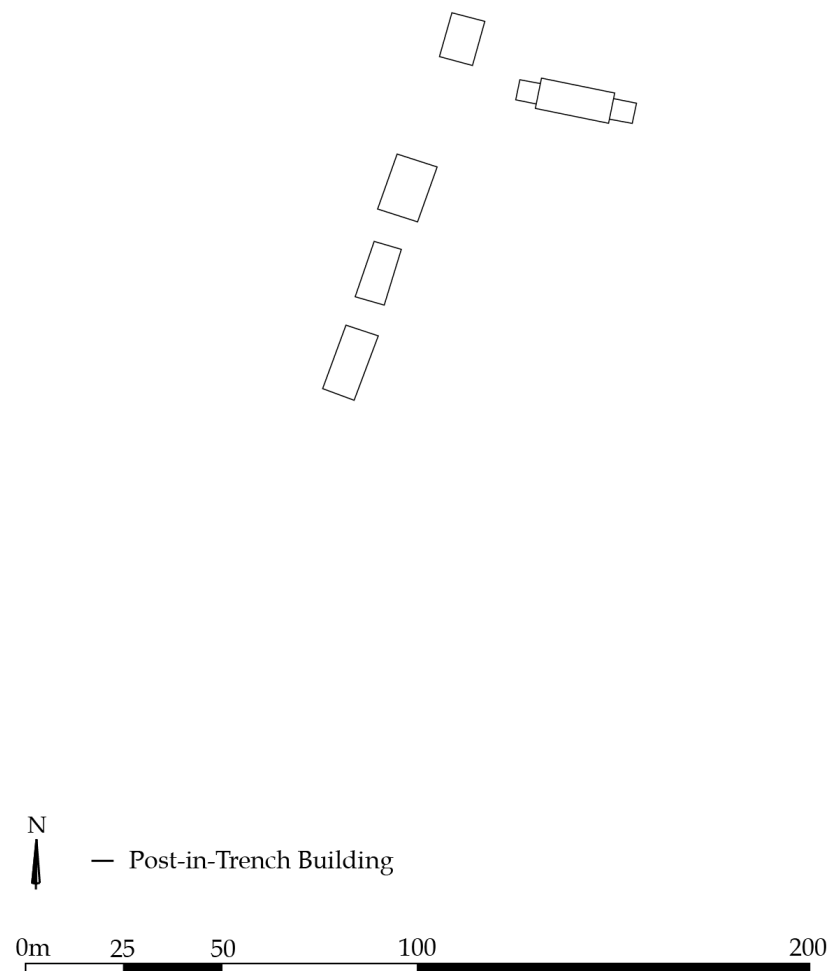


Figure 1.17: The cropmarks at Long Itchington (redrawn from a plan provided by Abi Tompkins) (Note that the plan is once again depicted at the same scale as Yeavinger). Long Itchington is one of the least understood sites; the only published plan depicts the site as a Roman villa (Wilson 1980).

Sprouston

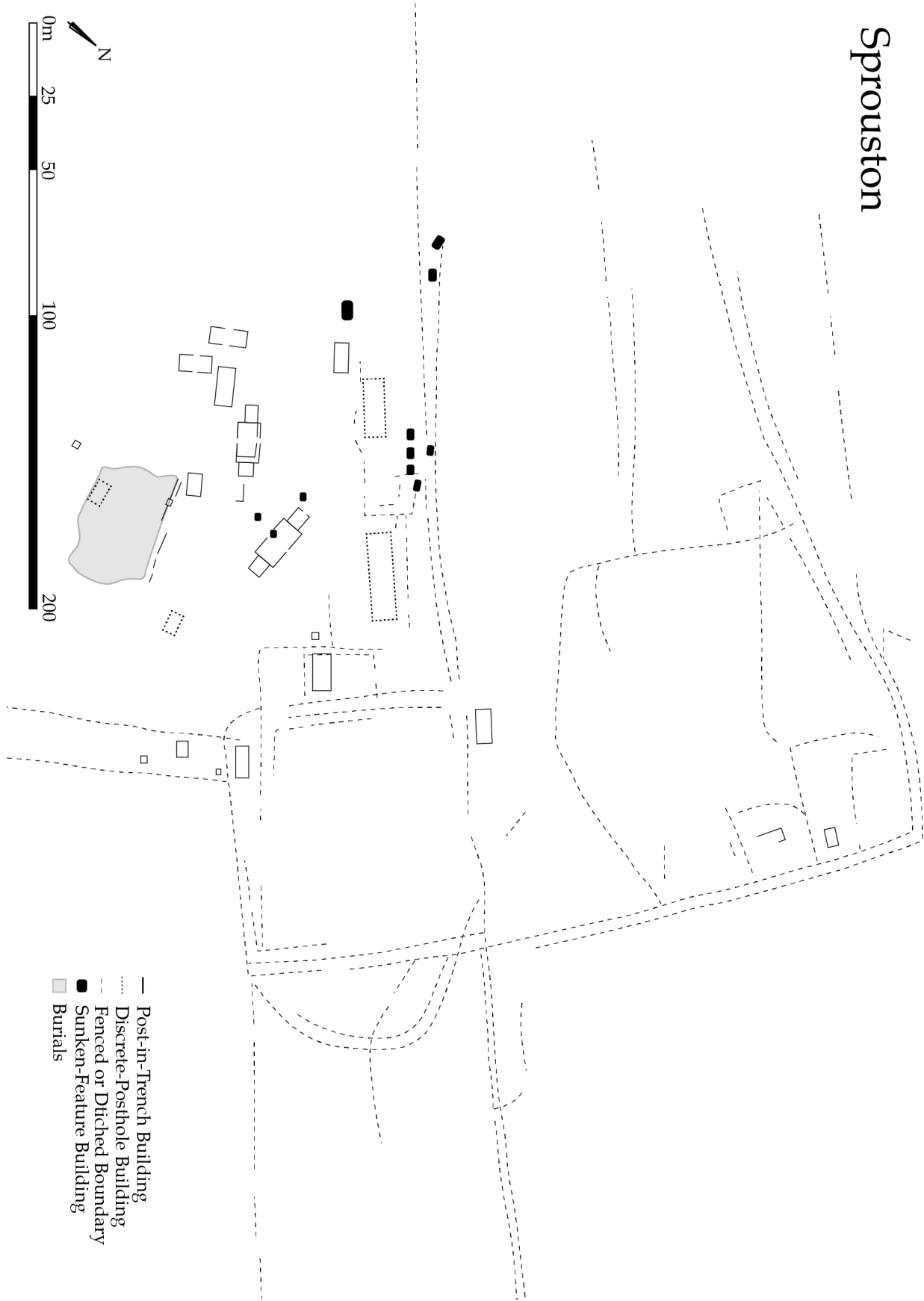


Figure 1.18: The cropmarks at Sprouston (redrawn from Smith 1992).

Whitekirk

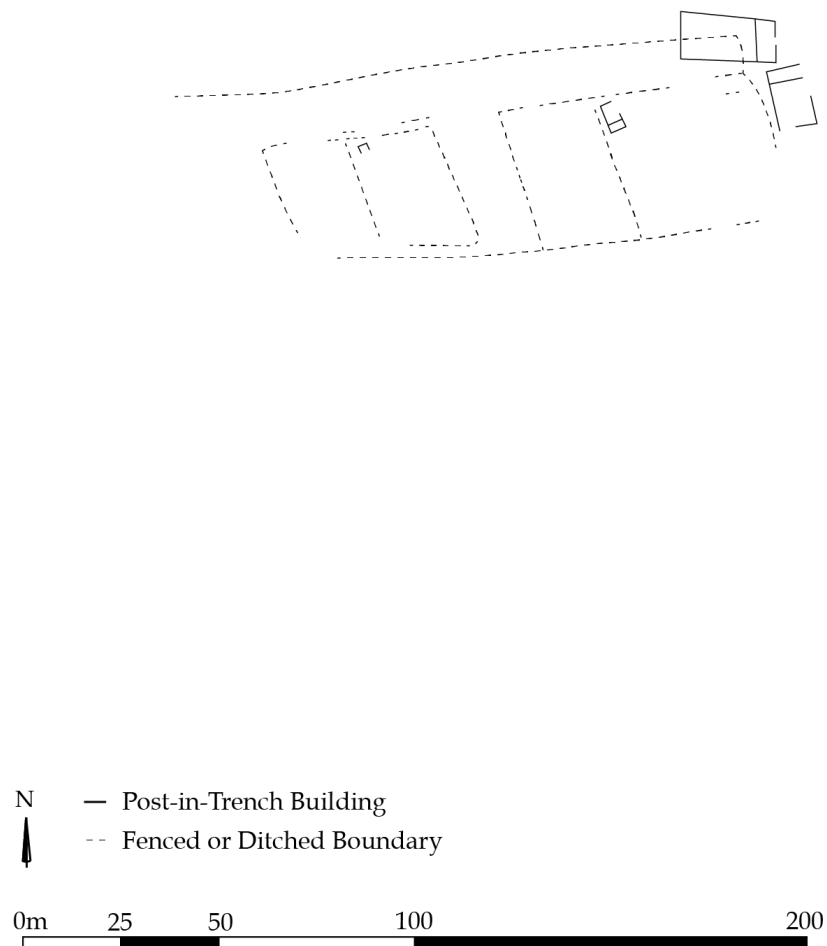


Figure 1.19: The cropmarks at Whitekirk (redrawn from Brown 1983).

Dover

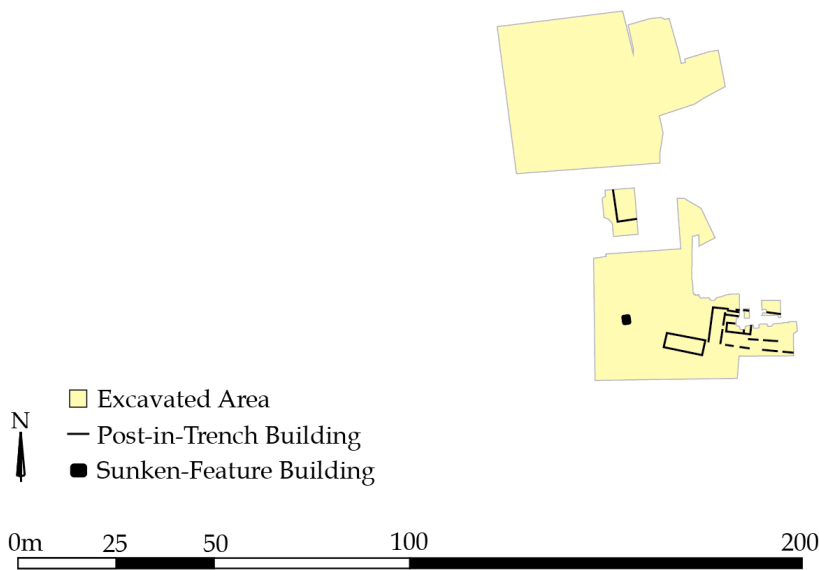


Figure 1.20: The possible great hall complex at Dover (redrawn from Philp 2003). Only the possible 6th and 7th Century features are depicted in this plan (Due to discrepancies in the published plans, this plan is more schematic than accurate).

Repton

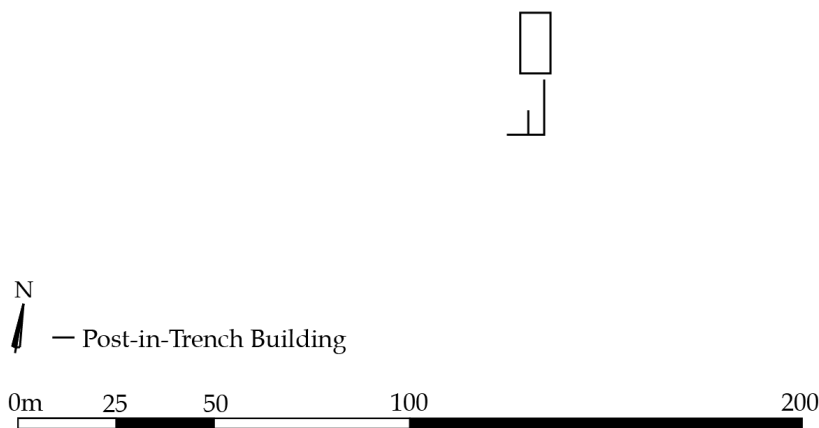


Figure 1.21: The possible great hall complex at Repton (redrawn from Biddle and Kjølbye-Biddle 2012). The site is unpublished and the excavated area is unknown. These possible buildings were identified underneath the later minster buildings – nothing else is known.

Chalton

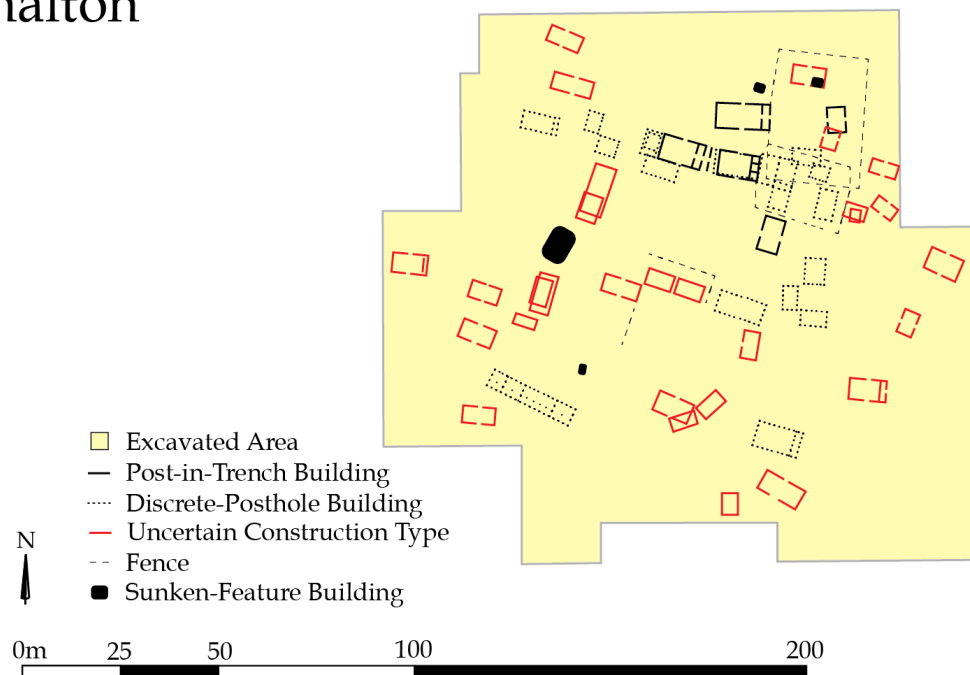


Figure 1.22: The minor hall complex at Chalton (redrawn from Champion 1977). The site is only partially published, and the construction technique used in most of the buildings is unknown, but the majority were probably discrete-posthole buildings, based on the predominance of discrete-posthole foundations among the known buildings.

Polebrook

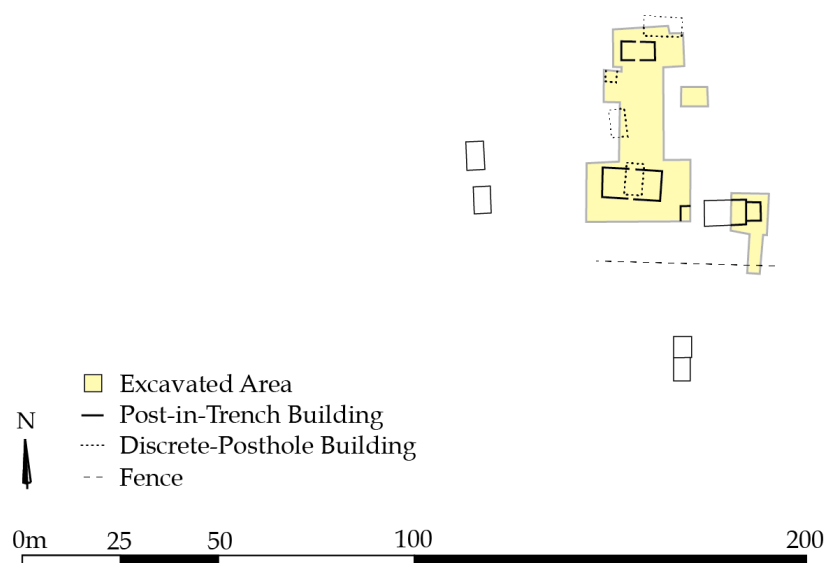


Figure 1.23: The minor hall complex at Polebrook (redrawn from Upex 2002; 2003; 2004; 2005).

Thirlings

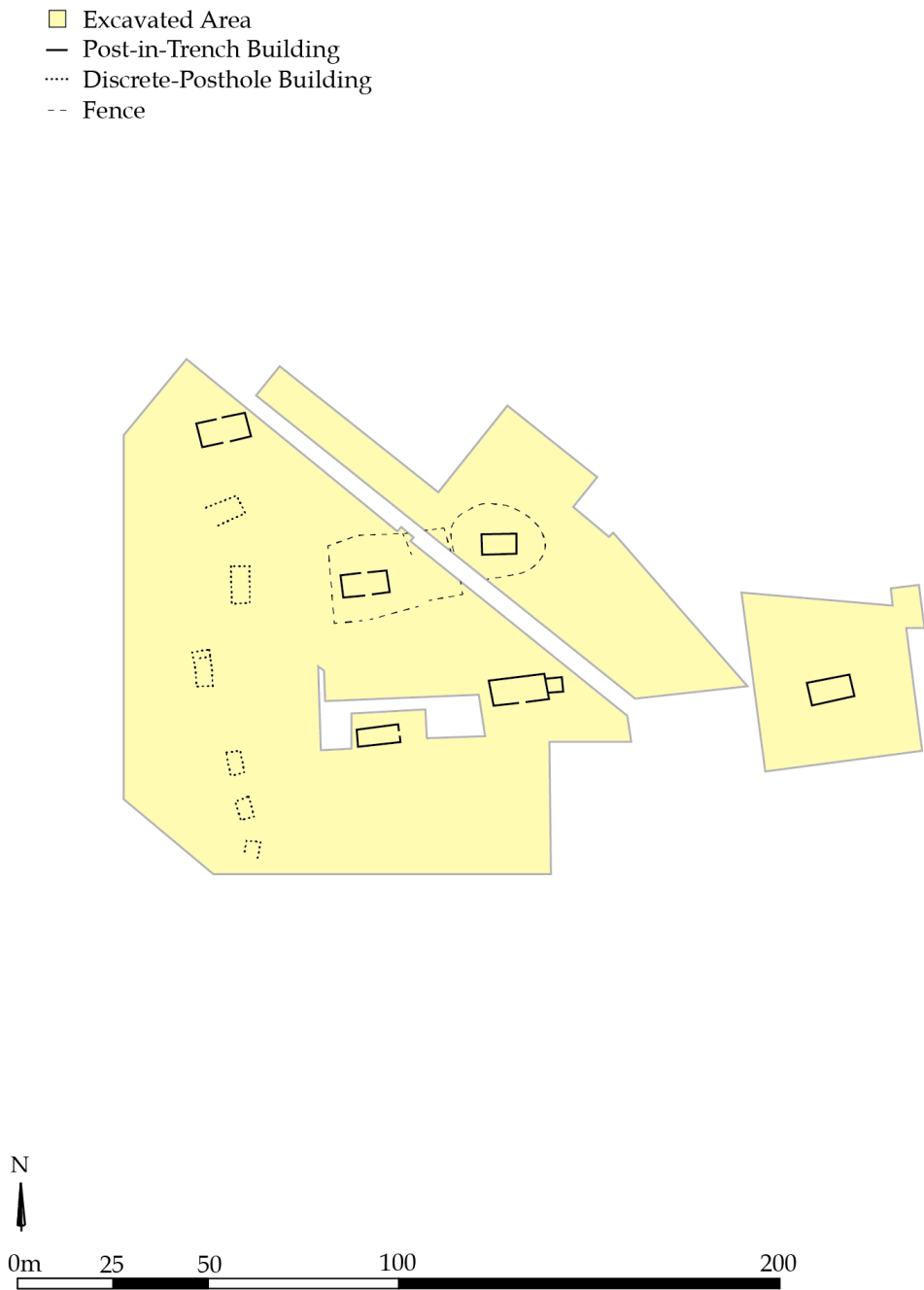


Figure 1.24: The minor hall complex at Thirlings (redrawn from O’Brien and Miket 1991).

1.2 The Study of Great Hall Complexes

Having broadly defined the great hall complex phenomenon and having outlined the known sites, this section now provides a brief overview of the study of Anglo-Saxon great hall complexes, sketching the development of knowledge, interpretation and theoretical perspectives.

1.2.1 Yeavinger and the Culture-Historical Paradigm

In 1949, the first great hall complexes were identified from aerial photographs at Yeavinger and Milfield and interpreted as the 7th Century ‘*villae regiae*’ recorded by Bede at *Ad Gefrin* (Yeavinger) and *Maelmin* (Milfield) (Bede HE II, ch.14; Knowles and St. Joseph 1952, 270-1; Hope-Taylor 1977, 1-5). Soon afterward, in 1952, Yeavinger came under threat from quarrying, and rescue excavations began under the direction of Brian Hope-Taylor (Fig.1.4) (Hope-Taylor 1977).

Hope-Taylor’s excavations at Yeavinger were technically brilliant, heralding a new age of English archaeology, but the ‘heroic’ renaissance-man paradigm of rescue archaeology was not well-suited to post-excavation. The Yeavinger report was published fifteen years after the excavation concluded, and the original draft report was lost (Hope-Taylor 1977, xvii). Many details are missing from the final report, a few details are contradictory (cf. Gates 2005, 72-5; O’Brien 2005b, 150) and the physical archive is in complete disarray (cf. RCAHMS and The Gefrin Trust 2007).

Nevertheless, Hope-Taylor’s excavation dominates the study of great hall complexes. The monumental architecture and meticulously structured layout identified by Hope-Taylor remain the primary identifying characteristics of great hall complexes. The overarching interpretation of Yeavinger – a royal *villa* of peripatetic kings – remains the dominant paradigm for understanding great hall complexes, and the central roles of public assembly and ritual activity have also remained fundamental to the interpretation of great hall complexes.

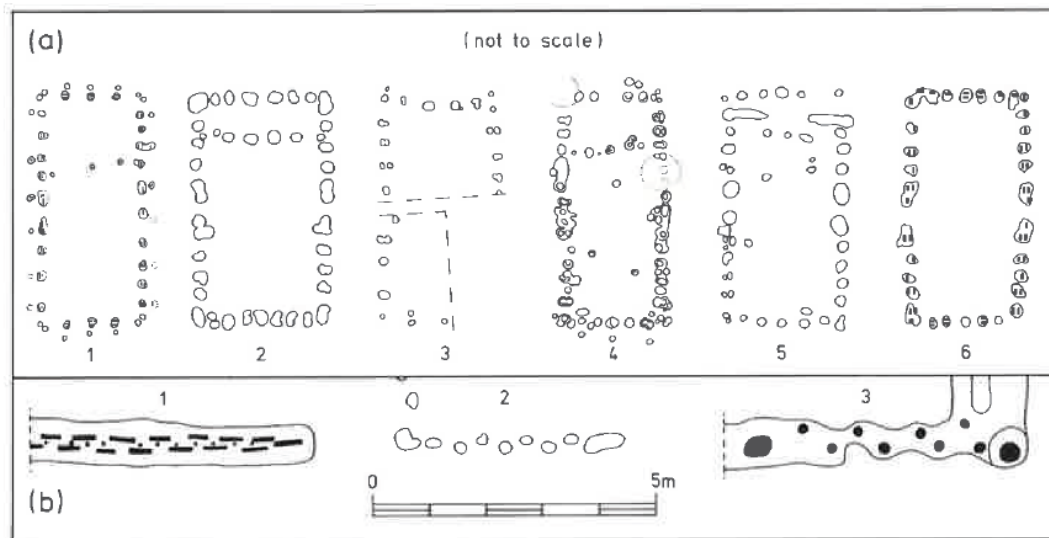
However, there are significant flaws in Hope-Taylor’s interpretation. Approaching Yeavinger from a culture-historical framework, Hope-Taylor explained the emergence, development and abandonment of the site through historical events and cultural conflict between British, Germanic and Irish influences (Walker 2010, 82-5). Hope-Taylor’s Yeavinger originated as a British ‘folk-centre’, and the emergence of the great hall complex was attributed to the arrival of Anglo-Saxons; the episodes of burning were attributed to the historical campaigns of Penda and Cadwallon, and the later architectural development of the site was attributed to the Irish influence of King Oswald (Hope-Taylor 1977, 267-77). This approach places immense strain on the fragmentary historical record (Alcock 1988a, 7-8; 2003, 242-4; Driscoll 2005, 162), but more fundamentally, the culture-

historical approach cannot adequately explain the underlying mechanisms of change (Walker 2010, 82-5). Cultural influences may provide new ideas, but this does not explain why these ideas were adopted. Historical events may document the process of change, but they do not in themselves explain that process.

Nevertheless, Hope-Taylor's culture-historical approach had a substantial impact on the study of great hall complexes. Soon after the Yeavinger excavations concluded, Brian Hope-Taylor excavated the great hall complex at Doon Hill in 1964-6 (Fig.1.5). Paralleling and no doubt contributing to his interpretation of Yeavinger, Hope-Taylor identified an Anglo-Saxon great hall superimposed onto a 'British' great hall (Hope-Taylor 1966; 1980). The excavation was never fully published, but the discussion of Doon Hill continues to be dominated by the dating of this 'British' great hall and the competing influences of British and Anglo-Saxon cultures (cf. Reynolds 1980a; Alcock 1988a; 2003; Smith 1992, 267-9; Ian Ralston pers. comm. in Kirby 2012, 26). As a result, the enclosing palisade and the small, simple layout of Doon Hill, which contrast significantly with Yeavinger, have been left largely unexplained (compare Fig.1.4 and Fig.1.5).

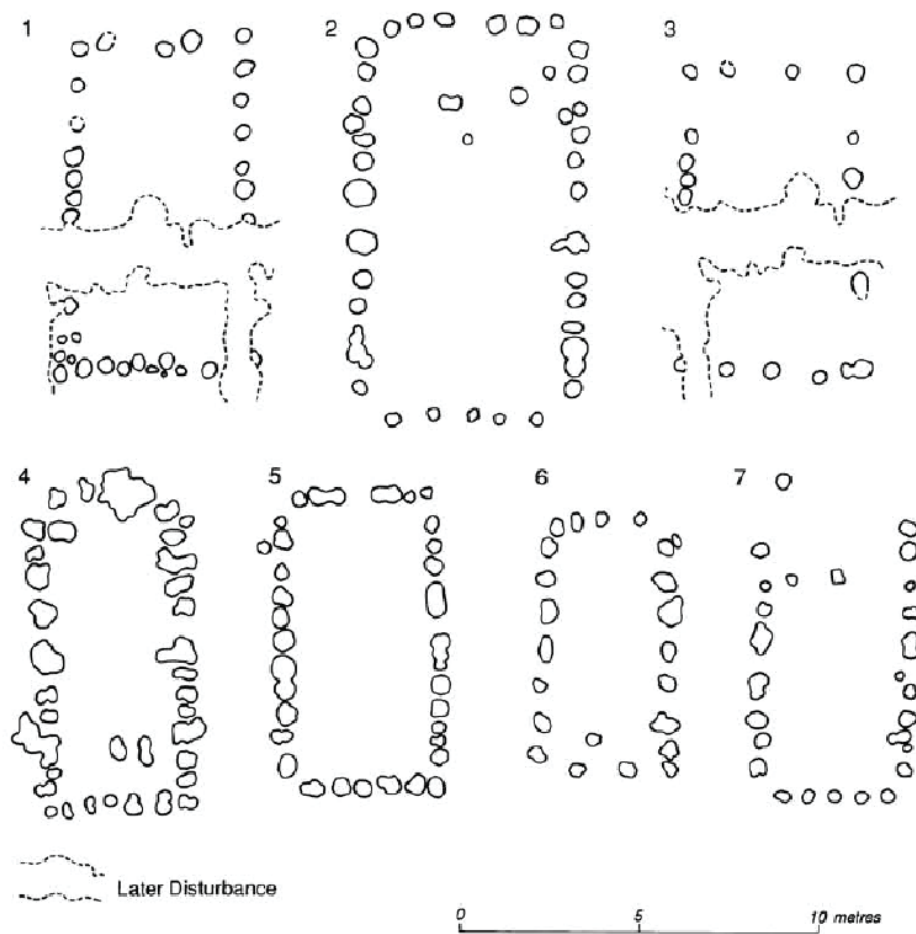
The interpretation of the great hall complex at Atcham, identified from aerial photographs in 1975, was similarly dominated by written sources and themes of British/Anglo-Saxon cultural conflict (Fig.1.14) (St. Joseph 1975; Rahtz 1975; 1976a).

This emphasis on British cultural influence was part of a larger trend challenging the impact of Germanic migrations in Anglo-Saxon archaeology (Hamerow 2012, 18-9; cf. Dixon 1982). However, as more settlements were excavated, a well-defined Anglo-Saxon building tradition began to take shape, and the great halls began to look increasingly at home among Anglo-Saxon architecture. Soon after the Yeavinger report was published, Roger Milet and Philip Rahtz expressed doubts about the alleged British architecture of Yeavinger (Milet 1980; Rahtz 1980), and following the excavation of Cowdery's Down, James *et al.* (1984) cogently demonstrated that the great halls shared fundamental similarities with the Anglo-Saxon building tradition. Building on James *et al.* (1984), Chris Scull argued that the earliest buildings at Yeavinger, predating the great hall complex, were also characteristically Anglo-Saxon, suggesting that the origins of Yeavinger lay in a typical Anglo-Saxon settlement, rather than a British 'folk-centre' (Scull 1991).



1a. Cowdery's Down B4, 2a. Chalton A20 (Hants), 3a. Bishopstone XXVIII (E Susx),
4a. West Stow 2 (Suff), 5a. Mucking (Essex), 6a. Thirlings G (Northum)

1b. Cowdery's Down C12, 2b. Nazeingbury (Essex), 3b. Thirlings N (Northum)



1. Yeavering A6, 2. Mucking (Essex), 3. Yeavering A7, 4. West Heslerton (N Yks)
5. West Stow (Suff), 6. Barrow Hills (Oxon), 7. Spong Hill (Norf)

Figure 1.25: Above, James *et al.* 1984 (fig.9) comparing buildings at Cowdery's Down with other Anglo-Saxon buildings; below, Scull 1991 (fig.4) comparing early buildings at Yeavering with other Anglo-Saxon buildings.

1.2.2 Cowdery's Down and the Growing Influence of Processual and Post-Processual Approaches

The excavation of Cowdery's Down in 1978-81 (Fig.1.6) (Millett and James 1983) and the subsequent metrical analysis of the Anglo-Saxon building tradition (James *et al.* 1984) marked the conspicuous advent of processual archaeology in the study of great hall complexes.

The excavation report for Cowdery's Down could hardly be more different from the excavation report for Yeavinger. The Cowdery's Down report focused on the form and construction of the buildings, and little attention was given to written sources. The excavators identified Cowdery's Down and Yeavinger as high status sites because the great halls were statistical outliers among excavated Anglo-Saxon buildings (Millett and James 1983, 247; James *et al.* 1984, fig.5). Whereas Yeavinger was linked to documented kings, Cowdery's Down was cast in the processual terminology of 'chieftains'. This independent interpretation of the archaeological evidence was an important shift in the study of great hall complexes. However, as a result, the Cowdery's Down report was absorbed with architectural details, and the broader interpretation – the functions and purpose of the site – was left largely unexplored.

The processual approach was also showcased in a series of articles debating the standardized measurements used in the construction of Yeavinger (Huggins 1981; 1991; Fernie 1985; 1991; Bettess 1991). However, the centrality of written sources and the emphasis on British/Anglo-Saxon cultural conflict continued to be important themes. Leslie Alcock argued that many Northumbrian high status sites appropriated earlier British power centres, based primarily on documentary and toponymic sources (Alcock 1988a). Alcock disputed the connection between the Yeavinger conflagrations and the historical campaigns of Penda and Cadwallon, but Alcock's alternative explanations were nevertheless firmly dictated by the written sources (Alcock 1988a; 2003, 244). Back-projecting from later written sources, Alcock also expanded upon Hope-Taylor's historical understanding of great hall complexes as royal estate centres, raising questions about the economic functions of great hall complexes and suggesting that the great halls may in fact be barns (Alcock 1988a, 25-6; 2003, 255-6). This reinterpretation of great halls as barns has found little support among other scholars (*contra* O'Brien and Milet 1991, 89; Philp 2014; 134), but the broader question of economic functions and agricultural processing facilities is an important one.

More recently, the theme of British/Anglo-Saxon cultural conflict has been reinvigorated by John Blair, who has argued that all of the identified great hall complexes actually lie at the fringe of the 'Anglo-Saxon building culture province' – the geographic area within which most Anglo-Saxon

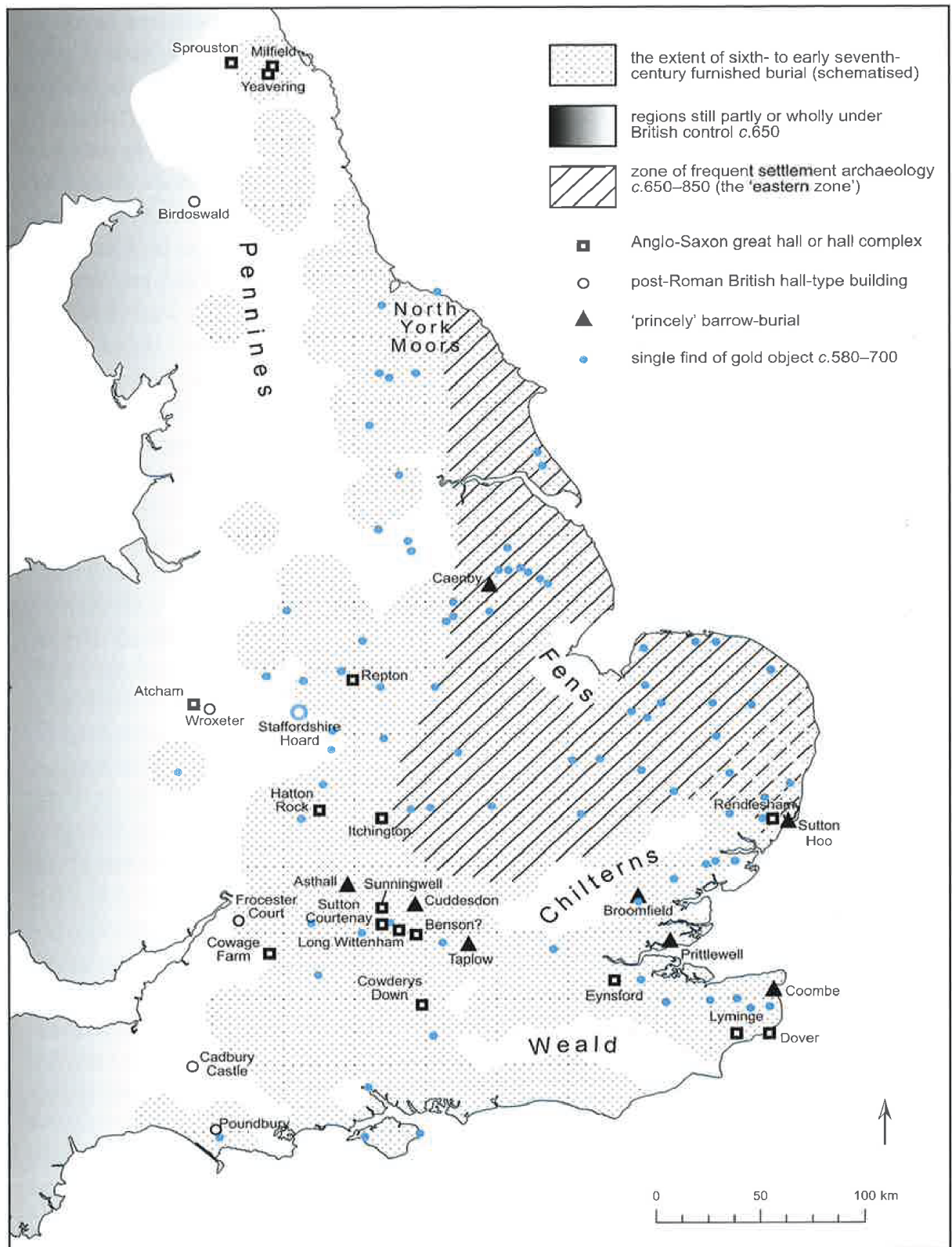


Figure 1.26: John Blair's 'Anglo-Saxon building culture province' (after Blair 2018, fig.29).

buildings have been found (Blair 2013a, 12, 23-5) – and based on this distribution, Blair has suggested that the conspicuous ostentation of great hall complexes emerged out of the anxiety and uncertainty of cultural frontiers, primarily the cultural frontier between Anglo-Saxon and British kingdoms. This is an interesting hypothesis, and in the absence of a well-defined British building tradition, it is difficult to assess the influence of British architecture. However, Blair's argument demands that the emphasis of competition, anxiety and uncertainty lay between Anglo-Saxon and British cultures rather than between rival Anglo-Saxon kingdoms, and the documented prevalence of warfare among the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms suggests that competition between Anglo-Saxon kingdoms was at least as intense as that between Anglo-Saxon and British kingdoms (see **Section 3.1.3**).

Meanwhile, Richard Bradley's 1987 article on the appropriation of prehistoric monuments at Yeavinger heralded the first impact of post-processual archaeology in the study of great hall complexes (Bradley 1987). However, while this article was influential, post-processual interpretations remained rare in the study of great hall complexes. The excavators of Yeavinger Henge discovered evidence of Anglo-Saxon metalworking cut into the henge but dismissed the potential connection between elite metalworking and the supernatural power of prehistoric monuments (Tinniswood and Harding 1991, 107). It was not until 1999, that Paul Frodsham suggested parallels with the supernatural dimensions of Iron Age metalworking (Frodsham 1999; 2005, 29-31). Nevertheless, this theme of supernatural power and the creation of special objects at great hall complexes remains underdeveloped. Similarly, Andrew Reynolds has suggested that the symmetrical layout of great hall complexes is suggestive of ritually organized space, but what exactly this means and its implications for the functions of great hall complexes remains underexplored (Reynolds 2003, 104-6).

Meanwhile, the identification of great hall complexes at Hatton Rock (Webster and Hobley 1964; Rahtz 1970; Hirst and Rahtz 1973), Sprouston (St. Joseph 1971, 1982; Reynolds 1980a, 50-2; Smith 1981; 1982; 1983; 1992), Sutton Courtenay (Benson and Miles 1974a; 1974b; Hawkes 1986), Whitekirk (Brown 1983), Long Wittenham (Hawkes 1986) and Cowage Farm (Hampton 1981; Hinchliffe 1986) as well as the excavation of Yeavinger Henge (Harding 1981; Tinniswood and Harding 1991) and the reinterpretation of the Milfield cropmarks (Gates and O'Brien 1988) had relatively little impact on the field. The primary focus remained on Hope-Taylor's excavations at Yeavinger and Martin Millett's excavations at Cowdery's Down.

The enclosures and droveways identified at Sprouston (Fig.1.18) (Smith 1992, 272-4) and the evidence for metalworking recovered from Yeavinger Henge provided particularly important

evidence for the economic functions of great hall complexes, but the impact of these discoveries was marginal; Leslie Alcock failed to mention either site in his discussion of the economic functions of great hall complexes (Alcock 1988a, 25-6; 2003, 255-6).

1.2.3 Great Hall Complexes in the 21st Century

The new millennium heralded a new phase in the study of great hall complexes. The 2001-3 excavation at Sutton Courtenay was the first new excavation at a great hall complex in 20 years (Fig.1.9) (Hamerow *et al.* 2007), and in conjunction with the adjacent settlement excavations carried out by E.T. Leeds in the 1920-30s (Leeds 1923b; 1927; 1947), Sutton Courtenay provided the first evidence for more typical early Anglo-Saxon settlement features at great hall complexes. Meanwhile, amateur metal-detecting at Sutton Courtenay also provided the first evidence for high status metalworking and early 8th Century exchange at great hall complexes.

Soon afterward, John Blair's *The Church in Anglo-Saxon Society* (2005) provided one of the first overarching interpretations of great hall complexes that was not back-projected from later sources; although Blair's conclusions were based in part on written sources, his treatment of the sources was significantly more critical than that of Hope-Taylor or Alcock. Instead of back-projecting royal estate centres, Blair argued that royal activity was largely unstable before AD800, and great hall complexes were instead part of a shifting landscape of enduring royal interests (Blair 2005, 275-81).

In the same year, the volume *Yeavinger: People, Power & Place* (2005) brought together a range of perspectives to reconsider the site at Yeavinger. In general, this volume represented a concerted shift away from the culture-history that had continued to plague the study of Yeavinger. There were exceptions: Ian Wood lamented the dismissal of Hope-Taylor's arguments (Wood 2005), and while Sam Lucy criticized the cultural conflict narrative, she nevertheless questioned the Anglo-Saxon character of Yeavinger based purely on the British affinities of the burials (Lucy 2005). However, Carolyn Ware's superb contribution to the volume represented the first explicit and informed post-processual interpretation of Anglo-Saxon great halls (Ware 2005). Drawing on a range of ethnographic evidence, Ware argued that great halls were designed to reshape social structures, mediating the transition from local chiefs to established royal dynasties by harnessing the means of cultural reproduction. This post-processual approach was later explored by Jenny Walker to great effect, although it has gone relatively unnoticed (Walker 2010; 2011). Paul Barnwell's (2005) article comparing Yeavinger's theatre to provincial Roman theatres and

Yeavinger's standing posts to the Frankish *staffolus* was also an important contribution to understanding the creation of power at great hall complexes.

Meanwhile, the recently discovered sites at Lyminge (Fig.1.7) and Rendlesham (Fig.1.12) were the first great hall complexes to produce truly exceptional material culture assemblages. Lyminge and Rendlesham produced staggering evidence of high status craft-working and exchange, and the presence of high status 5th and 6th Century material provided the first evidence to suggest that these sites were already important centres prior to the emergence of the great hall complexes.

The scale of the Rendlesham project also reflects a growing interest in the wider activity surrounding great hall complexes, and this interest in wider activity was also reflected in the Origins of Wessex pilot project, set in the regional hinterland of Sutton Courtenay and Long Wittenham (Hamerow *et al.* 2013). However, the structure and extent of Blair's shifting royal landscapes and the place of great hall complexes in regional settlement networks remain underexplored.

Meanwhile, the discovery and excavation of two new great hall complexes at Lockerbie (Fig.1.10) and Eynsford (Fig.1.11) went largely unnoticed; the excavators did not make efforts to disseminate the results, and in each case, the excavators appear to have been relatively unfamiliar with the study of great hall complexes (Kirby 2012; Philp 2014).

1.2.4 Key Themes and Unanswered Questions

The study of great hall complexes prior to the excavation of Sutton Courtenay can be understood in terms of two excavations: Yeavinger and Cowdery's Down. Yeavinger defined the discipline; it is inevitably the first site to be cited, and it continues to exert significant influence over the study of great hall complexes. However, Hope-Taylor's reliance on written sources and his emphasis on cultural conflict have been detrimental to understanding the underlying processes driving the emergence, development and obsolescence of great hall complexes. The processual approach of Cowdery's Down represented a stark rebuttal of Hope-Taylor's interpretation. However, the Cowdery's Down report was primarily descriptive, and, like the Yeavinger report, the Cowdery's Down report failed to provide meaningful conclusions about the underlying processes driving the great hall complex phenomenon.

The excavation of Sutton Courtenay heralded a new phase of excavation and a diversification of interpretative approaches. Sutton Courtenay, Lyminge and Rendlesham provided new evidence of economic complexity, 6th Century antecedents and 8th Century continuity. John Blair (2005), Carolyn Ware (2005) and Jenny Walker (2010; 2011) advanced stimulating interpretations of great

hall complexes from opposite sides of the spectrum, shining new light on the historical and archaeological evidence. Nevertheless, there remain significant gaps in the study of great hall complexes.

The dominant medium of scholarship continues to be excavation reports, and as a result, there is a conspicuous lack of comparative analysis and ‘big picture’ interpretations. A comprehensive comparative analysis of great hall complexes is required to address these issues.

The regional context of great hall complexes also remains underexplored. Great hall complexes are often depicted as places of public assembly, where power relationships between rulers and subjects were created and reinforced (Hope-Taylor 1977; Alcock 1988a, 19-20, 24; Semple 2004, 137-9; Barnwell 2005; Blair 2005, 56-7; Scull *et al.* 2016, 1602, 1605), but the relationship between great hall complexes and wider society is poorly understood. A regional study of great hall complexes is therefore needed to understand the place of great hall complexes within regional systems.

There also remains a general lack of explicitly theoretical interpretations. The majority of scholarship on great hall complexes continues to be primarily descriptive, rather than interpretative. In this respect, the study of Anglo-Saxon great hall complexes should take inspiration from the study of Scandinavian ‘central places’, which has been more receptive to post-processual archaeology and cultural anthropology (e.g. Herschend 1998; Bazelmans 1999; Hedeager 2001; Thurston 2012).

Ultimately, the most significant deficit in the study of great hall complexes is a failure to answer *why* great hall complexes were built. The emergence of great hall complexes was not a foregone conclusion. Each aspect of a great hall complex was developed, adopted, adapted and then eventually abandoned by agents acting under conscious and unconscious motivations. This process cannot be taken for granted; it must be explained.

These gaps in the existing scholarship are therefore the starting point for this thesis.

1.3 Great Hall Complexes in Comparison and in Context

This section lays out the structure of the thesis, identifying the primary questions addressed and the methods by which these questions will be answered.

1.3.1 The Primary Aims

The primary aim of this thesis is to explain why great hall complexes were built, why and how they developed over time and why they were abandoned.

1.3.2 The Methodology

This is accomplished through two avenues of research: a broad comparative study of all great hall complexes and a regional case study of great hall complexes in context. Accordingly, the thesis is divided into two parts: **Part I: Anglo-Saxon Great Hall Complexes in Comparison** and **Part II: Anglo-Saxon Great Hall Complexes in Context**.

Part I: Anglo-Saxon Great Hall Complexes in Comparison presents a broad comparative study of all great hall complexes.

Chapter 2 analyses of the basic characteristics and functions of great hall complexes. The first half of the chapter is devoted to the characteristics of great hall complexes, beginning with the distinctive architecture and layout of great hall complexes (**Section 2.1**), followed by the cultural and physical hinterland of great hall complexes (**Section 2.2**), the material culture assemblages of great hall complexes (**Section 2.3**), and the dating evidence for great hall complexes (**Section 2.4**). Then, the second half of **Chapter 2** is devoted to the functions of great hall complexes, starting with the relationship between great hall complexes and kingship (**Section 2.5**), followed by the evidence for ritual and cult activity (**Section 2.6**) and the evidence for craft-working, agriculture and exchange (**Section 2.7**). Then, **Chapter 2** concludes with a comparative analysis of variation among the great hall complexes, considering to what extent the great hall complexes are really a single coherent phenomenon and how the minor hall complexes fit into this phenomenon (**Section 2.8**).

Chapter 3 then analyses the evidence for the development of great hall complexes, from their origins (**Section 3.1**) and early development (**Section 3.2**) to their later evolution (**Section 3.3**) and eventual obsolescence (**Section 3.4**). **Chapter 3** is increasingly theoretical and interpretative, building on the evidence from **Chapter 2** and directly addressing the primary aims of the thesis – why great hall complexes were built, why and how they developed over time and why they were abandoned. As such, **Chapter 3** serves as a preliminary conclusion to **Part I** of the thesis.

Part II: Anglo-Saxon Great Hall Complexes in Context then presents a regional case study of great hall complexes and kingdom formation in the Upper Thames Valley. This case study is intended to provide a more in-depth exploration of the role of great hall complexes in kingdom formation by reconstructing the regional development of power, in burials and settlements, from the 5th to 8th Centuries, and by situating the great hall complexes within this development.

First, **Chapter 4** and **Chapter 5** analyse the distribution of socio-economic power in the burials of the Upper Thames Valley and the change in this distribution over time, building up a picture of

the primary concentrations of Anglo-Saxon activity and the primary concentrations of burial wealth.

Then, **Chapter 6** and **Chapter 7** analyse the distribution of socio-economic power in settlements, including the great hall complexes at Sutton Courtenay and Long Wittenham, and the change in this distribution over time. These chapters build upon the distribution of burials, further developing the primary concentrations of Anglo-Saxon activity and analysing the emergence and development of a range of higher status sites.

Then, **Chapter 8** brings together the conclusions from **Chapters 4-7**, as well as the conclusions from **Part I** of the thesis, to explore the overall development of socio-economic power in the Upper Thames Valley and the role of great hall complexes in this development. This chapter is strongly theoretical and interpretative, developing the penultimate conclusions of the thesis.

Chapter 9 then provides a succinct conclusion, incorporating the conclusions from **Part I** and **Part II** into a comprehensive chronological narrative of the emergence, development and obsolescence of great hall complexes, explaining why great hall complexes were built, why and how they developed over time and why they were abandoned.

– Part I –

Great Hall Complexes in Comparison

Chapter 2

The Characteristics and Functions of Great Hall Complexes

This chapter analyses the basic characteristics and functions of great hall complexes. The purpose of this chapter is to comprehensively lay out and critically assess the current evidence for great hall complexes, laying the foundations for more complex interpretations in **Chapter 3** and in **Part II**.

The first half of the chapter is devoted to the characteristics of great hall complexes, beginning with the distinctive architecture and layout of great hall complexes (**Section 2.1**), followed by the cultural and physical hinterland of great hall complexes (**Section 2.2**), the material culture assemblages of great hall complexes (**Section 2.3**), and the dating evidence for great hall complexes (**Section 2.4**). Then, the second half of the chapter is devoted to the functions of great hall complexes, starting with the relationship between great hall complexes and kingship (**Section 2.5**), followed by the evidence for ritual and cult activity (**Section 2.6**) and the evidence for craft-working, agriculture and exchange (**Section 2.7**). Then, the chapter concludes with a comparative analysis of variation among the great hall complexes, considering to what extent the great hall complexes are really a single coherent phenomenon and how the minor hall complexes fit into this phenomenon (**Section 2.8**).

2.1 The Built Environment

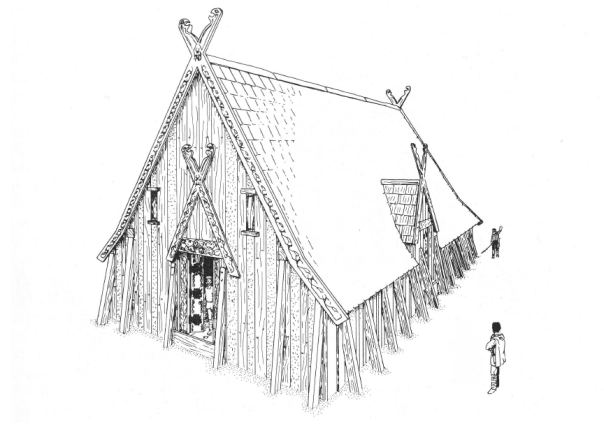
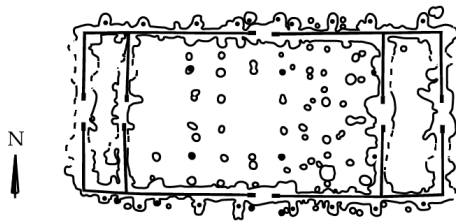
2.1.1 Architecture

Great hall complexes are defined first and foremost by a shared architectural style. This style is characterized by large timber-framed buildings with substantial post-in-trench foundations, elaborate wall types and external raking posts.

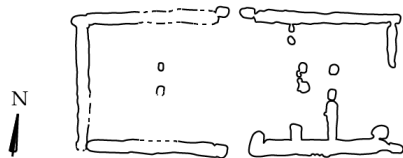
The great hall architectural style was monumental, and the buildings were both standalone statements of power – in their sheer size, elaborate form and precise construction – and carefully constructed theatres of power, where relationships between the king, nobles and wider populace were recursively created and recreated (Ware 2005; Pollington 2011; Walker 2011; Sofield In Press; cf. Bourdieu 1973; Rowlands and Tilley 2006). However, the hall was also more than its physical parts; the hall was an ideal – a symbolic representation of the ideology of kingship and the warrior-elite (Hume 1974; Herschend 1993; 1998).

The Great Halls

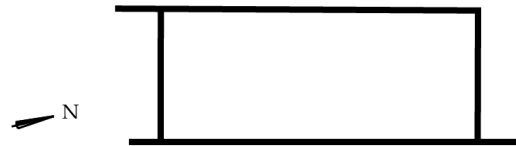
Yeavinger A2



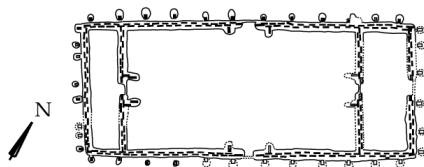
Lyminge A



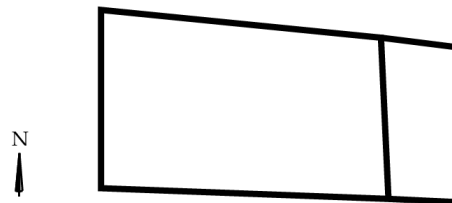
Rendlesham (cropmarks)



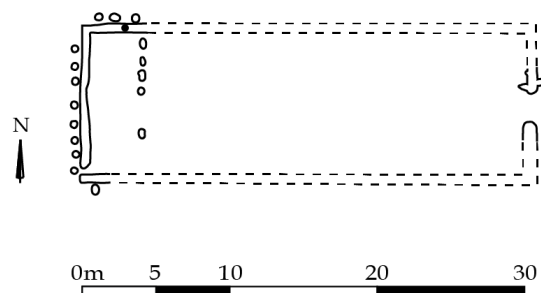
Cowdery's Down C12



Whitekirk (cropmarks)



Sutton Courtenay 500



Hatton Rock L (cropmarks)

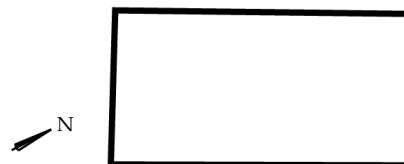
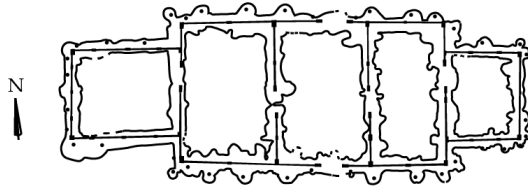


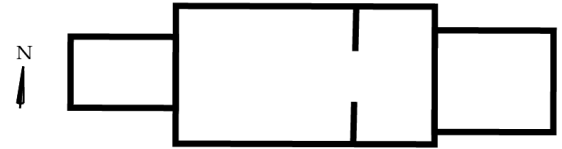
Figure 2.1: The open-form great halls (redrawn from Hope-Taylor 1977; Brown 1983; Millett and James 1983; Gethin 2007; Wessex Archaeology 2010; Scull *et al.* 2016).

The Great Halls

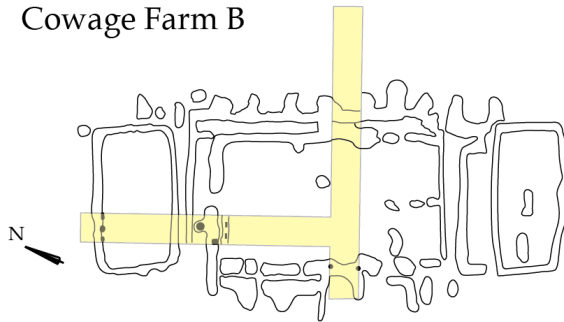
Yeavinger A3a



Milfield (cropmarks)



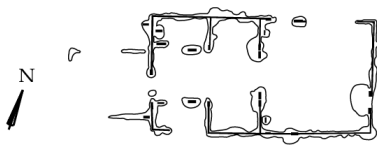
Cowage Farm B



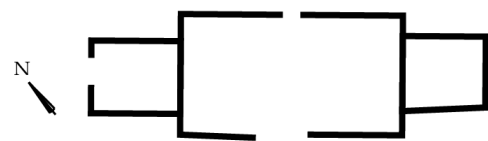
Long Itchington (cropmarks)



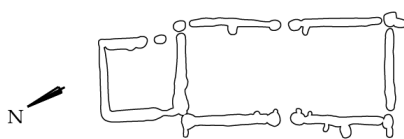
Doon Hill



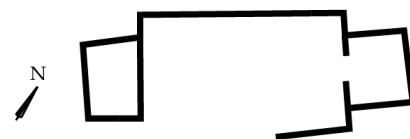
Sprouston F (cropmarks)



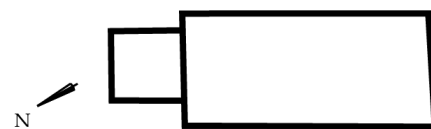
Lockerbie



Atcham (cropmarks)



Hatton Rock P (cropmarks)



0m 5 10 20 30

Figure 2.2: The annexed great halls (redrawn from Hope-Taylor 1977; Hinchliffe 1986; Gates and O'Brien 1988; Smith 1992; Gethin 2007; Kirby 2012; White 2017; RCAHMS Archive; Abi Tompkins pers. comm.).

2.1.1.1 The Building Forms

The buildings at great hall complexes were exceptionally large, ranging 10-33m in length and 5-12m in width. Typically, one very large building – the great hall – was accompanied by several smaller buildings. The largest great halls were just over 30m long, but the majority cluster around 20-25m in length (Table 2.1-2). The minimum length for a great hall is defined in this study as 18m (based on the 18m threshold set by Marshall and Marshall 1991, 39 and the 150m² threshold set by James *et al.* 1984, fig.5, which corresponds to a two-square module of 17.3 x 8.7m). All great halls fall within 8-12m in width, and the vast majority fall within 8-10m in width. Great halls took one of two forms: open-form great halls, often with a narrow compartment at one or both ends (Fig.2.1), and annexed great halls, with a 14-20m main room and one or two annexes extending from either end (Fig.2.2). Annexed great halls appear to be a later development, although it is unclear whether annexed great halls entirely replaced open-form great halls (see **Section 3.3.2**).

The smaller buildings on great hall complexes were typically 10-20m in length, and the smallest of these buildings were roughly comparable to the largest buildings on more typical Anglo-Saxon settlements (James *et al.* 1984, 185).

Regardless of size, all buildings on great hall complexes were constructed in a similar style. The buildings were laid out on an approximate two-square plan, with entrances in the middle of the long walls and often in the middle of the end walls as well. An internal partition was relatively common at one end of the building, and a few great halls had internal partitions at each end. Gable annexes also became common in the mid-to-late 7th Century (see **Section 3.3.2**).

Site, Building	Length (m)	Width (m)	Form	Identified From
Long Wittenham	18	8	open-form	magnetometry
Eynsford	19.2	9.6	open-form	excavation
Hatton Rock, L	20.5	10.5	open-form	cropmarks
Cowdery's Down, C12	22.1	8.7	open-form	excavation
Rendlesham	23	9.5	open-form	cropmarks
Whitekirk	23	11	open-form	cropmarks
Lyminge, C	24	9	open-form	excavation
Yeaverling, A4	25.2	11.7	open-form	excavation
Sutton Courtenay, 500	30.1	10.1	open-form	excavation

Table 2.1: The dimensions of the largest open-form great halls identified at each site.

Site, Building	Length (m)	Width (m)	Form	Length of Main Room (m)	Identified From
Lockerbie	19	8	annexed	14	excavation
Doon Hill	20.7	7.9	annexed	15.1	excavation
Hatton Rock, P	22	7.5	annexed	17	cropmarks
Atcham	25	9	annexed	17.5	cropmarks
Sprouston, F	26.5	8	annexed	14.8	cropmarks
Long Itchington	30	7.6	annexed	19	cropmarks
Yeavinger, A3a	30.2	9.6	annexed	18.1	excavation
Cowage Farm, B	31.6	10.4	annexed	20	excavation
Milfield	33	8.5	annexed	17.5	cropmarks

Table 2.2: The dimensions of the largest annexed great halls identified at each site.

2.1.1.2 The Foundations

Buildings on great hall complexes were typically constructed with post-in-trench foundations. Discrete-posthole foundations were used in some cases, but these buildings appear to be characteristically early or late in the occupation sequence (see **Section 3.1.2** and **3.3.1**).

The foundation trenches at great hall complexes were typically substantial, and they were often carefully constructed, with vertical sides and flat bases (Fig.2.3). The foundation trenches at Lydinge and Sutton Courtenay were almost perfectly rectangular, and the foundation trenches of the largest buildings at Cowage Farm, Sutton Courtenay and Yeavinger were cut 1-1.70m into the underlying geology, perhaps as deep as 1.30-2.05m from the original ground surface (Hope-Taylor 1977, fig.18; Hinchliffe 1986, fig.5; Hamerow *et al.* 2007, illus.25; Brennan and Hamerow 2015, illus.8-9). The smaller 11-12m buildings at Long Wittenham, Sutton Courtenay and Yeavinger also had exceptionally deep foundation trenches, cut 0.65-1m into the underlying geology (Hope-Taylor 1977, 97; Wessex Archaeology 2010, app.1; McBride Forthcoming).

The later buildings at Yeavinger had shallower, less regular foundation trenches, but this appears to be a chronological development (see **Section 3.3.1**). However, the foundation trenches at Cowdery's Down and Lydinge were also shallower, and this cannot be explained by chronology (Millett and James 1983, fig.47, fig.57; Thomas and Knox 2013, 10; Thomas and Knox 2014, 7, 10). The chalk and clay geology of Cowdery's Down and Lydinge may have allowed for shallower foundations (Millett and James 1983, 242), but the deep foundations at Cowage Farm were cut into limestone (Hinchliffe 1986, 241). Cowdery's Down and Lydinge were certainly truncated, but it is difficult to argue that they were dramatically more truncated than other sites. The depth of foundations at Cowage Farm, Sutton Courtenay and Yeavinger therefore cannot be considered universal, but overall, there does appear to be a preference for exceptionally deep

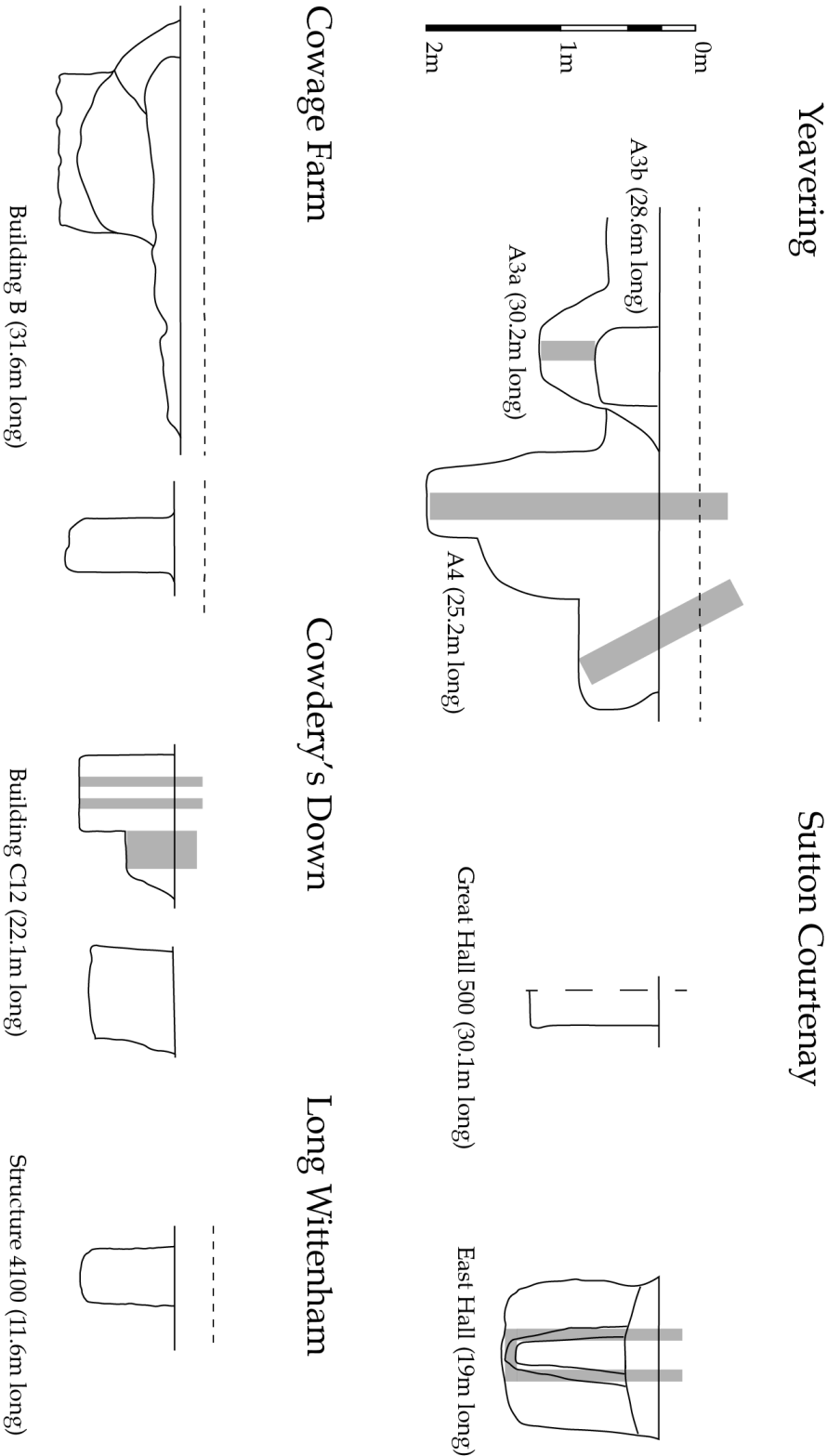


Figure 2.3: The foundations of Yeavinger great halls A4, A3a and A3b (redrawn from Hope-Taylor 1977), Sutton Courtenay great hall 500 (redrawn from Brennan and Hamerow 2015) and the slightly smaller east hall (redrawn from Hamerow *et al.* 2007), Cowage Farm great hall Building B (redrawn from Hincliffe 1986), Cowdery's Down great hall C12 (redrawn from Millett and James 1983) and the comparatively small Long Wittenham Structure 4100 (McBride Forthcoming).

foundation trenches, and even the shallower trenches at Lyminge were exceptionally regular, with vertical sides and flat bases.

2.1.1.3 The Wall Types

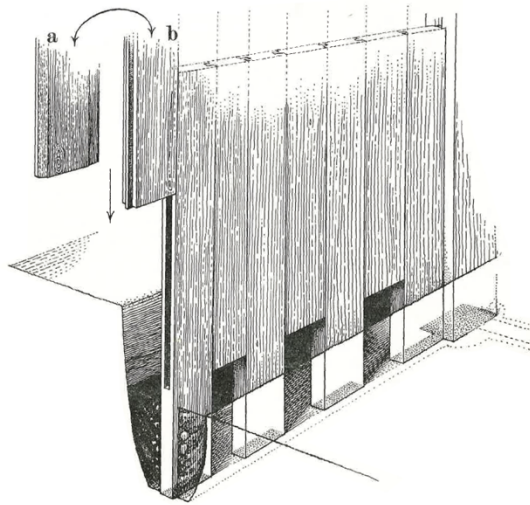
The wall types used at great hall complexes were typically elaborate, employing large quantities of timber, and often combining rectangular timber planks with wattle and daub and in some cases plaster (Fig.2.4) (Hope-Taylor 1977, 53, 61, 150-1; Millett and James 1983, 228-33; Hinchliffe 1986; Hamerow *et al.* 2007, 163-5; Thomas and Knox 2013; 2014; 2015; Philp 2014, 131; Brennan and Hamerow 2015, 335-6; Thomas 2017, 107). Numerous different wall types were used on great hall complexes, and there was both variation over time at any given site and variation between different sites at any given time. However, the variation over time appears to be more pronounced. Wall types could change significantly over the lifetime of a single site, but with slight variations, many of the same wall types were used at different sites, suggesting that the chronological progression of wall types was relatively synchronized across different great hall complexes (see **Section 3.2.1** and **3.3.1**).

Given the speed with which great hall complexes developed new wall types, the incentive to experiment and innovate must have been strong, and given the speed of innovation, the fact that the same wall types were used at different sites indicates that the builders of great hall complexes must have had fairly detailed and up-to-date knowledge of other great hall complexes. This suggests a closely knit elite sphere fuelling a rapid and competitive cycle of emulation and innovation.

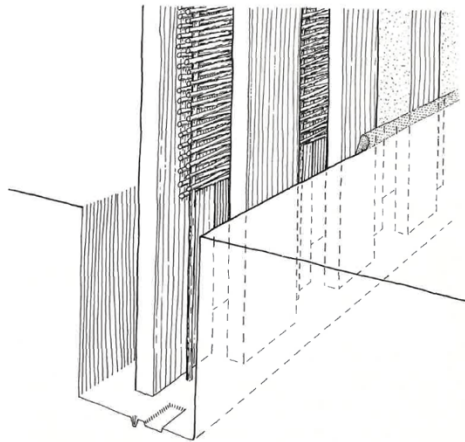
2.1.1.4 External Raking Posts

Many buildings on great hall complexes feature shallow external posts, set immediately around the outside of the foundation trenches (Fig2.1-2). The purpose of these external posts is not certain, but they appear to have been angled towards the buildings at Cowdery's Down, Sutton Courtenay and Yeavinger (Hope-Taylor 1977, 36-42; Millett and James 1983, 233-6; Brennan and Hamerow 2015, 336). At Cowdery's Down, it was suggested that these posts supported the wall plate, countering the outward torsion applied by the rafters (Fig.2.4) (Millett and James 1983, 242-3). These external raking posts are almost exclusively found at great hall complexes, and they may have been a structural solution to the engineering challenges of exceptionally large buildings. However, even at great hall complexes, these raking posts were not exclusively used on exceptionally large buildings. At Cowage Farm, Cowdery's Down, Long Wittenham, Lyminge

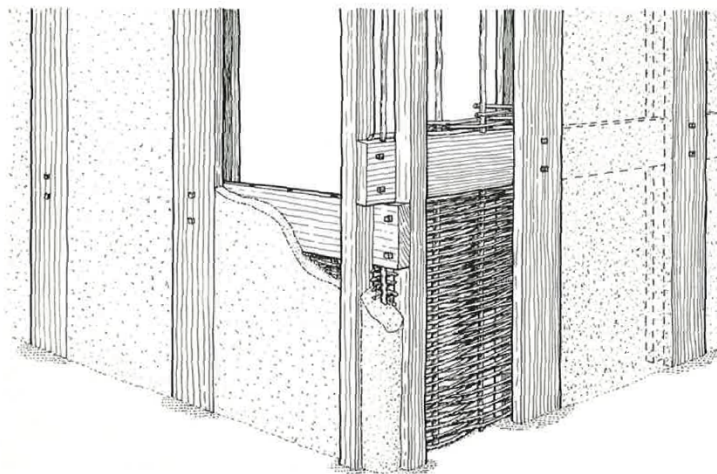
The continuous plank walls at Yeavinging



The C12 wall type at Cowdery's Down



The B4 wall type at Cowdery's Down



The external raking posts at Cowdery's Down

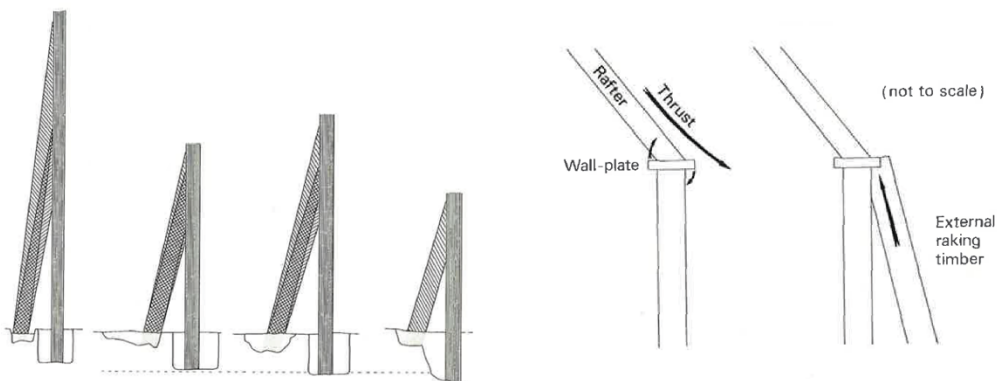
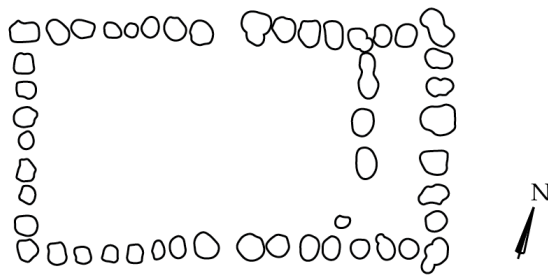
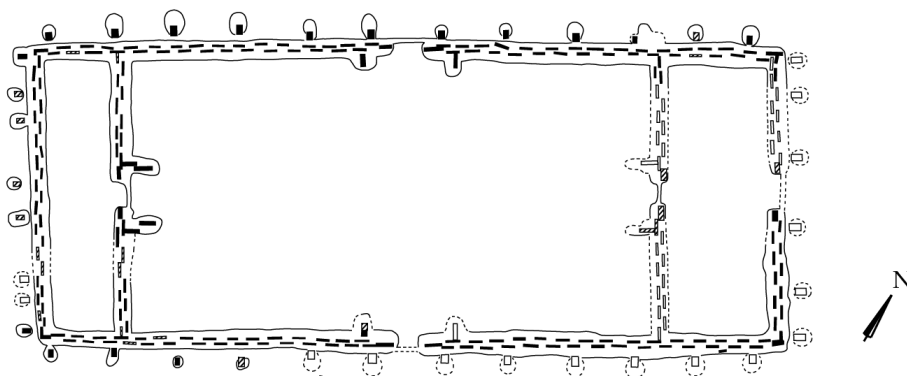


Figure 2.4: Reconstructed wall types from Yeavinging and Cowdery's Down (after Hope-Taylor 1977; Millett and James 1983) and reconstructed external raking posts from Cowdery's Down (after Millett and James 1983).

Mucking PHB 1



Cowdery's Down C12



Yeavinger A2

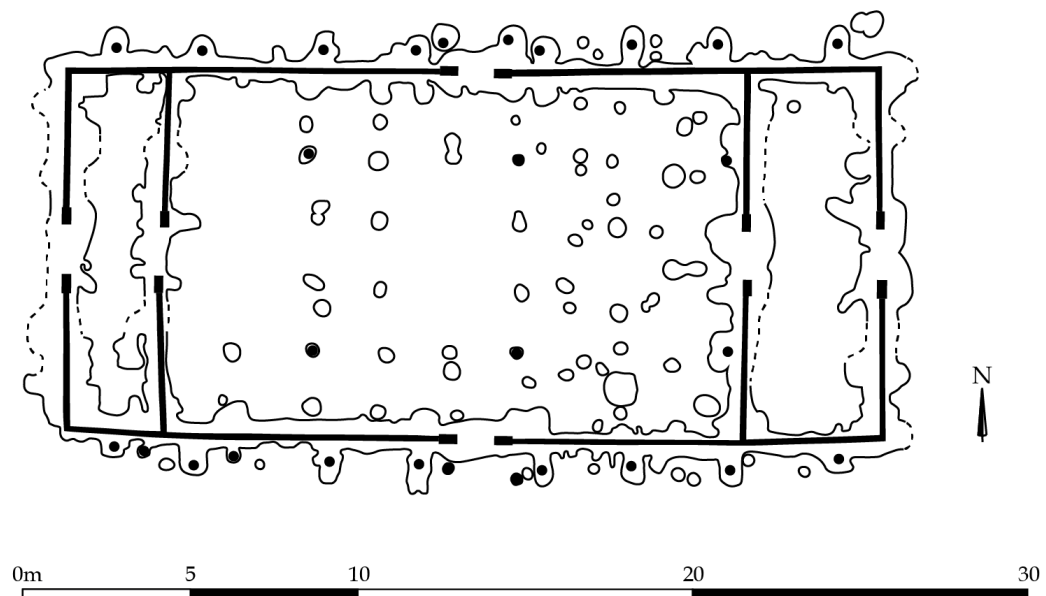


Figure 2.5: The largest, most skilfully constructed building at Mucking (redrawn from Hamerow 1993a) compared with the great halls at Cowdery's Down and Yeavinger (redrawn from Hope-Taylor 1977; Millett and James 1983). There are clear similarities in form, but the great halls are also clearly differentiated from even the most impressive buildings on more typical settlements.

and Yeavinger, external posts were also used on smaller buildings, 10-15m long and 5-7m wide. Moreover, external raking posts were used outside the end walls of buildings with gable roofs, where they would have served no functional purpose – the outward torsion applied by the rafters of a gable roof would only affect the long walls of the building. This suggests that if these external raking posts were a structural solution to the challenges of exceptionally large buildings, they must have outgrown this purpose, becoming part of the stylistic vocabulary of great hall complexes.

2.1.1.5 Great Halls and the Anglo-Saxon Building Tradition

The architectural style of great hall complexes shares certain elements with the Anglo-Saxon building tradition (Fig.2.5). The layout of the buildings – the approximate two-square plans, the entrances in the middle of long walls and the internal partitions – exhibit many similarities with typical Anglo-Saxon buildings, and the paired plank (B4) wall type identified at Cowdery's Down and used in some form at Lyminge and Sutton Courtenay bears a close resemblance to the double wall posts used in typical Anglo-Saxon buildings (Millett and James 1983, 228-9; James *et al.* 1984, fig.9; Hamerow *et al.* 2007, 163-4; Thomas and Knox 2013; 2014; 2015). However, the size of the buildings at great hall complexes, the use of annexes, the use of post-in-trench foundations, the depth and regularity of the foundation trenches, the use of rectangular planks, the profligate use of timber, and the use of external raking posts all serve to set the great hall complexes apart from contemporary Anglo-Saxon settlements (See **Section 3.1.2** regarding the origin of the great hall architectural style and its relationship with the Anglo-Saxon building tradition).

2.1.2 Layout

The layout of great hall complexes can be broadly divided into two concentric zones: the central precinct – the primary concentration of carefully arranged monumental buildings that defines the great hall complex phenomenon – and the associated activity – the more diffuse concentration of settlement, burials, ritual activity, craft-working, refuse disposal and agricultural processing that surrounds the central precinct.

2.1.2.1 The Central Precinct

The central precinct of great halls was governed by a distinctively formalized layout, suggestive of ritually organized space (Fig.2.6-7) (Reynolds 2003, 106; Hamerow 2010; 2012, 103-5). This layout formed a coherent whole, with each element laid out in reference to the other elements, and this arrangement often remained consistent across several different phases, as buildings were repeatedly rebuilt on the same approximate footprint (see **Section 3.2**). The layout was primarily defined by a consistent orientation scheme, with linear and perpendicular axial alignments, and

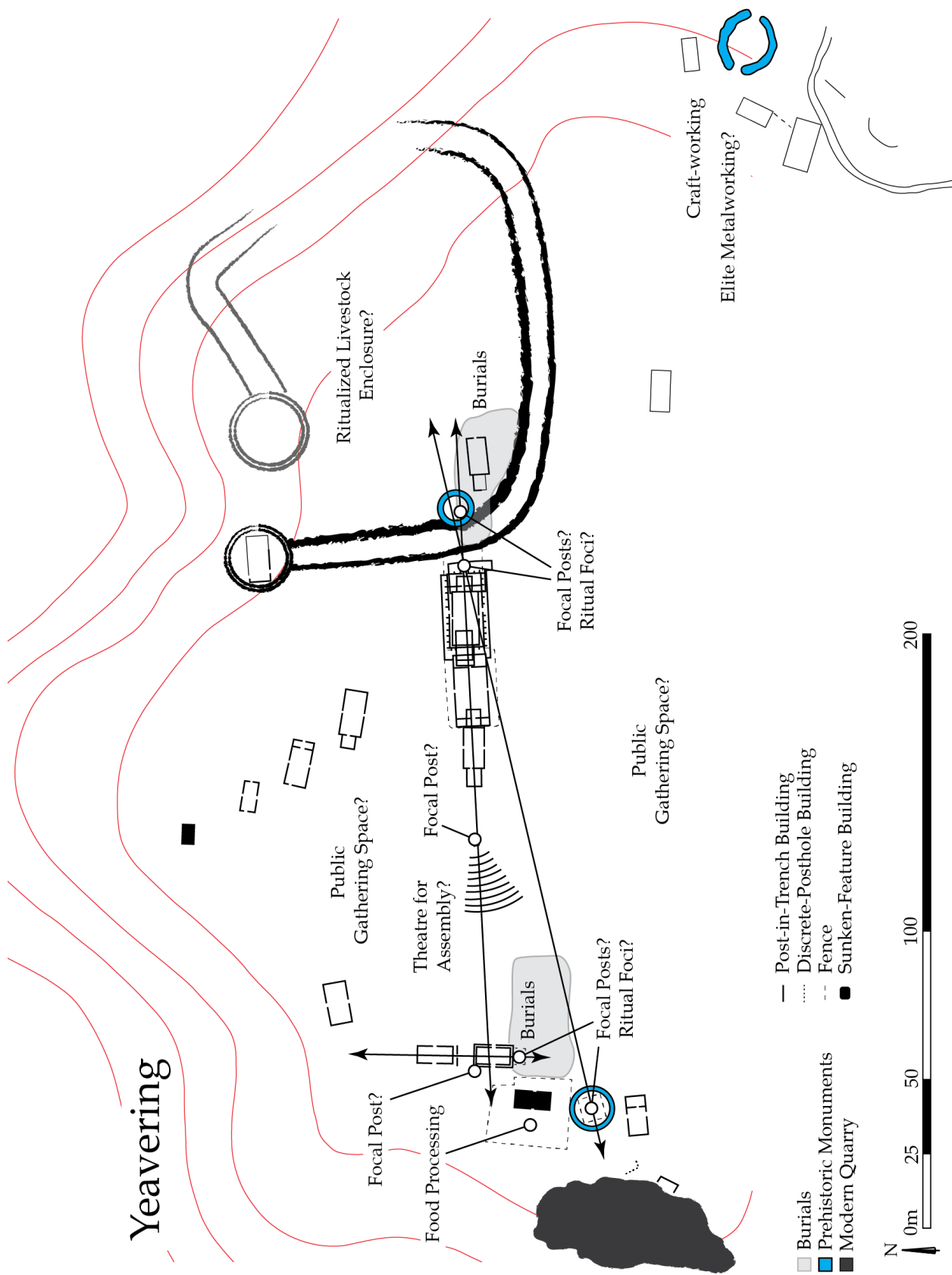


Figure 2.6: The central precinct of Yeavinger, showing the creation of extensive, multi-focal ritualized space through a consistent orientation scheme, linear and perpendicular alignments, and a variety of focal elements (redrawn from Hope-Taylor 1977).

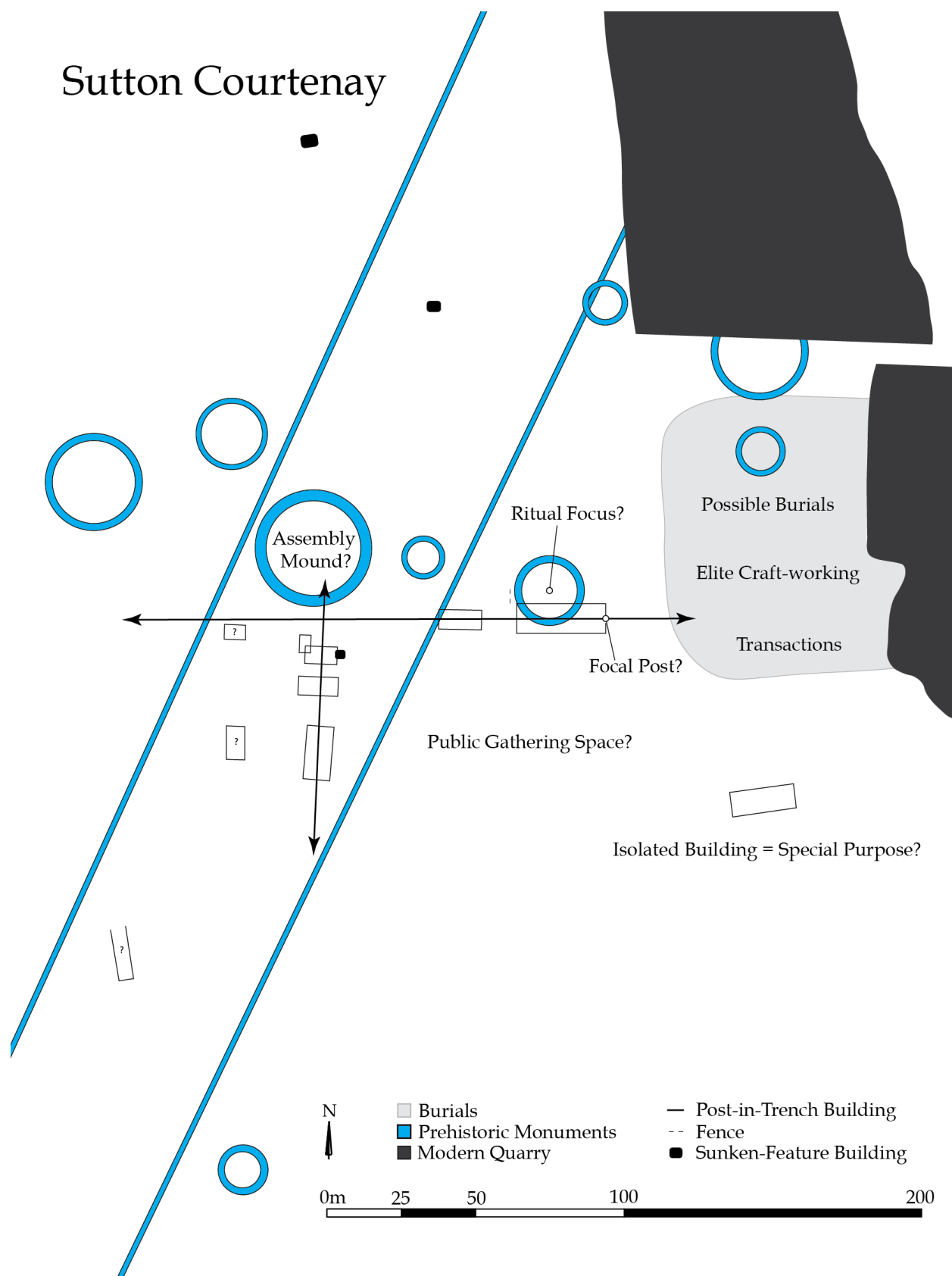


Figure 2.7: The extensive, multi-focal ritualized space of the Sutton Courtenay central precinct (redrawn from Booth *et al.* 2007; Wessex Archaeology 2010).

the overall layout was often anchored by certain focal elements – an important building, a standing post, or a prehistoric monument. The central precinct was only rarely fortified or enclosed, but some degree of spatial control is manifest in the ubiquitous use of fenced areas, often abutting or enclosing one or more buildings (Reynolds 2003, 104-10; Hamerow 2010, 279).

The layout of the central precinct appears to have been designed to create extensive, ritually organized public spaces for the performance of public acts of power. These spaces were probably not public in the sense that they were publically available, but rather that they were intended for communal use at certain times. In this sense, the distinctive layout of the central precinct appears to be largely designed around the functions of public assembly, and assembly functions have long been suggested to be central to great hall complexes (Hope-Taylor 1977, 163, 169, 241-4, 266, 279-81; Alcock 1988a, 19-20, 24; Semple 2004, 137-9; Barnwell 2005; Blair 2005, 54-7; Scull *et al.* 2016, 1602, 1605).

There appear to be multiple potential foci for public acts of power at great hall complexes – the great hall, the fenced courtyards, the theatre and Great Enclosure at Yeavinger, the prehistoric monuments at various sites (see **Section 2.6.3**) – and the use of aligned entrances and fenced areas appear to encourage certain pathways of movement between these different foci, suggesting that the theatre of power at great hall complexes was complex, multifocal and perhaps linked together by public processions (Reynolds 2003; Hamerow 2012, 105).

2.1.2.2 The Associated Activity

Most great hall complexes are surrounded by some form of associated activity. Although great hall complexes are typically defined by their central precinct, many sites appear to be surrounded by extensive landscapes of settlement, burial, ritual activity, craft-working evidence, refuse dumps, enclosure systems and even isolated large buildings. The extent of this activity is an open question. Fieldwork at great hall complexes tends to focus on the central precinct, and few sites have been extensively surveyed. However, the evidence from Sprouston, Milfield, Sutton Courtenay and Rendlesham suggests that the associated activity could be extensive. Aerial photographs of Sprouston show a sprawling complex of enclosures, driveways, pits and outlying buildings covering approximately 16ha (Fig.2.8) (Smith 1992), and this area only appears to encompass agricultural processing facilities; any associated settlement in the area is as yet unknown. Aerial photographs of Milfield show a massive enclosure extending south of the central precinct and an extensive spread of possible sunken-feature buildings to the north (Fig.2.9) (Gates and O'Brien 1988). The 7th Century cemetery excavated at Milfield South Henge was probably also associated with the great hall complex, suggesting that the associated activity at Milfield might be cover as

much as 50ha (Scull and Harding 1990). Aerial photographs at Sutton Courtenay suggest a similarly extensive distribution of activity, and excavations to the north of the central precinct have produced hard evidence of a large associated settlement (Fig.2.10) (Leeds 1923b; 1927; 1947; Benson and Miles 1974a, 60-3; 1974b). At Rendlesham, extensive metal-detecting and geophysical survey have also revealed multiple concentrations of Anglo-Saxon metalwork and sub-surface anomalies, probably indicating multiple clusters of settlement, burial, craft-working and exchange covering some 50ha (Fig.2.11) (Scull *et al.* 2016, 1597).

It is unclear at what point these associated clusters of activity should be considered separate sites. Aerial photographs of Sutton Courtenay suggest clusters of sunken-feature buildings 475m west of the central precinct and 680m south of the central precinct (Benson and Miles 1974a, 60-3), and an important 7th Century cemetery was located 1km south of the central precinct (Dickinson 1976 II, 181). Great hall complexes therefore appear to have emerged within extensive supra-local concentrations of activity, and while some of these sites may not be directly associated with the great hall complex, they were probably not entirely unrelated.

At most sites, the nature and organization of the associated activity appears to differ significantly from that of the central precinct. While the central precinct is a coherent whole – a carefully organized group of timber buildings constructed in a uniform style – the associated activity is multi-faceted and often poly-focal, typically including multiple clusters of sunken-feature buildings, cemeteries, pits, craft-working evidence and middens. Even at Sprouston, where the associated activity is more coherently organized, there still appears to be a significant distinction in form and function between the central precinct and the associated activity. The central precinct was a ritualized organized space, laden with powerful symbolism, and the activities carried out within the precinct were probably tightly controlled. More everyday activities, like settlement, industry and refuse disposal, appear to be predominantly carried out in the wider landscape, outside of the central precinct (see **Section 2.2.2** and **2.3.2**).

2.1.2.3 Evidence for Planning

The overall precision and coherence of the central precinct suggest that this part of the site was carefully planned with some form of surveying methods (Hope-Taylor 1977, 124-47; Blair 2013c). At Yeavinger, an important focal burial was interred with a device resembling a Roman surveying instrument, and Hope-Taylor argued that the entire site had been laid out using standardized measurements (Hope-Taylor 1977, 124-47, 200-3). At Cowdery's Down, setting-out posts have been identified in several buildings (Hamerow 2012, 30). However, the Yeavinger surveying instrument is actually missing some of the key features of a functional surveying instrument (Blair

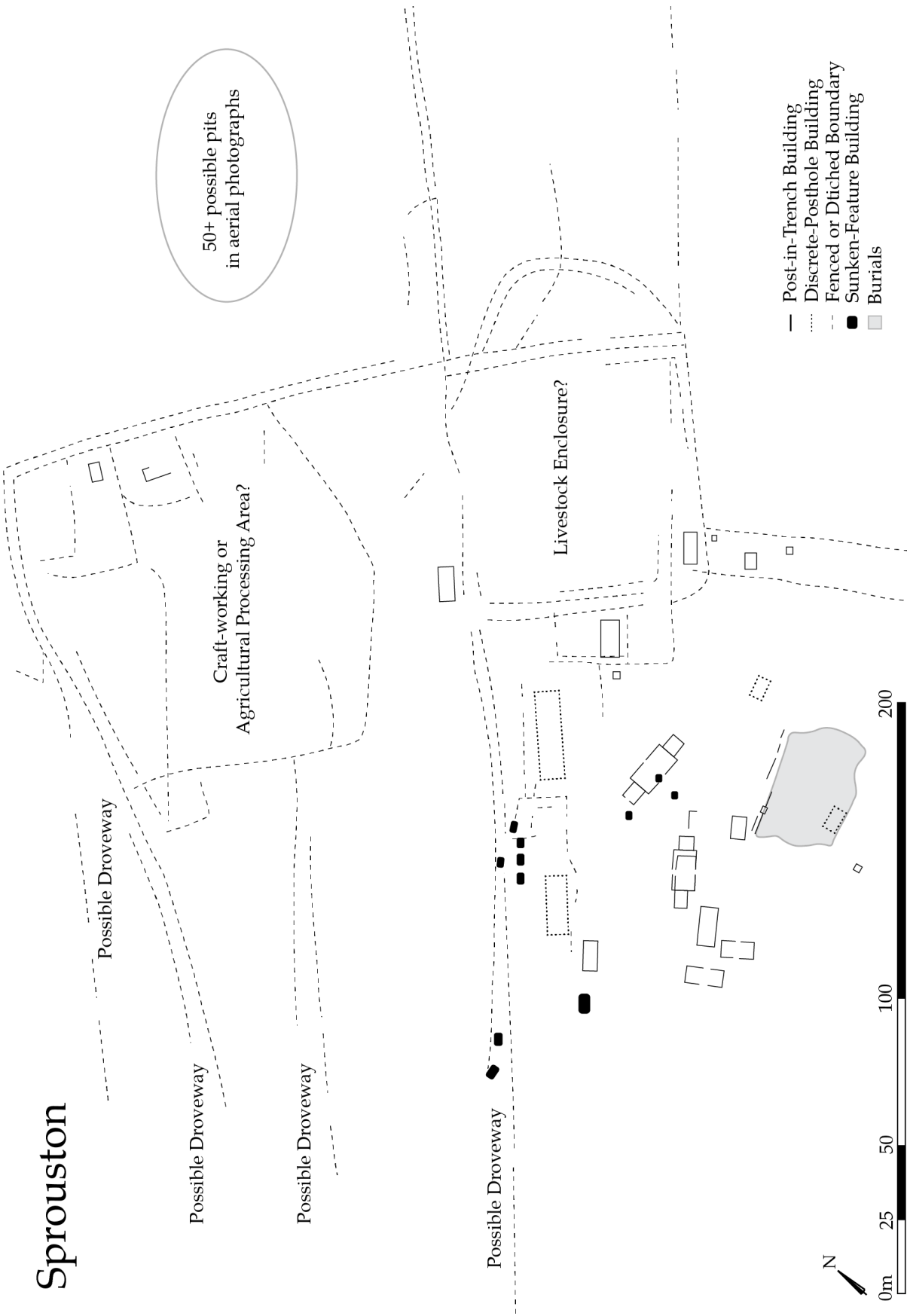


Figure 2.8: The associated activity surrounding the Sprouston central precinct (redrawn from Smith 1992).

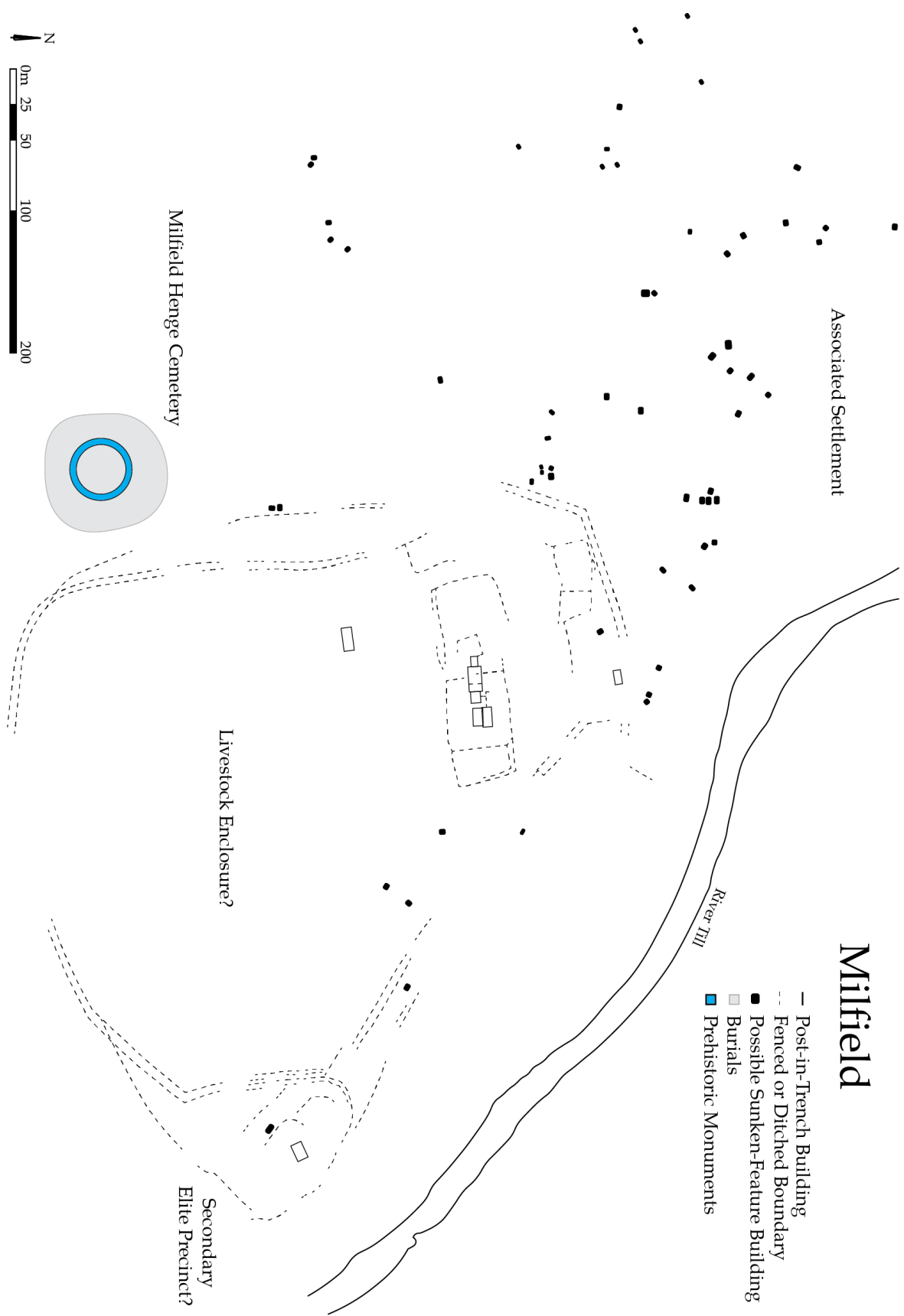


Figure 2.9: The associated activity surrounding the Milfield central precinct (redrawn from Gates and O’Brien 1988) (Note that the scale is different from Fig.2.8).

Sutton Courtenay

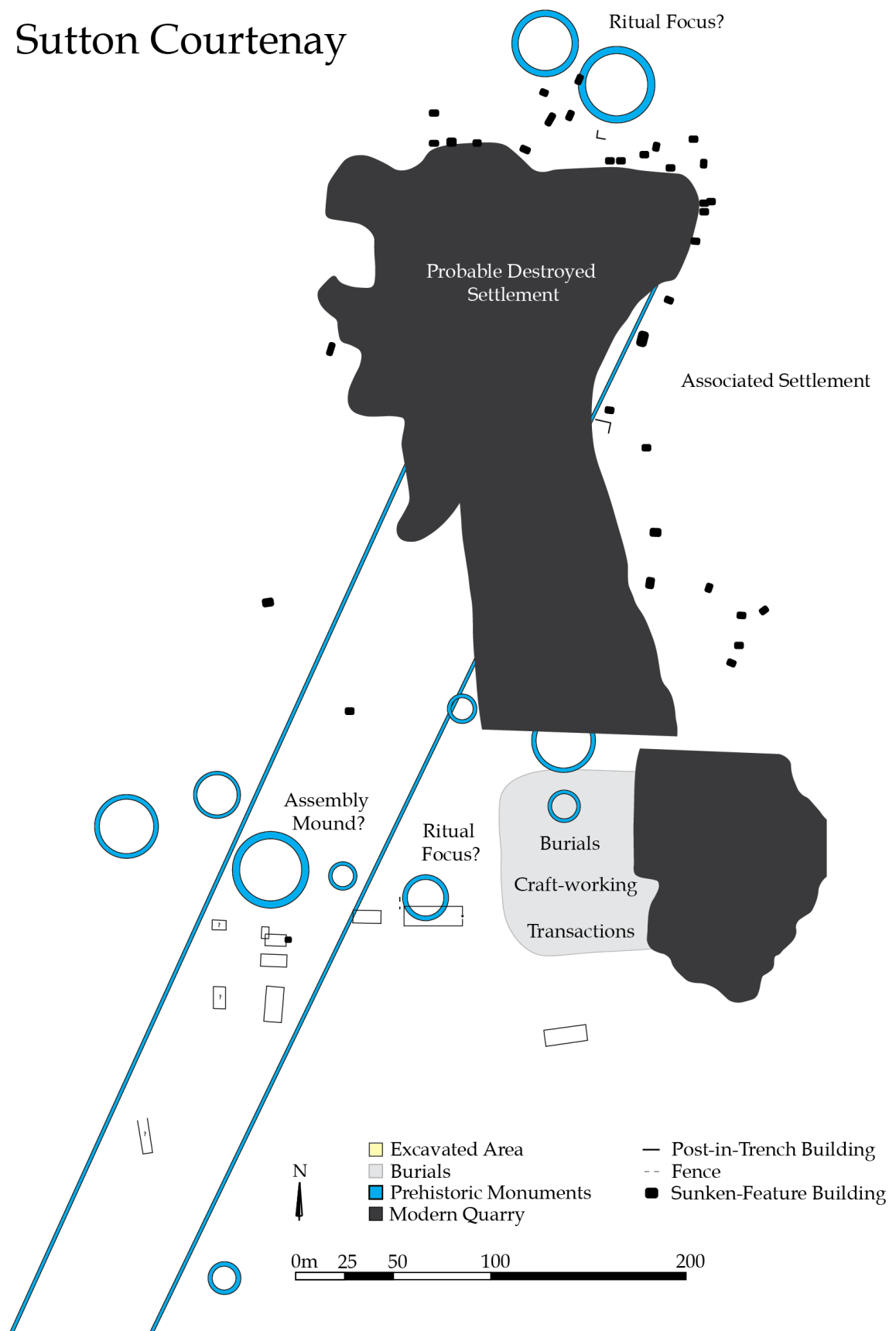


Figure 2.10: The associated activity surrounding the Sutton Courtenay central precinct (redrawn from Booth *et al.* 2007; Wessex Archaeology 2010) (Note that the scale is different from Fig.2.9).

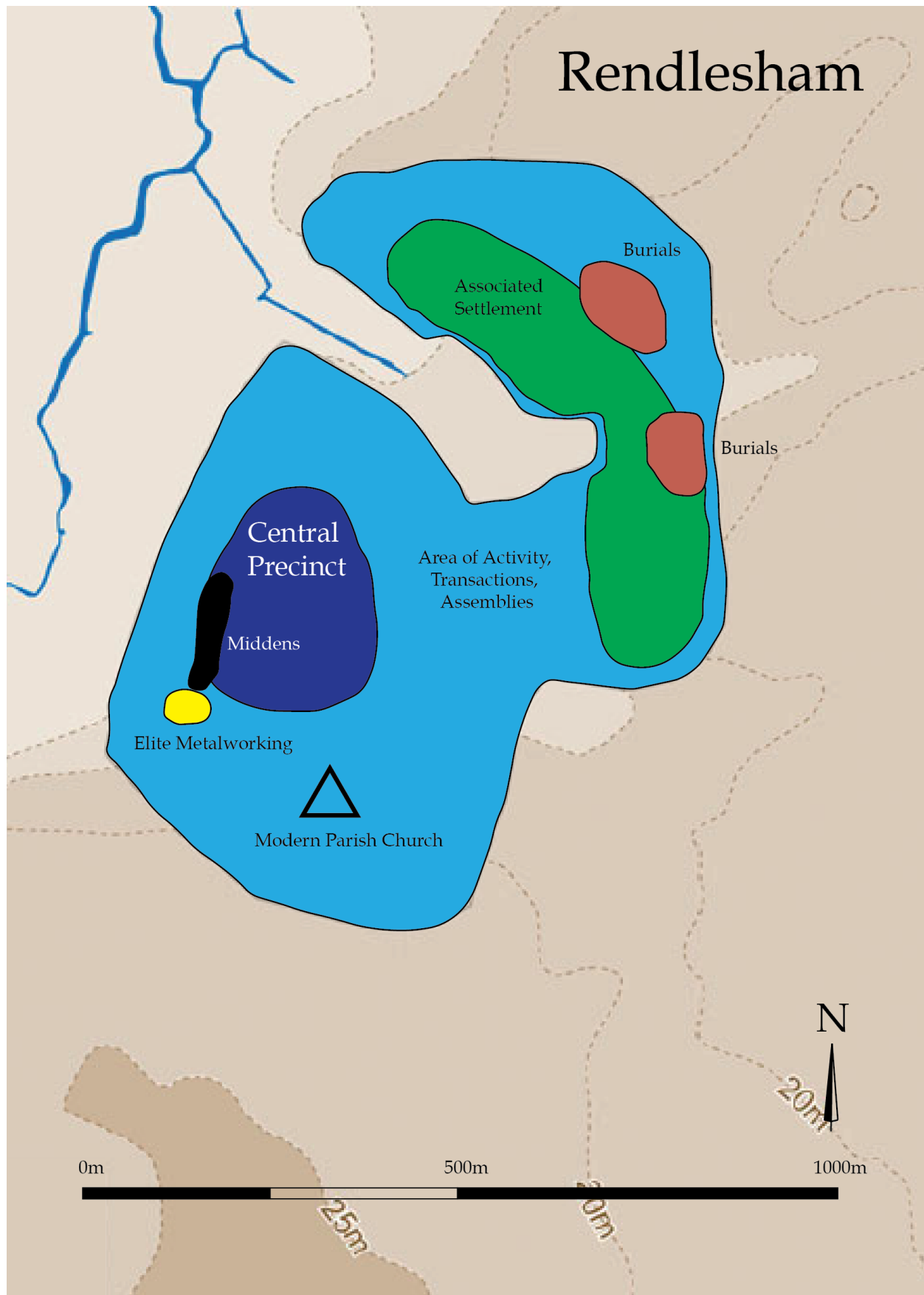


Figure 2.11: The associated activity surrounding the central precinct at Rendlesham (redrawn from Scull *et al.* 2016).

2013c, 23; see Hamerow 2010; Blair 2011, 731; Sofield 2015, 367 for an alternative interpretation), and the standardized measurements of Yeavinger have been revised repeatedly (Huggins 1981, 1991; Fernie 1985, 1991; Bettess 1991; Blair 2013c). In truth, it appears that parts of each site were laid out precisely, while other parts were laid out more approximately. Even within a single building, half of the building may have been laid out more precisely than the other half (Hope-Taylor 1977, 125-8). The reasons for this inconsistency and the reasons for surveying certain elements more precisely than others were probably manifold, reflecting both construction techniques and other concerns.

2.1.2.4 Variation in Layouts

The exact layout of great hall complexes could vary substantially from site to site (Fig.2.12-3). This variation appears to be at least partially chronological. The mid-to-late 7th Century great hall complexes appear to vary more substantially in size, and the use of significant boundary features becomes increasingly common on later sites (see **Section 3.3.3 and 3.3.4**).

The layouts of earlier 7th Century great hall complexes could also vary substantially, and there is even some basis for subdividing great hall complexes into T/L-shaped precincts and poly-axial precincts (see **Section 2.8.2**). This variation, however, does not appear to be significant. While the variation among later great hall complexes may indicate differences in status and function, the variation among earlier great hall complexes appears to be part of a common stylistic vocabulary, elements of which could be adopted, discarded and combined in different ways to create a variety of layouts with fundamentally similar organizing principals. This variation in contemporary layouts parallels the variation in contemporary wall types at great hall complexes, and this emphasis on variation, experimentation and innovation appears to be a defining characteristic of great hall complexes (see **Section 3.1.2**).

However, irrespective of this variation, the earlier 7th Century great hall complexes are clearly distinguishable from more typical Anglo-Saxon settlements, which show little evidence of planning or formal spatial organization and little spatial continuity over time (Fig.2.14) (Hamerow 2012, 70-2). Even where great halls are associated with more typical settlement activity, as at Milfield, Rendlesham and Sutton Courtenay, there is a clear distinction between the central precinct and the associated settlement activity.

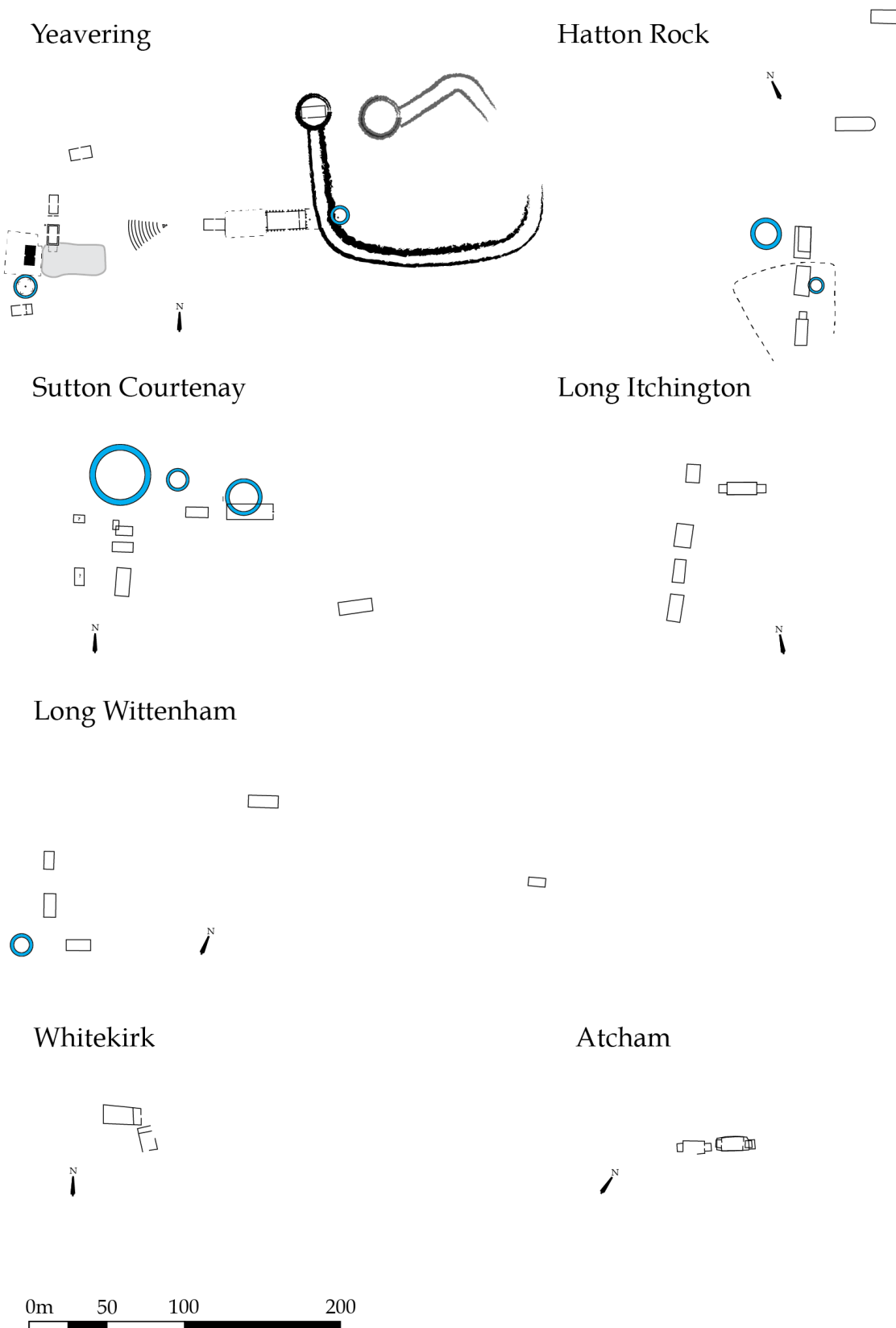
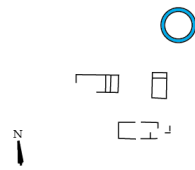
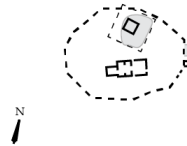


Figure 2.12: Variations on a theme (redrawn from Hope-Taylor 1977; Brown 1983; Booth *et al.* 2007; Gethin 2007; Wessex Archaeology 2010; White 2017; Abi Tompkins pers. comm.).

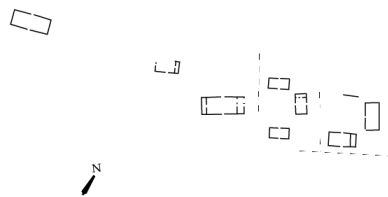
Lyminge



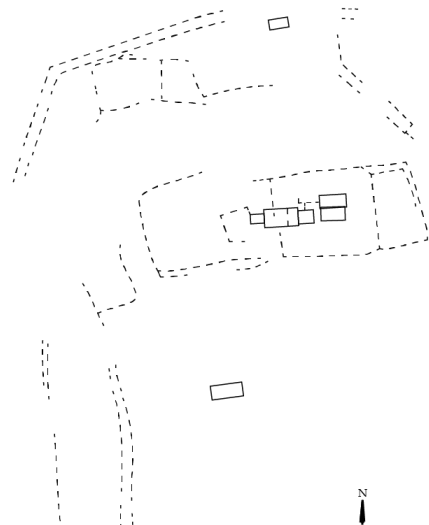
Doon Hill



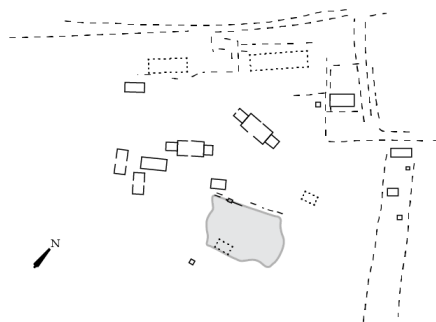
Cowdery's Down



Milfield



Sprouston



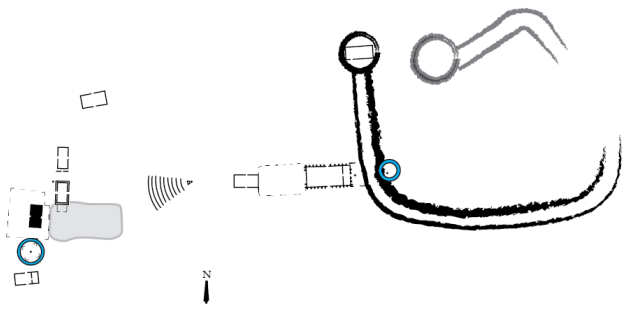
Cowage Farm



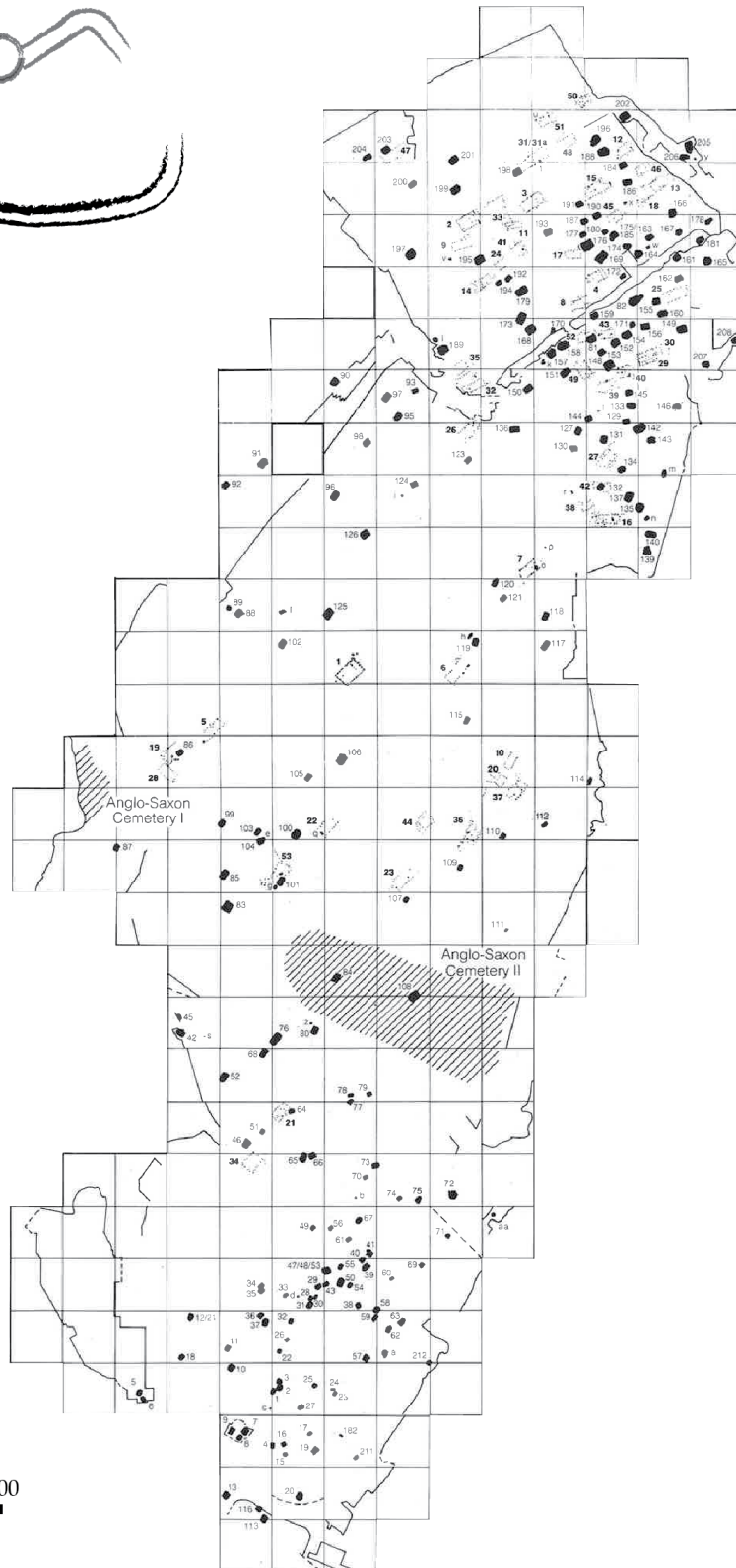
0m 50 100 200

Figure 2.13: Variations on a theme (redrawn from Millett and James 1983; Hinchliffe 1986; Gates and O'Brien 1988; Smith 1992; Thomas 2017; RCAHMS Archive).

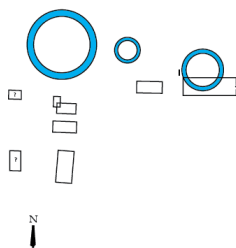
Yeavinger



Mucking



Sutton Courtenay



0m 50 100 200

Figure 2.14: The orderly central precincts of Yeavinger and Sutton Courtenay (redrawn from Hope-Taylor 1977; Booth *et al.* 2007; Wessex Archaeology 2010), juxtaposed with the sprawling settlement at Mucking (redrawn from Hamerow 1993a).

2.2 The Cultural and Physical Landscape

This section explores the topographical location of great hall complexes and the place of great hall complexes within local, regional and supra-regional social, political and economic systems.

2.2.1 The Physical Landscape

Great hall complexes occupy locations that are typical of early Anglo-Saxon settlements: in river valleys, on freely-draining agricultural land, and near good pastureland (cf. Hamerow 1992, 41). Great hall complexes are commonly described as topographically prominent, but this prominence is relative; the topographical prominence of great hall complexes contrasts dramatically with truly prominent power centres, like hillforts (Fig.2.15) (St. Joseph 1975; Hope-Taylor 1977, 11; Millett and James 1983, 151; Alcock 2003, 236; Scull *et al.* 2016, 1598, 1602; cf. Austin 2017, 267; Herschend 2009, 89). The sites at Yeavinger and Long Wittenham were located in close proximity to prominent hillforts, but the great halls were constructed in the valley, not on the hillfort. The one exception to this rule is Doon Hill, which occupies a truly prominent position next to a hillfort, and this exception is probably related to the later development of great hall complexes (see **Section 3.3.2**).

The locations of great hall complexes have sometimes been described as liminal, but they do not appear to be any more liminal than typical Anglo-Saxon settlements. Yeavinger has been characterized as lying between the Cheviot uplands and the Milfield basin (Hope-Taylor 1977, 11; Marsden 1992, 209; Frodsham 2005, 51), and it has been suggested that access to upland areas, perhaps for hunting or for supernatural resources, was an important factor in the location of great hall complexes (Blair 2018; pers. comm.; David Rollason 2016; pers. comm.). However, the location of Yeavinger is exceptional, and it was probably determined by special circumstances. The locations of most great hall complexes mirror the locations of typical Anglo-Saxon settlements. Even Lyminge, which is located in the Kent Downs, occupies a typical river valley location relative to the surrounding area. Therefore, the liminality of great hall complexes only appears to mirror the general liminality of Anglo-Saxon settlements.

Many great complexes probably occupied similar locations to typical early Anglo-Saxon settlements because they evolved out of existing early Anglo-Saxon settlements (see **Section 3.1.1**). However, this does not adequately explain why the great halls at Yeavinger were constructed in the valley, rather than on the adjacent hillfort. Even where truly prominent locations were readily available, the great halls were constructed in typical settlement locations, and this

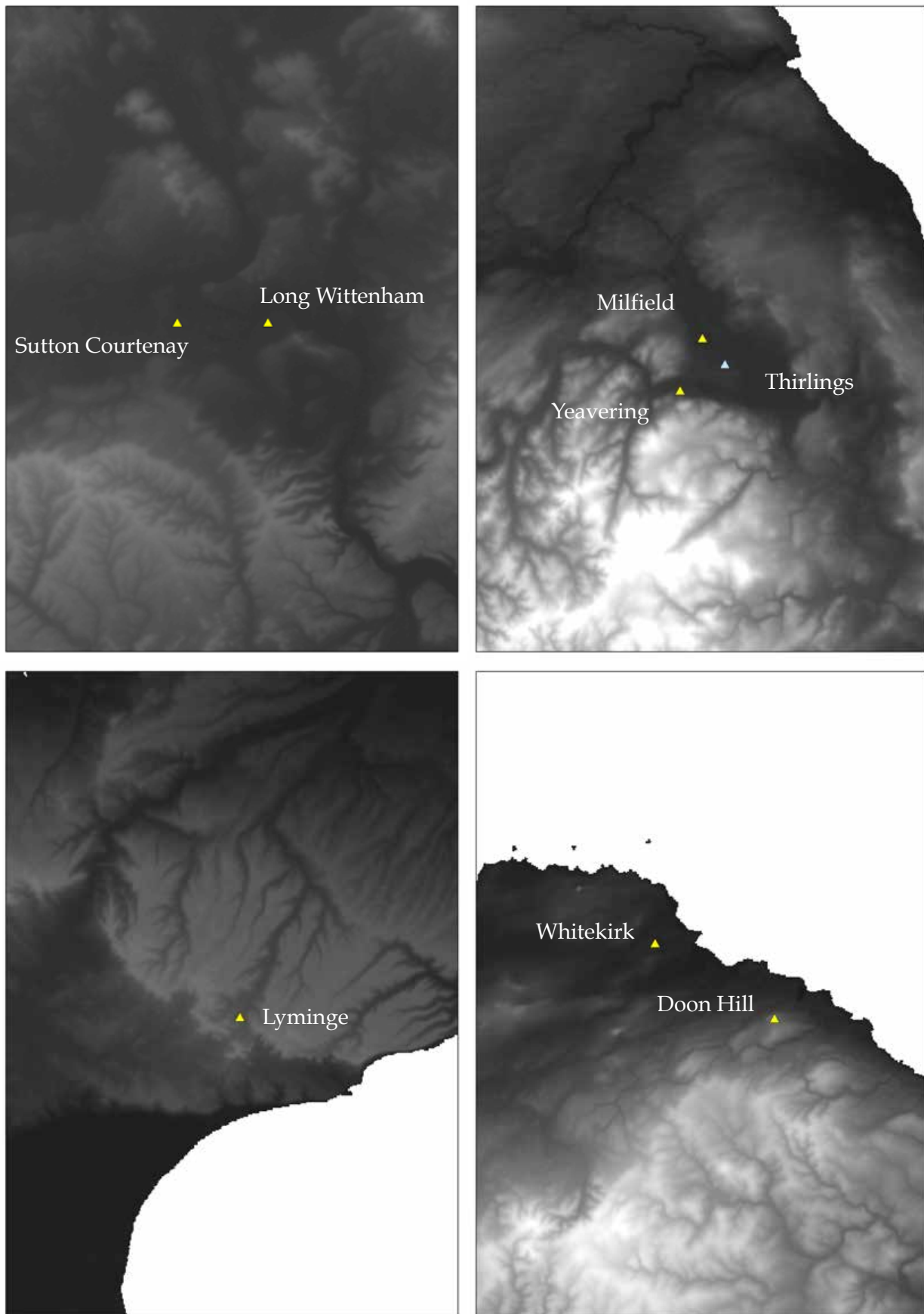


Figure 2.15: The physical landscape of great hall complexes. The great hall complexes are typically found in river valleys, in close vicinity to more typical Anglo-Saxon settlements; only Doon Hill occupies a truly prominent topographical position.

suggests that great hall complexes were perceived in some sense as settlements. While assemblies and battles could occur in lowland or upland locations, at great hall complexes or in hillforts, the great halls could only be constructed in typical settlement locations. This suggests that great hall complexes were more closely associated with the everyday activities of typical settlements, and perhaps control over these settlements and the encroachment of power into everyday life was the real rationale behind the location of great hall complexes and their close relationship with typical settlements.

2.2.2 The Cultural Landscape

The place of great hall complexes within local, regional and supra-regional social, political and economic systems is a relatively unexplored subject. Many sites are situated near focal elements in the cultural landscape – routeways, assembly sites, parish boundaries, prehistoric monuments, 5-6th Century cemeteries and contemporary burials – but it is unclear at what scale these ‘focal’ elements were significant.

2.2.2.1 The Local Scale

At the local level, the sites at Milfield, Rendlesham and Sutton Courtenay are associated with extensive settlements (Fig.2.9-11), and the sites at Eynsford, Lyminge, and Yeavinger have also produced some evidence for associated settlement, suggesting that many great hall complexes were closely associated with permanent population centres (Leeds 1923b; 1927; 1947; Gates and O’Brien 1988; Gates 2005, 82-3; Hamerow *et al.* 2007; Thomas 2010; Philp 2014; Scull *et al.* 2016). Chris Ferguson’s visibility analysis of Sutton Courtenay and Long Wittenham, which lie a mere 6km from each other, indicates that these two sites had distinct and localized viewsheds, suggesting that these sites had some form of localized territory (Hamerow *et al.* 2013, 66). Many great hall complexes are also associated with large cemeteries (see **Section 2.6.5**), suggesting that these sites played an important role in the lives of the local populace. The evidence from Rendlesham for non-elite production and exchange and the widespread distribution of high status artefacts across the associated settlement at Rendlesham also suggests that the local non-elite population played an important role in the functions of great hall complexes (Scull *et al.* 2016, 1602-4). This suggests that great hall complexes were in some sense local centres, and this is consistent with the close relationship between great hall complexes, settlements and everyday life suggested above (see **Section 2.2.1**).

2.2.2.2 The Regional and Supra-Regional Scale

Great hall complexes were, however, clearly more than local centres. The sheer quantity of material culture recovered from Rendlesham has little parallel in contemporary England (Scull *et al.* 2016, 1601), and the documented baptism of King Swithhelm of Essex at Rendlesham, an East Anglian royal site, provides historical proof of supra-regional significance (Bede HE III, ch.22). The presence of Byzantine bronze coins at Rendlesham, probably indicative of Byzantine merchants, suggests that the site's importance may have even been recognized as far away as the eastern Mediterranean (Scull *et al.* 2016, 1603).

Most great hall complexes appear to have been the initiative of the highest echelon of early Anglo-Saxon magnates: supra-regional kings, their immediate kinsmen, and perhaps a small number of particularly powerful sub-kings (see **Section 2.5**). This top echelon of Anglo-Saxon magnates is generally understood to have been itinerant, regularly moving around a circuit of royal *villae* provisioned by a system of food renders and hospitality obligations, commonly referred to as *feorm* or *foster* (Charles-Edwards 1989; Faith 1997; Faith 1999b; see **Section 2.5.1**). As attested by Bede, these royal *villae* included the great hall complex at Yeavinger, and as such, the great hall complexes have been regularly interpreted as royal *villae*, collecting *feorm* and hosting the royal retinue at certain times of the year (Bede HE II, ch.14; Hope-Taylor 1977; Alcock 1988a; 2003; Welch 1992; Yorke 1995, 76-9; Blair 2005, 276).

The late 7th Century Laws of King Ine indicate that *feorm* included many processed foodstuffs – bread, ale, cheese – and the collection of these goods would leave little archaeological trace. However, animals were probably delivered on the hoof, and the sprawling enclosure systems associated with Sprouston and Milfield strongly resemble the facilities of a livestock collection centre (Fig.2.8-9) (Smith 1992, 272-4; O'Brien and Gates 1988; see **Section 2.7.2**). The central precinct at Yeavinger also incorporates what appears to be a highly ritualized stock enclosure (Fig.2.6) (Hope-Taylor 1977, 280).

Each royal *villa* may have been the centre of a particular *regio* or *scir* – an early unit of social organization constituting the resource territory of a particular group of people (Bassett 1989; Yorke 1995, 39-43; Faith 1997; 2008; 2009). As such, one would expect these *villae* to be evenly distributed, each at the head of its own *regio*. Hatton Rock and Long Itchington, Yeavinger and Sprouston, and Rendlesham and the suggested centre at Coddendam are each approximately 18km from each other, and this is plausibly the distance between the centres of two *regiones* (Fig.2.16) (Scull *et al.* 2016, 1606-7; Austin 2017; cf. Bassett 1989). However, this does not appear to be the case for all great hall complexes. Long Wittenham and Sutton Courtenay, Milfield and

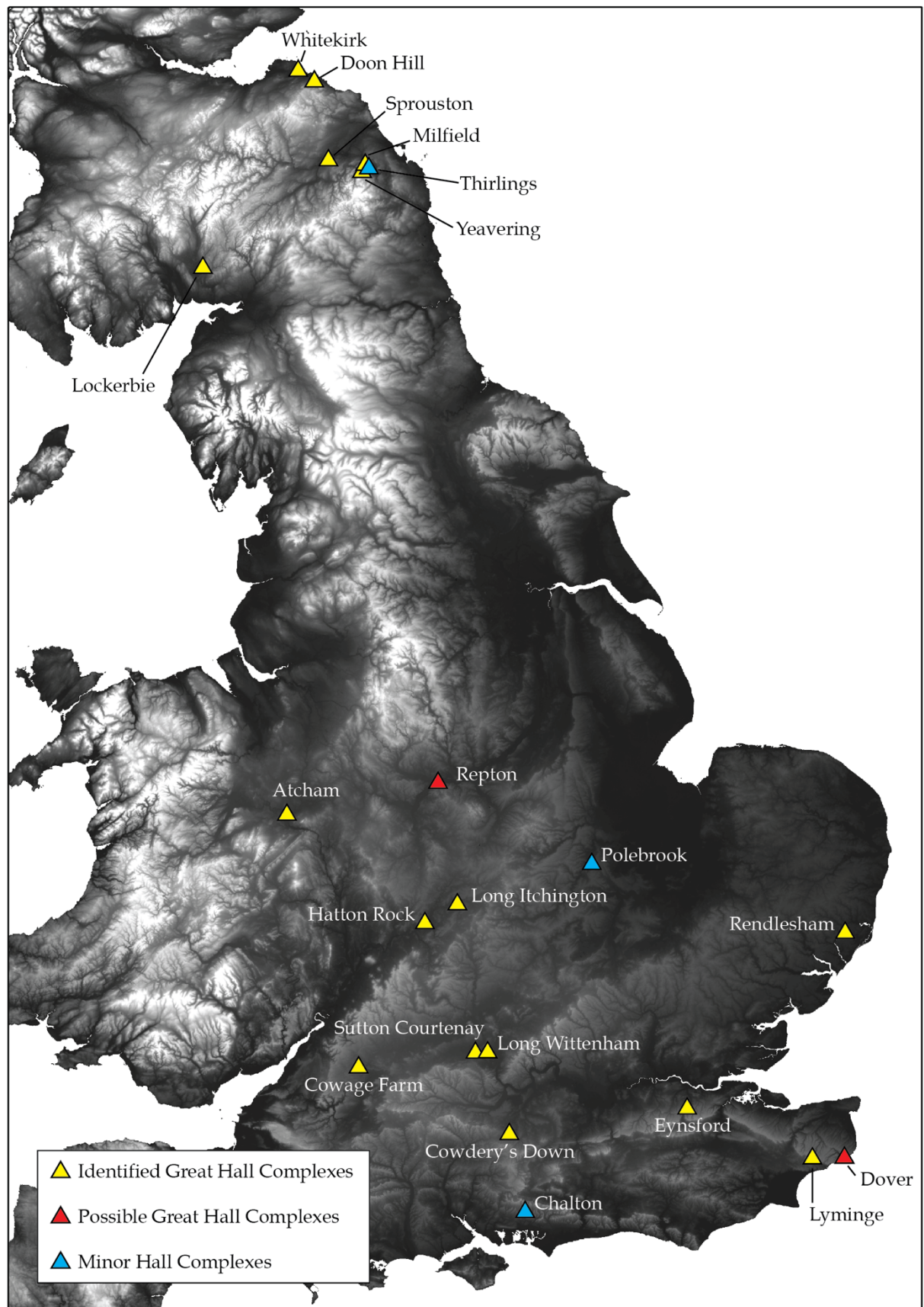


Figure 2.16: The distribution of great hall complexes, showing the clustering of Long Wittenham and Sutton Courtenay, Milfield and Yeavinger, and Doon Hill and Whitekirk.

Yeavinger, and Doon Hill and Whitekirk are each located within 10km of each other, and this clustering of sites suggests that the centre of a *regio* could have been more fluid, shifting between different sites at different times, as is recorded with Yeavinger and Milfield (Bede HE II, ch.14), or perhaps being shared by multiple sites at the same time, as is suggested at Sutton Courtenay and Long Wittenham (Hamerow *et al.* 2013, 65-8; Brennan and Hamerow 2015, 347). The collection of *feorm* to provision these sites must have also been relatively fluid, perhaps being collected on a relatively ad hoc basis, at different sites at different times (Blair 2005, 280).

From this perspective, great hall complexes appear to be local or sub-regional centres that acted as regional and supra-regional foci at certain times. This mantle of regional and supra-regional significance appears to have been relatively fluid, shifting between different centres at different times, and the resulting clusters of regional and supra-regional foci – Blair's (2005, 280) central areas – are probably best interpreted as early royal heartlands or concentrations of royal interests. This is supported by the documented clusters of royal interests around Rendlesham and around Long Wittenham and Sutton Courtenay (Hawkes 1986; Scull *et al.* 2016; Hamerow *et al.* 2013; the role of great hall complexes in local and regional networks is further refined in later sections).

2.3 Material Culture

2.3.1 The Material Culture of the Central Precinct

In light of the exceptional architecture and layout of great hall complexes, the material culture recovered from the central precincts of these sites is remarkably unexceptional.

Excavations in the central precincts of Cowdery's Down, Cowage Farm, Eynsford, Hatton Rock, Lockerbie and Long Wittenham have failed to produce any contemporary high status artefacts. The topsoil from the Sutton Courtenay excavations produced one unstratified fragment of silver sheet, and even the extensive excavations at Yeavinger only produced three high status artefacts (Hope-Taylor 1977, 182-6; Welch 1984). Moreover, these assemblages not only exhibit a lack of high status artefacts, they exhibit a lack of typical occupation debris. The animal bone, pottery, textile implements and other mundane fragments associated with typical settlement sites are largely absent from the central precincts of great hall complexes; even the extensive excavations at Yeavinger and Cowdery's Down produced a combined total of five loomweights (Hope-Taylor 1977, 181-2; Millett and James 1983, 256).

Only Lyminge and Rendlesham have produced truly exceptional assemblages, but even at Lyminge, the central precinct appears to have been relatively clean of contemporary material culture. The majority of material recovered from the central precinct actually predates the great

hall complex (Thomas 2017, 109; pers. comm.). The contemporary material that was recovered from the central precinct still far exceeds other sites, but this can be explained by Lyminge's location in East Kent. The material wealth deposited in the cemeteries of East Kent far exceeds that of other parts of England, and relative to this background wealth, the material wealth of the Lyminge central precinct is approximately equivalent to that deposited at other great hall complexes.

Rendlesham is less clear. The distribution of Anglo-Saxon metalwork appears to show a significant concentration of material in the immediate vicinity of the presumed great hall, identified from aerial photographs and geophysical survey (Scull *et al.* 2016), but the form and extent of the central precinct is uncertain, and until the metal-detecting data is fully published, it is unclear how much of this material culture was contemporary with the great halls.

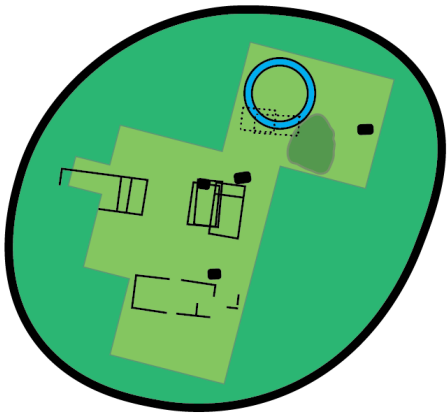
This lack of material culture associated with the central precinct of great hall complexes has been suggested to indicate a relatively low intensity of use (Hope-Taylor 1977, 168; Blair 2005, 276). Great hall complexes may have only hosted important gatherings at certain times, and in between these gatherings, the great halls may have been largely unoccupied. However, there is also some evidence to suggest that the apparent lack of material culture deposited within the central precincts was the result of functional zoning, keeping the central precinct relatively clean of debris and relegating refuse disposal, occupation debris, craft-working activity and agricultural processing to the periphery of the great hall complex.

2.3.2 The Material Culture of Associated Activity

Refuse on early Anglo-Saxon settlements was typically deposited in disused sunken-feature buildings – features that are generally not found in the central precincts of great hall complexes. Where these features are found within the central precinct, they often predate the great hall complex, as was the case at Sutton Courtenay and Lyminge (Brennan and Hamerow 2015, 333; Thomas and Knox 2013; 2014), or if they were contemporary, they were located towards the edges of the central precinct and either fastidiously cleaned, as was the case with the Yeavinger sunken-feature building C1 (Hope-Taylor 1977, 90-1), or somehow segregated from the great halls, as was the case with the Yeavinger sunken-feature building D3 and the associated pit complex (Fig.2.19) (Hope-Taylor 1977, 108). This suggests that these features – and the refuse disposal, craft-working and domestic activities associated with these features – were deliberately excluded from the central precinct. The interpretation of sunken-feature building C18, located in the middle of the Cowdery's Down central precinct, is less certain, but based on its proximity to the great hall C12, it seems likely to predate or postdate the great hall complex.

Lyminge

- Excavated Area
- Prehistoric Monuments
- Midden
- Post-in-Trench Building
- Discrete-Posthole Building
- Sunken-Feature Building



7th Century
Central Precinct

7th Century
Occupation Debris
and High Status Refuse



Figure 2.17: The distribution of 7th Century occupation debris and high status refuse at Lyminge (redrawn from Thomas 2010; 2017).

Sutton Courtenay

Typical Occupation Debris
and
Mundane Craft-working

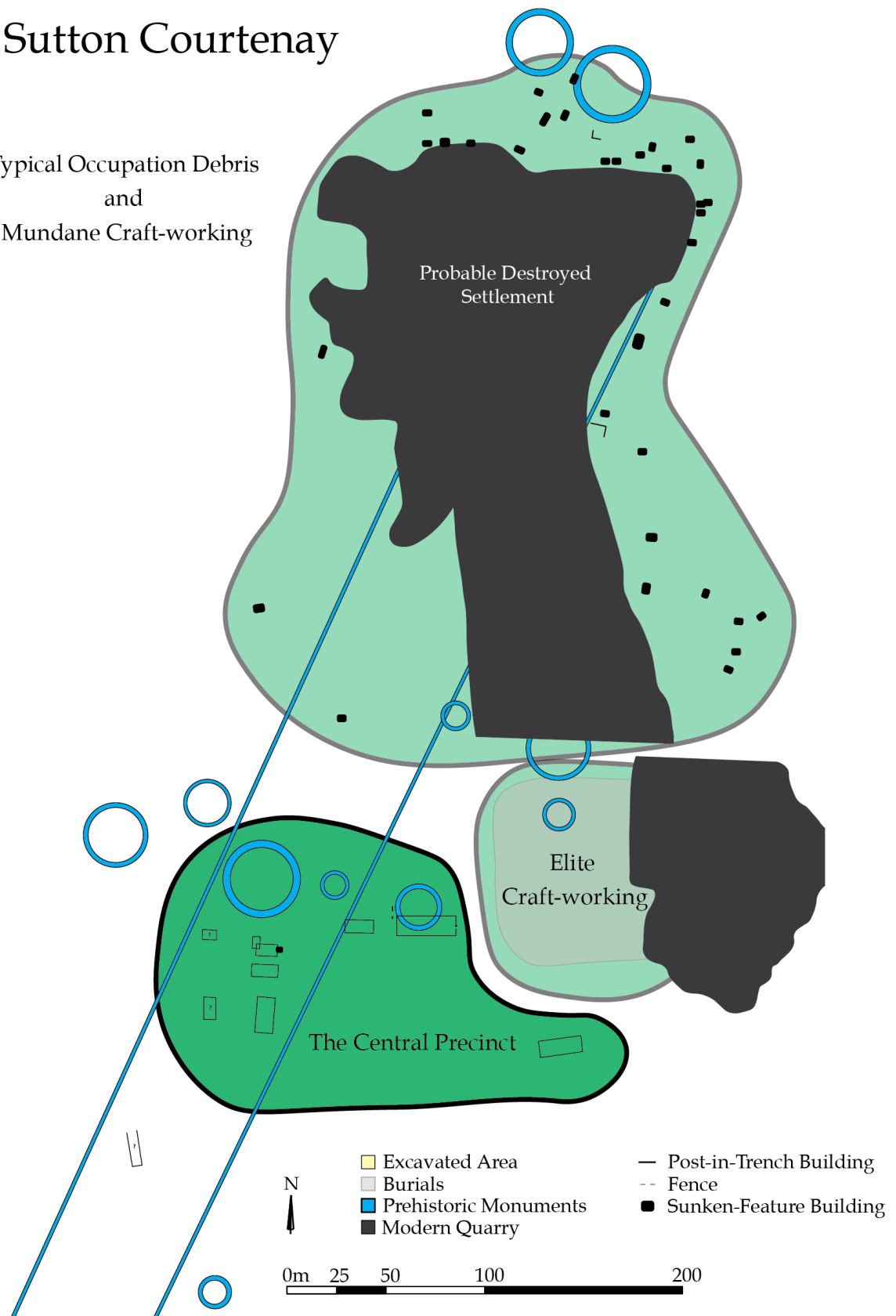


Figure 2.18: The distribution of occupation debris and craft-working evidence at Sutton Courtenay (redrawn from Leeds 1923b; 1927; 1947; Booth *et al.* 2007; Hamerow *et al.* 2007; Wessex Archaeology 2010).

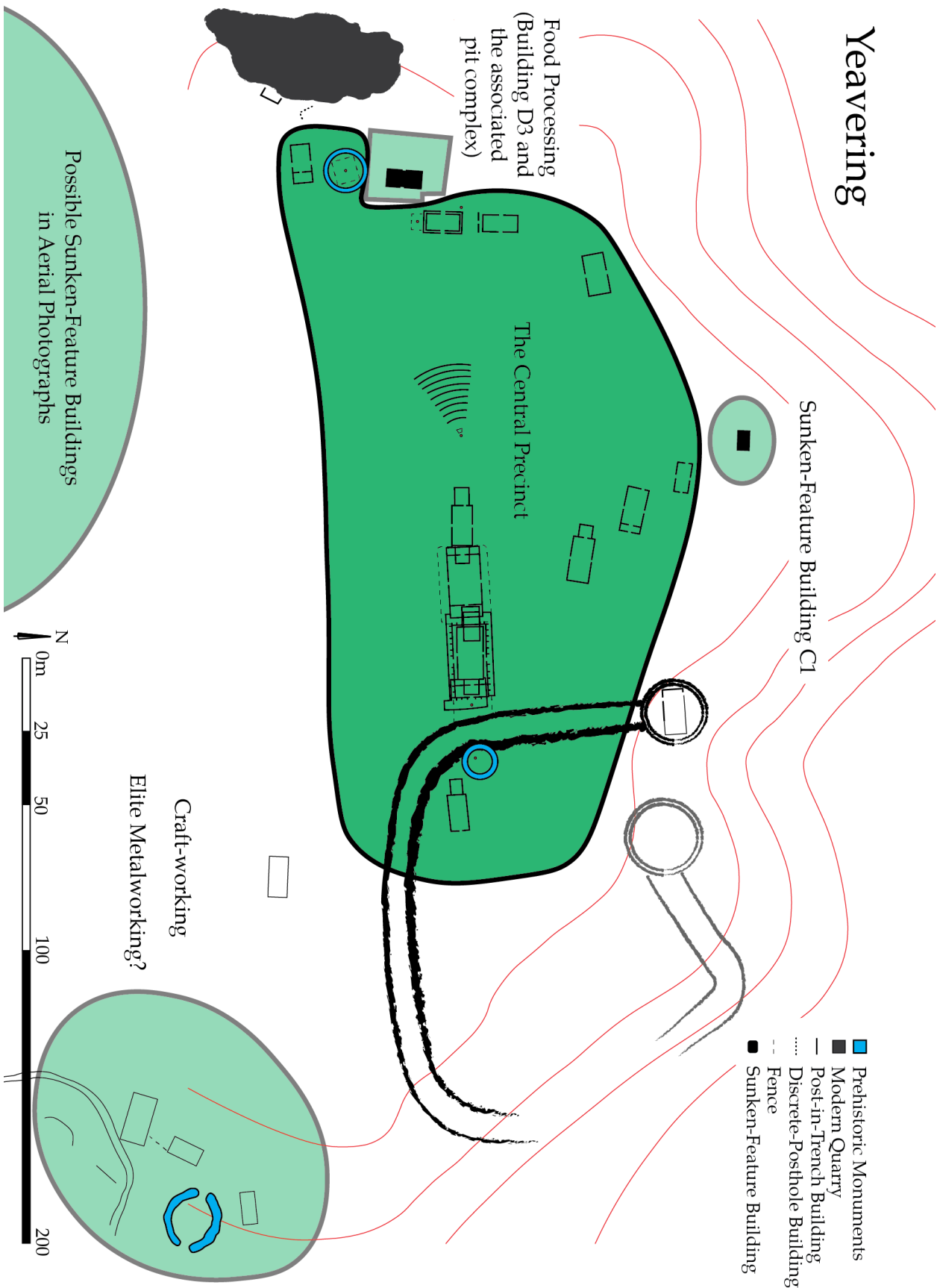


Figure 2.19: The distribution of craft-working, food processing and sunken-feature buildings at Yeavinger (redrawn from Hope-Taylor 1977; Timmiswood and Harding 1991; Gates 2005).



Figure 2.20: The distribution of settlement and refuse pits at Long Wittenham.

Outside of the central precinct, the excavations at Lyminge and Sutton Courtenay demonstrate that refuse was disposed of in a more typical manner. Some 200m south of the Lyminge great halls, several sunken-feature buildings have produced large quantities of contemporary material culture, including high status artefacts and more typical occupation debris (Fig.2.17) (Thomas 2010). At Sutton Courtenay, the sunken-feature buildings excavated to the northeast of the central precinct also produced typical contemporary occupation debris (Fig.2.18) (Leeds 1923b; 1927; 1947), and metal-detecting to the northeast of the central precinct has recovered evidence of high status craft-working (Hamerow *et al.* 2007, 186). The limited excavations outside of the Yeavinger and Long Wittenham central precincts provide further support for the zoning of refuse disposal. At Yeavinger, the excavations around Yeavinger Henge, 200m southeast of the central precinct, revealed a group of pits with metalworking debris and more typical occupation debris (Fig.2.19) (Tinniswood and Harding 1991), and at Long Wittenham, a group of pits southeast of the central precinct also produced more typical occupation debris (Fig.2.20) (Allen *et al.* 2010, 236-7). This suggests that while refuse disposal was strictly controlled within the central precinct, more typical settlement activities and refuse disposal patterns were regularly practiced outside of the central precinct. This does not necessarily contradict the intermittent occupation of the central precinct, but it does suggest that more intensive occupation of the central precinct could be obscured by a strict policy of refuse disposal.

The central precinct of great hall complexes therefore appears to have been kept relatively clean, and occupation debris from the central precinct may have been deliberately re-deposited outside of the central precinct. More typical refuse disposal appears to have been carried out across the wider site, including typical occupation debris and some high status material culture. However, it is unclear to what degree the deposition of high status material culture has been obscured by these differential patterns of refuse disposal. Only a few sites have been intensively metal-detected, and the associated activity surrounding great hall complexes has only rarely been excavated. The full extent of material culture deposited at great hall complexes therefore remains an open question.

2.4 Dating

Bede records King Edwin of Northumbria at Yeavinger in c.AD627-633, and King Swithelm of Essex and King Æthelwold of East Anglia are recorded at Rendlesham in c.AD655-663 (Bede HE II, ch.14; HE III, ch.22). Bede also states that Yeavinger was abandoned sometime after Edwin's reign, and *Maelmin*, generally believed to be the great hall complex at Milfield, was built in its place. However, Bede does not specify the exact date of Yeavinger's abandonment or Milfield's

construction (cf. Alcock 1988a, 9). The great hall complex at Lyminge is not directly recorded, but royal land at Lyminge is recorded in the 7th Century, and the great hall complex certainly predated the royal minster at Lyminge, which is first recorded in c.AD700 (Blair 2005, 186; Kelly 2006). The sites at Doon Hill and Whitekirk are not historically recorded, but their locations in the former kingdom of Gododdin would suggest that they were constructed sometime around AD638 when the siege of Edinburgh brought Gododdin under Northumbrian control (Alcock 1987, 244; 1988a, 5; Smith 1992, 288).

Great hall complexes are difficult to date archaeologically, due in large part to a lack of diagnostic material culture (see **Section 2.3**). This places the onus of dating evidence on scientific dating techniques, but most great hall complex excavations are over 30 years old, and many of the old dates cannot be considered reliable. Even in modern excavations, the general lack of animal bone recovered from great hall complexes can make radiocarbon dating difficult. The current body of accurate scientific dating evidence is therefore small (Table 2.3).

The earliest large timber-framed buildings known from Anglo-Saxon England are the 6th Century discrete-posthole buildings at Lyminge (Gabor Thomas pers. comm.). The discrete-posthole buildings at Cowdery's Down may also belong to the 6th Century, but the radiocarbon dates are unreliable (Table 2.3) (Millett and James 1983, 197-200). Most great hall complex buildings, however, use post-in-trench foundations, which first emerge around c.AD600 (Marshall and Marshall 1993; Hamerow 2012, 27-8), and a construction date around AD600 is consistent with the radiocarbon dating for Cowage Farm Building C (Table 2.3).

The earliest datable great hall buildings at Cowage Farm, Cowdery's Down, Lyminge and Yeavinger probably all predate AD650 (Table 2.3). However, the great hall complexes at Doon Hill and Whitekirk were probably not built until c.AD638 (Alcock 1987, 244; 1988a, 5; Smith 1992, 288), and if the great hall complex at Milfield was constructed to replace Yeavinger, then Milfield probably post-dates c.AD630-640 (Table 2.3). Atcham and Lockerbie, which lie on the westerly edge of Anglo-Saxon influence, were probably also not constructed until the middle decades of the 7th Century (Rahtz 1975; 1976a).

The latest great hall at Yeavinger was built sometime after AD630-640, but Bede records that Yeavinger was replaced by Milfield, and the site at Milfield could have been occupied well into the 8th Century or even later. The thermoluminescence (TL) date for the great hall C12 at Cowdery's Down suggests that the building burned down in the early 8th Century, and this may have marked the abandonment of the site. However, this is not certain: the chronological

development of wall types at great hall complexes suggests that Cowdery's Down Buildings C14 and B/C15 may postdate Building C12 (see **Section 3.3.1**). The radiocarbon dates for Cowage Farm, Hatton Rock and Lyminge suggest that these sites may have been occupied into the 8th or even 9th Century (Table 2.3), and metal-detecting at Rendlesham and Sutton Courtenay has produced material evidence of early 8th Century activity, although the great halls were not necessarily occupied at this time (Hamerow *et al.* 2007; Scull *et al.* 2016). None of the great hall complexes has produced diagnostic 8th Century material culture in excavation, but very few great hall complexes have produced diagnostic 7th Century material culture in excavation.

However, the vast majority of dating evidence falls within the 7th Century (Table 2.3), and it appears that those great hall complexes that did survive into the 8th Century may have undergone fundamental functional changes. Rendlesham saw a marked decline in the use of coinage over the early 8th Century, suggesting that either Rendlesham was in decline or the functions of Rendlesham were changing (Scull *et al.* 2016, 1606-7). Lyminge became the site of a royal minster in the late 7th Century (Kelly 2006; Thomas 2013; 2017), and the sites at Cowage Farm and Hatton Rock may have also become ecclesiastical sites in the 8th Century (see **Section 2.6.2**). The only two sites with well-dated 8th Century great halls – Northampton (Northants.) and Brandon (Suff.) – appear to be fundamentally different from the 7th Century great hall complexes. The range of architecture at Northampton and Brandon, their layout and their material culture all differ significantly from the earlier great hall complexes, and like Lyminge, Cowage Farm and Hatton Rock, Northampton and Brandon have been identified as possible ecclesiastical sites (Williams *et al.* 1985; Blair 1996; Tester *et al.* 2014; see **Section 3.4.1**).

The phenomenon of great hall complexes therefore appears to be a distinctively 7th Century phenomenon. Some sites probably emerged in the later 6th Century, and some probably continued into the 8th Century, but the majority of buildings at great hall complexes were constructed after c.AD600, and those sites that did continue into the 8th Century probably underwent fundamental changes.

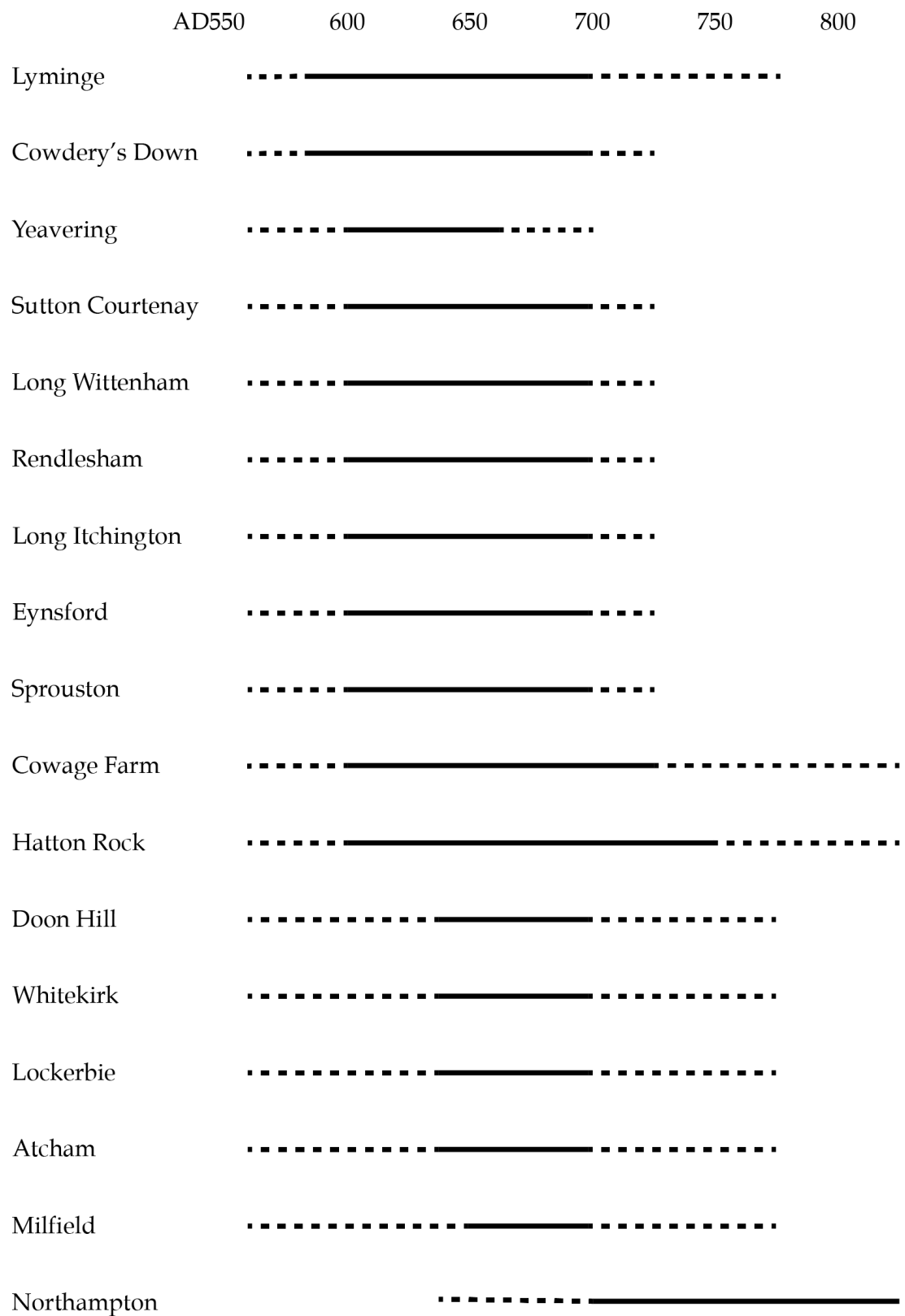


Figure 2.21: The tentative phasing of great hall complexes, based on the available dating evidence (many of these date ranges are refined or altered later in the thesis).

Table 2.3: The available dating evidence for each great hall complex, arranged from earliest to latest.

Site	Feature	Building Type	Phase	Date Type	Date (2 sigma)	Date (1 sigma)	Comments	Reference
Lyminge	SFB 2		?	Artefact from feature	480-550		Various	Scull 2012
	Hall A	post-in-trench	?	C14 from feature	544-640	560-613		Thomas 2017
	2010 (Trench 4) PBS	discrete-posthole	?	C14 from feature	565-650			Thomas and Marshall 2011
	SFB 1		?	C14 from feature	570-650			Thomas and Marshall 2011
	SFB 1		?	Artefact from feature	580-660		Various	Scull 2012
	SFB 4		?	Artefact from feature	6-7th C		Glass Beads	Thomas 2010
	Hall B Phase 2	post-in-trench	2/3	Artefact from feature	late 6th/early 7th C		Bone Gaming Piece	Thomas and Knox 2014
	Hall B Phase 2	post-in-trench	2/3	C14 from feature	579-668	615-656		Thomas 2017
	Hall B Phase 2	post-in-trench	2/3	C14 from feature	655-779			Thomas and Knox 2014
	Hall C Phase 3	post-in-trench	3/3	C14 from feature	663-770	673-764		Thomas 2017
	Hall C	post-in-trench	?	Artefact from feature	late 6th/7th C		Vessel Glass	Broadley 2017
	Hall B Phase 3	post-in-trench	3/3	C14 from feature	662-870	681-770		Thomas 2017
	SFB 3		?	Artefact from feature	8-9th C		Various	Scull 2012
Cowdery's Down	Building A2	discrete-posthole	1/3	C14 from feature	340-640	415-590	This date was taken from carbonized timbers and therefore dates the age of the tree ring sampled, rather than the building itself; this date is therefore likely to predate the building	Jordan <i>et al.</i> 1994
	Building A2	discrete-posthole	1/3	C14 from feature	430-660	540-640	This date was taken from carbonized timbers	Jordan <i>et al.</i> 1994
	Building C9	post-in-trench	3/3	C14 from feature	120-550	235-425	This date was taken from carbonized timbers	Jordan <i>et al.</i> 1994
	Building C9	post-in-trench	3/3	C14 from feature	230-600	270-535	This date was taken from carbonized timbers	Jordan <i>et al.</i> 1994
	Building C9	post-in-trench	3/3	C14 from feature	250-600	350-535	This date was taken from carbonized timbers	Jordan <i>et al.</i> 1994
	Building C12	post-in-trench	3/3	C14 from feature	390-680	440-650	This date was taken from carbonized timbers	Jordan <i>et al.</i> 1994
	Building C12	post-in-trench	3/3	C14 from feature	400-670	450-645	This date was taken from carbonized timbers	Jordan <i>et al.</i> 1994
	Building C12	post-in-trench	3/3	TL date	573-867		Relates to the burning of C12	Millett and James 1983
Yeavinger	Great Enclosure		?	Artefact from feature	570-640		Kentish Buckle	Welch 1984
	Total Site			Historical	627-633			Bede
	Building A3b	post-in-trench	5/5	Artefact from feature	630-640		Imitation tremissis	Hope-Taylor 1977

Sutton Courtenay	Hall 329	post-in-trench	?	C14 from earlier feature	Post 423-547		date comes from an SFB cut by Hall 329	Brennan and Hamerow 2015
	Hall 500	post-in-trench	?	C14 from earlier feature	Post 427-573		date comes from a post probably predating Hall 500	Brennan and Hamerow 2015
Lockerbie	'Post-built structure'	discrete-posthole	1/2	C14 from feature	550-660	580-645	This date was taken from carbonized timbers	Kirby 2012
	'Post-built structure'	discrete-posthole	1/2	C14 from feature	590-670	610-655	This date was taken from carbonized barley and is probably contemporary with the building itself	Kirby 2012
	'Post-built structure'	discrete-posthole	1/2	C14 from feature	600-675	620-665	This date was taken from carbonized barley	Kirby 2012
	'Anglian hall'	post-in-trench	2/2	C14 from feature	430-620	440-600	This date was taken from carbonized timbers	Kirby 2012
	'Anglian hall'	post-in-trench	2/2	C14 from feature	430-650	540-610	This date was taken from carbonized timbers	Kirby 2012
	'Anglian hall'	post-in-trench	2/2	C14 from feature	460-650	545-605	This date was taken from carbonized barley	Kirby 2012
	'Anglian hall'	post-in-trench	2/2	C14 from feature	550-660	580-645	This date was taken from carbonized timbers	Kirby 2012
	'Anglian hall'	post-in-trench	2/2	C14 from feature	570-660	605-650	This date was taken from carbonized barley	Kirby 2012
	'Anglian hall'	post-in-trench	2/2	C14 from feature	575-660	605-650	This date was taken from carbonized barley	Kirby 2012
	'Anglian hall'	post-in-trench	2/2	C14 from feature	595-670	620-660	This date was taken from carbonized barley	Kirby 2012
Cowage Farm	Building C	post-in-trench	?	C14 from feature	430-770	560-670	This date was taken from carbonized timbers	Bayliss <i>et al.</i> 2012
	Building C	post-in-trench	?	Artefact from feature	7th C		Buckle	Hinchliffe 1986
	uncertain	post-in-trench	?	C14 from feature	650-990	680-900	This date was taken from carbonized timbers	Bayliss <i>et al.</i> 2012
Long Wittenham	Structure 4100	post-in-trench	?	C14 from feature	608-679		This date was obtained from animal bone and may therefore predate the building itself	McBride Forthcoming
Milfield	Total Site			Historical	Post 630-640		Milfield replaces Yeavinger, the latest dating evidence for which is AD630-640	Bede
Doon Hill	Total Site			Historical	638-		Based on siege of Edinburgh	Alcock 1988a
Whitekirk	Total Site			Historical	638-		Based on siege of Edinburgh	Alcock 1988a
Rendlesham	Total Site			Historical	655-663			Bede
Atcham	Post/Pit	Post/Pit	?	Artefact from feature	7-9th C		Intermediate/Bun-Shaped Loomweight recovered from a post/pit feature located near the hall	White 2017

Hatton Rock	SFB	SFB	?	C14 from feature	787-963		This date was taken from charcoal and therefore dates the age of the tree ring sampled	Hirst and Rahtz 1973
Northampton	Timber-Built Great Hall	post-in-trench	1/2	C14 from feature	85-602		This date was obtained from animal bone	Williams <i>et al.</i> 1985; Recalibrated with Oxcal
	Timber-Built Great Hall	post-in-trench	1/2	C14 from feature	610-884		This date was obtained from animal bone	Williams <i>et al.</i> 1985; Recalibrated with Oxcal
	Timber-Built Great Hall	post-in-trench	1/2	C14 from feature	771-1155		This date was obtained from animal bone	Williams <i>et al.</i> 1985; Recalibrated with Oxcal
	Timber-Built Great Hall	post-in-trench	1/2	C14 from feature	666-968		This date was obtained from animal bone	Williams <i>et al.</i> 1985; Recalibrated with Oxcal
	Timber-Built Great Hall	post-in-trench	1/2	C14 from feature	694-1149		This date was obtained from animal bone	Williams <i>et al.</i> 1985; Recalibrated with Oxcal
	Timber-Built Great Hall	post-in-trench	1/2	C14 from feature	886-1205		This date was obtained from animal bone	Williams <i>et al.</i> 1985; Recalibrated with Oxcal
Sprouston					No Evidence			
Long Itchington					No Evidence			
Eynsford					No Evidence			

2.5 Great Hall Complexes and Kingship

Great hall complexes are commonly assumed to be royal centres (cf. Hope-Taylor 1977; Alcock 1988a; 2003; Welch 1992; Yorke 1995, 76-9; Hamerow *et al.* 2007, 190; Brennan and Hamerow 2015; Scull *et al.* 2016; Thomas 2017). Bede explicitly describes Yeavinger and Rendlesham as royal sites, and it is implied that Milfield was also royal. Lyminge was a royal minster by c.AD700, and in the 9th Century, it was described as a former *villa regia*; the site's royal status is also implied in a 7th Century charter (Blair 2005, 186; Kelly 2006; Thomas 2013). No other site is directly documented, but Hatton Rock is surrounded by 8th Century royal landholdings, and a royal charter was issued at Sutton Courtenay in the 9th Century, suggesting that there was a royal residence somewhere in the parish at that time (Sawyer 1968, 338a; Hirst and Rahtz 1973, 170-1; Hamerow *et al.* 2007, 116-8). Atcham, Cowdery's Down, Cowage Farm, Long Itchington, Long Wittenham and Sprouston are also somehow associated with royal landholdings (Rahtz 1976; Millett and James 1983; Hinchliffe 1986; Hamerow *et al.* 2007).

However, it is unclear what 'royal' meant in the early 7th Century. Documentary sources attest to a range of sub-kings, magnates and members of the royal family, who may have styled themselves as kings in certain circumstances (Campbell 1979; Charles-Edwards 1989; Yorke 1995). Although exceptional, the large timber buildings that are characteristic of great hall complexes could have been constructed by a relatively low-level magnate. However, the apparent rarity of great hall complexes and their striking similarity across Anglo-Saxon England strongly suggests that these sites belonged to the highest echelon of magnates: supra-regional kings, their immediate kinsmen, and perhaps a small number of particularly powerful sub-kings. This is supported by the documentary evidence, which places King Edwin of Northumbria and King Æthelwold of East Anglia at Yeavinger and Rendlesham respectively, and it is also supported by the chronology of great hall complexes, which broadly parallels the documented emergence of supra-regional kingdoms. If great hall complexes were the residences of lesser magnates or local chieftains, they would be more numerous, there would be greater regional variation and there would be a clear gradation of different status sites, from the residence of a local chieftain to the *villa regia* of a supra-regional king. Lesser magnates or royal agents may have occupied or administered the great hall complexes in the stead of more powerful supra-regional magnates, but these sites should still be understood as the initiative of supra-regional magnates.

This may have changed, however, in the mid-to-late 7th Century, when great hall complexes appear to exhibit greater variation in size and perhaps status (see **Section 3.3.4**). Some of these later, smaller sites may have been more closely associated with lesser magnates, and some later great

hall complexes may have also been associated with ecclesiastical magnates, as bishops, abbots and abbesses became more common, more powerful and more independent of the royal retinue over the course of the 7th Century.

2.5.1 Peripatetic Kingship

Bede records that Paulinus, King Edwin and the queen travelled to Yeavinger and stayed there 36 days, suggesting that Yeavinger was not a permanent royal residence (Bede HE II, ch.14).

This describes a custom known as peripatetic kingship, in which the king and his retinue were itinerant, moving around the kingdom along a ‘royal circuit’ of *villae regiae*, each provisioned by a system of food renders and obligations, known as *feorm*. Itinerant kingship ensured that the royal retinue did not overburden the resources of any one location, and it also allowed the king to consolidate power in multiple locations at different times, enabling him to control a large territory with a relatively superficial administrative bureaucracy (Charles-Edwards 1989, 28-33; Faith 1997; 1999b).

Bede’s anecdote about Yeavinger would suggest that great hall complexes were part of this royal circuit, and this suggestion finds some support in the archaeological evidence. The scarcity of material culture recovered from the central precincts of most great hall complexes has been attributed to intermittent occupation, perhaps by an itinerant court (Hope-Taylor 1977, 168; Blair 2005, 276), and the intermittent accumulation of windblown sand in between deposits of feasting debris at Yeavinger is also suggestive of an intermittent intensity of activity (Hope-Taylor 1977, 98-100).

However, the known great hall complexes are not evenly distributed (Fig.2.16), and this would seem to defeat the whole purpose of the royal circuit – to evenly distribute the provisioning of and access to the king. Nevertheless, this clustering may reflect a more fluid royal circuit, in which the centre of the *regio* shifted from one site to another from one visit to the next (see **Section 2.2.2.2**).

However, the settlements and non-elite cemeteries associated with many great hall complexes suggest that there was some degree of permanent or everyday activity associated with these sites. This, combined with the evidence for non-elite production and exchange at Rendlesham and the localized viewsheds of Sutton Courtenay and Long Wittenham suggest that great hall complexes functioned as local centres in some sense (see **Section 2.2.2.1**). Perhaps these local centres were the permanent residences of lesser magnates, royal kindred or royal agents who controlled the *regio* in the king’s absence. Someone would have had to prepare the site for the king’s visit, and

in between the regional and supra-regional gatherings of the royal court, great hall complexes may have hosted local and sub-regional gatherings, perhaps hosted by these lesser magnates (Alcock 1988a; 24-5; Yorke 1995, 79; Welch 1992, 50-1; Scull *et al.* 2016, 1605-7).

2.6 Ritual and Cult Activity at Great Hall Complexes

Ritual and cult were central to the function of great hall complexes. Yeavinger was chosen by Paulinus as an appropriate location for the mass baptism of the local populace, and Rendlesham was considered a fitting location for the baptism of King Swithelm. The site at Lyminge was even converted into a royal minster. These sites are in fact only documented because of their associations with Christianity.

Archaeological evidence for ritual and cult activity is more difficult to identify, but there are enough unusual deposits, structures, prehistoric monuments and burials to suggest that cult and ritual played a central role in the function of great hall complexes. Controlling cult activity may have been an important source of power for early Anglo-Saxon kings, and appropriating existing cult sites may have played an important role in legitimizing the ideology of kingship.

2.6.1 Special Deposits

The most spectacular special deposits come from Cowdery's Down, Lyminge, Sutton Courtenay and Yeavinger. At Cowdery's Down, a deep pit was dug immediately outside the west entrance of Building C13; the pit was filled with 1m of clay, containing only a pig skull fragment, which was in turn capped with flint nodules and an articulated cow skeleton (Millett and James 1983, 221). At Lyminge, a large hollow immediately adjacent to a Bronze Age barrow was incrementally filled with 100 years-worth of metalworking and feasting debris (Thomas and Knox 2015; Thomas 2017). At Sutton Courtenay, the associated settlement to the north of the central precinct produced a large pit containing the burial of an adult woman, inverted and with arms outstretched towards an infant burial at the base of the pit; the burials were accompanied by cattle and horse skulls and sealed with a layer of tamped earth (Leeds 1947, 86-7; Sofield 2012, app.B). At Yeavinger, a deep pit was dug inside Building D2 and intermittently filled with at least 9 separate layers of ox skulls (Hope-Taylor 1977, 98-100). Grave AX at Yeavinger has also been suggested to be the burial of a ritual specialist (Hamerow 2010; Blair 2011, 731; Sofield 2015, 367), and a pit was dug into Structure E, the theatre, after its abandonment and filled with animal bone and covered with a stone cairn. An imitation Merovingian tremissis was also placed in the foundation trench of Yeavinger Building A3b, and numerous important postholes at Yeavinger were filled with burned animal bone (Hope-Taylor 1977, 57, 67-9, 73, 100, 109-12, 119-20).

The pipe trench excavated at Hatton Rock may have also disturbed a special deposit – a feature containing black soil mixed with horse teeth and jaw fragments, which had been cut into a prehistoric monument (Hirst and Rahtz 1973, 166).

2.6.2 Cult Structures

Evidence for specific structures devoted to pre-Christian cult is exceedingly rare in Anglo-Saxon England. However, the evidence for Yeavinger Building D2 is convincing. The entire building was encased with an identical building while the first building was still standing, and the building itself and the very large standing post adjoining its northwest corner appear to have been integral to the layout of the great hall complex at Yeavinger. The aforementioned pit of ox skulls was deposited against the inside wall of D2, and a series of standing posts adjoining the south wall of D2 was also a focal point for the Western Cemetery (Fig.2.22) (Hope-Taylor 1977, 97-103, fig.63).

Yeavinger D2 is unique, but several other buildings at great hall complexes have associations with cult activity. John Blair has suggested that certain square structures at Yeavinger and Cowdery's Down may have been pre-Christian shrines (Fig.2.23) (Blair 1995, 16-9), and a square structure at Doon Hill can also be added to this list (Reynolds 1980a, 52-3). These structures were lightly constructed, often associated with burials and standing posts, and typically belong to the earliest phases of their respective sites. The square shrine at Cowdery's Down took the form of an annex, but this early annex-shrine appears to be significantly different and perhaps unrelated to the later annexed buildings at other great hall complexes (see **Section 3.3.2**).

Given the apparent rarity of pre-Christian cult structures in Anglo-Saxon England (Blair 1995; Semple 2007; 2010; 2011, 752-5; Carver 2010; Walker 2010), the evidence for such structures at great hall complexes is of great significance. John Hines (1997b, 387-9), James Campbell (2007) and John Blair (2005, 50-7; 2011, 731-2) have each suggested that traditional pre-Christian cult practices may have become increasingly organized, standardized and hierarchical over the course of the later 6th and early 7th Centuries, in parallel with the development of political authority, and the sequence at Yeavinger appears to support this hypothesis. The transition from an open-air square shrine constructed on top of a prehistoric monument to a temple aligned on a great hall suggests the development of increasingly regulated and exclusionary cult activity, increasingly under the control of elites (cf. Fabech 1994, 174), and the relative abundance of evidence for cult structures at great hall complexes – relative to more typical settlements – suggest that great hall complexes may have played an active role in extending elite control over cult activity.

The conversion to Christianity brought a new degree of elite control and a new ritual vocabulary.

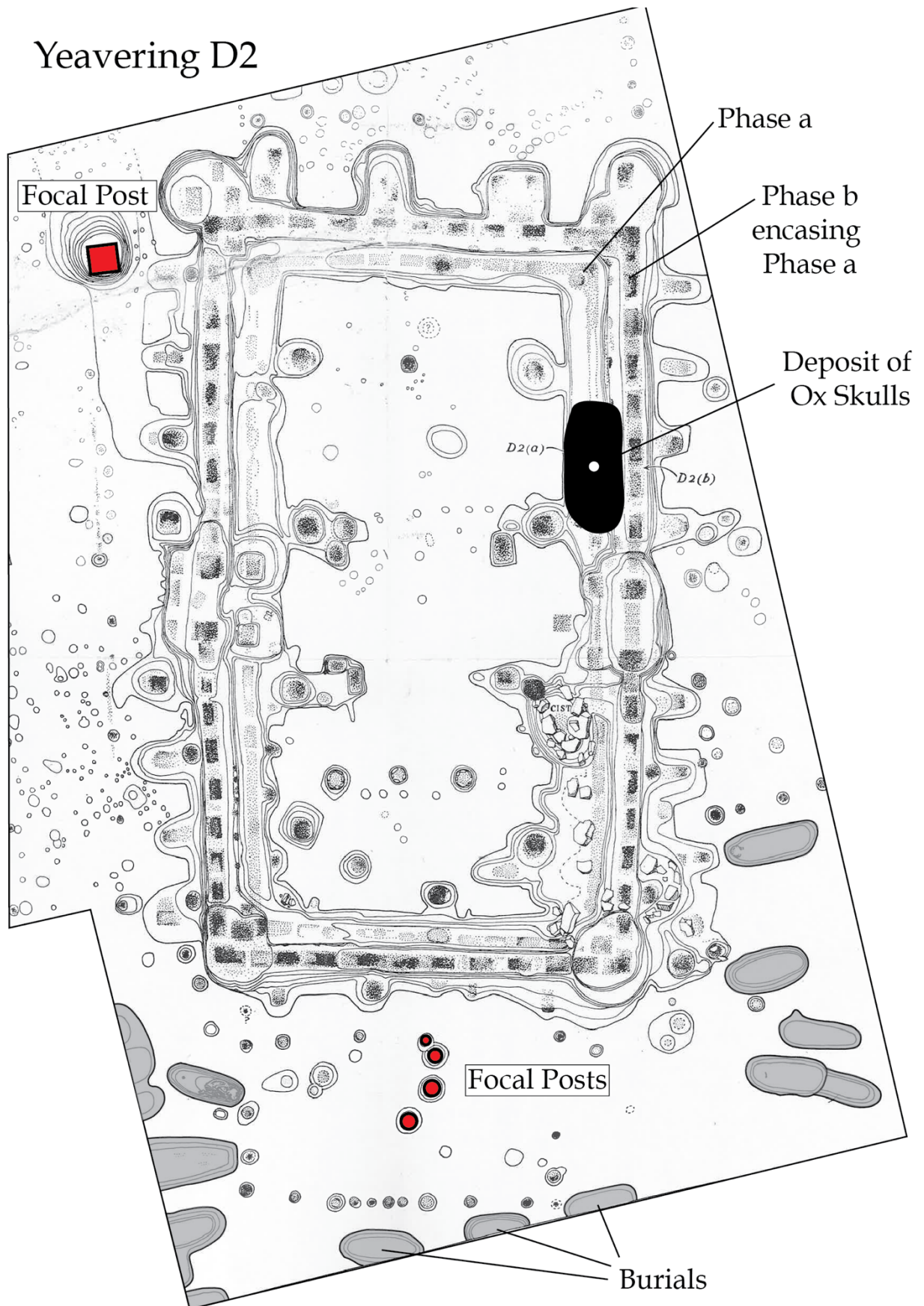


Figure 2.22: The possible pre-Christian cult building D2 at Yeavinger (after Hope-Taylor 1977).

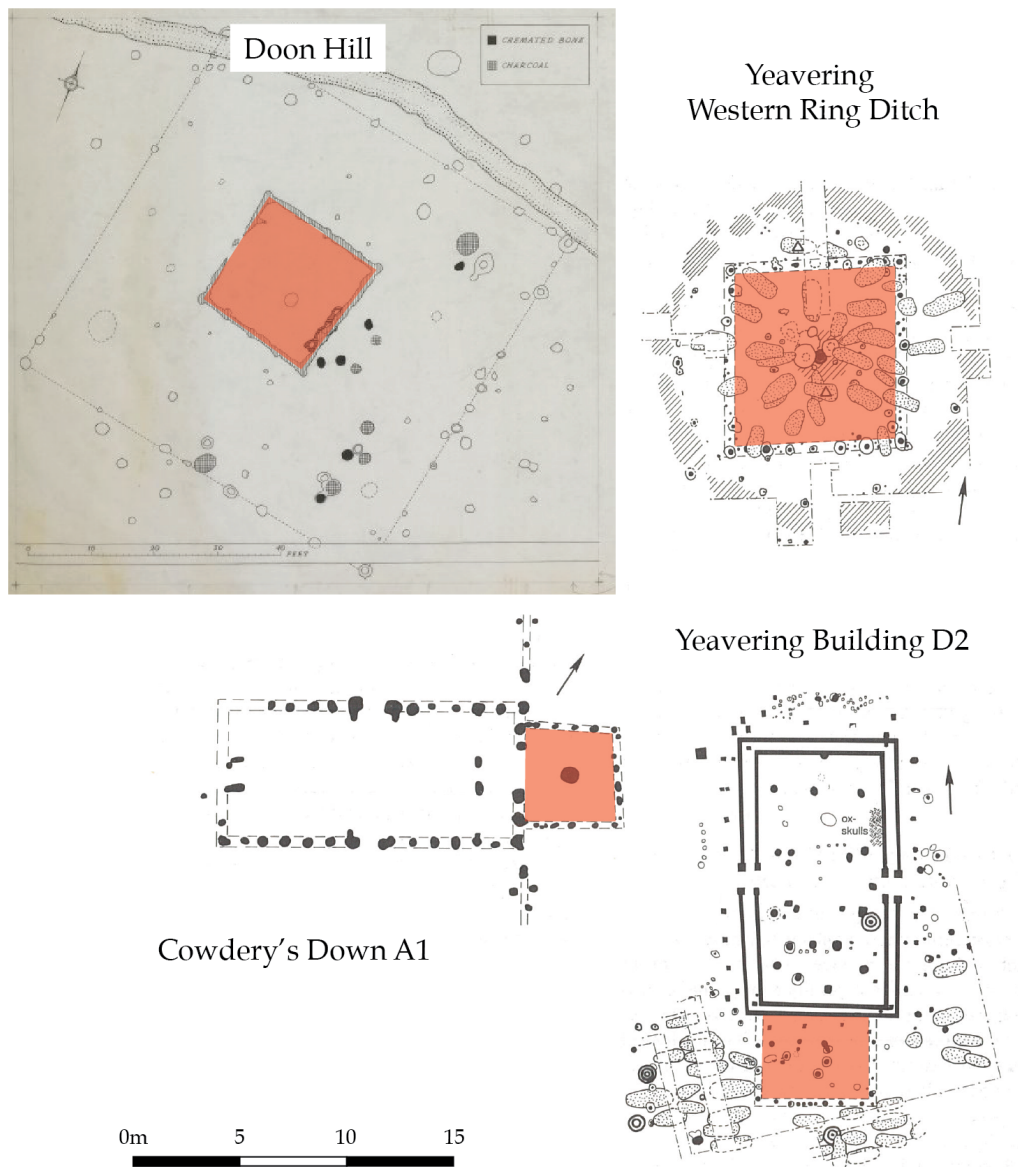


Figure 2.23: The square structures at Doon Hill, Yeavinger and Cowdery's Down (after Blair 1995; RCAHMS Archive). The Cowdery's Down and Yeavinger structures appear to be focused on standing posts, and the Yeavinger and Doon Hill structures are both associated with burials. The Yeavinger structures are also associated with important ritual and cult foci – the Western Ring Ditch and the pre-Christian cult building D2.

Lyminge became a royal double minster in the late 7th Century, and a new complex of minster buildings was constructed to the southwest of the great hall complex (Fig.2.24).

Several possible Christian structures have also been identified at Cowage Farm, Hatton Rock, Sprouston and Yeavinger. The most convincing of these is the apsidal building at Cowage Farm, which is fairly well-defined from aerial photographs, geophysical survey and excavation; the possible apsidal building identified at Hatton Rock is less convincing, but it nevertheless shares several characteristics with the Cowage Farm building (Fig.2.25) (Rahtz 1970, 142; Hinchliffe 1986, 251-2). Both of these apsidal buildings appear to be separated from the central precinct and set on a different orientation from the other great hall buildings. At Cowage Farm, the apsidal building was aligned on a true E-W axis, while the rest of the site was more approximately ENE-WSW oriented. Cowage Farm and Hatton Rock also have documented associations with major ecclesiastical houses: Cowage Farm belonged to Malmesbury Abbey in the Domesday Book, and Hatton Rock may have belonged to the Bishop of Worcester in the later 8th Century, although the relevant charter (S 120) is considered dubious (Hirst and Rahtz 1973, 170-1; Hinchliffe 1986, 253-7; Blair pers. comm.).

Yeavinger Building B was also identified as a possible church by Hope-Taylor, based on its annexed form and its close associations with burial, but the annex is on the wrong end of the building for a chancel, and the dense burial within Building B would be unique among known churches (Hope-Taylor 1977, 73-4; Lucy 2005, 139-40). Moreover, annexes are common in the later phases of Yeavinger. Nevertheless, given Building B's association with burial and the ritual importance of the adjacent Eastern Ring Ditch, Building B could plausibly be interpreted as a mortuary chapel (Fig.2.26).

A building in the middle of the Sprouston cemetery has also been tentatively identified from aerial photographs as a mortuary chapel, but in the absence of excavation, this is largely speculative (Fig.2.26) (Smith 1992, 281).

2.6.3 Prehistoric Monuments

Many great hall complexes are associated with prehistoric monuments, and the sheer frequency of these associations is highly suggestive of deliberate appropriation (Crewe 2009; 2010; Semple 2013; *contra* Hirst and Rahtz 1973, 167; Tinniswood and Harding 1991, 97, 102).

Hatton Rock, Lyminge, Milfield, Sutton Courtenay and Yeavinger have especially strong evidence for the deliberate appropriation of prehistoric monuments. Yeavinger lay at the foot of Yeavinger Bell hillfort, one of the largest hillforts in Northumberland, and the central precinct was laid out

Lyminge

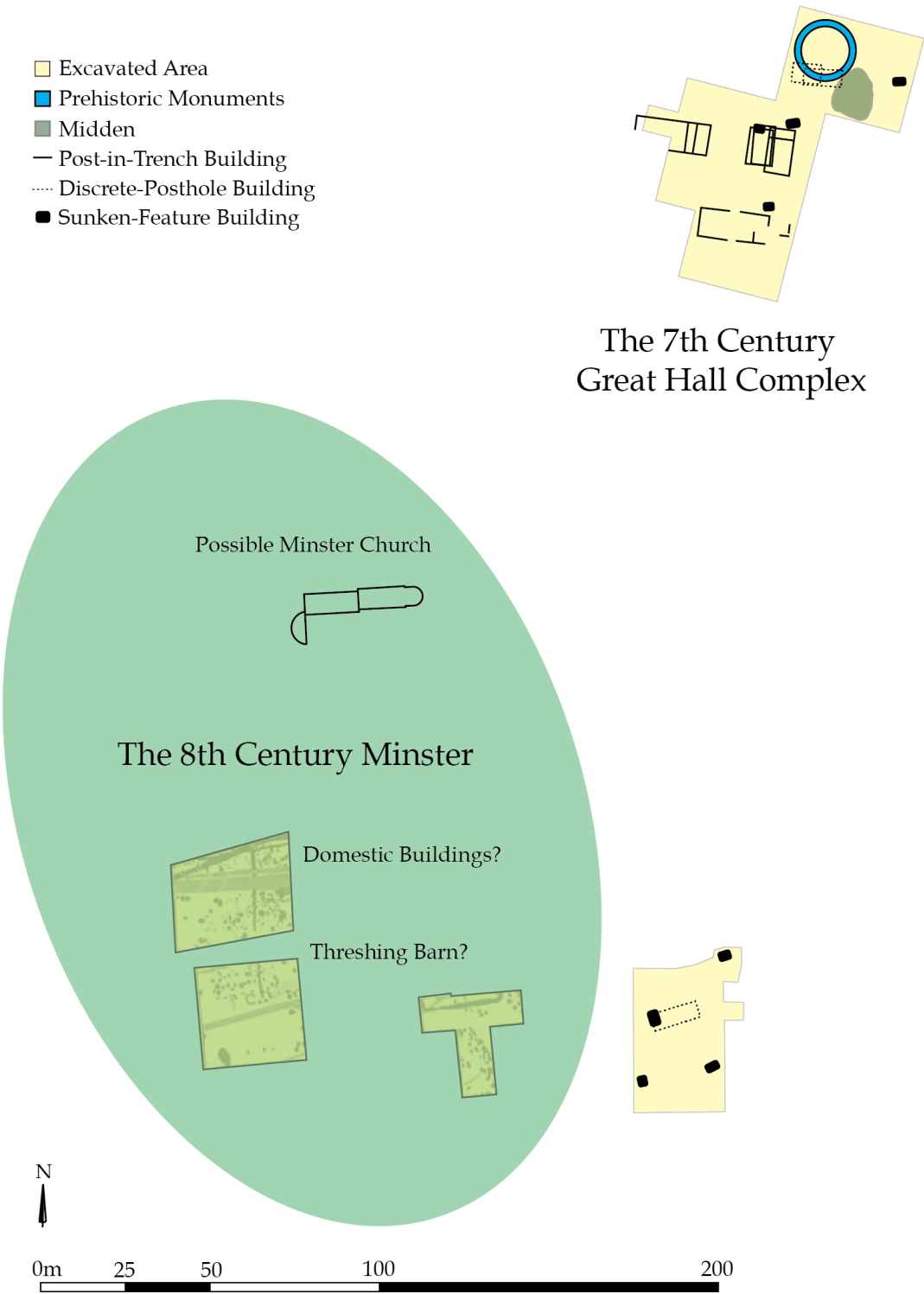
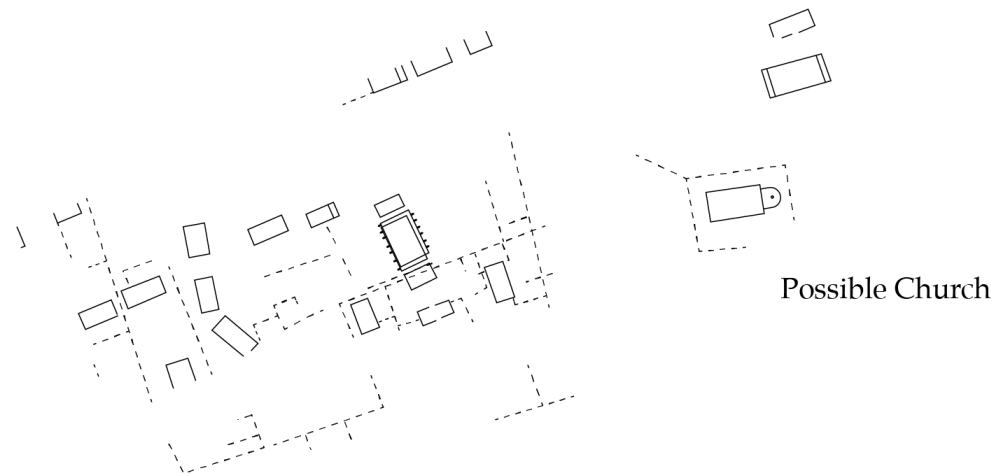


Figure 2.24: The royal minster at Lyminge (redrawn from Thomas 2017).

Cowage Farm



Hatton Rock

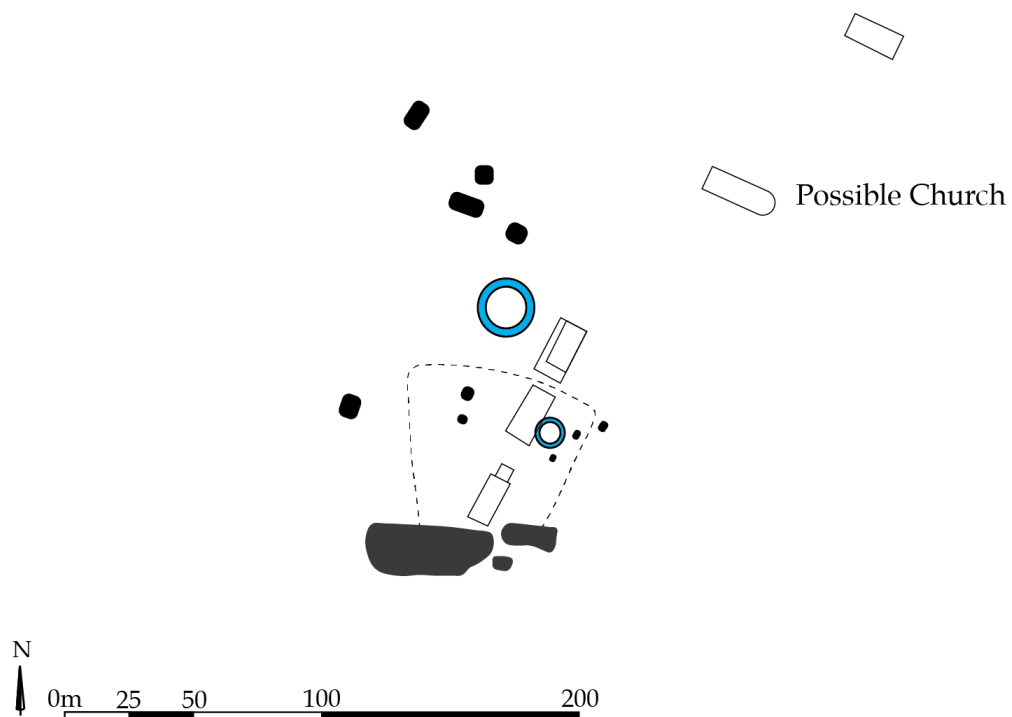
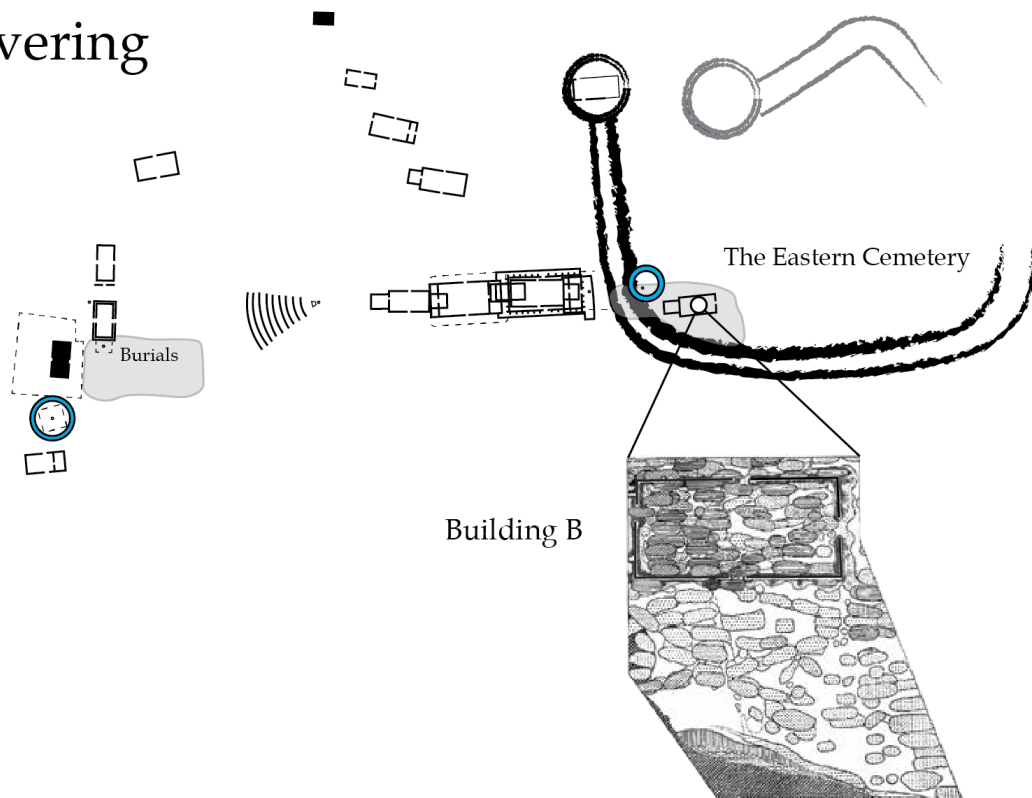


Figure 2.25: The possible churches at Cowage Farm and Hatton Rock (redrawn from Hirst and Rahtz 1973; Hinchliffe 1986; Gethin 2007).

Yeavinger



Sprouston

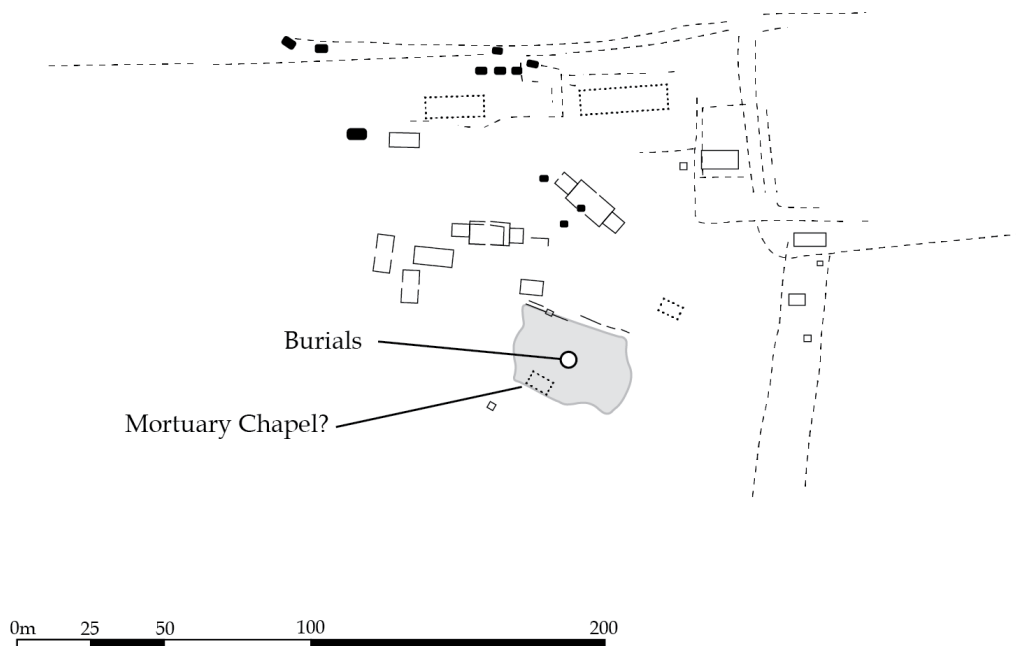


Figure 2.26: The possible mortuary chapel Building B at Yeavinger and the possible mortuary chapel at Sprouston (redrawn from Hope-Taylor 1977; Smith 1992).

with respect to two prehistoric ring ditches, which were themselves appropriated by burials, standing posts and a possible square shrine (Fig.2.27) (Hope-Taylor 1977, 70-8, 83-4, 108-16; Blair 1995, 16-8). Southeast of the central precinct, a prehistoric henge monument also appears to have been used for metalworking (Harding 1981; Tinniswood and Harding 1991).

At Milfield, another henge monument was appropriated by a mid-7th Century cemetery, which was almost certainly associated with the great hall complex (Fig.2.9) (Scull and Harding 1990).

At Lyminge, the earliest discrete-posthole halls were constructed on top of a Bronze Age barrow, and a large midden, filled with metalworking and feasting debris, lay immediately adjacent to the barrow (Fig.2.28) (Thomas and Knox 2015).

The great hall complexes at Hatton Rock and Sutton Courtenay were also associated with prehistoric barrows. Sutton Courtenay lay amid a Bronze Age barrow cemetery, and the site may have been partially laid out with respect to the largest barrow in the cemetery (Brennan and Hamerow 2015, 346). However, the most striking evidence for appropriation at Sutton Courtenay is in the great hall itself, which was laid out on top of a prehistoric barrow, in an almost identical arrangement to the Lyminge halls (Fig.2.28) (Brennan and Hamerow 2015, 329-30).

One of the great halls at Hatton Rock also appears to have been laid out over a prehistoric barrow, in an almost identical manner (Fig.2.28) (Hirst and Rahtz 1973; Crewe 2009). Another barrow at Hatton Rock appears to have been associated with several structures and features, and the barrow ditch may have been partially re-dug during the Anglo-Saxon period (Hirst and Rahtz 1973, 166).

Cowage Farm, Doon Hill and Long Wittenham also have evidence for the appropriation of prehistoric monuments, although the case for deliberate appropriation is less convincing (Fig.2.29). At Doon Hill, the great hall complex lay adjacent to an Iron Age hillfort, and the great hall may have been deliberately built on top of a Neolithic hall building (see **Section 3.1.3**). At Long Wittenham, one of the halls identified in aerial photographs appears to be aligned on a ring ditch (Hamerow *et al.* 2013, 64), and at Cowage Farm, aerial photographs show a separate group of hall buildings set in close association with a large ring ditch (Hinchliffe 1986, 240-1).

Prehistoric monuments have been interpreted as foci for supernatural and ancestral power, representing and consolidating larger conceptual frameworks of identity, belief, ideology and politics. These foci provided a sense of place and helped define and situate Anglo-Saxons within their natural, social and supernatural world (Williams 1998; 2006; Semple 2013). As such, the association of great hall complexes with prehistoric monuments would have given the halls and the kings who used them a sense of heritage and timeless permanence, legitimizing the ideology

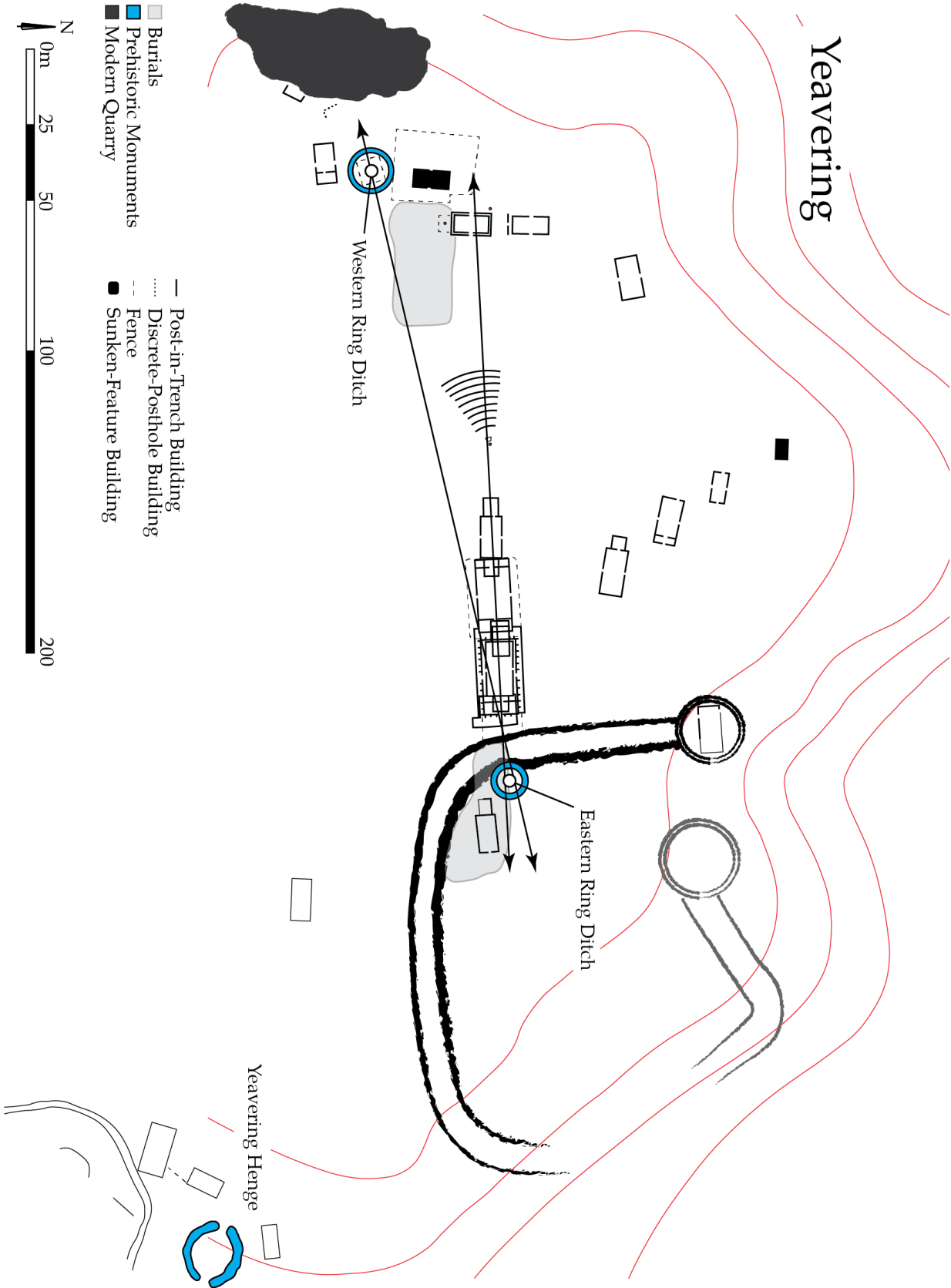


Figure 2.27: The use of prehistoric monuments at Yeavinger (redrawn from Hope-Taylor 1977; Timmiswood and Harding 1991). The Eastern and Western Ring Ditches appear to have been important cult and ritual foci, while the henge appears to have been used for metalworking.

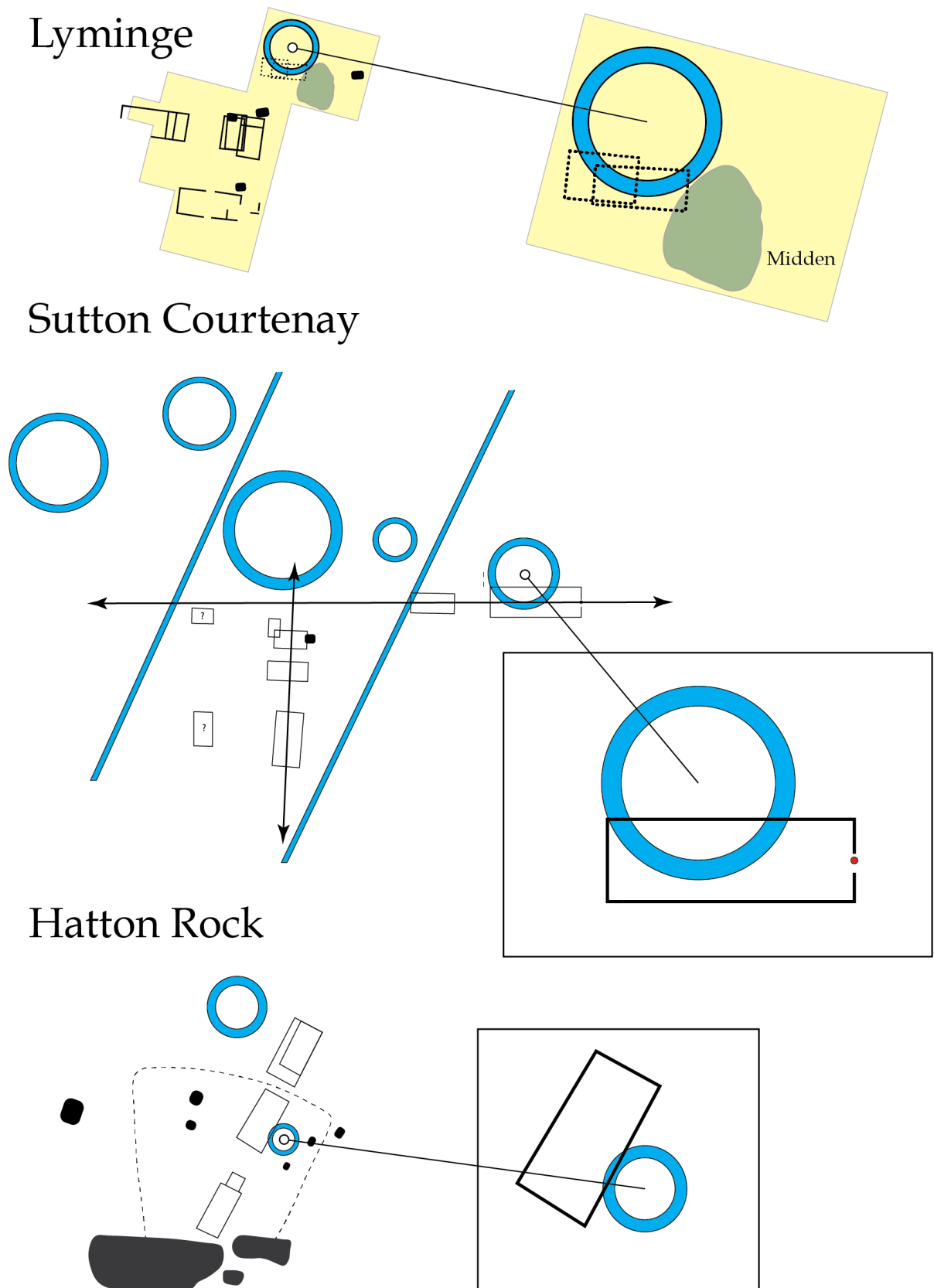
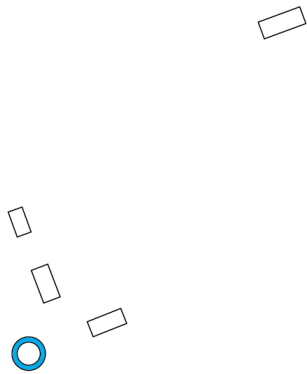
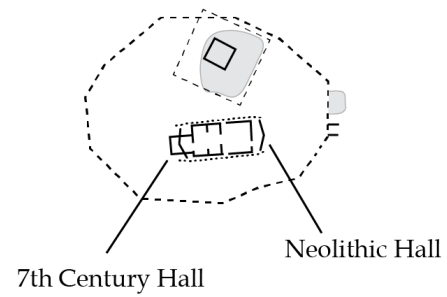


Figure 2.28: The near identical use of prehistoric monuments at Lyminge, Sprouston and Hatton Rock (redrawn from Hirst and Rathz 1973; Gethin 2007; Wessex Archaeology 2010; Thomas 2017).

Long Wittenham



Doon Hill



Cowage Farm

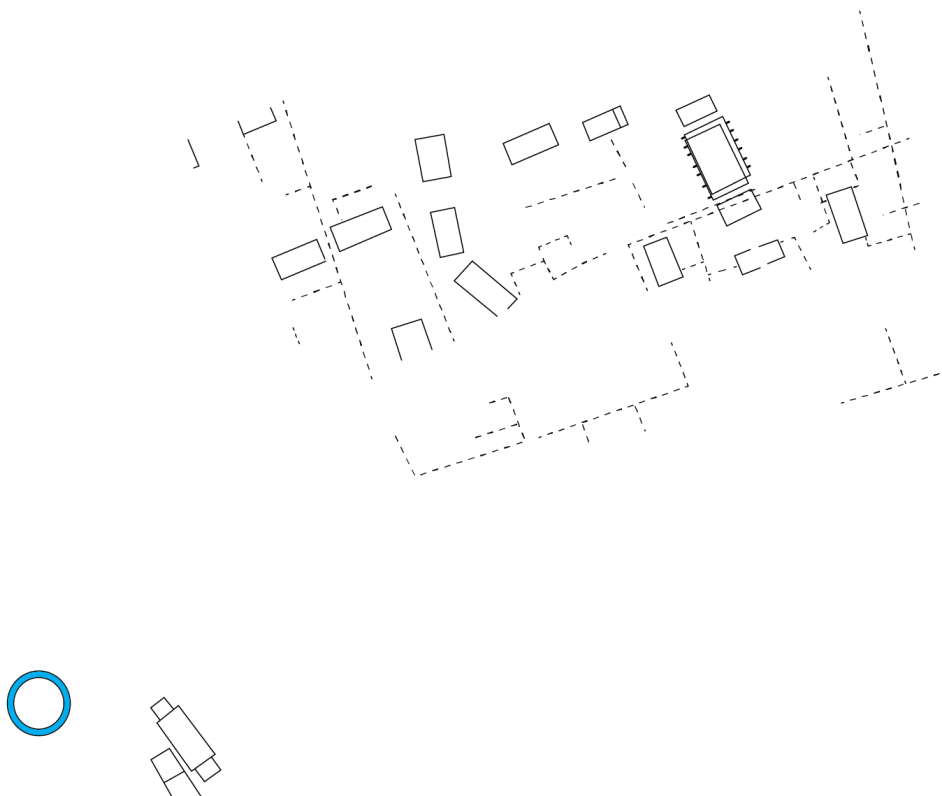


Figure 2.29: The use of prehistoric monuments at Long Wittenham, Doon Hill and Cowage Farm (redrawn from Hinchliffe 1986; Hamerow *et al.* 2013; RCAHMS Archive).

of kingship by weaving the great hall complexes into the supernatural world (Bradley 1987; Semple 2013, 209).

2.6.4 Standing Posts

Hope-Taylor identified several important standing posts at Yeavinger, which appear to have played an important role in organizing the layout of the central precinct (Fig.2.30). The ritualized nature of this layout strongly suggests that these posts had a ritual or cult dimension. Several of these posts were also associated with burials, and most of the postholes contained deposits of burned animal bone, further attesting to their importance in ritual or cult behaviour (Hope-Taylor 1977, 67, 73, 100, 120, 258-9, fig.63).

Standing posts have been only rarely identified outside of Yeavinger, but few great hall complexes have been excavated as extensively and thoroughly as Yeavinger, and few excavators have been as ambitious in their interpretation as Brian Hope-Taylor.

At Cowdery's Down, the possible square shrine identified by John Blair contained a large central posthole that Blair has suggested had ritual significance (Fig.2.31) (Blair 1995, 19). Aerial photographs of Cowage Farm show a similar pit/posthole feature located in the apse of the possible church, but in the absence of excavation, the exact nature of this feature is uncertain (Fig.2.31) (Hinchliffe 1986, 251-2).

The great hall at Sutton Courtenay may have also been partially laid out with respect to an earlier standing post (Fig.2.31). The east doorway of the great hall was obstructed by a large posthole, which produced a fragment of animal bone radiocarbon dated AD427-573, and this post rotted *in situ*, suggesting that the animal bone fragment was part of the original backfill of the feature; the animal bone may have even been a deliberate inclusion – numerous important posts at Yeavinger appear to have been deliberately backfilled with deposits of animal bone (e.g. Post AX, Post BX, Post E, the post northwest of D2, the doorposts and internal posts of A2). This would suggest that the post at Sutton Courtenay was constructed well before the great hall, and the great hall may have been deliberately laid out to appropriate the memory of this post. However, this is only one possibility; the animal bone may be residual, and the post may instead postdate the great hall (Brennan and Hamerow 2015, 337, 343-5).

Nevertheless, strikingly similar arrangements have been identified at Yeavinger and Cowdery's Down. The east doorway of Yeavinger A4 and the west doorway of Cowdery's Down C13 were both constructed immediately adjacent to and on alignment with possible standing posts. Both of

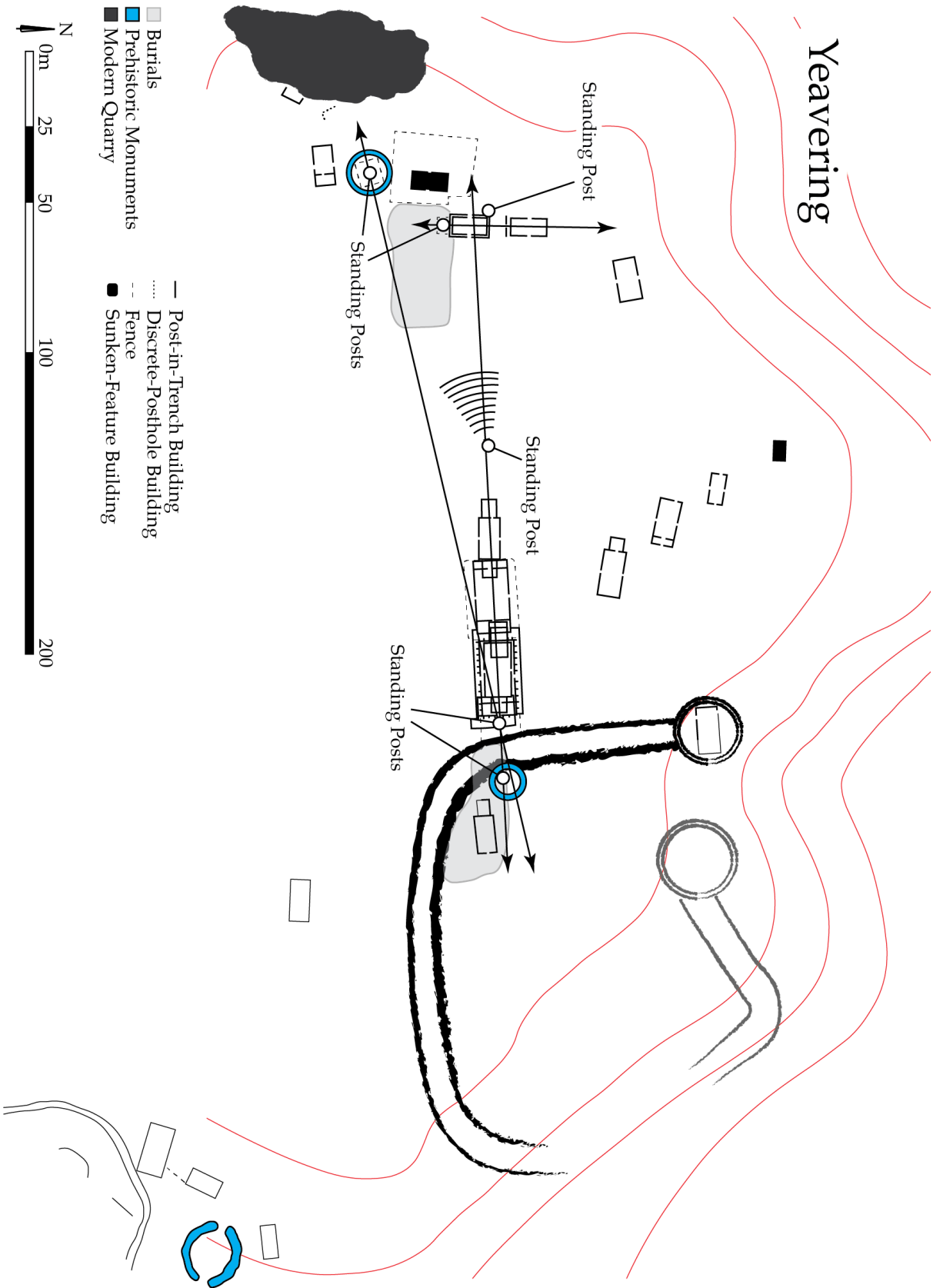
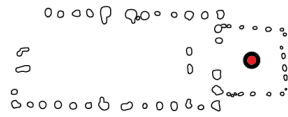
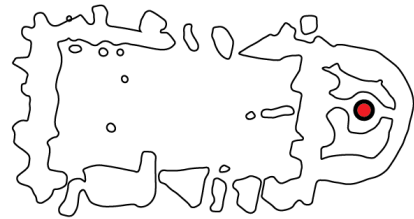


Figure 2.30: The locations of standing posts identified at Yeavinger (redrawn Hope-Taylor 1977).

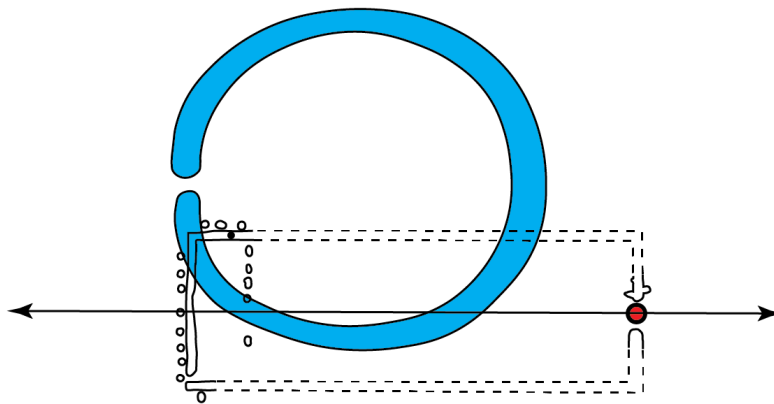
Cowdery's Down A1



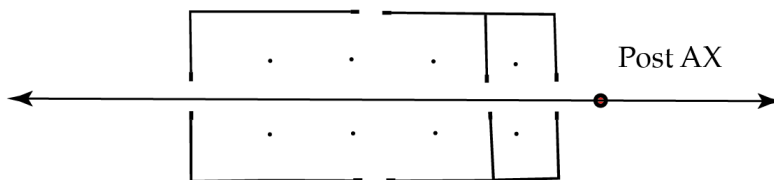
Cowage Farm A



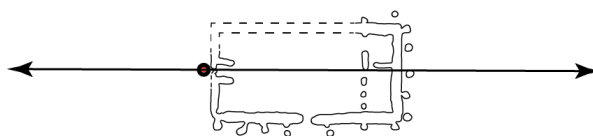
Sutton Courtenay 500



Yeavinger A4



Cowdery's Down C13



0m 5 10 20 30

● Possible Focal Post

Figure 2.31: The standing posts identified at Cowdery's Down, Cowage Farm and Sutton Courtenay, compared with Post AX at Yeavinger (redrawn from Hope-Taylor 1977; Millett and James 1983; Hinchliffe 1986; Wessex Archaeology 2010).

these doorways were also associated with unequivocal ritual features, but like Sutton Courtenay, the sequence is unclear and the adjacent posts may postdate the construction of the buildings.

Brian Hope-Taylor believed that standing posts were totemic, displaying clan-specific motifs with cult connotations (Hope-Taylor 1977, 260). John Blair has emphasized the ritual dimension, drawing a connection between standing posts, sacred trees and later standing crosses (Blair 1995; 2011; 2013b). Meanwhile, Paul Barnwell has emphasized the political dimension, drawing an analogy with the Frankish *staffolus*, which seems to have been both a symbol of royal authority and a personal monument to a king's lineage and accomplishments (Barnwell 2005). Standing posts were probably all of these things at different times. Early standing posts may have displayed a mixture of group identity and pre-Christian cultic imagery, but these posts were probably increasingly appropriated by secular and ecclesiastical rulers, becoming a representation of royal and ecclesiastical power.

2.6.5 Burial

Many great hall complexes have evidence for both contemporary and earlier burial. Doon Hill, Long Wittenham, Lyminge, Milfield, Rendlesham, Sprouston, Sutton Courtenay and Yeavinger all have some evidence for contemporary burial, and Doon Hill, Long Wittenham, Lyminge, Rendlesham, Sutton Courtenay and Yeavinger were probably also associated with earlier 6th Century burials. (Akerman 1860; 1861; Warhurst 1955; Hope-Taylor 1966; 1977, 70-8, 102, 108-16; 1980; Scull and Harding 1990; Smith 1992, 280-1; Parfitt 2002; Hamerow *et al.* 2007, 170-83; Scull *et al.* 2016, 1598; RCAHMS archive). Meanwhile, Cowage Farm and Cowdery's Down have produced evidence for undated burials (Millett and James 1983, 270; Hinchliffe 1986, 241).

All of these sites were probably important foci for rituals surrounding death, burial and ancestor worship. The significance of these sites in death and ancestor cults appears to have predated the emergence of the great hall complexes, and it probably continued to be an important source of power throughout their occupation.

2.7 Craft-working, Agriculture and Exchange at Great Hall Complexes

2.7.1 Craft-working

Elite craft-working was fundamental to the creation of power in early medieval Europe. The exchange of prestige goods had great ideological significance among the warrior-elite, for whom the gift was a symbolic representation of worth, for both the giver and the receiver. The gift was an inalienable part of the giver that the receiver carried with him – a symbolic articulation of their

relationship, a ‘goodness contract’ between two ‘good’ warriors (Mauss 1965; Herschend 1998; Bazelmans 1999). Prestige goods were therefore essential to the formation of relationships of all kinds, and as such, controlling the production and acquisition of prestige goods was of the utmost importance.

Lyminge and Rendlesham have produced extensive evidence for elite craft production, including copper-alloy-working and gold-smithing as well as possible glass production (Knox 2014; Thomas and Knox 2015; Scull *et al.* 2016; Thomas 2017). Metal-detecting and excavation at Sutton Courtenay have also produced limited evidence of gold-smithing, silver-smithing and copper-alloy-working, and the excavations at Yeavinger Henge produced *in situ* evidence of copper-alloy-working (Leeds 1923b, 157; Tinniswood and Harding 1991; Hamerow *et al.* 2007, 186; Wessex Archaeology 2010). This suggests that great hall complexes were a place where prestige goods could be created, and the location of elite craft-working at these sites – around the immediate periphery of the central precinct – suggests that this activity was in some sense controlled from the central precinct (Fig.2.32-3).

However, copper-alloy-working appears to be more widely distributed across the associated settlement activity at Lyminge, Rendlesham and Sutton Courtenay, suggesting that it was less tightly controlled than gold and silver-smithing (Fig.2.32-4). The prestige goods themselves also appear to be more widely circulated around the associated settlements of Lyminge and Rendlesham, suggesting that while elite production may have been restricted, elite patronage was more widespread, extending far beyond the central precinct and perhaps incorporating a wide range of power relationships, from lesser magnates to local free men (Fig.2.33-4).

Outside of Rendlesham and Lyminge, the evidence for elite craft-working is relatively slight, but this is probably due to differences in recovery and differences in the background wealth of the surrounding region (see **Section 2.3.1**).

The production of prestige goods at great hall complexes may have been highly ritualised. The evidence for *in situ* metalworking at Lyminge and Yeavinger was closely associated with prehistoric monuments, which are strongly associated with ritual activity (Fig.2.35) (Tinniswood and Harding 1991; Knox 2014; Thomas and Knox 2015). David Hinton has argued that the creation of metal objects, especially weaponry and high status metalwork, had magical connotations in Anglo-Saxon society, and the prehistoric monuments at Lyminge and Yeavinger would have provided a suitably supernatural setting for this magical craft-working (Hinton 2000; 2003; 2011, 199-200; Frodsham 1999; 2005; cf. Hedeager 2001 for the transformation of prestige

Sutton Courtenay

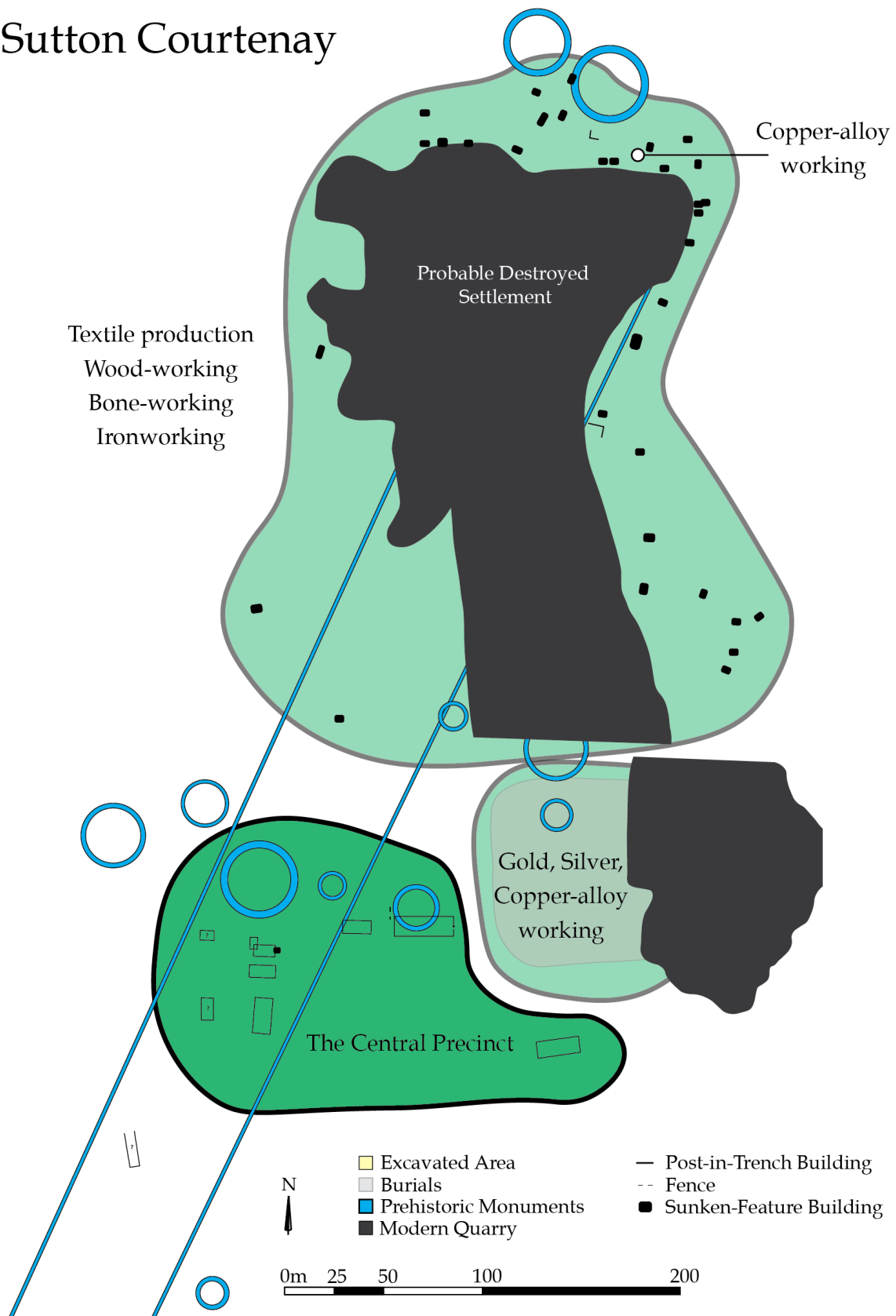


Figure 2.32: Craft-working at Sutton Courtenay (redrawn from Leeds 1923b; Booth *et al.* 2007; Hamerow *et al.* 2007).

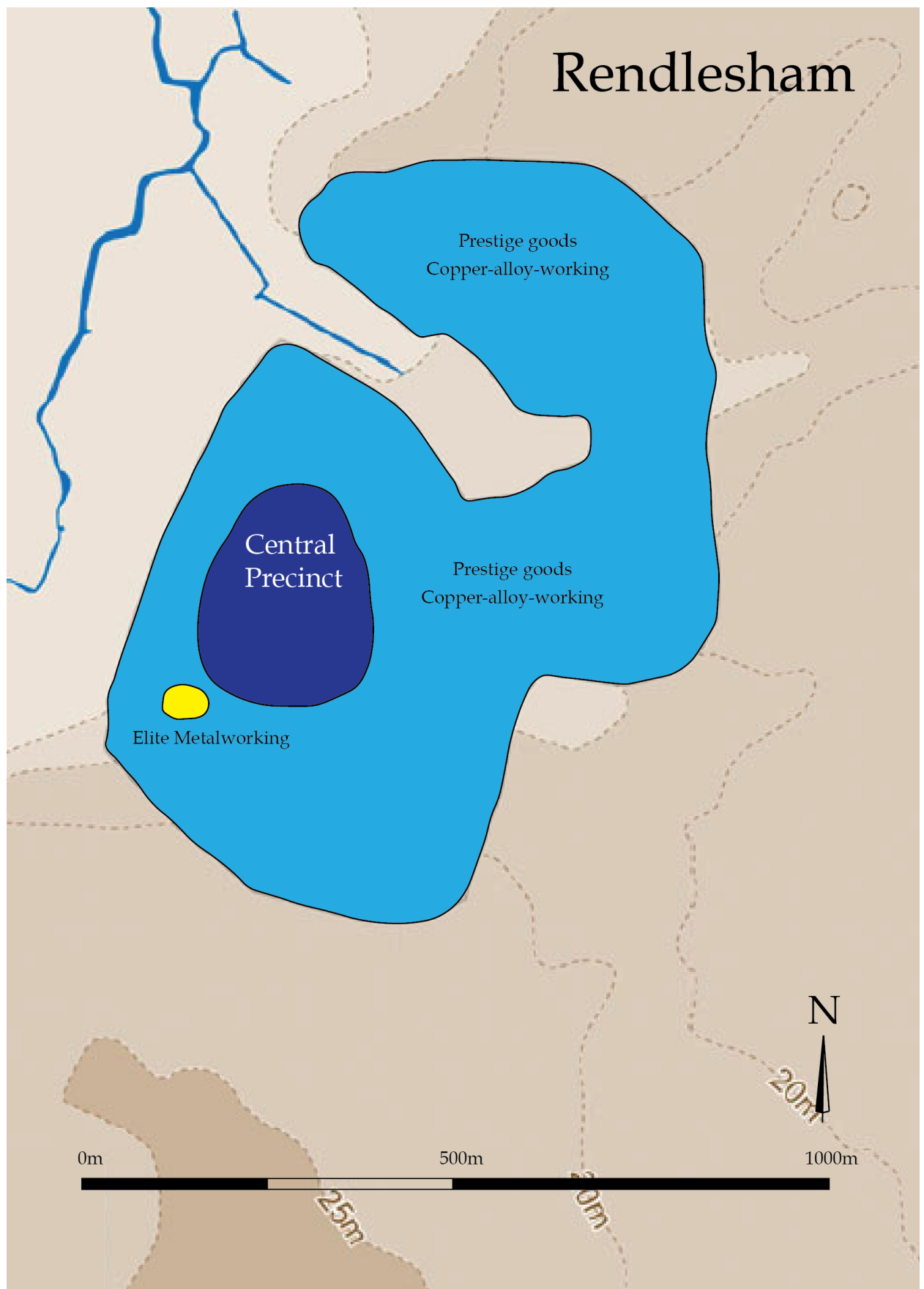
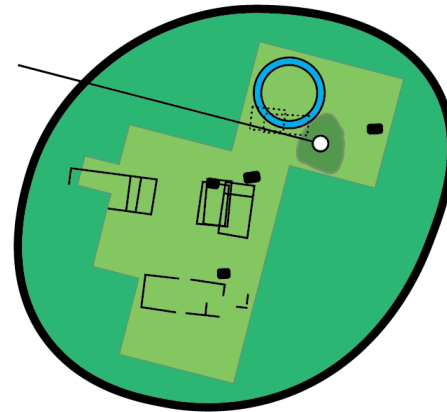


Figure 2.33: The distribution of craft-working and prestige goods at Rendlesham (redrawn from Scull *et al.* 2016)
(This distribution is subject to change as the post-excavation reaches a more advanced stage).

Lyminge

- Excavated Area
- Prehistoric Monuments
- Midden
- Post-in-Trench Building
- Discrete-Posthole Building
- Sunken-Feature Building

6th Century
Ironworking
Copper-alloy-working
Glass production?



7th Century
Prestige goods

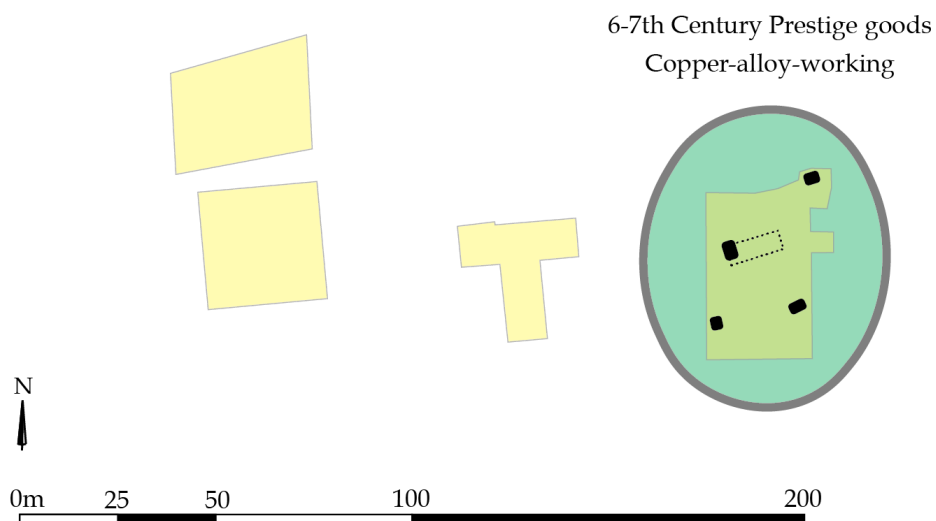
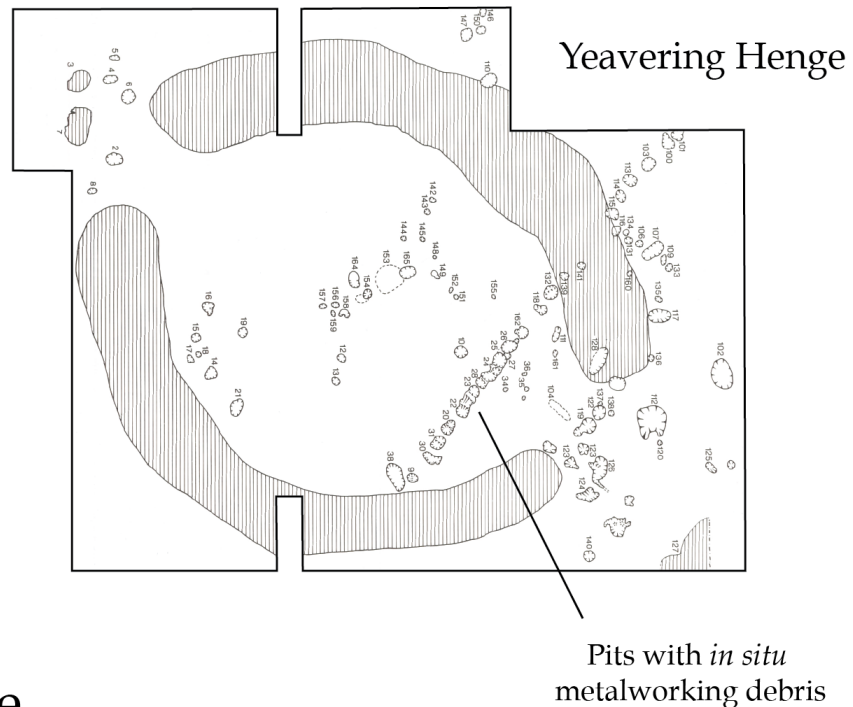


Figure 2.34: The distribution of craft-working and prestige goods at Lyminge (redrawn Thomas 2010; 2017) (This distribution is subject to change as the post-excavation reaches a more advanced stage).

Yeavingering



Lyminge

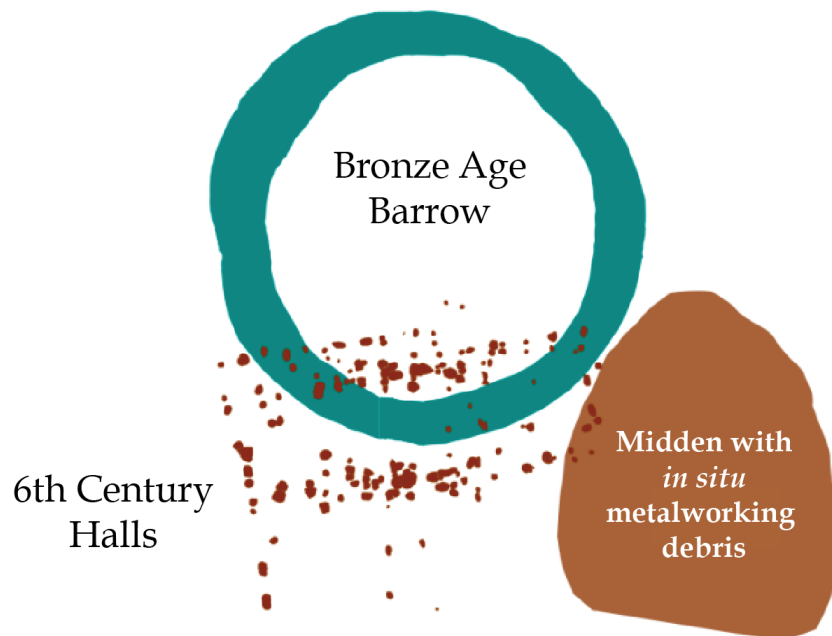


Figure 2.35: Supernaturally-charged metalworking at Yeavingering and Lyminge (after Tinniswood and Harding 1991; Thomas and Knox 2015).

goods at Gudme; this phenomenon is also well-attested in other cultures: Eliade 1962). The abundant supernatural resources at great hall complexes and the prevalence of ritual and cult activity at these sites would have made great hall complexes a particularly potent space for supernaturally-charged elite craft-working, and the control of both supernatural resources and the esoteric knowledge required to imbue metalwork with supernatural power may have played an important role in monopolizing the production of prestige goods in early Anglo-Saxon society.

Great hall complexes have also produced evidence for more mundane craft production. The associated settlement to the northeast of the Sutton Courtenay central precinct has produced unusually large quantities of textile implements and wood-working tools (Leeds 1923b; 1927; 1947), and Rendlesham has produced extensive evidence of non-elite metalworking. The large quantities of relatively rare, but mundane, dress accessories at Rendlesham suggests that the site may have been producing a surplus for exchange or redistribution beyond the immediate settlement (Scull *et al.* 2016, 1602-3). The unusual quantity of textile implements at Sutton Courtenay may also be indicative of surplus production, although this activity may predate the great hall complex.

2.7.2 Agricultural Production and Collection

Securing sufficient food and services to host the royal retinue must have been an essential function of great hall complexes (Alcock 1988a, 25-6; 2003, 255-6; Yorke 1995, 76-9; cf. Charles-Edwards 1989; Faith 1997). However, the mechanisms by which resources were collected and utilized at great hall complexes are largely unexplored. The system of food renders may have been relatively fluid, perhaps collected on a relatively ad hoc basis (Blair 2005, 280), and the Laws of Ine suggest that many foodstuffs were processed before being delivered to the *villa regia* (see **Section 2.2.2.2** and **2.5.1**). However, if livestock were brought to the site on the hoof, presumably some degree of processing must have been carried out at the great hall complex.

The enclosures at Milfield, Yeavinger and Sprouston may have been used as stock enclosures, and the droveways identified at Sprouston are especially suggestive of stock management (Fig.2.36-8) (Hope-Taylor 1977, 157; Smith 1992, 272-4). Stock enclosures have yet to be identified at other great hall complexes, but these features may be underrepresented in published plans. The central precincts of great hall complexes are often depicted in isolation, but many sites are associated with undated enclosures and droveways (e.g. Atcham, Doon Hill, Rendlesham, Whitekirk, Yeavinger).

Various buildings at great hall complexes have been suggested to be barns, but there is no evidence for this (cf. Millett and James 1983, 247; Alcock 1988a, 25-6; 2003, 255-6; O'Brien and Miket 1991, 89; Smith 1992, 286; Philp 2014, 134). The 8th Century barns identified at Lyminge and

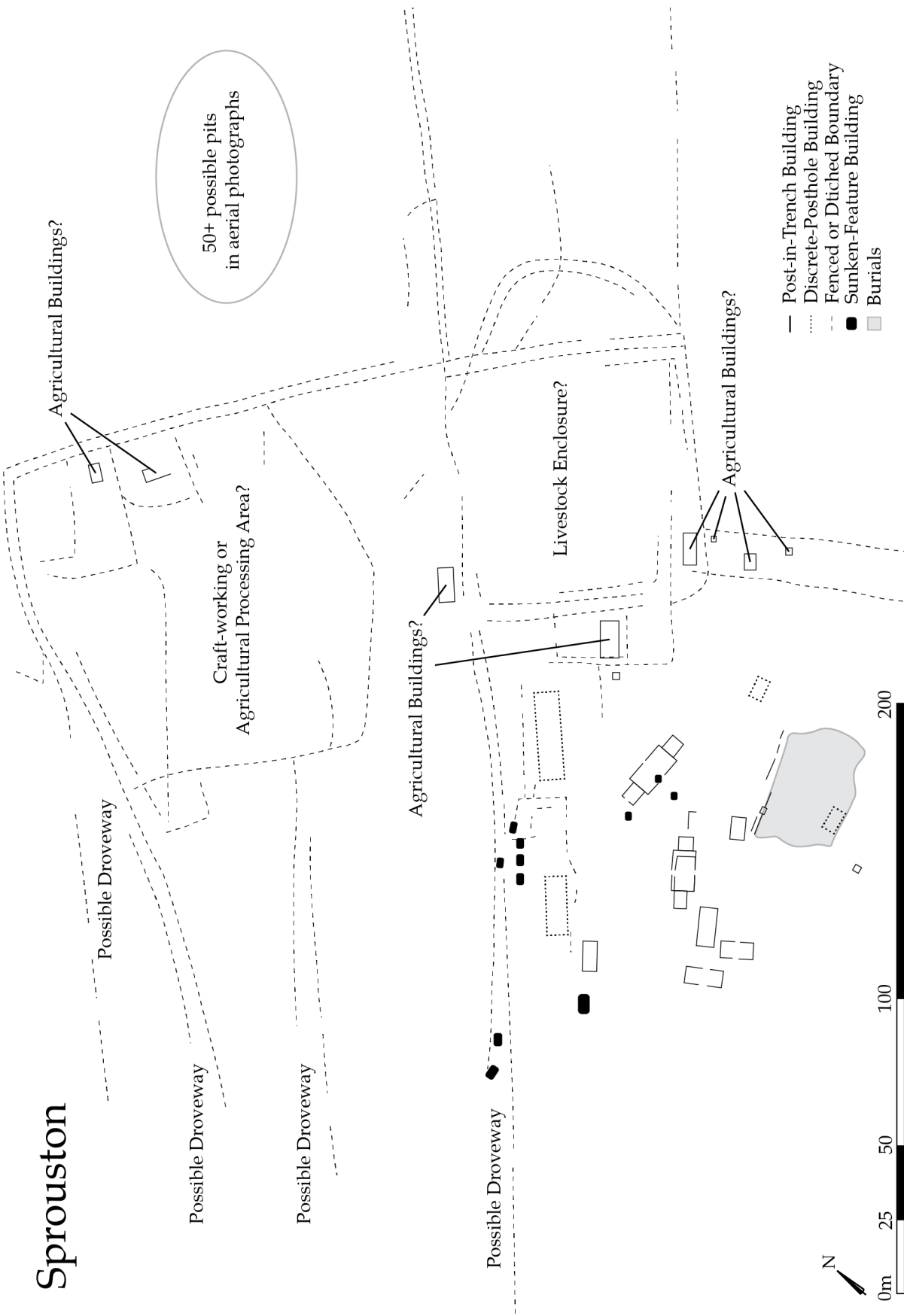


Figure 2.36: The possible livestock enclosures, droveways and outbuildings at Sprouston (redrawn from Smith 1992).

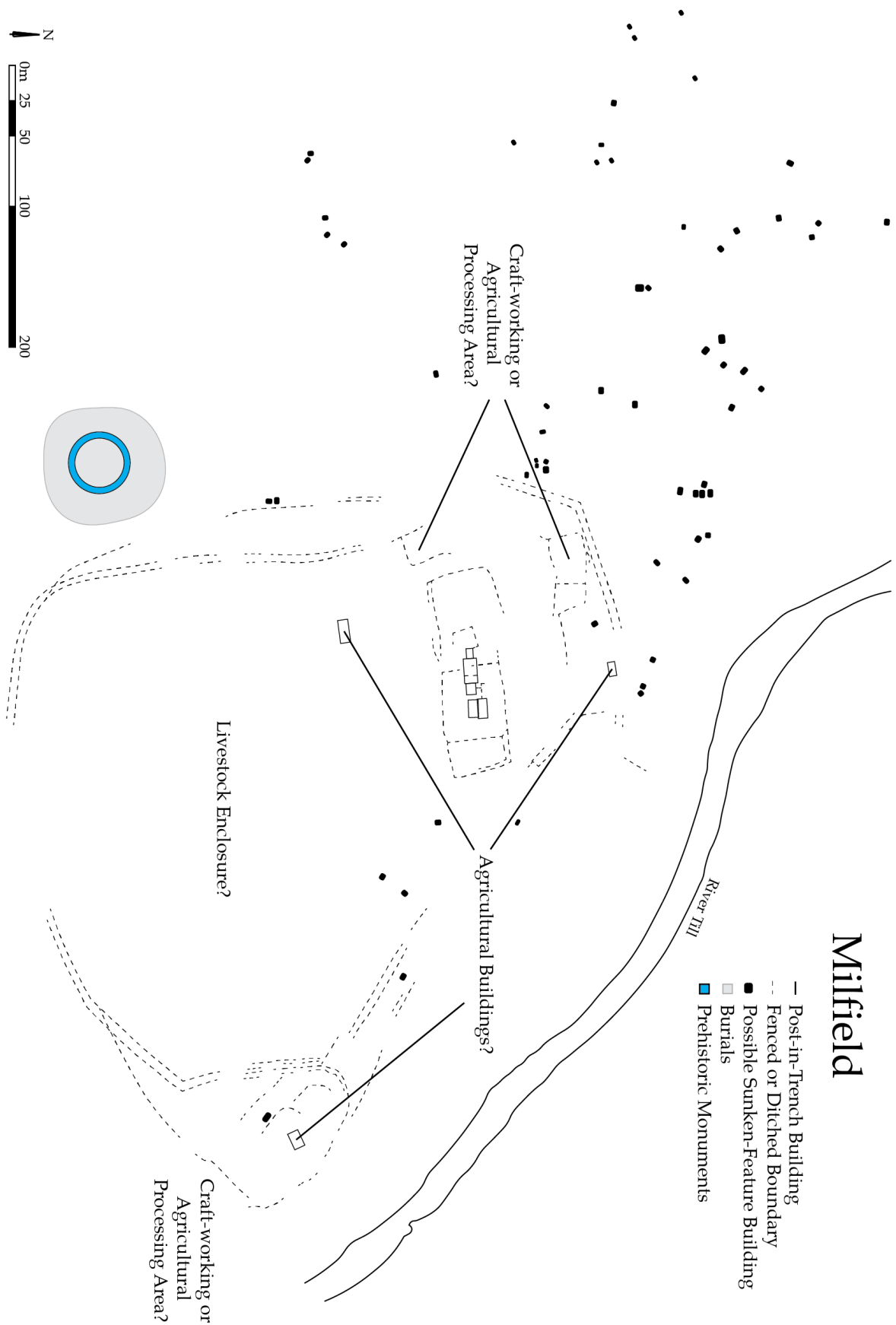


Figure 2.37: The possible livestock enclosures and outbuildings at Milfield (redrawn from Gates and O'Brien 1988).

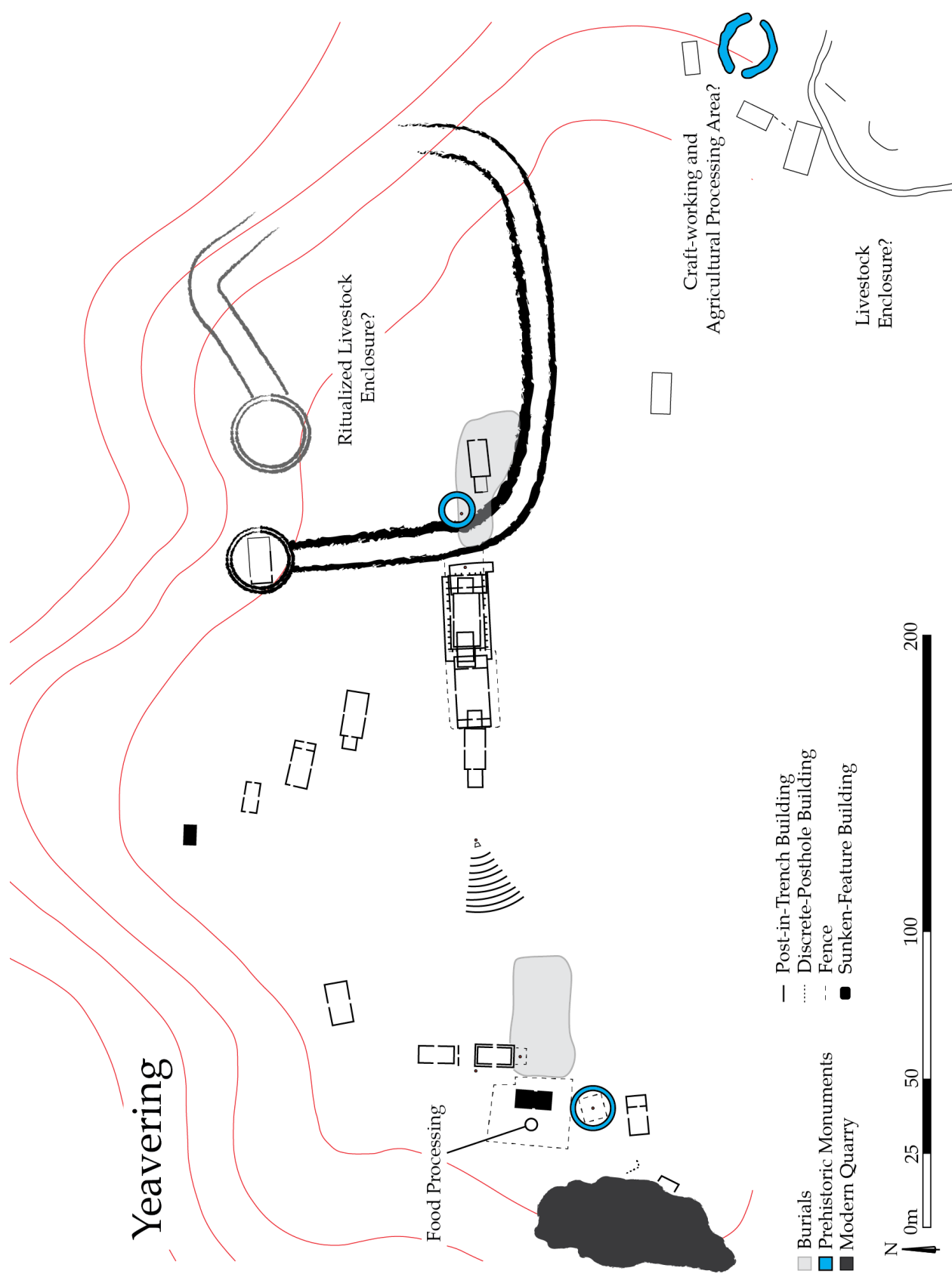
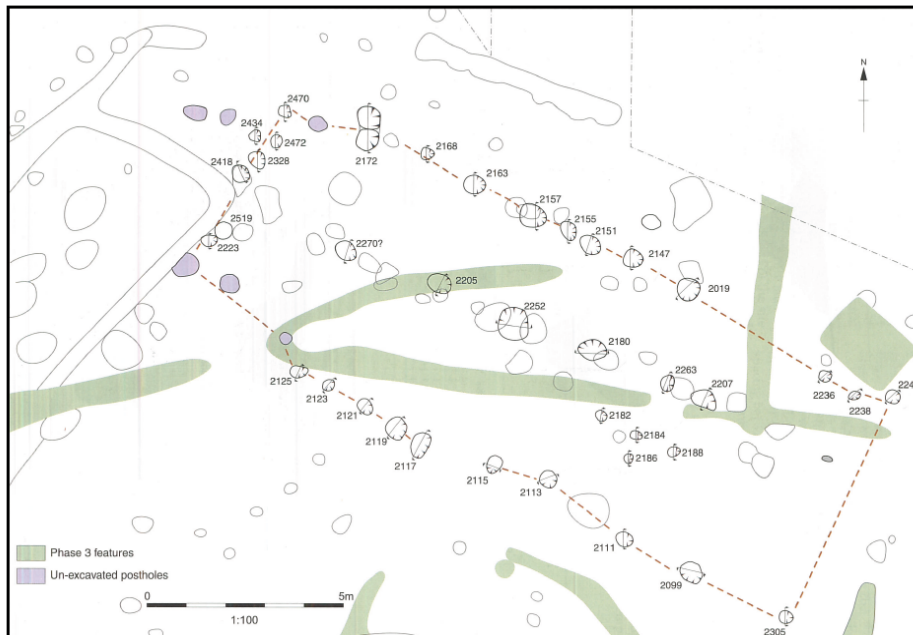


Figure 2.38: The possible livestock enclosures and outbuildings at Yeavinger (redrawn from Hope-Taylor 1977; Tinniswood and Harding 1991; Gates 2005).

Higham Ferrers



Lyminge



Figure 2.39: The 8th Century barns identified at Higham Ferrers and Lyminge (after Hardy et al 2007; Thomas 2008). These buildings exhibit a distinctive discrete-posthole construction with a central line of posts that differs dramatically from the great hall architectural style.

Higham Ferrers (Northants.) appear to be significantly different from the 7th Century halls (Fig.2.39) (Hardy *et al.* 2007; Thomas 2008; Hamerow 2012, 50-2), and the fluid ad hoc nature of *feorm* in the 7th Century probably obviated the need for large storage facilities (see **Section 2.2.2.2**). This is supported by the stipulations for bread and ale, rather than unprocessed grain, in the Laws of King Ine.

2.7.3 Exchange

Rendlesham has produced prodigious evidence for exchange, including 168 sceattas, 25 gold coins, 8 Byzantine copper-alloy coins, weights with Byzantine denominations, and ingots. Moreover, the sheer quantity of certain rare artefacts at Rendlesham suggests that the site was producing commodities for a wider population than that of the immediate settlement, perhaps for exchange or redistribution (Scull *et al.* 2016, 1603).

The sceattas may postdate the occupation of the great halls, but the gold coins and Byzantine copper-alloy coins date to the late 6th and 7th Centuries. Moreover, the widespread distribution of gold coins, mirroring that of the sceattas, suggests that these coins were circulating in a similar fashion, and this, along with cut gold coins and a gilded forgery of a Merovingian tremissis, attest to both socially-embedded exchange and mercantile exchange at Rendlesham, in weighted bullion and coinage, from at least the later 6th Century (Scull *et al.* 2016, 1603-4).

The widespread distribution of coins, weights and ingots suggests that this exchange occurred across both elite and non-elite areas of the site, and the range of elite and non-elite metalwork further suggests that both elite and non-elite populations were involved in exchange (Scull *et al.* 2016).

No other great hall complex has produced such remarkable evidence for exchange, but relative to the background wealth of the Upper Thames Valley, the 14 sceattas metal-detected at Sutton Courtenay represent one of the largest concentrations of single-loss sceattas in the region (Hamerow *et al.* 2007, 180-3). These sceattas may postdate the abandonment of the great halls, but the evidence from Rendlesham suggests that sceattas represent the culmination of a *longue durée* development of production and exchange at great hall complexes, perhaps stretching back well into the 6th Century.

2.8 Variation among Great Hall Complexes

The identified great hall complexes share many similarities, but they also exhibit potentially significant differences, which may reflect real differences in the functions of these sites.

2.8.1 Variation in the Documented Terms for Great Hall Complexes

Bede uses different terms to describe Yeavinger and Rendlesham – *villa* and *vicus*, respectively. James Campbell argued that these terms were largely interchangeable, but he suggested that *villa* might have a more specific connotation referring to the buildings of the royal residence, while *vicus* might refer to the extended royal site (Campbell 1986, 108). In light of the extensive activity discovered at Rendlesham, Scull *et al.* (2016, 1609) have refined Campbell's definition, arguing that *villa* describes the royal residence – perhaps approximately equivalent to the central precinct – while *vicus* describes the surrounding settlement that might be associated with a royal *villa*. Scull *et al.* (2016) suggest that a royal *villa* might stand alone, or it might be associated with a *vicus*. Rendlesham, Milfield and Sutton Courtenay, with their extensive associated settlements, are clear examples of the latter (Fig.2.9-11) (the site Sutton Courtenay is associated with a *wic* place-name: Brennan and Hamerow 2015, 327). However, even at Yeavinger, which is often treated as a stand-alone *villa regia*, there is growing evidence that the site was associated with more extensive settlement features (Scull 1991, 60; Gates 2005, 82-3). In the absence of extensive survey and excavation, it cannot be assumed that any great hall complex was truly isolated.

Even if some sites were truly isolated, this does not appear to have been a determining factor in the form of the central precinct. The layout of the great halls at Sutton Courtenay closely resembles the layout of the great halls at Yeavinger, which has less extensive evidence for associated settlement, and both of these sites closely resemble the layout of Hatton Rock and Long Itchington, which have yet to produce any evidence of associated settlement (see below Fig.2.44).

Bede and Eddius Stephanus use two other terms to describe royal sites – *civitas* and *urbs* – but these terms are never used to describe a known great hall complex. Leslie Alcock suggested that the enclosed site at Doon Hill was an *urbs*, a term which was typically used for fortified sites (Alcock 1988a). However, the documented royal *urbs* at Dunbar (E. Loth.) shows no evidence of the characteristic architecture or layout of great hall complexes (Fig.2.40) (Perry 2000).

2.8.2 Variation in the Archaeology of Great Hall Complexes

All great hall complexes share a similar architectural style and a similar concern for spatial organization, but the size and number of buildings and the overall layout of the site could vary substantially from site to site. Some of these differences are probably related to the chronological development of the great hall complexes (see **Section 3.3**), but not all differences can be explained by chronology.

Dunbar, Castle Park

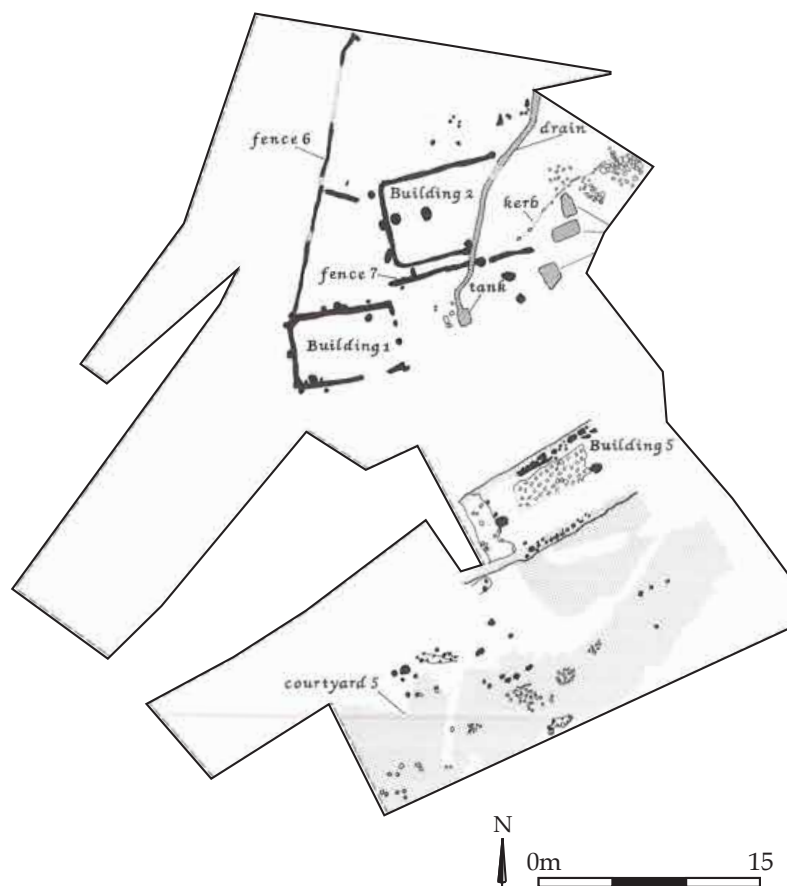


Figure 2.40: The excavations of the 7th Century royal *urbs* at Dunbar (after Perry 2000). The architecture and layout of the site bear little resemblance to the great hall complexes.

2.8.2.1 Variation in Overall Size

The number of distinct hall buildings identified at each great hall complex (i.e. the number of buildings that could conceivably be standing at the same time) ranges dramatically. Based on aerial photographs and large-scale excavations, the central precincts of Cowage Farm, Yeavinger, Sprouston and Cowdery's Down appear to be significantly larger than any other site, with more than twice as many distinct identified buildings (Fig.2.41-3). Many sites probably had more buildings than are visible in aerial photographs – the buildings at Sutton Courtenay and Milfield, in particular, are probably underrepresented – and sites like Lyminge, which are not visible in aerial photographs, may be considerably larger than is currently known. However, the buildings at Cowage Farm and Sprouston are probably also underrepresented, and it is difficult to accept that sites like Atcham, Doon Hill and Lockerbie were ever as large as Cowage Farm.

These differences appear to be partially chronological. Many of the smallest great hall complexes – Atcham, Doon Hill, Lockerbie and Whitekirk – were probably later sites, and there may have been a diversification in the size of later great hall complexes (see **Section 3.3.4**). However, perhaps as a consequence of their later date, these small sites also appear to be relatively short-lived, or at least to have relatively few phases. In contrast, the largest sites appear to have gone through numerous phases of rebuilding. The great hall complexes at Yeavinger and Cowdery's Down probably each went through 4-5 major phases, and while the phasing of Cowage Farm and Sprouston is unclear, the layout and radiocarbon dates for Cowage Farm suggest a very long-lived site with numerous episodes of rebuilding. The apparent differences in the number of distinct buildings may therefore be partially related to the length of occupation: a long-lived site would appear larger due to repeated rebuilding.

2.8.2.2 Variation in Layout

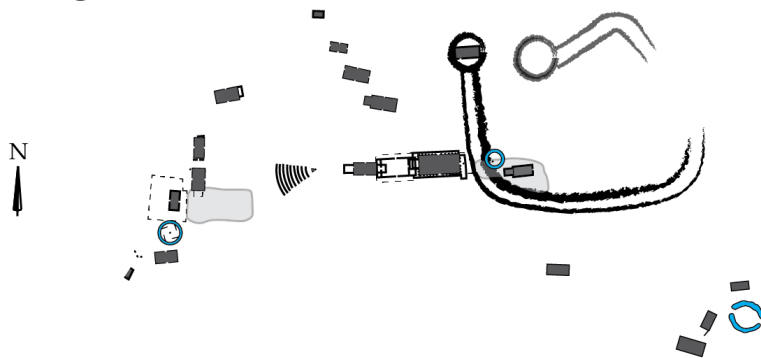
The layouts of great hall complexes could also vary substantially (Fig.2.44-5). Atcham, Hatton Rock, Long Itchington, Long Wittenham, Sutton Courtenay, Whitekirk and Yeavinger appear to be predominantly governed by one or two perpendicular axes, laid out in a T or L-shape (Fig.2.44), while the layouts of Cowage Farm, Cowdery's Down, Lyminge and Sprouston are more poly-axial, resembling an approximately gridded layout, often organized around courtyards (Fig.2.45).

The line between these T/L-shaped and poly-axial layouts is blurred at several sites, and the poly-axial layouts may simply be a consequence of larger sites with more buildings. The poly-axial sites at Cowage Farm, Cowdery's Down and Sprouston are among the largest identified sites, and the full extent of Lyminge is unknown. However, if the poly-axial layout of these sites was a consequence of their burgeoning size, one might expect the earliest phases of these sites to exhibit

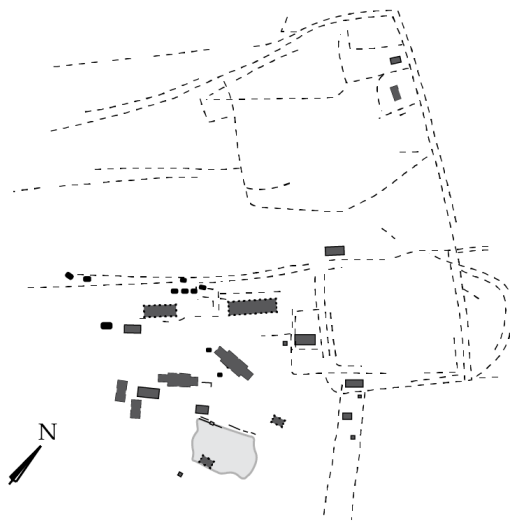
Cowage Farm



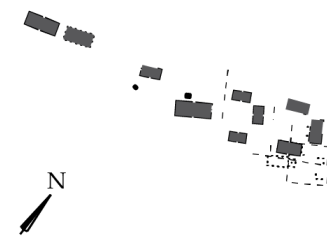
Yeavinger



Sprouston



Cowdery's Down



0m 50 100 200

Figure 2.41: Cowage Farm, Yeavinger, Sprouston and Cowdery's Down appear to be considerably larger than other great hall complexes (redrawn from Hope-Taylor 1977; Millett and James 1983; Hinchliffe 1986; Smith 1992). It is unclear exactly how many buildings were occupied at the same time, but the number of distinct (i.e. not overlapping) buildings at each of these sites far exceeds any other site.

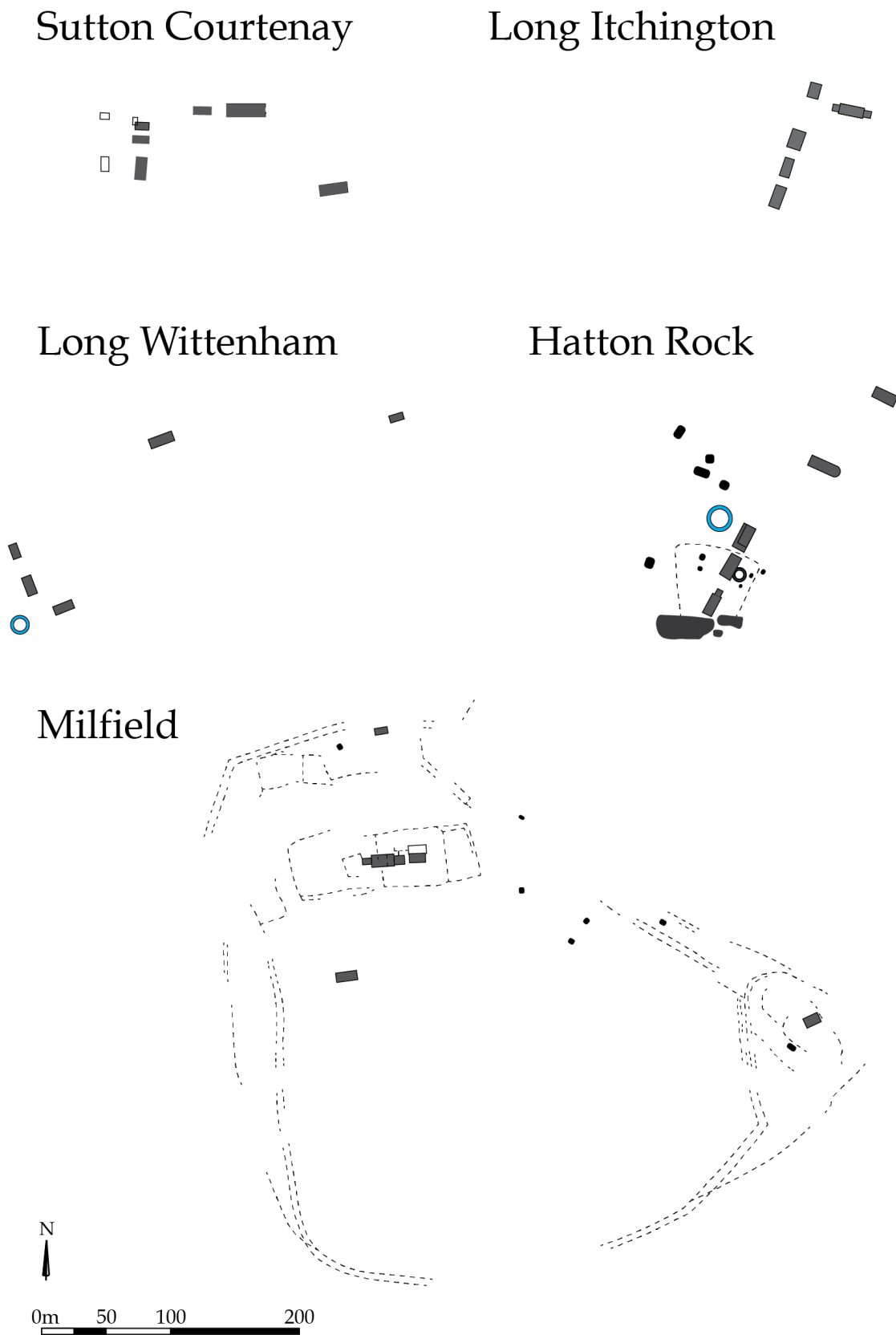
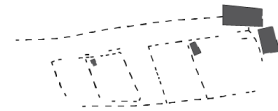


Figure 2.42: Sutton Courtenay, Long Itchington, Long Wittenham, Hatton Rock and Milfield each appear to have 5-6 distinct buildings, although Sutton Courtenay has several more possible buildings and the dispersed layout of the Milfield buildings is suggestive of more unidentified buildings (redrawn from Gates and O'Brien 1988; Booth *et al.* 2007; Gethin 2007; Wessex Archaeology 2010; Hamerow *et al.* 2013; Abi Thompkins pers. comm.).

Lyminge



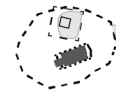
Whitekirk



Atcham



Doon Hill



Lockerbie



0m 50 100 200

Figure 2.43: Lyminge, Whitekirk, Atcham, Doon Hill and Lockerbie appear to have comparative few distinct buildings (redrawn from Brown 1983; Kirby 2012; Thomas 2017; White 2017; RCAHMS Archive). Lyminge is almost certainly larger than is currently understood, but Whitekirk, Atcham, Doon Hill and Lockerbie appear to be truly small, especially when compared with the largest sites at Cowage Farm, Yeavering, Sprouston and Cowdery's Down.

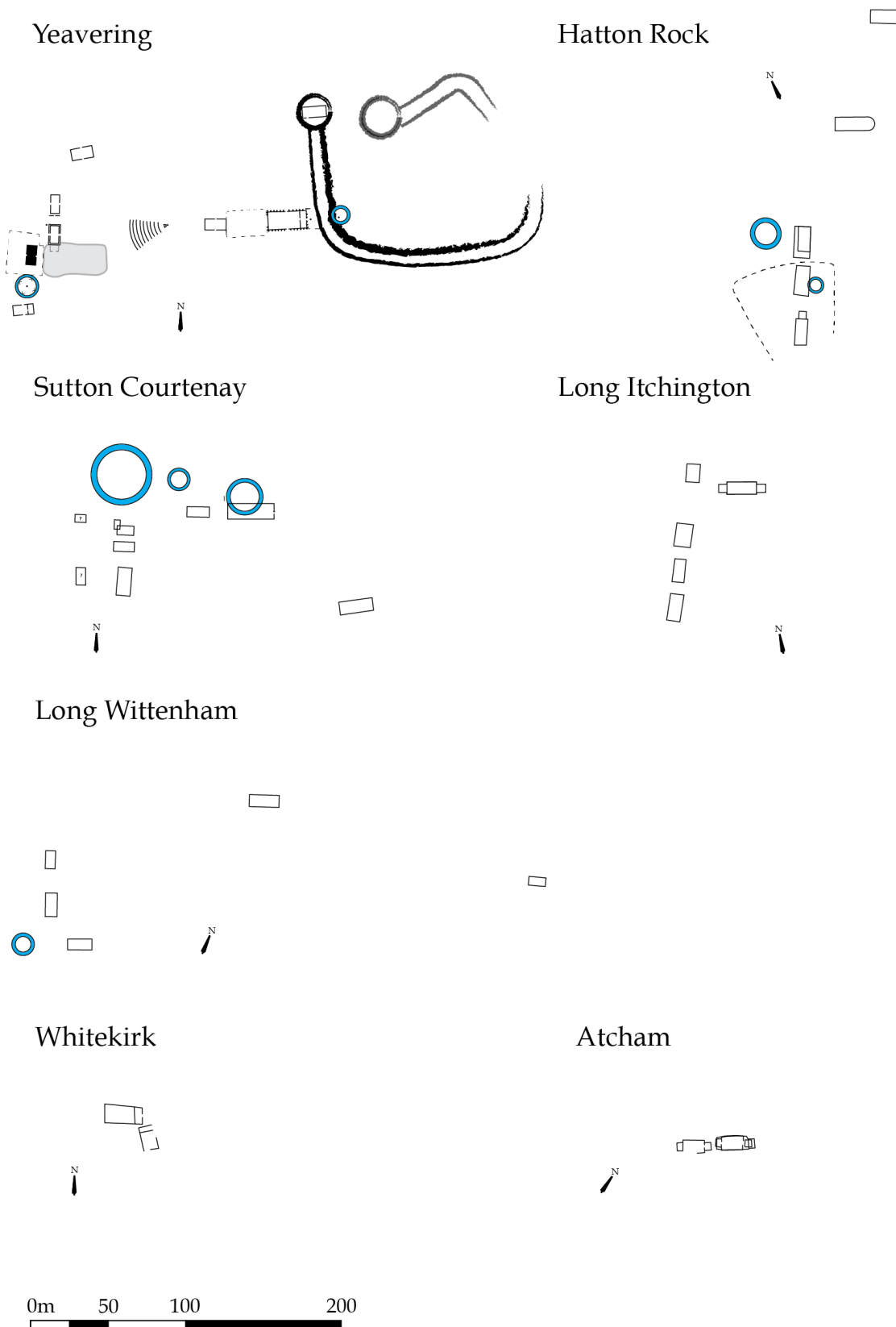
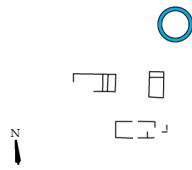
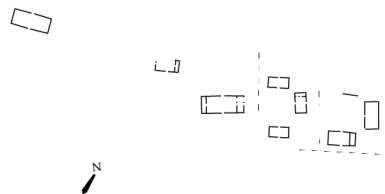


Figure 2.44: The T/L-shaped great hall complexes (redrawn from Hope-Taylor 1977; Brown 1983; Booth *et al.* 2007; Gethin 2007; Wessex Archaeology 2010; White 2017; Abi Tompkins pers. comm.). While not T/L-shaped, the axial layout of Atcham is clearly related.

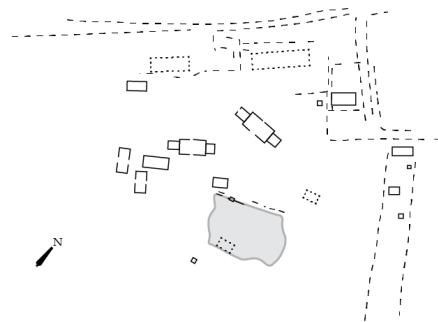
Lyminge



Cowdery's Down



Sprouston



Cowage Farm



0m 50 100 200

A scale bar with markings at 0m, 50, 100, and 200 meters.

Figure 2.45: The poly-axial great hall complexes (redrawn from Millett and James 1983; Hinchliffe 1986; Gates and O'Brien 1988; Smith 1992; Thomas 2017).

a T/L-shaped layout, but this does not appear to be the case. The earliest phases of Cowdery's Down exhibit a poly-axial layout, and the early phases of Lyminge appear to be similarly poly-axial. The choice between a linear T/L-shaped layout and a poly-axial courtyard layout therefore appears to have been made in the earliest phases of these sites, and yet, there is no discernible reason for choosing one layout over the other.

There also appear to be significant differences in the use of boundary features at certain great hall complexes. Cowage Farm, Doon Hill, Hatton Rock, Milfield, Sprouston and Yeavinger appear to feature significant boundary features, to such an extent that Cowage Farm, Doon Hill, Hatton Rock and Milfield could be plausibly interpreted as enclosed sites (Fig.2.46-7). This appears to be partially a chronological development. With the exception of Yeavinger, all of the sites with significant boundary features have solid evidence for later occupation, from radiocarbon dates to documentary references to late-type annexed buildings (see **Section 3.3.3**).

2.8.2.3 Variation in Great Halls

The great halls can be clearly divided into open-form great halls and annexed great halls (Fig.2.1-2). However, this appears to be a chronological development. The annexed great halls are strongly correlated with later dating evidence, although it unclear whether annexed great halls entirely replaced open-form great halls (see **Section 3.3.2**).

The largest open-form great halls identified at most sites have similar dimensions, ranging 22-25m in length (Table 2.1). However, two sites deviate from this norm. A 30m long open-form great hall has been excavated at Sutton Courtenay, and at neighbouring Long Wittenham, the largest possible building, as yet identified from aerial photography and geophysical survey, appears to be only 18m long (see **Section 7.2.1.2**). The Sutton Courtenay building may be paralleled by a 28m discrete-posthole building at Sprouston, but it is uncertain whether this feature was actually a building (Smith 1992, 276-7). The Long Wittenham building may be paralleled by the 19m long open-form hall excavated at Eynsford, but it cannot be assumed that this was the largest building at Eynsford. By the same token, however, the Long Wittenham cropmarks are poorly defined, and a larger building may yet be discovered in the future. Nevertheless, this does not explain the exceptional length of the Sutton Courtenay great hall, and the proximity of these two anomalous sites is suggestive of a causal relationship. On current evidence, Sutton Courtenay is a more impressive site, with evidence for gold and silver-smithing, high status 7th Century burials and an extensive associated settlement. This, combined with the apparent differences in great hall dimensions between Sutton Courtenay and Long Wittenham, may suggest that there were

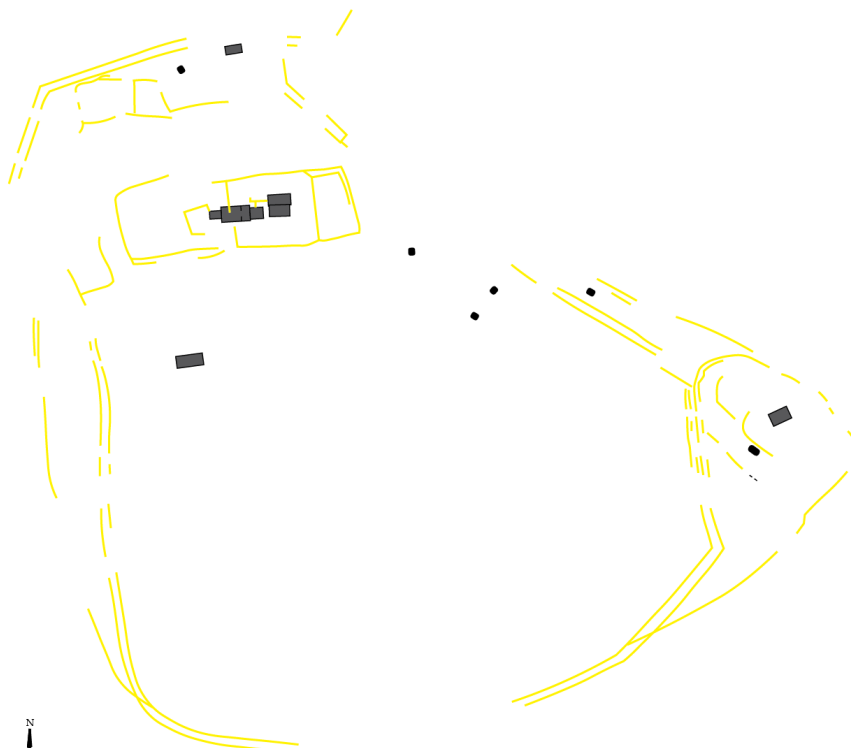
Sprouston



Doon Hill



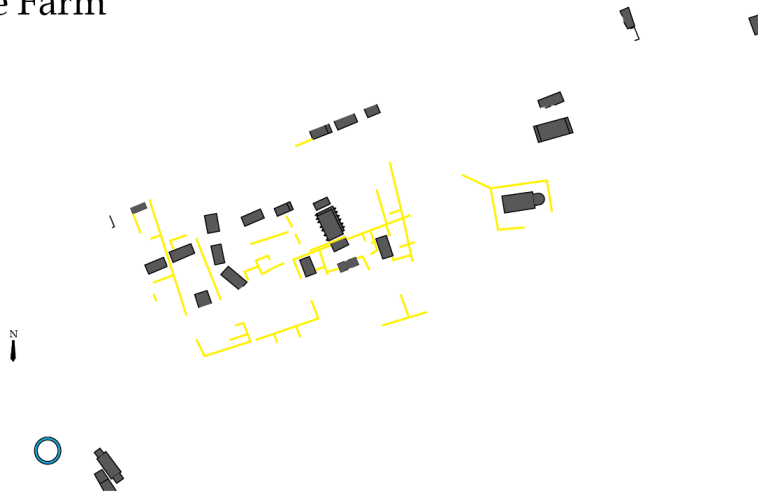
Milfield



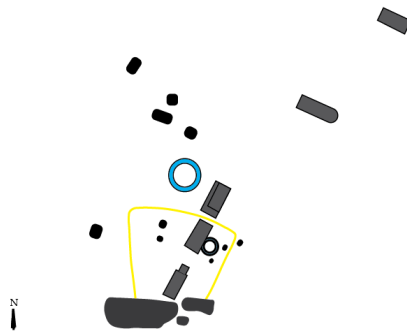
0m 50 100 200

Figure 2.46: The integral and extensive use of boundary features (in yellow) at Sprouston, Milfield and Doon Hill (redrawn from Gates and O'Brien 1988; Smith 1992; RCAHMS Archive). The great halls at Milfield and Doon Hill appear to be entirely enclosed.

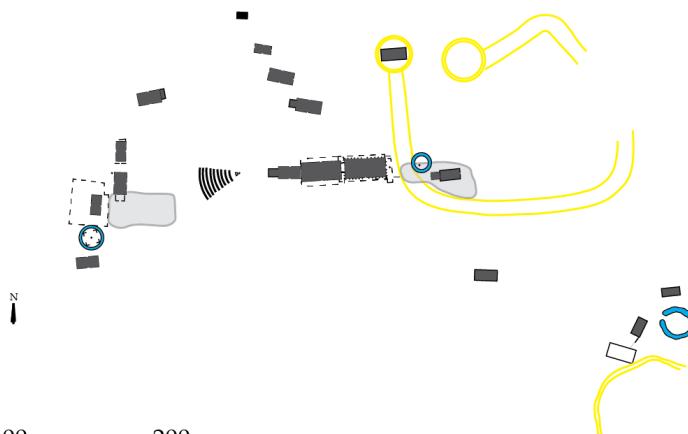
Cowage Farm



Hatton Rock



Yeavinger



0m 50 100 200

Figure 2.47: The integral and extensive use of boundary features at Cowage Farm, Hatton Rock and Yeavinger (redrawn from Hope-Taylor 1977; Hinchliffe 1986; Gethin 2007). The great halls at Cowage Farm and Hatton Rock appear to be entirely enclosed.

significant differences in status between Sutton Courtenay and Long Wittenham (see **Section 8.1.10**).

The differences between Sutton Courtenay and Long Wittenham may presage the later development of annexed great halls, which exhibit much greater variation in size (Fig.2.2; Table 2.2). At some sites, the size of the later annexed great halls appears to be correlated with the overall size and complexity of the great hall complex, but this was not universally the case (see **Section 3.3.4**). Nevertheless, the significant variations in the dimensions of later annexed great halls are strongly suggestive of differences in status.

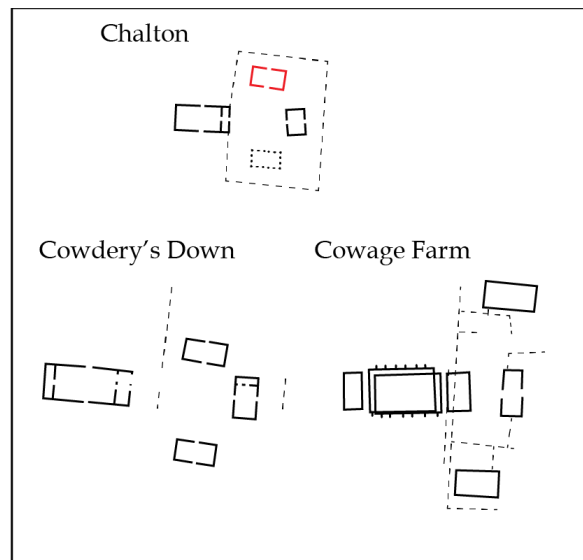
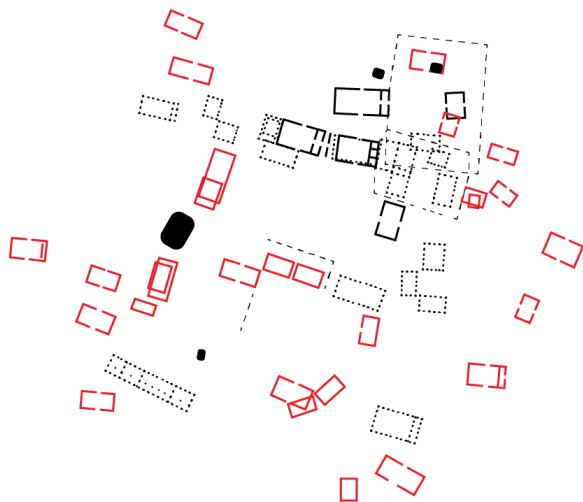
2.8.3 Great Hall Complexes and Minor Hall Complexes

In comparing and contrasting the differences between great hall complexes, it is important to take into account the ‘minor’ hall complexes at Chalton, Polebrook and Thirlings. These sites share certain similarities with the great hall complexes, but they lack the degree of scale and precision found on great hall complexes. However, the minor hall complexes are critical to understanding what truly makes the great hall complexes special and to what degree the variation among great hall complexes is significant.

The site at Chalton has a carefully planned layout, which bears a strong resemblance to the larger, more poly-axial great hall complexes, especially Cowage Farm, and the courtyard range in the northeast corner of the Chalton excavations is directly paralleled at Cowage Farm and Cowdery’s Down (Fig.2.48) (Addyman *et al.* 1972; Addyman and Leigh 1973; Champion 1977). However, the buildings at Cowage Farm and Cowdery’s Down are much larger, more robust and more carefully constructed than those at Chalton (Fig.2.49). Only a handful of buildings at Chalton appear to be constructed in the great hall architectural style, and the largest and most robust of these buildings – Building AZ1 – is a pale imitation of the great halls at Cowage Farm and Cowdery’s Down. The number of distinct buildings at Chalton far exceeds even the largest great hall complexes, and the majority of these buildings would not be out of place on a more typical settlement. Chalton is therefore clearly imitating the great hall complexes, but it falls short, lying somewhere between the great hall complexes and more typical settlements.

The site at Polebrook also exhibits a carefully planned layout and relatively large buildings, including one annexed building, which is characteristic of the later great hall complexes (Fig.2.50-51) (Upex 2002; 2003; 2004; 2005). Polebrook is considerably smaller than Chalton and the layout is simpler – stark and streamlined – and in this sense, the Polebrook layout more closely resembles the layout of the great hall complexes. However, while the Polebrook buildings are clearly

Chalton



Cowage Farm



Cowdery's Down

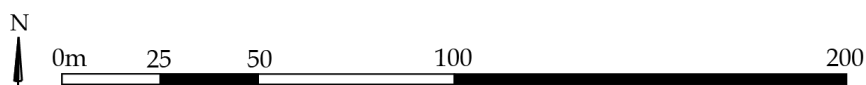
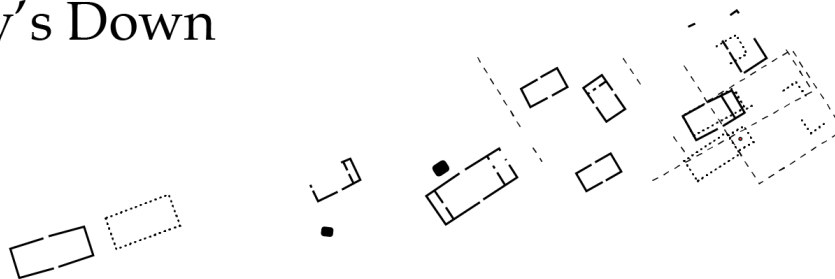
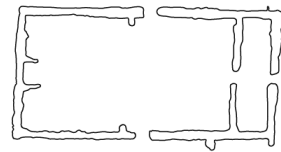


Figure 2.48: The minor hall complex at Chalton (redrawn from Champion 1977), compared with the large poly-axial sites at Cowage Farm and Cowdery's Down (redrawn from Millett and James 1983; Hinchliffe 1986). Although there are clear similarities, the buildings at Chalton are much smaller and more densely laid out, resembling something in between a great hall complex and a more typical settlement.

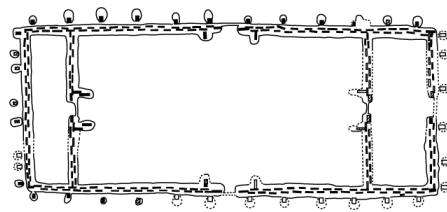
Chalton Unnumbered



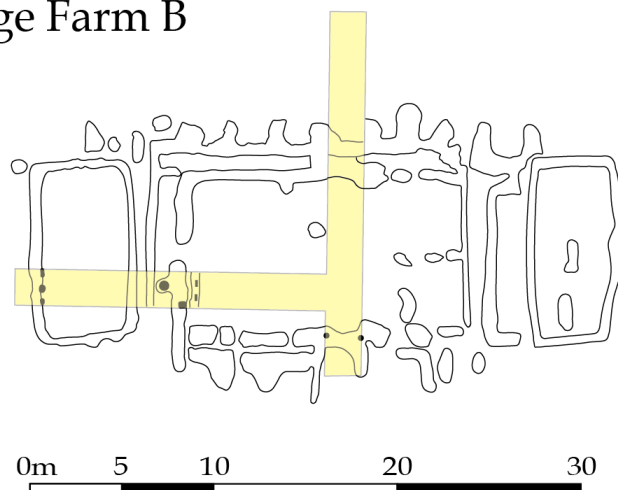
Chalton AZ1



Cowdery's Down C12



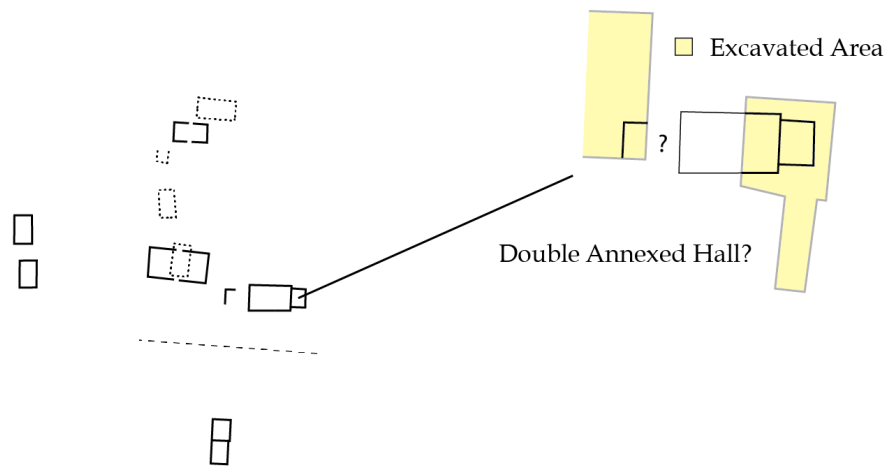
Cowage Farm B



0m 5 10 20 30

Figure 2.49: Building AZ1 – the largest building at Chalton constructed in the great hall style – compared with the great halls at Cowdery's Down and Cowage Farm (redrawn from Addyman and Leigh 1973; Champion 1977; Millett and James 1983; Hinchliffe 1986); Chalton Unnumbered is considerably larger, but this building was clearly not constructed in the great hall style, and a special agricultural or cultic purpose seems probable for this structure.

Polebrook



Yeavinger

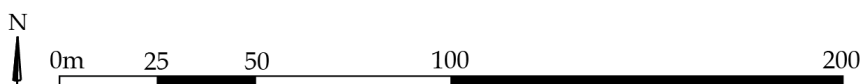
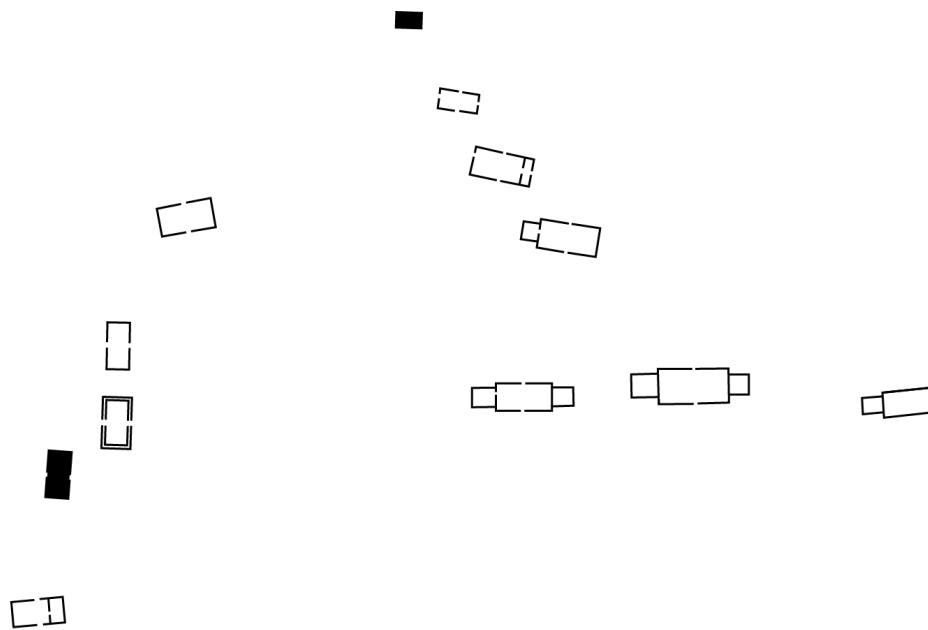
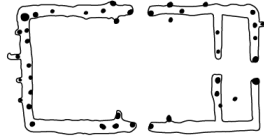
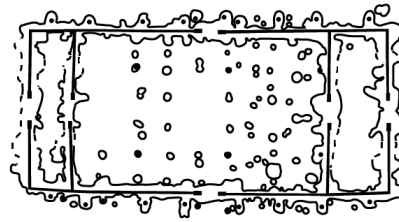


Figure 2.50: The minor hall complex at Polebrook (redrawn from Upex 2002; 2003; 2004; 2005), compared with Yeavinger (redrawn from Hope-Taylor 1977). The simple layout of Polebrook is more reminiscent of the great hall complexes than Chalton, but the buildings are less carefully constructed and, on average, considerably smaller, although the annexed building at Polebrook may have actually been a relatively large double-annexed building (see Fig.2.50).

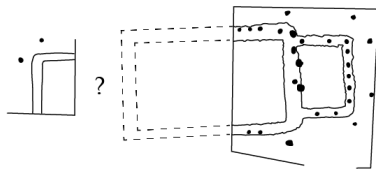
Polebrook 2



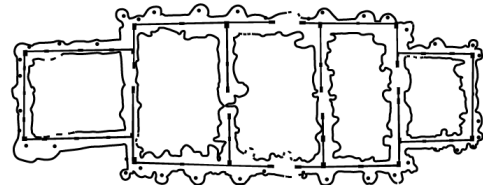
Yeavinger A2



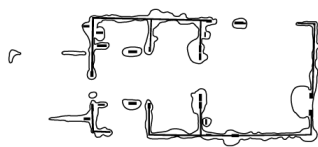
Polebrook 1/13



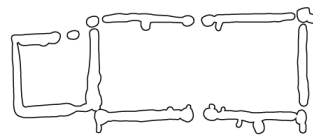
Yeavinger A3a



Doon Hill



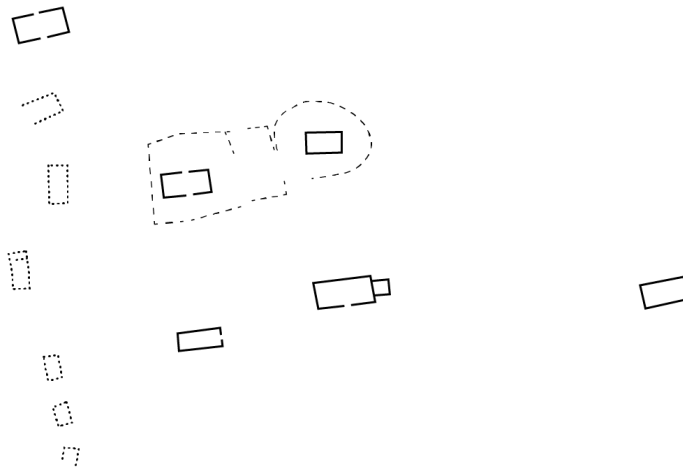
Lockerbie



0m 5 10 20 30

Figure 2.51: The largest open-form building at Polebrook – Building 2 – is much smaller and much less robustly constructed than the great hall A2 at Yeavinger, and the annexed Building 1/13 is similarly small and insubstantial when compared with Yeavinger A3a. However, if Building 1/13 was double-annexed, it would be around the same size as the single annexed halls at Doon Hill and Lockerbie. Building 1/13 does not appear to be double-annexed in aerial photographs, but a possible second annex was discovered in excavation.

Thirlings



Yeavinger

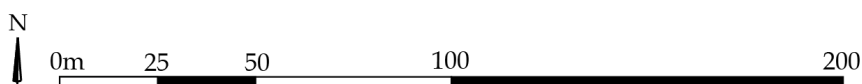
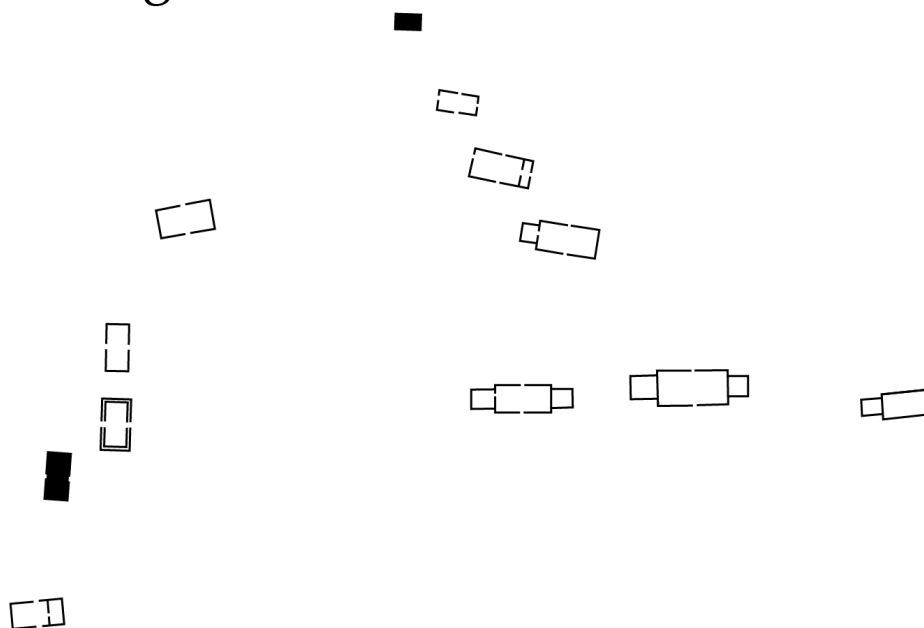
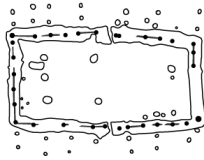
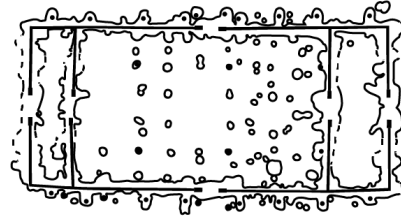


Figure 2.52: The minor hall complex at Thirlings (redrawn from O'Brien and Miket 1991), compared with Yeavinger (redrawn from Hope-Taylor 1977). The layout of Thirlings exhibits an approximately consistent orientation scheme, but unlike the great hall complexes, Thirlings does not exhibit strong alignments or focal buildings and the overall layout does not appear to represent a coherent whole.

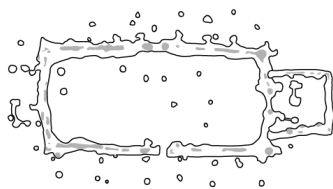
Thirlings A



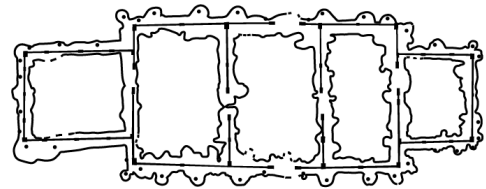
Yeavinger A2



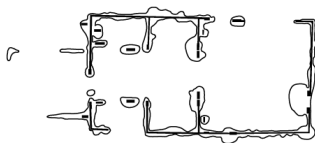
Thirlings C



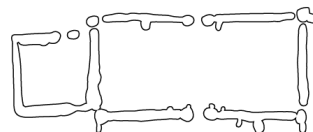
Yeavinger A3a



Doon Hill



Lockerbie



0m 5 10 20 30

Figure 2.53: The buildings at Thirlings are clearly imitating the great hall architecture style, but they are significantly less carefully constructed than the great hall complexes. They are also significantly smaller than the great halls at the neighbouring site of Yeavinger. However, the largest building at Thirlings is only marginally smaller than the Doon Hill and Lockerbie halls (redrawn from O'Brien and Miket 1991; Hope-Taylor 1977; Kirby 2012; RCAHMS Archive)

imitating the architectural style of great hall complexes, they are less carefully constructed than the buildings at great hall complexes, using circular posts rather than squared planks, and while the Polebrook buildings are relatively large, it is unclear whether any were large enough to be considered a great hall (Fig.2.51). The largest excavated buildings were only 14m long, but one of the buildings may have been double annexed, making it 21m long; however, the evidence for this second annex is equivocal. Overall, the site is significantly less impressive than the majority of great hall complexes, but it is not far removed from smaller sites at Doon Hill and Lockerbie.

The site at Thirlings also has a large annexed building, which compares favourably with the Doon Hill and Lockerbie halls (Fig.2.53) (O'Brien and Miket 1991). However, this 19m long annexed hall does not appear to have been constructed with the same care as the Doon Hill hall, and on the whole, the Thirlings buildings are significantly less robust than the buildings at great hall complexes. Moreover, the layout of Thirlings bears little resemblance to the great hall complexes (Fig.2.52); the buildings share an approximately consistent orientation scheme, but there are no apparent alignments and the overall layout does not appear to represent a coherent whole: two of the buildings are set within individual enclosures, which is particularly unusual at great hall complexes.

At first glance, the minor hall complexes appear to be secondary hall complexes, different from the great hall complexes only by a matter of degree, but there are certain differences between these sites that hint at significant functional and conceptual differences. The minor hall complexes do not appear to have the same association with ritual and cult activity as the great hall complexes – there are no prehistoric monuments or ritual deposits – and the layout of the minor hall complexes appears to be more private, more fragmented, resembling monumentalised domestic settlements, rather than extensive political theatres (compare with the great hall complexes: **Section 2.1.2.1**). These differences suggest a more private, domestic elite sphere, which contrasts significantly with the public display of the great hall complexes.

The minor hall complexes also appear to be more parochial. The great hall complexes are remarkably similar across Anglo-Saxon England (see **Section 2.5** and **3.2.1**), but the minor hall complexes share only a broad similarity, perhaps suggesting that the people who organized the construction of these sites were less well-connected, or perhaps the more private, domestic functions of the minor hall complexes obviated the need to closely emulate and compete with other sites.

There is therefore some evidence to suggest that minor hall complexes were a distinct phenomenon from the great hall complexes, but the differences between these sites become much more clear when the origins and development of these sites are compared and contrasted. This is the subject of the next chapter, **Chapter 3**.

Chapter 3

The Emergence, Development and Obsolescence of Great Hall Complexes

This chapter explores the stylistic, conceptual and functional development of great hall complexes, from their origins (**Section 3.1**) and early development (**Section 3.2**) to their later evolution (**Section 3.3**) and eventual obsolescence (**Section 3.4**), and in doing so, this chapter explores the larger purpose of great hall complexes – *why* they were built, *why* and *how* they developed over time and *why* they were abandoned. This chapter refines and develops the conclusions from **Chapter 2**, exploring changes in the basic characteristics of great hall complexes over time and drawing together the specific functions of great hall complexes into a larger narrative of kingdom formation and the development of power. As such, this chapter is speculative and theoretical, serving as the preliminary conclusions to **Part I** of the thesis.

3.1 The Emergence of Great Hall Complexes

3.1.1 The Antecedents of Great Hall Complexes

The majority of great hall complexes appear to have emerged out of existing Anglo-Saxon sites. The great hall complexes at Lyminge, Rendlesham, Sutton Courtenay and Yeavinger are each associated with earlier Anglo-Saxon settlement features, and the sites at Eynsford, Milfield, Cowdery's Down, Hatton Rock and Sprouston are also associated with undated sunken-feature buildings, which may predate the great hall complexes (Leeds 1923b; 1927; 1947; Hirst and Rahtz 1973; Hope-Taylor 1977; Millett and James 1983; Gates and O'Brien 1988; Scull 1991; Smith 1992; Gates 2005, 82-3; Philp 2014; Brennan and Hamerow 2015; Scull *et al.* 2016; Thomas 2017). The great hall complexes at Long Wittenham, Lyminge, Sutton Courtenay and Rendlesham are also associated with earlier 5-6th Century Anglo-Saxon burials (Akerman 1860; 1861; 1862; Jenkins 1885; Warhurst 1955; Parfitt 2002; Hamerow *et al.* 2007; Thomas 2010; Thomas and Knox 2013; 2014; 2015; Knox 2014; Scull *et al.* 2016).

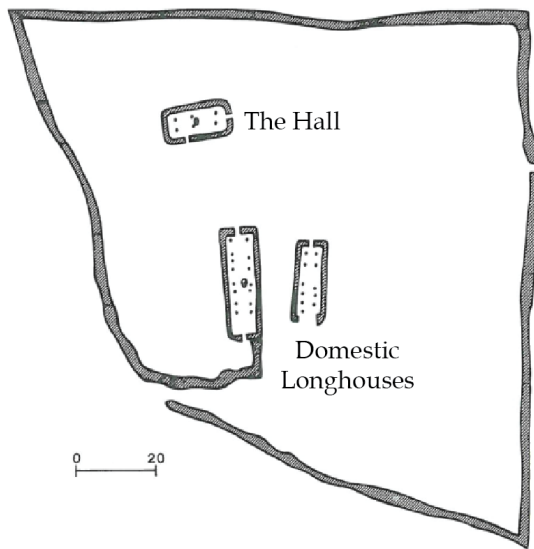
In some cases, these 5-6th Century antecedents appear to have been important centres before the emergence of the great halls. Lyminge and Rendlesham have produced prodigious evidence for high status activity dating back into the early 6th Century, including high status metalworking and glass production, elite and non-elite exchange, and possible ritual activity (Knox 2014; Thomas and Knox 2015; Scull *et al.* 2016; Thomas 2017; pers. comm.). The material assemblage from

Sutton Courtenay is less remarkable, but the site was clearly a major 6th Century settlement, and the evidence for ritual activity and craft-working is exceptional (Leeds 1923b; 1927; 1947; Hamerow *et al.* 2007; Brennan and Hamerow 2015).

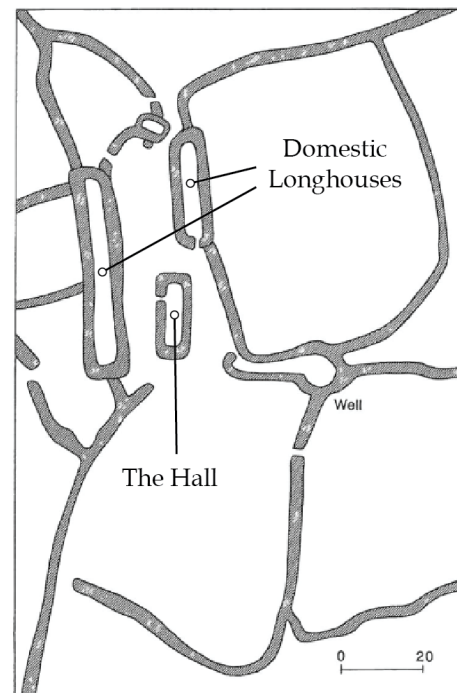
There is therefore some evidence to suggest that the great hall complexes grew out of pre-existing 6th Century centres, but unlike the Scandinavian halls, which appear to emerge directly out of leading farms (Fig.3.1) (Herschend 1993; 2009), the Anglo-Saxon great halls do not appear to grow directly out of their associated settlements. Instead, the great halls appear to emerge out of important ritual foci associated with the pre-existing settlements. The earliest discrete-posthole halls at Lyminge were constructed on top of a Bronze Age barrow, which appears to have already been a focus for feasting and elite craft-working before the construction of the first halls, and the earliest halls at Yeavinger were similarly laid out in reference to prehistoric monuments, which had previously attracted burials, standing posts and a possible square shrine (Fig.3.2) (Hope-Taylor 1977; Thomas 2017; **Section 2.6.2-4**). The halls at Sutton Courtenay were also laid out in reference to a Bronze Age barrow cemetery, which has produced evidence for 6th Century burials (Hamerow *et al.* 2007, 170-83), and the large post obstructing the east doorway of the great hall may also predate the emergence of the great hall complex (Fig.3.3) (this sequence is not certain, however, and the dating evidence for this post may be residual; see **Section 2.6.4**).

At each of these sites, there does not appear to have been a domestic precursor to the great hall complex – that is, the great halls do not appear to grow directly out of a pre-existing farmstead. Instead, the ritual activity appears to predate the domestic activity. The great halls at Yeavinger were built on top of a series of earlier buildings, which Chris Scull has argued represent a typical early Anglo-Saxon farmstead (Scull 1991), but the layout of these buildings, creating the alignment of prehistoric monuments that would define the later great hall complex, strongly suggests that these buildings should actually be interpreted as the first halls at Yeavinger – the equivalent of Lyminge's earliest discrete-posthole halls (Fig.3.2) – and the alignment of these halls, appropriating the prehistoric landscape, strongly suggests that these buildings were predominantly ritual spaces rather than domestic spaces. These alignments and this appropriation of the prehistoric landscape, evident in the earliest phases of these sites, suggest that, from the beginning, the great hall complexes were designed to facilitate symbolic public action, and this evidence for symbolic public action, designed landscapes, burials, prehistoric monuments, cult activity and exchange suggests that the earliest phases of great hall complexes were designed around the functions of public assembly (Hope-Taylor 1977, 163, 169, 241-4, 266, 279-81; Semple 2004, 137-9; Blair 2005, 54-7; Scull *et al.* 2016, 1602; cf. Pantos 2004; Baker and Brookes 2013; 2015).

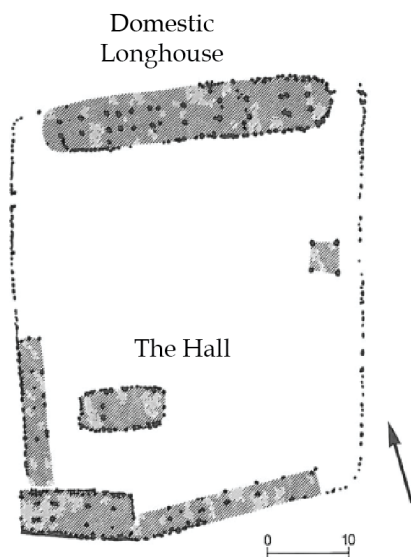
The Leading Farm at Vallhagar (Gotland)



The Leading Farm at Rönnerum (Öland)



The Leading Farm at Nörre Snede (Jutland)



The Magnate's Residence at Gudme

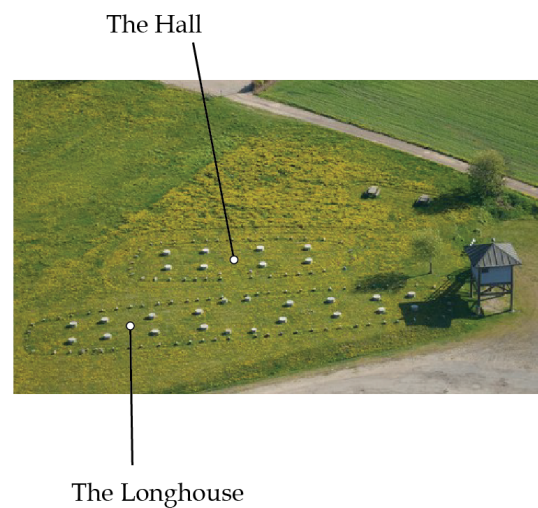
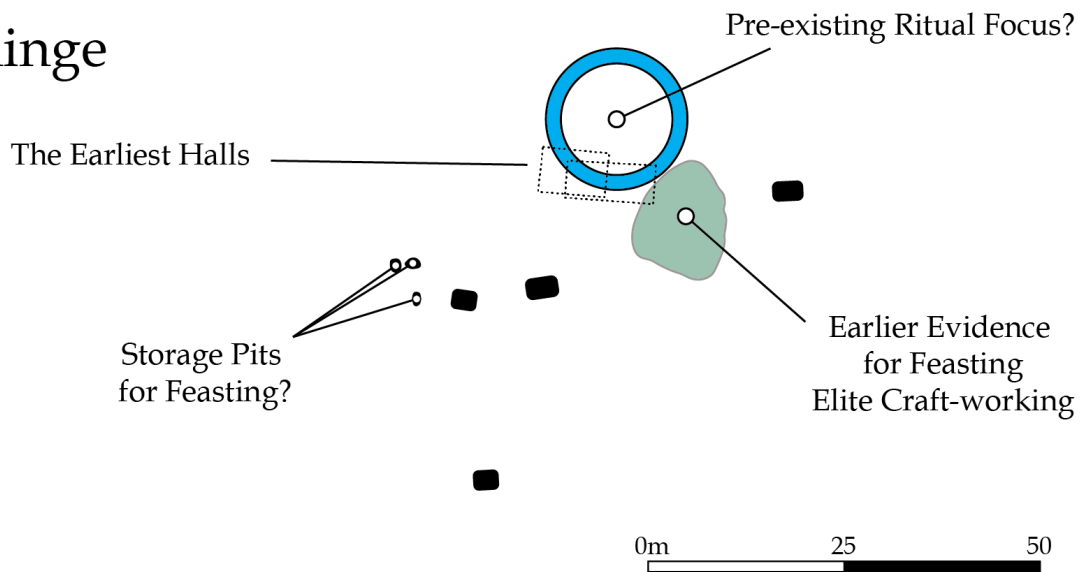


Figure 3.1: The hall building (as defined by Herschend 1993) first appears on large farms in Scandinavia as a separate, single room building. This building exhibits a distinctive assemblage distinguishing it from the domestic longhouse, and Herschend argues that the separation of the hall from the domestic longhouse marks the separation of leading families from domestic-agrarian labour and the accompanying creation of a distinct elite sphere (after Herschend 1993). However, the central places of Migration Period Scandinavia – like Gudme – appear to maintain the basic structure of a farm, with a hall and a separate longhouse.

Lyminge



Yeavingering

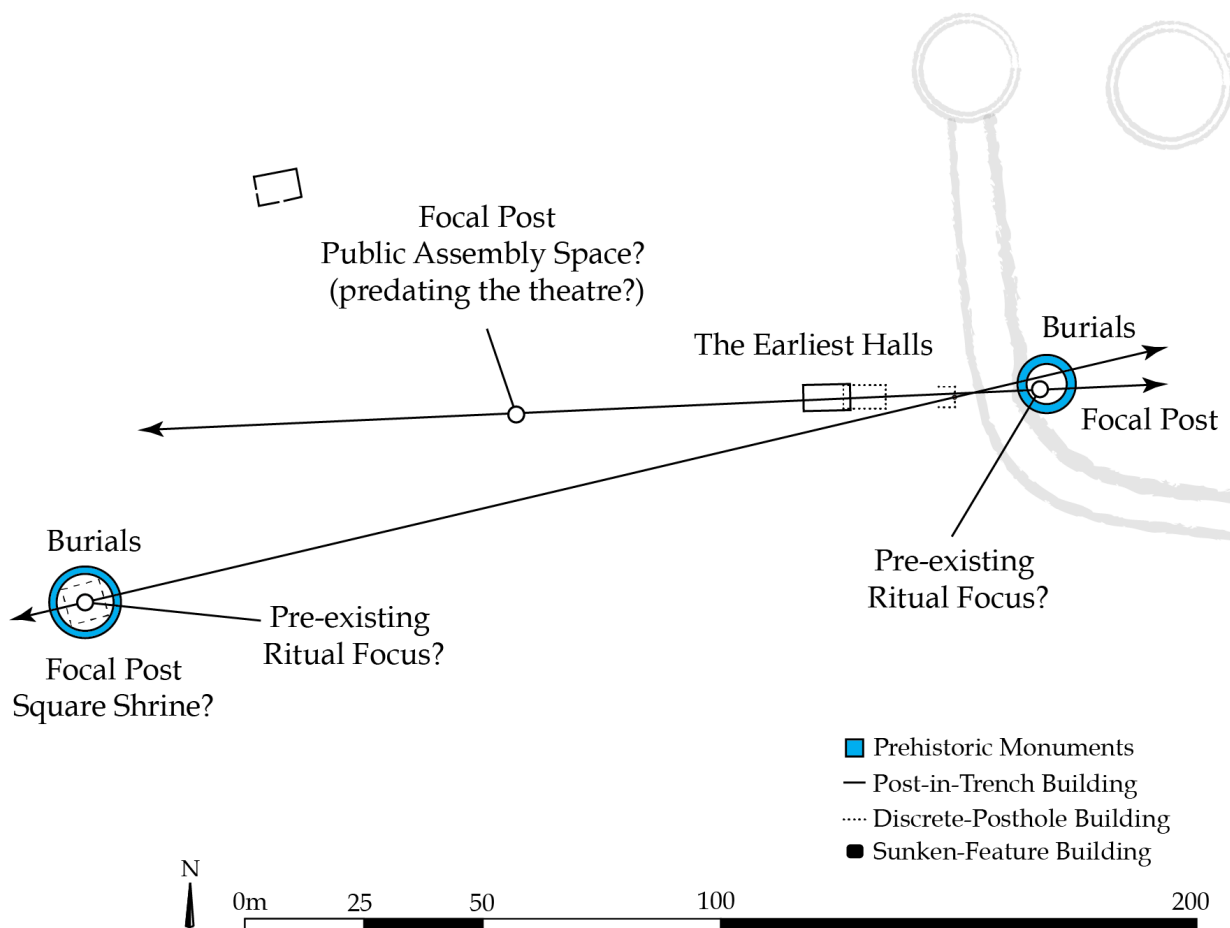


Figure 3.2: The earliest phases of Lyminge and Yeavingering (redrawn from Hope-Taylor 1977; Thomas 2017). The earliest halls at these sites appear to be constructed within a palimpsest of pre-existing ritual activity, which is strongly suggestive of public assembly.

Sutton Courtenay

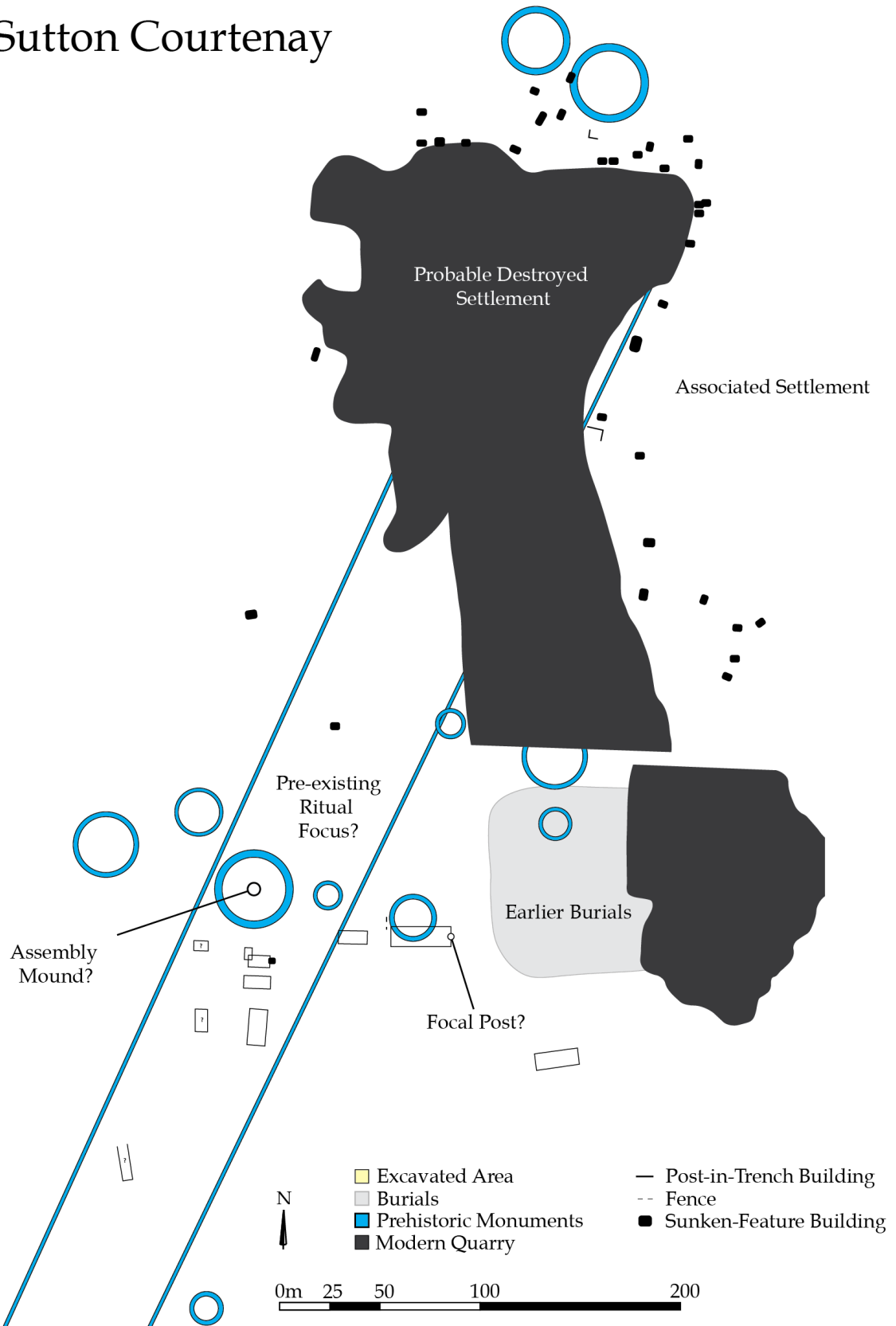


Figure 3.3: The great halls at Sutton Courtenay were constructed to the south of the main concentration of settlement, on top of a Bronze Age barrow cemetery, which appears to have been a focus for earlier 6th Century burials (redrawn from Booth *et al.* 2007; Wessex Archaeology 2010). Several of the halls appear to be aligned on the largest barrow in the cemetery, and the great hall was built on top of another barrow. The east entrance of the great hall may have also been deliberately constructed on top of an earlier standing post, but the dating evidence for this post may be residual and the post may actually postdate the great hall.

The great hall complexes therefore appear to emerge out of important assembly sites, rather than leading farms. This is a significant distinction, and it has implications for understanding the origins and fundamental purpose of great hall complexes. The Migration Period Scandinavian halls, which initially developed out of leading farms, appear to maintain the basic elements of an elite farmstead, with primary domestic and economic functions and a domestic longhouse, in addition to the hall (Fig.3.1) (Herschend 1993; Carstens 2014). In contrast, the great hall complexes appear to develop out of important assembly sites, with little evidence for direct domestic antecedents, and as such, it is not surprising that the primary identifying characteristics of great hall complexes are not exceptional domestic or economic activity, but rather exceptional interior and exterior space – an extensive theatre for symbolic public action. Therefore, while the Scandinavian halls are best interpreted as magnate residences, which attracted civic-ceremonial functions, the great hall complexes are perhaps best conceptualized as civic-ceremonial centres – monumentalised assembly sites – which became magnate residences.

3.1.1.1 Great Hall Complexes and the Appropriation of the Public Assembly

The public assembly was probably central to the construction of power in early Anglo-Saxon England. Anglo-Saxon England in the earlier 6th Century has been described as a trans-egalitarian segmentary society, organized around broadly equal, internally-ranked patrilineal and patrilocal descent groups farming or exploiting ancestral territories (Scull 1993; 1999; 2011; Härke 1997). Power in this society appears to have been heterarchical – being distributed among different descent groups, different social roles and different genders – although these groups were probably internally hierarchical, and there may have been a degree of hierarchy between different roles and genders. Status in this society was probably largely achieved, through one's experience/age, actions and abilities, although there was probably also some degree of ascribed status, and the children of more influential individuals would have always been better positioned to become more influential themselves (Scull 1993; 1999; 2011; Härke 1997; Stoodley 1999; 2011; Lucy 2011).

This predominantly heterarchical distribution of achieved status would have created a predominantly corporate power structure, in which power was predominantly shared and collectively constructed by all 'citizens' of the society (Blanton *et al.* 1996; Herschend 1998; Feinman 2012; Thurston 2012; cf. Renfrew 1974). This is not to say that early Anglo-Saxon England lacked ambitious goal-oriented individuals – so-called aggrandizers – competing for prestige and power, for themselves and for their collective descent group (Clark and Blake 1994, Hayden 1995). There must have always been a constant tension between corporate group-oriented power – the power of the many – and more exclusionary individualizing power – the power of the

few – but prior to the later 6th Century, it would appear that power was sufficiently fragmented and social norms against exclusionary power were sufficiently strong to constrain ambitious groups and individuals.

The sagas of Early Medieval Scandinavia and the Roman literature of Iron Age Germania depict similarly corporate power structures, and the primary institution of power in these corporate societies appears to have been the public assembly, where citizens collectively created and reaffirmed their identity, ideology and cosmology, where gods were propitiated, laws were recognized and disputes settled (Pantos 2002; Barnwell and Mostert 2003; Pantos and Semple 2004; Thurston 2012).

The public assembly was a corporate institution, where power was collectively constructed, but the assembly also provided ample opportunities for exclusionary individualizing behaviour. The ethnographic and historical record is full of aggrandizers competing for prestige at the public assembly, for themselves and for their descent group, through oration, deal-brokering or esoteric knowledge, through the accumulation and redistribution of resources in the form of gifts and communal feasts, and perhaps through the opportunity for elected office – a ritual specialist, a council of elders or a war leader in times of crisis (Clark and Blake 1994, Hayden 1995; Thurston 2012; also known as Big-Men: Sahlins 1963; Van Bakel *et al.* 1986; Lindstrom 2010; Flannery and Marcus 2012; or accumulators: Hayden and Gargett 1990).

Under the right conditions, this public competition could lead to the development of dominant groups. For example, among the Manambu of New Guinea, control over supernatural resources – in this case, names – was determined in competitive debates between the leaders of different descent groups, each of which would lay claim to certain names. Over time, one lineage was able to increasingly dominate these public debates, laying claim to ever greater supernatural resources and establishing sustained dominance over other descent groups (Harrison 1990). Control over the supernatural was also an important source of power among the Kachin of Myanmar, where only the leader of the dominant descent group could make sacrifices to the primary deities, and Jonathon Friedman has argued that, like the Manambu, convincing other groups that one lineage had special access or favour with the supernatural was an important strategy in establishing dominance (Friedman 1979; Flannery and Marcus 2012, 197-9). Conversely, rival descent groups of the Mt. Hagen area of New Guinea sought to establish dominance over each other by giving away more gifts than could be reciprocated in ritualized exchanges (Strathern 1971), and the Chimbu of New Guinea practiced a similar form of competitive reciprocity (Brown 1972). Public assemblies could therefore take a wide variety of different forms, and the potential avenues for

competition at these assemblies are equally manifold. Whatever the form, however, exclusionary competition appears to be inevitable, and under the right conditions, this competition will produce dominant groups, often led by a particular individual or group of individuals.

The overarching power structure of early Anglo-Saxon England was therefore corporate, and based on ethnographic and historical parallels, this corporate power structure probably revolved around the institution of public assembly, where group-oriented power and identity were collectively constructed. However, the ethnographic and historical record indicates that the public assembly was also a primary arena of competition for exclusionary individualizing power, and as such, the public assembly was both the heart of resistance to kingship and potentially a powerful facilitator of kingship.

It is therefore of great significance to find the origin of great hall complexes in the monumentalisation of public assembly sites. This suggests a specific path to power for the first supra-regional magnates of Anglo-Saxon England: the appropriation of the institution of public assembly and, with it, the appropriation of corporate power, through the construction of monumentalised civic-ceremonial complexes – the great hall complexes – to focus and invest corporate power in specific individuals and specific descent groups. The ritualized exchanges of the Mt. Hagen area were in fact conducted in ceremonial plazas that bear a striking resemblance to the great hall complexes, including important burials, a ceremonial mound and even a hall, and although these plazas are, in theory, communal monuments, the building of these plazas was organized by ambitious individuals, and one can imagine the emergence of a dominant group could quickly propel these plazas to new heights of ostentatious display and exclusionary competition (Strathern 1971, 37-52; Flannery and Marcus 2012, 104).

3.1.1.2 The Origin of Minor Hall Complexes

The origin of the great hall complexes therefore appears to lie in the public assembly. The minor hall complexes, however, appear to be functionally and conceptually different, from their earliest phases. The dating evidence for minor hall complexes is consistent with a late 6th to early 8th Century floruit (Table 3.1), suggesting that these sites were approximately contemporary with the great hall complexes, and the use of identical wall types – the discrete-posthole ‘B4’ wall type – in the early phases of Thirlings and Cowdery’s Down suggests that these phases were approximately contemporary. However, in contrast with the great hall complexes, the earliest phases of the minor hall complexes lack any evidence for public assembly. The burials, prehistoric monuments and cult activity that are so characteristic of the great hall complexes appear to be entirely absent from the minor hall complexes, and the alignments and appropriated landscapes of

the great hall complexes, which are so suggestive of public action, are conspicuously absent from the earliest phases of the minor hall complexes. Instead, the earliest phases of the minor hall complexes resemble more typical domestic settlements – only more carefully laid out and with fewer sunken-feature buildings (Fig.3.4). In contrast with the great hall complexes, the earliest phases of the minor hall complexes resemble private, domestic, permanent, elite settlements – magnate residences, rather than civic-ceremonial centres.

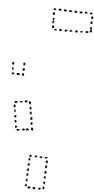
Table 3.1: The available dating evidence for each minor hall complex, from earliest to latest.

Site	Feature	Building Type	Date Type	Date (2 sigma)	Date (1 sigma)	Comments
Thirlings	Building C	post-in-trench	C14 from feature	410-567		This date was taken from carbonized timbers and therefore dates the age of the tree ring sampled, rather than the building itself; this date is therefore likely to predate the building
	Building L	post-in-trench	C14 from feature	415-579		This date was taken from carbonized timbers
	Building P	post-in-trench	C14 from feature	429-622		This date was taken from carbonized timbers
	Building N	post-in-trench	C14 from feature	442-586		This date was taken from carbonized timbers
	Building A	post-in-trench	C14 from feature	538-655		This date was taken from carbonized timbers
	Building B	post-in-trench	C14 from feature	604-681		This date was taken from carbonized timbers
Chalton	Total Site		Artefact	6/7th C		Type 3 knives
	Total Site		Artefact	7th C		Hipped pin
	Total Site		Artefact	later 7th C		Hanging bowl
	Total Site		Artefact	later 7th C		Hipped disc-heel pins
	Total Site		Artefact	later 7th C		Lace tags
	Total Site		Artefact	7/8th C		Lava querns
Polebrook	Total Site		C14 from later feature	Ante 650-990	Ante 690-890	date comes from a well that postdates the buildings

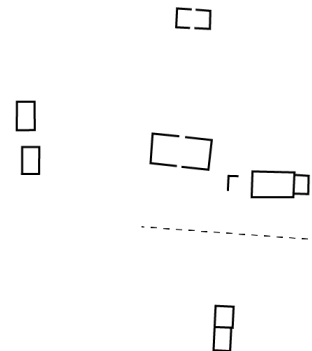
The comparatively less impressive architecture of the minor hall complexes and the more significant variation among these sites suggests that the minor hall complexes may be the initiative of more parochial and lower status elites, who may have had permanent residences rather than peripatetic circuits. These non-itinerant regional or sub-regional magnates would have emulated the civic-ceremonial centres of supra-regional peripatetic kings, but they may not have had the need or perhaps the power to replicate the original purpose of this civic architecture. Indeed, the location of Thirlings, approximately 3km from Yeavinger, suggests that these sites were intended to complement the civic-ceremonial centres of supra-regional peripatetic kings, rather than replicate them. Thirlings may have been the permanent residence of a regional magnate who administered the Milfield basin in the king's stead, preparing Yeavinger for the king's visits and perhaps hosting local and sub-regional assemblies at Yeavinger in the king's absence.

Polebrook

Phase 1



Phase 2



Thirlings

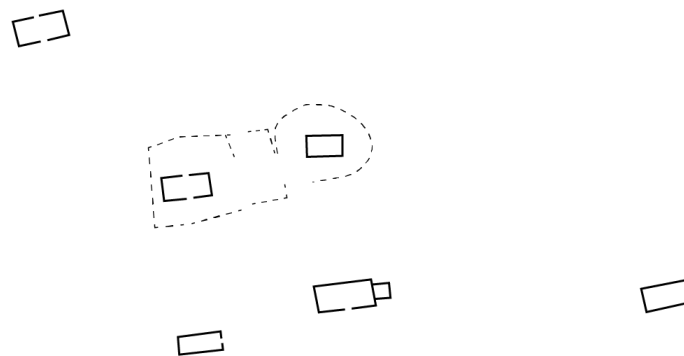
Phase 1



Phase 2

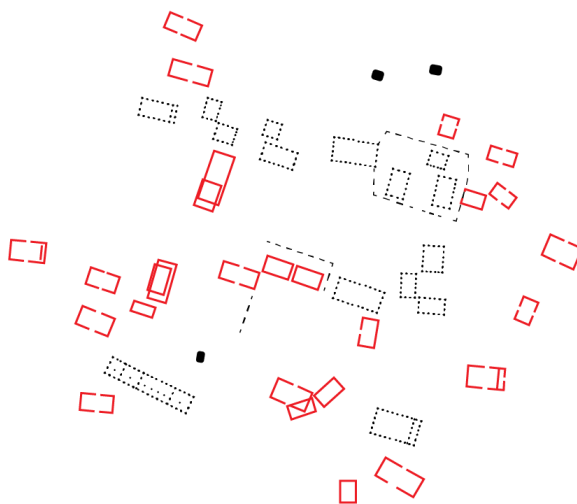


Phase 3



Chalton

Phase 1-2?



0m 25 50 100 200

Figure 3.4: The early discrete-posthole phases of Polebrook and Thirlings look more like domestic settlements than ritual foci – in stark contrast with the earliest phases of Lyminge, Yeavinger and Sutton Courtenay. The exact phasing of Chalton is less clear, but the overall layout of the site strongly resembles a domestic settlement (redrawn from Champion 1977; O’Brien and Miket 1991; Upex 2002; 2003; 2004; 2005).

However, if the minor hall complexes are the residences of sub-regional magnates, one would expect them to be more numerous than the civic-ceremonial centres of supra-regional kings, and yet, comparatively few minor hall complexes have been identified. This might be due to biases in recovery. The variation among the minor hall complexes probably makes them more difficult to identify than great hall complexes. Moreover, the early phases of minor hall complexes are relatively unremarkable, and they could be mistaken for a typical early Anglo-Saxon settlement. The later phases, with post-in-trench foundations, larger-than-average buildings and annexes, are more exceptional, but the general lack of material culture makes these sites difficult to date, and as such, these later phases could be mistaken for a typical Middle Saxon settlement.

This distinction between monumentalised assembly sites and monumentalised domestic settlements was undoubtedly blurred, and this distinction is perhaps more accurately described as a continuum, but it cannot be dismissed that the earliest phases of Lyminge, Sutton Courtenay and Yeavinger exhibit much greater evidence for ritual, cult and symbolic public action than the earliest phases of Chalton, Polebrook and Thirlings. Moreover, the initial public nature of the great hall complexes actually becomes more clear by way of contrast with the later phases of these sites, which appear to become more private, shifting away from civic-ceremonial centres towards magnate residences (see **Section 3.3**).

3.1.2 The Emergence of the Great Hall Architectural Style

The architectural style of great hall complexes appears to have emerged incrementally out of the Anglo-Saxon building tradition. The great hall architectural style shares many similarities with the Anglo-Saxon building tradition – an approximate two-square plan, entrances in the middle of each wall, internal partitions – and the early phases of certain great hall complexes show evidence of an incremental development from more typical early Anglo-Saxon discrete-posthole buildings to larger, more elaborate post-in-trench buildings with squared plank wall types.

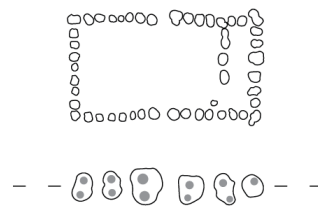
At Cowdery's Down, the earliest identifiable 'halls' appear to resemble larger versions of typical early Anglo-Saxon buildings, and outside of their unusual size, they share little in common with the great hall architectural style (Fig.3.5) (Millett and James 1983). However, in the second phase of the site, these discrete-posthole buildings were rebuilt with external raking posts and a more complex wall type – the paired plank B4 wall type – which appears to be a more refined version of the double wall posts used in many early Anglo-Saxon buildings (Millett and James 1983, 228-9; James *et al.* 1984, fig.5). These buildings represent a significant departure from the early Anglo-Saxon building tradition, but they are still lacking a key element of the great hall architectural style

– post-in-trench foundations. This key element was only added in the third phase when the buildings were rebuilt with post-in-trench foundations and a new wall type – the zig-zagging C12 wall type – which appears to represent a more complex version of the B4 wall type.

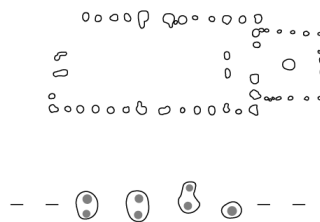
This sequence clearly attests to the incremental development of the great hall architectural style, directly out of the Anglo-Saxon building tradition, and the site at Lyminge appears to have undergone a remarkably similar development. Like Cowdery's Down, the earliest 'halls' at Lyminge resemble unusually large versions of typical early Anglo-Saxon buildings, and like Cowdery's Down, these discrete-posthole halls appear to have been replaced by larger, more robust halls, constructed in the more robust, more refined B4 wall type (Fig.3.5); the development of the paired plank (B4) wall type at Lyminge before the single plank (C9) wall type is strongly suggested by the sequence of wall types in Lyminge Hall C and by the comparable sequence of wall types at Cowdery's Down (*contra* Thomas 2017, 109). The only difference between the development of Cowdery's Down and Lyminge is that Lyminge appears to have combined Cowdery's Down phases two and three, placing the B4 wall type directly in post-in-trench foundations and skipping the C12 wall type (Fig.3.5). Nevertheless, this is a minor difference considering the vast distance – some 150km – between these two sites, and the remarkably similar development of these sites suggests that the Kentish and Hampshire elites that built these sites were in direct or indirect contact (the B4 wall type was also used at Sutton Courtenay; Hamerow *et al.* 2007, 163-5). Moreover, the incremental *and* parallel development of the great hall architectural style at Cowdery's Down and Lyminge suggests that the great hall architectural style developed incrementally out of the Anglo-Saxon building tradition precisely because these elites were in contact. In other words, the great hall architectural style appears to have developed out of the Anglo-Saxon building tradition as a direct result of intense competition within a close-knit supra-regional elite sphere, fuelling a rapid competitive cycle of experimentation and emulation that resulted in increasingly large and elaborate buildings. This development appears to be incremental – being spread over several phases – but it is unclear how long each of these phases was in use. Each phase may represent a generation, or they may have been built in rapid succession, fuelled by intense competition with other great hall complexes.

In the north of England, the Bernician elites were probably also keenly aware of the emerging great hall phenomenon, but unsurprisingly, given the distance between Yeavering and the southern great hall complexes, the exact development of the great hall architectural style at Yeavering appears to have followed a uniquely Northumbrian sequence. The earliest 'halls' at Yeavering resemble typical early Anglo-Saxon buildings, but instead of constructing larger-than-average

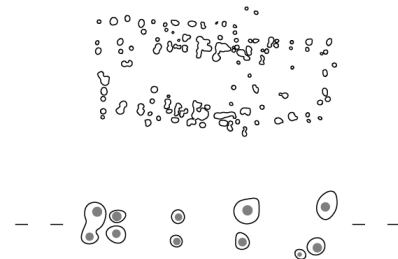
Mucking PHB 1



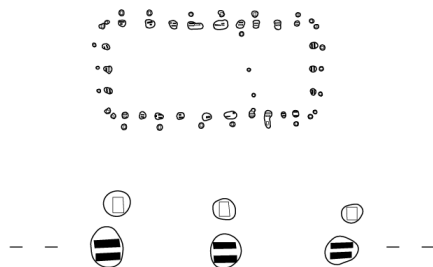
Cowdery's Down A1



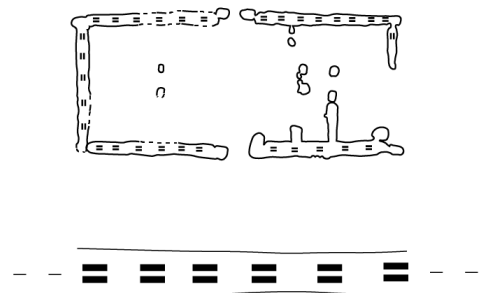
Lyminge Unnumbered



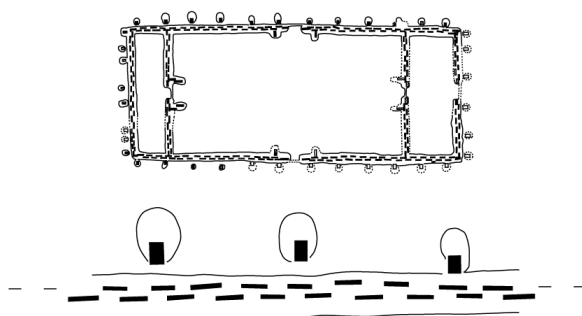
Cowdery's Down B4



Lyminge A



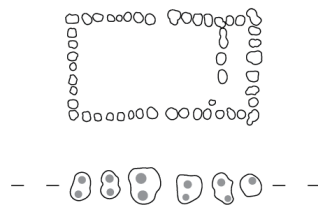
Cowdery's Down C12



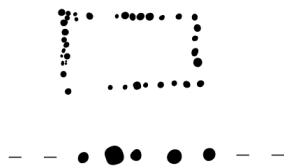
0m 5 10 20 30

Figure 3.5: The incremental development of the great hall architectural style at Cowdery's Down and Lyminge, directly out of the Anglo-Saxon building tradition (redrawn from Millett and James 1983; Hamerow 1993a; Thomas and Knox 2015; Thomas 2017) (The positions of the greyed-out posts in Cowdery's Down A1, Lyminge Unnumbered and Mucking PHB 1 are conjectural, and the positions of planks in Lyminge A are based on pictures and schematic, rather than accurate).

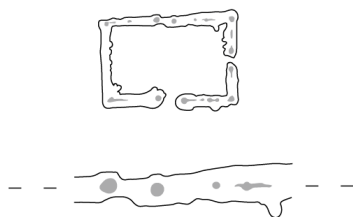
Mucking PHB 1



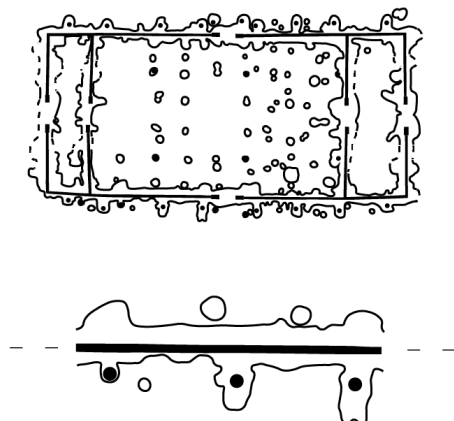
Yeavinger A6



Yeavinger A5



Yeavinger A2



0m 5 10 20 30

Figure 3.6: The development of the great hall architectural style at Yeavinger (redrawn from Hope-Taylor 1977; Hamerow 1993a).

discrete-posthole halls, like Cowdery's Down and Lyminge, the first development of the great hall architectural style at Yeavinger appears to have been the construction of small post-in-trench buildings with a simple post-and-panel wall type (Fig.3.6) (Hope-Taylor 1977, 62-3; Scull 1991). This appears to be the rough equivalent of Cowdery's Down phase two, opting for post-in-trench foundations rather than a more elaborate wall type. Then, in the equivalent of Cowdery's Down phase three, the small post-in-trench building at Yeavinger was replaced by a much larger great hall, constructed with a more complex wall type.

This sequence suggests that the builders of Yeavinger were in less regular contact than the builders of Cowdery's Down and Lyminge, but while the technical details may vary, the broader idea of the hall is the same. This attests to a remarkably extensive elite sphere, and it is perhaps the sheer scale of this elite sphere that fuelled the scale of the great halls.

3.1.3 Yeavinger and the Question of British Influence

The origins of great hall complexes have long been intertwined with the question of British influence at great hall complexes, due in large part to Brian Hope-Taylor's interpretation of Yeavinger and the primacy of Yeavinger in the study of great hall complexes (see **Section 1.2**). The appropriation of prehistoric monuments at Yeavinger, the Iron Age parallels for the Great Enclosure, the lack of Anglo-Saxon furnished burials, and the general lack of Anglo-Saxon material culture convinced Hope-Taylor that the great hall complex at Yeavinger had deep British roots (Hope-Taylor 1977, 170-81, 204ff.). This interpretation was probably also strongly influenced by Hope-Taylor's excavations at Doon Hill, where Hope-Taylor uncovered what he believed to be an Anglo-Saxon great hall superimposed onto a post-Roman British building (Hope-Taylor 1966; 1980).

Since the excavation of Yeavinger, however, it has become increasingly evident that while Yeavinger may have appropriated a site that held significance to post-Roman British peoples, the great hall complex itself, and its early development from a pre-existing 6th Century centre, appear to be characteristic of great hall complexes across Anglo-Saxon England.

The architecture of Yeavinger, which was unprecedented at the time of its excavation, is now known to be characteristic of great hall complexes, and the architectural style of great hall complexes appears to be closely related to the Anglo-Saxon building tradition (Miket 1980; Rahtz 1980; James *et al.* 1984). The appropriation of prehistoric monuments at Yeavinger is also now known to be commonplace on great hall complexes as well as other Anglo-Saxon settlements

(Bradley 1987; Crewe 2009; 2010; Semple 2013). The lack of Anglo-Saxon material culture at Yeavinger is also now known to be typical of most great hall complexes (see **Section 2.3**).

Chris Scull has since argued that the earliest buildings at Yeavinger, predating the great hall complex, are typologically Anglo-Saxon (Scull 1991), and Colm O'Brien has challenged Hope-Taylor's early dating of the Great Enclosure (O'Brien 2005b, 150). Even Leslie Alcock, who has been a strong proponent of British influences, has since argued that the Great Enclosure was part of a distinctive group of Anglo-Saxon palisades at Northumbrian high status sites (Alcock 2003, 234-6).

This is not to say there were no British influences at Yeavinger. There are probable British influences in the Yeavinger burials and in the Northumbrian palisaded enclosures (Lucy 2005; Alcock 1998a, 2003, 234-6), and Yeavinger does appear to exhibit a remarkable depth of ritual significance, perhaps extending back into the pre-Anglian period. However, Yeavinger had probably adopted aspects of Anglo-Saxon identity prior to the building of the great hall complex, and the overall sequence at Yeavinger is typical of other great hall complexes across Anglo-Saxon England. Like Lyminge and Sutton Courtenay, Yeavinger probably developed out of an earlier assembly and settlement site, and while this earlier centre may have grown out of a pre-Anglian assembly site, the great hall complex emerged out of an Anglo-Saxon tradition.

A similar sequence can be suggested for Doon Hill, although the dating is probably later. Hope-Taylor argued that the Anglo-Saxon great hall complex at Doon Hill emerged out of an earlier British great hall complex (Hope-Taylor 1966; 1980), but the post-Roman 'British' great hall at Doon Hill was probably actually a Neolithic building (Fig.3.7). The best parallels for the 'British' hall are now three Neolithic halls at Balbridie (Aberd), Claish (Stir) and Crathes (Aberd), and a recently obtained radiocarbon date from Doon Hill supports a Neolithic date for the structure (Reynolds 1980a; Fairweather and Ralston 1993; Barclay, Brophy and MacGregor 2001; 2002; Murray *et al.* 2009; for the radiocarbon date see Ian Ralston in Kirby 2012, 26). The construction of an Anglo-Saxon great hall on top of a Neolithic building seems to be an impossible coincidence, but Neolithic postholes appear to have been similarly appropriated at early medieval Forteviot (Pth.&Kin.), suggesting that it is possible (Stephen Driscoll pers. comm.). If this were assumed to be the case at Doon Hill, the Doon Hill great hall complex would fit comfortably within the Anglo-Saxon tradition of prehistoric appropriation. This is not to say there were no British influences at Doon Hill. Like Yeavinger, Doon Hill may have been a focus of pre-Anglian assembly: the site lies immediately adjacent to an Iron Age hill fort, and the great hall itself was constructed next to an earlier cemetery with a possible square shrine. This site may have had a

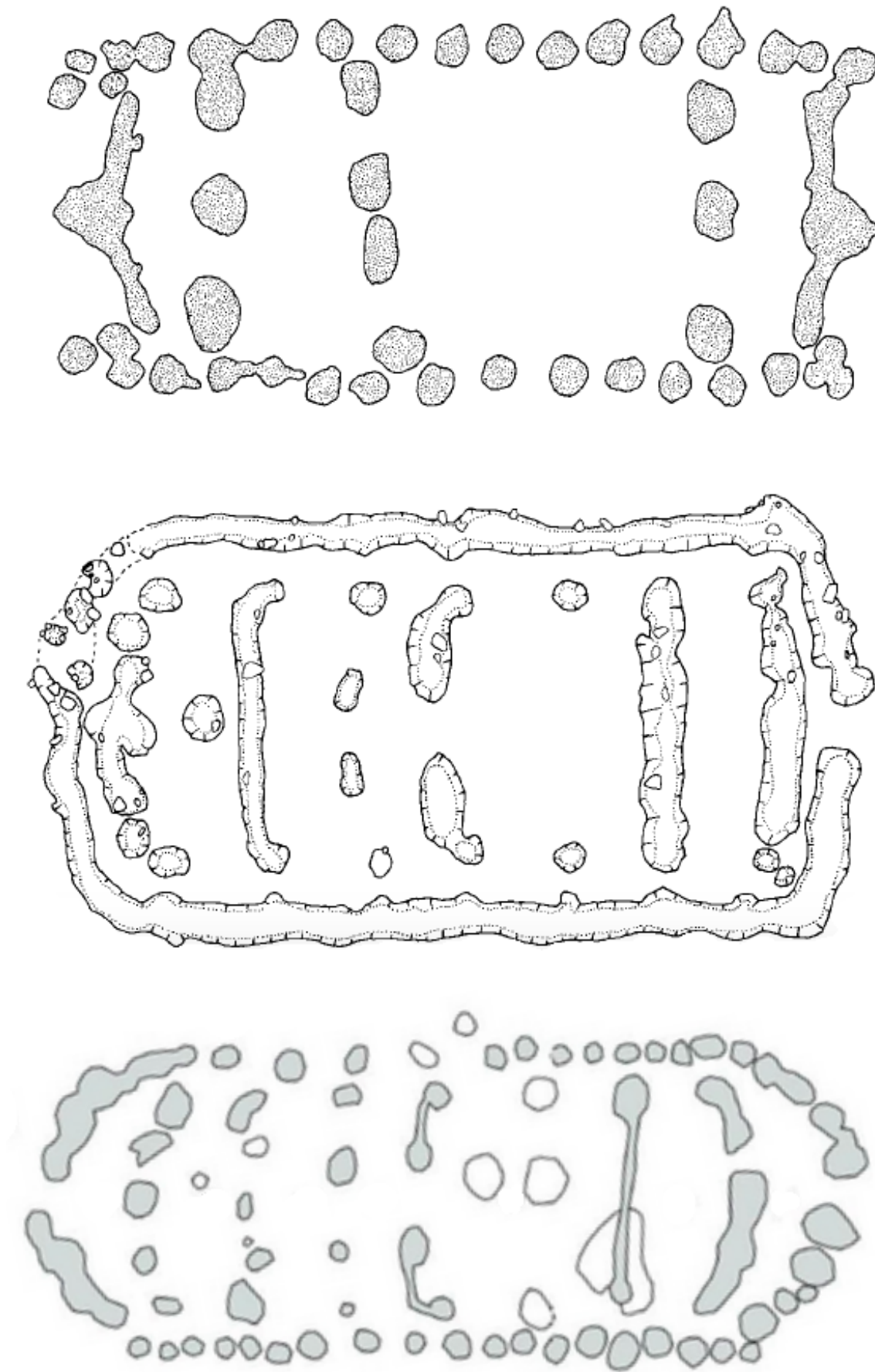


Figure 3.7: The probable Neolithic hall at Doon Hill (top) compared with the Neolithic halls at Balbridie (middle) and Claish (bottom) (after Smith 1992; Barclay *et al.* 2002).

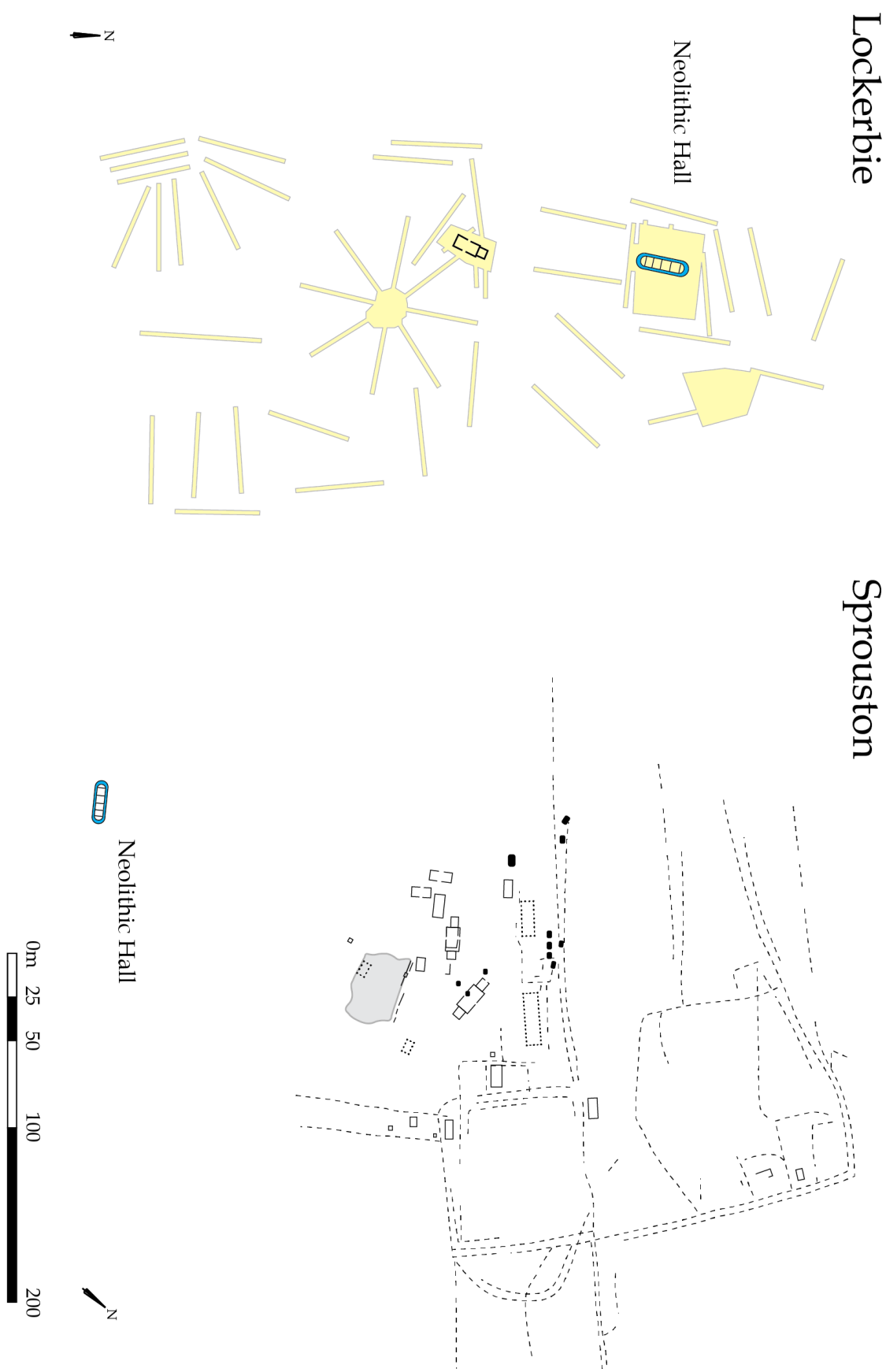


Figure 3.8: The Neolithic halls at Lockerbie and Sprouston (redrawn from Kirby 2012; Smith 1992).

long-standing ritual significance, which attracted the Anglo-Saxon elite to the site, but the great hall complex itself belongs within the Anglo-Saxon tradition.

A similar situation can be argued for Lockerbie, which is also located in close proximity to a Neolithic hall and a Bronze Age cemetery, and the great hall complex at Sprouston is also located near a cropmark building that strongly resembles a Neolithic hall (Fig.3.8) (Smith 1992, 266-9; Kirby 2012). This suggests a remarkable pattern of appropriation and reuse, which may have been encouraged by close links between Anglian and non-Anglian groups, but the great hall complexes themselves appear to be a wider development, which is closely associated with Anglo-Saxon culture.

John Blair has recently argued, however, that all great hall complexes developed in response to cultural frontiers. When viewed at a national scale, the known great hall complexes are located around the fringes of the 'Anglo-Saxon building culture province' – the geographic area within which most Anglo-Saxon-type buildings have been found (Blair 2013a, 12, 23-5). From this, Blair has argued that the great hall complexes emerged out of the anxiety and uncertainty of cultural frontiers, primarily the cultural frontier between Anglo-Saxon and British kingdoms. This frontier theory is most applicable to Atcham, Doon Hill, Lockerbie and Whitekirk, which lay on the edges of Anglo-Saxon influence, and to Hatton Rock, which lay near the westernmost extent of Anglo-Saxon burials. However, this is more difficult to argue for Sutton Courtenay, Long Wittenham, Rendlesham and Lyminge. Long Wittenham and Sutton Courtenay may have lain on the border of Mercia and Wessex in the mid-to-late 7th Century, but in the late 6th/early 7th Century, this was the heart of the West Saxon kingdom (Hawkes 1986; Hamerow *et al.* 2013). Rendlesham is similarly located in the early heartland of the East Anglian kingdom, and while Lyminge may not be quite as centrally located, it was well within the early Kentish kingdom. To see these royal heartlands as frontiers is to expect elites in Wessex, East Anglia and Kent to consider their entire kingdoms as 'frontiers' in a wider ethnic struggle. A pan-Anglo-Saxon identity does appear to have emerged in the 7th Century, but competition within this Anglo-Saxon identity was intense. Northumbria, Mercia and Wessex fought with each other as often as they did with their British neighbours, and each of these kingdoms arranged alliances and/or royal marriages with British kingdoms as well as each other.

Anglo-Saxon kingdoms were undoubtedly in competition with British kingdoms, but the great hall complexes appear to have emerged primarily out of competition within the Anglo-Saxon world. British parallels may yet be discovered, but the known British centres – South Cadbury (Alcock 1995), Birdoswald (Wilmott 1997), Wroxeter (Barker *et al.* 1997), Castle Dore (Radford 1951) –

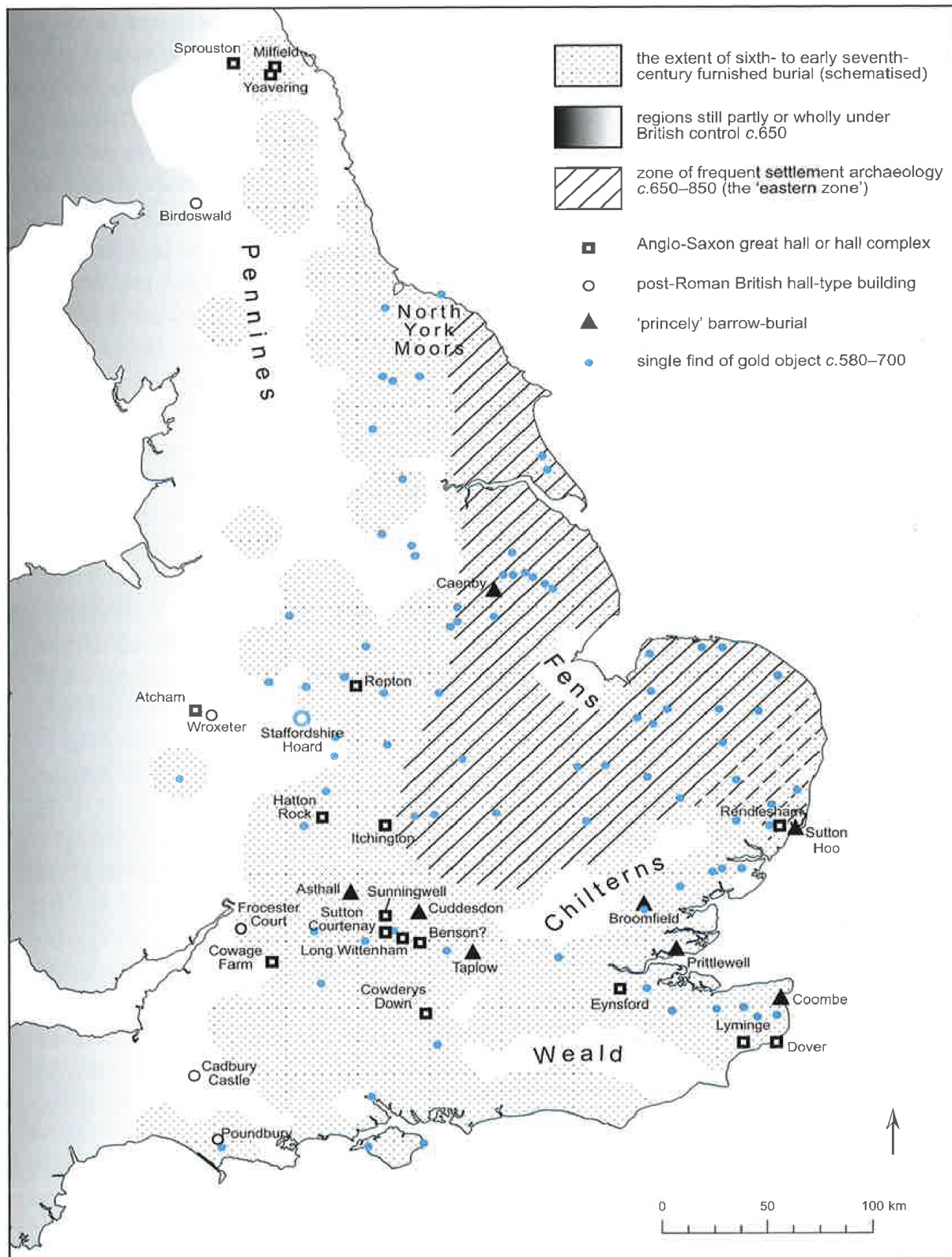


Figure 3.9: The location of the great hall complexes, in relation to the Anglo-Saxon Building Culture Province (after Blair 2018, fig.29).

share only the broadest similarities with the great hall complexes. The remarkable uniformity of great hall complexes across Anglo-Saxon England stands in marked contrast to these British sites, and the evidence for the incremental and parallel development of the great hall architectural style out of the early Anglo-Saxon building tradition – at Cowdery’s Down in Hampshire, at Lyminge in Kent, and at Yeavering in Northumberland – strongly suggests that these sites emerged out of competition with each other, irrespective of British influences. Indeed, Renfrew’s (1986) theory of peer polity interaction describes this very process, by which similar developments occur almost simultaneously across numerous competing peer polities within a single culture.

The apparent distribution of great hall complexes, around the edges of the Anglo-Saxon building culture province, has another potential explanation: this is precisely where the most powerful Anglo-Saxon kingdoms emerged. It remains an open question whether the most powerful Anglo-Saxon kingdoms emerged in these areas because they were cultural frontiers, but the great hall complexes appear to be a later step in this chain of logic, emerging out of the most powerful kingdoms, not the cultural frontiers.

3.2 The Early Development of Great Hall Complexes

The evidence from Cowdery’s Down, Lyminge and Yeavering indicates that the largest great hall complexes passed through two or three phases before reaching maturity (see **Section 3.1.2**). With each of these successive phases, the older buildings were often dismantled and/or burned and directly replaced by a new building constructed slightly offset from the footprint of the older building. It is unclear whether this was done on a piecemeal basis, or whether the entire central precinct was periodically rebuilt. However, the discrete groups of buildings with identical wall types suggest that these buildings were constructed all at once, and Hope-Taylor argued that the evidence for burning at Yeavering indicated that the site had been almost completely rebuilt at least twice (Hope-Taylor 1977). The complete rebuilding of a great hall complex may have been necessary if the site had been ravaged by a rival king, but the great halls were probably just as often rebuilt to mark the ascendance of a new king – the close connection between Heorot and Hrothgar in *Beowulf* suggests that great halls were often associated with a specific ruler.

The direct replacement of buildings ensured a relatively consistent layout between different phases, but not all buildings were directly replaced, and the overall site layout could change substantially over the lifetime of the site. Some sites appear to have experienced more rebuilding than others. Yeavering appears to have gone through many more phases than Sutton Courtenay. However, this is largely based on whether each successive phase was superimposed onto the earlier

phases. The great hall at Sutton Courtenay appears to have only gone through one phase, but the use of a different wall type in the East Hall at Sutton Courtenay suggests that the site went through at least two phases.

3.2.1 The Development of Wall Types

The wall types at great hall complexes could change significantly over the lifetime of a single site, but with slight variations, many of the same wall types were used at different sites, suggesting that the chronological progression of wall types was relatively synchronized across different great hall complexes (Fig.3.10).

As has been discussed, the earliest halls at Cowdery's Down, Lyminge and Yeavinger were constructed with discrete-posthole foundations, and these discrete-posthole foundations appear to be characteristic of the earliest phases of occupation at great hall complexes (or the latest phases; see **Section 3.3.1**).

At Cowdery's Down and Lyminge, the early discrete-posthole buildings appear to have been replaced by more substantial buildings constructed with the more substantial B4 wall type, and this wall type also appears at Sutton Courtenay, where it was set in continuous foundation trenches, and at Thirlings, where it was set in discrete postholes. The B4 wall type appears to be a characteristically early wall type at great hall complexes, based on the stratigraphic evidence from Cowdery's Down and Lyminge Hall C, as well as the use with discrete-posthole foundations at Cowdery's Down and Thirlings and the close stylistic and functional relationship between the paired plank B4 wall type and the double wall posts used in many early Anglo-Saxon buildings (James *et al.* 1984, fig.5). The development of the B4 wall type from double wall posts would have required minimal innovation, and this, combined with the use of the B4 wall type in both discrete-posthole buildings and post-in-trench buildings, suggests that the B4 wall type formed a kind of 'gateway' wall type in the development of the great hall architectural style, essentially representing a more robust, more refined and more ostentatious version of typical Anglo-Saxon construction methods.

At Cowdery's Down, the B4 wall type was replaced by the C12 wall type – a zig-zagging line of alternating wall planks (Millet and James, 229-33). This wall type appears to derive from simply offsetting one of the lines of planks in the B4 wall type; this would have probably made the wall line more laterally stable while maintaining the basic structure of B4 wall. The C12 wall type also appears in Building S14 at Dover, and a variation of the C12 wall type was used in Building N at Thirlings (O'Brien and Miket 1991, fig.7; Philp 2003). However, this wall type is difficult to

identify because it requires a long section of well-preserved post-pipes, and it has not been positively identified at any other great hall complex.

At Cowdery's Down, the C12 wall type appears to be superseded by the C9 wall type, a dotted line of single planks, which appears to derive from simply removing one of the double wall lines in the B4 or C12 wall type. There is no direct stratigraphic relationship between the C9 and C12 wall types at Cowdery's Down, but the spatial development of the site and the direct stratigraphic relationship between the C12 wall type and the earlier B4 wall type strongly suggests that the C9 wall type developed after the C12 wall type (Fig.3.11). Moreover, the C12 wall type, with its double wall line, would have logically developed out of the B4 double wall line, not the C9 single wall line. However, at Dover, the C12 wall type appears to have replaced the C9 wall type, so there may have been some contemporary fluidity between these two wall types. Nevertheless, it is clear that the C9 wall type postdates the B4 wall type.

Lyminge appears to have skipped the C12 wall type, progressing directly from the paired plank (B4) wall type to the single plank (C9) wall type. This chronological progression is supported by the sequence of wall types used in Hall C and by the radiocarbon dates for Hall A and Phase I of Hall B (Thomas and Knox 2015, 13-4; *contra* Thomas 2017, 109). The C9 wall type was also used at Eynsford (Philp 2014) and Thirlings (O'Brien and Miket 1991, fig.6), and the C9 wall type also appears to have been used in Building B at Cowage Farm, but the identification of the C9 wall type at Cowage Farm is complicated by the presence of the one-up-one-down wall type in Cowage Farm Building A (Hinchliffe 1986, 243-5).

The one-up-one-down wall type – a continuous line of wall planks set at alternating depths – was the archetypal wall type of Yeavinger (Hope-Taylor 1977, 36). At a certain depth, the C9 wall type and the one-up-one-down wall type are indistinguishable, because the planks of the one-up-one-down wall type are set at alternating depths (Fig.3.12). This raises the question whether these were actually the same wall type. The excavators of Cowdery's Down argued that there were no discernible planks in the intermittent spaces of the C9 wall type (Millett and James 1983, 233), but the wall trenches at Cowdery's Down were significantly shallower than the wall trenches at Yeavinger and Cowage Farm. It is therefore entirely plausible that the C9 wall type is simply a more truncated version of the one-up-one-down wall type. Regardless, whether or not they are the same wall type, they are clearly closely related.

Yeavinger followed a different progression of wall types from Cowdery's Down and Lyminge. Yeavinger has no evidence for large discrete-posthole buildings, and the first real manifestation of

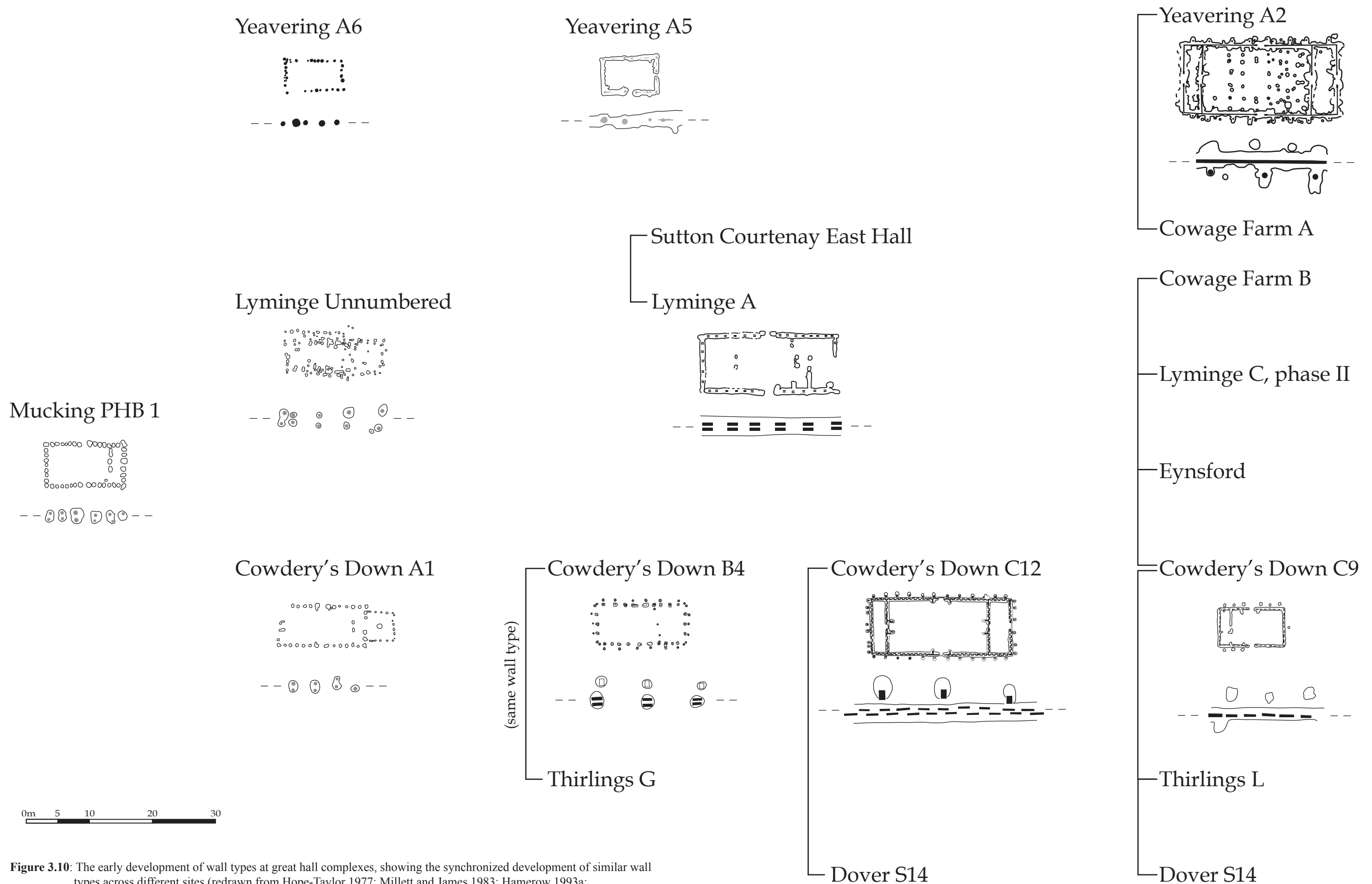
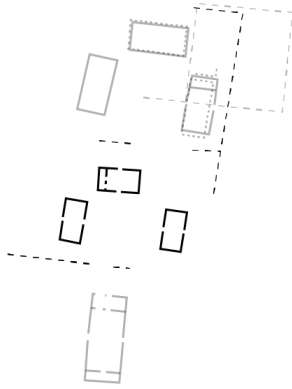


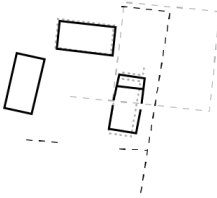
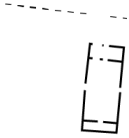
Figure 3.10: The early development of wall types at great hall complexes, showing the synchronized development of similar wall types across different sites (redrawn from Hope-Taylor 1977; Millett and James 1983; Hamerow 1993a; Thomas and Knox 2015; Thomas 2017) (The positions of the greyed-out posts in Cowdery's Down A1, Lyminge Unnumbered and Mucking PHB 1 are conjectural, and the positions of planks in Lyminge A are based on pictures and schematic, rather than accurate).

Cowdery's Down

C9 buildings



C12 buildings



B4 buildings

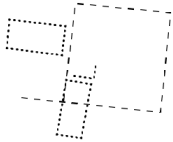
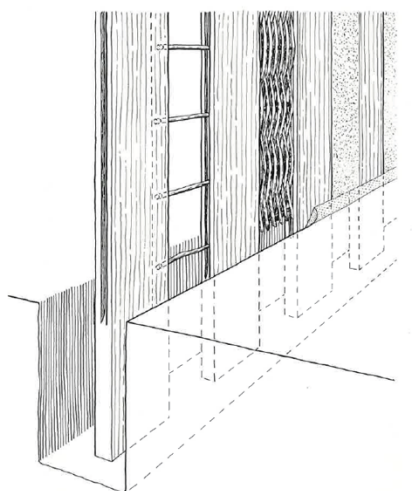


Figure 3.11: The spatial distribution of wall types at Cowdery's Down strongly suggests that the C9 wall type developed after the C12 wall type (redrawn from Millett and James 1983). Some of the C12 buildings, especially the great hall C12, may have still been standing when the C9 buildings were constructed, but these C12 buildings were probably all constructed before the C9 buildings.

The C9 wall type at Cowdery's Down



The one-up-one-down wall type at Yeavinger

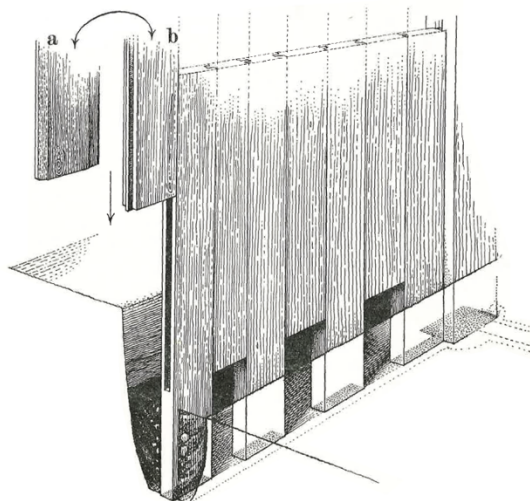


Figure 3.12: Comparing the C9 and one-up-one-down wall types (after Hope-Taylor 1977; Millett and James 1983).
The C9 wall type may simply represent a truncated one-up-one-down wall type.

the great hall architectural style was a small post-in-trench building. This may indicate that the great hall architectural style emerged slightly later at Yeavinger than at Cowdery's Down and Lyminge, and this later dating might also be the reason why Yeavinger never adopted the B4 wall type, which appears to be a characteristically early wall type at Cowdery's Down and Lyminge. Instead, Yeavinger appears to have progressed almost immediately from small discrete-posthole buildings to large post-in-trench buildings using the one-up-one-down wall type, which appears to be a variant of the C9 wall type. This sequence at Yeavinger appears to significantly condense a development that occurred over several phases at Cowdery's Down and Lyminge, strongly suggesting that the great hall complex at Yeavinger emerged slightly later.

However, the B4 wall type was used at the neighbouring minor hall complex at Thirlings, and it is difficult to accept that the great hall architectural style developed at Thirlings before it developed at Yeavinger (cf. O'Brien and Miket 1991, 89-90). The best explanation for this is that the B4 wall type, with its close relationship to the double wall posts used in typical Anglo-Saxon buildings, was the first step towards the great hall architectural style, regardless of whether this first step was taken in the later 6th Century, as it was at Cowdery's Down and Lyminge, or in the earlier 7th Century, as may have been the case at Thirlings.

3.3 The Later Development of Great Hall Complexes

The architectural style of great hall complexes appears to have undergone a broadly parabolic development. After several phases of increasing elaboration and ostentation, the great hall architectural style appears to reach an apex sometime around the early-to-middle 7th Century, after which a new architectural style emerges, which appears to be less robust and less ostentatious. This new style includes new elements, like annexes, but it also appears to regress, reusing earlier less robust styles like discrete-posthole foundations and post-and-panel wall types.

3.3.1 New Wall Types

At Yeavinger and Lyminge, the C9 wall type and the one-up-one-down wall type appear to represent the apex of the great hall architectural style; the largest (by area) and most robust buildings were constructed with these wall types. Thereafter, the buildings at Yeavinger and Lyminge appear to become less robust.

At Yeavinger, the Phase IV and V buildings had significantly less substantial wall types and shallower, bowl-shaped foundations (Hope-Taylor 1977, 148-54). These later phases also use a post-and-panel wall type that resembles the earliest post-in-trench buildings at Yeavinger

(Fig.3.13). This transition is dated around AD630-640 by the imitation Merovingian tremissis placed in the foundation trench of the Phase V great hall A3b.

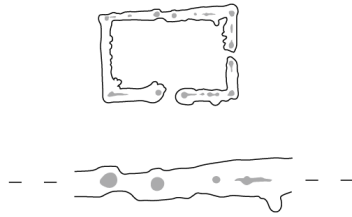
Lyminge appears to exhibit a similar trend. In the latest phase of Hall C, the C9 wall type was replaced with a discrete-posthole wall type, which is typologically more similar to the earliest wall types at Lyminge (Fig.3.14) (Thomas and Knox 2015, 13-4). The last phase of Hall B at Lyminge retained the C9 wall type, but the foundations were significantly shallower than the previous phase (Thomas and Knox 2014, 7).

Cowdery's Down exhibits a similar trend, but unlike Yeavinger and Lyminge, the height of the great hall architectural style at Cowdery's Down appears to coincide with the C12 wall type, rather than the C9 wall type. The C9-type buildings at Cowdery's Down are uniformly smaller than their C12 counterparts, and the excavators remarked that the largest C9-type building, Building C14, was more lightly constructed than other buildings (Millett and James 1983, 247). In the latest phase, Building C14 appears to have been replaced by Building B/C15, which was founded in discrete postholes, much like the latest phase of Lyminge Hall C (Fig.3.15). The excavators of Cowdery's Down believed that Building B/C15 was contemporary with the B4-type buildings, because of its use of discrete-posthole foundations (Millett and James 1983, 195, 222), but the spatial development of the site and the typological development of the wall types strongly suggest that Building B/C15 was one of the latest buildings excavated at Cowdery's Down (Fig.3.16). The early discrete-posthole buildings at Cowdery's Down are typologically and spatially more closely related to the C12-type buildings, while Building B/C15 is typologically and spatially more closely related to Building C14, a C9-type building which probably postdated the development of the C12-type buildings.

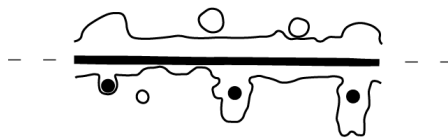
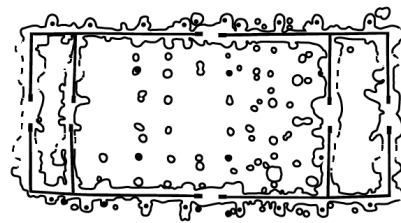
The latest great hall at Cowage Farm also had shallower foundation trenches than the previous phase (Hinchliffe 1986, 245), and the wall types used at Doon Hill and Lockerbie, both of which are probably later sites (see **Section 2.4**), resemble the later post-and-panel wall type used in Yeavinger Phase IV and V.

In addition to the shallower foundation trenches and less robust wall types, external raking posts also appear to have become less common on certain later buildings, including Cowage Farm Building B Phase II, Doon Hill, Lockerbie, Lyminge Hall C Phase III and Yeavinger A1c (Hinchliffe 1986; Hope-Taylor 1977; 1980; Kirby 2012; Thomas and Knox 2015; the 8th Century great hall at Brandon was also constructed with fewer external raking posts: Tester *et al.* 2014).

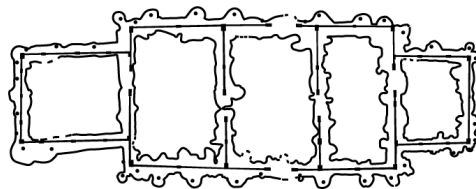
Yeaving A5



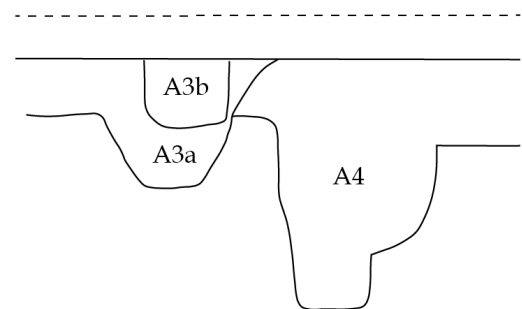
Yeaving A2



Yeaving A3a



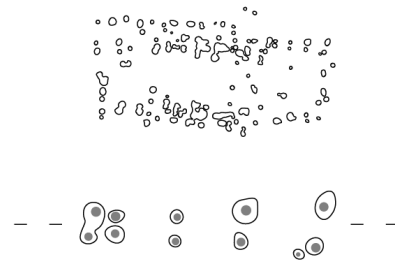
The Foundations



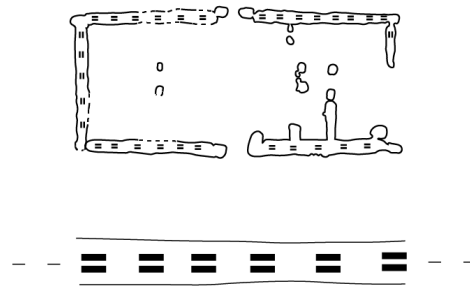
0m 5 10 20 30

Figure 3.13: The development of wall types and foundations at Yeaving (redrawn from Hope-Taylor 1977). The wall types get progressively more robust until Building A4, after which they become progressively more ephemeral; the A3a post-and-panel wall type is stylistically similar to the A5 post-and-panel wall type. The great hall foundations also get progressively deeper until Building A4, after which they get progressively shallower.

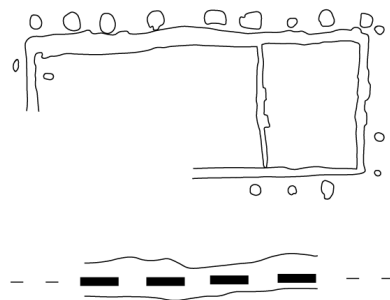
Lyminge Unnumbered



Lyminge A



Lyminge C, phase II



Lyminge C, phase III

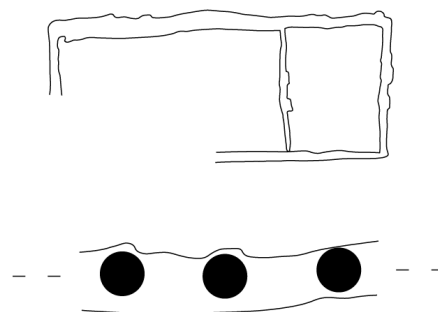


Figure 3.14: The development of wall types at Lyminge (redrawn from Thomas 2017) (The positions of wall planks and posts are conjectural, based on photographs of the excavations; this figure is therefore more schematic than accurate, but it demonstrates the overall stylistic development of wall types at Lyminge).

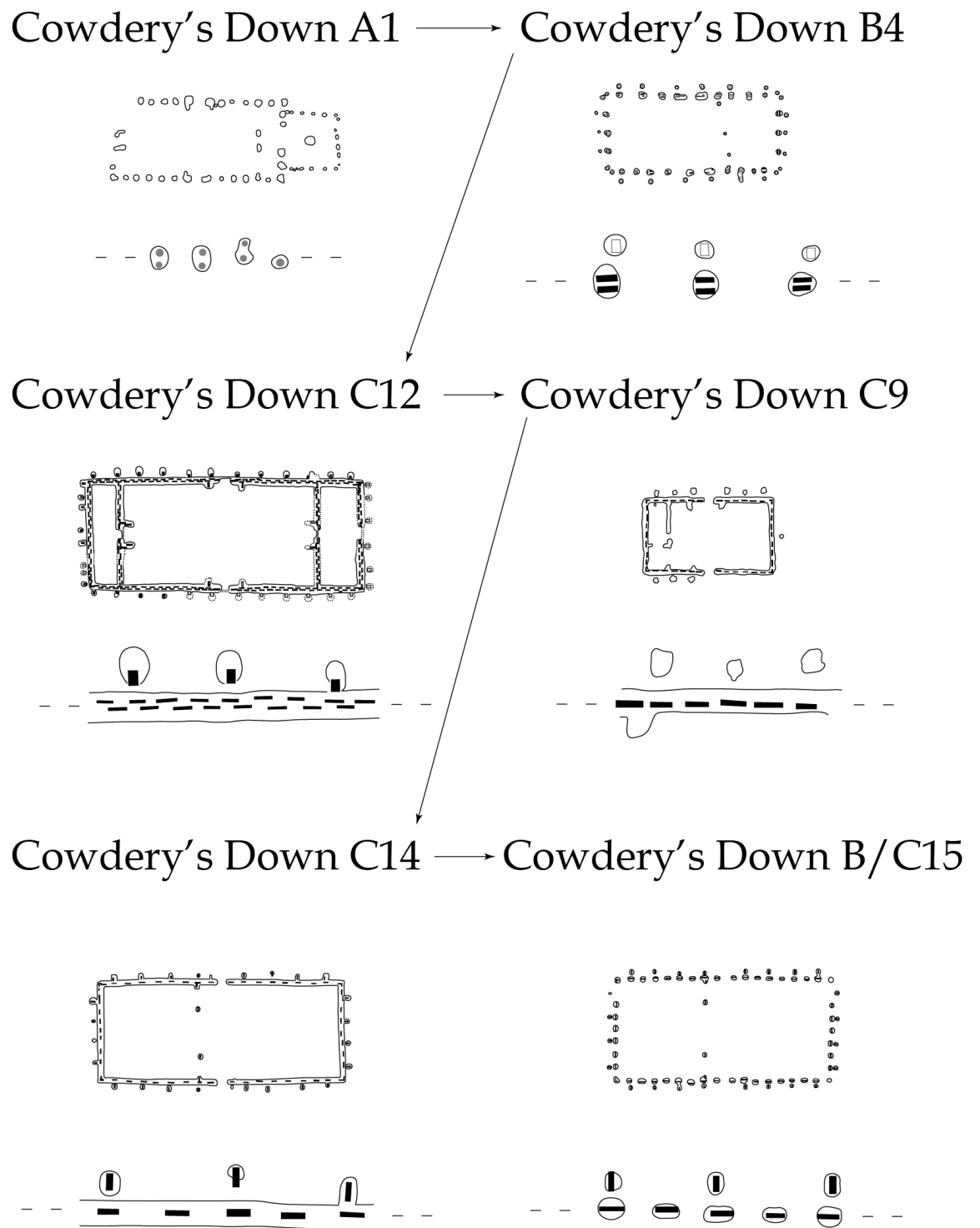


Figure 3.15: The development of wall types at Cowdery's Down (redrawn from Millett and James 1983).



Figure 3.16: Building B/C15 is stylistically and spatially more closely related to the C9 buildings, strongly suggesting that it grew out of the C9 wall type and is probably the latest building identified at Cowdery's Down (redrawn from Millett and James 1983).

However, external raking posts can easily be lost to truncation, and the latest great halls at Yeavinger as well as the 8th Century great hall at Northampton still made substantial use of external raking posts (Hope-Taylor 1977; Williams *et al.* 1985).

3.3.2 New Building Forms

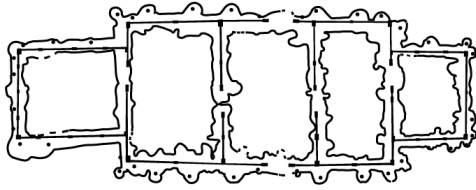
The later development of wall types was accompanied by the development of new building forms. At Yeavinger, annexed buildings appeared for the first time in Phase IV and V, and the open-form great hall was replaced by a double-annexed great hall. Offset doorways became more common, and the internal space of the great hall was segmented by prominent internal partitions (Hope-Taylor 1977, 91).

This new architectural style appears on many of the later great hall complexes. The sites at Atcham, Doon Hill, Lockerbie and Milfield, each of which have evidence to suggest that they emerged slightly later than the other great hall complexes (see **Section 2.4**), all appear to have annexed great halls, closely resembling the architecture of Yeavinger Phase IV and V (Fig.3.17). The sites at Cowage Farm and Hatton Rock, which have produced 8th and 9th Century radiocarbon dates (see **Section 2.4**), also appear to have annexed halls, and although the accuracy of these dates is an open question, the 8th Century great halls at Northampton and Brandon are also double-annexed. The sites at Sprouston and Long Itchington also have double-annexed great halls, but these sites are currently undated.

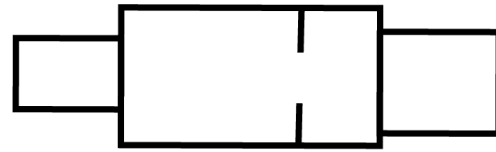
Whitekirk, whose location would suggest a later dating (see **Section 2.4**), does not appear to have any annexed buildings, but there is some evidence to suggest that Whitekirk actually pre-dates the adoption of annexed great halls. The identified great hall at Whitekirk strongly resembles the Phase III open-form great halls at Yeavinger (Brown 1983), while the great hall at Doon Hill, only 9km away, strongly resembles the Phase IV and V annexed great halls at Yeavinger (Hope-Taylor 1980), suggesting that there may have been a shift from Whitekirk to Doon Hill, coinciding with the adoption of annexed great halls (Fig.3.18).

Annexed great halls therefore appear to be fairly well correlated with later great hall complexes, but there is a significant exception to this rule: the earliest discrete-posthole great hall at Cowdery's Down was an annexed building. John Blair has suggested that this annex was part of a group of pre-Christian square shrines (see **Section 2.6.2**; Blair 1995). Other members of this group include an ephemeral enclosure attached to Yeavinger Building D2, which also resembles an annex, and Building B5 at Cowdery's Down, which may represent a separate annex to Building B4 (Fig.3.19) (Blair 1995). These early annexes may have been prototypes of the later annexed great halls, but

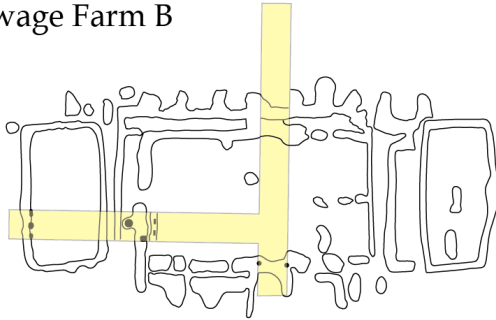
Yeavinger A3a



Milfield (cropmarks)



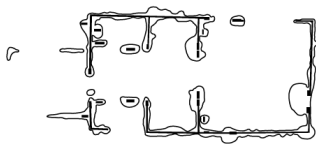
Cowage Farm B



Long Itchington (cropmarks)



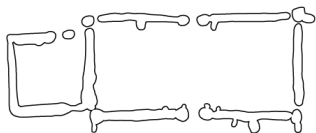
Doon Hill



Sprouston F (cropmarks)



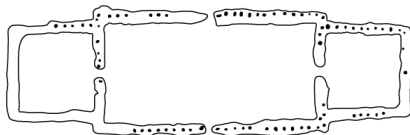
Lockerbie



Atcham (cropmarks)



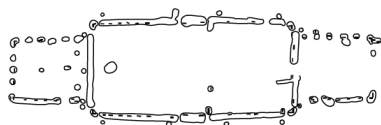
Northampton



Hatton Rock P (cropmarks)



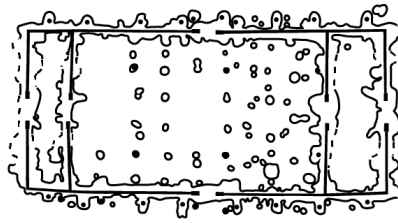
Brandon



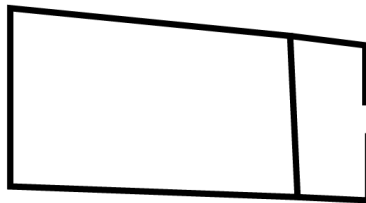
0m 5 10 20 30

Figure 3.17: The annexed great halls (redrawn from Hope-Taylor 1977; Williams *et al.* 1985; Hinchliffe 1986; Gates and O'Brien 1988; Smith 1992; Gethin 2007; Kirby 2012; Tester *et al.* 2014; RCAHMS Archive; Abi Tompkins pers. comm.). Cowage Farm B's separate annexes are unusual, but they appear to be a variation of the double-annexed hall.

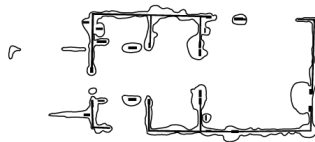
Yeavinger A2



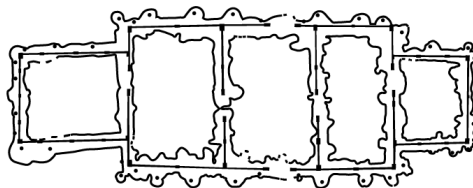
Whitekirk (cropmarks)



Doon Hill



Yeavinger A3a



0m 5 10 20 30

Figure 3.18: The great halls at Whitekirk and Doon Hill, compared with Yeavinger Phase III and IV (redrawn from Hope-Taylor 1977; Brown 1983; RCAHMS Archive).

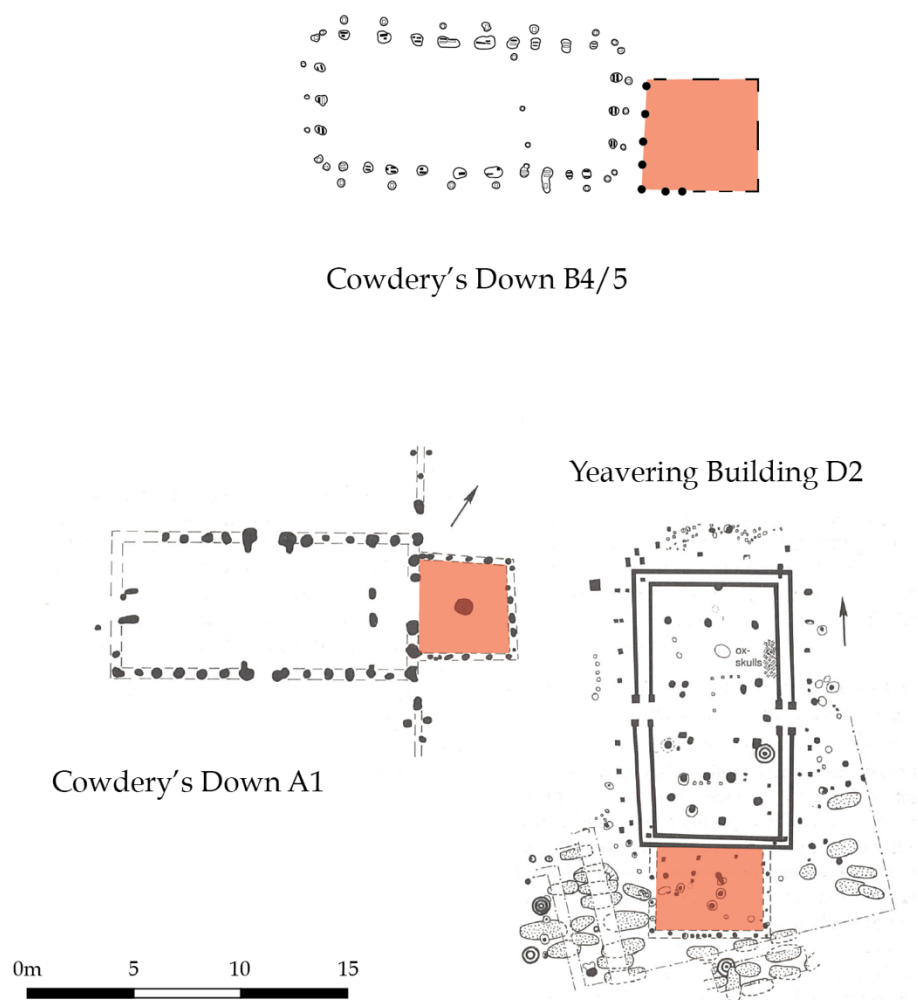
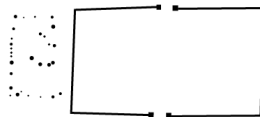
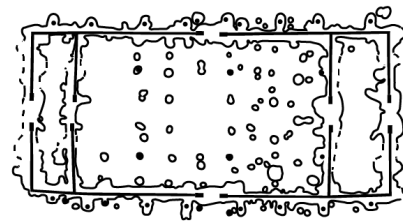


Figure 3.19: The early square shrine annexes (after Blair 1995; Millett and James 1983).

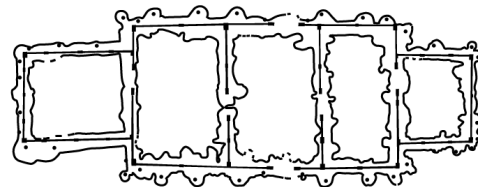
Yeavinger D2



Yeavinger A2



Yeavinger A3a



0m 5 10 20 30

Figure 3.20: The development of late-type annexes at Yeavinger appears to have originated in the compartments at either end of the great hall A2, rather than in the square enclosure abutting Yeavinger D2 (Hope-Taylor 1977).

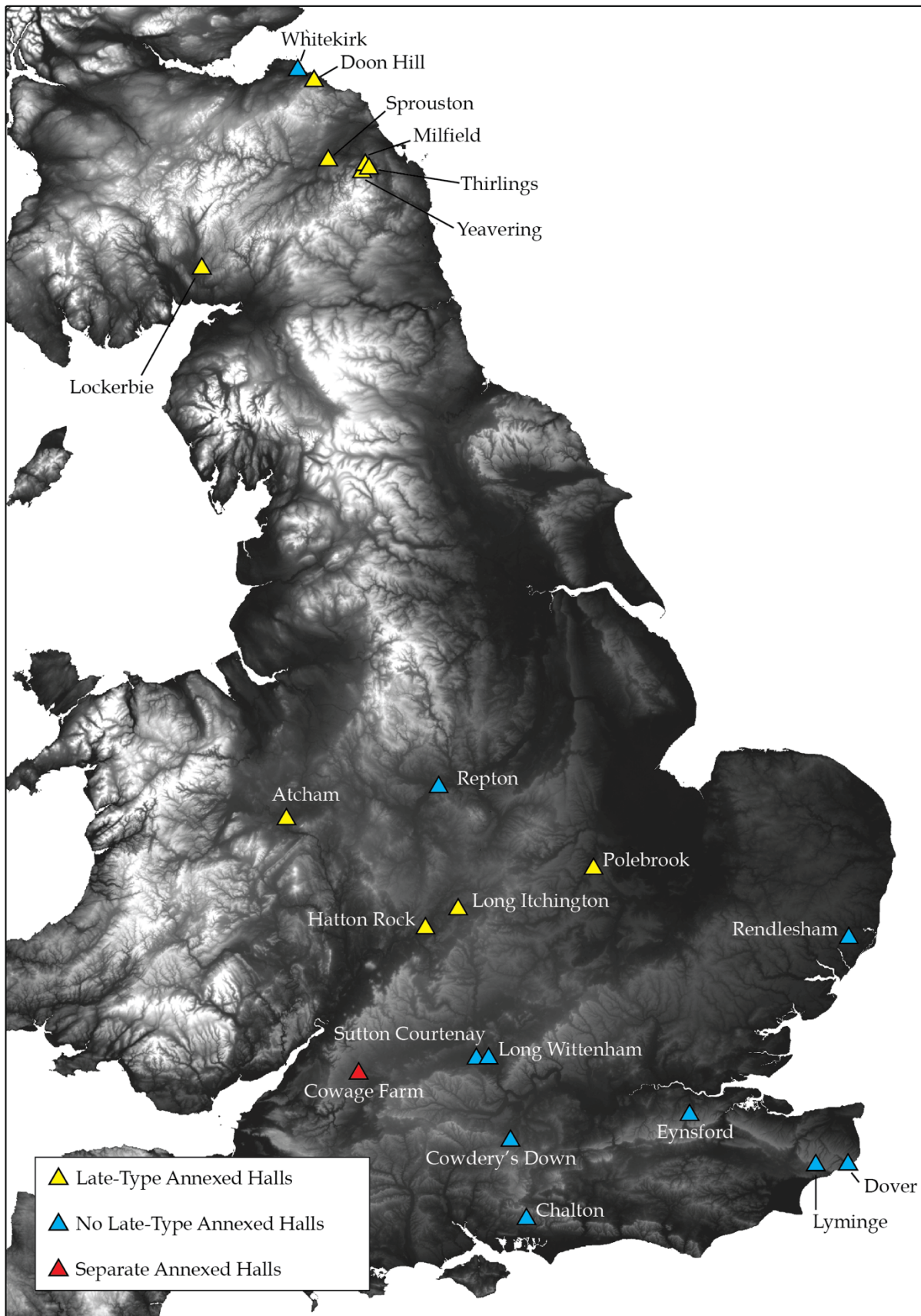


Figure 3.21: The distribution of late-type annexed halls. The lack of late-type annexed halls in southeast England appears to be a cultural preference rather than a chronological indicator.

the earlier annexes are few and diverse, and most of the shrines identified by Blair are separate structures. Moreover, Cowdery's Down, which has the most convincing early-type annexed building, does not appear to have developed any late-type annexed buildings, strongly suggesting that the early and late annexes were not related. Comparing the enclosure abutting Yeavinger D2 with the contemporary open-form great hall A2 and the later annexed great hall A3a, it seems more probable that the annexes of great hall A3a developed out of the compartments at either end of A2, rather than the enclosure abutting D2 (Fig.3.20). Blair also draws a distinction between the early annexes, which he suggests may have been unroofed, and the later annexes, which he refers to as 'domestic annexes' (Blair 1995, 18-9). The Cowdery's Down annex should therefore be understood as a separate square shrine, of a type which were typically separate structures, but in certain circumstances could be attached to a building. This does, however, suggest that certain undated buildings with single annexes, such as the Hatton Rock annexed great hall, could belong to either the early 'shrine' tradition or the later 'annex' tradition.

Cowdery's Down, Lyminge, Sutton Courtenay and Rendlesham, therefore, do not appear to have late-type annexed buildings. Some of these sites may have fallen out of use before the development of late-type annexed halls, but the dating evidence for Lyminge and Cowdery's Down suggests that these sites were still in use after c.AD630-640, when the last annexed great hall at Yeavinger was constructed, and the material culture from Rendlesham suggests that the site was used in some capacity into the early 8th Century, although it is uncertain whether the great halls were still occupied at this time (see **Section 2.4**). However, given the concentration of these sites in southern and eastern England, this absence of late-type annexed halls may simply reflect a regional preference for open-form halls, rather than a chronological indicator (Fig.3.19). The unusual separate annexes used in Cowage Farm Building B (Fig.3.21) may represent a hybrid design, lying between the annexed halls of the West Midlands and the open-form halls of southern and eastern England.

3.3.2.1 The New Architectural Style and the Transition from Corporate to Exclusionary Power

The architectural style of great hall complexes therefore appears to have undergone a series of related and overlapping developments over the mid-to-late 7th Century, including the appearance of annexed buildings, the use of shallower foundation trenches, less robust wall types and discrete-posthole foundations, the segmentation of internal space with partitions and offset doorways and the decreasing use of external raking posts.

At Yeavinger, Carolyn Ware and Jenny Walker have argued that the use of annexes, internal partitions and offset doorways reflect increasing restrictions on movement and visibility, and this suggests greater concern for privacy (Fig.3.22) (Ware 2005; Walker 2011; cf. Hillier and Hanson 1984). At the same time, the trend towards less robust wall types, shallower foundations and less prominent external raking posts suggests less concern for public display. Gable entrances, which may have been associated with public procession (Reynolds 2003; Hamerow 2010; 2012, 105; Walker 2010, 231), also become less common in later buildings, primarily due to the use of annexes. Together, these developments suggest a relative transition from achieved status and corporate power to ascribed status and exclusionary power.

The origins of the great hall complex phenomenon appear to lie in the appropriation and monumentalisation of the public assembly (see **Section 3.1.1**). The overarching power structure of early Anglo-Saxon England has been described above (see **Section 3.1.1.1**) as heterarchical, being distributed among different groups, achieved through one's actions and abilities, and corporate, being shared and collectively constructed by all 'citizens' of the society, and based on ethnographic and historical parallels, the primary institution of power in this society was probably the public assembly, where group-oriented power and identity were collectively constructed. However, while the public assembly was a corporate institution, it could also be a powerful facilitator of exclusionary individualizing power, and this appears to be the initial purpose of the great hall complexes: the appropriation of public assembly and, with it, the appropriation of corporate power, through the construction of monumentalised civic-ceremonial complexes – the great hall complexes – to focus and invest corporate power in specific individuals and specific descent groups.

This process of appropriating the corporate power of the assembly had almost certainly begun long before the construction of the first great halls, but the great halls undoubtedly represent a significant turning point. Initially, the great halls may have been justified as collective action – the leader of the people building a hall for the people. The massive foundations of the great halls suggest that the act of building a great hall was itself a public act, and the description of the construction of Heorot in *Beowulf* (lines 74-6) suggests that it was also a communal act, perhaps bringing together the same people who would have attended public assemblies at the site. The massive great halls with their elaborate construction and their expansive interior space were clearly designed for public display: the main room of great hall A4 at Yeavinger had a floor space of approximately 239m², which could have accommodated 250-400 people standing or 100-250

people seated¹ – more than enough to include the head of every village or descent group in the region. Larger crowds could be addressed outside the hall, in the open-air, where the ritualised layout of the great hall complexes would have created extensive, symbolically-charged public spaces for the performance of public acts of power (see **Section 2.1.2.1**).

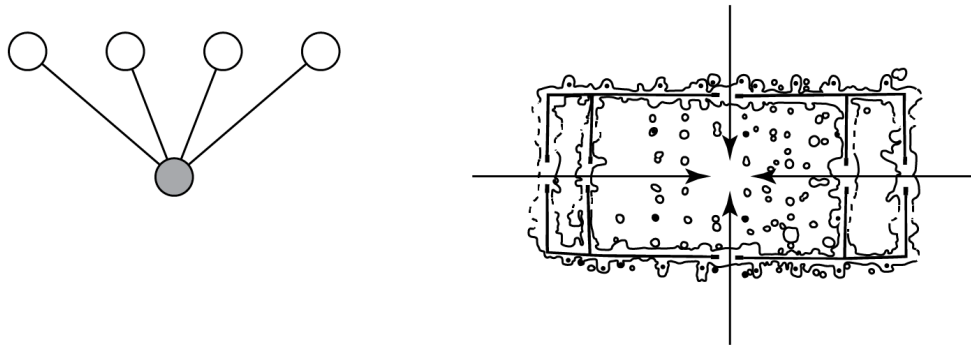
However, while the great hall complexes may have been designed to appropriate and channel corporate power, they were also a significant step away from the corporate power of the assembly and towards the exclusionary power of kingship. The creation of an enclosed interior space – literally enclosing the public assembly – was inherently exclusionary (Wickham 2001). The rectangular form of the great hall – focusing attention on one end of the building – and the use of separate doorways for different groups would have contributed to an increasing impression of ascribed status, of hierarchical and exclusionary power (Herschend 1998, Walker 2011; see Herschend 1998 for the development of the high seat at one end of the hall). The creation of the hall ideal probably paralleled the creation of the ideology of kingship – so vividly depicted in Anglo-Saxon literature – and in this sense, the hall itself was propaganda for the institution of kingship (Herschend 1998). In the idealized world of *Beowulf*, the great hall is constructed by many peoples, but it is the domain of the elite and it is synonymous with one man: King Hrothgar.

The construction of the great hall complexes in the late 6th and early 7th Centuries was therefore a significant step away from corporate power and towards exclusionary power, but it was only one step along a larger continuum. The great halls were initially designed to appropriate corporate power, not exclude it. The next step towards exclusionary power – the exclusion of the wider populace – appears to have been made in the later architectural style of great hall complexes.

The use of annexes, internal partitions and offset doorways in the later great halls reflects increasing restrictions on movement and visibility, and this suggests a greater shift towards exclusionary power, literally excluding the wider populace from the halls of power. At the same time, the trend towards less robust wall types, shallower foundations and less prominent external raking posts suggests less concern for public display, suggesting that royal power had become less dependent on the approval and support of the wider populace. All of this suggests that kings had become less dependent on the achieved status that was collectively conferred by the public assembly, instead creating a new ascribed status, expressed through the literal separation of the king from the wider populace.

¹ Based on various modern catering estimates: <https://www.banquetttablespro.com/space-and-capacity-calculator>
http://hiltonworldwide.hilton.com/en/hotels/groups/popup_space_calculator.jhtml
<https://www.hotelplanner.com/Common/Popups/SpaceCalculator.cfm>

Yeavinger A2



Yeavinger A3a

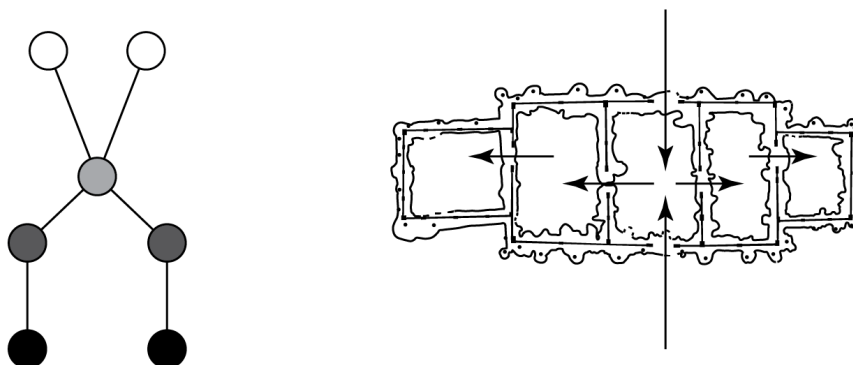


Figure 3.22: The decreasing accessibility of the Yeavinger great hall from Phase IIIab to Phase IV (redrawn from Ware 2005).

This transition is epitomized by the abandonment of the Yeavinger theatre – the most obvious evidence of public assembly at great hall complexes – during the later phases of the site (Hope-Taylor 1977, 160).

It must be emphasized, however, that this was a relative transition along a larger continuum. All societies exhibit a mix of corporate and exclusionary power structures, and corporate power continued to be important throughout the Medieval Period, but Anglo-Saxon England appears to have undergone a significant shift in the balance of power, from corporate to exclusionary, over the course of the 7th Century.

3.3.3 New Layouts

This decreasing concern with public display and the increasing restrictions on movement and visibility also appear to be reflected in the layout of the later great hall complexes. Many of the sites with annexed halls and later dating evidence also exhibit more substantial and extensive boundary features.

The late-type annexed great hall at Doon Hill, which was probably not constructed until c.AD630-640 (see **Section 2.4**), was surrounded by a timber palisade, and the double-annexed great hall at Milfield, which was probably not constructed until after AD630-640 (see **Section 2.4**), appears to have been similarly surrounded by a ditched or palisaded enclosure (Fig.3.23). The central precinct of Milfield also appears to be surrounded by an extensive enclosure system, with multiple subdivided and ancillary enclosures. The late-type annexed hall at Hatton Rock also appears to be set within a small ditched and possibly palisaded enclosure (Hirst and Rahtz 1973, features 2-5), and the double-annexed great hall at Cowage Farm was also surrounded by a complex and extensive enclosure system. The late-type annexed halls at Sprouston are also surrounded by an extensive and complex enclosure system, although the halls themselves do not appear to be wholly enclosed (Fig.3.24), and the 8th Century annexed hall at Brandon was similarly surrounded by a complex subdivided enclosure system, which closely resembles the enclosure systems of Cowage Farm, Milfield and Sprouston (Tester *et al.* 2014).

There is therefore a strong correlation between major boundary features and late-type annexed great halls. However, the exact dating of these enclosures is unknown. Hatton Rock and Cowage Farm may have been exceptionally long-lived sites (see **Section 2.4**), and there is no guarantee that the enclosures belong to the later phases of these sites. Sprouston is essentially undated, outside of the stylistic similarities with Yeavinger Phase IV and V, and the Great Enclosure at

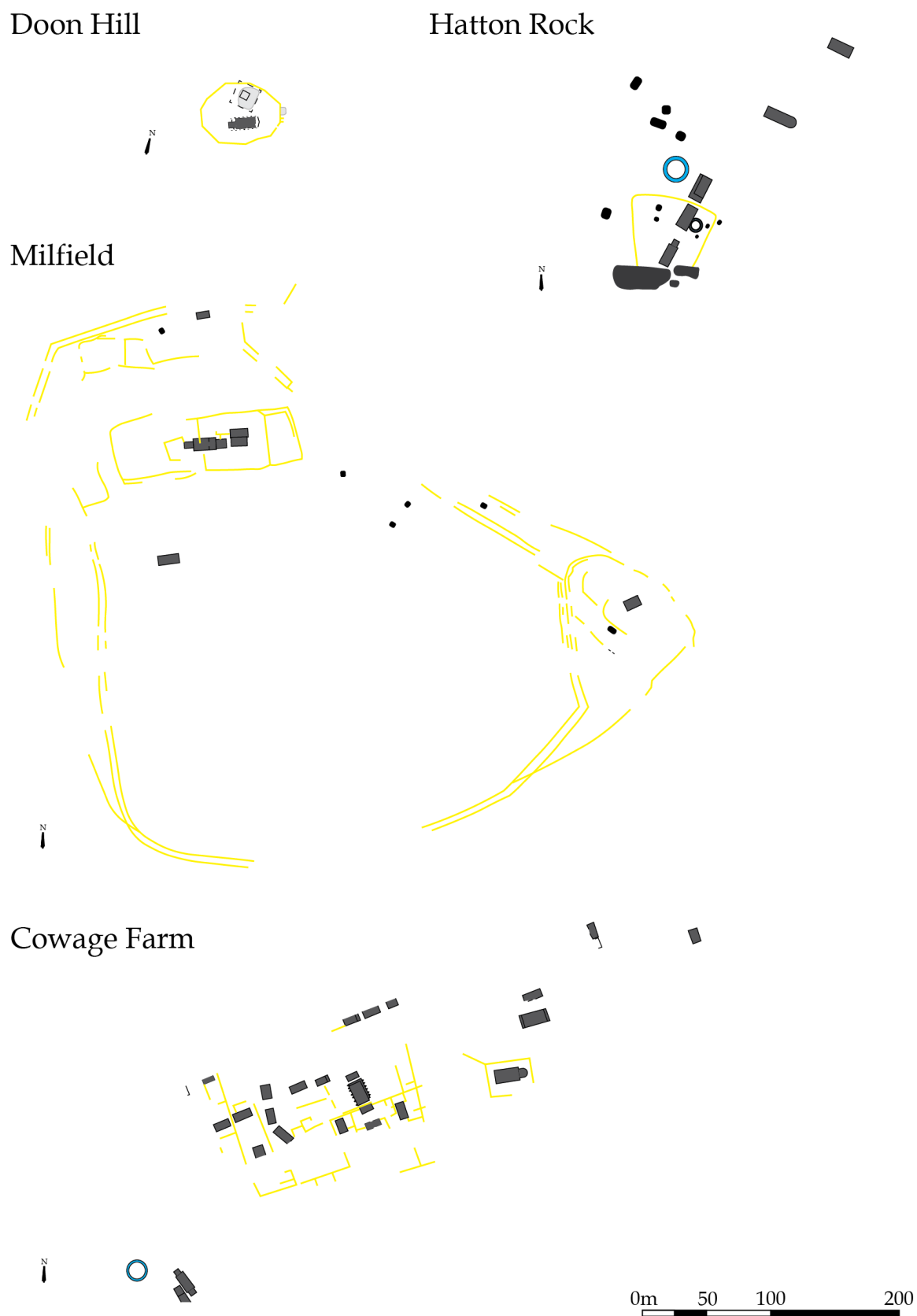
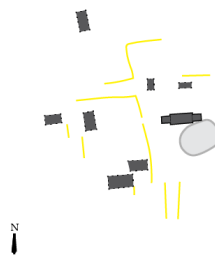


Figure 3.23: The enclosed annexed halls of Doon Hill, Hatton Rock, Milfield and Cowage Farm, showing boundary features in yellow (redrawn from Hinchliffe 1986; Gates and O'Brien 1988; Gethin 2007; RCAHMS Archive).

Sprouston



Brandon



Yeavinger

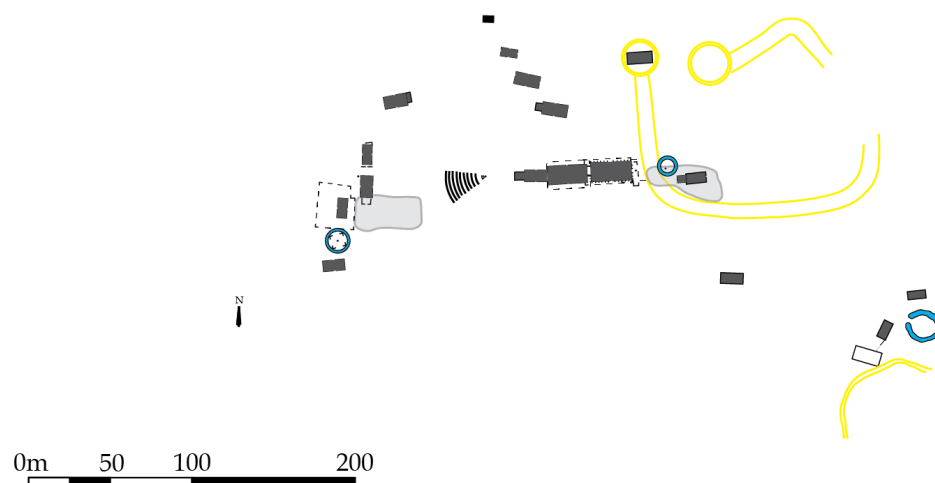


Figure 3.24: The boundary features (in yellow) at Sprouston, Brandon and Yeavinger (redrawn from Hope-Taylor 1977; Smith 1992; Tester *et al.* 2014).

Yeavinger, one of the only excavated boundary features at any great hall complex, actually appears to belong to the earlier phases of the site (Fig.3.24) (Hope-Taylor 1977; O'Brien 2005b).

Nevertheless, the later development of enclosures at great hall complexes is supported by the general proliferation of boundary features at more typical Anglo-Saxon settlements over the course of the 7th Century (Reynolds 2003; Hamerow 2010, 279; 2012), and the enclosures at Doon Hill, Milfield, Hatton Rock, Cowage Farm and Sprouston, as they appear in their final form, differ significantly from the earlier Great Enclosure at Yeavinger. The Great Enclosure is a highly ritualized stand-alone enclosure, not enclosing any known contemporary buildings. In contrast, the enclosures at Doon Hill, Milfield, Hatton Rock and Cowage Farm enclose the great halls themselves, potentially regulating access to the great hall, and the enclosures at Milfield, Cowage Farm and Sprouston form complex enclosure systems, much more closely resembling the 8th Century site at Brandon than the late 6th/early 7th Century Great Enclosure at Yeavinger.

These are significant differences that are suggestive of conceptual and functional differences. The proliferation of boundary features at more typical settlements has been suggested to reflect economic intensification and the conceptual development of private property (Reynold 2003; Herschend 2009; Hamerow 2012), and the development of boundary features at great hall complexes appears to reflect similar developments. The subdivided enclosures of Milfield, Cowage Farm and Sprouston are strongly suggestive of economic activities, perhaps suggesting that economic functions became increasingly important at royal sites over the course of the 7th Century. Meanwhile, the enclosed halls of Doon Hill, Milfield, Hatton Rock and Cowage Farm are strongly suggestive of the privatisation of royal sites.

Frands Herschend has argued that the idealized hall was accessible and deliberately vulnerable, because the idealized hall owner was both strong and generous – generous enough to maintain the openness and accessibility of the hall and strong enough to defend the openness of the hall, to defend the hall and the right of the people to access the hall (Herschend 1998, 42). The enclosed hall was therefore a sign of both a weak ruler and an exclusionary ruler – a greedy ruler, who hoarded his gifts and did not share out his treasure with the people (cf. Thurston 2012).

The open layout of the early great hall complexes may have therefore been a statement of corporate power, of the king's generosity and accessibility and, ultimately, of the king's fealty to the will of the people. In contrast, the rise of enclosed halls in the mid-to-late 7th Century may be a statement of exclusionary power, of the inaccessibility of the king, who no longer needed to share out his treasures with the people, who was no longer answerable to the people.

This shift, from open to enclosed sites, mirrors the shift from open-form great halls to annexed great halls, from corporate power to exclusionary power (see **Section 3.3.2.1**), and this, combined with the increased importance of economic activities, is suggestive of a wider conceptual shift, from civic-ceremonial centres to private royal residences.

3.3.4 New Diversification

There may have also been some diversification in the status of the later great hall complexes. The annexed great halls exhibit much greater variation in size than the earlier open-form great halls. The vast majority of earlier open-form great halls fall within 22-25m in length. In contrast, only three sites – Atcham, Hatton Rock and Sprouston – have 22-26m annexed great halls, while four sites – Cowage Farm, Long Itchington, Milfield and Yeavinger – have 30-33m annexed great halls, and two sites – Doon Hill and Lockerbie – have 19-20m annexed great halls (Fig.3.25). The differences in size between these great halls are substantial enough to suggest differences in status.

There is also some evidence for increasing differences in the size of the central precincts of later great hall complexes. The most convincing evidence for this is the differences in size between the enclosed precinct of Cowage Farm and the enclosed precincts of Doon Hill and Hatton Rock (Fig.3.26).

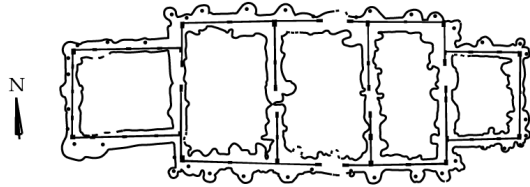
In the absence of an enclosed precinct, it is difficult to determine the size of the central precinct at any given time, but many of the smallest sites – Atcham, Doon Hill and Lockerbie – appear to have emerged slightly later than the other great hall complexes (Fig.3.27) (see **Section 2.4**). Meanwhile, Sprouston, one of the largest great hall complexes, also appears to be a later site, based on the lack of open-form great halls and the extensive and integral use of boundary features.

Interestingly, the smallest sites – Doon Hill and Lockerbie – have also produced the smallest annexed great halls, while the largest identified site – Cowage Farm – has one of the largest annexed great halls yet identified. This suggests that the size of the later great halls may have been correlated with the size of the central precincts, and both of these attributes may be related to the status of the site.

However, this pattern is less clear with other sites. The great hall at Sprouston is not significantly larger than the great hall at Atcham, and Milfield, which appears to have the largest great hall yet identified, is particularly difficult to categorize. The enclosure system surrounding the great hall at Milfield is extremely extensive, and large post-in-trench buildings appear to be equally widespread, but the number of identified buildings at Milfield is relatively few when compared with Cowage Farm and Sprouston.

The Great Halls

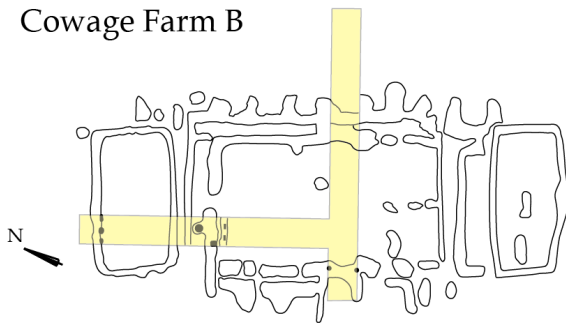
Yeavering A3a



Milfield (cropmarks)



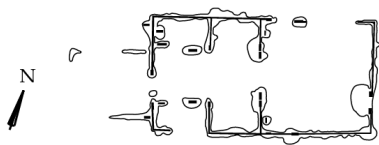
Cowage Farm B



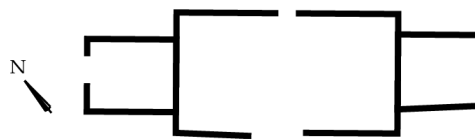
Long Itchington (cropmarks)



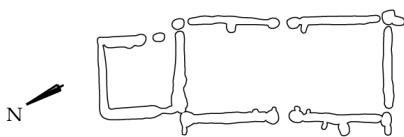
Doon Hill



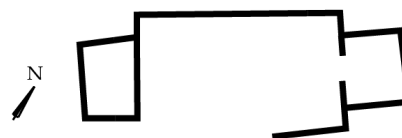
Sprouston F (cropmarks)



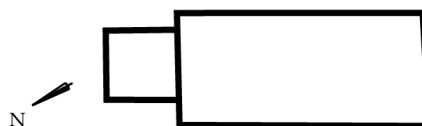
Lockerbie



Atcham (cropmarks)



Hatton Rock P (cropmarks)



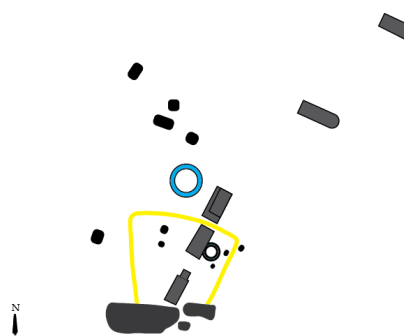
0m 5 10 20 30

Figure 3.25: The annexed great halls, showing the substantial and perhaps significant variations in size (redrawn from Hope-Taylor 1977; Hinchliffe 1986; Gates and O'Brien 1988; Smith 1992; Gethin 2007; Kirby 2012; White 2017; RCAHMS Archive; Abi Tompkins pers. comm.).

Cowage Farm



Hatton Rock



Doon Hill



0m 50 100 200

Figure 3.26: The enclosed central precincts (in yellow) of Cowage Farm, Hatton Rock and Doon Hill (redrawn from Hinchliffe 1986; Gethin 2007; RCAHMS Archive). The significant differences in the size of these enclosures suggest real differences in the overall size of these sites.

Sprouston



Doon Hill



Lockerbie



Atcham



0m 50 100 200

Figure 3.27: The later great hall complexes at Sprouston, Doon Hill, Lockerbie and Atcham appear to vary dramatically in size (redrawn from Smith 1992; Kirby 2012; White 2017; RCAHMS Archive).

This suggests that the correlation between the size of each site and the size of the great halls is not straightforward and cannot be assumed from aerial photographs and keyhole excavations. Nevertheless, the increasing differences in the size of the great halls and the possible differences in the size of the central precincts are suggestive of increasing differences in status, and the correlation between great hall size and central precinct size at certain sites lends further weight to this conclusion.

This diversification in status may be linked to the functional and conceptual shift from civic-ceremonial centre to magnate residence, from corporate power to exclusionary power. The creation of more complex settlement hierarchies and the delegation of power is inherently more exclusionary, as it separates the king from the people. As the king excluded the wider populace from the hall and the central precinct, middlemen must have filled the gap, relaying popular concerns to the king and royal decrees to the people. Some of these middlemen may have been given their own great hall complexes, from which to administer the king's power. Conceptually, this delegation of power may have gone hand-in-hand with the transition from public centre to private residence: as the wider populace was excluded from the great hall complexes, and smaller great hall complexes were increasingly delegated to royal middlemen, it would only be natural to conceive of these sites as the private residences of an individual, rather than the public centre of the people.

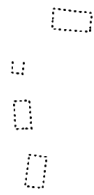
3.3.5 The Minor Hall Complexes

As the great hall architectural style became less robust and the great hall complexes became more diverse, the minor hall complexes appear to have become increasingly similar to the smallest and least impressive great hall complexes.

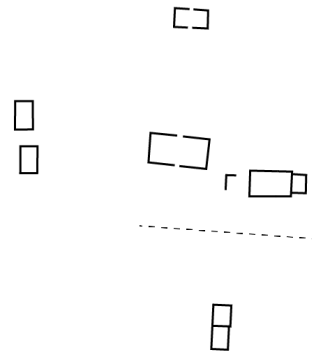
With each phase, the minor hall complexes adopted increasingly more characteristics of the great hall architectural style, and in each case, the minor hall complexes appear to have most closely resembled the great hall complexes during their latest phases (Fig.3.28-9). The post-in-trench buildings at minor hall complexes appear to belong to the later phases of these sites, and at Polebrook and Thirlings, the later post-in-trench buildings are more carefully, and perhaps more ritually, laid out than the earlier discrete-posthole buildings. Moreover, at each site, the single largest building appears to belong to the latest phases: the largest buildings at Polebrook and Thirlings are late-type annexed buildings, and the largest domestic building at Chalton – omitting the unusual discrete-posthole building – was stratigraphically one the latest features at the site (Addyman and Leigh 1973).

Polebrook

Phase 1



Phase 2

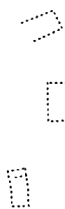


Thirlings

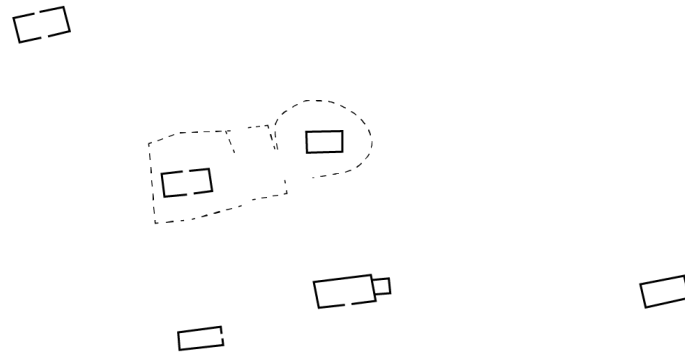
Phase 1



Phase 2



Phase 3



Chalton

Phase 1

Phase 2

Phase 3



0m 25 50 100 200

Figure 3.28: The development of minor hall complexes, showing the increasing similarity with great hall complexes (redrawn from Addyman and Leigh 1973; Champion 1977; O'Brien and Miket 1991; Upex 2002; 2003; 2004; 2005). The phasing of Chalton is uncertain, but the sequence of courtyard units in the northeast corner of the excavation is well established.

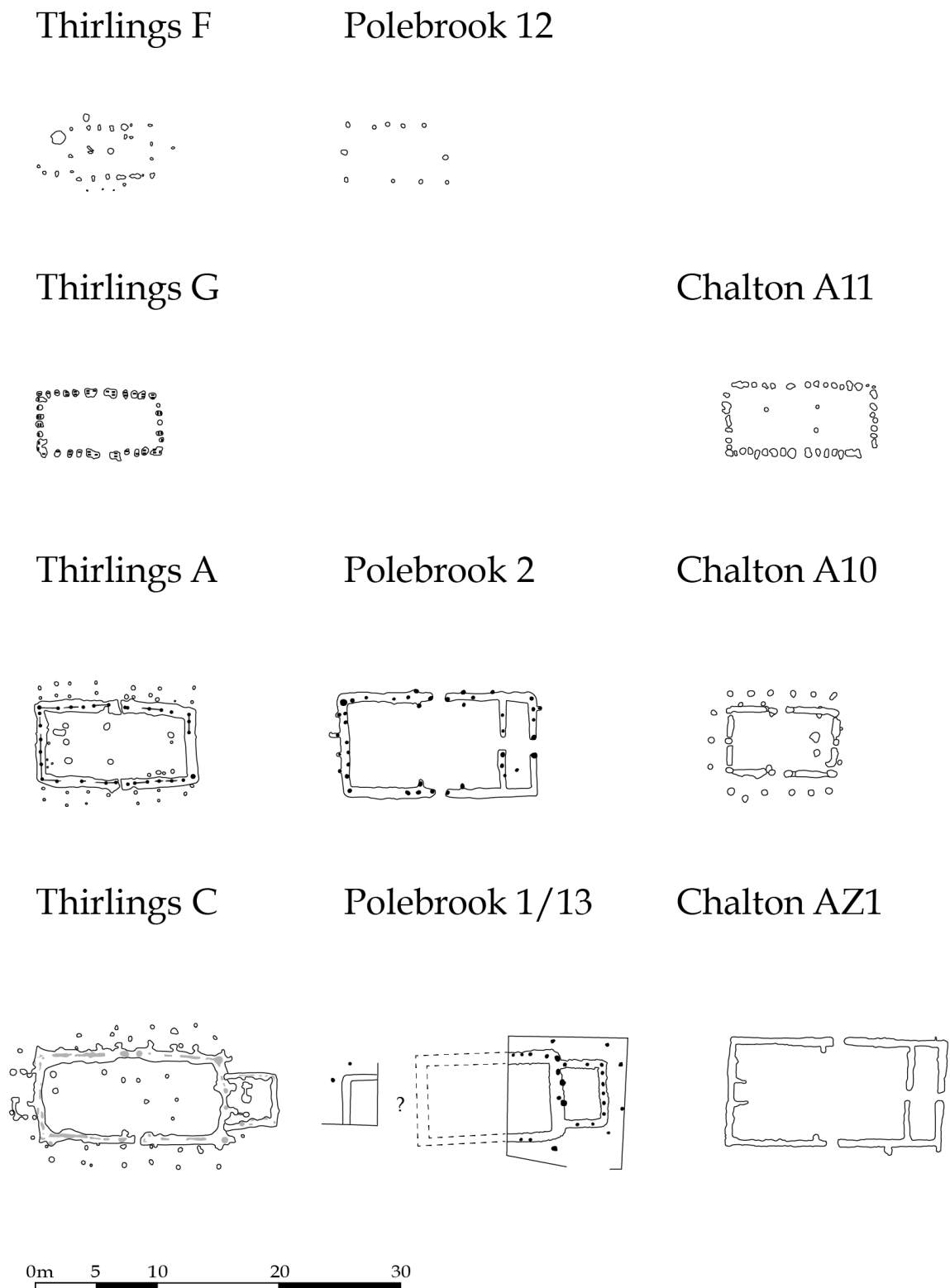
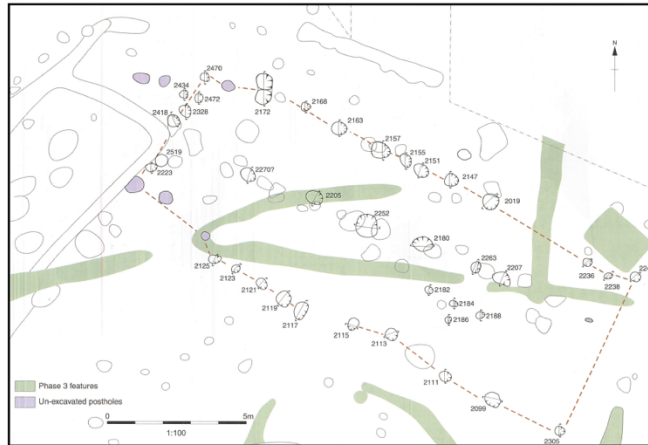


Figure 3.29: The development of architecture at the minor hall complexes (redrawn from Addyman and Leigh 1973; O'Brien and Miket 1991; Upex 2002; 2003; 2004; 2005). The phasing of these buildings is far from certain: Polebrook 2 was probably contemporary with Polebrook 1/13, and Thirlings A was probably at least partially contemporary with Thirlings C, but the annexes of Thirlings C and Polebrook 1/13 probably postdate the construction of Thirlings A and Polebrook 2, respectively.

Higham Ferrers



Lyminge



Chalton Unnumbered

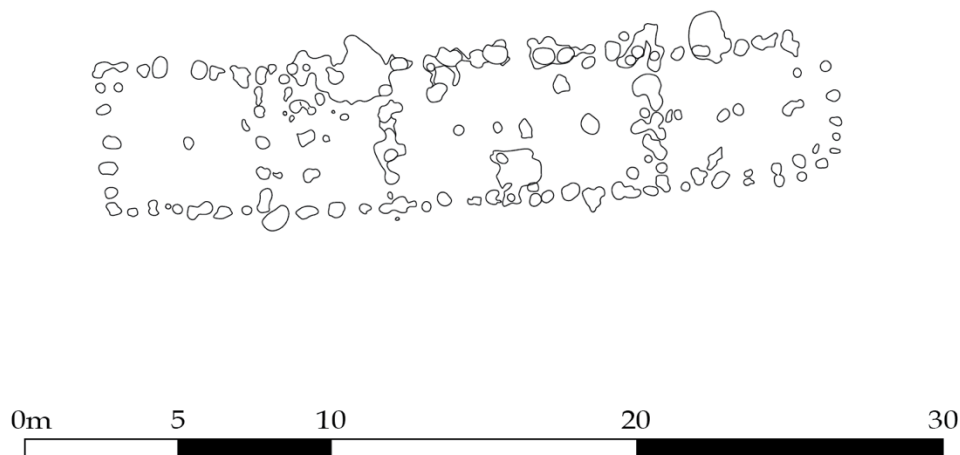


Figure 3.30: The large discrete-posthole building at Chalton shares a distinctive central line of postholes with the 8th Century barns at Higham Ferrers and Lyminge. The Chalton building is also similarly insubstantial relative to its large size (redrawn from Champion 1977; Hardy *et al.* 2007; Thomas 2008).

Moreover, although the dating evidence for minor hall complexes is slim (Table 3.1), there is some reason to suggest that the latest phases of these sites fall between the mid-7th and early 8th Centuries, making them contemporary with the later development of great hall complexes. The largest buildings at Polebrook and Thirlings were late-type annexed buildings, and the excavators of Thirlings remarked that the closest stylistic comparison for the Thirlings post-in-trench buildings were the buildings of Yeavinger Phase IV and V (O'Brien and Miket 1991, 89-90). Meanwhile, Chalton lacks late-type annexed buildings, but the published dating evidence – hipped and disc-head pins, lace tags, lava quern fragments and a later 7th Century hanging bowl fragment – strongly suggest that the latest phases of occupation at Chalton stretched into the later 7th Century, if not the early 8th Century (Addyman *et al.* 1972, 15; Addyman and Leigh 1973, 19-20; Champion 1977, 367; Brenan 1991, 107; Bruce-Mitford 2005, 131-2). The large, unusual discrete-posthole building at Chalton, constructed with central posts, also bears a certain resemblance to the 8th Century barns at Higham Ferrers and Lyminge, providing further evidence that the latest phases of occupation date to the later 7th and possibly early 8th Century (Fig.3.30) (Hardy *et al.* 2007; Thomas 2008, 6-7).

This suggests that the gap between great hall complexes and minor hall complexes was closing over the course of the 7th Century, both from the bottom-up – as minor hall complexes more closely approximated the great hall architectural style – and from the top-down – as the great hall architectural style became less robust, and certain great hall complexes were constructed with smaller central precincts and smaller great halls.

This process probably reflects the development of more complex settlement hierarchies, but it may also reflect the growing conceptual and functional similarity between great hall complexes and minor hall complexes.

The minor hall complexes appear to originate as lesser magnate residences (see **Section 3.1.1.2**), while the great hall complexes appear to shift from supra-regional civic-ceremonial centres to more diverse magnate residences over the course of the 7th Century. As a result, the great hall complexes and the minor hall complexes may have increasingly overlapped conceptually and functionally, and as the great hall complexes became more diverse, the minor hall complexes may have simply been subsumed into an increasingly complex settlement hierarchy.

The relationship between great hall complexes and minor hall complexes was probably complex and perhaps recursive: given that the minor hall complexes appear comparatively more private and

more domestic from their earliest phases, the shift to more private, more domestic great hall complexes may have been partially influenced by the minor hall complexes.

3.3.6 The New Architecture and the Abandonment of Great Hall Complexes

There is thus considerable and wide-ranging evidence for a real shift in the architecture and layout of great hall complexes over the course of the 7th Century. In many cases, the evidence is slight at best, but taken as a whole, the evidence is convincing. Wall types became less robust, interior space became more restricted, and the layout became increasingly defined by boundary features. At the same time, there may have been a diversification in the status and functions of great hall complexes, as certain great hall complexes were constructed with larger central precincts and larger great halls. As great hall complexes became more diverse, the minor hall complexes appear to have become more ambitious, developing larger annexed buildings that resembled the smallest annexed great halls (Fig.3.31). The dating evidence from Doon Hill and Yeavinger suggests that these developments began around AD630-640 (see **Section 2.4**), perhaps unfolding at different time scales at different sites over the course of the mid-to-late 7th Century.

These changes appear to reflect a relative shift from corporate power to exclusionary power. As great hall complexes developed from civic-ceremonial centres to royal residences, the king was increasingly separated from the people and power was increasingly delegated through the proliferation of lesser elite residences.

Taken to their ultimate conclusion, these developments appear to have precipitated the obsolescence of the great hall complex phenomenon.

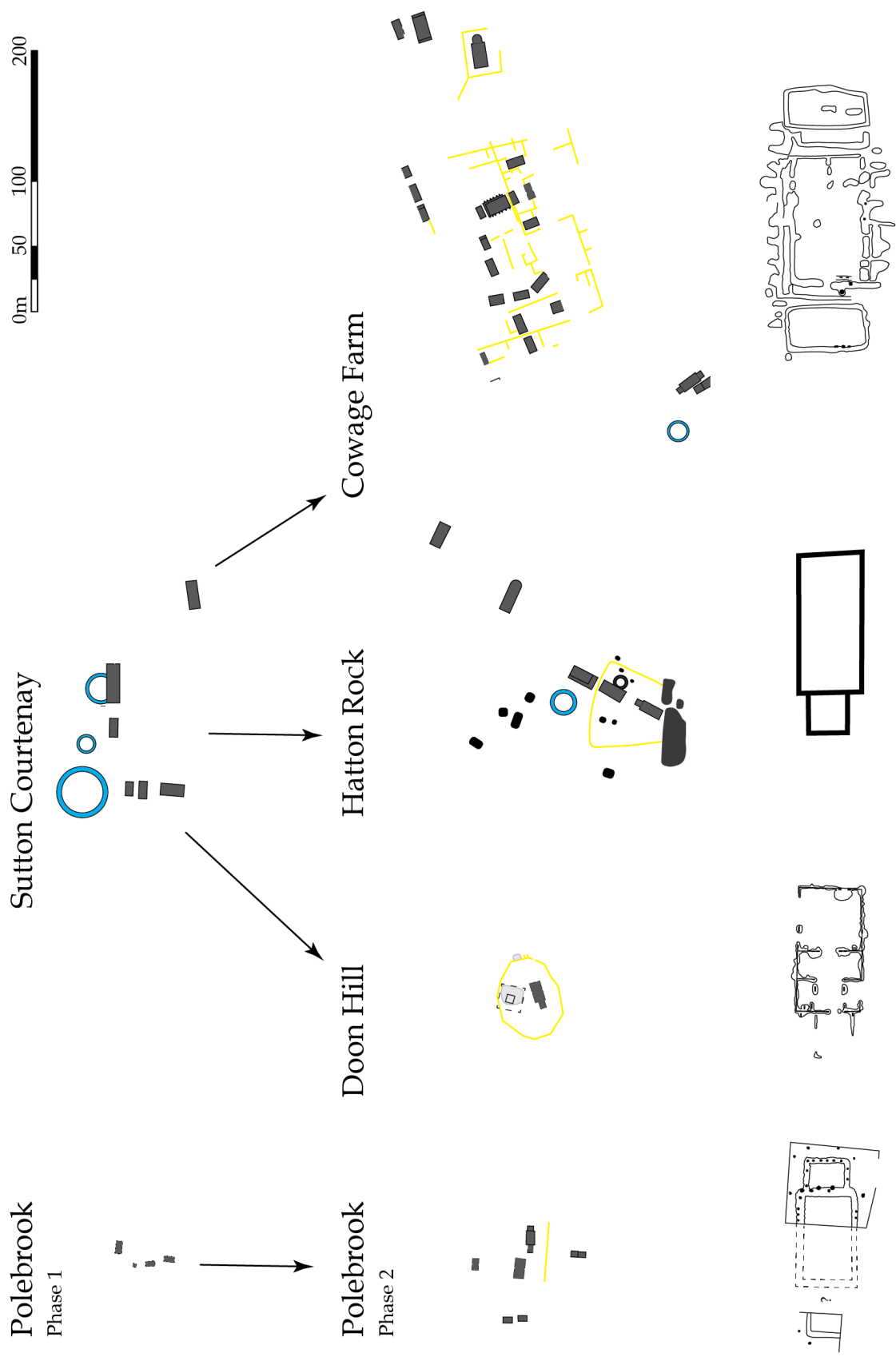


Figure 3.31: The later development of great hall complexes, showing the diversification of great hall complexes, the development of annexed halls, the increasing use of boundary features, and the increasing similarity between minor hall complexes and great hall complexes (redrawn from Hinchliffe 1986; Upex 2002; 2003; 2004; 2005; Booth *et al.* 2007; Gethin 2007; Wessex Archaeology 2010; RCAHMS Archive).

3.4 The Obsolescence of Great Hall Complexes

By the mid-8th Century, the 7th Century great hall complexes appear to have become obsolete, and the known sites were either abandoned or fundamentally transformed (see **Section 2.4**).

3.4.1 The Eighth Century Transformation

The well-dated 8th Century centres at Northampton, Brandon, Lyminge and Higham Ferrers (Northants.) appear to be fundamentally different from the early 7th Century great hall complexes (Fig.3.32). Their architecture, their layout, their material culture and the range of features associated with these sites stand in marked contrast to the 7th Century sites. Overall, these changes appear to represent the curtailing and dividing up of the ritually organized central precinct, the drawing in of formerly peripheral activities – such as permanent settlement, agricultural processing, craft-working and refuse disposal – and the development of more complex settlement hierarchies and heterarchies, encompassing a range of different sites, with different statuses and different functions.

The great hall at Brandon is only marginally different from the late-type annexed great halls of the 7th Century, but in every other respect, the site bears little resemblance to the early 7th Century great hall complexes. No other building at Brandon was constructed in the great hall architectural style, and the layout is strongly defined by boundary features. Instead of a coherent whole, Brandon appears to be a collection of component parts; the extensive ritually organized public spaces characteristic of 7th Century central precincts (see **Section 2.1.2.1**), appear to have been curtailed and divided up among several small courtyards. At the same time, occupation debris, agricultural processing, craft-working and refuse disposal appear to be much more prevalent, and there is a wider overall range of features. This suggests a general decline in the importance of symbolic public action and a corresponding increase in the importance of economic activities and the day-to-day domestic activities of a permanent settlement.

Northampton, Lyminge and Higham Ferrers exhibit similar developments. The Northampton great hall is almost identical to the mid-7th Century double-annexed great halls at Yeavinger, but unlike Yeavinger, the Northampton great hall appears to be closely surrounded by boundary features and densely-set buildings, and like Brandon, these other buildings at Northampton appear to be constructed in a much less robust style, in contrast to the great hall.

The 8th Century buildings at Higham Ferrers and the Lyminge minster also represent a significant break with the great hall architectural style, and like Brandon, these sites have produced a wider range of features with evidence for occupation debris, agricultural processing, craft-working and

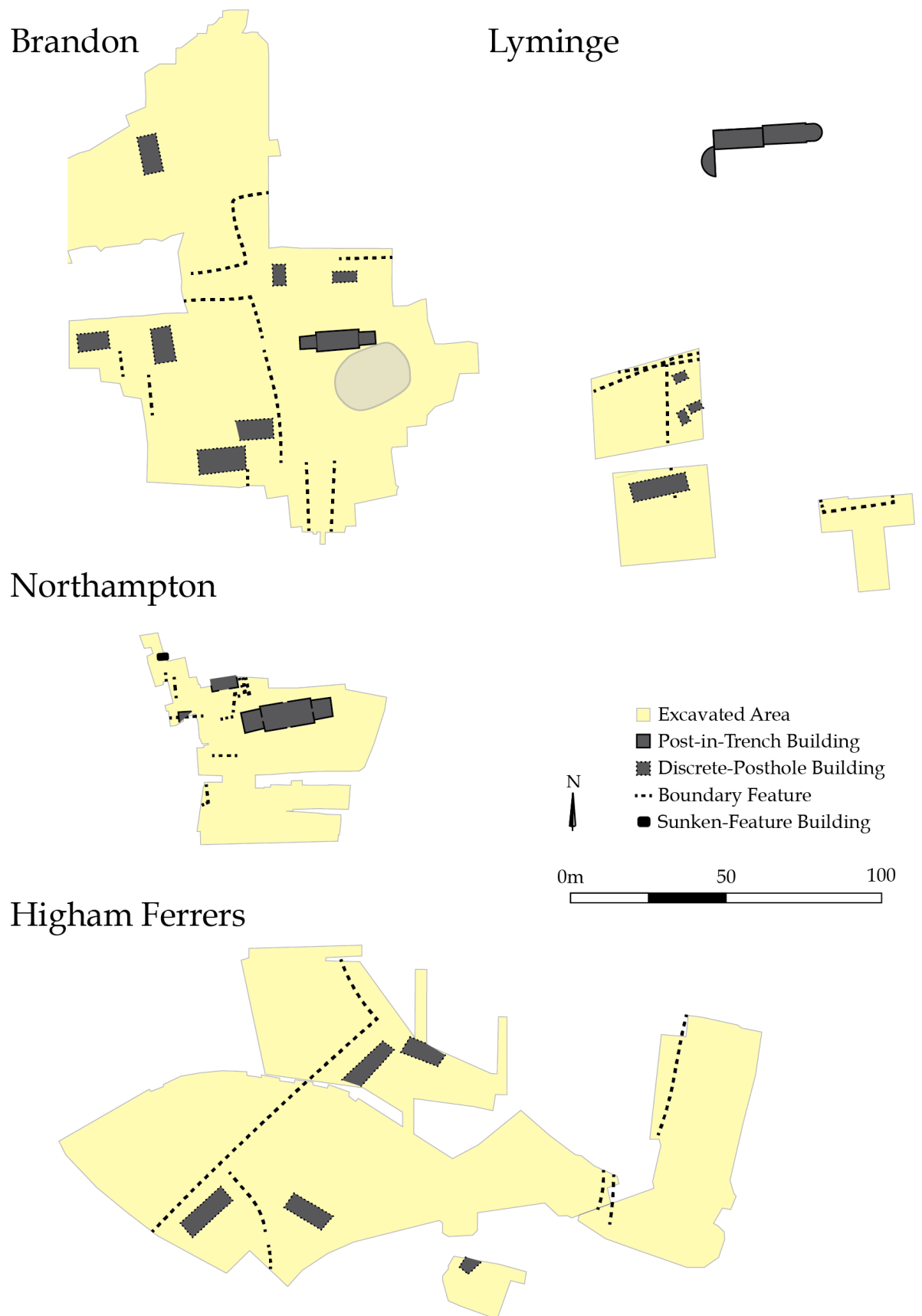


Figure 3.32: The 8th Century sites at Brandon, Lyminge, Northampton and Higham Ferrers, showing the integral use of boundary features (redrawn from Williams *et al.* 1985; Hardy *et al.* 2007; Tester *et al.* 2014; Thomas 2008; 2009; 2017).

refuse disposal. Like Brandon, Lyminge appears to be subdivided across several enclosures, and while the layout of Higham Ferrers appears to be more open, there is no consistent orientation scheme and the site layout does not appear to form a coherent whole.

There are many similarities between the 8th Century phases of Northampton, Brandon, Lyminge and Higham Ferrers, but there are also significant differences that attest to a more complex range of sites, with different statuses and different functions. The buildings excavated at Northampton, both the great hall and the surrounding buildings, are more robust and suggestive of higher status occupation than the buildings excavated at Brandon, Lyminge and Higham Ferrers, and the buildings excavated at Brandon appear to be of significantly higher status than those excavated at Higham Ferrers (Lyminge is less clear, because the core of the site remains unexcavated).

Northampton was probably a major centre, possibly ecclesiastical or royal (Williams *et al.* 1985; Blair 1996), while Lyminge was a documented royal minster, and Brandon has been suggested to be an undocumented minster (Tester *et al.* 2014). Meanwhile, Higham Ferrers has been interpreted as a collection centre for the nearby royal centre at Irthlingborough (Hardy *et al.* 2007).

3.4.2 The Seventh to Eighth Century Transition

These 8th Century developments stand in marked contrast to the earlier 7th Century great hall complexes, but many of these developments appear to be a continuation of the later 7th Century development of great hall complexes.

The 8th Century power centres appear to have little concern for public display outside of the great hall itself and little to no public space. Instead, domestic and economic activities appear to be given much more emphasis, and this shift from public space to domestic space probably reflects the shift from public centre to private residence, which is suggested to have occurred over the course of the 7th Century. The 8th Century sites take this development even farther, with a much greater emphasis on domestic space and with much more complex settlement hierarchies and heterarchies (Ulmschneider 2011).

The developments of the 8th Century can therefore be seen as a continuation of the mid-to-late 7th Century development of great hall complexes, and the great hall complexes themselves may have been instrumental in bringing about these developments. However, these developments also appear to have precipitated the obsolescence of the great hall complexes.

The majority of great hall complexes appear to have been abandoned around the turn of the 8th Century. Some sites show evidence for short-lived 8th Century activity – Rendlesham and Sutton Courtenay have produced evidence of market exchange in the earlier 8th Century – but these sites

saw a marked decline in the use of coinage after AD720-730 (Hamerow *et al.* 2007, 181; Scull *et al.* 2016, 1606-7). Other sites show evidence of more sustained activity, but these sites appear to have been fundamentally transformed. Lyminge became the site of a royal minster in the late 7th Century, and the 8th Century features stand in marked contrast to the 7th Century great halls (Thomas 2008; 2009; 2017; Thomas and Knox 2013; 2014; 2015). The apsidal buildings, documented ecclesiastical associations and 8th and 9th Century radiocarbon dates at Cowage Farm and Hatton Rock suggest that these sites may have also become ecclesiastical sites (see **Section 2.4** and **2.6.2**), and this may explain the unusual extent and complexity of Cowage Farm.

It would therefore appear that great hall complexes, as they existed in the 7th Century, were fundamentally incompatible with the developments of the 8th Century, despite their role in bringing about these developments. This may be because the great hall complexes grew out of corporate power structures – they were monumentalised assembly sites and public civic-ceremonial centres – and although they probably played a fundamental role in the development of exclusionary power structures, the great hall complexes were probably too culturally associated with outmoded corporate power structures and the pre-Christian belief that had underpinned them. For this reason, they had to be abandoned, and new more exclusionary elite residences were constructed in their place (Cramp 1983, 275; Blair 2018). These themes are further explored, developed and refined in **Part II** of this thesis.

– Part II –

Great Hall Complexes in Context

Power and Place in the Upper Thames Valley

Following the broad comparative study of great hall complexes in **Part I**, **Part II** of this thesis (**Chapters 4-8**) explores the regional context of great hall complexes, reconstructing the regional development of socio-economic power through the excavated burials and settlements of the Upper Thames Valley and analysing the role of great hall complexes in this development.

The Upper Thames Valley (Fig.II.1) is widely considered to be the early heartland of the West Saxon kingdom (Dickinson 1976; Blair 1994; Yorke 1995; Hamerow 1999b; Hamerow *et al.* 2013), and in addition to the two identified great hall complexes, at Long Wittenham and Sutton Courtenay, the Upper Thames Valley is also home to an exceptional density of excavated settlements and cemeteries, making it an ideal region in which to conduct a large-scale case study of settlement hierarchy and kingdom formation.

The Upper Thames Valley

The Upper Thames Valley is defined by two geological formations. To the northwest, the Jurassic limestone Cotswolds cut diagonally across modern Oxfordshire and Gloucestershire, and to the southeast, the Cotswolds are paralleled by the Chilterns and the Berkshire Downs, a single chalk formation, bisected by the River Thames at the Goring Gap (Fig.II.2). These upland areas are each characterized by northwest-facing scarps and southeast-facing dip slopes, producing a gentler topographical transition to the northwest of the valley. The valley is further bisected by a modest ridge of Corallian Limestone, aptly known as the Midvale Ridge, which runs parallel to the Cotswolds.

The Upper Thames Valley is dominated by the River Thames and its many tributaries. The Rivers Windrush, Evenlode, Cherwell, Ock and Thame are the largest tributary systems, followed by the Coln, Leach and Cole (Fig.II.3). These rivers, and the freely draining gravel terraces flanking their banks, were particularly attractive to early Anglo-Saxon communities.

The Upper Thames Valley has long been recognized as one of the core regions of early Anglo-Saxon settlement (Fig.II.4). Throughout the 19th and early 20th Centuries, gravel extraction and other development projects led to the discovery and summary destruction of dozens of early Anglo-Saxon cemeteries, and in the 1920s, the associated settlement of the Sutton Courtenay great hall complex became the first Anglo-Saxon settlement to be positively identified and excavated in England (Leeds 1923b; 1927; 1947). In the second half of the 20th Century, the pace of discovery and the quality of recovery continued to increase during the rescue years and then again with the

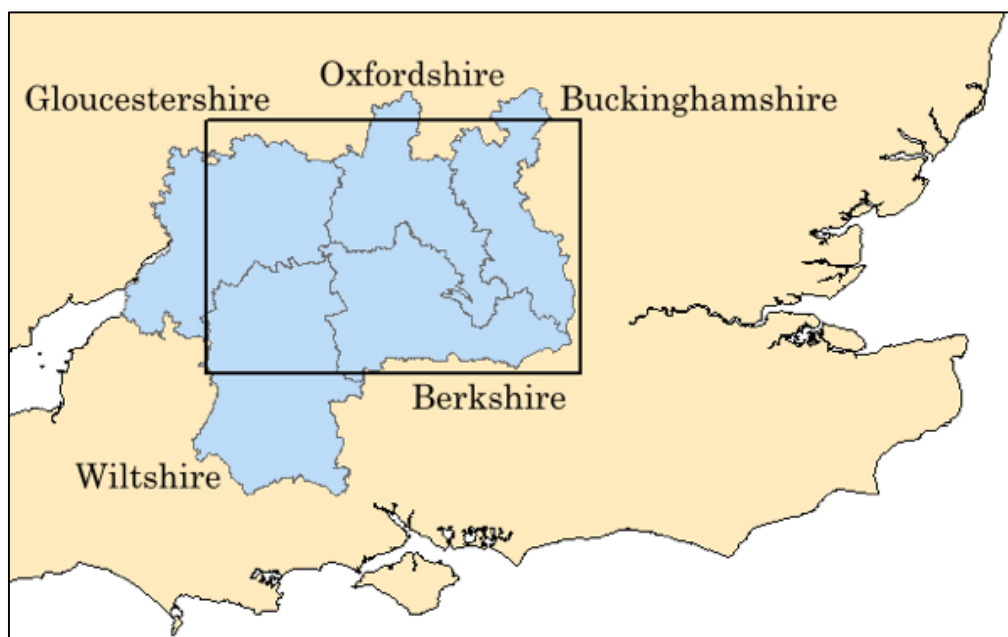


Figure II.1: The Upper Thames Valley study area.

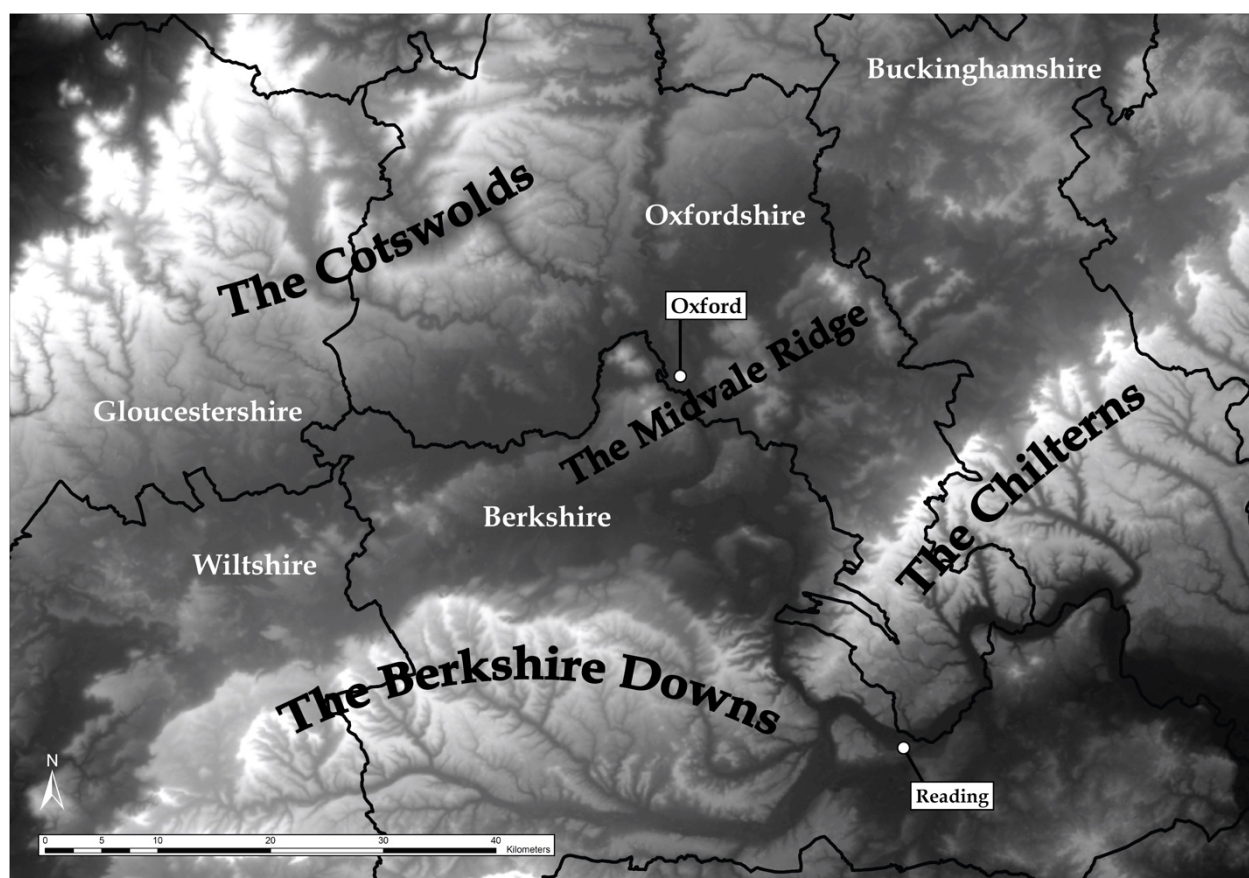


Figure II.2: The topography of the Upper Thames Valley.

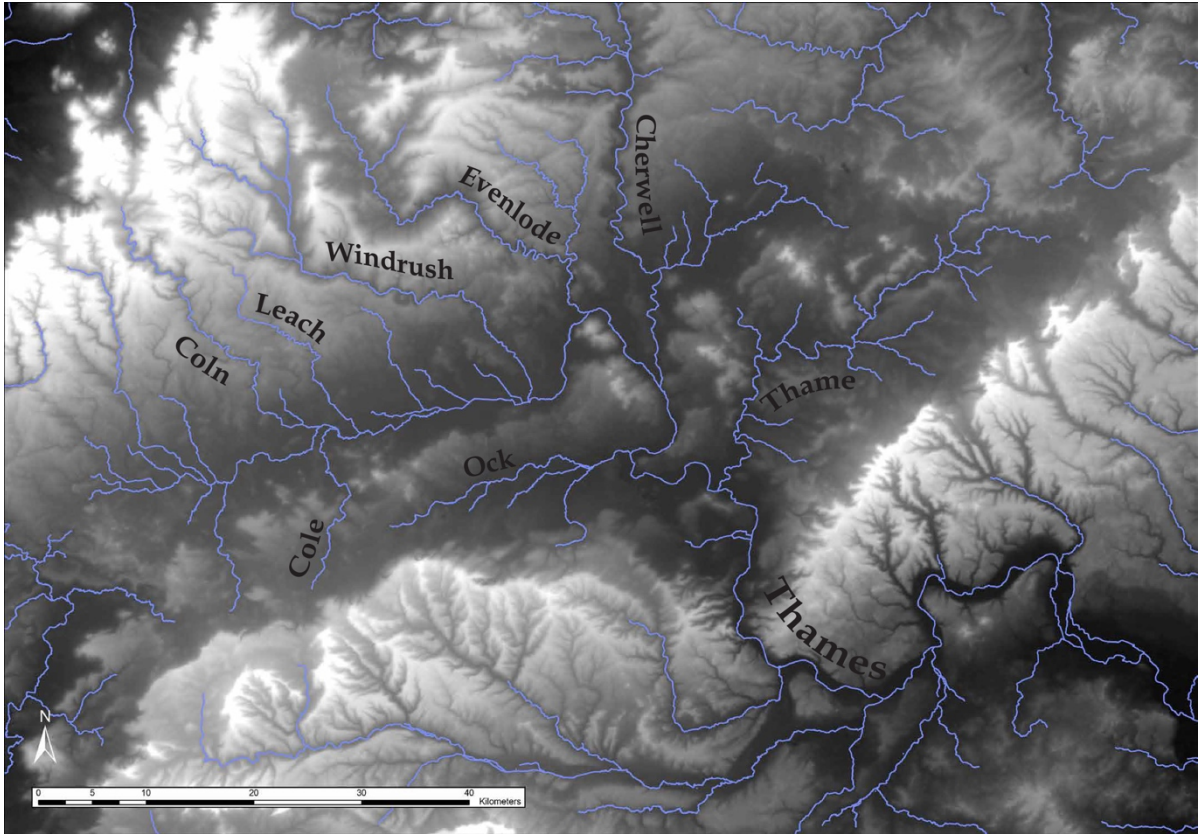


Figure II.3: The major rivers of the Upper Thames Valley.

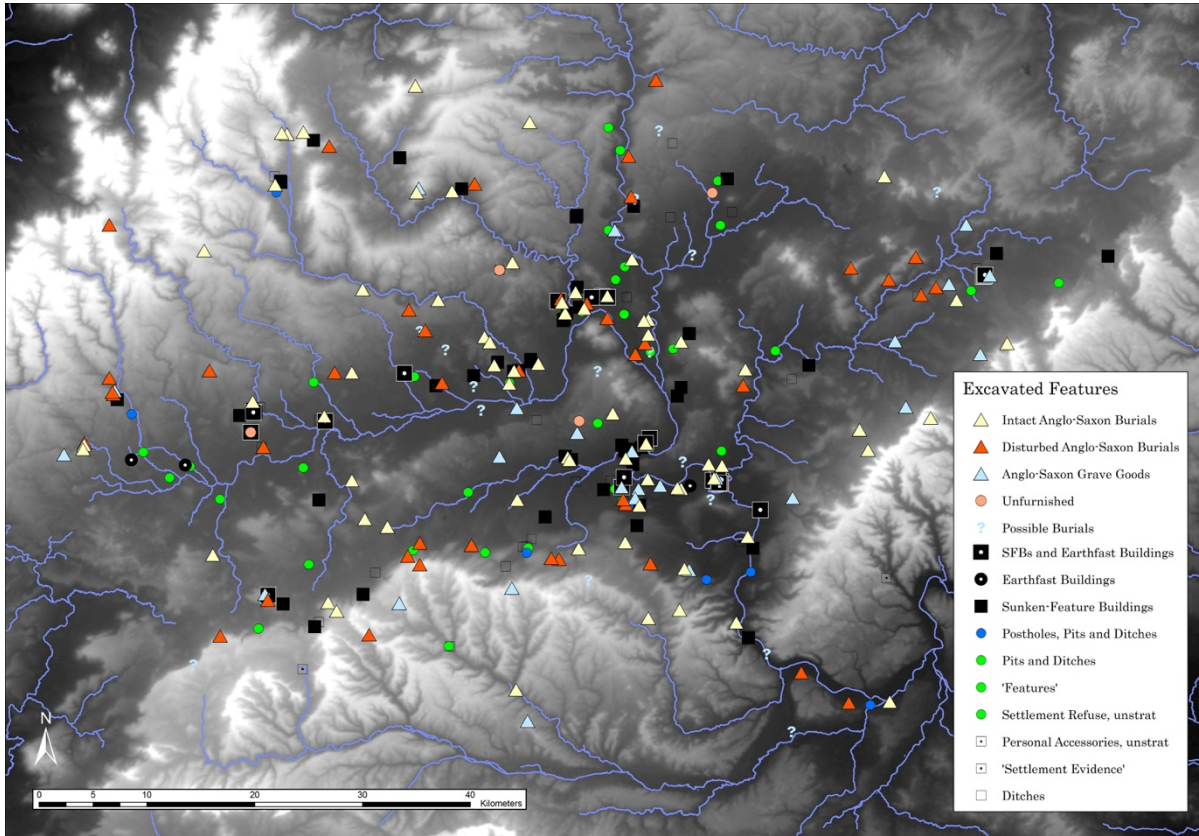


Figure II.4: The excavated settlements and cemeteries of the Upper Thames Valley, AD475-750.

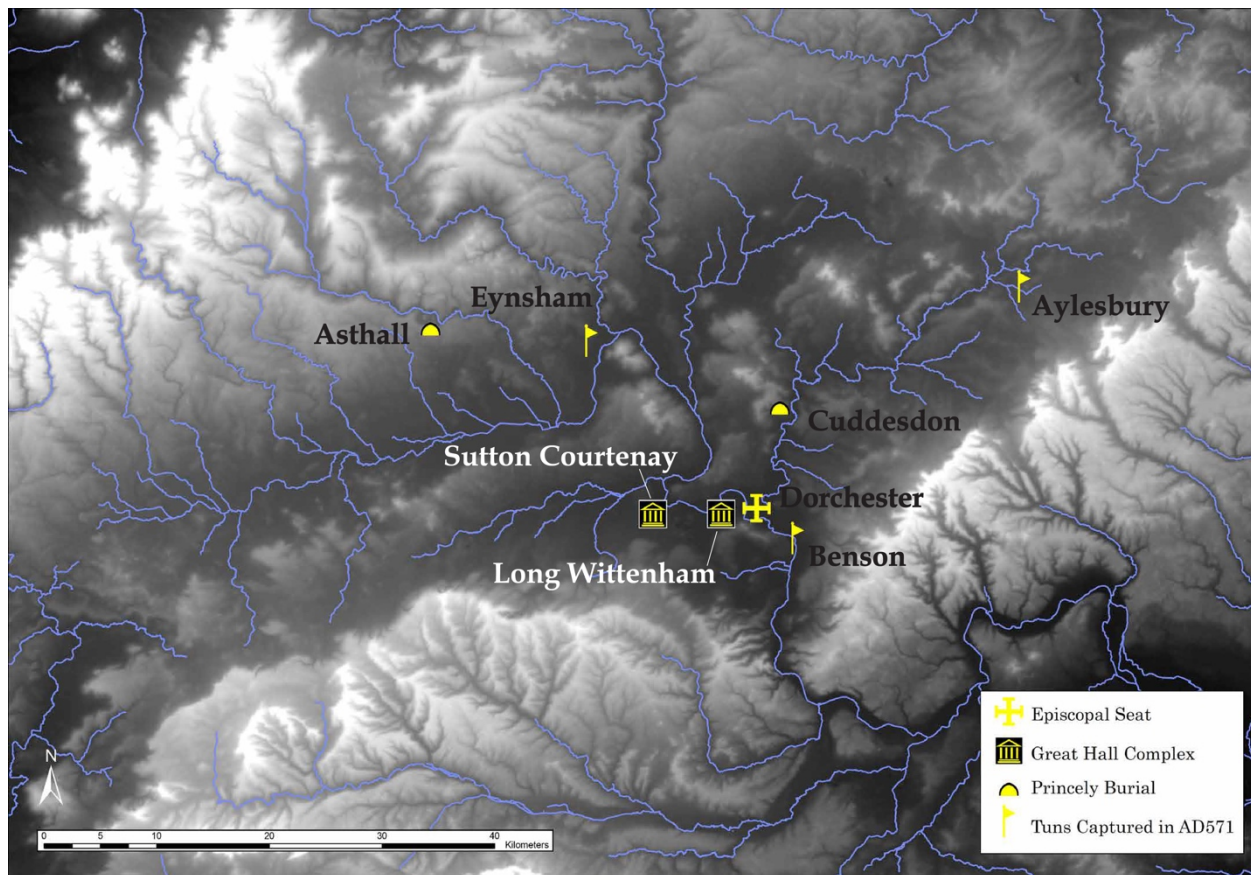


Figure II.5: The West Saxon/Gewissan kingdom in the Upper Thames Valley.

advent of developer-funded archaeology, making the Upper Thames Valley now one of the most intensively excavated areas of early Anglo-Saxon activity in the country.

The Upper Thames Valley is also considered to be a core region of kingdom formation (Dickinson 1976; Hawkes 1986; Blair 1994; Yorke 1990; 1995; Hamerow 1999b; Hamerow *et al.* 2013). The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle places the first semi-historical West Saxon kings – the war leader Ceawlin and his brother Cuthwulf – in and around the Upper Thames Valley, c.AD570-590, and the first West Saxon bishopric was established at Dorchester-on-Thames (Oxon.) in c.AD635. At this time, the West Saxons were known as the *Gewisse* (Dumville 1985, 50-6; Yorke 1995, 32-6).

This account is supported by a wealth of archaeological evidence for kingdom formation in the immediate vicinity of Dorchester (Fig.II.5), including the great hall complexes at Sutton Courtenay and Long Wittenham and the 7th Century ‘princely’ burial at Cuddesdon (Oxon.) (Dickinson 1974).

Power and Place in the Upper Thames Valley

The aim of the Upper Thames Valley case study is to explore the role of great hall complexes in kingdom formation, by reconstructing the regional development of socio-economic power in the

Upper Thames Valley before, during and after the emergence of the West Saxon/Gewissan kingdom and by situating the great hall complexes within this development.

The regional development of socio-economic power in the Upper Thames Valley is reconstructed from the distribution of burials and burial wealth (**Chapters 4-5**) and from the distribution of settlement features and high status settlements (**Chapters 6-7**). The distribution of burials and the distribution of settlement features is used to reconstruct the location, size and structure of the primary Anglo-Saxon communities in the Upper Thames Valley, and the distribution of burial wealth and high status settlements is used to reconstruct the relative socio-economic power of these communities.

Chapter 4 lays out the methodology for analysing the distribution of burials and burial wealth, and **Chapter 5** presents the analysis, identifying the primary Anglo-Saxon communities in the Upper Thames Valley and estimating the relative socio-economic power of these communities. **Chapters 4-5** represent a significant departure from **Part I** of this thesis, shifting the focus away from great hall complexes and devoting considerable space to understanding the broader development of power before returning to the role of great hall complexes in **Chapters 7-8**.

Chapter 6 lays out the methodology for analysing the distribution of settlement features and high status settlements, and **Chapter 7** presents the analysis, building upon the primary Anglo-Saxon communities identified in **Chapter 5** and identifying specific possible high status settlements associated with these communities. The great hall complexes themselves feature prominently in the second half of **Chapter 7**, during the analysis of high status settlements.

Chapter 8 then brings all the evidence together to explore the role of great hall complexes in the development of socio-economic power and socio-political complexity in the Upper Thames Valley. This chapter is explicitly speculative, theoretical and narrative, returning to and building upon the themes of **Part I** and serving as the concluding chapter of **Part II**.

Power and Place in the Upper Thames Valley

Chapter 4: Burial Methodology

This chapter outlines the Aims (**Section 4.1**) and Methodology (**Section 4.2**) for analysing burials in the Upper Thames Valley. **Chapter 5** reports the results of this analysis.

4.1 The Aims

The primary aim of the Upper Thames Valley case study is to better understand the role of great hall complexes in kingdom formation, by exploring the regional context of great hall complexes.

This part of the case study (**Chapters 4-5**) aims to reconstruct the development of socio-economic power in the Upper Thames Valley, from the late 5th to late 7th Century, by analysing the changing distribution of burials and burial wealth.

The great hall complexes are only tangentially discussed in **Chapters 4-5**, but this part of the case study is instrumental in laying the groundwork for understanding the wider context of great hall complexes, and by extension, the role of great hall complexes in kingdom formation, both of which are discussed in more detail in **Chapters 7-8**.

4.2 The Methodology

This study uses four metrics to analyse socio-economic power in burial: the distribution of burials (**Section 4.2.3.1**), the distribution of average quantified burial wealth (**Section 4.2.3.2**), the distribution of high status artefacts (**Section 4.2.3.3**), and the distribution of individual quantified burial wealth (**Section 4.2.3.4**).

Each of these four metrics is compared across several chronological phases, allowing the changing distribution of socio-economic power to be traced over time.

For each of these metrics, the primary unit of comparison is the cemetery as a whole, rather than the individual burial. The distribution of burials compares the number of burials in each cemetery, the distribution of average quantified burial wealth compares the average burial wealth of each cemetery, the distribution of high status artefacts compares the presence/absence of high status artefacts in each cemetery, and the distribution of individual quantified burial wealth compares the concentration of burial wealth in individual burials within each cemetery. By comparing cemeteries as a whole, this study compares the socio-economic power of burying communities as a whole, rather than the socio-economic power of individuals.

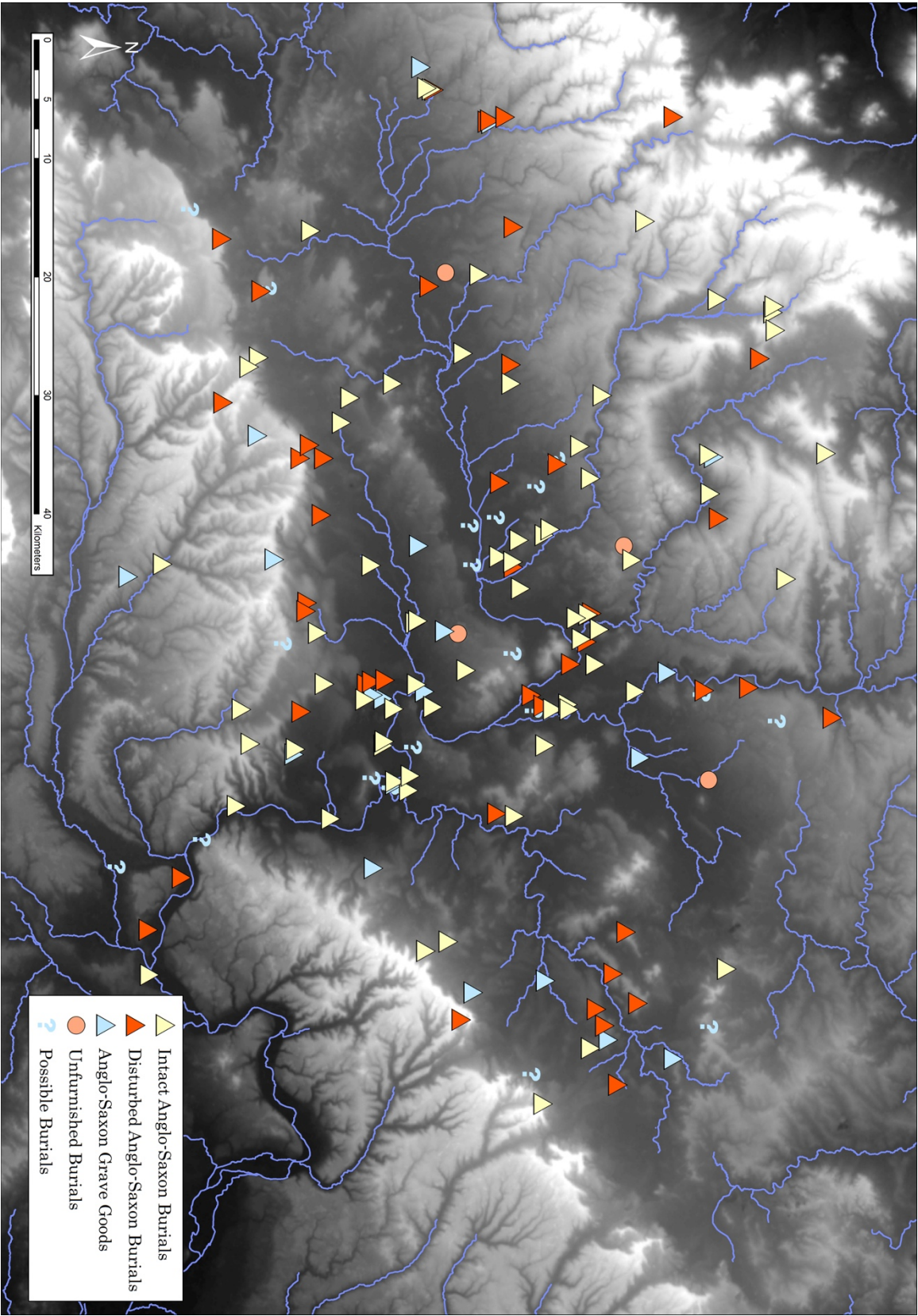


Figure 4.1: The 156 cemeteries or possible cemeteries analysed in this study (see Appendix 1 for a catalogue of cemeteries).

4.2.1 The Cemeteries Data

4.2.1.1 The Sources and Typology

The primary source for burials in the Upper Thames Valley is Tania Dickinson's 1976 doctoral thesis, which includes an exhaustive catalogue of early Anglo-Saxon burials in the Upper Thames Valley up to 1974 (Dickinson 1976 II). *The Thames Through Time* series provides an updated catalogue of burial sites (Booth *et al.* 2007), and the more recent sites have been sourced from the published excavation reports (see the catalogue of cemeteries in **Appendix 1** for specific references). Dickinson's data has also been supplemented by the more recent 'Beyond the Tribal Hidage' dataset (Harrington and Welch 2014), which was kindly provided by Sue Harrington.

This study largely adheres to Tania Dickinson's typologies, although the dating of certain types has been updated (see **Section 4.2.2.2**).

4.2.1.2 The Cemeteries

This study includes 156 cemeteries or possible cemeteries from the Upper Thames Valley (Fig.4.1; see **Appendix 1** for a full catalogue of the cemeteries analysed in this study). Of these 156 cemeteries, 61 have produced intact grave groups from adult Anglo-Saxon gendered inhumations. These 61 cemeteries form the basis for the quantified burial wealth, and these cemeteries also feature heavily in the distribution of high status artefacts and in the distribution of burials, because these cemeteries are typically the best recorded. The remaining 95 cemeteries have not produced intact gendered adult inhumation burials, either because they were poorly excavated or poorly recorded, or because they did not adhere to the Adult-Saxon gendered burial rite.

4.2.2 The Chronology

4.2.2.1 Phasing

The chronological framework used in this study is built on a series of seven phases (Fig.4.2), which are based on the phasing used in *Anglo-Saxon Graves and Grave Goods of the 6th and 7th Centuries AD: a chronological framework* (Hines and Bayliss 2013). However, these phases are too narrow to be useful in the final analysis, and for this reason, they are recombined in this study into three levels of chronological resolution – Burial Rite, Period and Episode – which form the primary chronological horizons of analysis.

The most well-defined chronological horizon used in this study is the transition between the 6th Century gendered burial rite, dating from AD475-630 (Phases A1-A2-B-C-D-E), and the 7th Century 'Final Phase' burial rite, which has recently been re-dated by Hines and Bayliss to AD630-

675 (Phase F) (Hines and Bayliss 2013, *passim*). This transition from the burial rite of the long 6th Century to the Final Phase burial rite of the mid-7th Century generally coincided with a shift in burial sites, and for this reason, this is the primary chronological distinction used in this study.

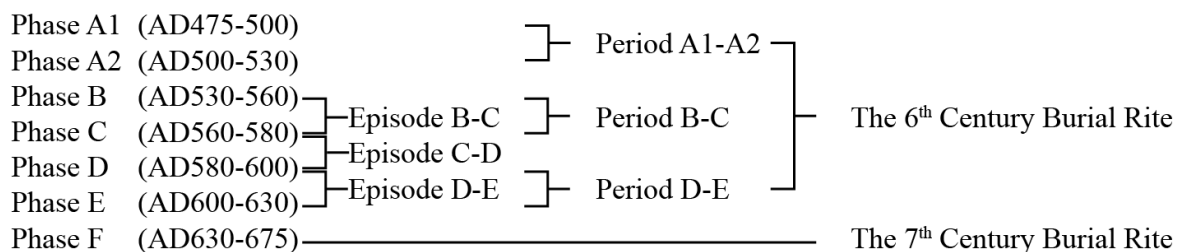


Figure 4.2: The chronological framework used in this study.

The long 6th Century is further broken down into three Periods: AD475-530 (Phases A1-A2), AD530-580 (Phases B-C), and AD580-630 (Phases D-E). These Periods are inclusive – meaning that all burials whose date range falls within the Period are included – and the same burial can therefore be analysed with several different Periods (see **Appendix 2.1.1** for a detailed explanation of the allocation of burials to phases).

Period AD580-630, the most chronologically difficult Period and one of the most critical Periods for understanding kingdom formation, is further analysed as an ‘exclusive’ Period, which only includes burials confidently dated to AD580-630 (see **Appendix 2.1.2**), and following this, the period is further broken down into three Episodes: B-C, C-D and D-E, which only contain burials that are closely dated to these phases (see **Appendix 2.1.3** for the exact phasing).

4.2.2.2 Dating

The dating of female burials is largely taken from Tania Dickinson’s thesis (1976 II). The male burials, however, required more significant re-dating. Chronological discrepancies between Tania Dickinson’s spear typology and Swanton’s spear typology, which is used in more recent publications, made it necessary to re-date all male burials in the Upper Thames Valley in order to provide a consistent dating scheme. The recent re-dating of Anglo-Saxon grave goods in Hines and Bayliss (2013) provided the basis for this re-dating (see **Appendix 2.2** for a catalogue of re-dated male artefacts).

Among both male and female burials, there is very little overlap between the 6th and 7th Century burial rites. In Saxon areas, 6th Century female gendered burial appears to have largely phased out around AD550-630 (95% probability), and the 7th Century Final Phase female gendered burial rite

may not have become widespread until around AD640-665 (95% probability) (Hines and Bayliss 2013, 426-8). Consequently, all Final Phase female gendered assemblages in this study have been re-dated to Phase F, AD630-675, and the very latest 6th Century female gendered burials are broadly dated to AD580-630 (Phases D-E). Male burials have been similarly divided into 6th Century and 7th Century burials unless there is strong evidence to suggest otherwise.

The only burials that clearly blur the line between the 6th and 7th Century gendered burial rites are the 'princely' burials at Asthall and Cuddesdon (the Asthall assemblage has been dated to AD610-650; Dickinson and Speake 1992). As such, these burials are included in the analysis of both the latest 6th Century burials (Phase D-E, AD580-630) and the mid-7th Century burials (Phase F, AD630-675).

4.2.2.3 Mercian Hegemony and the Retreat of Wessex

The written record suggests that Mercia forced Wessex out of the Upper Thames Valley around c.AD661 (Yorke 1995; *ASC* 660, 661; Bede *HE* III ch.7), and this watershed moment appears to fall in the middle of the Final Phase burial rite. In fact, Hines and Bayliss' re-dating of the female burial rite in Saxon areas suggests a remarkably close dating around this watershed moment: the Final Phase female burial rite only appears to become widespread in Saxon areas around AD640-665 (95% probability) before fading out around AD655-680 (95% probability) (Hines and Bayliss 2013, 426-8). Unfortunately, however, it is impossible to recognize this Mercian watershed in the burial record. Specific cemeteries and burials cannot be closely dated to either side of the AD661 watershed, and the only 'Anglian style' burial that might indicate the growing influence of Mercia is the exceptional princely burial at Asthall.

For this reason, the Mercia/Wessex question is largely left out of the burials analysis. Instead, the distribution of Final Phase burials is interpreted as a representation of long-standing communities, which were probably important under both West Saxon and Mercian hegemony. The Mercia/Wessex question is given more consideration in **Chapter 8**.

4.2.2.4 The Roman Transition

The start date for this study is AD475. This date reflects the widespread adoption of the Anglo-Saxon gendered inhumation burial rite, but this early date inevitably raises questions about sub-Roman activity and the Roman/Anglo-Saxon transition. The events of the late 4th and early 5th Centuries undoubtedly had a considerable impact on the distribution of 6th Century activity, but this study is more interested in the impact of the 6th Century on the development of 7th Century kingdoms. The Roman/Anglo-Saxon transition is a distinct subject, which is simply too immense

to be included in this study. As such, the question of Roman influence is not considered in this study, although it is acknowledged that the distribution of Roman activity, especially around Abingdon and Dorchester, may have had a significant impact in structuring the distribution of Anglo-Saxon activity.

4.2.3 The Four Metrics of Socio-Economic Power

4.2.3.1 The Distribution of Burials

The first and most straightforward metric of socio-economic power used in this study is the distribution of burials and burial sites. Cemeteries were places of power in early Anglo-Saxon Society, where social memory and group identity were created and reaffirmed (Härke 2001; Williams 2002; 2004; 2006; Hills and Lucy 2013, 293-5). By being buried in a particular cemetery, an individual or a household was expressing membership in that community, and as such, larger cemeteries suggest larger communities (n.b. one community \neq one settlement, a single burying community probably included several settlements; Williams 2002; 2004). Larger communities would command more resources and generally require more complex social organization, both of which would generally contribute to greater socio-economic power (cf. Boyd and Richerson 1988; Richerson *et al.* 2003 for the correlation between group size and hierarchy). Therefore, larger cemeteries probably indicate greater socio-political complexity and greater socio-economic power, and the distribution of burials is therefore an important baseline for understanding the distribution of socio-economic power.

Assessing the distribution of burials is largely dependent on assessing the size of each cemetery. However, the recorded number of burials at each cemetery must be treated with caution; the majority of cemeteries in the Upper Thames Valley were excavated before modern recording techniques, and even in the most recent excavations, the recorded burials rarely represent the entire cemetery.

This study therefore uses two methods for assessing cemetery size: the recorded number of burials and relative size categories. While the recorded number of burials represents the raw data, the relative size categories represent a more nuanced estimate of the total size of each cemetery, taking into account the recorded burials and the circumstances of excavation. The relative size categories for the 6th Century are Alpha, Beta, Gamma and Delta, in decreasing order of size, and the relative size categories for the 7th Century are Alpha, Gamma, Delta and Isolated Burials.

4.2.3.1.1 Kernel Density

The spatial distribution of burials is predominantly displayed as a kernel density, using ArcMap 10.2.2 software (see **Appendix 2.7** for a full discussion of the parameters used).

4.2.3.2 Average Quantified Burial Wealth

The average quantified burial wealth is the second metric of socio-economic power used in this study, and it is intended as a crude representation of the baseline wealth of a particular burying community. It is the average of the burial wealth interred in each individual adult Anglo-Saxon gendered burial in a particular cemetery, and it is calculated using a weighted artefact count for each adult gendered burial, which is then averaged for the cemetery as a whole.

4.2.3.2.1 The Sample

Only adult inhumation burials interred according to the Anglo-Saxon gendered burial rite are included in the analysis of quantified burial wealth. This reduces the potential variables affecting burial wealth and ensures a one-to-one comparison. Cremated assemblages are simply too difficult to reconstruct, and the burial wealth of other inhumation rites, including furnished ungendered burials and unfurnished burials, cannot be directly compared with that of gendered burials.

Female gendered burials under c.10 years old and male gendered burials under c.12 years old are also excluded because these age thresholds correspond with significant changes in burial wealth (Boyle *et al.* 1995, 116; Härke 1997, 126-30; Stoodley 1999, 117-8) (see **Appendix 2.3** for an explanation of age determination).

4.2.3.2.2 Gender

The burial wealth of male and female gendered burials is quantified separately; biological sex is not taken into account.

Anglo-Saxon male gender is defined in this study by the presence of weapons, while Anglo-Saxon female gender is more complex, drawing on a much wider array of gender signifiers and changing over time. In the 6th Century, female gender is defined by the presence of two female-linked artefacts, based on Nick Stoodley's (1999) study of gendered burial (see **Appendix 2.4.1** for a full list of female-linked artefacts).

In the mid-7th Century, female gender changes dramatically, and the range of possible female gendered assemblages becomes even wider, but a certain group of artefacts are almost uniformly indicative of female gender, while a second group of artefacts are strongly associated with female gender. Only one of the former artefacts is needed to identify female gender, while two of the latter artefacts are required to identify female gender; this method is based on Helen Geake's

(1997) study of 7th Century burial (see **Appendix 2.4.2** for a full list of female-gendered and female-linked artefacts).

4.2.3.2.3 The Weighted Artefact Count

The average quantified burial wealth is calculated using a weighted artefact count for each adult gendered burial. The weighted count is a count of artefacts in each burial, in which certain artefacts, mostly brooches and weapons, are given a slightly higher value than other artefacts (see Table 4.1 for an example). The methodology of the weighted artefact count can be broken down into two constituent parts: the method for counting the number of artefacts in each burial, and the method for assigning ‘weight’ or value to certain artefacts.

Counting the number of artefacts in each burial is relatively straightforward, except in that certain artefact types are counted individually, while other artefact types are counted in multiples. For example, each spearhead is counted individually, while toiletry picks and scoops are counted in sets of 1-3, and beads are counted in staggered multiples of five ($0-2 = 0$, $3-7 = 1$, $7-12 = 2$). For each artefact type, the method of counting reflects the typical occurrence of these artefacts in the burials of the Upper Thames Valley: two spearheads appear to represent a significantly greater investment than one, based on the rarity of this occurrence, while toilet picks/scoops tend to occur in sets of 1-3, and fluctuations in the number of beads in a particular burial only appear to become significant at multiples of five or greater (see **Appendix 2.5** for a catalogue of artefact types and guidelines for counting each type).

This method of quantifying artefacts is significantly more robust than a straightforward numerical artefact count, because it acknowledges the typical occurrence of particular artefact types, unlike a straightforward numerical count, which would tend to greatly over-represent the value of artefact types that typically occur in multiples, like beads. However, the method used in this study also differs significantly from the count of artefact types used in numerous previous studies, in which each different artefact type is counted as 1, regardless of whether there are 1 or 100 of that particular artefact type (Hirst 1985; Sherlock and Welch 1992; Hedeager 1992; Boyle *et al.* 1995; Malim and Hines 1998; Stoodley 1999; Penn and Brugmann 2007). This method used in previous studies was designed to measure the diversity of artefact types in an assemblage rather than the quantity of artefacts. However, given the rarity of a second spearhead or 100 beads, the quantity of each artefact type should be considered significant, and the method used in this study therefore strikes a balance between a straightforward numerical artefact count and a count of artefact types.

In addition to quantifying the number of artefact types, this study assigns greater ‘weight’ or value to specific artefact types, based on the materials, labour, skill and perceived social value of the artefact. Previous attempts at assigning numerical scores to certain artefact types have been problematic (Arnold 1980; Brenan 1985; 1991; 1997; Sherlock and Welch 1992; Boyle *et al.* 1995; Penn and Brugmann 2007), but it is nevertheless critical to take into account the almost certainly significant differences in value between different artefact types. Unlike previous studies, this study does not attempt to assign numerical scores to each artefact type; this has often been the undoing of previous studies, because the rarity of certain types or the association of these types with wealthy burials has led to bizarre and untenable valuations of seemingly mundane artefacts (e.g. the latch lifter in Arnold 1980; iron rings in Penn and Brugmann 2007, 90-2).

Instead, this study only weights certain artefact types, which appear to be significantly more valuable than other artefacts. These weighted artefact types include weapons, brooches and miscellaneous prestige goods. The identification of these high value artefacts and the relative weight of these artefacts is based on a mix of quantitative and qualitative evidence of social value. Nevertheless, there is always an inescapable element of subjectivity.

Different weapon types are assigned different values based on the average number of artefacts associated with each weapon type in Heinrich Härke’s sample of weapon burials (Dickinson and Härke 1992, 68; see **Appendix 2.6.1** for a full explanation).

Brooches are similarly divided into four tiers and weighted accordingly. These tiers are based on the surface treatment of each brooch type in the Ashmolean collection (MacGregor and Bolick 1993). For example, of the 84 cast saucer brooches from the Upper Thames Valley in the Ashmolean collection, 70 have some trace of gilding; of the 100 disc brooches from the Upper Thames Valley in the Ashmolean collection, 40 are tinned and none is gilded; of 104 small long brooches from the Upper Thames Valley in the Ashmolean collection, 5 were gilded and 7 were tinned. This suggests that cast saucer brooches were considered more worthy of gilding, and hence more valuable, than disc brooches, while disc brooches were considered more worthy of tinning, and hence more valuable, than small long brooches. For this reason, small long brooches are assigned to Tier 1, disc brooches are assigned to Tier 2, and cast saucer brooches are assigned to Tier 3. Tier 4 is reserved for inlaid brooches, like keystone garnet brooches (see **Appendix 2.6.2** for a full catalogue of brooch types and their assigned tier).

Miscellaneous prestige goods are divided into medium status types, high status types and highest status types. Medium and high status types include specific artefact types, like glass vessels,

specific materials from which any artefact could potentially be made, like ivory, and specific styles of decoration with which any artefact could potentially be embellished, like Salin's Style II. Highest status types, on the other hand, include any exceptional composite artefact, incorporating solid gold, solid silver, garnet, amethyst, glass and/or shell; these rare artefact types are generally not present in the Upper Thames Valley before the 7th Century (see **Appendix 2.6.3-5** for a full catalogue of medium, high and highest status artefact types).

Table 4.1: The weighted artefact count of female Burial 111 from Lechlade. The weighted artefact count for this burial is 7.

Burial	Artefact	Quantity	Material1	Material2	Status	Weighted Count
Burial 111	Saucer Brooch	1	Cu Alloy		Tier 3	2
	Saucer Brooch	1	Cu Alloy		Tier 3	2
	Toilet Pick	2	Cu Alloy			1
	Knife	1	Fe			1
	Buckle	1	Fe			1
Total Weighted Artefact Count						7

4.2.3.2.4 The Average Weighted Artefact Count

Once the weighted artefact count is calculated for each adult gendered inhumation burial in a particular cemetery, an average is taken of all the adult gendered inhumation burials in that cemetery (See Table 4.2 for an example). This produces a single numeric representation of the burial wealth of each cemetery – the average weighted artefact count – and this single numeric representation of burial wealth can be compared among a potentially unlimited number of cemeteries, of varying sizes, over a large geographic area.

Large-scale comparisons of burial wealth are rare in Anglo-Saxon archaeology (although they are more common elsewhere; e.g. Hedeager 1978a; 1978b; 1992). The only comparable large-scale study of burial wealth is the 'Beyond the Tribal Hidage' project, which had similar aims to the current study, but a vastly different methodology. The current study compares the number of artefacts deposited in each burial, while the Tribal Hidage project compared the quantity of raw materials deposited in each burial (Harrington and Welch 2014, 122ff.).

This study therefore has no direct parallel, although it has been built upon the foundations of numerous previous studies (*viz.* Hirst 1985; Sherlock and Welch 1992; Boyle *et al.* 1995; Malim and Hines 1998; Stoodley 1999; Penn and Bruggmann 2007; Harrington and Welch 2014).

Table 4.2: The average weighted artefact count of female Burial 33/2, Burial 111 and Burial 81/4 from Lechlade. The weighted artefact count for Burial 33/2 is 5, the weighted artefact count for Burial 111 is 7, and the weighted artefact count for Burial 81/4 is 15; combined the average weighted artefact of these three burials is 9.

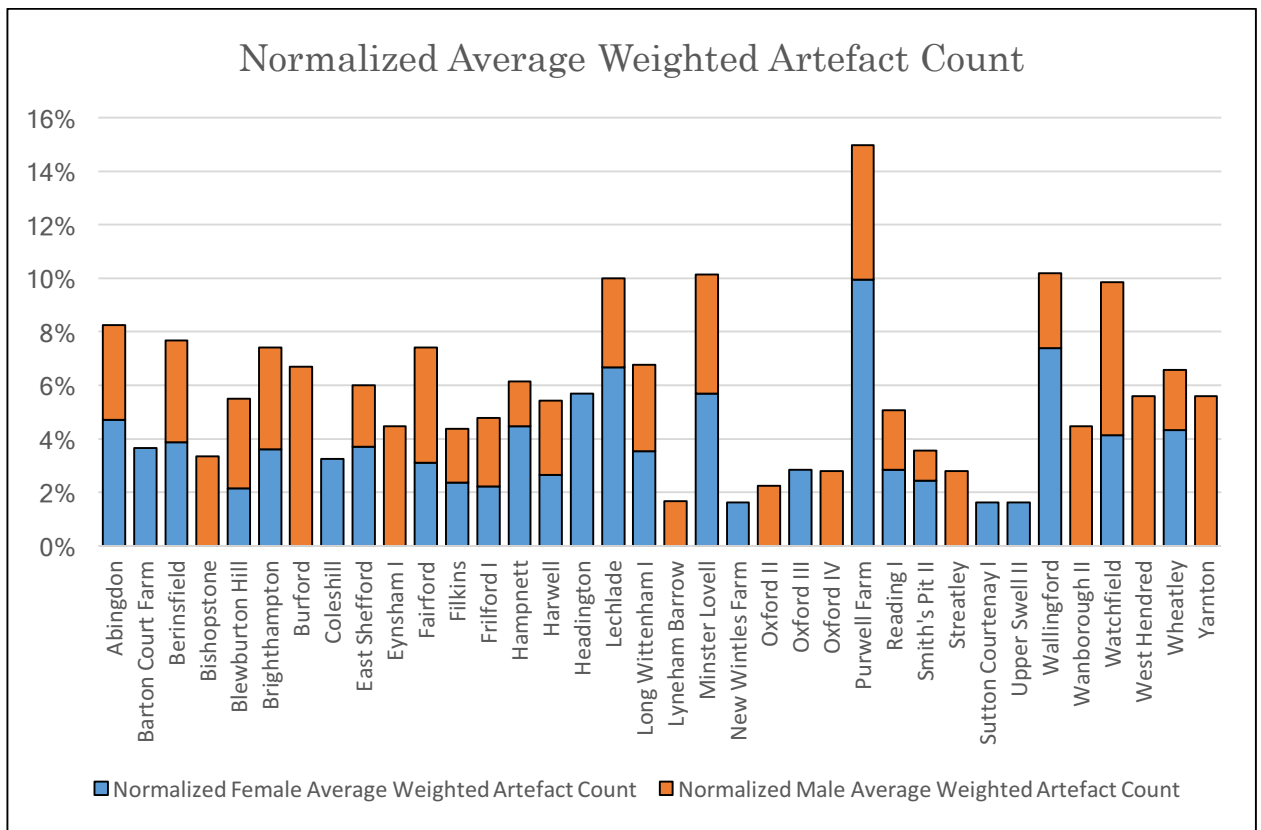
Burial	Artefact	Quantity	Material1	Material2	Status	Weighted Count
Burial 33/2	Small Long Brooch	1	Cu Alloy		Tier 1	1
	Small Long Brooch	1	Cu Alloy		Tier 1	1
	Pin/Bodkin	1	Cu Alloy			1
	Bead	7	Amber	Glass		1
	knife	1	Fe			1
Burial 111	Saucer Brooch	1	Cu Alloy		Tier 3	2
	Saucer Brooch	1	Cu Alloy		Tier 3	2
	Toilet Pick	2	Cu Alloy			1
	Knife	1	Fe			1
	Buckle	1	Fe			1
Burial 81/4	Saucer Brooch	1	Cu Alloy	Gilt	Tier 3	2
	Saucer Brooch	1	Cu Alloy	Gilt	Tier 3	2
	Coin	1	Cu Alloy			1
	Pendant	1	Cu Alloy			1
	Bead	24	Amber	Glass		5
	Knife	1	Fe			1
	Comb	1	Bone			1
	Buckle	1	Fe			1
	Buckle	1	Fe			1
Average Weighted Artefact Count						9

4.2.3.2.5 Normalization

The average weighted artefact count of male and female gendered burials are separate metrics, and they cannot be compared directly, because the manner in which male and female gendered burials express status and identity differs dramatically. However, the average weighted artefact count of male and female burials can be normalized, meaning that the average weighted artefact count of male and female burials for each cemetery can be expressed as a percentage of 100 – 100 being equal to the sum total of all average weighted artefact counts of male and female burials. This essentially transforms the absolute metric of the average weighted artefact count into a relative metric, in which the average burial wealth of each cemetery is expressed relative to the average burial wealth of every other cemetery in the study area, and this brings the male and female metrics onto the same scale, allowing them to be combined into a single representation of average male and female burial wealth for each cemetery (see Table 4.3 for an example; also, Graph 4.1).

Table 4.3: The normalized average weighted artefact count of 6th Century cemeteries. Column 5 (the normalized female average weighted artefact count) is derived from dividing the sum total of Column 3 (the female average weighted artefact count) by the number of cemeteries with female burials. Column 6 is similarly derived from dividing the sum total of Column 4 by the number of cemeteries with male burials. Column 7 is then derived by adding together Column 5 and Column 6, or doubling Column 5 or 6 for sites that have produced exclusively male or female burials.

1	2	2	3	4	5	6	7
Total Female Burials	Total Male Burials	Site	Female Average Weighted Count	Male Average Weighted Count	Normalized Female Average Count	Normalized Male Average Count	Combined Female and Male Normalized Average Count
35	20	Abingdon	11.6	6.35	4.71%	3.55%	8.25%
3	0	Barton Court Farm	9		3.65%		7.30%
24	20	Berinsfield	9.54	6.8	3.87%	3.80%	7.67%
	5	Bishopstone		6		3.35%	6.70%
10	1	Blewburton Hill	5.3	6	2.15%	3.35%	5.50%
21	11	Brighthampton	8.86	6.82	3.59%	3.81%	7.40%
0	1	Burford		12		6.70%	13.41%
1	0	Coleshill	8		3.25%		6.49%
15	8	East Shefford	9.13	4.13	3.71%	2.30%	6.01%
	1	Eynsham I		8		4.47%	8.94%
11	7	Fairford	7.64	7.71	3.10%	4.31%	7.41%
5	5	Filkins	5.8	3.6	2.35%	2.01%	4.36%
13	7	Frilford I	5.46	4.57	2.22%	2.55%	4.77%
4	3	Hampnett	11	3	4.46%	1.68%	6.14%
2	1	Harwell	6.5	5	2.64%	2.79%	5.43%
1		Headington	14		5.68%		11.36%
46	20	Lechlade	16.41	5.95	6.66%	3.32%	9.98%
51	42	Long Wittenham I	8.69	5.81	3.52%	3.25%	6.77%
	1	Lyneham Barrow		3		1.68%	3.35%
1	1	Minster Lovell	14	8	5.68%	4.47%	10.15%
1		New Wintles Farm	4		1.62%		3.25%
	1	Oxford II		4		2.23%	4.47%
1		Oxford III	7		2.84%		5.68%
	1	Oxford IV		5		2.79%	5.59%
2	2	Purwell Farm	24.5	9	9.94%	5.03%	14.97%
2	1	Reading I	7	4	2.84%	2.23%	5.07%
1	1	Smith's Pit II	6	2	2.43%	1.12%	3.55%
	1	Streatley		5		2.79%	5.59%
1		Sutton Courtenay I	4		1.62%		3.25%
1		Upper Swell II	4		1.62%		3.25%
5	1	Wallingford	18.2	5	7.38%	2.79%	10.18%
	1	Wanborough II		8		4.47%	8.94%
12	8	Watchfield	10.17	10.25	4.13%	5.73%	9.85%
	1	West Hendred		10		5.59%	11.17%
9	2	Wheatley	10.67	4	4.33%	2.23%	6.56%
	1	Yarnton		10		5.59%	11.17%



Graph 4.1: In the burials analysis (**Chapter 5**), the normalized average weighted artefact count is typically represented in graphs, like this one.

4.2.3.2.6 Kernel Density

The spatial distribution of the average quantified burial wealth is predominantly displayed as a two-layer kernel density, using ArcMap 10.2.2 software. The top layer – overlying the bottom layer – displays the kernel density of the average weighted artefact count of cemeteries with 2+ gendered burials, and the bottom layer – underlying the top layer and 30% transparent – displays the kernel density of the average weighted artefact count of all cemeteries with gendered burials (see Fig.4.3 for an example) (see **Appendix 2.7** for a full discussion of the parameters used). This method of displaying density is intended to emphasize the cemeteries with 2+ gendered burials, whose average artefact count is based on a more representative sample, while still taking into account the cemeteries with only 1 gendered burial (see **Section 4.2.4.4** regarding unrepresentative samples).

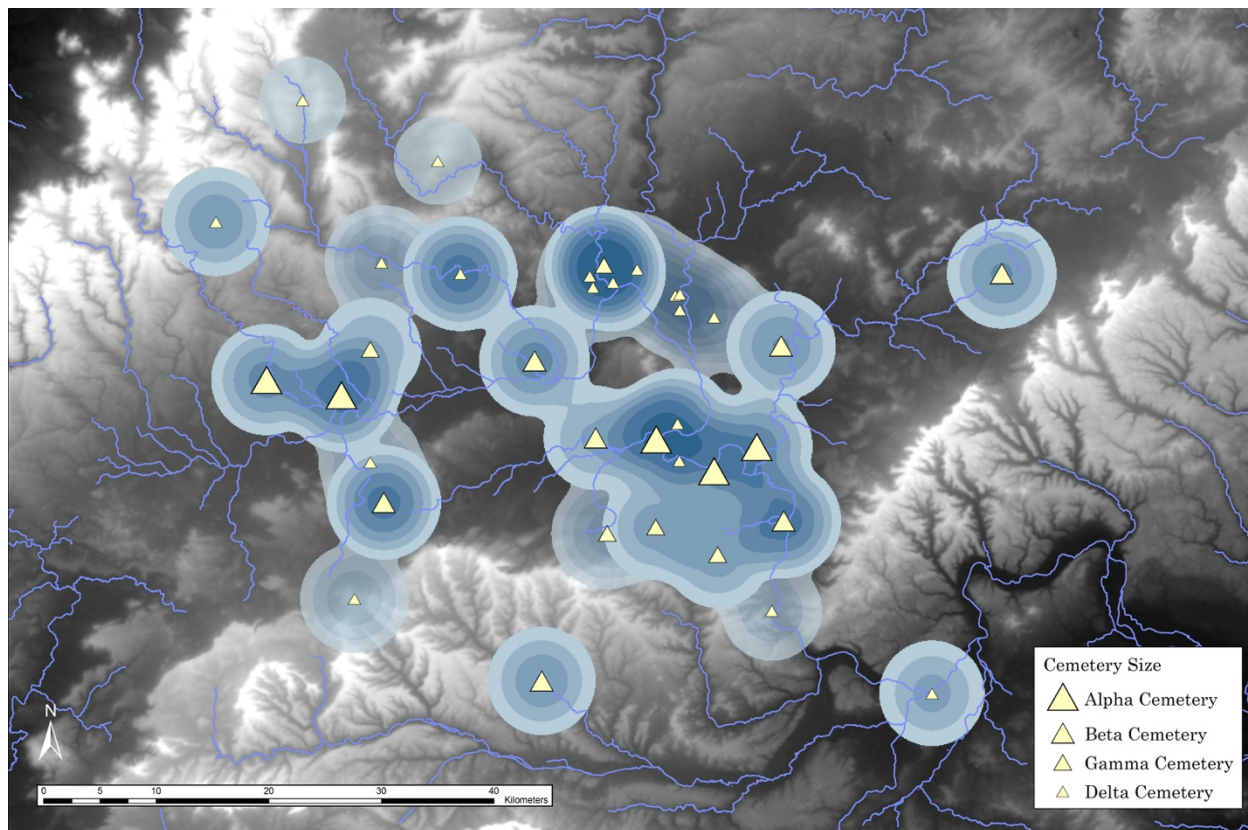


Figure 4.3: The two-layer kernel density of the normalized average artefact count for 6th Century cemeteries.

4.2.3.3 The Distribution of High Status Artefacts

The distribution of high status artefacts is the third metric of socio-economic power used in this study, and it is intended to provide a more qualitative perspective on the burial wealth of the Upper Thames Valley, offering a much needed comparison for the complex quantitative methodologies used in the average quantified burial wealth and the individual quantified burial wealth.

The distribution of high status artefacts measures the presence/absence of certain rare or exceptional artefacts and/or materials at each cemetery, displaying the distribution of these artefacts and/or materials across the study area, using ArcGIS software (see Fig.4.4 for an example). As with all other metrics of burial wealth used in this study, the cemetery is the primary unit of comparison, rather than the individual burial.

This represents a more traditional approach to mapping the large-scale distribution of burial wealth, and it has certain advantages over the quantitative metrics. Unlike the quantified burial wealth, which can only measure the burial wealth of intact grave groups, the distribution of high status artefacts also takes into account unassociated artefacts – artefacts that are not associated with a particular grave group – which are commonly found in older excavations. The quantified burial wealth is also restricted to adult inhumations adhering to the Anglo-Saxon gendered burial

rite, while the distribution of high status artefacts takes into account cremation burials, child burials and ungendered or non-Anglo-Saxon inhumation burials.

The distribution of high status artefacts is also particularly important for evaluating the burial wealth of the mid-7th Century burials because it highlights the most exceptional composite gold and garnet artefacts, which may be undervalued in the quantitative methodology (see **Section 4.2.4.2** regarding the potential undervaluing of exceptional artefacts).

However, on the whole, the distribution of high status artefacts is a relatively crude metric when compared with the quantified burial wealth. Weighted artefact counts have gained a bad reputation for subjectivity, but the distribution of high status artefacts is entirely subjective; the quantitative methodology places a slight emphasis on certain artefact types that the author deems exceptional, but the distribution of high status artefacts is entirely devoted to these allegedly exceptional artefact types, completely ignoring the vast majority of artefacts interred in each cemetery. Moreover, unlike the quantitative methodology, the distribution of high status artefacts does not take into account the size of each cemetery, and as such, larger cemeteries, which have produced more burials, appear wealthier simply because they have produced more artefacts.

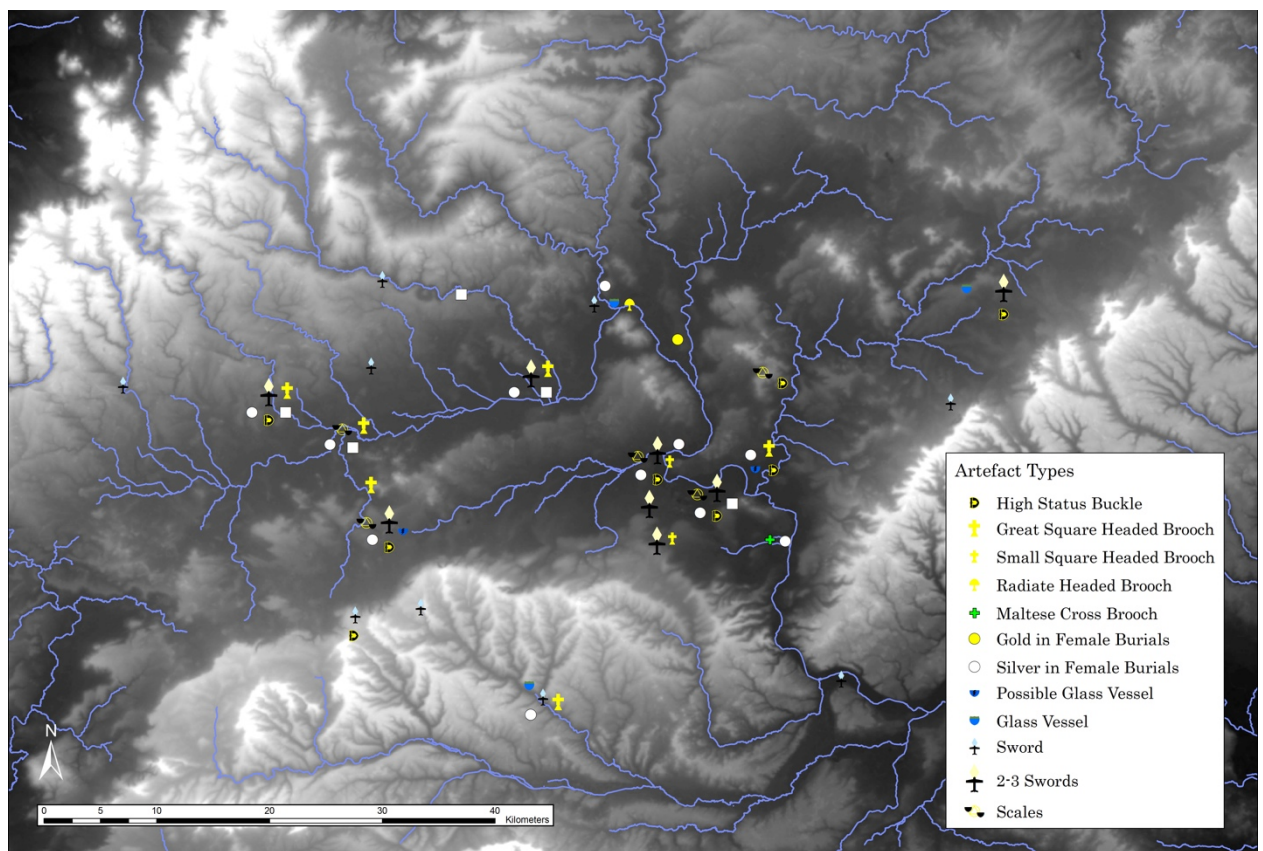


Figure 4.4: The distribution of rare, imported or otherwise high status artefacts in 6th Century cemeteries.

4.2.3.4 Individual Quantified Burial Wealth

The individual quantified burial wealth is the fourth and final metric of socio-economic power used in this study, and it is intended to assess the ability and willingness of a burying community to concentrate wealth in a select few exceptional burials. This measures a combination of socio-economic power and socio-political complexity, as wealthier, more hierarchical communities would tend to concentrate greater wealth in certain individual burials.

The concentration of burial wealth in individual burials within each cemetery is compared using two methods: the wealthiest burials from each cemetery, and the concentration of burial wealth in the wealthiest 10% and poorest 10% of burials.

In both of these methods, the burial wealth of individual burials is quantified using the weighted artefact count (see **Section 4.2.3.2.3**), and the analysis is restricted to adult gendered inhumation burials (see **Section 4.2.3.2.1-2**).

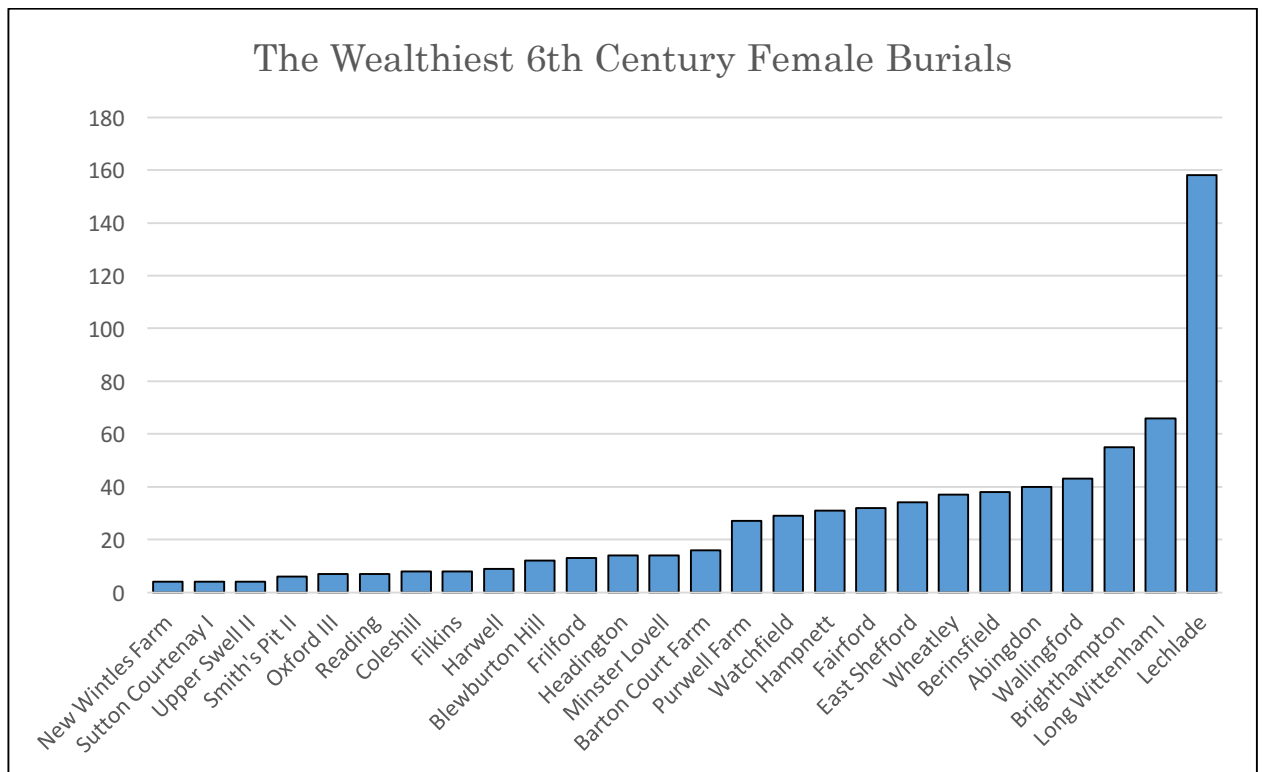
4.2.3.4.1 The Wealthiest Burials

The simplest and most straightforward method for assessing the ability and willingness of each burying community to concentrate wealth in a select few exceptional burials is to compare the wealthiest individual male and female burials from each cemetery (see Graph 4.2 for an example).

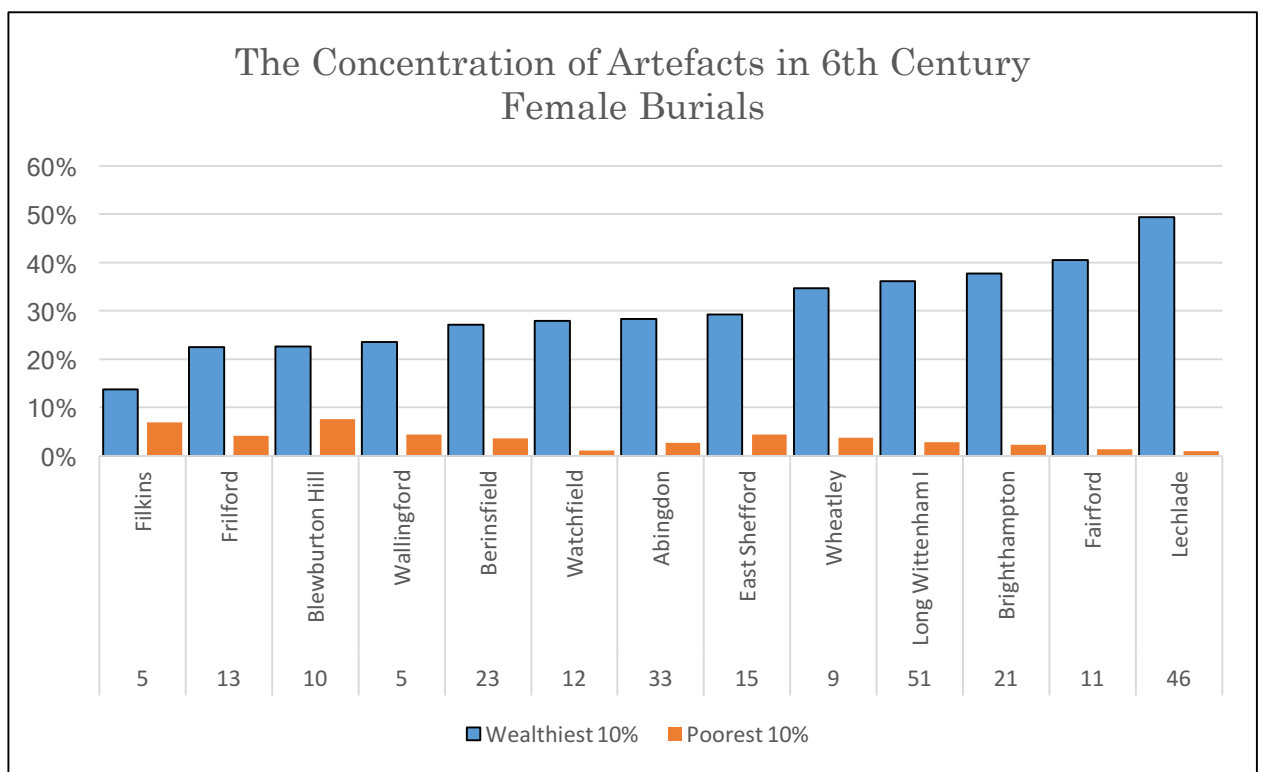
4.2.3.4.2 The Concentration of Burial Wealth in the Wealthiest and Poorest 10% of Burials

The percentage of the total weighted artefact count of each cemetery that was concentrated in the wealthiest 10% of burials and the poorest 10% of burials of that particular cemetery provides a more complex and nuanced measure of hierarchy and socio-political complexity. This is a measure of wealth inequality, commonly used in sociology and economics (e.g. Piketty 2014), which gauges the percentage of all wealth that was concentrated in the hands of the wealthiest and poorest individuals within a community (see Graph 4.3 for an example) (see **Appendix 2.8** for a full explanation of this method).

Unfortunately, this method requires a relatively large sample of adult gendered inhumation burials, and as such, this method can only be used with the 6th Century cemeteries. The majority of mid-7th Century cemeteries have only produced 1-2 gendered burials, rendering the ‘wealthiest 10%’ and ‘poorest 10%’ meaningless.



Graph 4.2: The weighted artefact count of the wealthiest 6th Century adult female gendered inhumation burials from each cemetery.



Graph 4.3: This graph displays the percentage of the total weighted artefact count of each cemetery that was concentrated in the wealthiest 10% of burials and the poorest 10% of burials of that particular cemetery. For example, Lechlade has 46 adult female gendered burials, with a sum total weighted artefact count of 755, and of these 755 artefacts, 373 (49.40%) were interred in the wealthiest 10% of adult female gendered burials. This is a staggering concentration of burial wealth in a relatively small number of burials.

4.2.4 Methodological Limitations

4.2.4.1 Poorly Recorded and Incomplete Assemblages

The majority of cemeteries in the Upper Thames Valley were excavated or destroyed before 1960, and many of these sites suffer from poor recording and poor standards of recovery. There is no certainty that the recorded assemblages are complete or accurate, and this could substantially affect the assessment of burial wealth at these sites. As much as possible, this possibility has been taken into account, but it is a recurrent problem that cannot be easily addressed.

4.2.4.2 Quantity versus Quality

The weighted artefact count used in this study is intended to account for the social value of artefacts, but attributing social value to an artefact is extremely difficult. The more complex the weighted methodology, the more subjective and problematic it tends to become (cf. Arnold 1980; Brenan 1985; 1991; 1997; Sherlock and Welch 1992; Boyle *et al.* 1995; Penn and Brugmann 2007), and for this reason, this study has kept the weighted methodology as simple as possible. However, because of this, certain exceptional artefacts, like the composite disc brooch at West Hanney, are probably undervalued. Nevertheless, the range of artefacts that appear in burial assemblages is enormous, and any attempt to individually determine the value of each artefact type would quickly spin out of control, introducing increasingly greater inconsistency and subjectivity with each individual value judgment. For this reason, this study has opted for simplicity and consistency, accepting that certain exceptional artefacts may be undervalued because of this.

Conversely, large numbers of simple artefacts may be overvalued. Beads, in particular, can have a very significant impact on the weighted artefact count. However, this is less problematic, because long bead strings are typically restricted to the 6th Century, when status seems to be expressed in large part through quantity, rather than quality. Truly exceptional artefacts are rare in the 6th Century burials of the Upper Thames Valley, and large numbers of artefacts, including beads, appear to be a primary indicator of status.

The overvaluing of large numbers of artefacts is potentially more problematic in the mid-7th Century when status is expressed more commonly through small numbers of exceptional artefacts. One burial in particular stands out in this regard: Burial 71 at Lechlade was interred with 195 garnets and is undoubtedly overvalued by the quantitative methodology. For this reason, it has been removed from the final analysis, and to offset the absence of this burial, the poorest mid-7th Century burial at Lechlade has also been removed from the final analysis.

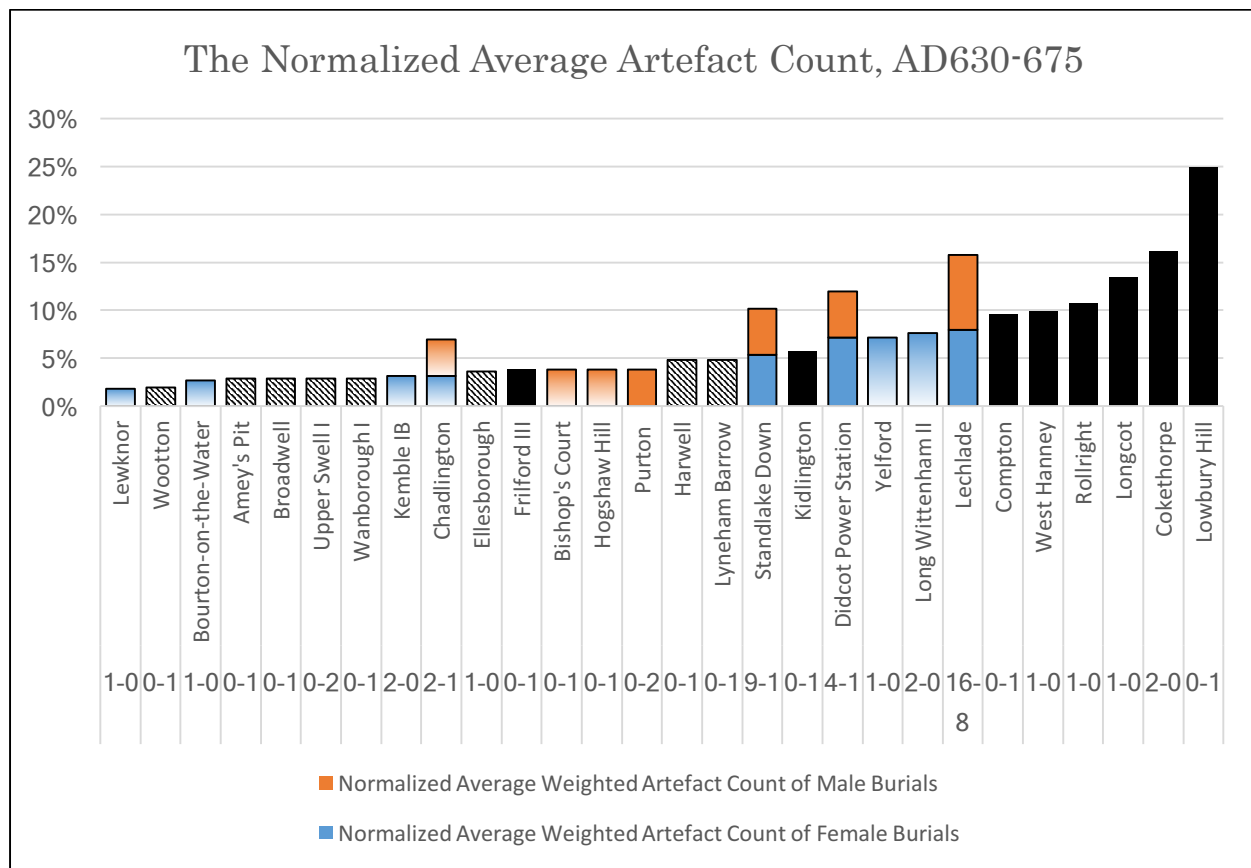
4.2.4.3 The Proportion of Gendered Burials

Only adult gendered burials are analysed in this study, and the accuracy of this analysis as a proxy for total community wealth is therefore dependent on all cemeteries investing relatively similar proportions of their total wealth in adult gendered burials.

In the 6th Century, there is evidence to suggest that this was the case. Although the proportion of male or female gendered burials varies, the average proportion of male *and* female gendered burials as a proportion of all adult burials is fairly consistent. 68-73% of all adult burials at Berinsfield, Filkins, Lechlade, Long Wittenham I, Purwell Farm and Watchfield were gendered, and 62-65% of all adult burials at Abingdon, Brighthampton and Wheatley were gendered (see **Appendix 2.9.1** for a full table of gendered burial proportions).

In the mid-7th Century, however, the proportion of gendered burial appears to vary more significantly. Only four cemeteries – Chadlington, Didcot Power Station, Lechlade and Long Wittenham II – have sufficient sex and age data to assess the proportion of adult gendered burial, but the average proportion of gendered burial at these sites varies from 25-50%. If the proportion of gendered burial relative to *all* burials, regardless of age or sex, is calculated for each cemetery, there appear to be two groups of mid-7th Century cemeteries: those with 37-43% gendered burial, including Lechlade, Standlake Down, Didcot Power Station and North Leigh, and those with 7-18% gendered burial, including Long Wittenham II, Chadlington, Bourton-on-the-Water, Kemble III, Bishop's Court, Stanton Harcourt, Lewknor, Yelford. Purton falls in between these two groups with 27% gendered burial (see **Appendix 2.9.2** for a full table of gendered burial proportions).

This diversification in the proportion of gendered burial has significant implications for the interpretation of 7th Century gendered burial wealth. Cemeteries with a low proportion of gendered burial may be investing proportionally greater wealth in each gendered burial than cemeteries with a high proportion of gendered burial. However, this does not appear to have been the case. Cemeteries with higher proportions of gendered burial also tend to have wealthier gendered burials than the cemeteries with low proportions of gendered burial, suggesting that the proportion of gendered burial was directly related to the wealth of the burying community (Graph 4.4). Of the cemeteries with lower proportions of gendered burial, the wealthiest cemetery – Long Wittenham II – also has the highest proportion of gendered burial among these cemeteries – 18%. In other words, wealthier cemeteries appear to have buried higher proportions of gendered burials *and* interred greater wealth in those burials, while poorer cemeteries appear to have buried lower proportions of gendered burials *and* interred less wealth in those burials.



Graph 4.4: Burial wealth and the proportion of gendered burial (cemeteries with high proportions of gendered burial: solid red and blue, cemeteries with low proportions of gendered burial: gradient red and blue, isolated burials with possible supra-local significance: solid black, less exceptional isolated burials: hatched black).

4.2.4.4 Unrepresentative Samples

Unrepresentative samples pose a significant challenge to the reliability of the quantified burial wealth. This is a recurrent problem in archaeology, and it cannot be wholly resolved, but it can be mitigated by removing the sites with the smallest, most potentially unrepresentative samples.

Any sample of burials is potentially unrepresentative of the total population, but the smaller the sample, the more likely it is to be unrepresentative. Cemeteries with only one intact adult gendered burial are twice as likely to be unrepresentative as cemeteries with two intact adult gendered burials, and as such, removing the cemeteries with less than two intact adult gendered burials produces a substantially more robust representation of burial wealth.

For this reason, the 6th Century cemeteries with only one gendered burial are removed from the quantified burial wealth analysis. This can only be done in the 6th Century, however, when there are a sufficient number of large cemeteries with multiple gendered burials.

In the mid-7th Century, small potentially unrepresentative samples are typical, and excluding cemeteries with only one gendered burial would severely limit the analysis. Unfortunately, there is little that can be done about this issue, and it must simply be accepted that the distribution of mid-7th Century burial wealth is less robust than that of the 6th Century burial wealth.

4.2.4.5 Burial Sites and Proximity to their Burying Communities

Mapping the distribution of socio-economic power through the distribution of burial wealth assumes that burial sites are not far removed from their burying communities. This appears to be the case for most cemeteries: the Tribal Hidage project found that early Anglo-Saxon cemeteries in Southern England tend to be located 150-250m from an associated settlement site, with an upper limit of 700-1000m (Harrington and Welch 2014, 84-94). Mary Chester-Kadwell corroborates a similar proximity of settlements and cemeteries in Norfolk (2009, 143-4).

However, a small group of exceptionally wealthy 7th Century burials appear to be operating on a larger scale, signalling supra-local identity to a supra-local 'other'. Some of these supra-local burials appear to be placed in liminal spaces, at the edge of their supra-local burying community (see **Section 5.1.2.3**). This phenomenon has been previously identified among 'princely' burials (Shephard 1979; Webster 1992, 77-8; Williams 1999; Welch 2011, 269-75) as well as less wealthy elite burials (Semple 2003). In these cases, the wealth of these burials cannot be considered representative of the immediate location in which they were buried.

Power and Place in the Upper Thames Valley

Chapter 5: Power in Burial

This chapter presents the analysis of the burial evidence for the Upper Thames Valley. The aim is to reconstruct the regional development of socio-economic power, from the late 5th to late 7th Century, by analysing the changing distribution of burials (**Section 5.1**) and burial wealth (**Section 5.2**). The great hall complexes are only tangentially discussed in this chapter, but the analysis of burials and burial wealth lays the groundwork for understanding the wider context of great hall complexes, and by extension, the role of great hall complexes in kingdom formation, both of which are discussed in more detail in **Chapters 7-8**.

Section 5.1 analyses the distribution of burial activity, with the aim of reconstructing the location, size and structure of the primary Anglo-Saxon communities in the Upper Thames Valley, from the late 5th to late 7th Century. This section is subdivided into **Section 5.1.1 The Long Sixth Century**, which covers cemeteries dating to AD475-630, and **Section 5.1.2 The Mid-Seventh Century**, which covers cemeteries dating to AD630-675.

Section 5.2 analyses the distribution of burial wealth, with the aim of reconstructing the changing distribution of socio-economic power in the Upper Thames Valley, from the late 5th to late 7th Century. This section is subdivided into three sub-sections: **Section 5.2.1 The Long Sixth Century** compares all cemeteries dating to AD475-630, **Section 5.2.2 The Long Sixth Century by Period** divides the long 6th Century into more precise chronological Periods (AD475-530, AD530-580 and AD580-630), and **Section 5.2.3 The Mid-Seventh Century** compares all cemeteries dating to AD630-675.

Finally, **Section 5.3 The Development of Socio-Economic Power in Burial** combines the evidence from burials and burial wealth to explore the development of exclusionary power structures and the emergence of supra-local socio-political units in the Upper Thames Valley.

5.1 The Distribution of Burials

This study analyses 156 cemeteries or possible cemeteries from the Upper Thames Valley (Fig.5.1-2). Of these cemeteries, 118 have produced evidence for burials dating to the long 6th Century, and 78 have produced evidence for burials dating to the mid-7th Century (there is considerable overlap among the poorly recorded cemeteries, which cannot be precisely dated).

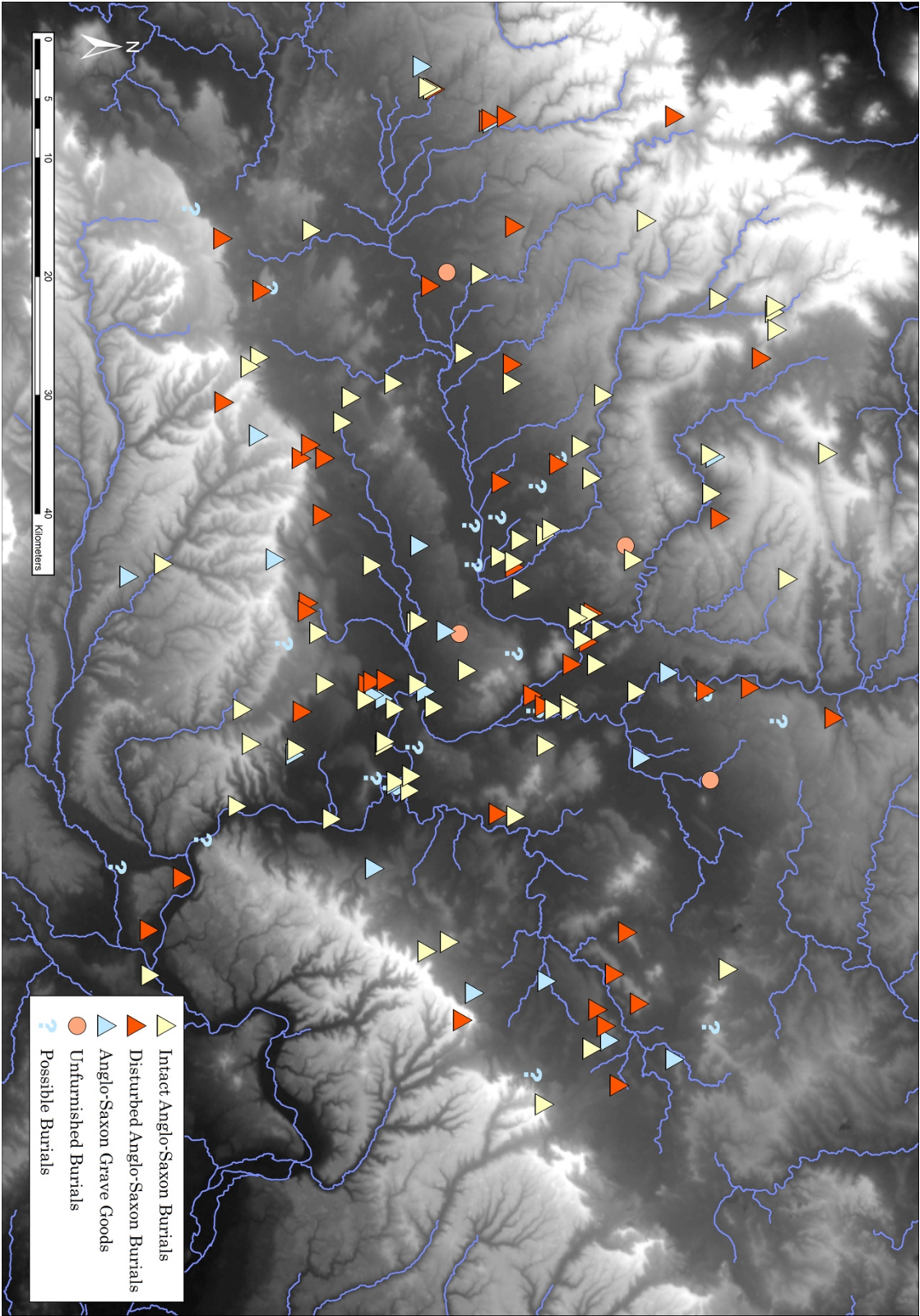


Figure 5.1: All cemeteries included in this study (see Appendix 1 for a catalogue of the cemeteries).

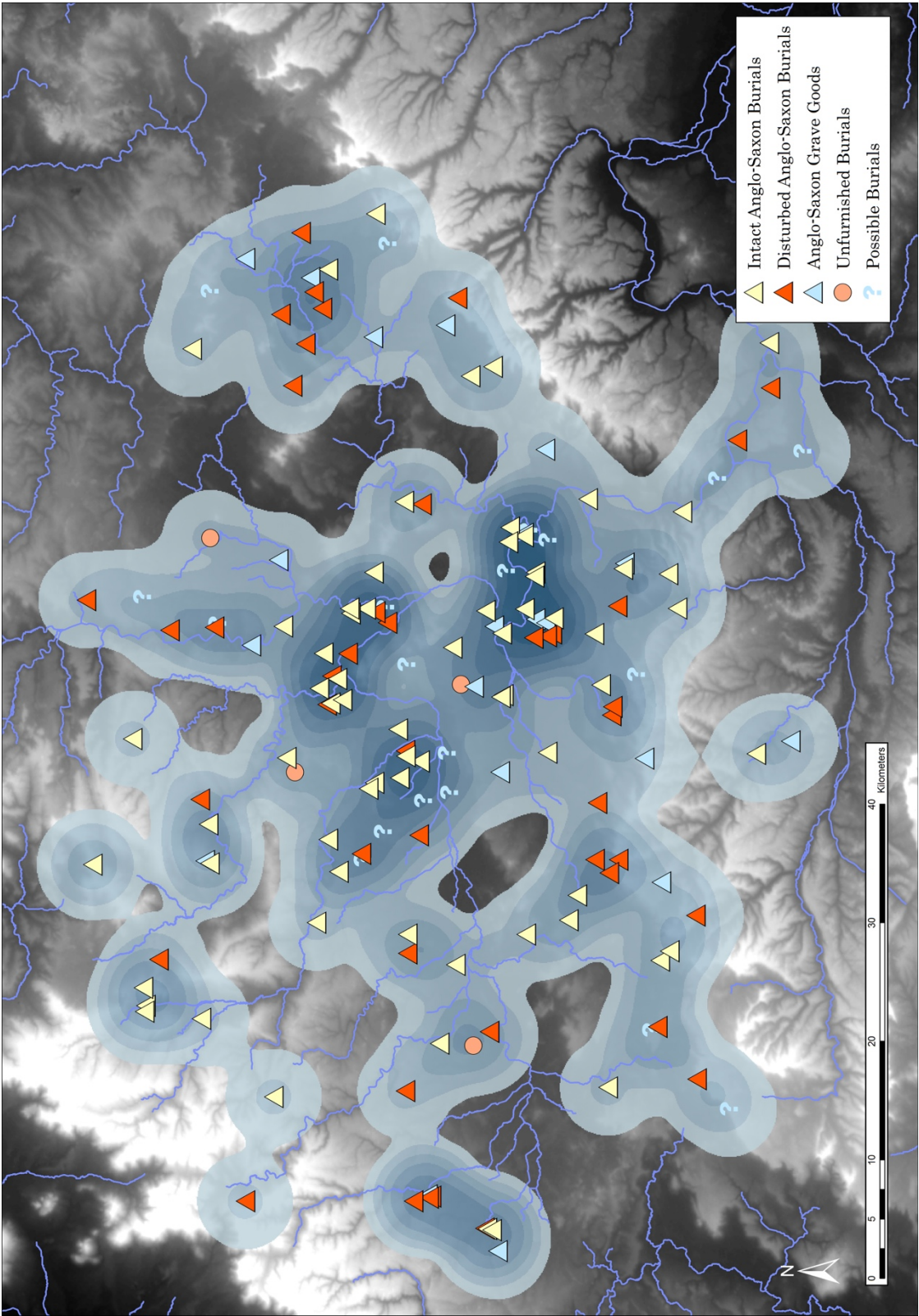


Figure 5.2: The unweighted kernel density of all cemeteries (search radius 6000m²).

5.1.1 The Long Sixth Century

The cemeteries of the long 6th Century (AD475-630) show two major concentrations, around the Evenlode and Cherwell confluences and around the Ock and Thame confluences (Fig.5.3-4). Minor concentrations of 6th Century cemeteries are also evident around the Windrush confluence and around Aylesbury and Cirencester, while more diffuse clusters of 6th Century cemeteries have been discovered along the Evenlode, Cherwell and Cole river valleys and along the Berkshire Downs and Chilterns scarp.

However, these cemeteries vary dramatically in size, and it is therefore important to take into account the size of each cemetery when analysing the distribution of burial activity.

5.1.1.1 Cemetery Size in the Long Sixth Century

Well-recorded cemeteries provide the most accurate indications of cemetery size, and for this reason, cemeteries that have produced intact Anglo-Saxon gendered burials feature heavily in the analysis of cemetery size (the size estimates for other cemeteries are listed in **Appendix 1**).

The cemeteries with intact Anglo-Saxon burials can be grouped into four size categories – Alpha, Beta, Gamma and Delta – based on the number of recorded burials and the circumstances of excavation (Graph 5.1-2).

5.1.1.1.1 Alpha Cemeteries

The Alpha cemeteries generally range between 150 and 200 recorded inhumations, with 180 to 250 total burials. Lechlade (Glos.), Fairford (Glos.), Abingdon (Oxon.) and Long Wittenham I (Oxon.) are the archetypal Alpha cemeteries, and Berinsfield (Oxon.) is probably also an Alpha cemetery (Akerman 1860; 1861; Leeds and Harden 1936; Dickinson 1976 II, 3-31, 105-16, 148-75; Boyle *et al.* 1995; Boyle *et al.* 1998; 2011).

Lechlade is the best preserved and best recorded of the Alpha cemeteries, and the excavators estimated that 50-75% of the cemetery had been excavated, which would put the site total at 200-300 inhumations (Boyle *et al.* 1998, 35; this estimate only takes into account the 6th Century burials at Lechlade). The lower end of this range is more consistent with the number of inhumations excavated at Fairford and Long Wittenham I, and the lower-end estimate would also put Lechlade's total gendered adult burials around 105, which is remarkably consistent with the 93-104 gendered adult burials excavated at Long Wittenham I (93 intact, 11 suggested by the unassociated artefacts; Dickinson 1976 II, 173-5). This suggests a coherent group of Alpha cemeteries with at least 200 inhumations and 250 total burials.

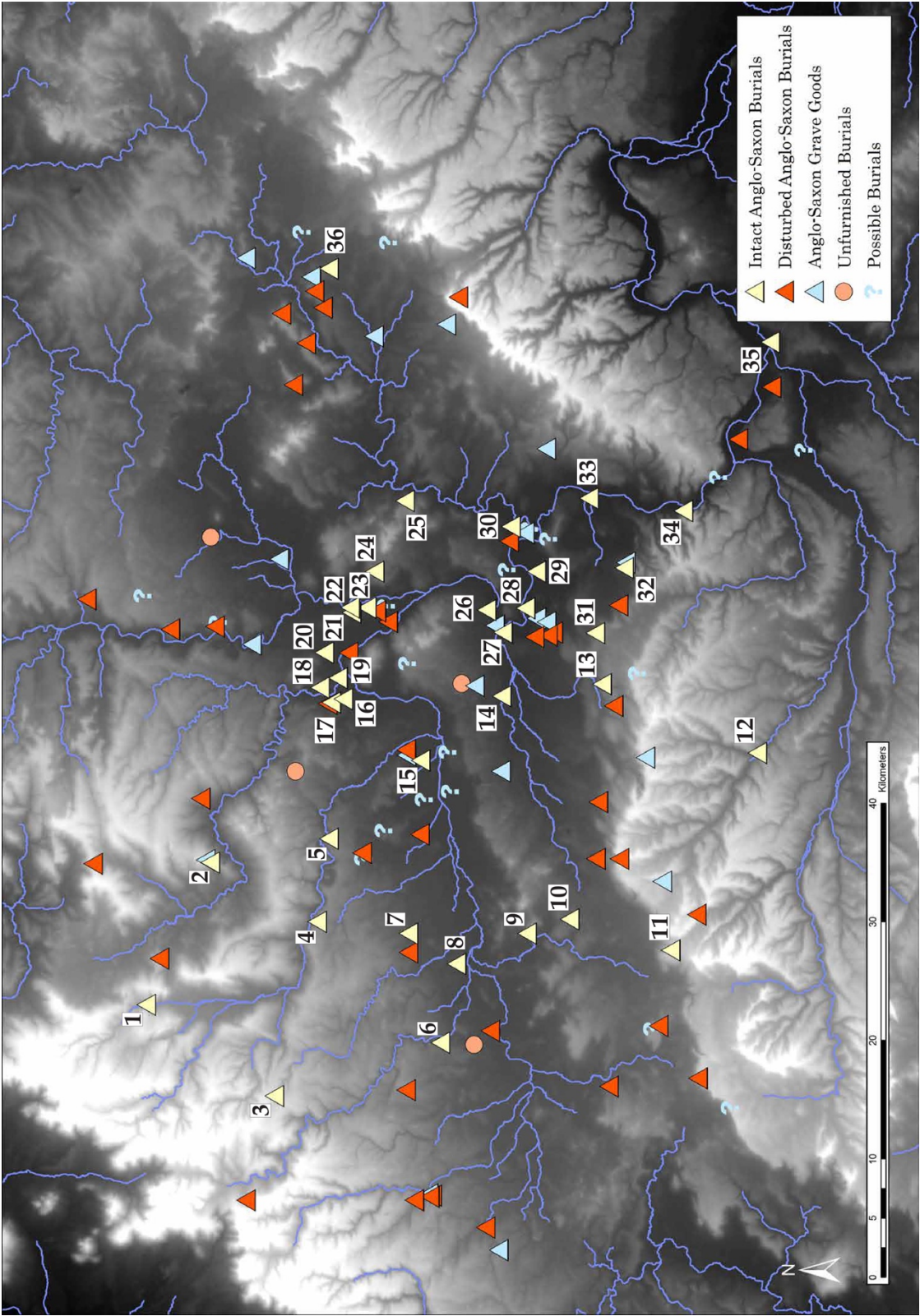


Figure 5.3: The 6th Century cemeteries (1. Upper Swell II 2. Lyneham Barrow 3. Hampnett 4. Burford 5. Minster Lovell 6. Fairford 7. Filkins 8. Lechlade 9. Coleshill 10. Watchfield 11. Wanborough II 12. East Shefford 13. West Hendred 14. Frilford 15. Brighthampton 16. Eynsham Wytham View 17. New Wintles Farm 18. Purwell Farm 19. Smith's Pit II 20. Yarnton 21. Oxford III 22. Oxford IV 23. Headington 25. Wheatley 26. Barton Court Farm 27. Abingdon 28. Sutton Courtenay I 29. Long Wittenham I 30. Berinsfield 31. Harwell 32. Blewburton Hill 33. Wallingford 34. Streatley 35. Reading 36. Bishopstone).

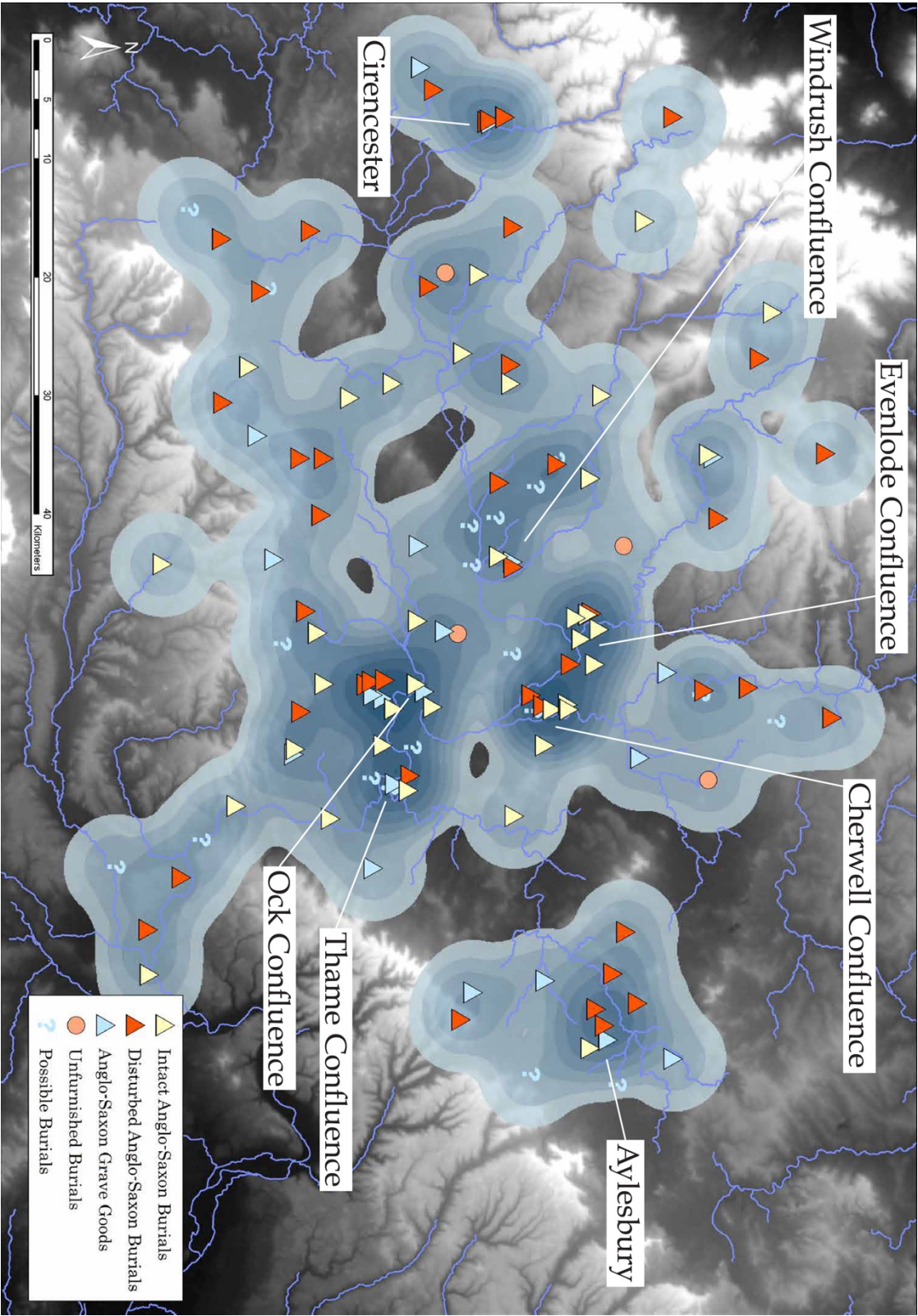
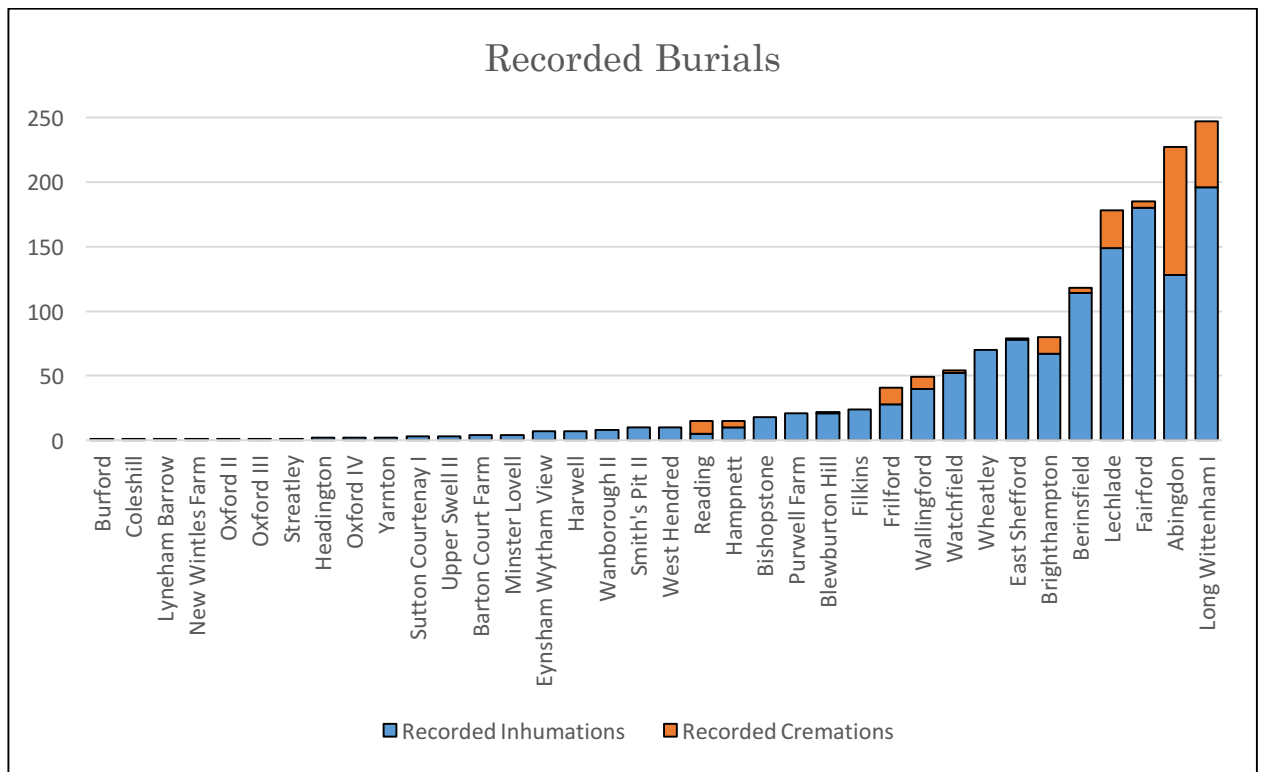
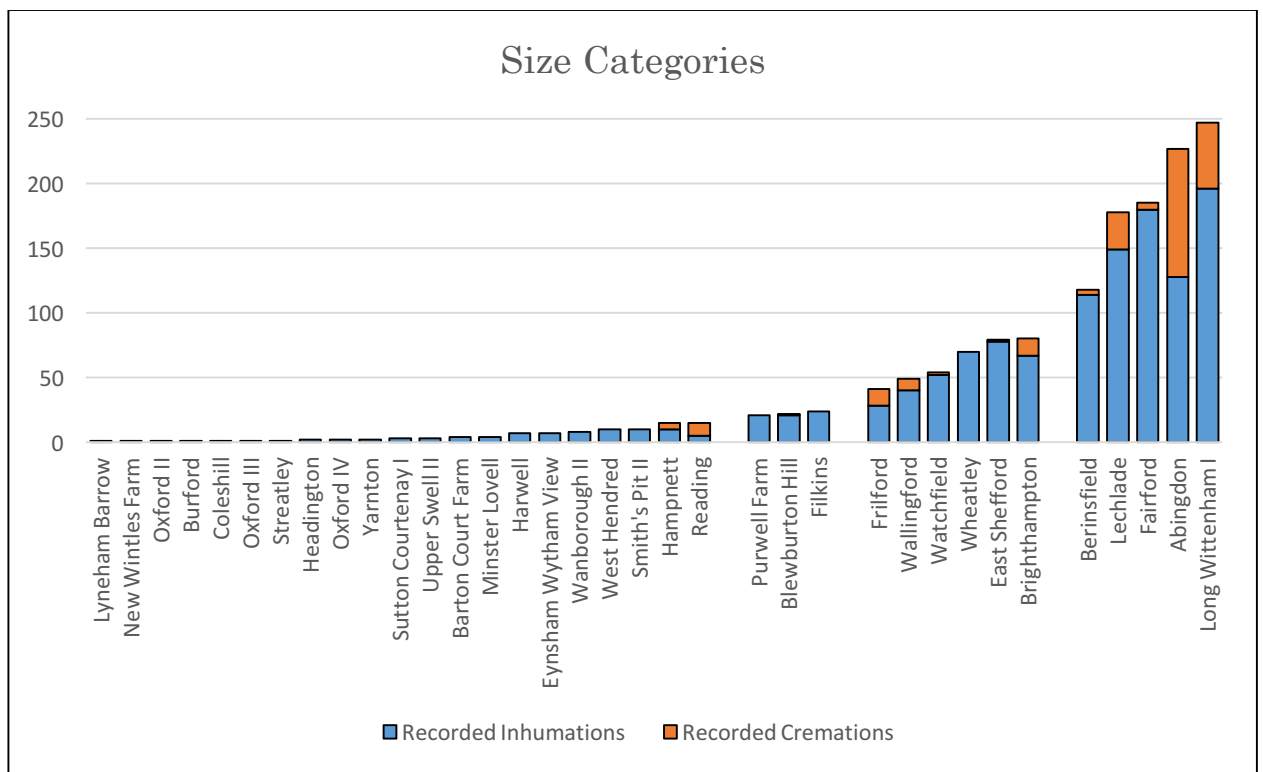


Figure 5.4: The unweighted kernel density of 6th Century cemeteries (search radius 6000m²).



Graph 5.1: The recorded number of excavated burials from each cemetery with intact Anglo-Saxon burials.



Graph 5.2: Cemeteries grouped by size (Bishopstone has been removed from the graph because it may be much larger than the recorded burials would suggest).

Abingdon has fewer inhumations than Long Wittenham I, Lechlade and Fairford, but it was probably less completely excavated, and it has an unusually high proportion of cremations, which put the total burials in a similar range with Long Wittenham I (Leeds and Harden 1936, 9, 11).

Berinsfield is much smaller, with only 114 excavated inhumations and 4 cremations. However, the excavators argued that this represents 50-66% of the site, putting the site total at 170-230 inhumations, which would be consistent with the 200 inhumations suggested at Long Wittenham I, Fairford and Lechlade (Boyle *et al.* 1995, 112).

5.1.1.1.2 Beta Cemeteries

The Beta cemeteries are based on a group of three cemeteries – Brighthampton (Oxon.), Wheatley (Oxon.) and East Shefford (Berks.) – with 70-80 recorded burials each (Dickinson 1976 II, 49-60, 92-101, 225-31). These cemeteries may have been larger, but there is a considerable gap between 70-80 burials and the 118 burials excavated at Berinsfield, let alone the 247 burials excavated at Long Wittenham I.

The recorded burials at Wheatley probably represent a substantial part of the cemetery. The site was subject to monitored quarrying and fairly systematic excavations. Moreover, several of the poorly recorded burials may be Romano-British; the cemetery was adjacent to a Late Roman villa and one of the recorded burials (Burial 1) was a coffined burial (Dickinson 1976 II, 225). For these reasons, the total number of Anglo-Saxon burials at Wheatley is unlikely to be significantly greater than what is now known.

The extent of Brighthampton is less certain. An unknown number of burials were lost to gravel extraction in the early 19th Century (Dickinson 1976 II, 50), but with only 67 recorded inhumations, Brighthampton is well removed from even the smallest Alpha cemeteries.

East Shefford, which suffers from exceedingly poor recording, has a higher probability of being an Alpha cemetery. Only 78 inhumations were recorded, but the unassociated gendered artefacts suggest a similar number of inhumations to Berinsfield (Dickinson 1976 II, 99-101). However, given the number of recorded burials, East Shefford cannot be classified as an Alpha cemetery on this evidence alone.

At the other end of the spectrum, there are several sites with fewer than 70 recorded burials that have been categorized as Beta cemeteries because they were probably significantly larger than is now known. The cemetery at Wallingford (Oxon.) has produced at least 40 inhumations and 9 cremations in numerous piecemeal discoveries over the course of the 19th and 20th Centuries, and

there is substantial room for many more unrecorded and undiscovered burials (Anonymous 1939; Harden 1940a; Dickinson 1976 II, 219-23; Hamerow and Westlake 2013).

The cemetery at Frilford (Oxon.), a Romano-British temple site, boasts some 212 excavated inhumations, but these include both Anglo-Saxon and Romano-British burials (Dickinson 1976 II, 119-133). Only 28 inhumations have diagnostically Anglo-Saxon grave goods, but the unassociated artefacts suggest another 10 gendered burials, bringing the total gendered burials to 32, which would be consistent with a cemetery the size of Brighthampton.

The cemetery at Bishopstone (Bucks.) is almost completely unrecorded, but the intact burials and the unassociated artefacts suggest at least 14 male gendered burials, which places the site somewhere between the 11 male gendered burials estimated from intact burials and unassociated material at Brighthampton and the 25 male gendered burials estimated at Abingdon (Dickinson 1976 II, 41-3). The presence of two sword burials at Bishopstone is also more typical of Beta and Alpha cemeteries (e.g. Brighthampton, Long Wittenham I, Fairford, Abingdon).

The cemetery at Watchfield (Oxon.) has produced evidence of 52 burials, but much of the excavated area had been severely disturbed by mechanical grading (Scull 1992). Based on the density of burial uncovered within a small undisturbed area, the excavators estimated that the mechanically graded area had originally contained 150-175 inhumations, putting the total number of burials at Watchfield around 300-350 inhumations and making it the largest known cemetery in the study area. However, this estimate was based on the assumption that the density of burial within the small undisturbed area was representative of the entire site, but given the uneven distribution of burials at Berinsfield (Boyle *et al.* 1995, 133-7) and given that the mechanically graded area at Watchfield only produced evidence for a maximum of 31 individuals, *including* disturbed bone recovered from the machining spoil, the 300-350 estimate seems improbable. Given the current evidence, the 52 recorded burials at Watchfield are more consistent with the Beta cemeteries, although the possibility that Watchfield was an Alpha cemetery cannot be ruled out.

5.1.1.1.3 Gamma Cemeteries

Between the Beta cemeteries, which range between 41-80 recorded burials, and the Delta cemeteries, which range between 1-15 burials, there is a distinct group of Gamma cemeteries, including Purwell Farm (Oxon.), Blewburton Hill (Oxon.) and Filkins (Oxon.), which have produced 21-24 recorded burials each (Dickinson 1976 II, 45-8, 63-5, 116-8, 219-23). There is no

guarantee that these Gamma cemeteries were not originally Alpha or Beta cemeteries, but there is some reason to believe that they were not vastly larger than is now known.

The location of Purwell Farm, at a major confluence of the River Thames, is more typical of the Alpha and Beta cemeteries, but Purwell Farm was excavated as part of a large gravel extraction operation, and given that the destruction of 13 graves was recorded, it seems improbable that the destruction of another 50+ burials would go completely unrecorded (Leeds and Riley 1942; Arthur and Jope 1963, 1).

The cemetery at Blewburton Hill was discovered in the process of excavating the eponymous Iron Age hillfort, and although only small sections of the hillfort were excavated, the spatial distribution of burials suggests that the excavated burials represent the majority of the cemetery (Atkinson and Crouch 1945; Collins 1953, Collins and Collins 1959; Harding 1967; 1976).

The cemetery at Filkins, which was uncovered through piecemeal development over the course of the 19th and early 20th Centuries, offers more opportunities for unrecorded burials, but given the extent of urban development, an Alpha or Beta cemetery would have probably turned up more burials (Akerman 1857a; Dickinson 1976 II, 116-8).

The cemeteries at Harwell (Oxon.) and West Hendred (Oxon.) have also been categorized as gamma cemeteries in this study; although the number of recorded burials known from these sites place them in the same range as Delta cemeteries, the quantity of unassociated artefacts recovered from a very limited intervention at West Hendred and the recent discovery of further grave goods from Harwell in the Ashmolean collection suggest that these sites were larger than is now known (Kirk and Marshall 1956; Brown 1967; Dickinson 1976 II, 137-39; Hamerow 1993; Eleanor Standley, Assistant Keeper of the Ashmolean Museum, pers. comm.).

5.1.1.1.4 Delta Cemeteries

The remaining burial sites range from 1-15 burials, with 1-10 inhumations each. There are reasons for limiting the potential number of burials at some of these sites. Like the cemetery at Blewburton Hill, the burials at Barton Court Farm (Oxon.), Hampnett (Glos.), Lyneham Barrow (Oxon.) and Upper Swell II (Glos.) were dug into Prehistoric and Romano-British monuments, whose excavation probably recovered the majority of burials (Royce 1882-3; Conder 1895; Grimes 1960, 113-28; Dickinson 1976 II, 135-7, 180-1, 218; Miles 1984). Similarly, the sites at Smith's Pit II (Oxon.), Sutton Courtenay I (Oxon.) and Eynsham Wytham View (Oxon.) were discovered during larger development operations that probably recovered or destroyed the majority of burials

(Harden 1940b; Leeds and Riley 1942, 61-2; Leeds and Atkinson 1943-4b; Kirk and Case 1950; 1951; Jope 1952-3; Webster and Cherry 1973; Dickinson 1976 II, 65-7, 103-4, 212).

The contexts of Burford (Oxon.), Coleshill (Oxon.), Headington (Oxon.), Minster Lovell (Oxon.), New Wintles Farm (Oxon.), Oxford I, II, and IV (Oxon.), Reading (Berks.), Streatley (Berks.), Wanborough II (Wilts.) and Yarnton (Oxon.) are largely unknown, but based on the number of recorded burials these sites are tentatively grouped with the Delta cemeteries (Dawkins 1864; Rolleston 1884, 942-4; Stevens 1894; Dickinson 1976 II, 62, 73-4, 104-5, 184-5, 188-91 194-7, 211, 224-5; Witkin 2003; Boston 2004; pers. comm.; Radford 2011).

5.1.1.2 The Distribution of Burials in the Upper Thames Valley

Based on current evidence, the 6th Century burials appear to be strongly concentrated along the river valleys, partially following the natural hierarchy of the river network but especially concentrated around the Fairford to Lechlade area and the Abingdon to Dorchester area (Fig.5.5-6).

All of the largest cemeteries – the Alpha and Beta cemeteries – are located along the River Thames or along tributaries of the River Thames, and there appears to be a direct relationship between the size of the cemeteries and the natural hierarchy of the river network itself. All of Alpha cemeteries are located in the Thames basin, and three of the Alpha cemeteries – Lechlade, Abingdon and Berinsfield – are located near major confluences of the River Thames, while only two of the Beta cemeteries – Brighthampton and Wallingford – are located in the Thames basin, and the majority of the Beta cemeteries – Watchfield, East Shefford, Frilford, Bishopstone and Wheatley – are located along tributaries of the Thames. Only one of the Gamma cemeteries – Purwell Farm – is located in the Thames basin, and the two remaining Gamma cemeteries – Blewburton Hill and Filkins – are not directly associated with any major watercourse. Meanwhile, the Delta cemeteries are even more widespread, scattered across the Thames basin, the Cotswolds and the Berkshire Downs scarp.

This suggests a strong relationship between the river network and the size of the burying communities, suggesting that the river network played an important role in the development of larger, potentially more complex and more powerful burying communities (cf. Hamerow *et al.* 2013). However, the distribution of 6th Century burials appears to be only partially determined by the natural hierarchy of the river network.

Within the confines of the river network, the 6th Century burials appear to be strongly clustered around two areas: the Fairford to Lechlade area and the Abingdon to Dorchester area. In the

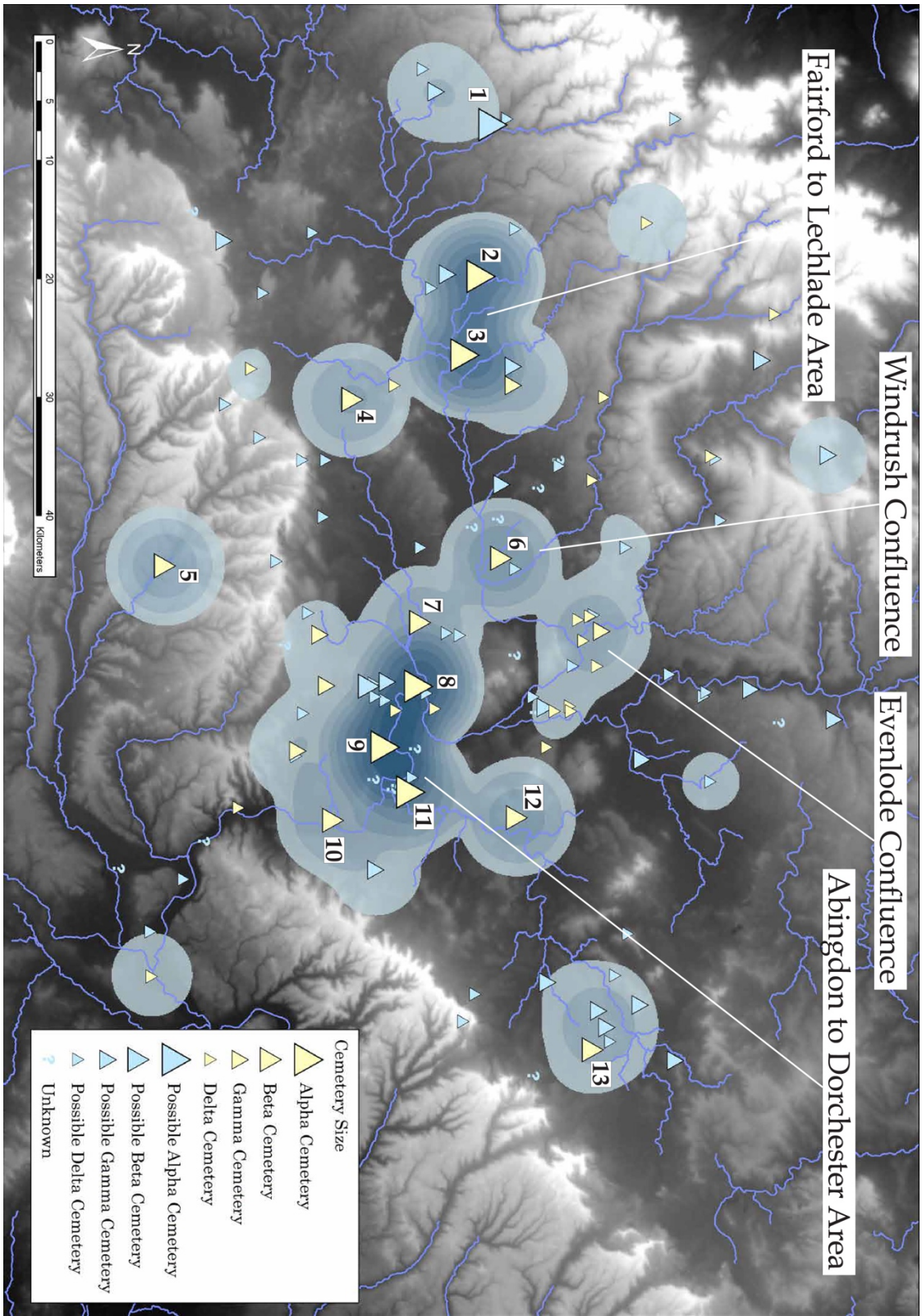


Figure 5.5: The kernel density of burials, weighted by the number of recorded burials at each site (1. Cirencester 2. Fairford 3. Lechlade 4. Watchfield 5. East Shefford 6. Brighthampton 7. Frilford 8. Abingdon 9. Long Wittenham 10. Wallingford 11. Berinsfield 12. Wheatley 13. Bishopstone).

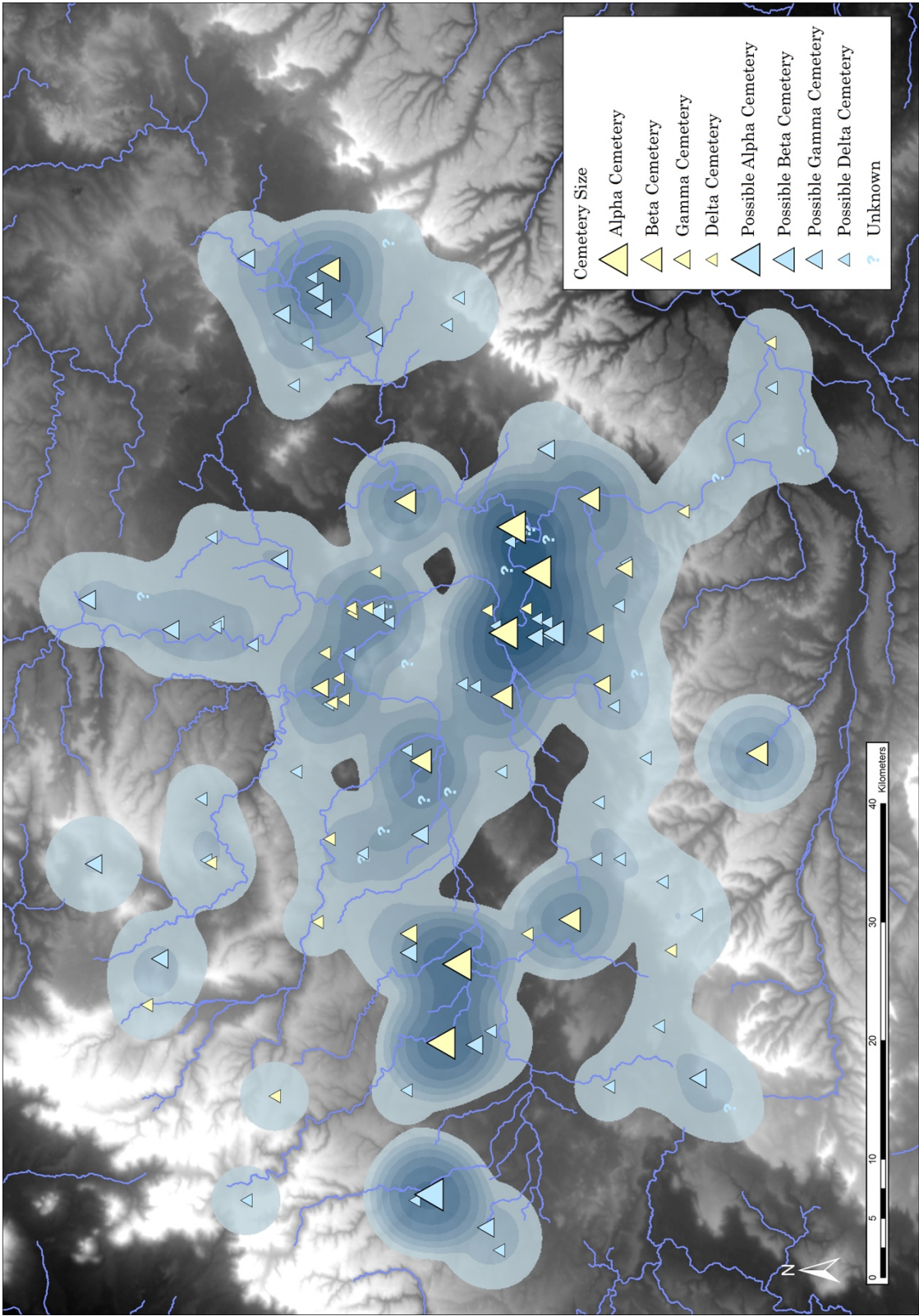


Figure 5.6: The kernel density of burials, weighted by cemetery size categories (Alpha cemetery weight: 200, Beta cemetery weight: 100, Gamma cemetery weight: 30, Delta cemetery weight: 15).

Thames basin, the Alpha cemeteries are strongly concentrated in the Fairford to Lechlade and the Abingdon to Dorchester areas, and outside of the Thames basin, the majority of the Beta cemeteries – Watchfield, Frilford, Wheatley and Bishopstone – appear to be located along tributaries that flow into the Thames at the Fairford to Lechlade and Abingdon to Dorchester areas.

The apparent absence of Alpha cemeteries at the Windrush, Evenlode and Cherwell confluences may be due to the vagaries of survival, but the absence of Beta cemeteries along the Windrush, Evenlode and Cherwell rivers provides further evidence that there is something special about the Fairford to Lechlade and Abingdon to Dorchester areas. This special status is further supported by the locations of the Alpha cemeteries at Fairford and Long Wittenham I, which are not located at major confluences of the Thames and whose importance appears to be determined less by the river network and more by their location within the Fairford to Lechlade and Abingdon to Dorchester areas. Previous studies have attributed more importance to the Windrush and Evenlode confluences (cf. Blair 1994; Hamerow *et al.* 2013), but the majority of this evidence is later, dating to the 7th and 8th Centuries (see **Section 5.1.2** and **Section 7.1.6**).

During the 6th Century, the Fairford to Lechlade and Abingdon to Dorchester areas appear to have been the core areas of burial, and the second and third tier cemeteries – the Beta and Gamma cemeteries – appear to be clustered around or located in between these two core areas.

5.1.1.3 Conclusions

The concentration of 6th Century burial in the Fairford to Lechlade and Abingdon to Dorchester areas suggests that these two areas were among the most densely populated areas in the Upper Thames Valley at this time, and the concentration of large cemeteries in these two areas suggests the development of larger socially cohesive communities, which would require more complex socio-political organization and command more resources, both of which would produce greater socio-economic power.

Moreover, the clustering of Beta and Gamma cemeteries around these two core areas suggests that these areas were supra-local nodes of activity, and these supra-local concentrations of large cemeteries, linked together by the river network, were probably conducive to the development of supra-local socio-political units, which have been suggested to be the fundamental building blocks of kingdoms (Fig.5.7) (cf. the ‘knock-out competition’ model in Bassett 1989).

The Fairford to Lechlade and Abingdon to Dorchester areas therefore appear to be the core areas of 6th Century activity in the Upper Thames Valley, and these areas were probably the first supra-local socio-political units to emerge in the Upper Thames Valley.

One of these areas – the Abingdon to Dorchester area – would later become the heartland of the Gewisse, the progenitors of the West Saxon kingdom and the first known supra-regional power to emerge out of the Upper Thames Valley.

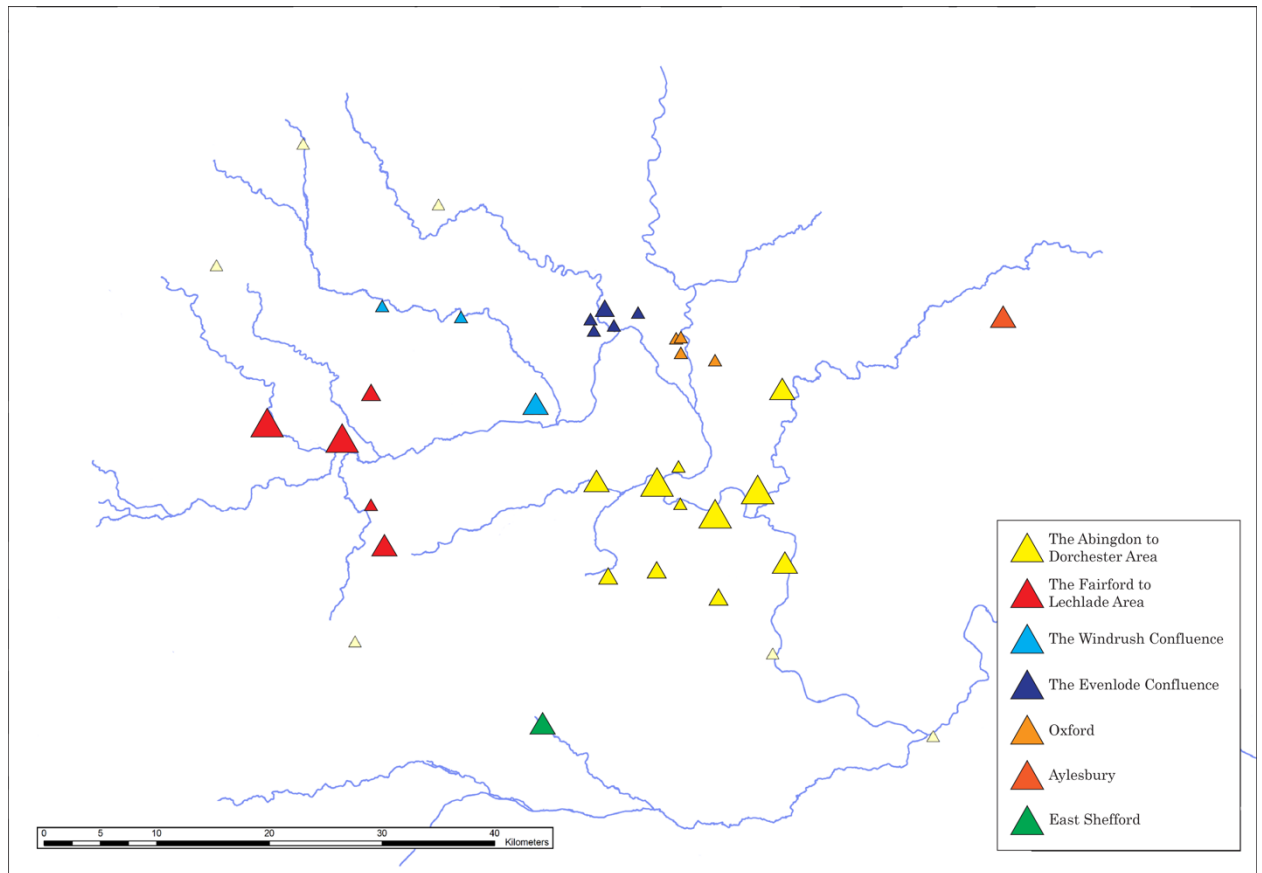


Figure 5.7: The primary 6th Century burying communities in the Upper Thames Valley, based on the distribution of burials and the layout of the river network.

5.1.2 The Mid-Seventh Century

This study analyses 78 cemeteries or possible cemeteries dating to the mid-7th Century (Fig.5.8). Of these 78 cemeteries, 35 have produced intact furnished burials, and 28 have produced intact Final Phase gendered adult inhumation burials.

In the Upper Thames Valley, there is a substantial degree of discontinuity between the 6th Century cemeteries and the mid-7th Century cemeteries – only Lechlade, Harwell and Lyneham Barrow have produced 6th and 7th Century intact gendered burials – and the overall distribution of mid-7th Century cemeteries appears to be significantly different from the distribution of 6th Century cemeteries. While the Abingdon to Dorchester area remained an important concentration of cemeteries, the number of cemeteries around the Windrush confluence appears to have increased dramatically during the 7th Century, and there also appears to have been a greater number of cemeteries along the Windrush and Evenlode river valleys (Fig.5.9).

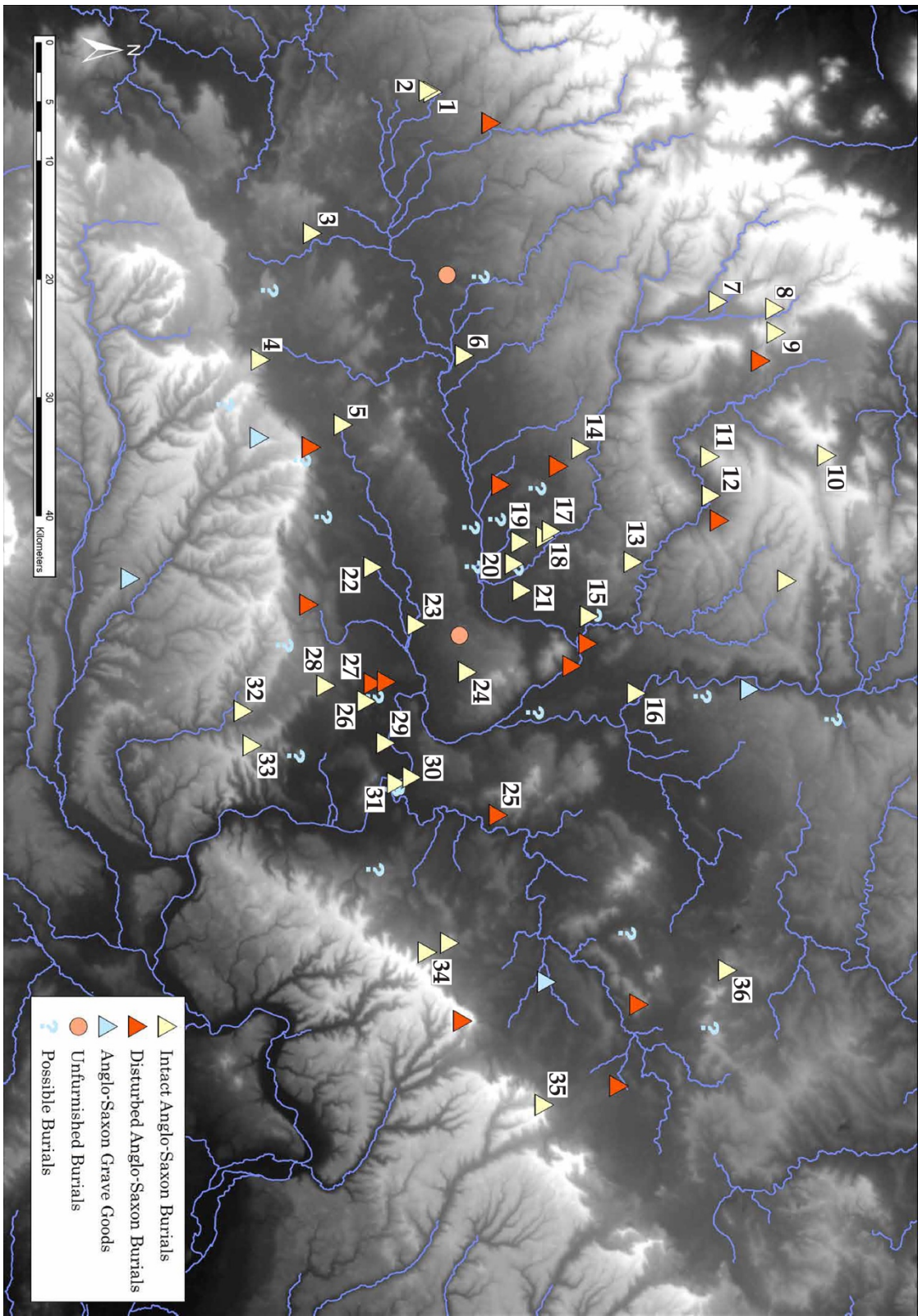


Figure 5.8: The 7th Century cemeteries (1. Kemble IB 2. Kemble III 3. Purton 4. Wanborough I 5. Longcot 6. Lechlade 7. Bourton-on-the-Water 8. Upper Swell I 9. Broadwell II 10. Rollright I 1. Lyneham Barrow 12. Chadlington 13. North Leigh 14. Asthall 15. New Wintles Farm 16. Kidlington 17. Ducklington 18. Cokethorpe 19. Yelford 20. Standlake Down 21. Stanton Harcourt 22. West Hanney 23. Frilford III 24. Wootton 25. Cuddesdon 26. Didcot Power Station 27. Milton 28. Harwell 29. Long Wittenham II 30. Amey's Pit 31. Bishop's Court 32. Compton 33. Lowbury Hill 34. Lewknor 35. Ellesborough 36. Hogshaw Hill).

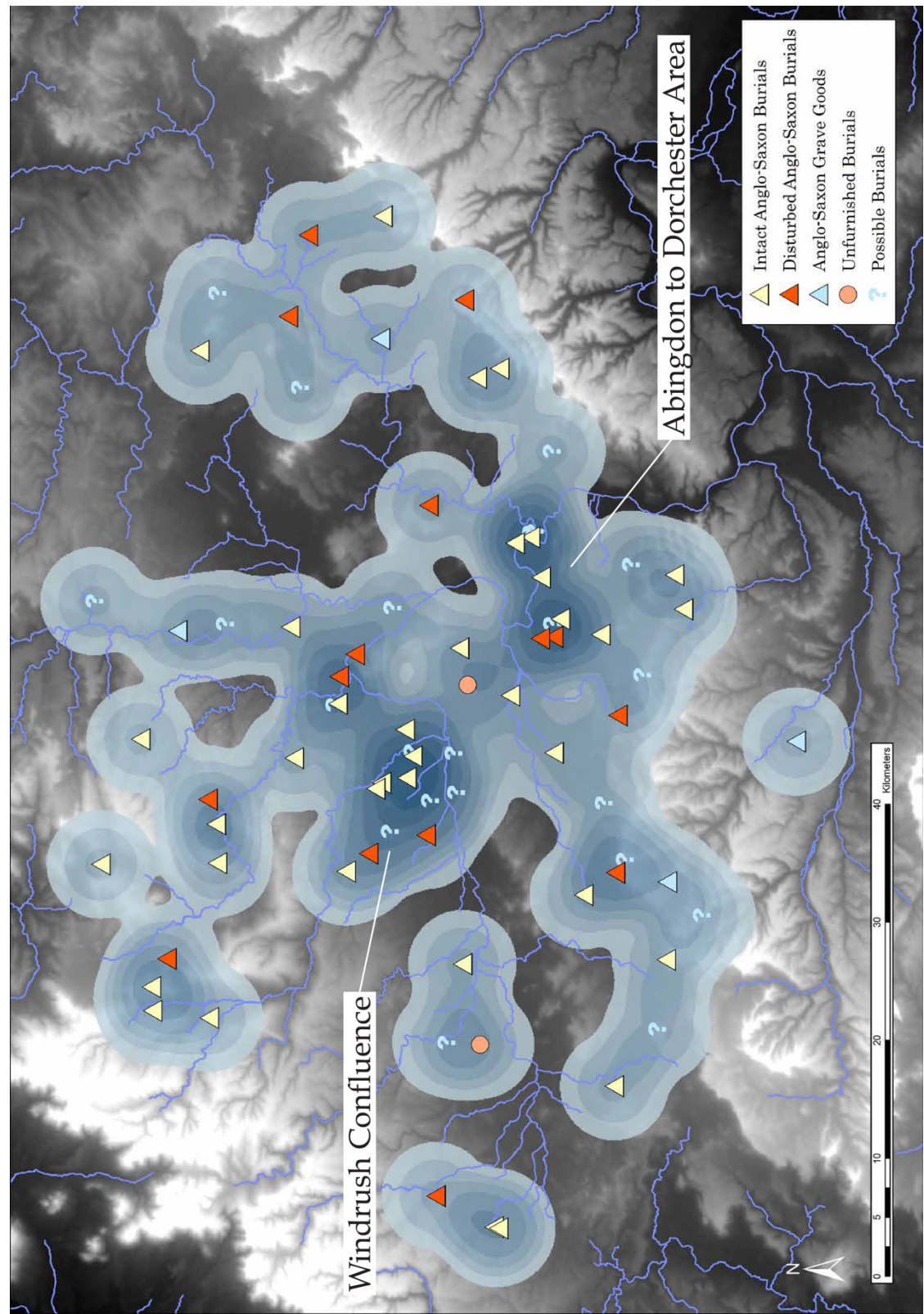


Figure 5.9: The unweighted kernel density of 7th Century cemeteries (search radius 6000m²).

However, as with the 6th Century cemeteries, the 7th Century cemeteries vary dramatically in size, and the size of each cemetery must be taken into account when analysing the distribution of burial activity.

5.1.2.1 Cemetery Size in the Mid-Seventh Century

Well-recorded cemeteries provide the most accurate indications of cemetery size, and for this reason, cemeteries that have produced intact Final Phase gendered adult inhumation burials feature heavily in the analysis of cemetery size. However, the disturbed cemetery at Milton also features prominently in the analysis, due to its importance, and several cemeteries with intact gendered child burials are also included (the size estimates for all cemeteries are listed in **Appendix 1**).

The mid-7th Century cemeteries can be grouped into four size categories – Alpha, Gamma, Delta and Isolated Burials (Graph 5.3-4).

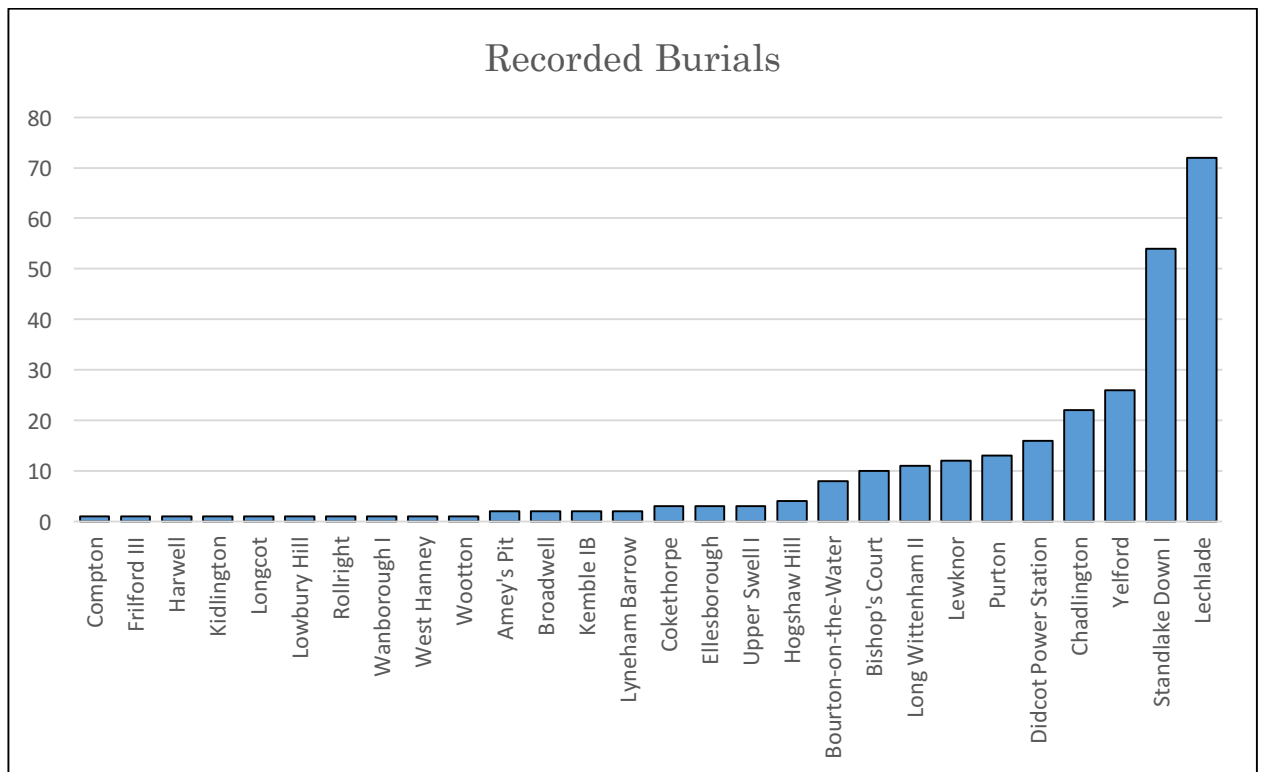
5.1.2.1.1 Alpha Cemeteries

Large cemeteries are less common during the 7th Century across most of Anglo-Saxon England, and this appears to be the case in the Upper Thames Valley as well. Only Lechlade can be confidently labelled an Alpha cemetery. However, Standlake Down (Oxon.) and Milton (Oxon.) were probably also Alpha cemeteries.

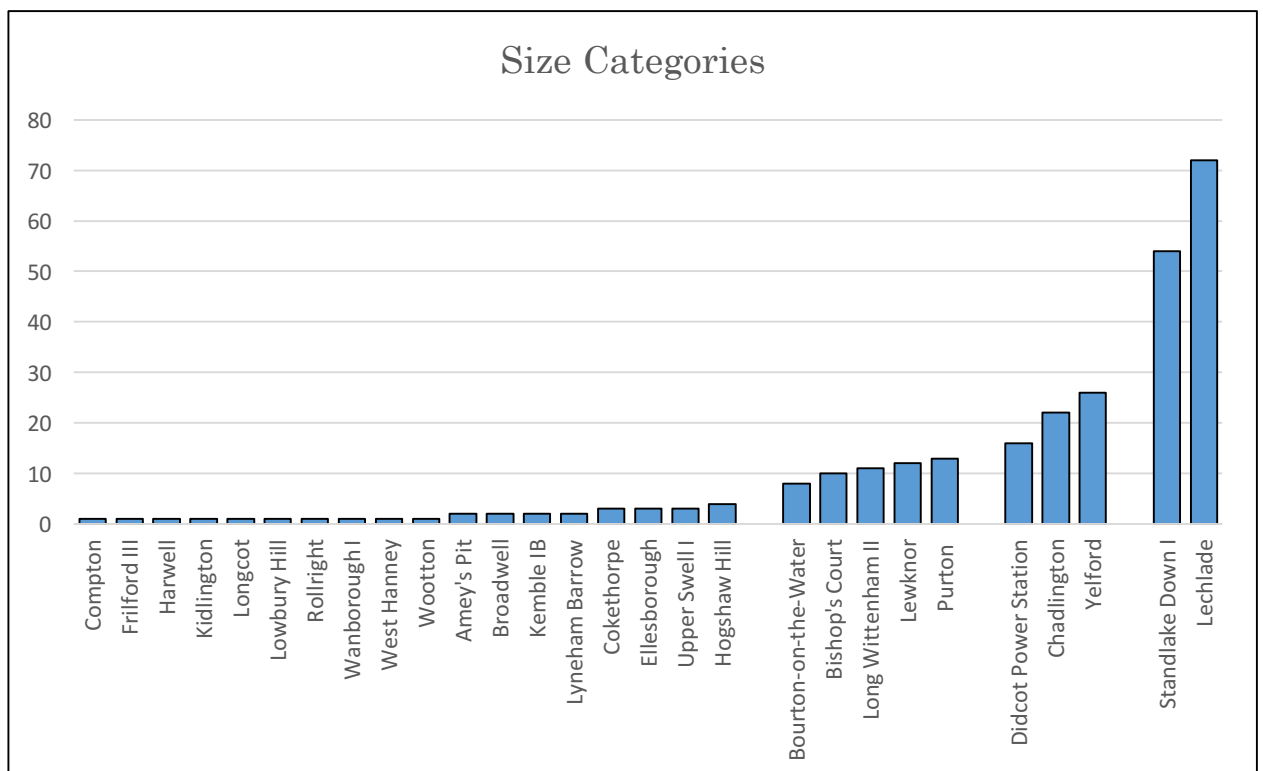
The excavations at Lechlade produced approximately 72 Final Phase burials, and the excavators estimated that this represents 50-75% of the cemetery, which would put the site total around 100-145 burials (Boyle *et al.* 1998, 35).

Excavations at Standlake Down allegedly produced over 100 burials (Brown 1973; Dickinson 1973; 1976 II, 202-7). However, only 21 grave groups survive, and some of the unassociated artefacts belong to the late 6th Century, suggesting that some of the alleged 100+ burials may belong to the late 6th Century, rather than the mid-7th Century. Nevertheless, the surviving 21 grave groups still make Standlake Down the second largest 7th Century cemetery in the Upper Thames Valley, and this suggests that Standlake Down was originally an Alpha Cemetery.

Milton was almost completely destroyed in the 19th Century, but the surviving material indicates a very wealthy and possibly a very large cemetery (Dickinson 1976 II, 181-4). The unassociated artefacts suggest 3 female gendered burials and 3-7 male gendered burials. This alone places Milton among the largest cemeteries in the study area: only Lechlade, Standlake Down and Didcot Power Station have produced more than 2 female gendered burials, and only Lechlade has produced more than 2 male gendered burials. Even then, Lechlade has only produced 8 male



Graph 5.3: The recorded number of excavated burials from each cemetery.



Graph 5.4: Cemeteries grouped by size.

gendered burials, and in light of the fragmentary evidence for Milton, this strongly suggests that Milton was originally one of the largest 7th Century cemeteries in the Upper Thames Valley.

5.1.2.1.2 Gamma Cemeteries

The vast majority of mid-7th Century cemeteries were relatively small, and outside of the Alpha cemeteries, no cemetery has produced more than 30 recorded burials. These small cemeteries form a continuum of size, but there are clusters around 1-3 burials, 10 burials and 20-30 burials.

The cemeteries with 20-30 burials – Chadlington (Oxon.) and Yelford (Oxon.) – are the Gamma cemeteries (Dickinson 1976 II, 68-9, 236-8; Leeds 1940b).

Didcot Power Station (Oxon.) has also been categorized as a Gamma cemetery because, although the site has only produced 16 recorded burials, the limits of the cemetery were not reached and the large number of gendered burials is suggestive of a larger cemetery (Boyle *et al.* 1995).

5.1.2.1.3 Delta Cemeteries

The Delta cemeteries exhibit a tendency towards 10 burials: Bourton-on-the-Water (Glos.), Bishop's Court (Oxon.), Kemble III (Glos.), Long Wittenham II (Oxon.), Lewknor (Oxon.), North Leigh (Oxon.) and Purton (Wilts.) have each produced 7-13 recorded burials (Akerman 1862; Leeds 1940b; Dickinson 1976 II; King *et al.* 1996).

Hogshaw Hill (Bucks.) and Kemble IB (Glos.) are also categorized as Delta cemeteries because there is reason to suspect that they were part of slightly larger cemeteries (Dickinson 1976 II, 140; Wilkinson 1988), and Stanton Harcourt (Oxon.) is also categorized as a Delta cemetery because, although it produced 23 burials, only 8 of these were adult burials (Harden and Treweeks 1945; Dickinson 1976 II, 208-9).

5.1.2.1.4 Isolated Burials

The cemeteries at Amey's Pit (Oxon.), Broadwell (Glos.), Cokethorpe (Oxon.), Ellesborough (Bucks.), Frilford III (Oxon.), Harwell (Oxon.), Kidlington (Oxon.), Longcot (Oxon.), Lowbury Hill (Oxon.), Lyneham Barrow (Oxon.), New Wintles Farm (Oxon.), Rollright (Warks.), Upper Swell I (Glos.), Wanborough I (Wilts.), West Hanney (Oxon.) and Wootton (Oxon.) have each produced evidence for 1-3 burials, and these sites are categorized as isolated burials (Bradford and Goodchild 1939; Dickinson 1976 II 61, 73, 77-8, 101-2, 104-5, 134, 137-9, 142, 146, 176-7, 180-1, 217-8; Hamerow *et al.* 2015; Hamerow Forthcoming; Anni Byard pers. comm.). Some of these apparently isolated burials may have been part of larger cemeteries, but a significant number of sites – Frilford III, Lowbury Hill, Lyneham Barrow, New Wintles Farm, Rollright, Upper Swell I and West Hanney – appear to be truly isolated from other contemporary burials.

The cemetery at Compton (formerly identified as the East Ilsley cross barrows; Wintle 2004) is also categorized as an isolated burial. Although there are 7 recorded burials, the only datable 7th Century burial was separated from the rest, and there is some reason to suggest that this burial was a separate event from the other 6 burials (Hewitt 1843; 1844, 153-5; Dickinson 1976 II, 91-2).

5.1.2.2 The Distribution of Burials in the Upper Thames Valley

Like the 6th Century burials, the mid-7th Century burials appear to be concentrated along the river valleys, and the natural hierarchy of the river network appears to have played an important role in determining the distribution of burials (Fig5.10-11). All of the Alpha cemeteries are located in the Thames basin, and two of the Alpha cemeteries – Lechlade and Standlake Down – are located in the immediate vicinity of major confluences, while the third Alpha cemetery – Milton – is located slightly farther south of another major confluence. Meanwhile, two of the three Gamma cemeteries are located in the Thames basin, and five of the ten Delta cemeteries are located in the Thames basin.

This suggests a strong relationship between the river network and the size of the 7th Century burying communities, but like the 6th Century burials, the distribution of mid-7th Century burials appears to be only partially determined by the hierarchy of the river network. As with the 6th Century burials, the mid-7th Century burials are strongly concentrated in certain core areas: the Fairford to Lechlade area, the Abingdon to Dorchester area, and the Windrush confluence. The Alpha cemeteries at Lechlade, Standlake Down and Milton are each located in one of these three core areas, and the Gamma and Delta cemeteries are also concentrated in the Windrush and Abingdon to Dorchester areas.

Two of these core areas – the Fairford to Lechlade area and the Abingdon to Dorchester area – were already core areas of burial during the 6th Century, and the importance of these two areas appears to have continued unabated into the mid-7th Century; the burial evidence for the Abingdon to Dorchester area is less robust for the mid-7th Century, but this is largely due to the poor recovery of the Milton cemetery, which was probably one of the largest 7th Century cemeteries in the study area.

The Windrush confluence, on the other hand, appears to represent a new core area of burial. The Windrush confluence was the site of a 6th Century Beta cemetery, but the area appears to have become more important during the 7th Century, and this is supported by a general proliferation of

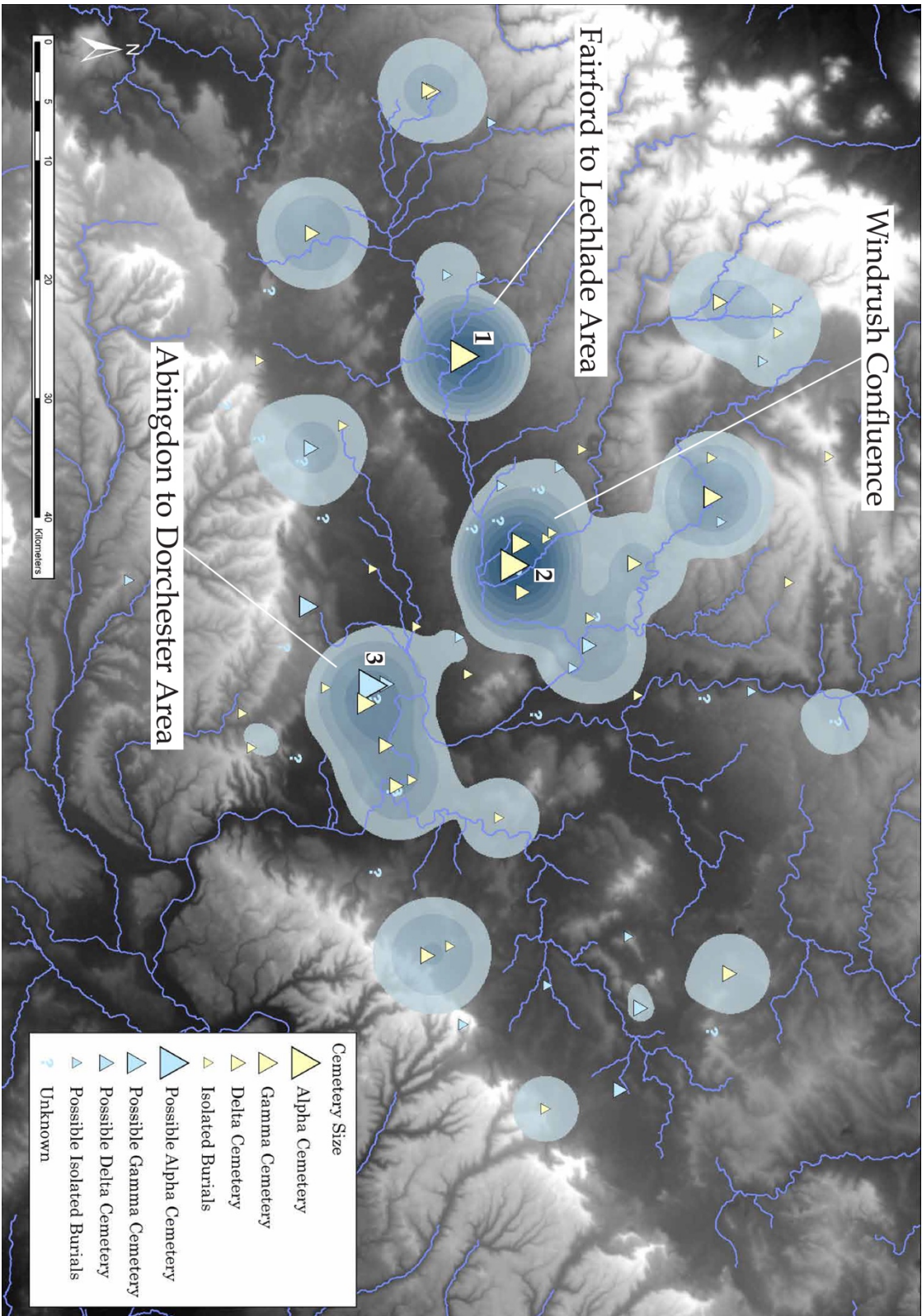


Figure 5.10: The kernel density of burials, weighted by the number of recorded burials at each site (1. Lechlade 2. Standlake Down 3. Milton).

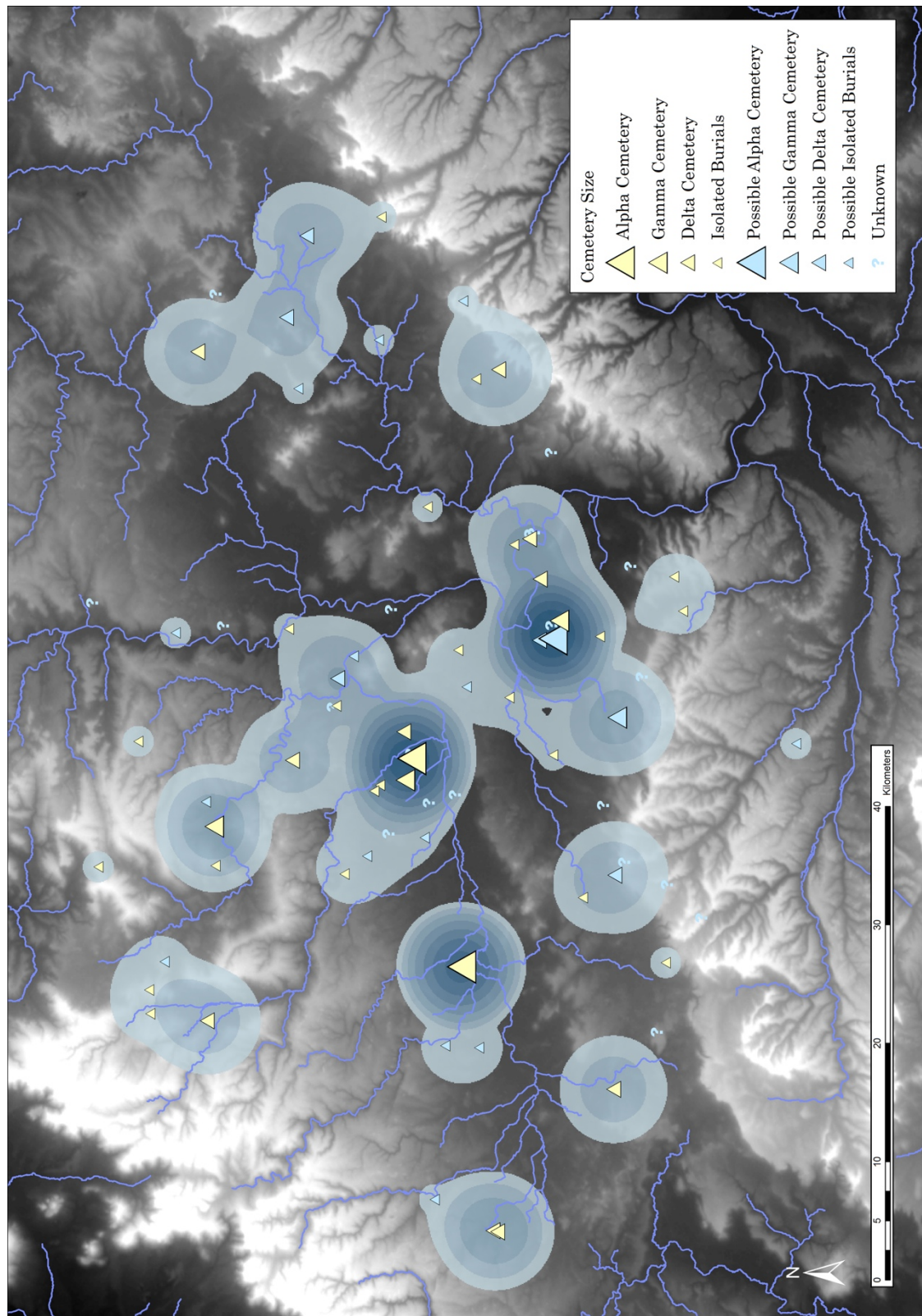


Figure 5.11: The kernel density of burials, weighted by cemetery size categories (Alpha cemetery: 100, Gamma cemetery: 25, Delta cemetery: 15, Isolated Burials: 3).

Anglo-Saxon burial along the Evenlode and Windrush river valleys, although it is unclear whether this marked an influx of population or simply a more widespread adoption of the Anglo-Saxon burial rite.

5.1.2.3 Core Areas, Isolated Burials and Supra-Local Communities

Unlike the Alpha and Gamma cemeteries, the isolated burials appear to be predominantly located outside of the three core areas of mid-7th Century burial. However, some of these isolated burials appear to represent supra-local statements of power and identity, made in reference to the core areas, and these supra-local isolated burials have important implications for understanding the core areas themselves.

Certain isolated burials stand out for their exceptional or unusual assemblages, their evidence for grave structures, and/or their prominent locations, near important routeways and sometimes appropriating earlier monuments. At a certain level of wealth, these burials are referred to as 'princely' burials, but there are also a number of lesser, though still exceptional, burials that share certain characteristics with the princely burials. As a whole, these exceptional isolated burials are referred to in this study as supra-local burials, because these burials appear to have supra-local significance. Princely burials were often placed in liminal locations, suggesting that they were intended as a supra-local statement of power and identity, directed at the supra-local 'other' (Shephard 1979; Webster 1992, 77-8; Williams 1999; Welch 2011, 269-75), and similarly liminal supra-local statements of power and identity have also been identified in less wealthy isolated burials (Semple 2003; Hamerow Forthcoming). As such, this study identifies a range of exceptional isolated burials in the Upper Thames Valley that appear to have some degree of supra-local significance.

Lowbury Hill is the wealthiest intact Final Phase burial in the Upper Thames Valley, and it is the only intact 7th Century sword burial in the Upper Thames Valley. This exceptional burial appears to have been isolated, at the edge of the Upper Thames Valley, far away from the core areas of burial and settlement (Fig.5.12), but the position and embellishment of this burial suggest that it was intended as a supra-local statement of power. The Lowbury Hill burial was interred under a primary barrow, amid the ruins of a Romano-British temple, in a commanding position on top of the Berkshire Downs. The barrow has sweeping views of the Upper Thames Valley and overlooks two important routeways: the Ridgeway running along the Downs and a North-South pass running through the Downs (Fulford and Rippon 1994; Williams 1999). This burial would have been visible for miles, and it must have sent a powerful message to anyone travelling around the Upper Thames Valley, along the Ridgeway, and to anyone travelling to or from the Upper Thames Valley,

along the North-South pass. For these reasons, Howard Williams has argued that the Lowbury Hill burial was a supra-local statement of identity and power made by a supra-local community at the edge of its territory (Williams 1999, 75-76).

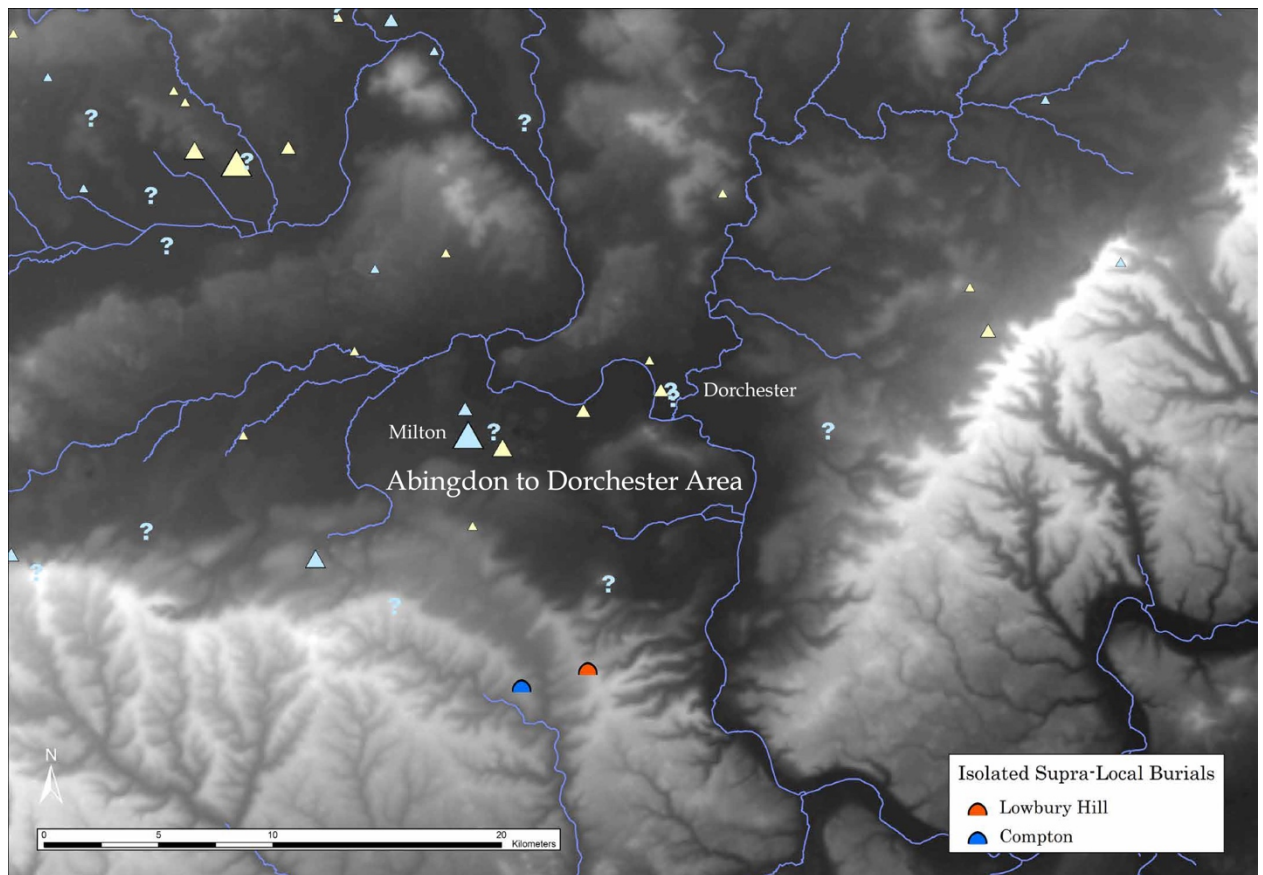


Figure 5.12: The barrow burials at Lowbury Hill and Compton, perched on the edge of the Berkshire Downs.

On the opposite side of the North-South pass from Lowbury Hill, another barrow burial was placed in a similarly commanding position at Compton (Fig.5.12) (this burial was previously identified with a group of barrows in East Ilsley, but Wintle 2004 has convincingly re-attributed it to a group of barrows in Compton). The Compton burial was poorly recorded, but it appears to have been one of the wealthiest intact burials in the Upper Thames Valley, and like the Lowbury Hill burial, it was interred with a rare Group 7 shield (Hewitt 1843; 1844, 153-5; Dickinson 1976 II, 91-2). The Compton burial was also interred under a barrow, although it is unclear whether it was a primary Anglo-Saxon barrow. An adjacent prehistoric barrow contained six undated secondary inhumations – all young males – laid out in a row and unfurnished, with the exception of a single dress pin. This may represent a typical mid-7th Century Delta cemetery, but the circumstances – all young males, unfurnished, appropriating a prehistoric barrow, in a liminal space, and associated with a single wealthy burial – are suggestive of an execution cemetery (cf. Reynolds 2009). Similar execution cemeteries have been identified in association with the princely burials at Sutton

Hoo and Cuddesdon (Dickinson 1974; Carver 2005, 315-59), and this display of capital punishment would have strongly reinforced the initial statement of power made by the Compton barrow burial.

Together, these two barrow burials – Lowbury Hill and Compton – appear to act as gatekeepers of the Upper Thames Valley, and perhaps specifically, gatekeepers of the Abingdon to Dorchester area. Anyone travelling along the Ridgeway or passing North-South through the Downs would find themselves in the shadow of these barrows, and presumably in the shadow of the supra-local community that these barrows represented (Williams 1999, 63).

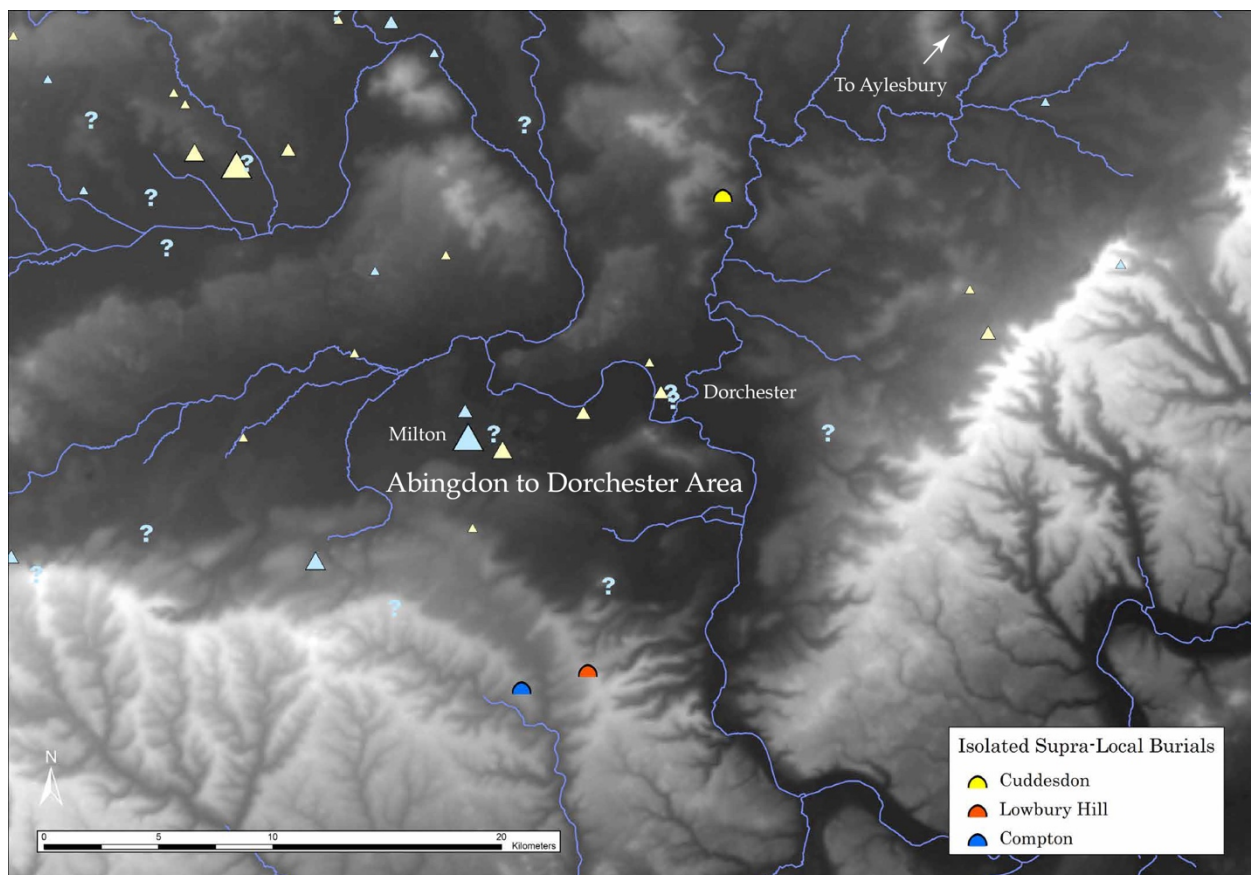


Figure 5.13: The princely burial at Cuddesdon, overlooking the Thame river valley.

To the north of the Abingdon to Dorchester area, a similar barrow burial was interred at Cuddesdon, although it probably predated the Lowbury Hill burial by a generation (Fig.5.13). The Cuddesdon burial was destroyed in the 19th Century, but based on the surviving records, it appears to have been an early 7th Century princely burial (Dickinson 1974). The Cuddesdon place-name, meaning Cutha's Hill, may even be a direct reference to the West Saxon/Gewissan royal dynasty, which included numerous 'Cuth-' personal names. This possibly royal burial was probably interred underneath a primary barrow, and a series of execution burials appear to have been placed around the edge of the barrow (Dickinson 1974). This formidable statement of power was placed

on a prominent high point in the Midvale Ridge, with sweeping views of the Abingdon to Dorchester area and the Thame tributary, which would have been one of the main routeways between the Abingdon to Dorchester area and the Vale of Aylesbury (Williams 1999, 78). The position of this burial therefore parallels that of Lowbury Hill and Compton, controlling a major routeway into and out of the Abingdon to Dorchester area, and the Cuddesdon place-name suggests a direct link with the Abingdon to Dorchester area via the West Saxon/Gewissan royal house. The relationship between Cuddesdon and Dorchester, in particular, is strikingly similar to the relationship between the royal centre at Rendlesham and the princely burials at Sutton Hoo, which overlook an important river route between Rendlesham and the North Sea (Fig.5.14) (Williams 2001, 53-5; Williamson 2008, 101-6).



Figure 5.14: The princely burials at Sutton Hoo overlook the River Deben, a major routeway between the North Sea and the royal centre at Rendlesham. This arrangement closely parallels the location of the Cuddesdon burial, overlooking a major routeway between the Vale of Aylesbury and Dorchester.

To the west of the Abingdon to Dorchester area, the isolated burials at West Hanney and Frilford III occupied similar positions to Cuddesdon, controlling the Ock river valley, which flows into the Thames at Abingdon (Fig.5.15).

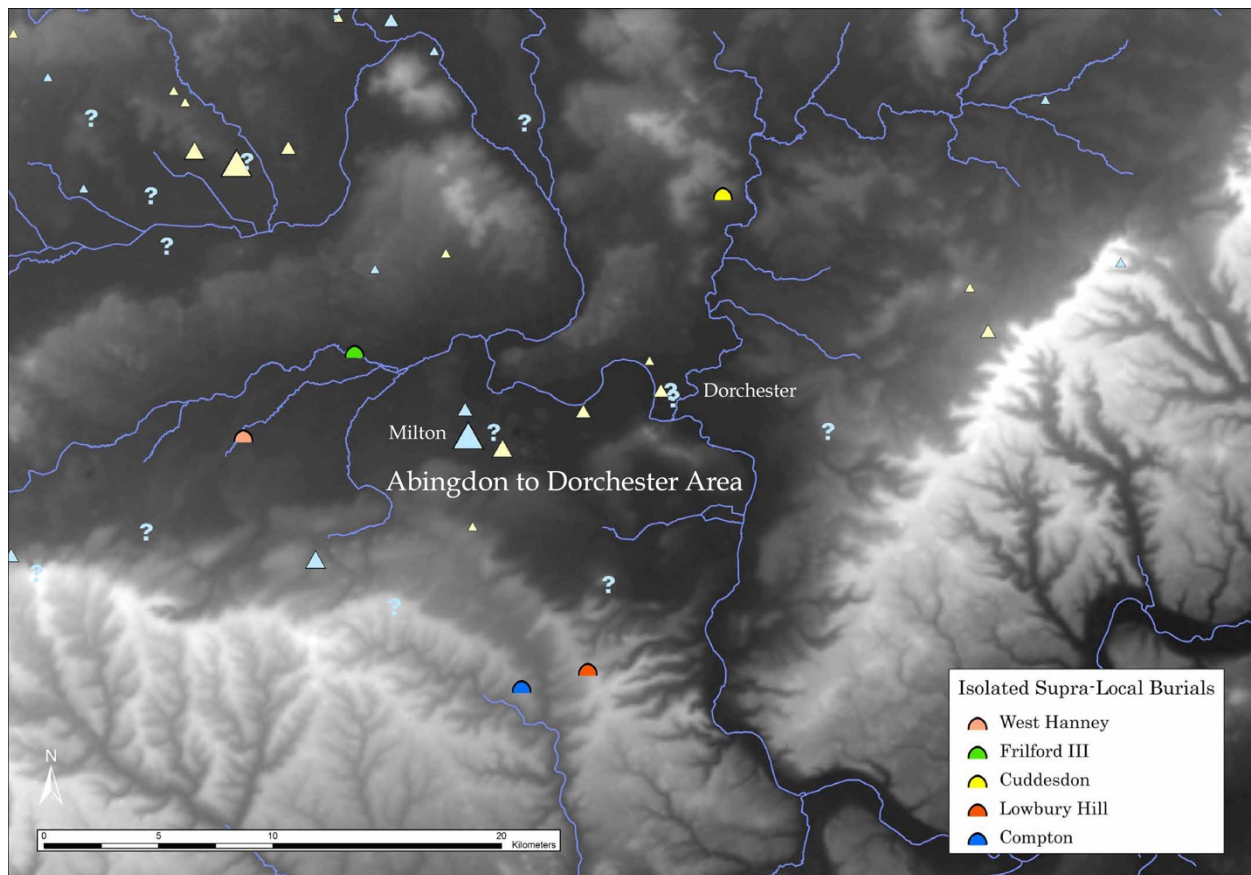


Figure 5.15: The supra-local burials at West Hanney and Frilford III, lying along the Ock river valley.



Figure 5.16: The West Hanney composite disc brooch (far right) compared with the Milton composite disc brooches (middle and far left); the lower row displays digital reconstructions of the brooches (after Hamerow 2017).

The West Hanney burial was interred with a rare composite disc brooch, which is remarkably similar to the two composite disc brooches recovered from the Alpha cemetery of Milton, the primary cemetery of the Abingdon to Dorchester area (Fig.5.16) (Hamerow *et al.* 2015; Hamerow 2017). The similarity between these brooches suggests that they were all made in the same workshop, or at the very least, that the West Hanney brooch was conceived as a deliberate copy of the Milton brooches. This links the West Hanney burial directly to the Abingdon to Dorchester area, and like the burial at Cuddesdon, the West Hanney burial occupies a locally prominent position overlooking a tributary of the Thames that flows into the Abingdon to Dorchester area.

Downstream from the West Hanney burial, an apparently isolated seax burial – Frilford III – was interred in the ruins of the Marcham-Frilford Romano-British temple complex, under a cairn of stones, which may represent the remains of a primary barrow (Fig.5.15) (Bradford and Goodchild 1939, 37-9). The Marcham-Frilford temple complex lies at the crossroads of several major routeways, including the east-west route into the Abingdon to Dorchester area, and Frilford was also the location of a 6th Century Beta cemetery associated with the Abingdon to Dorchester area (see **Section 5.1.1.2**).

As a group, these supra-local burials – Lowbury Hill, Compton, Cuddesdon, West Hanney and Frilford III – form a ring around the Abingdon to Dorchester area, branching out along the tributaries and routeways that lead into and out of this core area (Fig.5.17). On a certain level, these burials appear to represent supra-local statements of power and identity, extending outward from the Abingdon to Dorchester area and projecting the power and identity of the Abingdon to Dorchester area to the supra-local ‘other’.

However, these supra-local burials also appear to be somehow associated with local burying communities. The distribution of 7th Century supra-local burials broadly parallels the distribution of 6th Century Beta and Gamma cemeteries, which cluster around the Abingdon to Dorchester area, and the supra-local burials at Frilford III and Cuddesdon, in particular, were interred in the immediate vicinity of the earlier Beta cemeteries at Frilford and Wheatley (Fig.5.18). This suggests that the supra-local burials were also on some level local burials, associated with the burying communities of the earlier Beta and Gamma cemeteries.

This combination of local and supra-local significance suggests that these burials were intended to negotiate the relationship between local burying communities and the supra-local Abingdon to Dorchester area, expressing membership, allegiance or domination within the wider Abingdon to Dorchester community. It was previously suggested that the supra-local concentration of Beta and

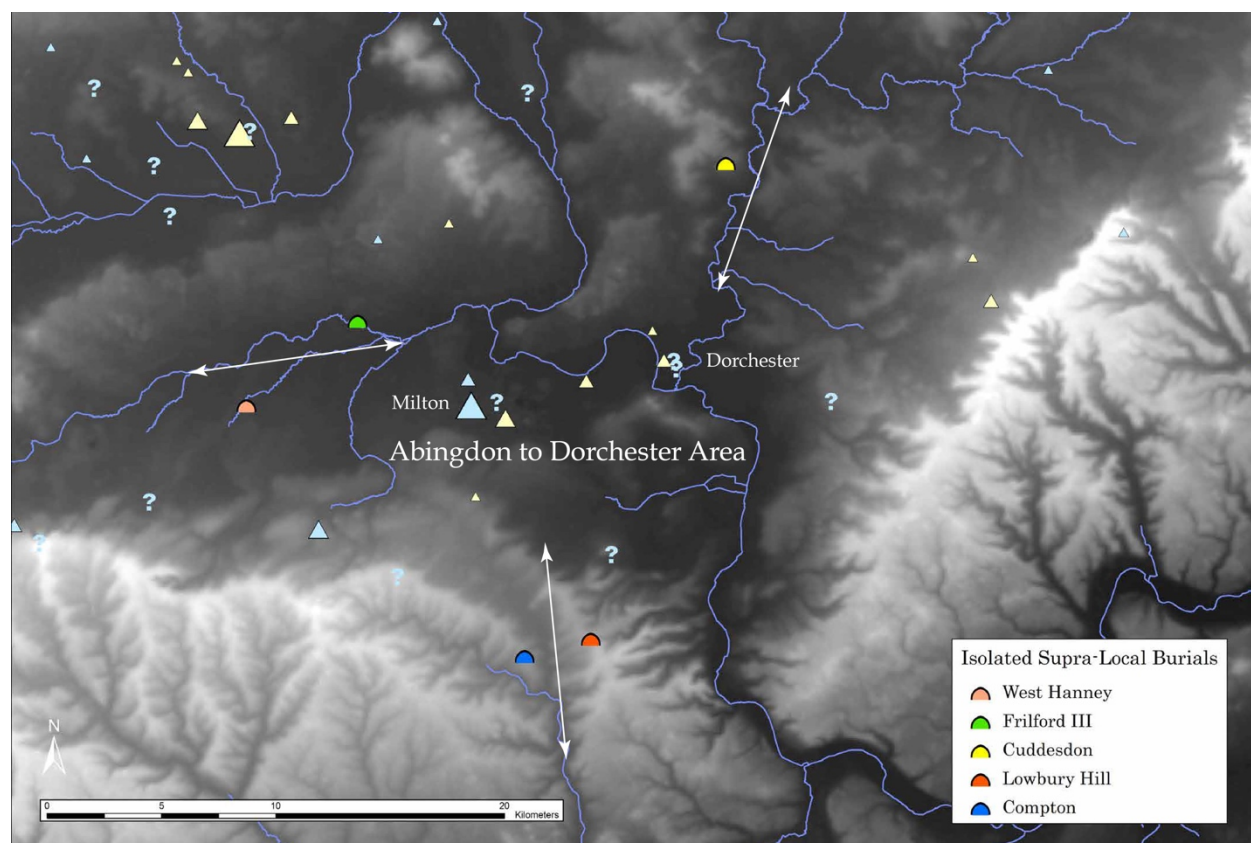


Figure 5.17: The supra-local burials of the Abingdon to Dorchester area, placed along important routeways leading into the area.

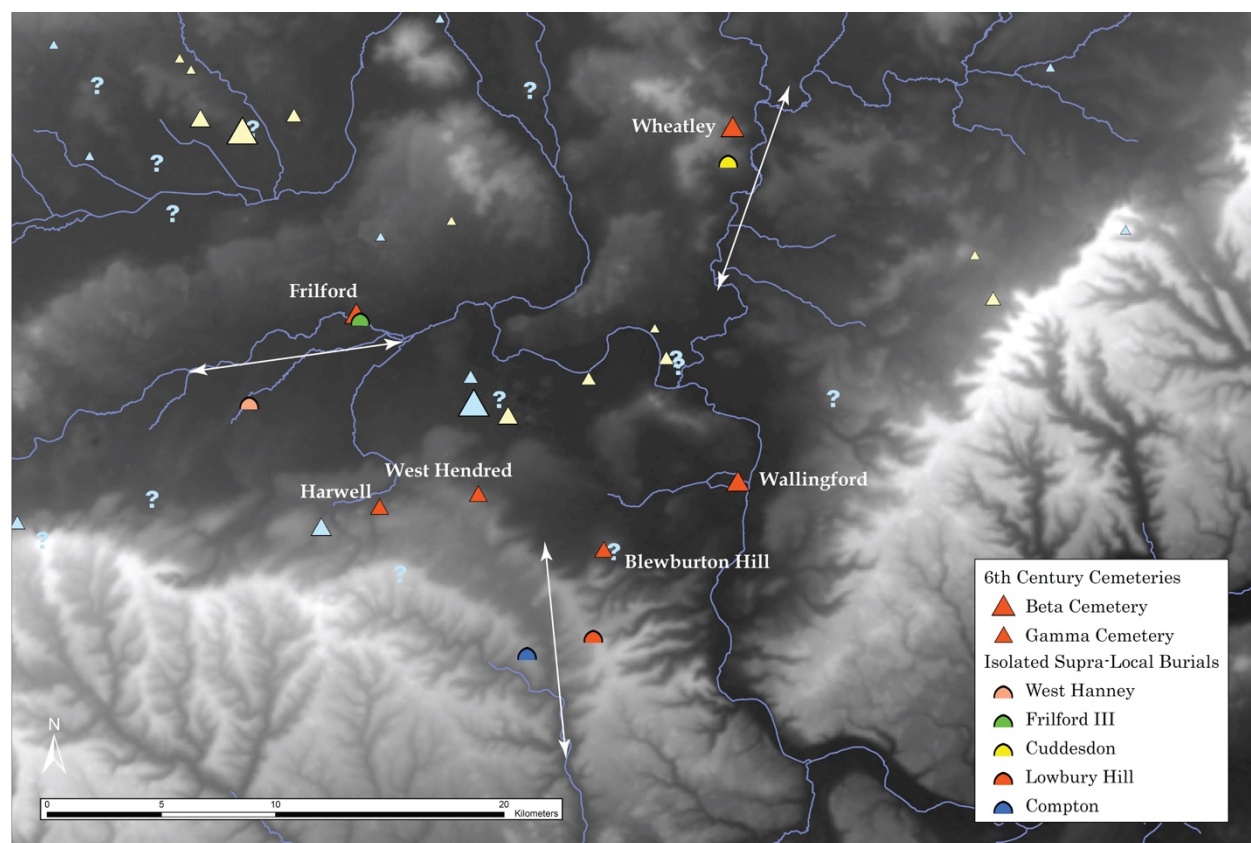


Figure 5.18: The distribution of supra-local burials surrounding the Abingdon to Dorchester area, paralleling the distribution of 6th Century Beta and Gamma cemeteries surrounding the Abingdon to Dorchester area.

Gamma cemeteries surrounding the Abingdon to Dorchester area and linked to the Abingdon to Dorchester area via the river network possessed the makings of a single supra-local socio-political unit (see **Section 5.1.1.3**), and as such, the replacement of these Beta and Gamma cemeteries with isolated elite burials, some of which express direct links to the Abingdon to Dorchester area, may attest to the ultimate creation and consolidation of this supra-local socio-political unit.

Outside of the Abingdon to Dorchester area, the pattern of isolated supra-local burials is less clear. The only certain supra-local burials are the princely burial at Asthall and the Rollright burial.

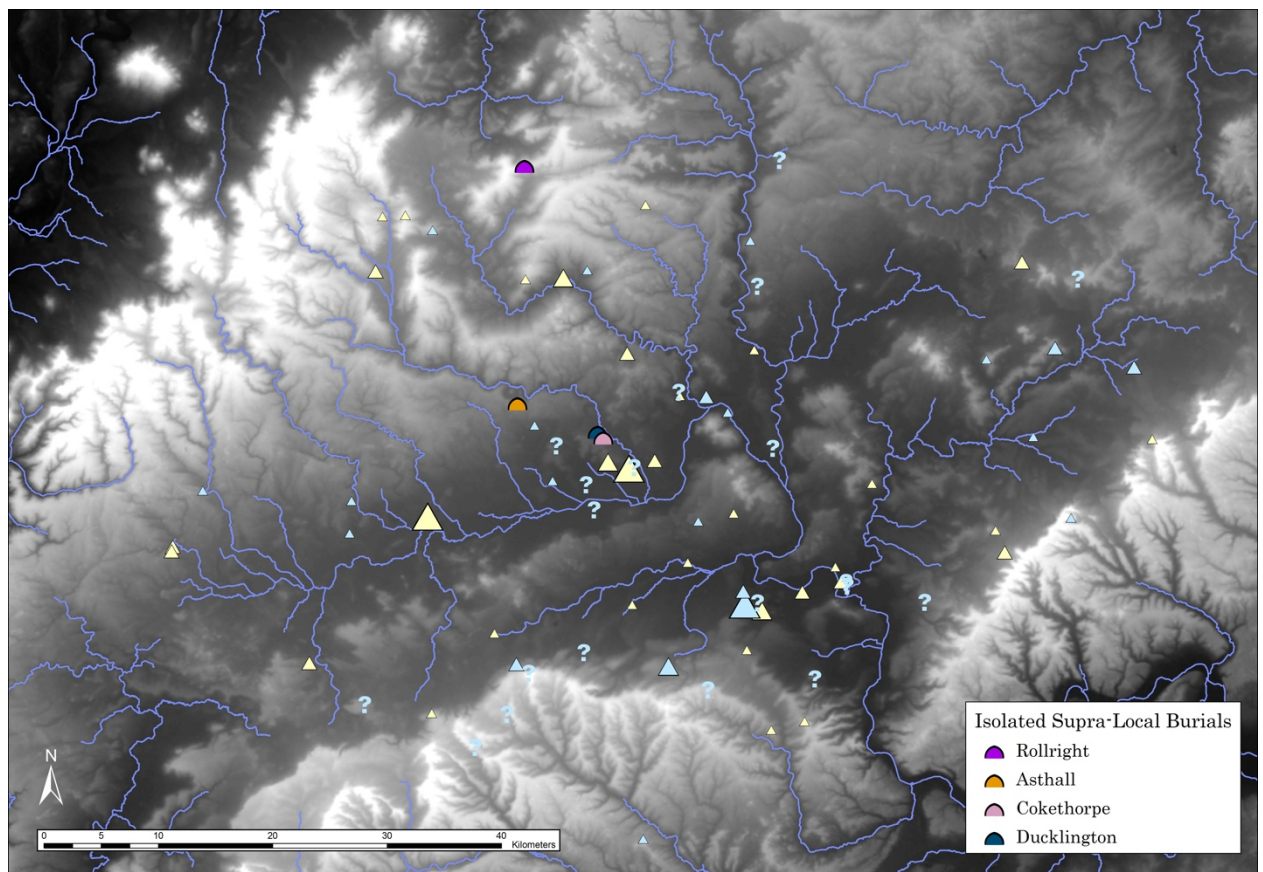


Figure 5.19: The Rollright burial and the Asthall barrow, straddling the northern edge of the Upper Thames Valley. The burials at Cokethorpe and Ducklington, downstream from Asthall, may have been a competing statement of power and identity.

The Asthall burial was a cremation burial, but the surviving assemblage clearly indicates a level of wealth only found in the early 7th Century princely burials (Leeds 1923a; Dickinson and Härke 1992). The Asthall burial was interred underneath a primary barrow, in a commanding position on the ridge dividing the Windrush river valley from the Thames basin (Fig.5.19). The barrow is located near Akeman Street, a major East-West routeway, and the Windrush valley itself would have been an important routeway through the Cotswolds. The Asthall barrow therefore parallels Lowbury Hill, lying on the cusp of the Upper Thames Valley and overlooking important routeways around and into the Upper Thames Valley.

Deeper in the Cotswolds, the Rollright burial occupies a similar position on an important routeway between the Upper Thames Valley and the Avon Valley (Fig.5.19). The Rollright burial was interred amid a large megalithic complex on the Oxfordshire/Warwickshire border, which had already been the site of a poorly recorded 6th Century cemetery (Meaney 1964, 260; Semple 2004; Hamerow Forthcoming). The Rollright complex is also featured in a Late Medieval folktale that has interesting thematic similarities with Early Medieval land claim rituals recorded in Ireland (Hamerow Forthcoming). The Rollright burial is not exceptionally wealthy, but it has unusual artefacts, and the dramatic setting strongly suggests that it had some degree of supra-local significance.

The Rollright and Asthall burials both appear to be associated with the northern border of the Upper Thames Valley. During the early-to-middle 7th Century, this was the border between the West Saxon/Gewissan kingdom and Mercia, and the Anglian character of the Asthall burial, in particular, links this princely burial directly to the conflict between the Saxon Gewisse and Anglian Mercia. Asthall may therefore represent a supra-regional statement of power and identity, made by or in allegiance to Anglian Mercia and directed at the West Saxon/Gewissan kingdom in the Upper Thames Valley (Dickinson and Speake 1992; Blair 1994). Asthall therefore appears to delineate the supra-regional border between Mercia and the West Saxon/Gewissan kingdom, but like the other supra-local burials, Asthall may have also had some degree of localized significance. Asthall lies on the edge of the Upper Thames Valley, but like Lowbury Hill, Asthall also lies on the edge of a core area of burial – the Windrush confluence – and if Asthall was intended as a Mercian challenge to the sovereignty of the West Saxon/Gewissan kingdom, then it must have been perceived as a direct threat to the sovereignty of the Windrush confluence. Interestingly, there are two other possible supra-local burials lying between Asthall and the Windrush confluence, and these burials, at Cokethorpe and Ducklington, may represent a competing statement of power and identity, asserting the sovereignty of the Windrush confluence in the face of Mercian expansion (Fig.5.19).

The nature and symbolism of the remaining two possible supra-local burials at Longcot and Kidlington is less clear. The apparently isolated burial at Longcot may have overlooked the Cole river valley, leading into the Lechlade area (Fig.5.19), but the context of the Longcot burial is entirely unknown, and the assemblage would not be out of place in a larger cemetery. The context of the Kidlington seax burial is similarly unknown, and like Longcot, the assemblage would not be out of place in a larger cemetery.

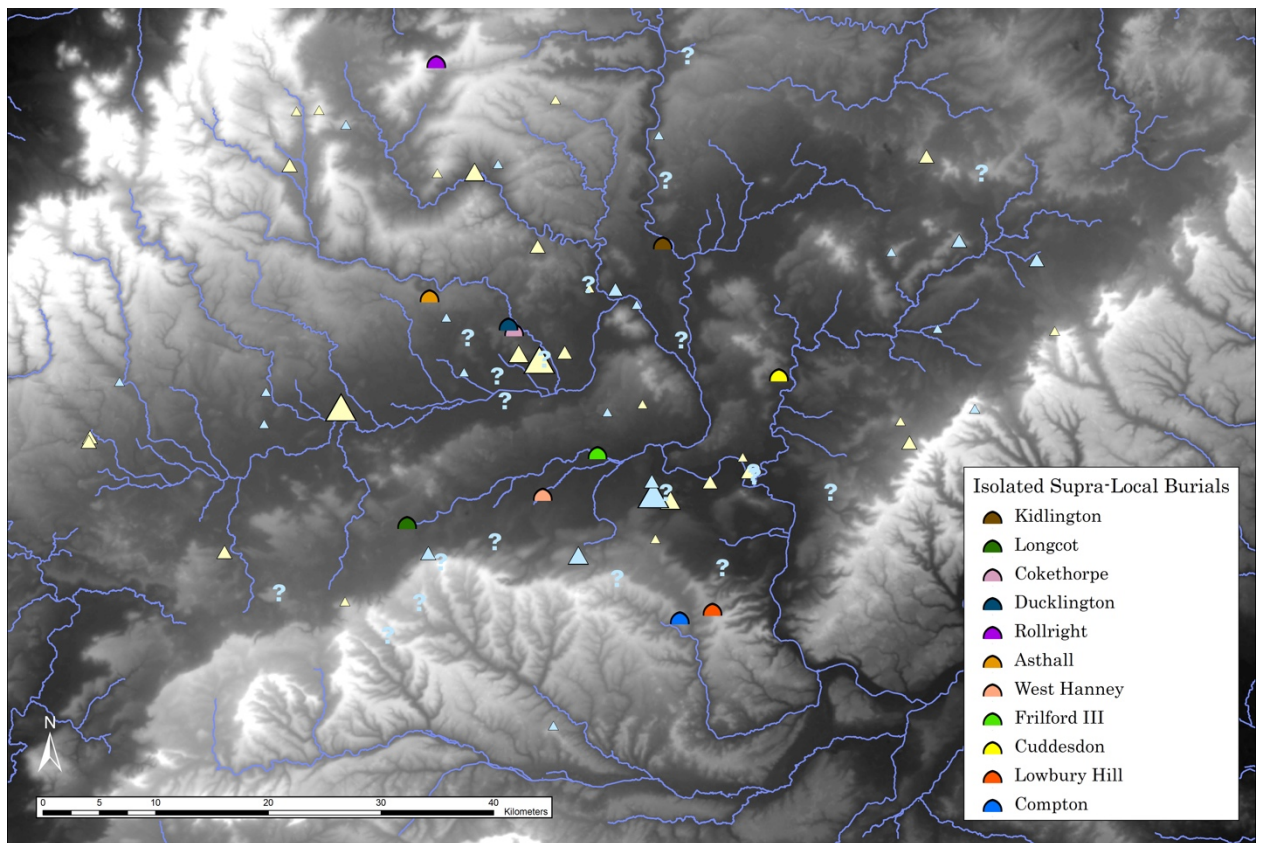


Figure 5.20: All possible isolated supra-local burials.

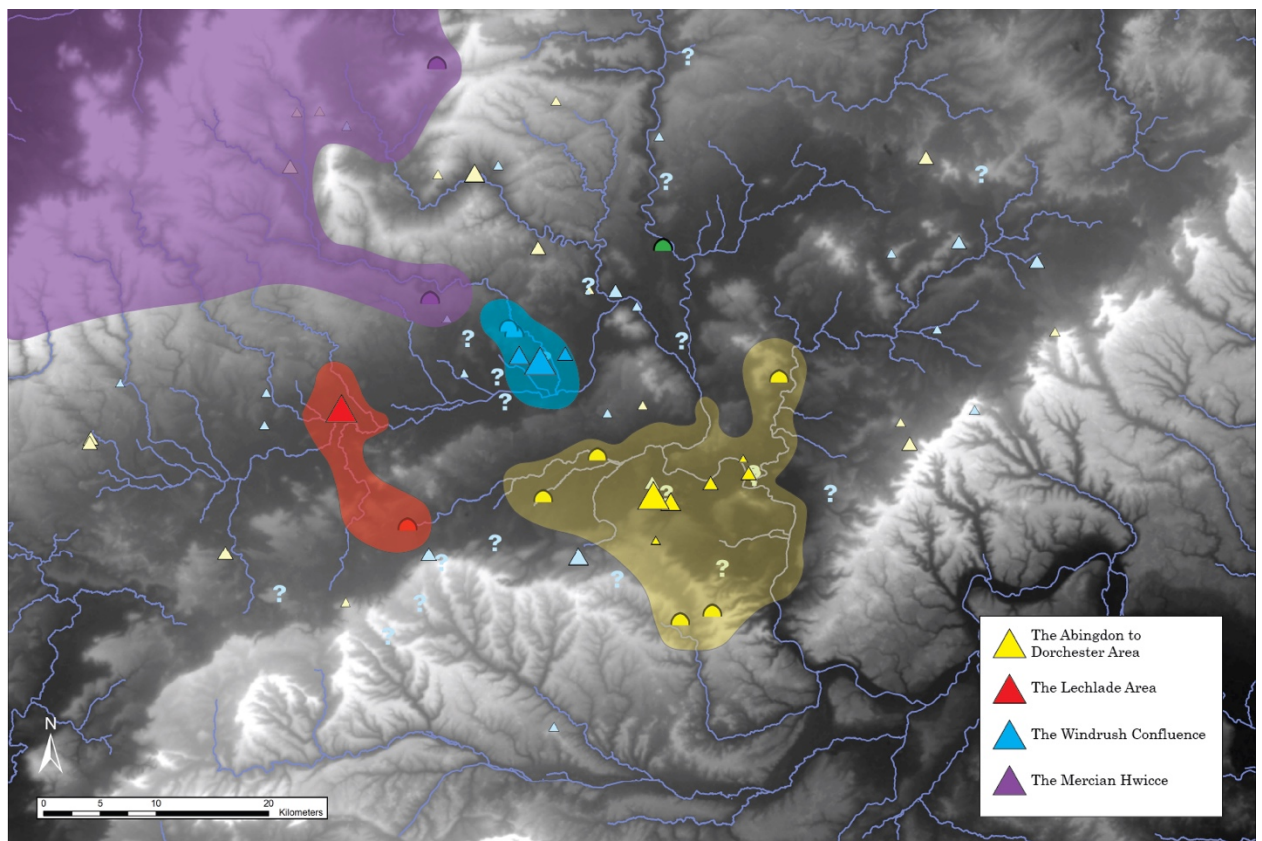


Figure 5.21: The three core areas of 7th Century burial. The possible extent of these areas is defined by the isolated supra-local burials. The Rollright and Asthall burials may delineate the encroaching influence of Mercia and their allies, the Hwicce.

5.1.2.4 Conclusions

The distribution of mid-7th Century burials shows three core concentrations of activity: the Fairford to Lechlade area, the Windrush confluence and the Abingdon to Dorchester area. These are the only areas in the Upper Thames Valley that were still interring large numbers of burials in a single cemetery, and this suggests that these areas were home to larger communities, which were more socio-politically complex and more socio-economically powerful.

The concentration of burials around the Windrush confluence appears to have been a new development, starting in the late 6th/early 7th Century, and the increasing importance of this area was probably related to the proliferation of Anglo-Saxon burial along the Windrush and Evenlode river valleys.

The Fairford to Lechlade and Abingdon to Dorchester areas, on the other hand, exhibit a *longue durée* continuity of supra-local importance. These areas were home to supra-local concentrations of large 6th Century cemeteries, linked together by the river network, and it has been suggested that these supra-local networks of Alpha, Beta and Gamma cemeteries represent the makings of the first supra-local socio-political units in the Upper Thames Valley (see **Section 5.1.1.3**).

By the 7th Century, the larger of these two supra-local clusters – the Abingdon to Dorchester area – had indeed become the heartland of the West Saxon/Gewissan kingdom (Dickinson 1976; Hawkes 1986; Blair 1994; Yorke 1995; Hamerow 1999b; Hamerow *et al.* 2013), and the replacement of the surrounding Beta and Gamma cemeteries with isolated elite burials, some of which express direct links to the Abingdon to Dorchester area, may attest to the integration of these communities into a single supra-local community and the consolidation of West Saxon/Gewissan power in the immediate vicinity of the royal heartland.

This pattern of supra-local isolated burials appears to be unique to the Abingdon to Dorchester area. The supra-local cluster of 6th Century cemeteries in the Fairford and Lechlade area does not appear to have produced a corresponding group of isolated elite burials, and this suggests that this process of supra-local integration, consolidation and domination may have been specifically associated with the royal heartland.

The Windrush confluence is associated with several supra-local burials, but these supra-local burials appear to represent a separate phenomenon: unlike the supra-local burials of the Abingdon to Dorchester area, these supra-local burials do not appear to be associated with earlier Beta or Gamma cemeteries, nor do they form a ring around the Windrush confluence; instead, these burials

– Rollright, Asthall, Cokethorpe and Ducklington – appear to delineate the supra-regional border between the West Saxon/Gewissan kingdom and Mercia.

The 7th Century therefore saw the development of supra-regional identities associated with the West Saxon/Gewissan and Mercian kingdoms, but it also saw the continued development of more local communities. The Abingdon to Dorchester area probably became more important with the formation of the West Saxon/Gewissan kingdom, expanding and integrating neighbouring communities into the royal heartland, while the Fairford to Lechlade area still remained important, and a new core area of activity also emerged around the Windrush confluence.

5.2 The Distribution of Burial Wealth

5.2.1 The Long Sixth Century

During the long 6th Century, the male and female average artefact counts and the combined normalized male and female average artefact count of each cemetery suggest significant differences in burial wealth across the Upper Thames Valley (full data available in **Appendix 1**).

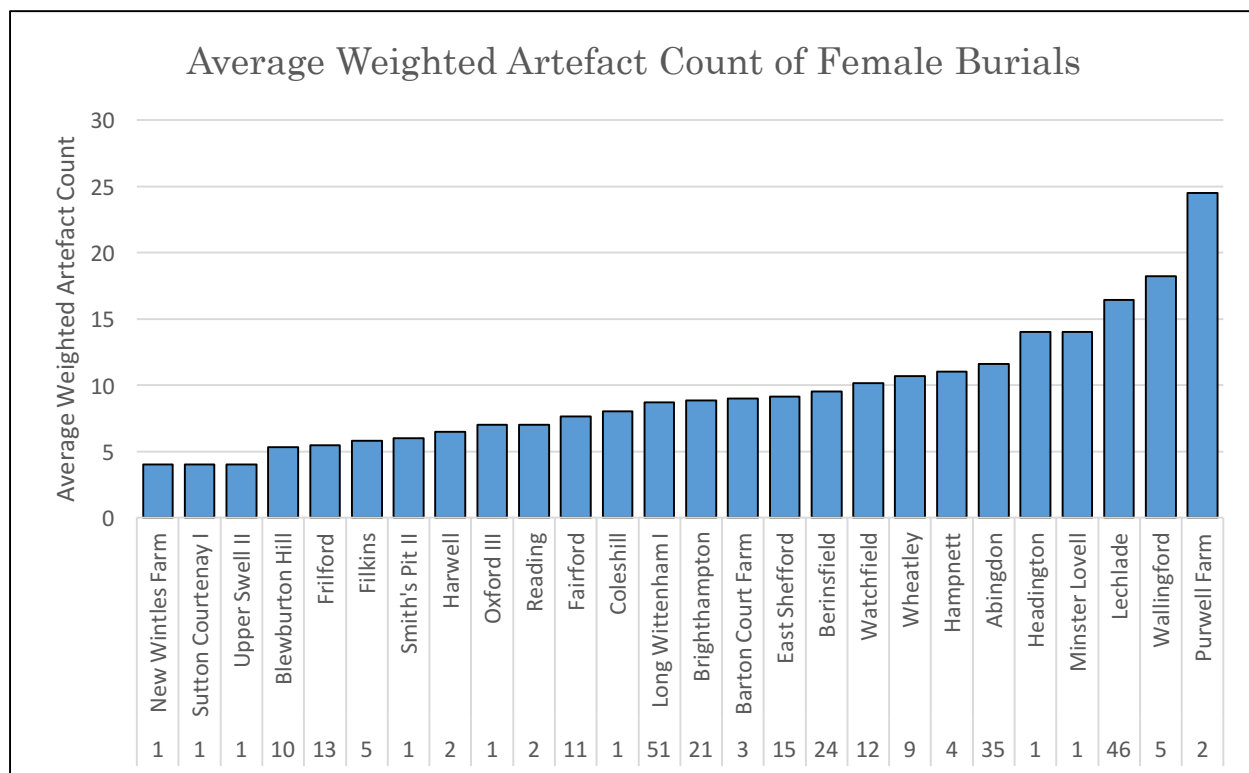
5.2.1.1 Average Female Burial Wealth

The average weighted artefact count of female burials suggests very significant differences in the average wealth of different burying communities in the Upper Thames Valley (Graph 5.5-6; Fig.5.22). The exceptional burial wealth of Purwell Farm, Minster Lovell and Headington may be based on unrepresentative samples, but the average artefact count of Wallingford is probably more reliable, and Lechlade has produced both the largest sample of female burials in the study area and one of the highest average weighted artefact counts in the study area.

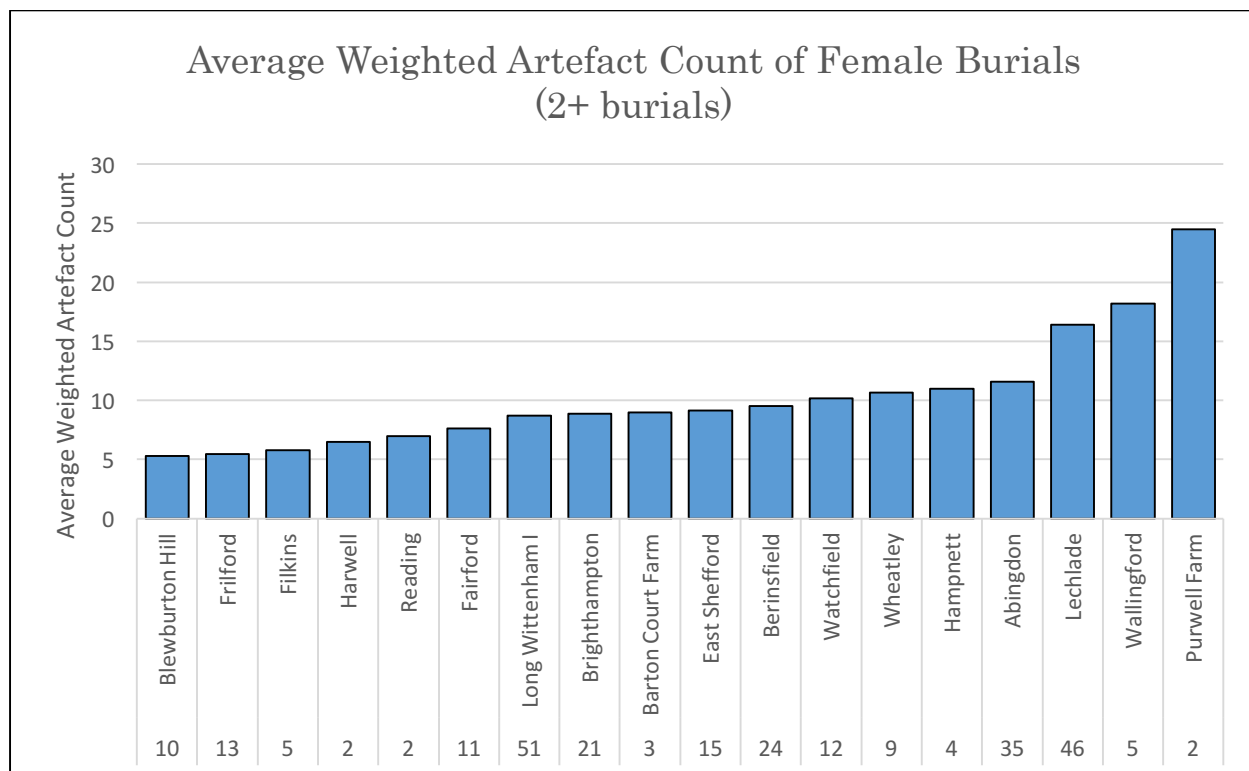
The other large cemeteries exhibit substantially lower average artefact counts than Lechlade, but there are still significant differences between these sites. The Alpha cemetery at Abingdon appears to be significantly wealthier than the Alpha cemetery at Fairford, while the Beta cemetery at Frilford appears to be exceptionally impoverished. The smaller Gamma cemeteries at Blewburton Hill and Filkins also appear to be particularly impoverished.

5.2.1.2 Average Male Burial Wealth

The average weighted artefact count of male burials also suggests significant differences in the average wealth of different burying communities in the Upper Thames Valley (Graph 5.7-8; Fig.5.23). The singular wealthy burials at Burford, Yarnton, West Hendred, Wanborough II, Minster Lovell and Eynsham Wytham View cannot be considered representative, but the



Graph 5.5: The average weighted artefact count of female gendered burials at each cemetery. The number of female gendered burials at each site is listed below the site names.



Graph 5.6: The average weighted artefact count of female gendered burials at each cemetery, only including those sites with two or more female gendered burials (see **Section 4.2.4.4**).

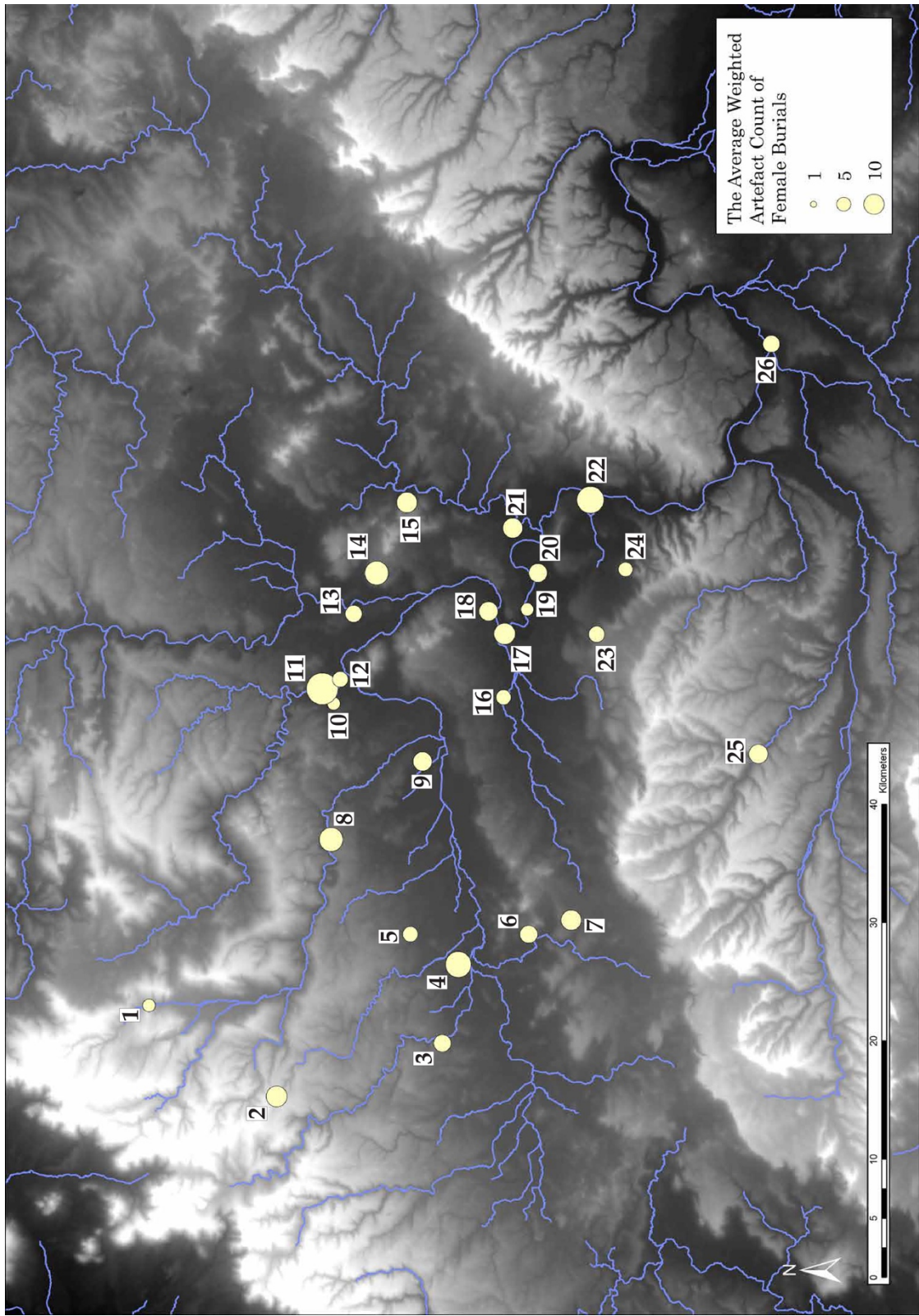
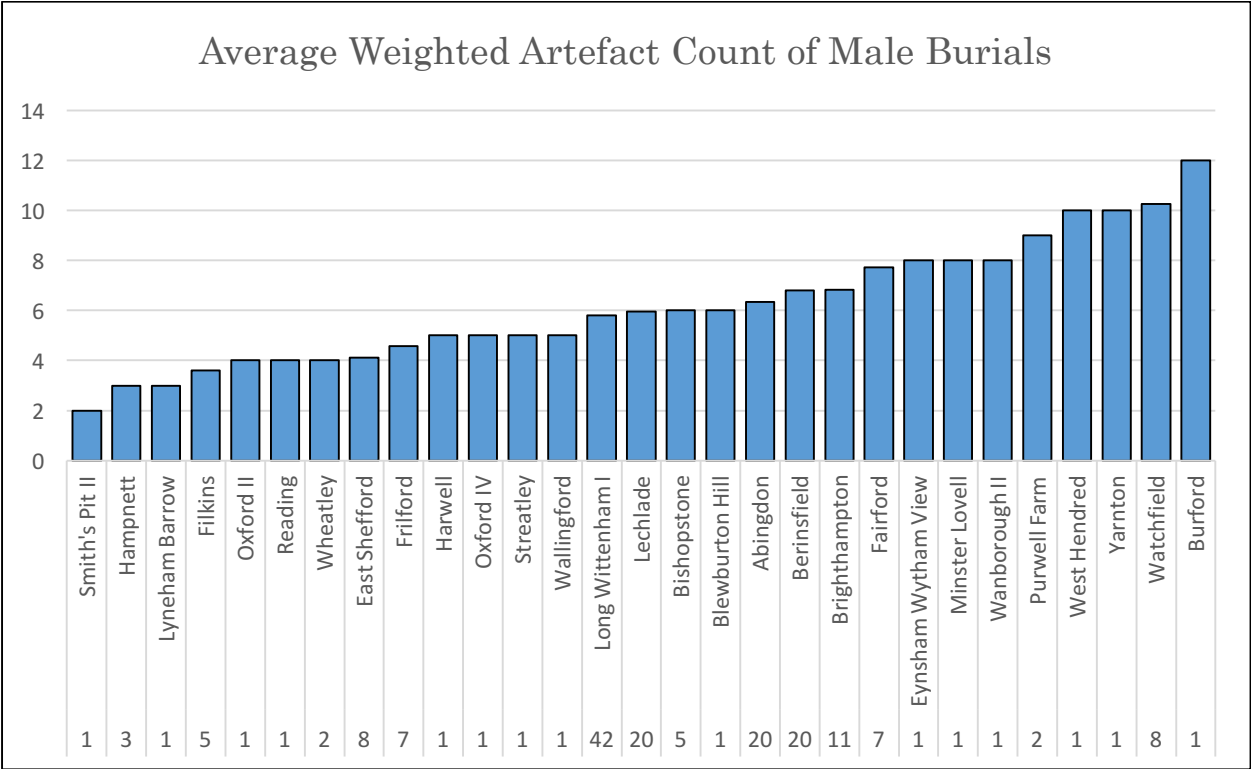
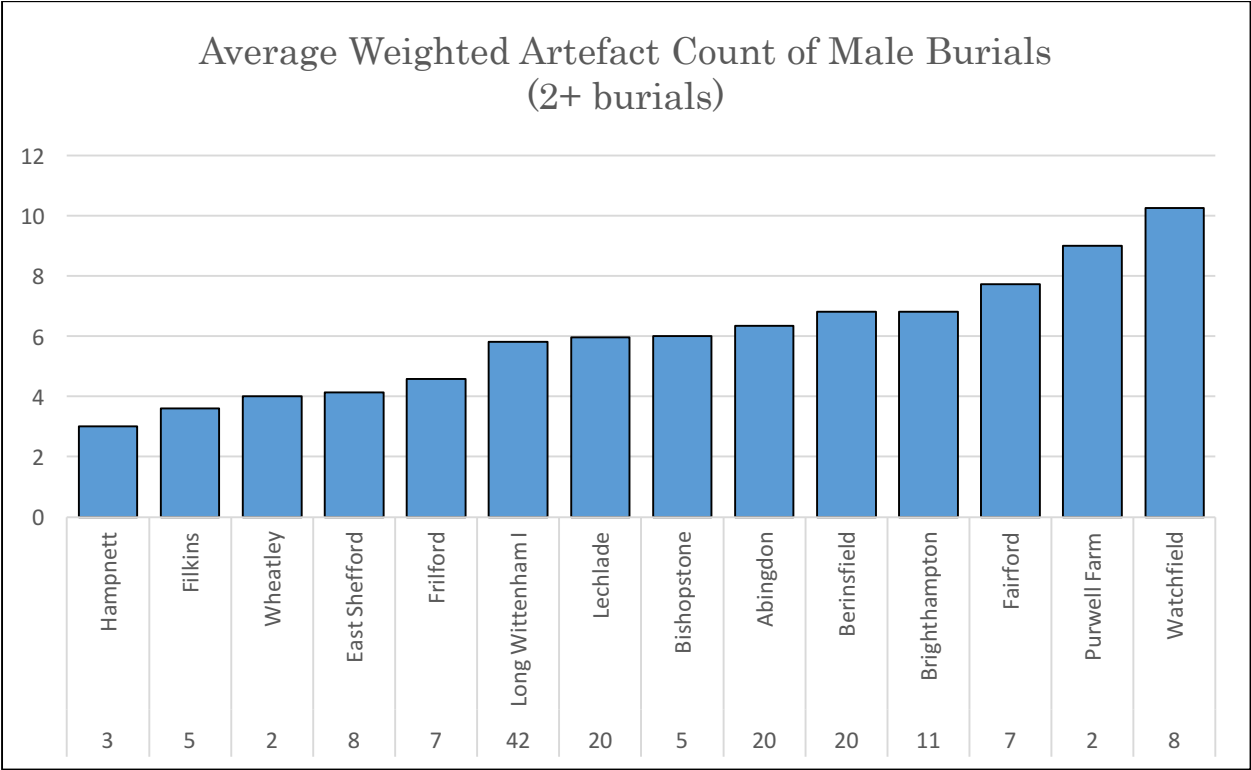


Figure 5.22: The average weighted artefact count of female gendered burials at each cemetery, displayed by proportional symbols (1. Upper Swell II 2. Hampnett 3. Fairford 4. Lechlade 5. Filkins 6. Coleshill 7. Watchfield 8. Minster Lovell 9. Brighthampton 10. New Wintles Farm 11. Purwell Farm 12. Smith's Pit II 13. Oxford III 14. Headington 15. Wheatley 16. Frilford 17. Abingdon 18. Barton Court Farm 19. Sutton Courtenay I 20. Long Wittenham I 21. Berinsfield 22. Wallingford 23. Harwell 24. Blewburton Hill 25. East Shefford 26. Reading).



Graph 5.7: The average weighted artefact count of male gendered burials at each cemetery. The number of male gendered burials at each site is listed below the site names.



Graph 5.8: The average weighted artefact count of male gendered burials at each cemetery, only including those sites with two or more male gendered burials (see Section 4.2.4.4).

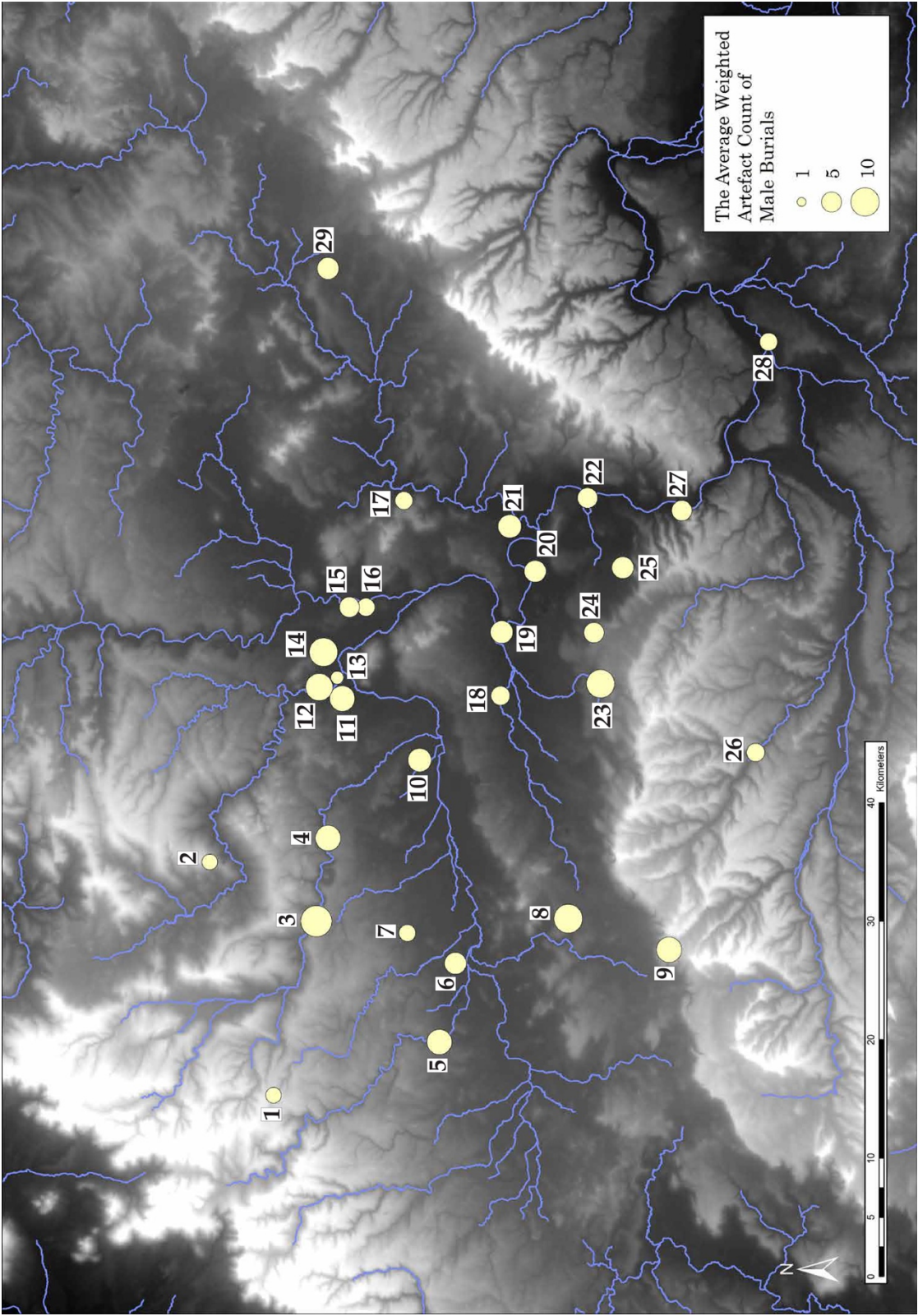


Figure 5.23: The average weighted artefact count of male gendered burials at each cemetery, displayed by proportional symbols (1. Hampnett 2. Lyneham Barrow 3. Burford 4. Minster Lovell 5. Fairford 6. Lechlade 7. Filkins 8. Watchfield 9. Wanborough II 10. Brighthampton 11. Eynsham Wytham View 12. Purwell Farm 13. Smith's Pit II 14. Yarnton 15. Oxford IV 16. Oxford 17. Wheatley 18. Frilford 19. Abingdon 20. Long Wittenham I 21. Berinsfield 22. Wallingford 23. West Hendred 24. Harwell 25. Blewburton Hill 26. East Shefford 27. Streatley 28. Reading 29. Bishopstone).

exceptional artefact count of Watchfield is based on a fairly large sample size, and the large cemetery at Fairford also appears to be significantly wealthier than the other large cemeteries.

The other Alpha and Beta cemeteries at Brighthampton, Berinsfield, Abingdon, Bishopstone, Lechlade and Long Wittenham I appear to have relatively similar average male artefact counts, but the Beta cemeteries at Frilford, East Shefford and Wheatley and the Gamma cemetery at Filkins appear to be significantly less wealthy.

5.2.1.3 Normalized Average Male and Female Burial Wealth

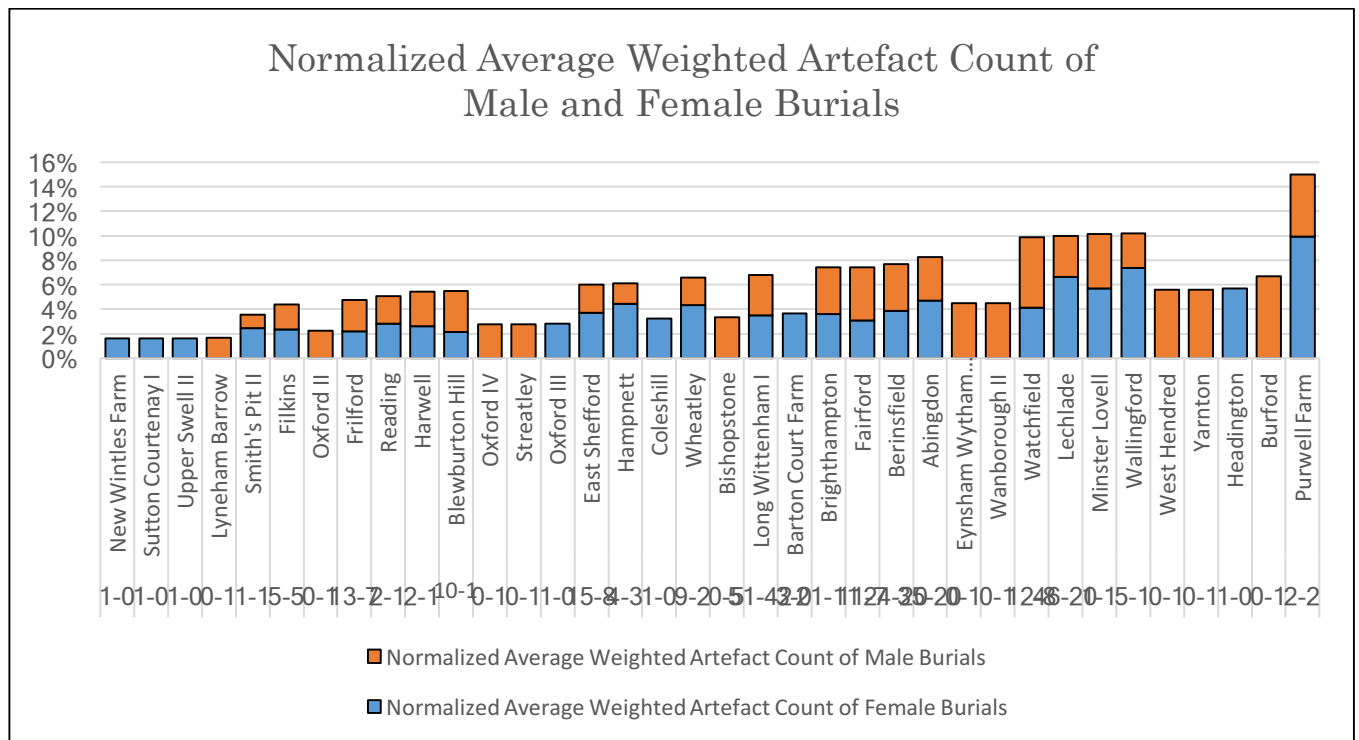
When the male and female average weighted artefact counts are normalized and combined (see **Section 4.2.3.2.5**), there again appear to be significant differences in the average burial wealth of the Upper Thames Valley cemeteries (Graph 5.9-10; Fig.5.24). The burial wealth of Burford, Headington, Yarnton, West Hendred and Minster Lovell is potentially based on unrepresentative samples, but Purwell Farm and Wallingford are probably more representative, and the exceptional burial wealth of Lechlade and Watchfield are based on substantial sample sizes, suggesting real differences in the burial wealth of these cemeteries.

The Alpha and Beta cemeteries at Abingdon, Berinsfield, Fairford, Brighthampton, Long Wittenham I, Bishopstone and Wheatley exhibit similar average burial wealth, but there are still potentially significant differences between these sites. Abingdon, Berinsfield, Fairford and Brighthampton appear to be slightly wealthier than Long Wittenham I, Bishopstone and Wheatley, and the Beta cemeteries at East Shefford and Frilford appear to be more impoverished. The Gamma cemeteries at Blewburton Hill and Filkins also appear to be impoverished.

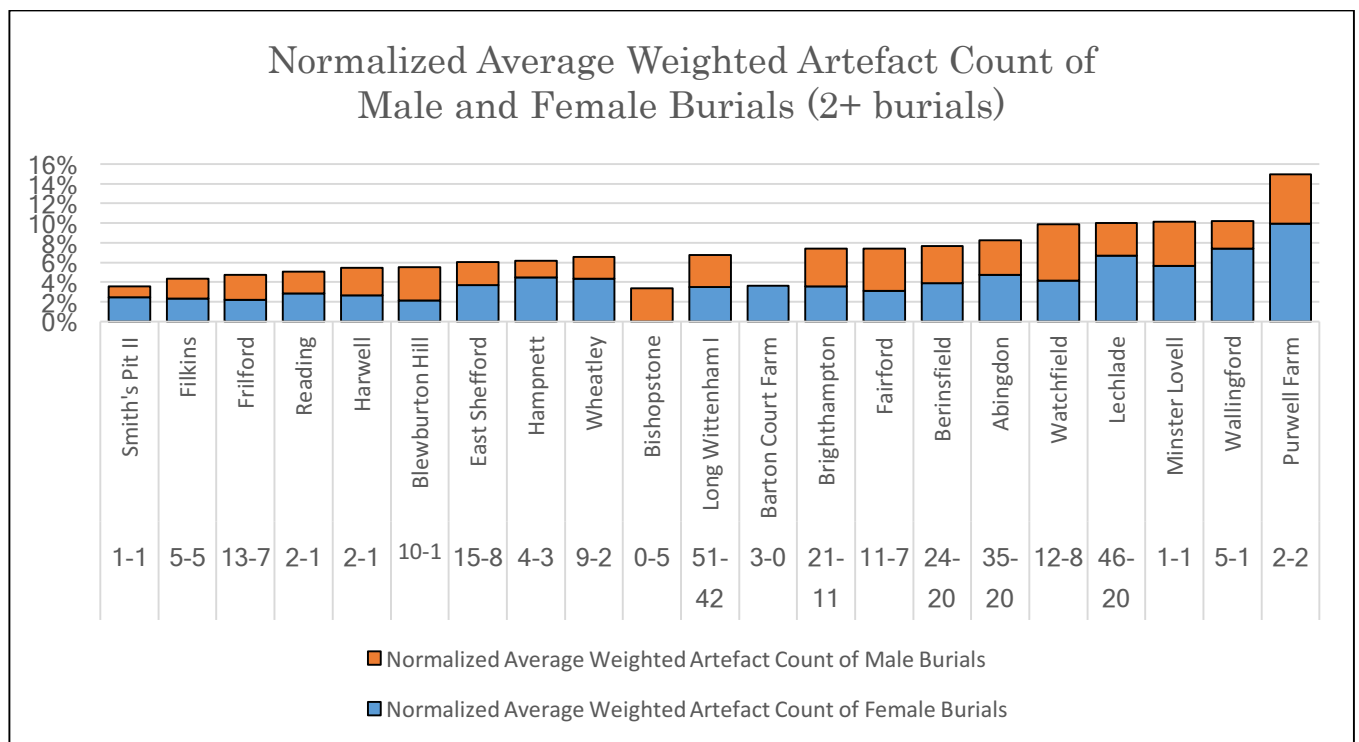
5.2.1.4 Normalized Average Artefact Count and Cemetery Size

The normalized average artefact count appears to be loosely correlated with cemetery size (Graph 5.11). All of the Alpha cemeteries are in the upper half of the burial wealth spectrum, and on average, the Alpha cemeteries are wealthier than the Beta cemeteries. The five wealthiest cemeteries form a more diverse group, but if these cemeteries are excluded, the Pearson's correlation coefficient between cemetery size and burial wealth is 0.6776 (1 being a direct correlation).

However, the relationship between burial wealth and cemetery size is probably conflated with the relationship between burial wealth and cemetery location. All of the largest cemeteries are located near the River Thames, which appears to have been a significant determiner of burial wealth.



Graph 5.9: The normalized average weighted artefact count of male and female burials at each cemetery (the vertical axis displays the percentage of the sum total of average weighted artefact counts of male and female burials for each cemetery; see **Section 4.2.3.2.5**) (the number of burials at each site is listed below the name: female burials on the left, male burials on the right).



Graph 5.10: The normalized average weighted artefact count of male and female burials at each cemetery, only including sites with at least two gendered burials (see **Section 4.2.4.4**).

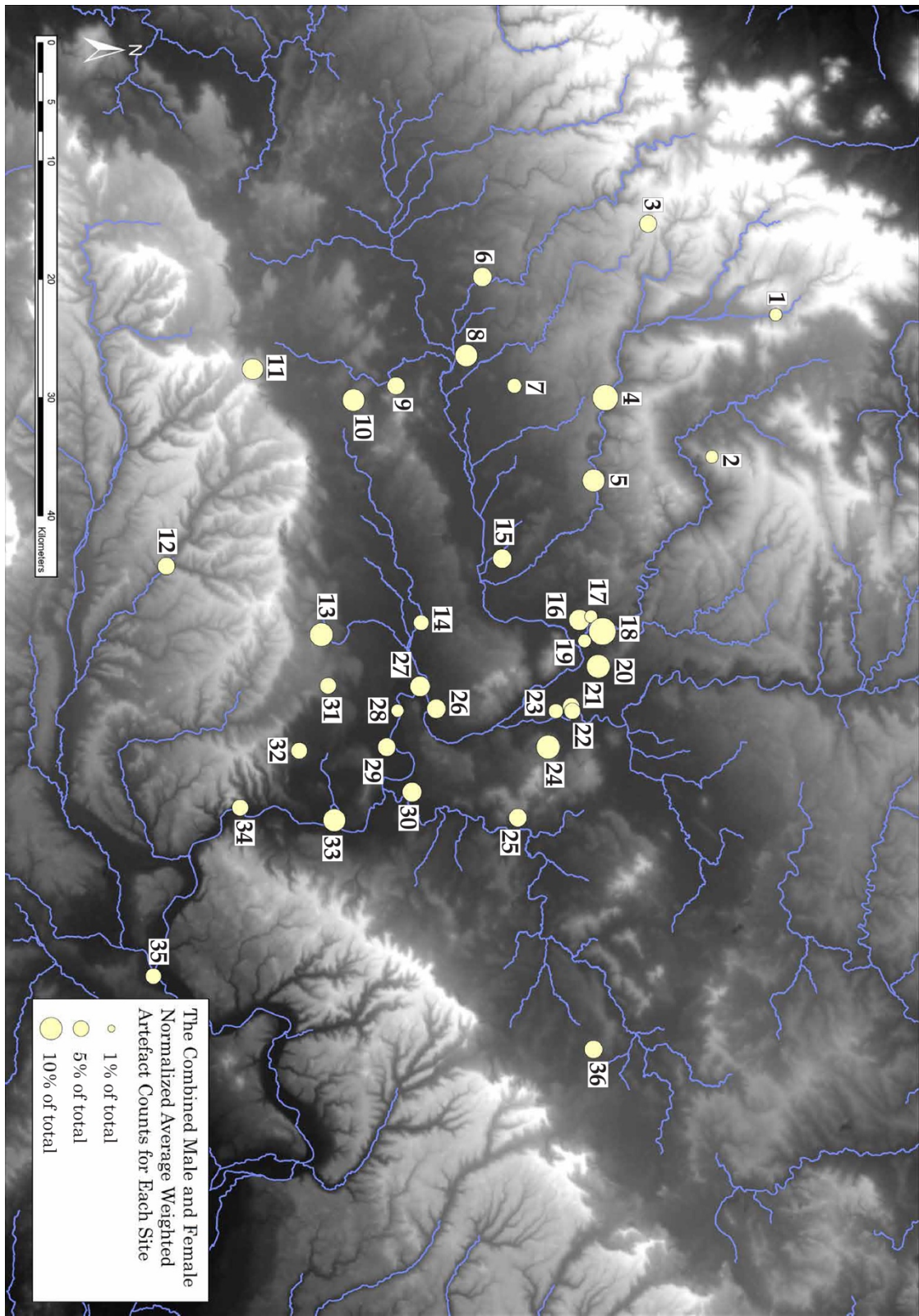
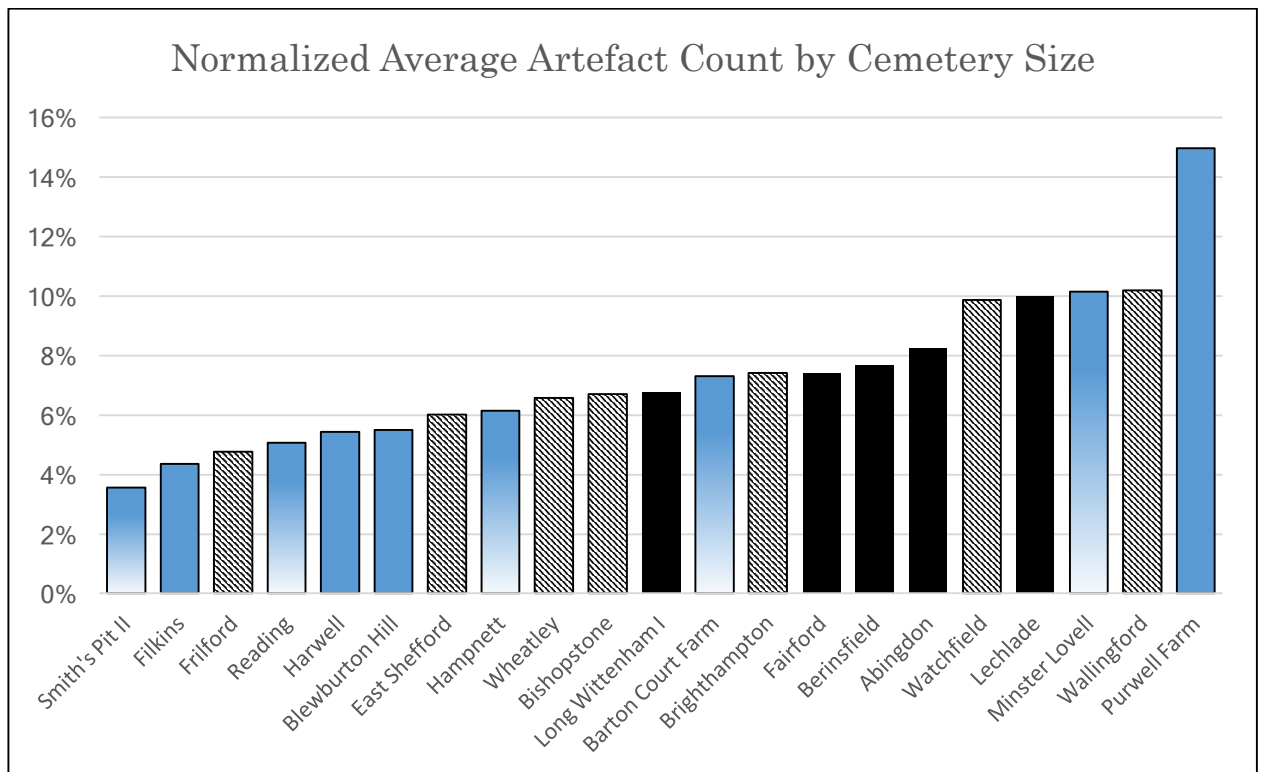


Figure 5.24: The combined normalized average weighted artefact count of male and female burials, displayed by proportional symbols (1. Upper Swell II 2. Lyneham Barrow 3. Hampnett 4. Burford 5. Minster Lovell 6. Fairford 7. Filkins 8. Lechlade 9. Coleshill 10. Watchfield 11. Wanborough II 12. East Shefford 13. West Hendred 14. Fritford 15. Brighthampton 16. Eynsham Wytham View 17. New Wintles Farm 18. Purwell Farm 19. Smith's Pit II 20. Yarnton 21. Oxford III 22. Oxford IV 23. Oxford II 24. Headington 25. Wheatley 26. Barton Court Farm 27. Abingdon 28. Sutton Courtenay I 29. Long Wittenham I 30. Berinsfield 31. Harwell 32. Blewburton Hill 33. Wallingford 34. Strealey 35. Reading 36. Bishopstone).



Graph 5.11: Comparing cemetery size with the normalized average artefact count of male and female burials (Alpha cemetery: solid black, Beta cemetery: hatched black, Gamma cemetery: solid blue, Delta cemetery: gradient blue).

5.2.1.5 Normalized Average Artefact Count and Cemetery Location

Burial wealth appears to be loosely correlated with proximity to the River Thames (Fig.5.25). With the exception of Minster Lovell and Watchfield, all of the cemeteries in the upper half of the burial wealth spectrum are located in the Thames basin, while most of the cemeteries in the bottom half of the burial wealth spectrum are located along tributaries of the Thames. Of the more impoverished cemeteries, only Reading and Smith's Pit II are located in the Thames basin.

This relationship between burial wealth and the natural hierarchy of the river network parallels the relationship between the river network and cemetery size (see **Section 5.1.1.3**), further confirming the importance of the river network in structuring the distribution of wealth and power and suggesting that the Thames basin, in particular, was an important corridor of socio-economic power (this is also supported by the riverine distribution of precious metals and imports; Hamerow *et al.* 2013, 54-7).

However, like the distribution of burials, the distribution of burial wealth appears to be only partially determined by the river network. Within the confines of the river network, burial wealth appears to be particularly concentrated in certain core areas.

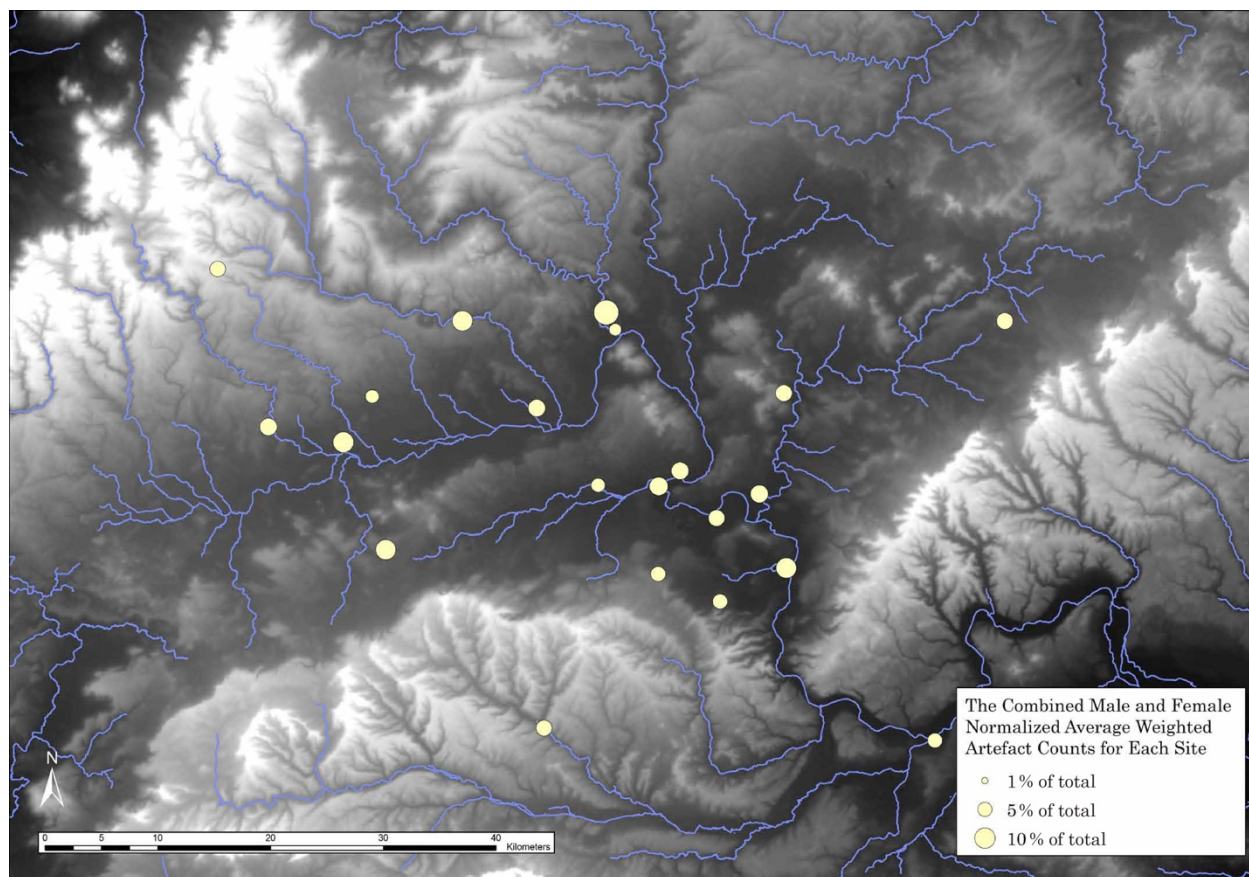


Figure 5.25: The normalized average artefact count of cemeteries with two or more gendered burials, showing the relationship between burial wealth and cemetery location.

5.2.1.6 The Spatial Distribution of Quantified Burial Wealth

There appear to be two supra-local concentrations of burial wealth, in the Fairford to Lechlade area and the Abingdon to Dorchester area, and two discrete concentrations of burial wealth around Minster Lovell and Purwell Farm (Fig.5.26).

The Fairford to Lechlade and Abingdon to Dorchester areas have previously been identified as the core concentrations of burial activity in the Upper Thames Valley (see **Section 5.1.1.2**), and these supra-local concentrations of burial activity also appear to have produced supra-local concentrations of burial wealth (Fig.5.27).

Watchfield and Lechlade are the two wealthiest large cemeteries in the study area, and Fairford is also among the wealthier large cemeteries (Graph 5.10). Meanwhile, Wallingford is the second wealthiest cemetery in the study area, and Abingdon and Berinsfield are the wealthiest large cemeteries after Lechlade and Watchfield, while Barton Court Farm and Long Wittenham I fall slightly behind Fairford.

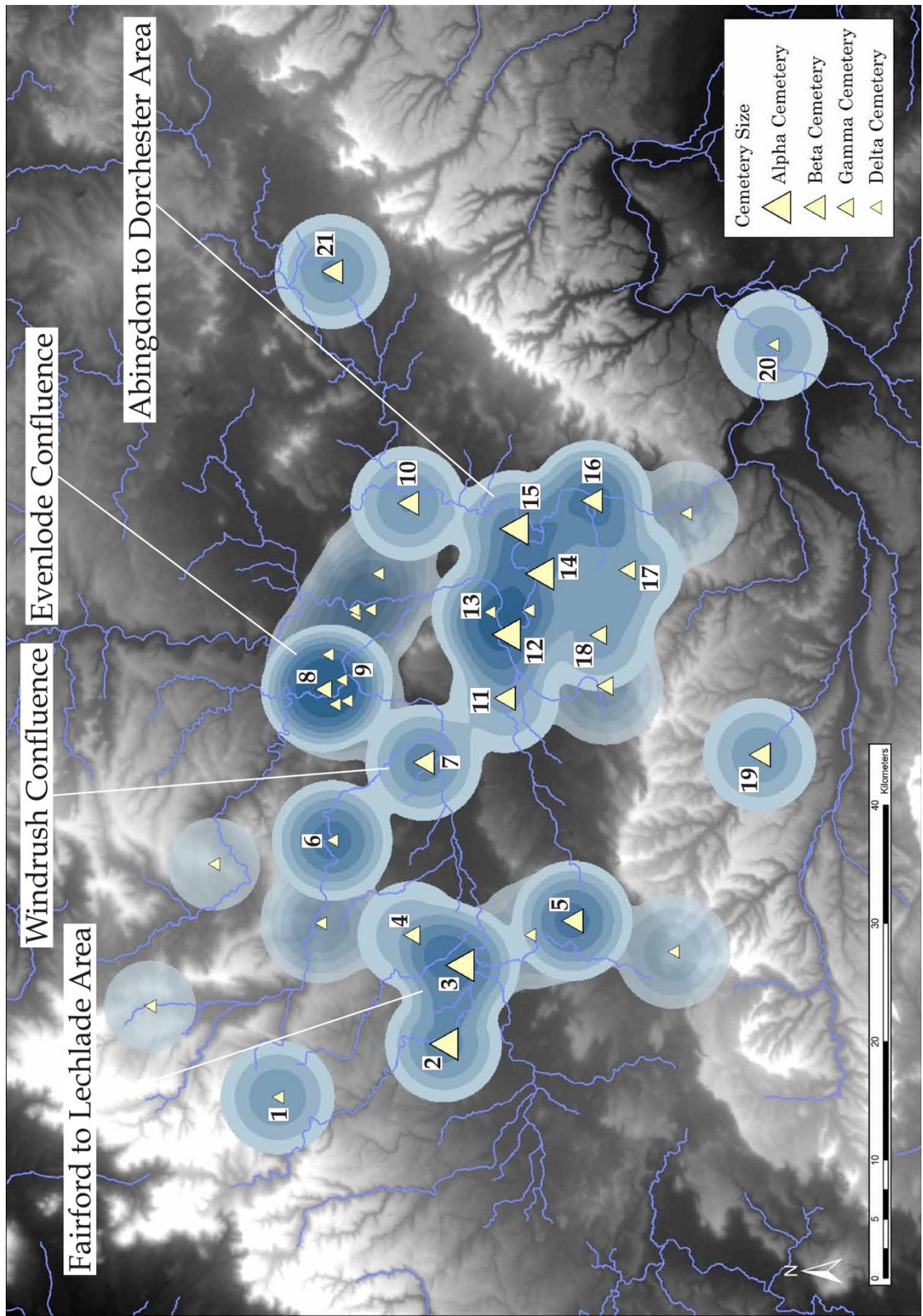


Figure 5.26: The two-layer kernel density of the normalized average artefact count. Top layer kernel density (0% transparency): cemeteries with 2+ gendered burials (see Graph 5.10). Bottom layer kernel density (30% transparency): all cemeteries (see Graph 5.9) (see **Section 4.2.3.2.6**).
(1. Hampnett 2. Fairford 3. Lechlade 4. Filkins 5. Watchfield 6. Minster Lovell 7. Brighthampton 8. Purwell Farm 9. Smith's Pit II 10. Wheatley 11. Frilford 12. Abingdon 13. Barton Court Farm 14. Long Wittenham I 15. Berinsfield 16. Wallingford 17. Blewburton Hill 18. Harwell 19. East Shefford 20. Reading 21. Bishopstone).

The Fairford to Lechlade and Abingdon to Dorchester areas therefore appear to be the largest and most robust concentrations of both burials and burial wealth in the Upper Thames Valley, and these two variables were almost certainly related. The concentration of large cemeteries in these two areas and the links between these cemeteries, via the river network, have previously been suggested to represent the makings of socio-political complexity and socio-economic power (see **Section 5.1.1.3**), and this appears to be borne out in the concentration of burial wealth in these two core areas.

The third most significant concentration of burial wealth, at Purwell Farm, is more difficult to interpret. The location of Purwell Farm, at the Evenlode confluence, parallels that of the Alpha cemeteries in the Fairford to Lechlade and Abingdon to Dorchester areas, and Purwell Farm has produced the highest normalized average artefact count in the study area; moreover, singular wealthy burials have also been recovered from the neighbouring sites at Yarnton and Eynsham Wytham View. However, these singular wealthy burials cannot be considered representative, and the larger cemeteries in the Fairford to Lechlade and Abingdon to Dorchester areas have produced substantially wealthier individual burials. Therefore, without a larger sample size, it is difficult to determine the wealth of Purwell Farm and the wider Evenlode confluence.

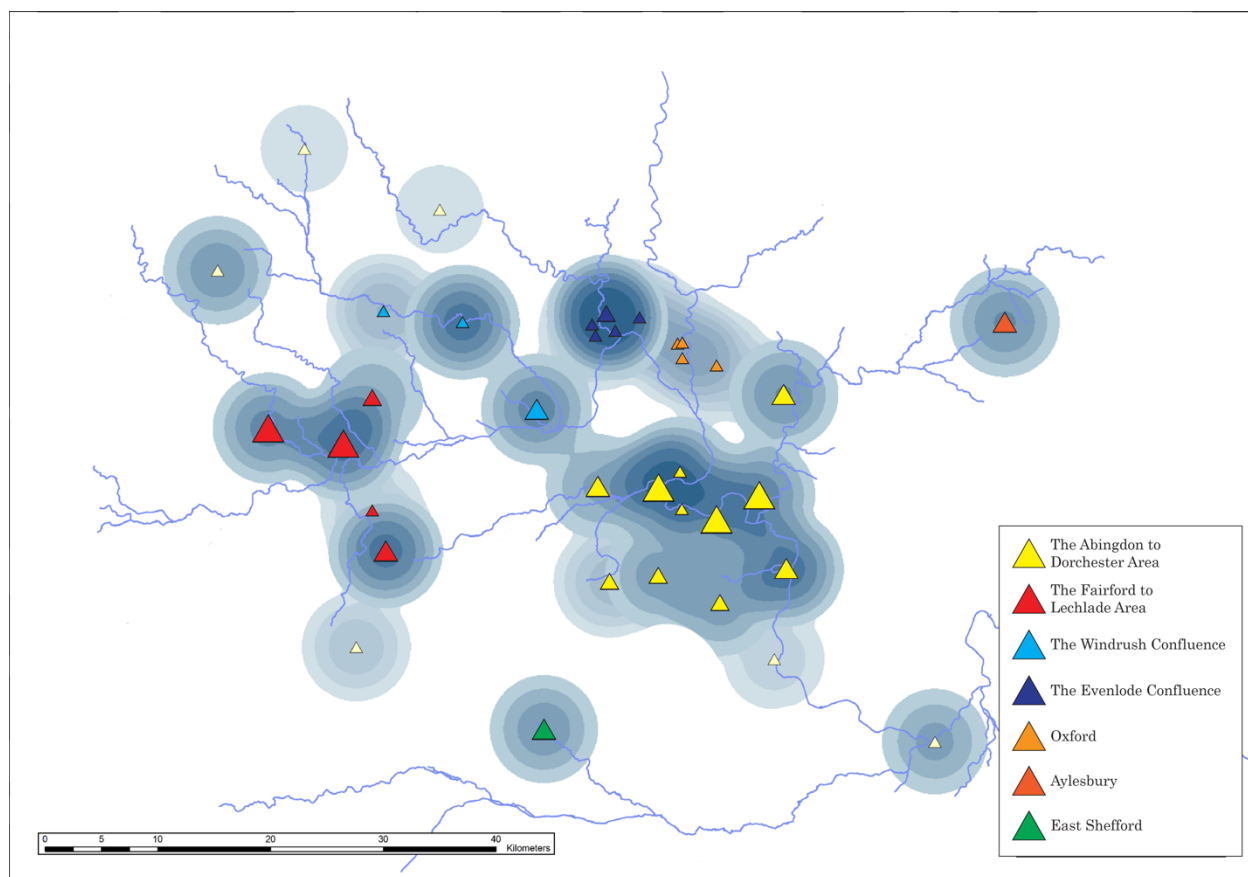


Figure 5.27: Burial wealth and burying communities (the kernel density is the same as Fig.5.26).

The concentration of burial wealth at Minster Lovell is even more difficult to interpret. With an even smaller sample size than Purwell Farm and no other intact burial sites in the area, Minster Lovell cannot compare with the more robust concentrations of wealth in the Fairford to Lechlade and Abingdon to Dorchester areas.

Minster Lovell may be related to the Beta cemetery at Brighthampton, which was located downstream from Minster Lovell, at the Windrush confluence (Fig.5.27). The location of Brighthampton and its relationship with Minster Lovell resembles the location of Lechlade and its relationship with Watchfield, but Brighthampton appears to be isolated, lying in between the two core areas of burials and burial wealth, and the burial wealth of Brighthampton lags behind the wealthiest cemeteries of the Fairford to Lechlade and Abingdon to Dorchester areas. Based on current evidence, Brighthampton and the Windrush confluence therefore cannot compare with the core areas of burials and burial wealth.

The cemeteries at Bishopstone, East Shefford and Hampnett appear to be third tier communities, lagging behind Brighthampton and well behind the Fairford to Lechlade and Abingdon to Dorchester areas (Fig.5.27). Bishopstone and East Shefford are poorly recorded, and they may have originally been larger and wealthier, but based on the normalized average artefact count, they cannot compare with Brighthampton or the Fairford to Lechlade and Abingdon to Dorchester areas.

The cemeteries in the Oxford area appear to represent a fourth tier community, although the known burials may be unrepresentative (Fig.5.27). Like Brighthampton, at the Windrush confluence, and Purwell Farm, at the Evenlode confluence, the location of Oxford at the Cherwell confluence resembles the locations of the Alpha cemeteries in the Fairford to Lechlade and Abingdon to Dorchester areas, but the known cemeteries from the Oxford area are small and the intact burials are uniformly impoverished.

5.2.1.7 The Distribution of High Status Artefacts

Many of the cemeteries with the highest average artefact counts also exhibit the widest array of rare, imported or otherwise exceptional artefacts. The core concentrations of quantified burial wealth, around the Fairford to Lechlade and Abingdon to Dorchester areas, also stand out as the primary clusters of high status artefacts (Fig.5.28).

This appears to be largely a function of the size of these cemeteries. Unlike the average weighted artefact count, the distribution of high status artefacts is not a relative metric, and as such, cemeteries with large numbers of excavated burials will also typically produce the widest array of

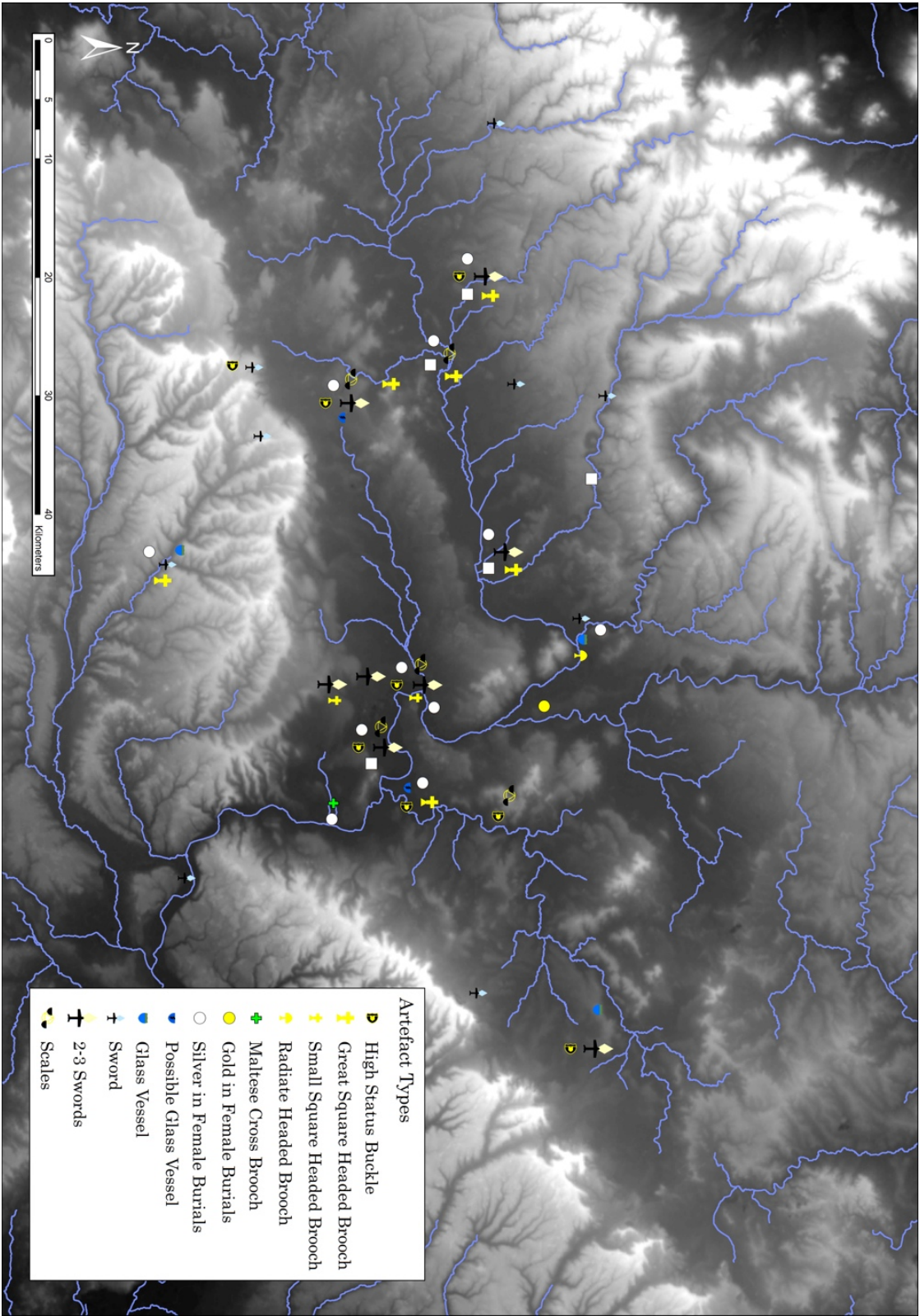


Figure 5.28: The distribution of rare, imported or otherwise high status artefacts.

high status artefacts. The Fairford to Lechlade and Abingdon to Dorchester areas therefore appear to be the core concentrations of high status artefacts because they are the core concentrations of large cemeteries.

Outside of these two core areas, the Beta cemeteries at Brighthampton and East Shefford also stand out for their high status artefacts, although neither of these sites has produced a particularly high average artefact count.

Only the Evenlode confluence and the Vale of Aylesbury have produced concentrations of high status artefacts that are not related to large cemeteries. The Evenlode confluence – home to the small cemeteries at Purwell Farm, Yarnton, Eynsham Wytham View and Smith's Pit II – has produced a cluster of high status artefacts from numerous different small cemeteries. This suggests that the Evenlode confluence was an important area, despite its apparent lack of large cemeteries.

The concentration of high status artefacts in the Vale of Aylesbury also resembles a large cemetery, but like the Evenlode confluence, the artefacts in the Aylesbury area come from several small and/or poorly recorded cemeteries. The Vale of Aylesbury may have also been an important area, but many of the potentially important cemeteries were severely disturbed during the urban development of Aylesbury itself.

The concentrations of high status artefacts in the small cemeteries of the Evenlode confluence and the Vale of Aylesbury are unusual, but high status artefacts do not appear to have been restricted to the largest, or even the wealthiest, burying communities. Swords, silver, high status buckles, rare brooch types, and even glass vessels have been found at numerous smaller cemeteries. Even the wealthiest Alpha and Beta cemeteries do not appear to share a common set of high status artefacts. Lechlade and Berinsfield, for example, have yet to produce any sword burials, and Watchfield, Abingdon and Long Wittenham I have yet to produce great square headed brooches.

Nevertheless, the core areas of burial and burial wealth – the Fairford to Lechlade and Abingdon to Dorchester areas – do appear to have had better access to certain materials and/or artefact types. The only small cemetery with a square headed brooch – Coleshill – is located on the River Cole, between Watchfield and Lechlade, and the only small cemetery with two recorded sword burials – Harwell – is located just south of the Abingdon to Dorchester area (Eleanor Standley, Assistant Keeper of the Ashmolean Museum, has recently discovered a second sword attributed to Harwell in the Ashmolean collection). Moreover, one particularly significant artefact type – scale and balance sets – appears to be entirely restricted to the Fairford to Lechlade and Abingdon to Dorchester areas. Scale and balance sets have been suggested to represent direct bullion

transactions with Kent (Scull 1990), and it is therefore particularly interesting that this evidence for supra-regional exchange is restricted to the two core areas of burial and burial wealth. This may simply be a vagary of survival, but the Origins of Wessex pilot project has previously shown that imported artefacts also appear to be concentrated in the Fairford to Lechlade and Abingdon to Dorchester areas (Hamerow *et al.* 2013, 56-7).

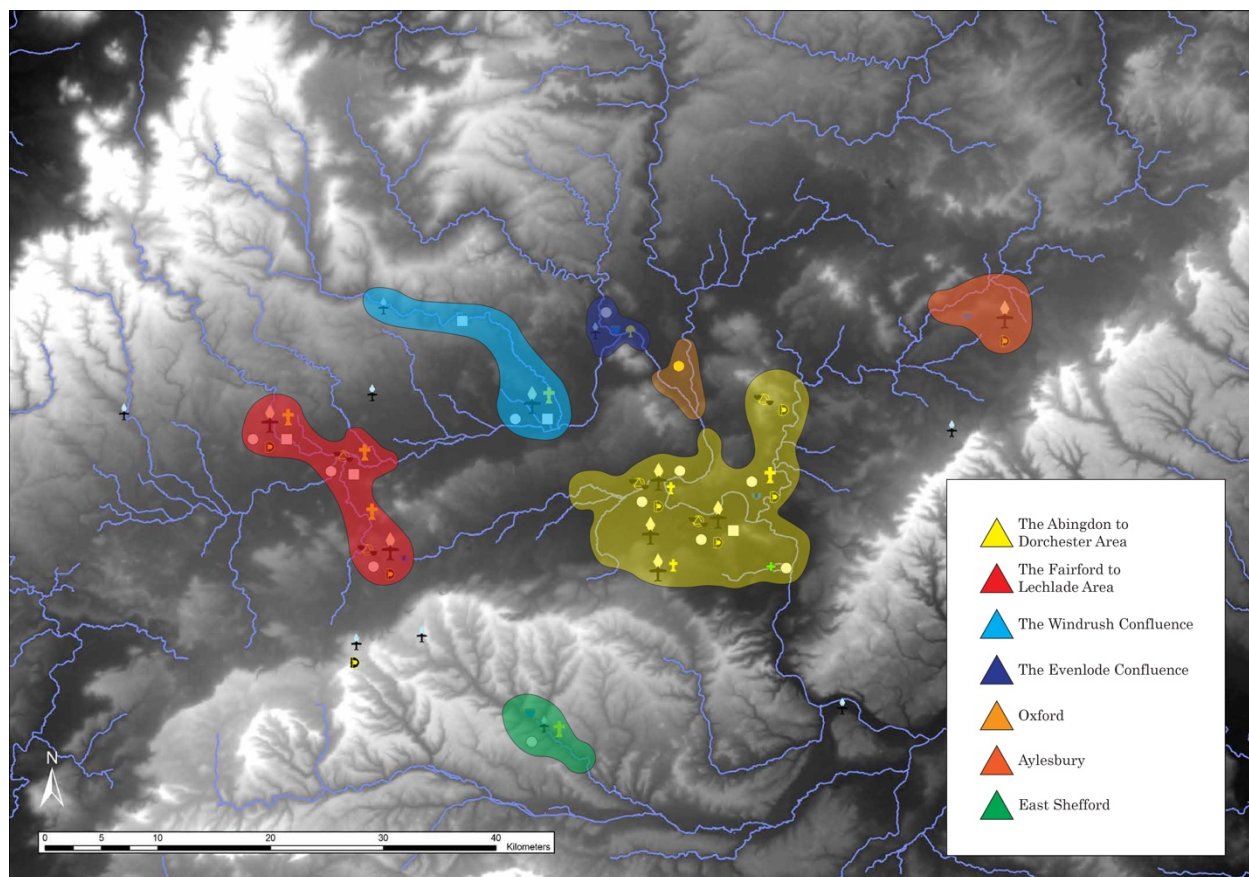


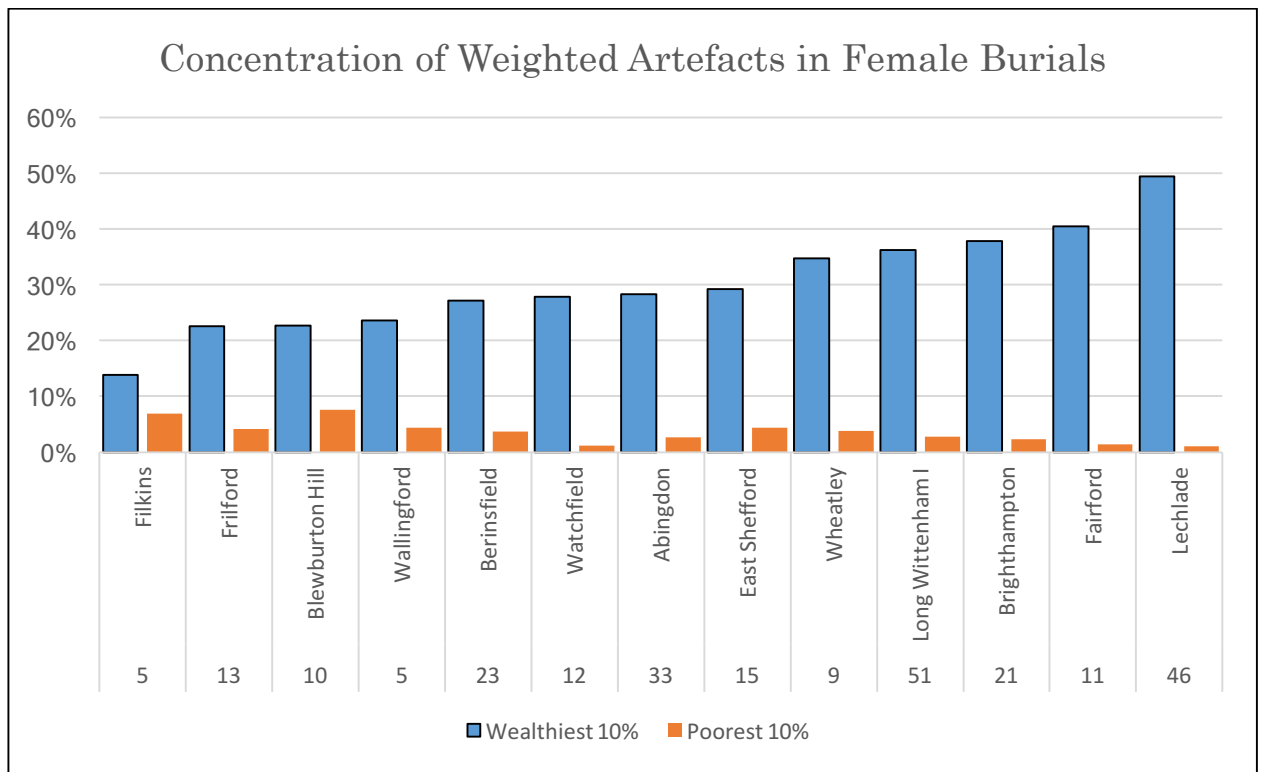
Figure 5.29: High status artefacts and burying communities.

5.2.1.8 Individual Quantified Burial Wealth

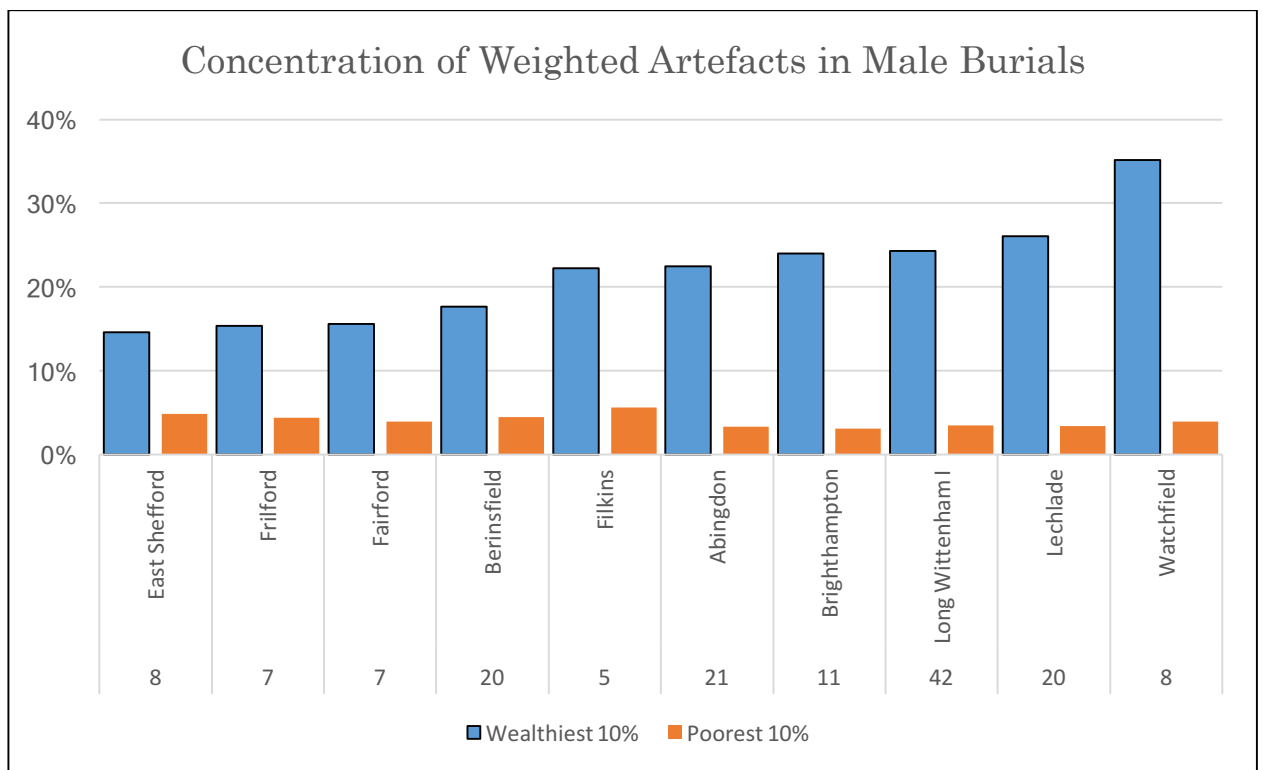
The Fairford to Lechlade and Abingdon to Dorchester areas also exhibit the greatest concentration of burial wealth within individual burials, both in terms of the wealthiest individual burials and in terms of the percentage of wealth concentrated in these exceptional burials.

5.2.1.8.1 The Concentration of Burial Wealth in the Wealthiest and Poorest 10% of Burials

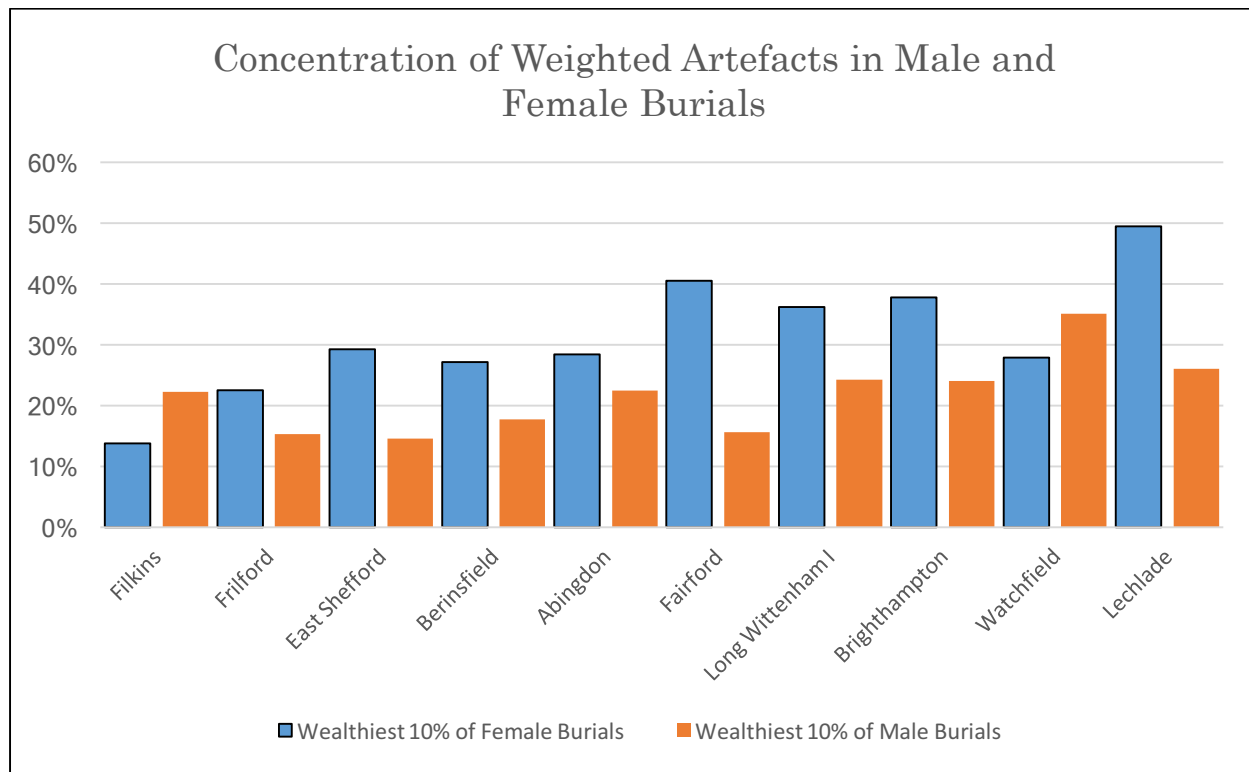
The percentage of the total weighted artefact count of each cemetery that was concentrated in the wealthiest 10% of burials and the poorest 10% of burials of that particular cemetery is a metric of wealth inequality (see **Section 4.2.3.4.2**), and the level of wealth inequality within each burying community is used in this study as a proxy for hierarchy, socio-political complexity and socio-economic power, as more complex communities tend to have greater inequality and more unequal communities tend to be more powerful.



Graph 5.12: The percentage of the total weighted artefact count of each cemetery that was concentrated in the wealthiest and poorest 10% of female burials at each cemetery (see Section 4.2.3.4.2).



Graph 5.13: The percentage of the total weighted artefact count of each cemetery that was concentrated in the wealthiest and poorest 10% of male burials at each cemetery (see Section 4.2.3.4.2).



Graph 5.14: The percentage of the total weighted artefact count of each cemetery that was concentrated in the wealthiest 10% of female and male burials at each cemetery (the cemeteries are ranked by averaging the percent of artefacts in the wealthiest male and female burials at each cemetery).

The cemeteries of the Fairford to Lechlade area consistently exhibit the most extreme wealth inequality in both male and female burials. Lechlade and Fairford exhibit the greatest inequality in female burial wealth, and Watchfield and Lechlade exhibit the greatest inequality in male burial wealth. When the percentages of the total weighted artefact count in the wealthiest 10% of male and female burials are averaged, Lechlade and Watchfield exhibit the greatest combined burial wealth inequality in the study area. This suggests that the burying communities of the Fairford to Lechlade area were the most hierarchically organized communities in the Upper Thames Valley at this time.

Interestingly, the most unequal cemeteries – Lechlade and Watchfield – have also produced the highest average weighted artefact count of any large cemetery in the study area, suggesting a correlation between the overall burial wealth of a cemetery and the concentration of burial wealth in a few exceptional burials (see **Section 5.2.1.8.2** for the wealthiest burials in each cemetery).

Long Wittenham I and Brighthampton fall just behind Lechlade and Watchfield with the third and fourth greatest wealth inequality. However, the cemeteries at Abingdon and Berinsfield exhibit less inequality, and with the exception of Long Wittenham I, it would appear that the cemeteries of the Abingdon to Dorchester area were less hierarchically organized than the cemeteries of the

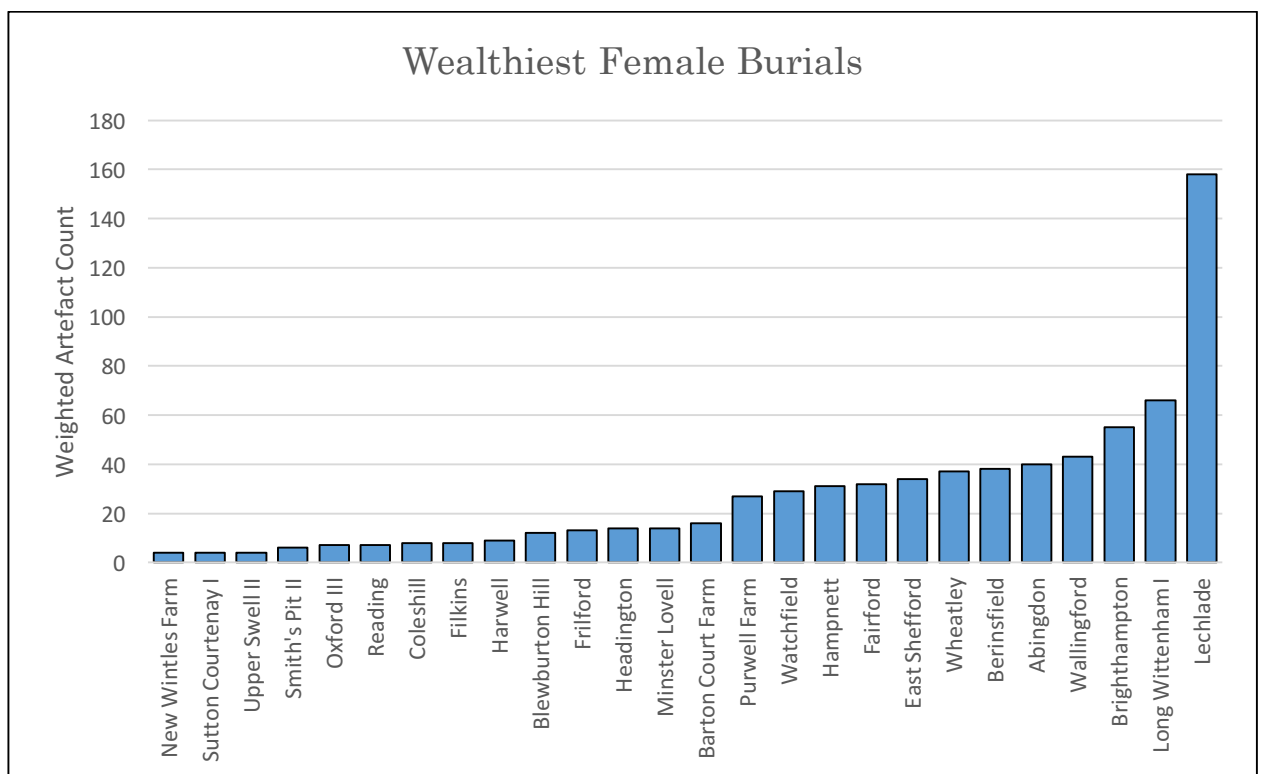
Fairford to Lechlade area. The female burials at Wallingford, which were probably part of the Abingdon to Dorchester area, also exhibit a relatively low level of wealth inequality.

The more impoverished cemeteries at East Shefford, Frilford, Blewburton Hill and Filkins also exhibit a lower degree of wealth inequality, although this is at least partially a consequence of the limited scale of wealth interred in these cemeteries.

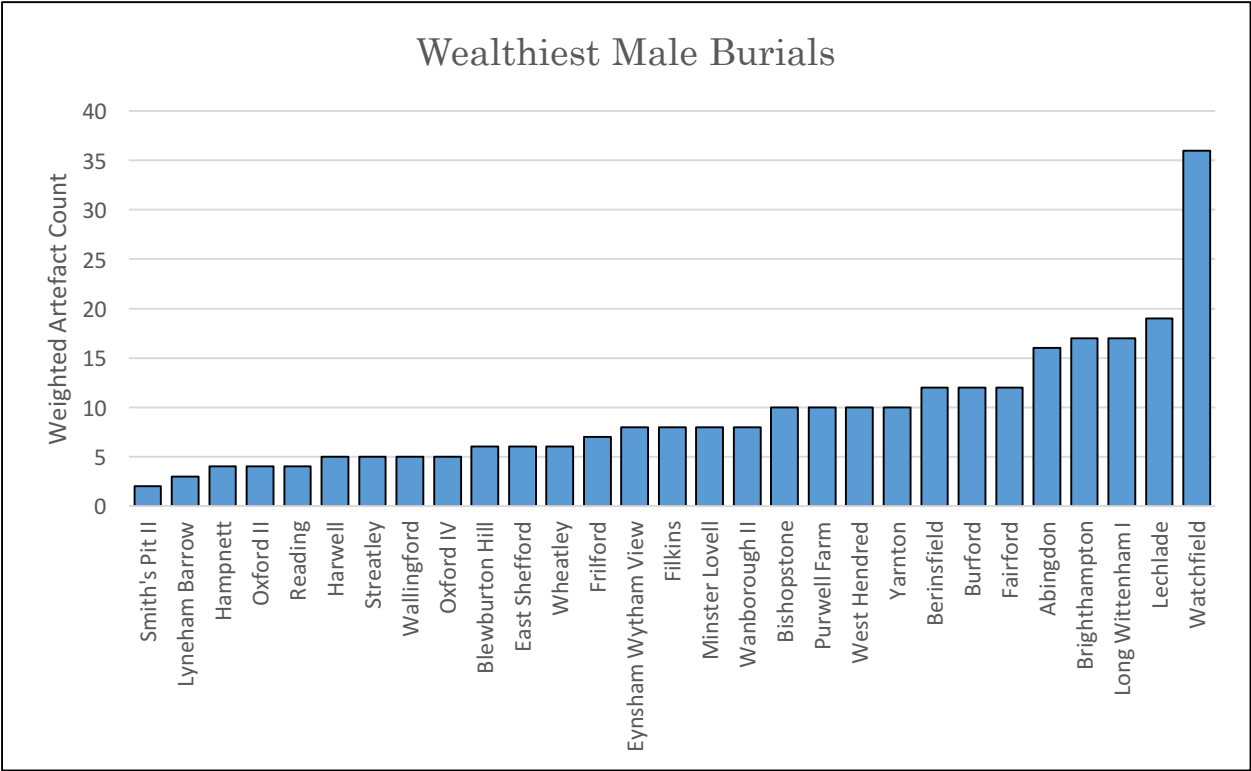
5.2.1.8.2 The Wealthiest Burials

The wealthiest individual burials at each cemetery provide an indication of the ability and willingness of each burying community to dispose of material wealth in an individual burial, and as such, these burials are a metric of both the overall wealth of the burying community and the hierarchy and socio-political complexity of the community.

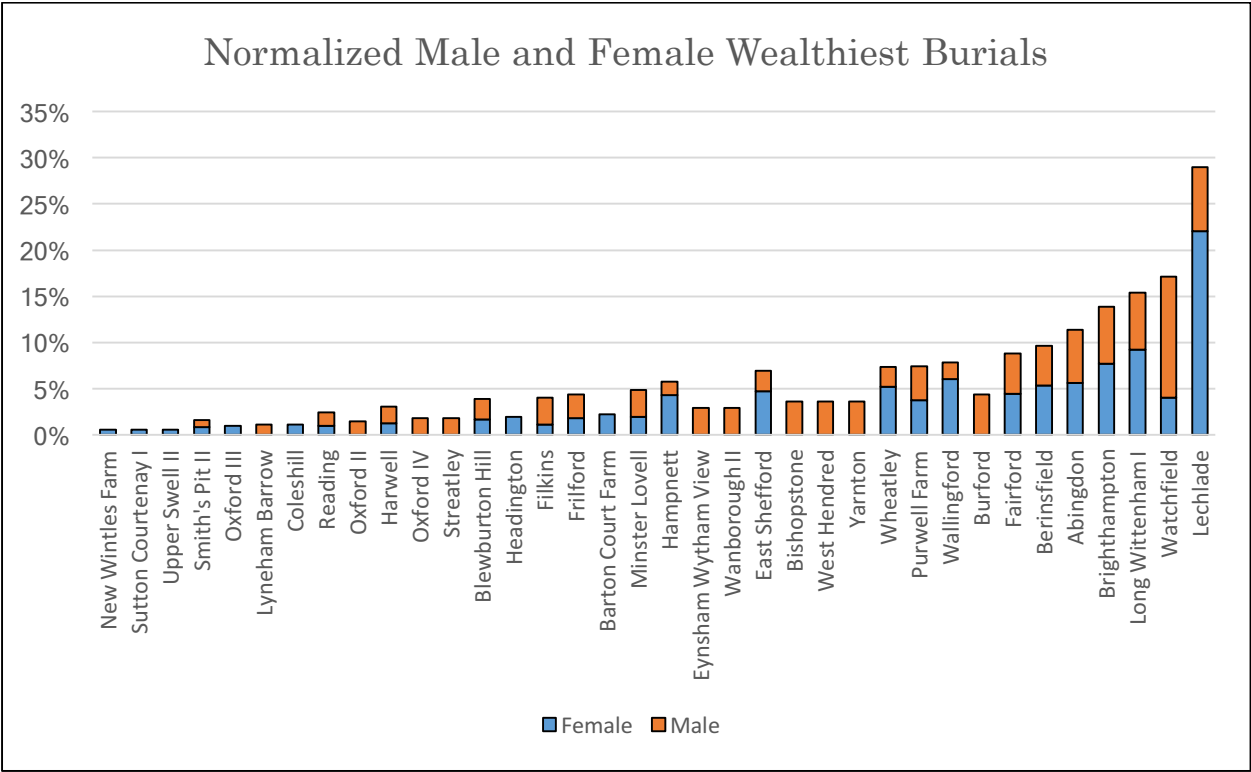
Lechlade and Watchfield, the wealthiest large cemeteries and the cemeteries with the greatest male and female burial wealth inequality, have also produced the wealthiest individual male and female burials in the study area (Graph 5.15-17). In fact, Lechlade has produced not only the wealthiest female burial in the study area, it has produced the top *three* wealthiest female burials in the study area, unequivocally setting Lechlade apart as the most hierarchically organized 6th Century cemetery in the study area.



Graph 5.15: The single wealthiest female gendered burials from each cemetery.



Graph 5.16: The single wealthiest male gendered burials from each cemetery.



Graph 5.17: The male and female single wealthiest burials from each site, combined using normalization.

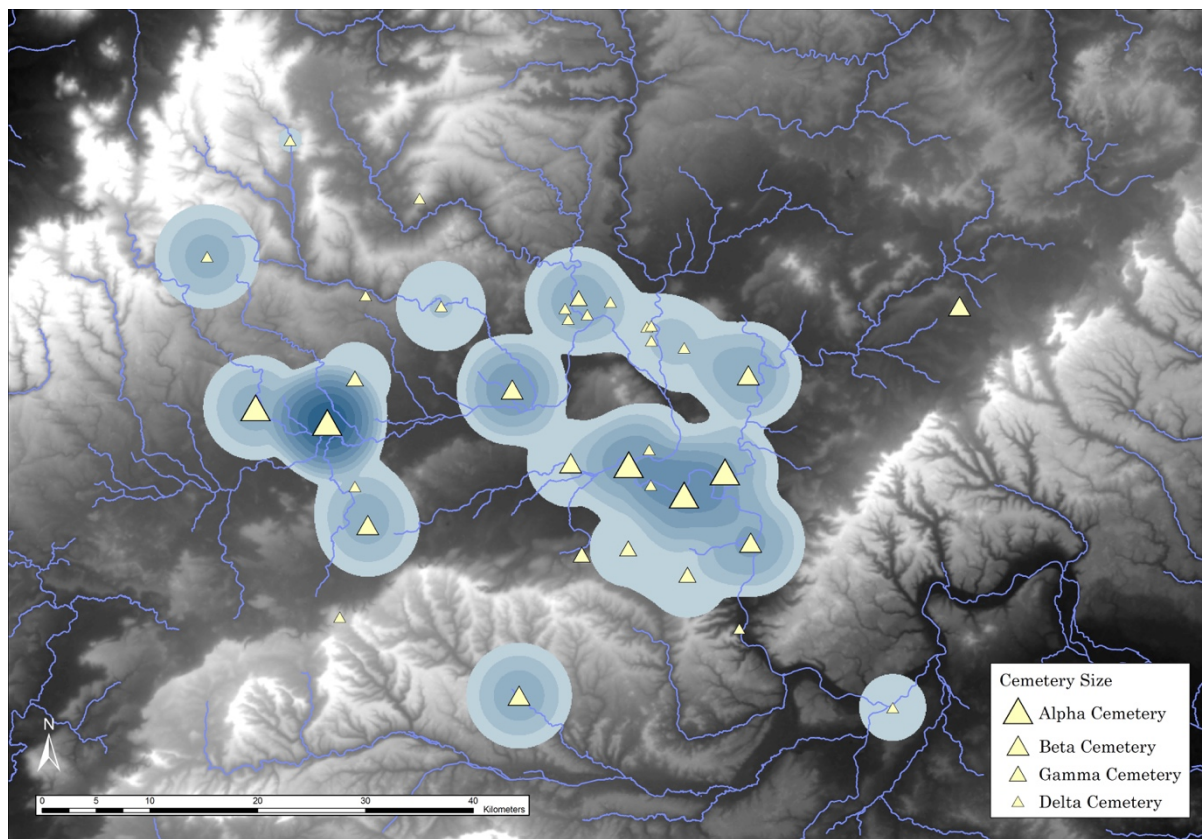


Figure 5.30: The kernel density of the wealthiest female burials from each cemetery, weighted by the weighted artefact count of each burial.

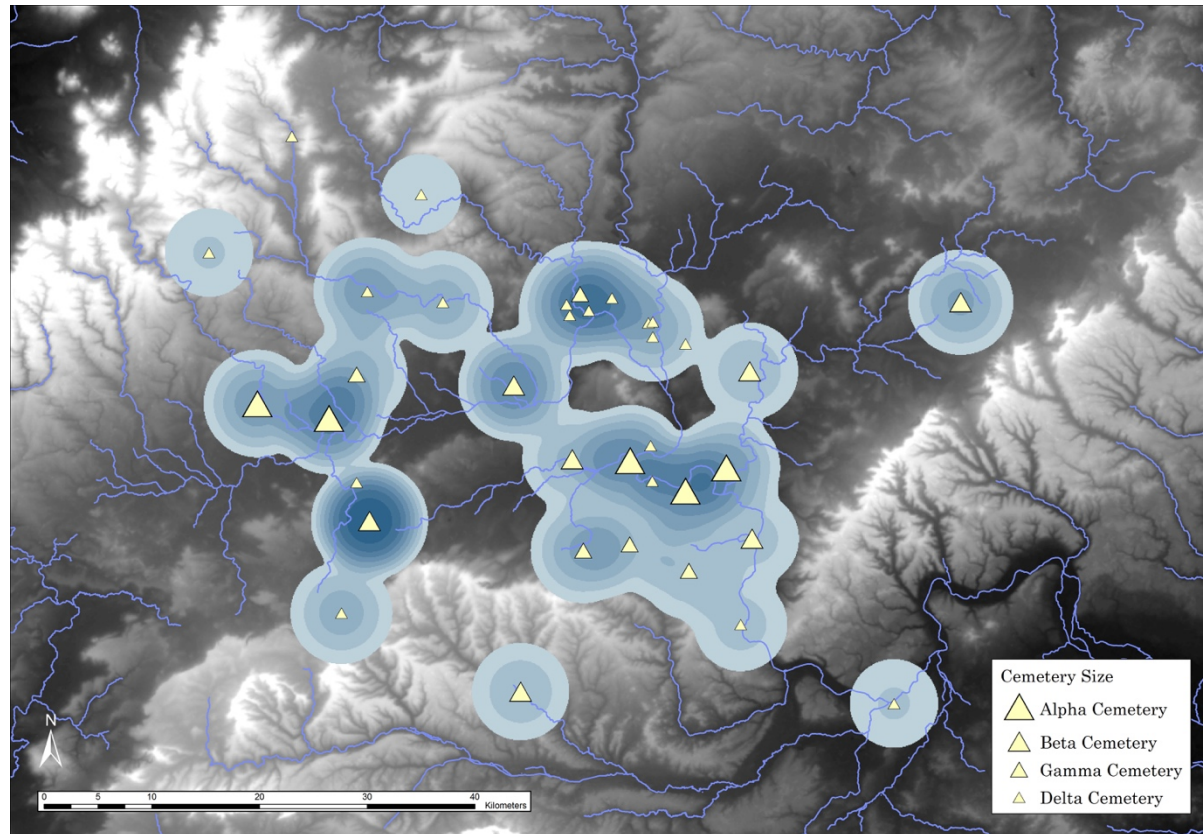


Figure 5.31: The kernel density of the wealthiest male burials from each cemetery, weighted by the weighted artefact count of each burial.

The wealthiest burials at Long Wittenham I and Brighthampton fall just behind the wealthiest burials at Watchfield, and the other large cemeteries of the Fairford to Lechlade and Abingdon to Dorchester areas – Abingdon, Berinsfield and Fairford – fall just behind Long Wittenham I and Brighthampton.

With the exception of East Shefford and Frilford, the wealthiest burials appear to come almost exclusively from the largest cemeteries, and with the exception of Brighthampton, all of the wealthiest burials come from the Fairford to Lechlade and Abingdon to Dorchester areas.

This suggests that larger cemeteries, and especially the supra-local concentrations of large cemeteries in the Fairford to Lechlade and Abingdon to Dorchester areas, gave rise to the most hierarchical, most socio-politically complex burying communities in the study area.

By comparison, the wealthiest burials from the Evenlode confluence – including Purwell Farm, Yarnton, Eynsham Wytham View and Smith's Pit II – are much less impressive, suggesting that these communities were less hierarchically organized, and the apparent lack of large cemeteries in this area is also suggestive of smaller, less socio-politically complex burying communities.

5.2.1.9 Conclusions

The supra-local concentrations of large cemeteries in the Fairford to Lechlade and Abingdon to Dorchester areas have consistently produced the most robust evidence for socio-economic power and socio-political complexity in the 6th Century.

The wealthiest cemeteries, according to the normalized average artefact count, are concentrated in these two areas, and these cemeteries have also produced the largest and most varied assemblages of high status artefacts, as well as the wealthiest individual burials and the most extreme degree of wealth inequality.

The Alpha cemetery at Lechlade and the Beta cemetery at Watchfield stand apart from all other cemeteries in the Upper Thames Valley. Lechlade has produced the three wealthiest female burials in the study area, the second wealthiest male burial in the study area, and the highest average artefact count of any large cemetery in the study area. Meanwhile, Watchfield has produced the second highest average artefact count of any large cemetery and the single wealthiest male burial in the study area. The burying communities of these cemeteries were willing and able to inter greater material wealth in their burials than any other cemetery in the Upper Thames Valley, both on average and in exceptionally wealthy individual burials. This, combined with the density of large cemeteries in this area, suggests that the Fairford to Lechlade area was home to the largest,

wealthiest, most socio-politically complex, most hierarchically organized and most socio-economically powerful 6th Century communities in the Upper Thames Valley.

Only the Abingdon to Dorchester area can compete with the evidence from the Fairford to Lechlade area. After Lechlade and Watchfield, Abingdon and Berinsfield have produced the next highest average artefact counts in the study area, and Long Wittenham I has produced the fourth wealthiest female burial and the third wealthiest male burial in the study area. This, combined with an unsurpassed density of burials and burial sites, suggests that the Abingdon to Dorchester area was second only to the Fairford to Lechlade area in wealth, socio-political complexity and socio-economic power during the 6th Century.

The Beta cemetery at Brighthampton, part of the Windrush confluence, has also produced exceptionally wealthy individual burials, but the average burial wealth of Brighthampton is relatively unexceptional, and on the whole, the Windrush confluence cannot compare with the more robust concentrations of burials and burial wealth in the Fairford to Lechlade and Abingdon to Dorchester areas.

Conversely, Purwell Farm, part of the Evenlode confluence, has produced the highest average artefact count in the study area, but the absolute wealth of these individual burials actually pales in comparison to the wealthiest burials from Lechlade, Watchfield, Long Wittenham I and Brighthampton.

This suggests a direct relationship between the density of burial, and especially the density of large cemeteries, and the degree of socio-political complexity and socio-economic power. Larger cemeteries typically produce wealthier individual burials and higher average artefact counts, and supra-local concentrations of large cemeteries, like those in the Fairford to Lechlade and Abingdon to Dorchester areas, appear to heighten this effect, producing the wealthiest individual burials, the most varied assemblages of high status artefacts, and many of the wealthiest cemeteries.

The density of large cemeteries, the degree of socio-political complexity, and the extent of socio-economic power in these areas probably created a recursive feedback loop, encouraging the development of ever larger, more complex and more powerful communities. It was previously suggested that the supra-local concentrations of large cemeteries in the Fairford to Lechlade and Abingdon to Dorchester areas may represent the first supra-local socio-political units to emerge in the Upper Thames Valley (see **Section 5.1.1.3**), and the concentration of wealthy cemeteries, wealthy individual burials and high status artefacts in these two areas strongly supports this hypothesis.

5.2.2 The Long Sixth Century by Period

5.2.2.1 AD475-530 to AD530-580

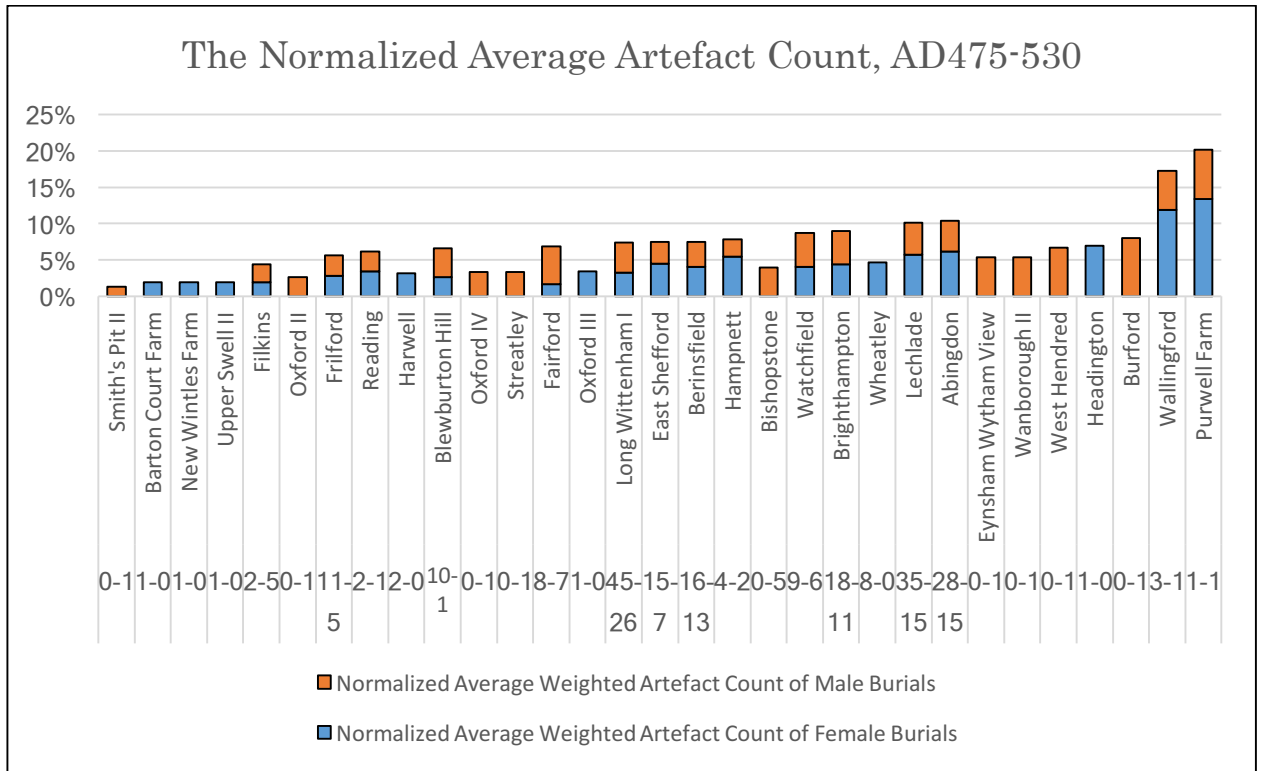
The average burial wealth of the Upper Thames Valley cemeteries changes significantly over the course of the 6th Century (compare Graph 5.18-19; Fig.5.32-33). Certain cemeteries exhibit their highest average artefact count during the late 5th/early 6th Century, going into relative decline during the mid-6th Century, while other cemeteries appear to have reached their highest average artefact count during the mid-6th or even later 6th Century.

The burial wealth of Abingdon and Wallingford appears to have peaked during the late 5th/early 6th Century. The wealthiest individual burials from these cemeteries are dated AD475-560, and both sites are ranked highest relative to other cemeteries during AD475-530. Wallingford was the second wealthiest cemetery in the study area at this time, and Abingdon was the wealthiest large cemetery at this time. After AD530, however, Wallingford exhibits a marked decline in burial wealth, and Abingdon appears to undergo a relative decline, falling behind the average burial wealth of other cemeteries.

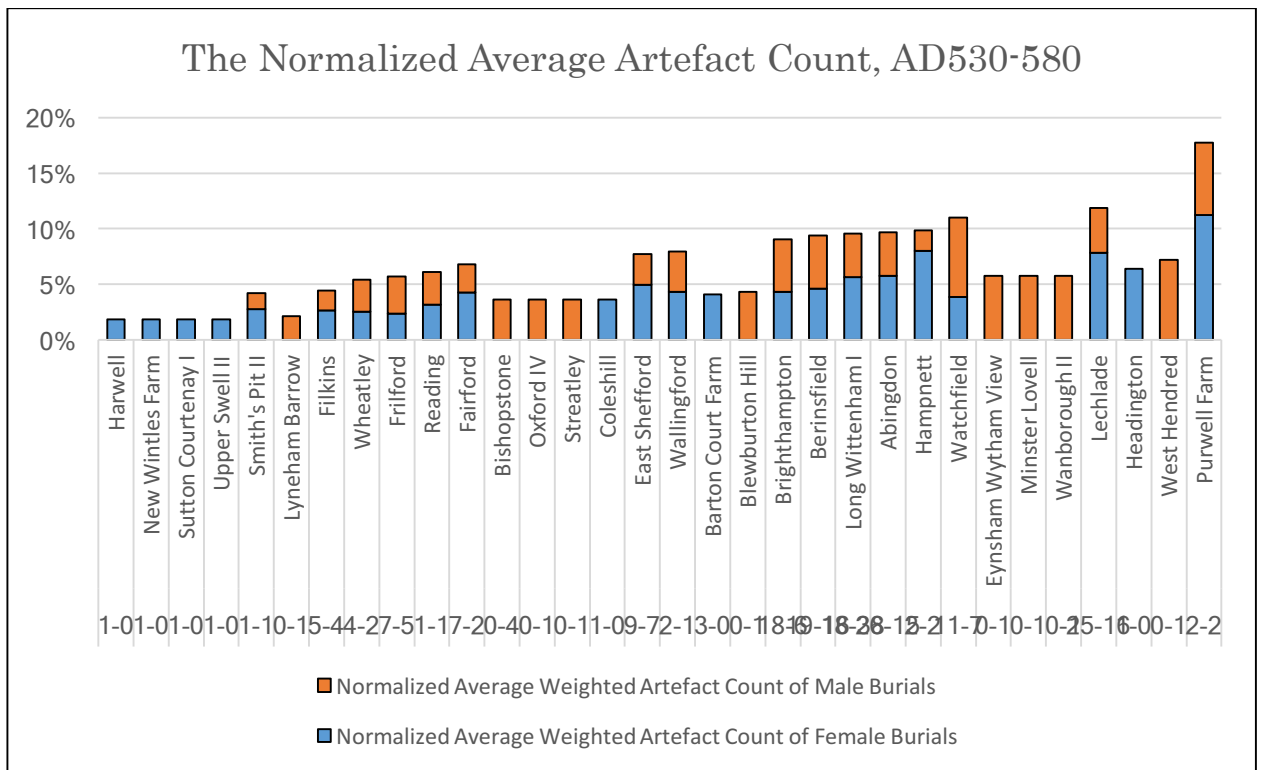
Several other cemeteries, including Brighthampton, East Shefford, Filkins and Frilford, appear to maintain an overall constant level of burial wealth from the late 5th Century to the mid-6th Century, but the burial wealth of these cemeteries appears to decline after AD560.

Meanwhile, the cemeteries at Barton Court Farm, Berinsfield, Fairford, Lechlade, Long Wittenham I and Watchfield continued to inter exceptionally wealthy burials throughout the mid-6th and even later 6th Century. The wealthiest female burials at Barton Court Farm, Berinsfield, Fairford, Lechlade and Long Wittenham I and the wealthiest male burials at Berinsfield, Lechlade, Long Wittenham I and Watchfield are all datable after AD530. Fairford, Long Wittenham I and Lechlade also show very significant increases in the average artefact count of female burials during the mid-6th Century – a 48% increase at Lechlade, an 87% increase at Long Wittenham I, and a 165% increase at Fairford (Table 6.1) – while Berinsfield and Watchfield both exhibit significant increases in the average artefact count of male burials – 27% and 41% respectively.

Meanwhile, Purwell Farm appears to exhibit a relatively constant average artefact count throughout the 6th Century, while Wheatley's wealthiest burials lie on opposite ends of the spectrum, dating AD500-530 and AD600-630. Both of these cemeteries suffer from small sample sizes, but the presence of very late, very wealthy burials at these sites places these cemeteries in the same category as Berinsfield, Lechlade and Long Wittenham I (see **Section 5.2.2.2**).



Graph 5.18: The combined normalized average weighted artefact count of male and female burials for each cemetery, AD475-530 (Phases A1-A2).



Graph 5.19: The combined normalized average weighted artefact count of male and female burials for each cemetery, AD530-580 (Phases B-C).

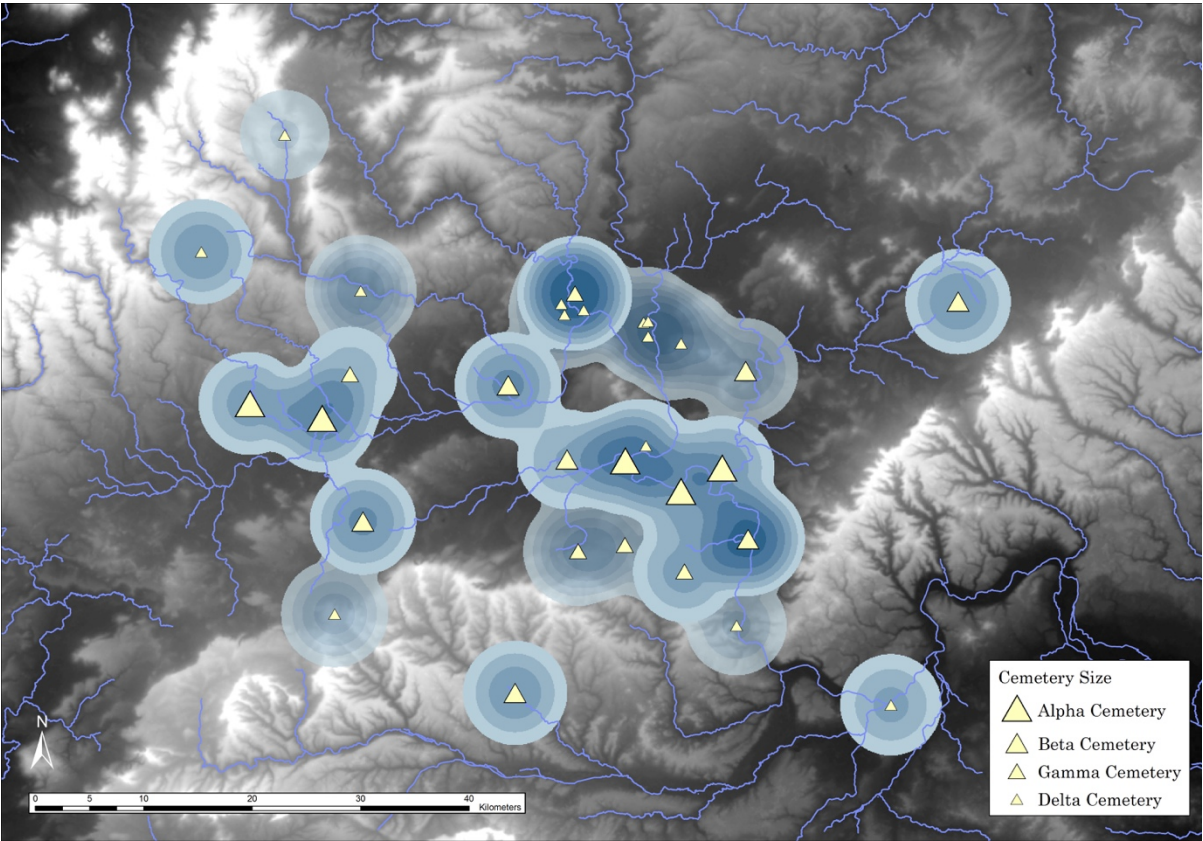


Figure 5.32: Two-layer kernel density of the normalized average artefact count, AD475-530 (Phases A1-A2).

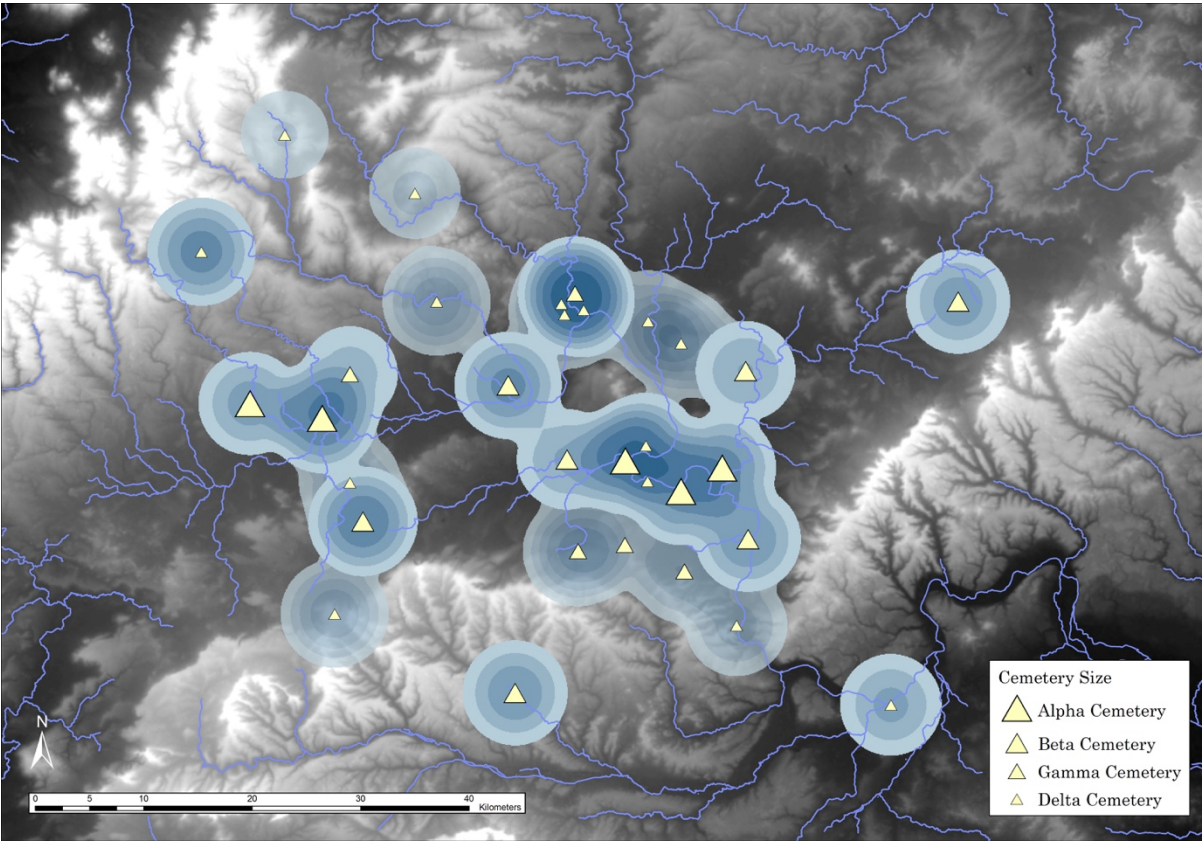


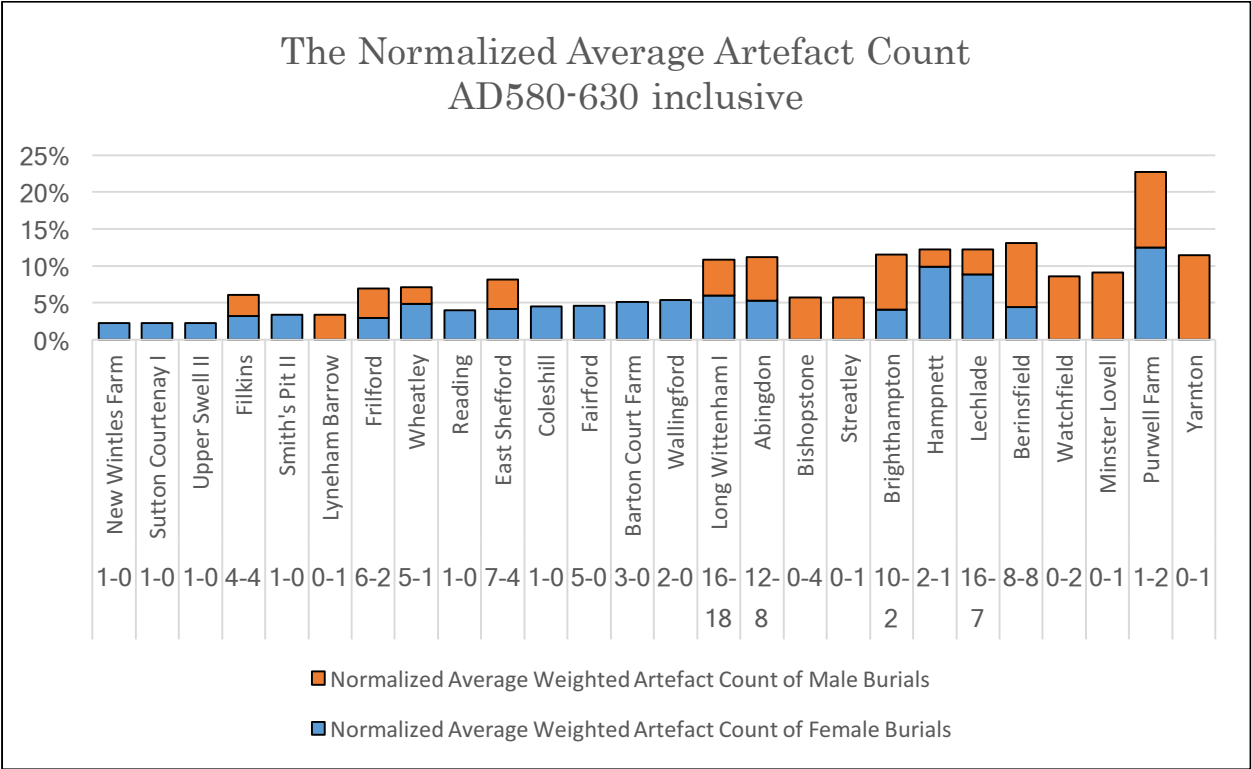
Figure 5.33: Two-layer kernel density of the normalized average artefact count, AD530-580 (Phases B-C).

Table 6.1: Change in the average artefact count of each cemetery from AD475-530 to AD530-580 (Phases A1-A2 to Phases B-C).

Sites	Male 475-530	Male 530-580	Percent Change	Female 475-530	Female 530-580	Percent Change
Barton Court Farm				4.0000	9.0000	125.00%
Fairford	7.7143	3.5000	-54.63%	3.5000	9.2857	165.31%
Long Wittenham I	6.2308	5.3684	-13.84%	6.6000	12.3333	86.87%
Berinsfield	5.1538	6.5625	27.33%	8.1875	10.1053	23.42%
Watchfield	7.0000	9.8571	40.82%	8.2222	8.4545	2.83%
Lechlade	6.6000	5.5625	-15.72%	11.5429	17.1200	48.32%
Hampnett	3.5000	2.5000	-28.57%	11.0000	17.5000	59.09%
Filkins	3.6000	2.5000	-30.56%	4.0000	5.8000	45.00%
East Shefford	4.4286	3.8571	-12.90%	9.1333	10.7778	18.00%
Brighthampton	6.8182	6.5000	-4.67%	8.8889	9.5000	6.88%
Frilford	4.2000	4.6000	9.52%	5.6364	5.1429	-8.76%
Abingdon	6.4000	5.4667	-14.58%	12.3929	12.5385	1.17%
Bishopstone	6.0000	5.0000	-16.67%			
Purwell Farm	10.0000	9.0000	-10.00%	27.0000	24.5000	-9.26%
Harwell				6.5000	4.0000	-38.46%
Wheatley		4.0000		9.3750	5.5000	-41.33%
Wallingford	8.0000	5.0000	-37.50%	24.0000	9.5000	-60.42%

5.2.2.2 AD580-630

The late 6th/early 7th Century – the transition between the 6th Century burial rite and the Final Phase burial rite – is one of the most chronologically obscure periods in Anglo-Saxon archaeology (see **Section 4.2.2.2**; Hines and Bayliss 2013, 426-8). It is also one of the most critical periods for understanding the emergence of Anglo-Saxon kingdoms. Consequently, this section uses three different approaches to phasing the latest 6th Century burials. The first approach includes all burials that could potentially be dated to the late 6th/early 7th Century (AD580-630 inclusive) (Graph 5.20; Fig.5.34), the second approach includes only burials that are firmly dated to the late 6th/early 7th Century (AD580-630 exclusive) (Graph 5.21; Fig.5.35), and the third, most precise approach breaks the late 6th/early 7th Century burials down into three successive episodes: the mid/late 6th Century (Episode B-C) (Graph 5.22; Fig.5.36), the later 6th Century (Episode C-D) (Graph 5.23; Fig.5.37), and the late 6th/early 7th Century (Episode D-E) (Graph 5.24; Fig.5.38).



Graph 5.20: The combined normalized average weighted artefact count of male and female burials for each cemetery, AD580-630 inclusive (Phases D-E).

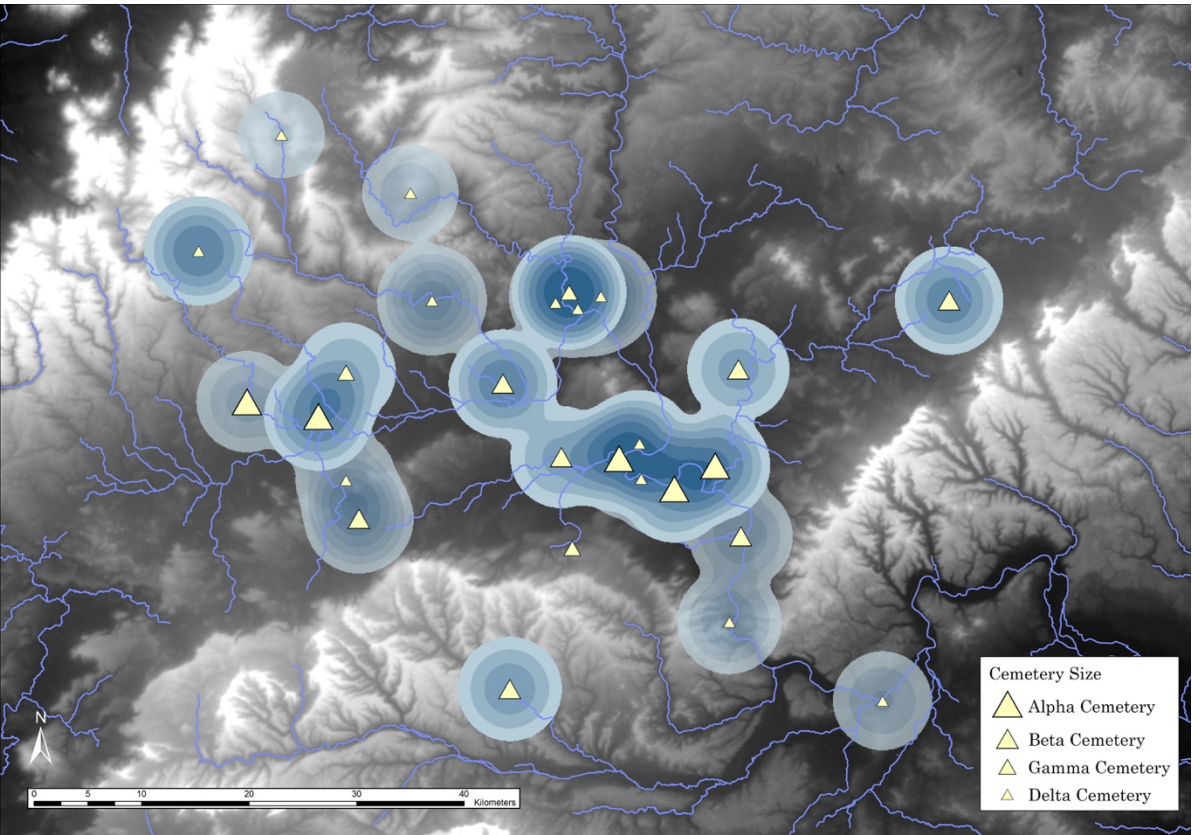
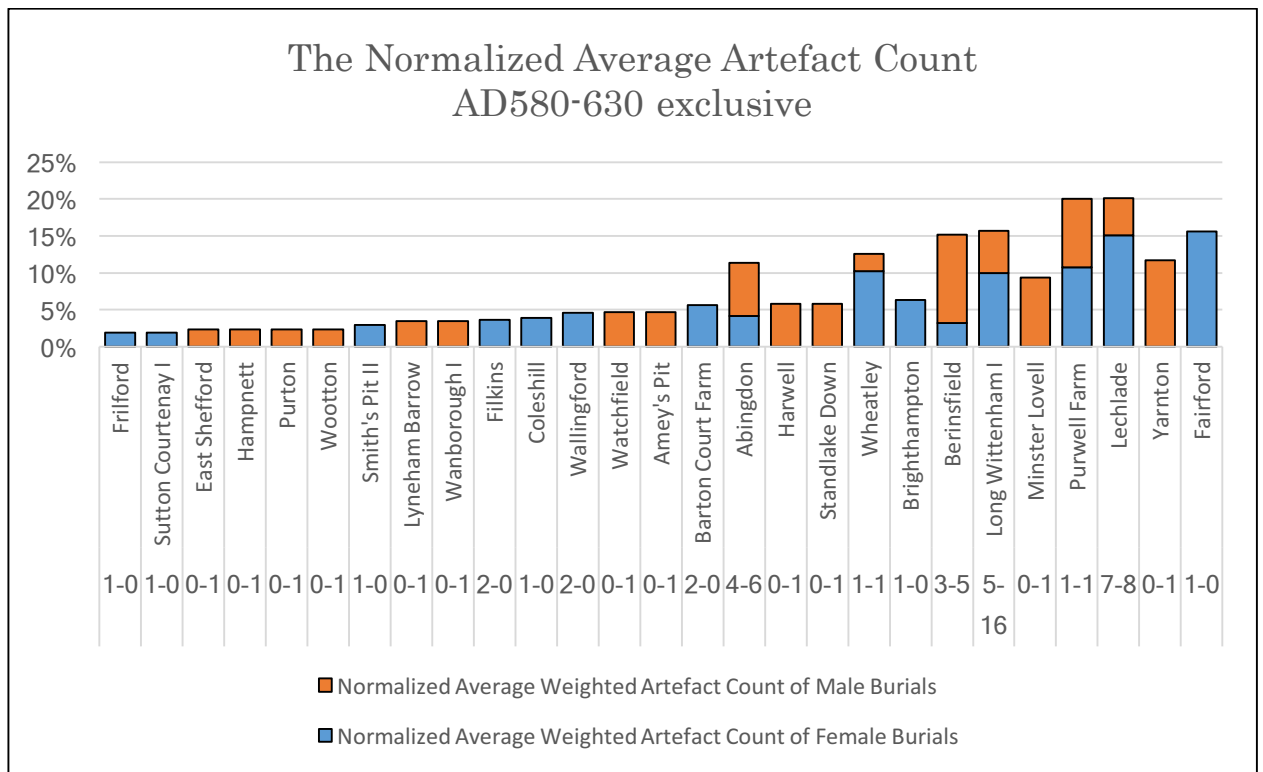


Figure 5.34: Two-layer kernel density of the normalized average artefact count, AD580-630 inclusive (Phases D-E).



Graph 5.21: The combined normalized average weighted artefact count of male and female burials for each cemetery, AD580-630 exclusive (Phases D-E).

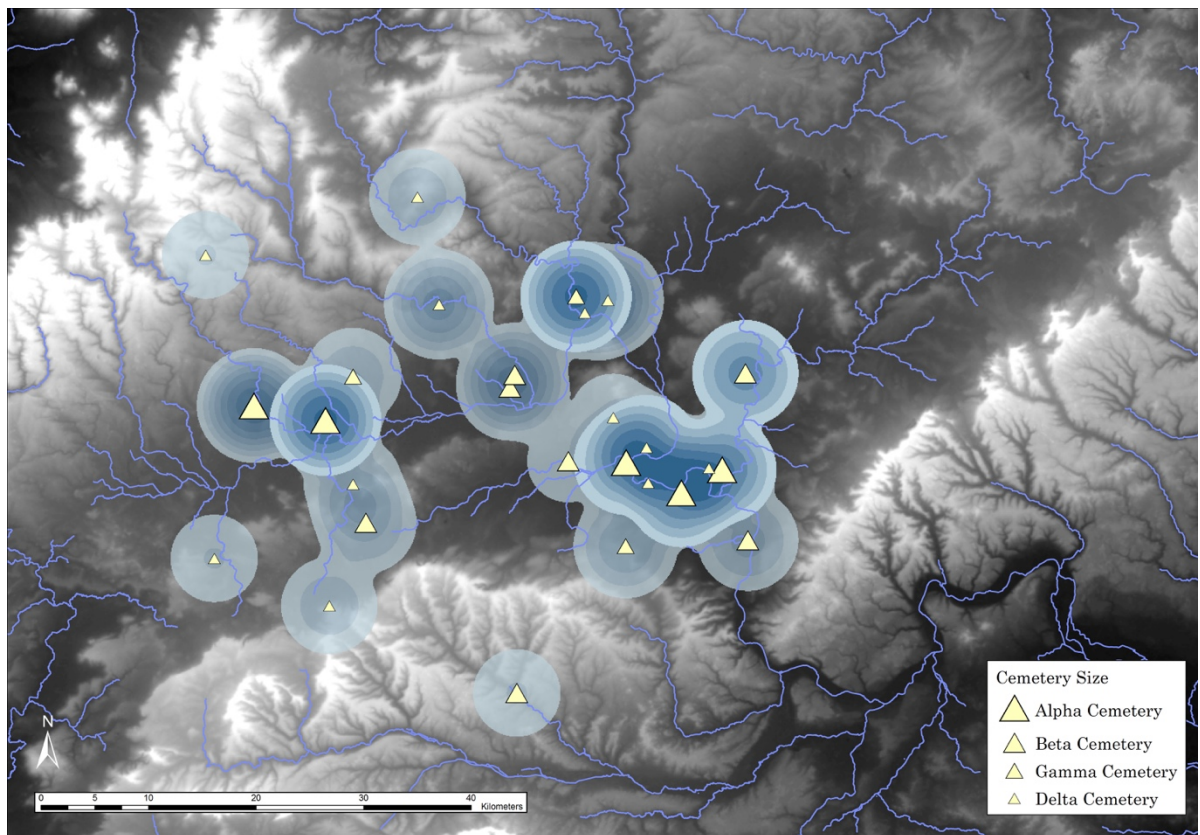
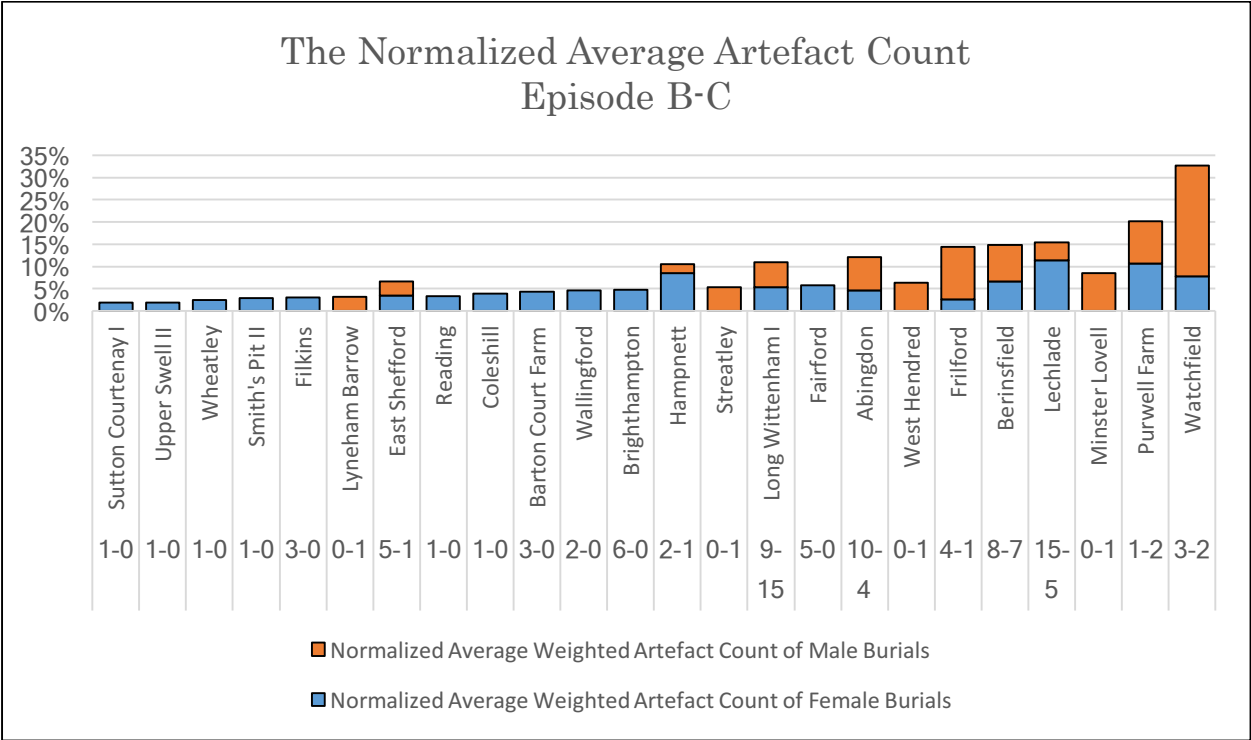


Figure 5.35: Two-layer kernel density of the normalized average artefact count, AD580-630 exclusive.



Graph 5.22: The combined normalized average weighted artefact count of male and female burials for each cemetery, Episode B-C (all burials solidly dated to Phases B-C).

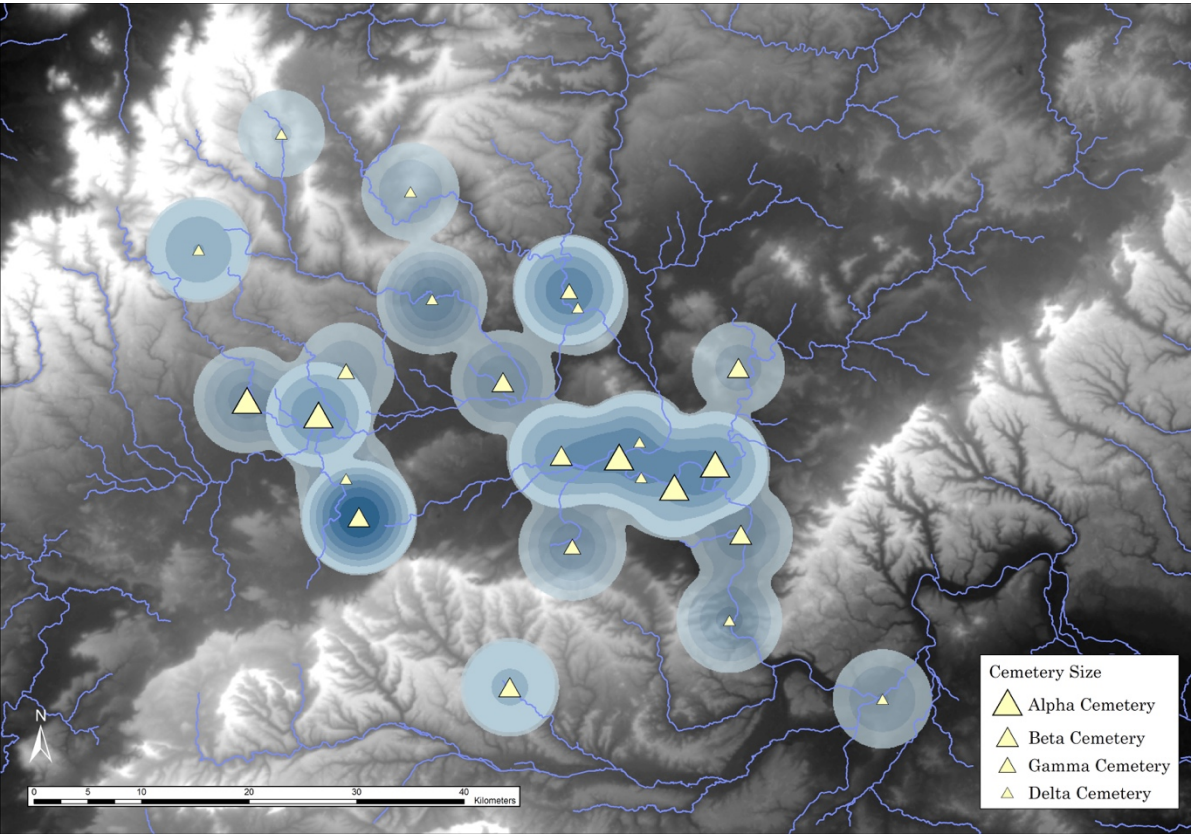
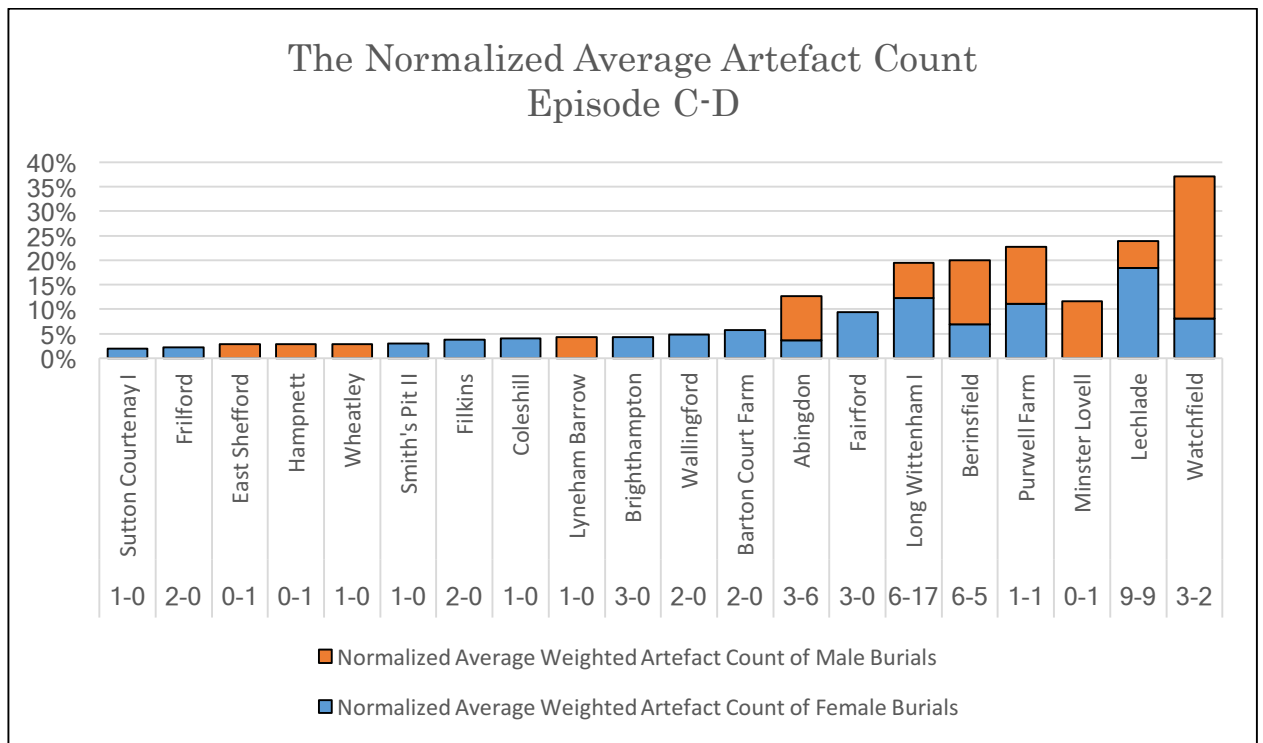


Figure 5.36: Two-layer kernel density of the normalized average artefact count, Episode B-C.



Graph 5.23: The combined normalized average weighted artefact count of male and female burials for each cemetery, Episode C-D (all burials solidly dated to Phases C-D).

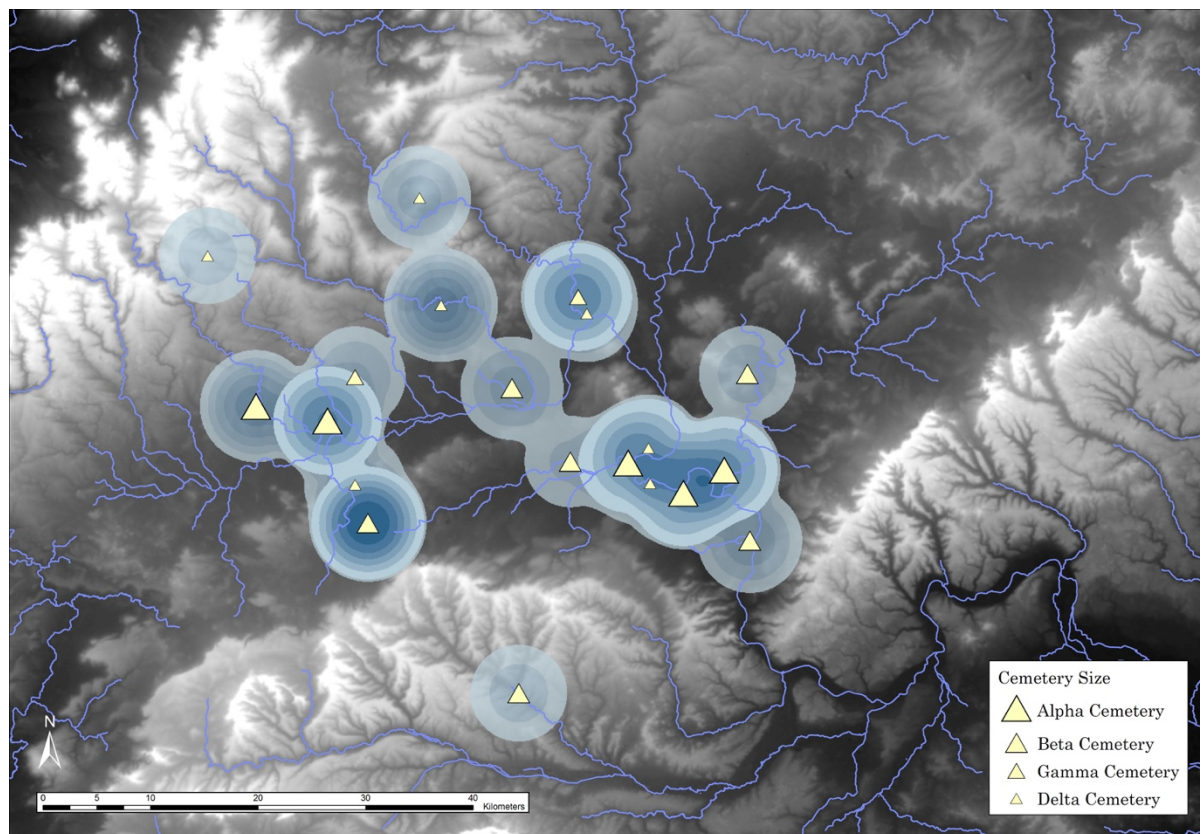
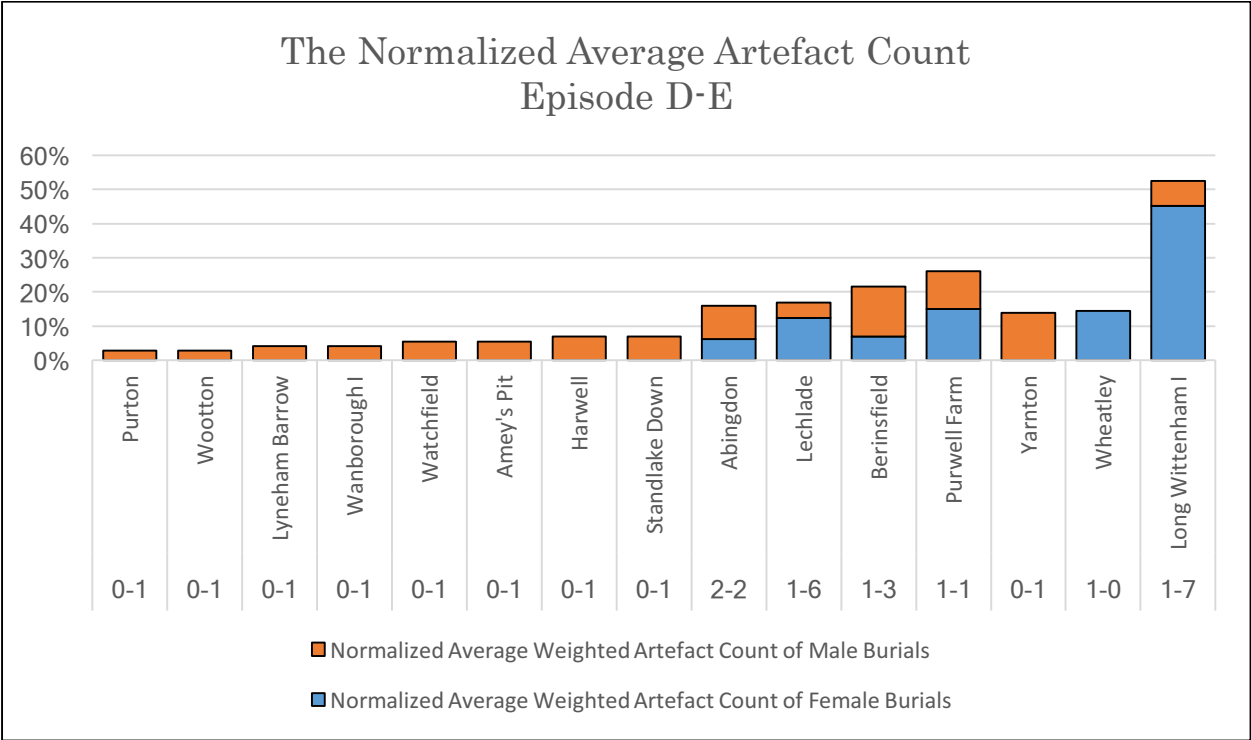


Figure 5.37: Two-layer kernel density of the normalized average artefact count, Episode C-D.



Graph 5.24: The combined normalized average weighted artefact count of male and female burials for each cemetery, Episode D-E (all burials solidly dated to Phases D-E).

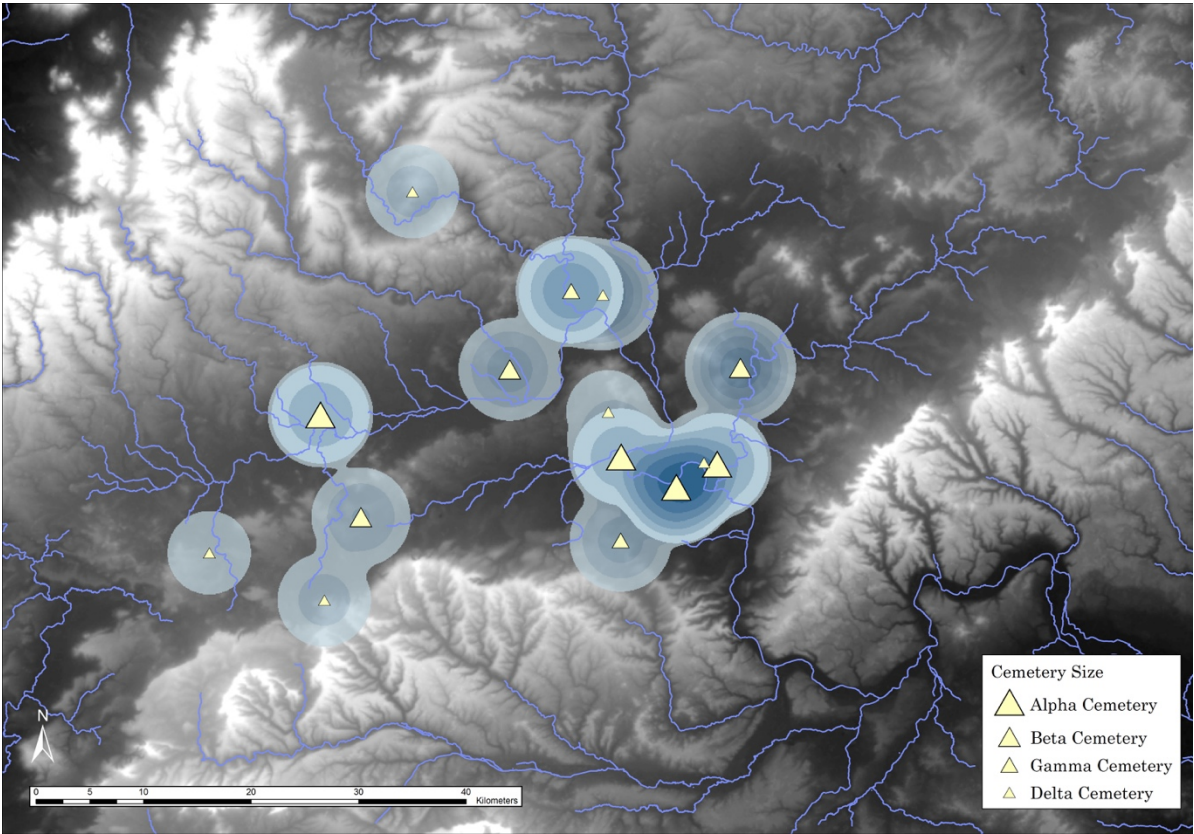


Figure 5.38: Two-layer kernel density of the normalized average artefact count, Episode D-E.

The majority of 6th Century cemeteries probably abandoned the Anglo-Saxon gendered burial rite before the end of the 6th Century. Only Abingdon, Berinsfield, Lechlade, Long Wittenham I, Purwell Farm, Watchfield, Wheatley and Yarnton have produced intact late 6th/early 7th Century burials. An unassociated pair of Group 17.1 saucer brooches at Fairford probably also comes from a late 6th Century burial, but in the absence of an intact assemblage, this remains uncertain.

The sample of late 6th/early 7th Century burials is therefore small and potentially unrepresentative, but based on the current sample, there appears to have been a significant shift in the primary concentration of burial wealth over the course of the later 6th Century, from the Fairford to Lechlade area to the Abingdon to Dorchester area.

The overall distribution of diagnostic late 6th/early 7th Century brooches and weapons shows a strong concentration of gendered burial in Abingdon to Dorchester area at this time (Fig.5.39), and many of these burials are exceptionally wealthy.

Long Wittenham I and Berinsfield, in particular, saw substantial increases in burial wealth throughout the mid-to-late 6th Century, both in terms of the average artefact count and in terms of exceptionally wealthy individual burials. The two wealthiest male burials at Berinsfield (Grave 28, 52) are also the latest gendered burials excavated at Berinsfield; both burials were interred with Group 6 shields, the only such shields known from the Upper Thames Valley, which place these burials among the latest 6th Century male gendered burials in the study area (Evison 1963; Dickinson and Härke 1992, 20-1; Härke in Boyle *et al.* 1995, 66; Hines and Bayliss 2013, 334, 563). Meanwhile, the latest gendered burial at Long Wittenham I (Grave 71) is the wealthiest 6th Century burial known from any cemetery outside of Lechlade, and it is almost certainly later than the wealthiest burials at Lechlade. The second and third wealthiest female burials at Long Wittenham I (Grave 111, 123) are also datable to the mid-to-late 6th Century, providing robust evidence for a peak in burial wealth at Long Wittenham I during the later 6th Century, at a time when the gendered burial rite was in terminal decline at most cemeteries.

The Beta cemetery at Wheatley, which is linked to the Abingdon to Dorchester area via the River Thame, has also produced an exceptionally wealthy late 6th/early 7th Century female burial (Grave 14), and an unassociated gold-plated disc brooch recovered from the Sutton Courtenay great hall complex probably also comes from a wealthy late 6th/early 7th Century burial (Hamerow 1999, 32; Hamerow *et al.* 2007, 71). The princely burial at Cuddesdon, which lies upstream from Dorchester, was probably also interred sometime during the early 7th Century (Dickinson 1974).

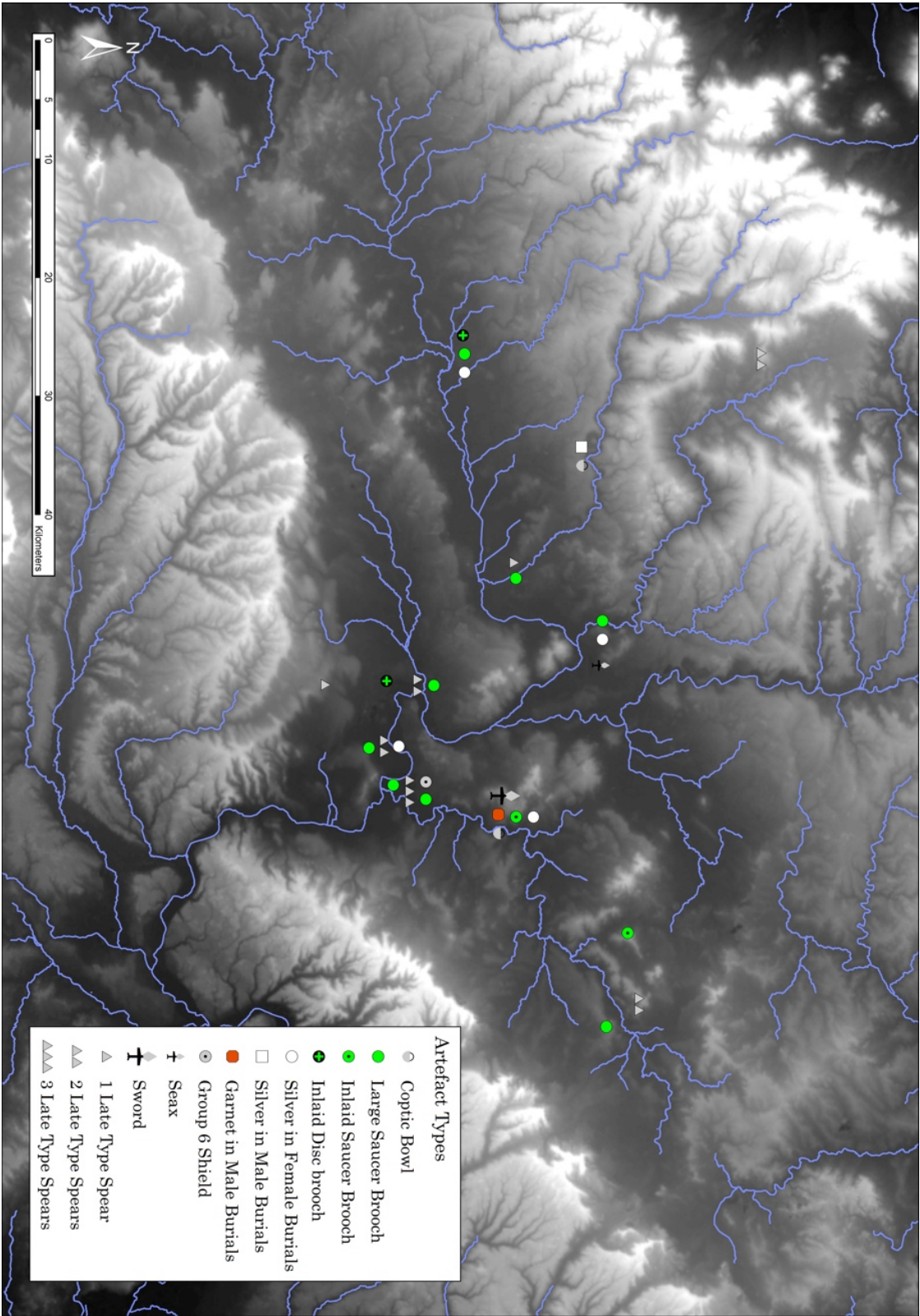


Figure 5.39: Diagnostic late 6th/7th Century brooches and weapons and high status artefacts interred in late 6th/early 7th Century burials, including the early 7th Century princely burials at Ashall and Cuddesdon.

By comparison, the Fairford to Lechlade area appears to have undergone a relative lull in gendered burial at this time. Lechlade has produced two exceptionally wealthy late 6th/early 7th Century female burials (Grave 17, 144), but Fairford and Watchfield have produced little to no evidence for late 6th/early 7th Century burials, and given the importance of the Fairford to Lechlade area during the mid-6th Century, the relative absence of diagnostic late 6th/early 7th Century grave goods in this area is striking (Fig.5.39). Even Lechlade has failed to produce any late-type spear and shield burials, in contrast with Abingdon, Long Wittenham I and Berinsfield, which have all produced these late-type male burials. The Fairford to Lechlade area clearly continued to be an important area into the 7th Century, but the relative lack of diagnostic late 6th/early 7th Century burials in this area suggests a significant change from the mid-6th Century when the Fairford to Lechlade area was the wealthiest area in the Upper Thames Valley.

Meanwhile, the Evenlode confluence continued to be a major concentration of burial wealth into the late 6th Century. Purwell Farm has produced wealthy late 6th Century male *and* female burials – a remarkable feat, given Purwell Farm’s small size – and the neighbouring site at Yarnton has also produced a wealthy late 6th/early 7th Century seax burial.

The nature of burial activity around the Windrush confluence is less clear at this time. The gendered burial rite appears to have been largely abandoned at Brighthampton by the late 6th Century, but the neighbouring mid-7th Century cemetery at Standlake Down has produced an unassociated late-type saucer brooch, suggesting that there may have been a shift from Brighthampton to Standlake Down in the later 6th Century, foreshadowing the wider shift in burial sites between the 6th and 7th Centuries.

5.2.2.3 Conclusions

There appear to have been several significant changes in the distribution of burial wealth in the Upper Thames Valley between the late 5th and early 7th Centuries.

The cemeteries at Abingdon, Wallingford, Brighthampton, East Shefford, Filkins and Frilford appear to have peaked in the earlier 6th Century, interring their wealthiest individual burials and exhibiting their highest average artefact count between AD500-560.

Meanwhile, the cemeteries at Barton Court Farm, Berinsfield, Fairford, Lechlade, Long Wittenham I, Purwell Farm and Watchfield continued to inter increasingly wealthy burials throughout the mid-6th Century, and the cemeteries at Berinsfield, Lechlade, Long Wittenham I, Purwell Farm and Wheatley continued to inter exceptionally wealthy burials into the late 6th/early 7th Century.

Overall, burial wealth appears to have been increasingly concentrated in certain burials and in certain cemeteries over the course of the 6th Century. The wealthiest individual burials in the study area are all datable to the mid-6th or late 6th/early 7th Century, and gendered burial appears to have been increasingly restricted to a select few cemeteries over the course of the later 6th Century. This suggests that the burying communities of the Upper Thames Valley were becoming increasingly hierarchical and probably increasingly socio-politically complex, and certain burying communities may have become increasingly dominant over the course of the mid-to-late 6th Century. With the exception of Purwell Farm and Yarnton, all of the cemeteries that have produced wealthy burials dating AD560-630 are located in the Fairford to Lechlade and Abingdon to Dorchester areas, and the cemeteries at Lechlade, Watchfield, Long Wittenham I and Berinsfield appear to have been particularly dominant at different times over the course of the later 6th Century.

During the mid-6th Century, the Fairford to Lechlade area, especially the cemeteries at Lechlade and Watchfield, appears to have been the primary concentration of burial wealth in the Upper Thames Valley, but sometime during the later 6th Century, there appears to have been a significant shift in the distribution of burial wealth towards the Abingdon to Dorchester area. The diagnostic late 6th/early 7th Century grave goods are heavily concentrated in the Abingdon to Dorchester area, and the wealthiest late 6th/early 7th Century burials are also concentrated in this area. Berinsfield and Long Wittenham I, in particular, appear to have peaked in the late 6th/early 7th Century, at a time when the gendered burial rite was in terminal decline.

This shift in the balance of power, from the Fairford to Lechlade area to the Abingdon to Dorchester area, coincides with the historically documented emergence of the West Saxon/Gewissan kingdom in the Abingdon to Dorchester area, around AD570-590 (Fig.5.40). The great hall complexes at Sutton Courtenay and Long Wittenham were probably also constructed sometime during the late 6th/early 7th Century, the princely burial at Cuddesdon – the place-name of which suggests a link with the West Saxon/Gewissan royal house – was also interred during the early 7th Century, and Dorchester became the first episcopal seat of the West Saxon/Gewissan kingdom in c.AD635.

The Long Wittenham great hall complex was actually constructed immediately adjacent to the Long Wittenham I cemetery, which produced the wealthiest late 6th/early 7th Century burial in the study area, and the unassociated gold-plated disc brooch recovered from Sutton Courtenay probably also comes from a wealthy late 6th/early 7th Century burial (Hamerow *et al.* 2007, 71), suggesting that the emergence of the great hall complexes was closely related to the concentration of burial wealth in the Abingdon to Dorchester area at this time.

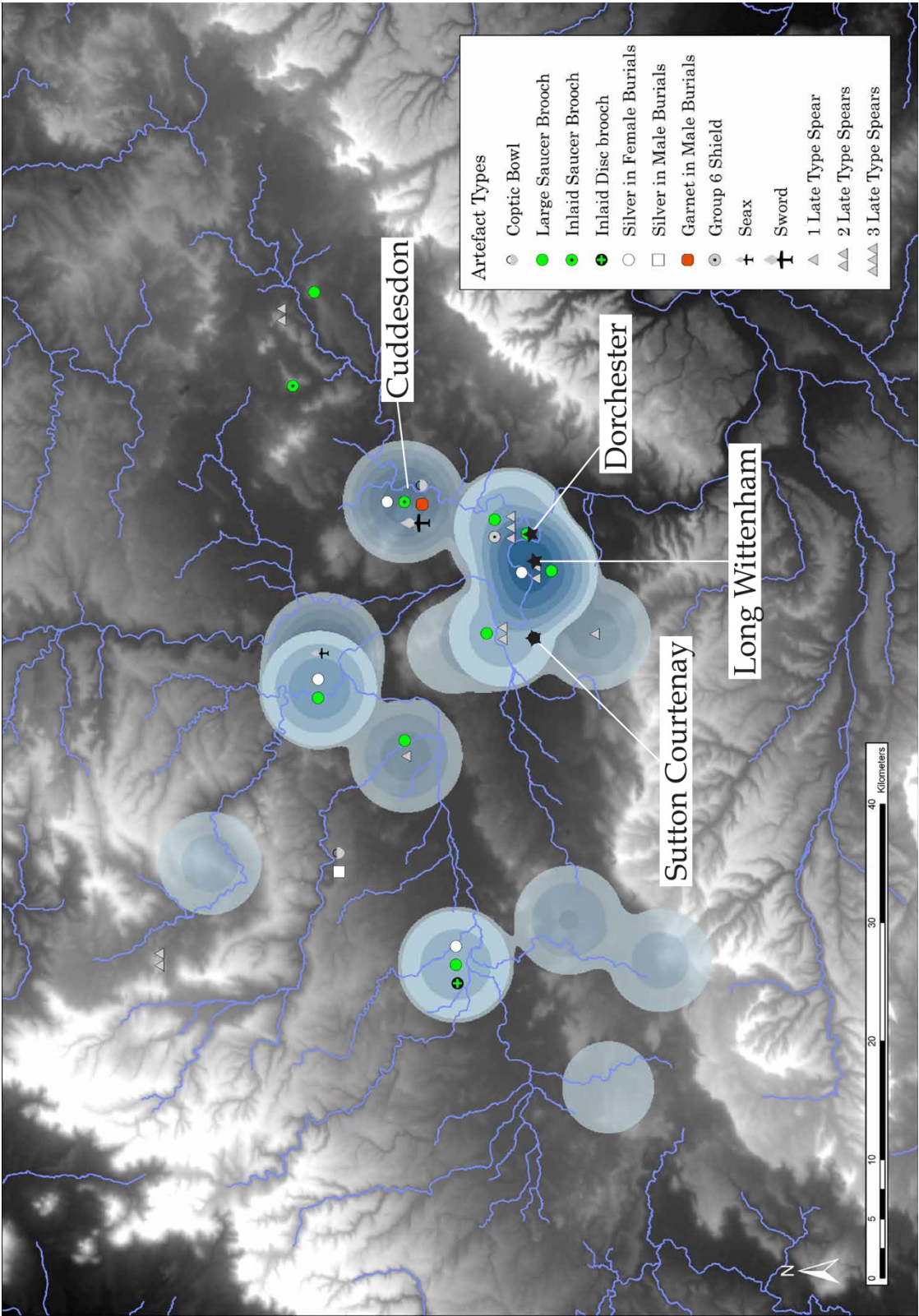
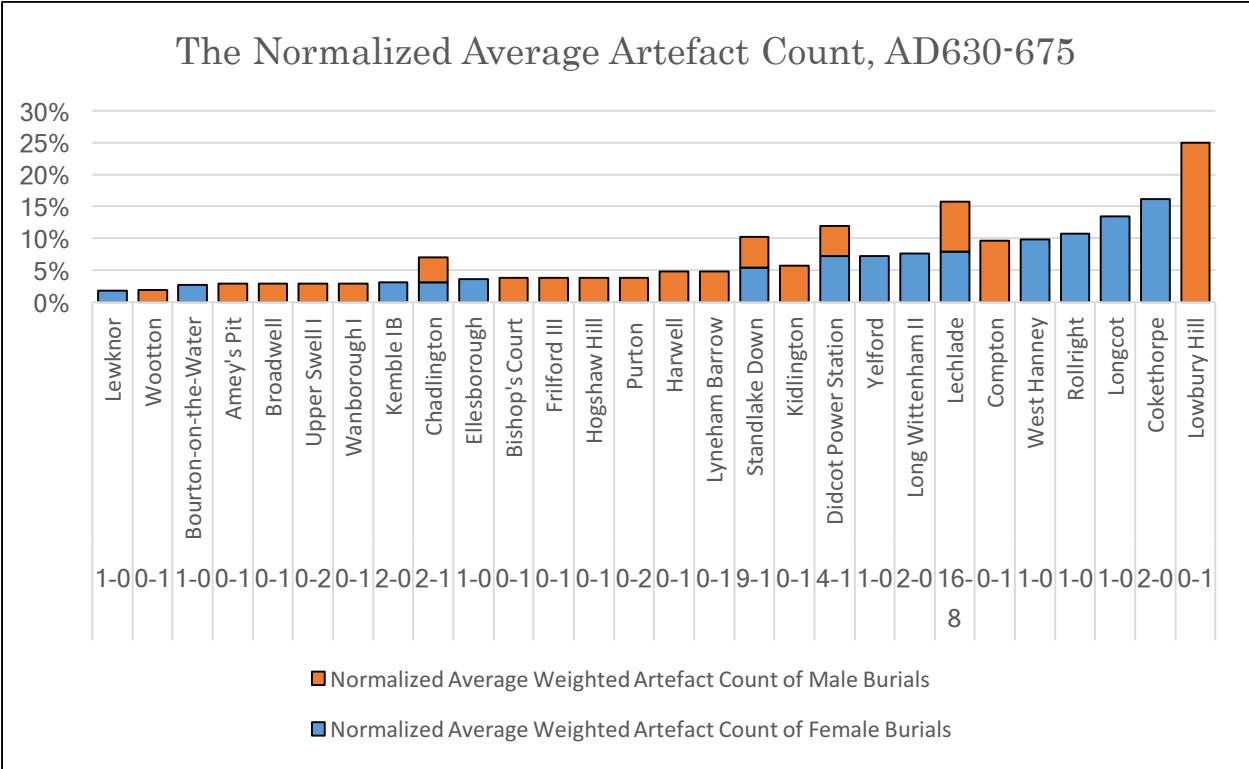


Figure 5.40: The Abingdon to Dorchester area exhibits a remarkable concentration of power and wealth in the late 6th and early 7th centuries. In addition to the concentration of gendered burial and burial wealth in this area, the great hall complexes at Sutton Courtenay and Long Wittenham, the episcopal seat at Dorchester, and the princely burial at Cuddesdon all attest to the emergence of the West Saxon/Gewissan kingdom in the Abingdon to Dorchester area around this time.

5.2.3 The Mid-Seventh Century



Graph 5.25: The normalized average weighted artefact count of male and female burials at the mid-7th Century cemeteries.

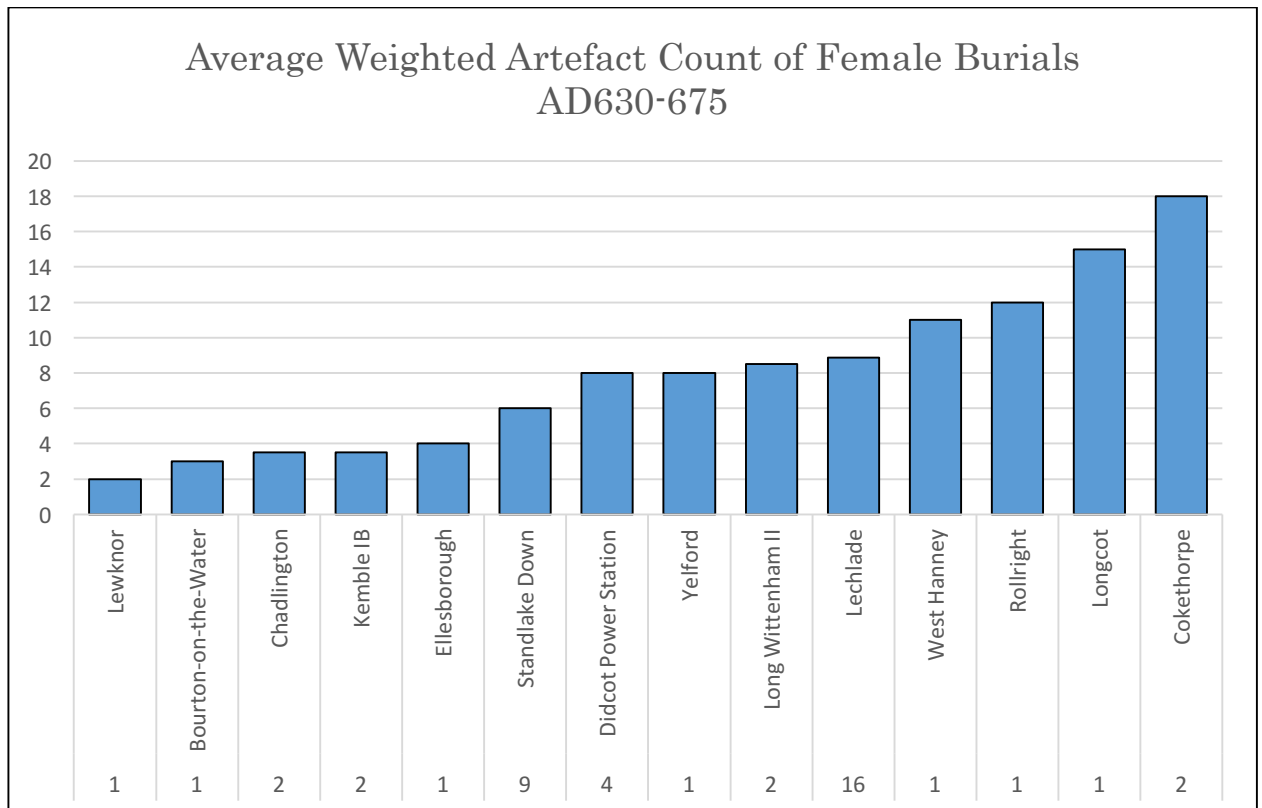
The average artefact count of Final Phase burials suggests very significant differences in burial wealth across the Upper Thames Valley during the mid-7th Century, and the disparity in burial wealth between different sites is immense among both male and female gendered burials.

However, the burial wealth of Final Phase burials is resistant to quantitative comparison. Female burial wealth was often expressed through exceptional artefacts, which are difficult to quantify (see Section 4.2.4.2), and most mid-7th Century cemeteries have produced exceedingly small and potentially unrepresentative samples of gendered burial (see Section 4.2.4.4). The emergence of isolated wealthy burials, which appear to reference or represent supra-local communities, further complicates the interpretation of the mid-7th Century burial wealth (see Section 4.2.4.5; 5.1.2.3).

Moreover, one of the wealthiest cemeteries in the study area – the Alpha cemetery at Milton – has not produced any intact grave groups, making quantitative comparison impossible, and the sites at Ducklington, North Leigh and Stanton Harcourt are similarly excluded from the quantitative methodology because they lack intact adult gendered grave groups.

For these reasons, the average weighted artefact count, the wealthiest individual burials, and the distribution of high status artefacts are all taken into account before attempting a more holistic and contextual comparison of the mid-7th Century burial wealth.

5.2.3.1 Average Female Burial Wealth



Graph 5.26: The average weighted artefact count of female gendered burials at each cemetery.

The four sites with the highest average female artefact counts – Cokethorpe, Longcot, Rollright and West Hanney – all appear to be isolated supra-local burials (Graph 5.26; Fig.5.41). If these sites are excluded, the wealthiest cemeteries appear to be Lechlade, Long Wittenham II, Yelford and Didcot Power Station. However, the small sample of gendered burials recovered from Yelford is potentially unrepresentative, and the low proportion of gendered burial at Yelford may suggest that a greater proportion of wealth was interred in the single surviving gendered burial (see **Section 4.2.4.3**). The average artefact count of Long Wittenham II is also based on a small, potentially unrepresentative sample, but the Long Wittenham II sample is larger than Yelford, and the higher proportion of gendered burial at Long Wittenham II suggests that the wealth interred in the two surviving gendered burials may be more representative.

The average female burial wealth appears to decline dramatically after Didcot Power Station, and with the exception of Standlake Down, every other site appears to be relatively impoverished.

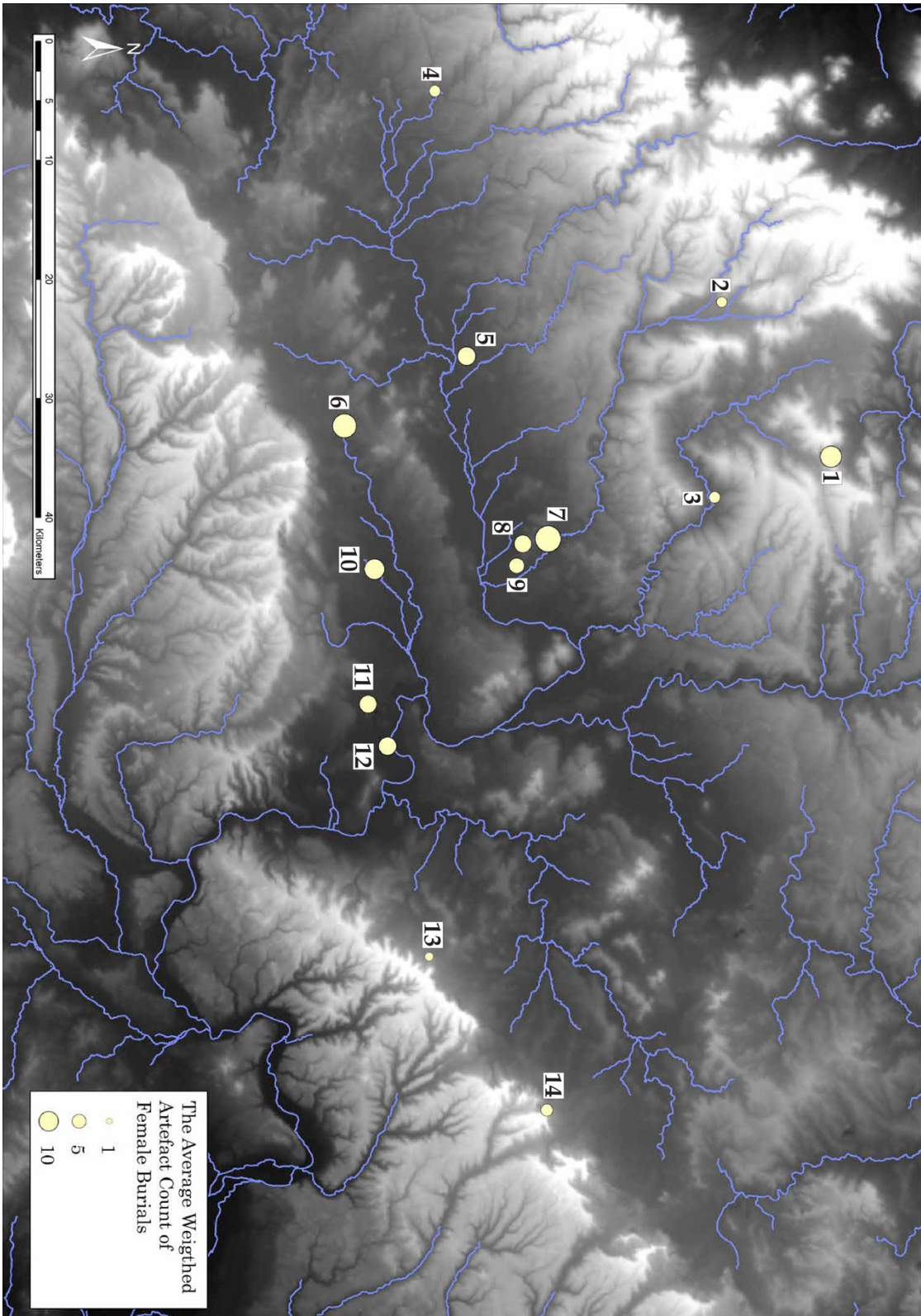
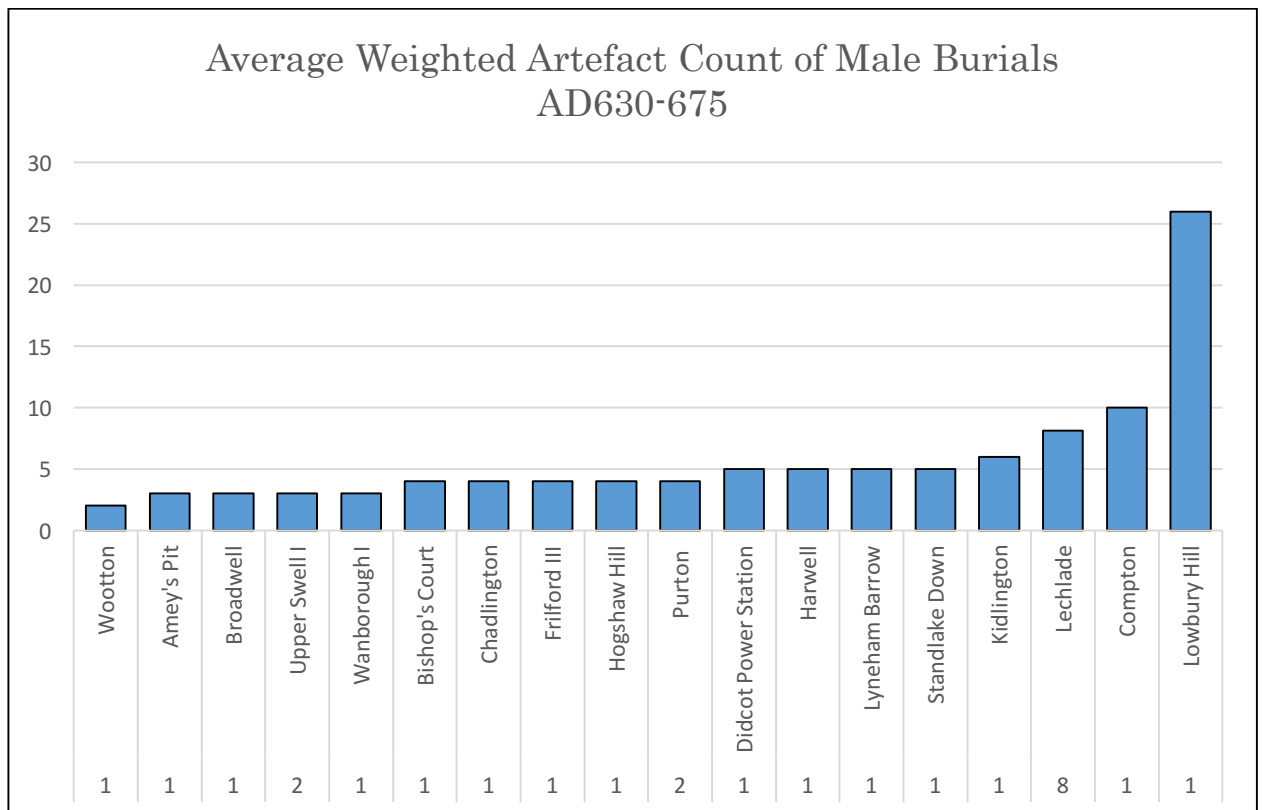


Figure 5.41: The average weighted artefact count of female gendered burials at each cemetery, displayed by proportional symbols (1. Rollright 2. Bourton-on-the-Water 3. Chadlington 4. Kemble IB 5. Lechlade 6. Longcot 7. Cokethorpe 8. Yelford 9. Standlake Down 10. West Hanney 11. Didcot Power Station 12. Long Wittenham II 13. Lewknor 14. Ellesborough).

5.2.3.2 Average Male Burial Wealth

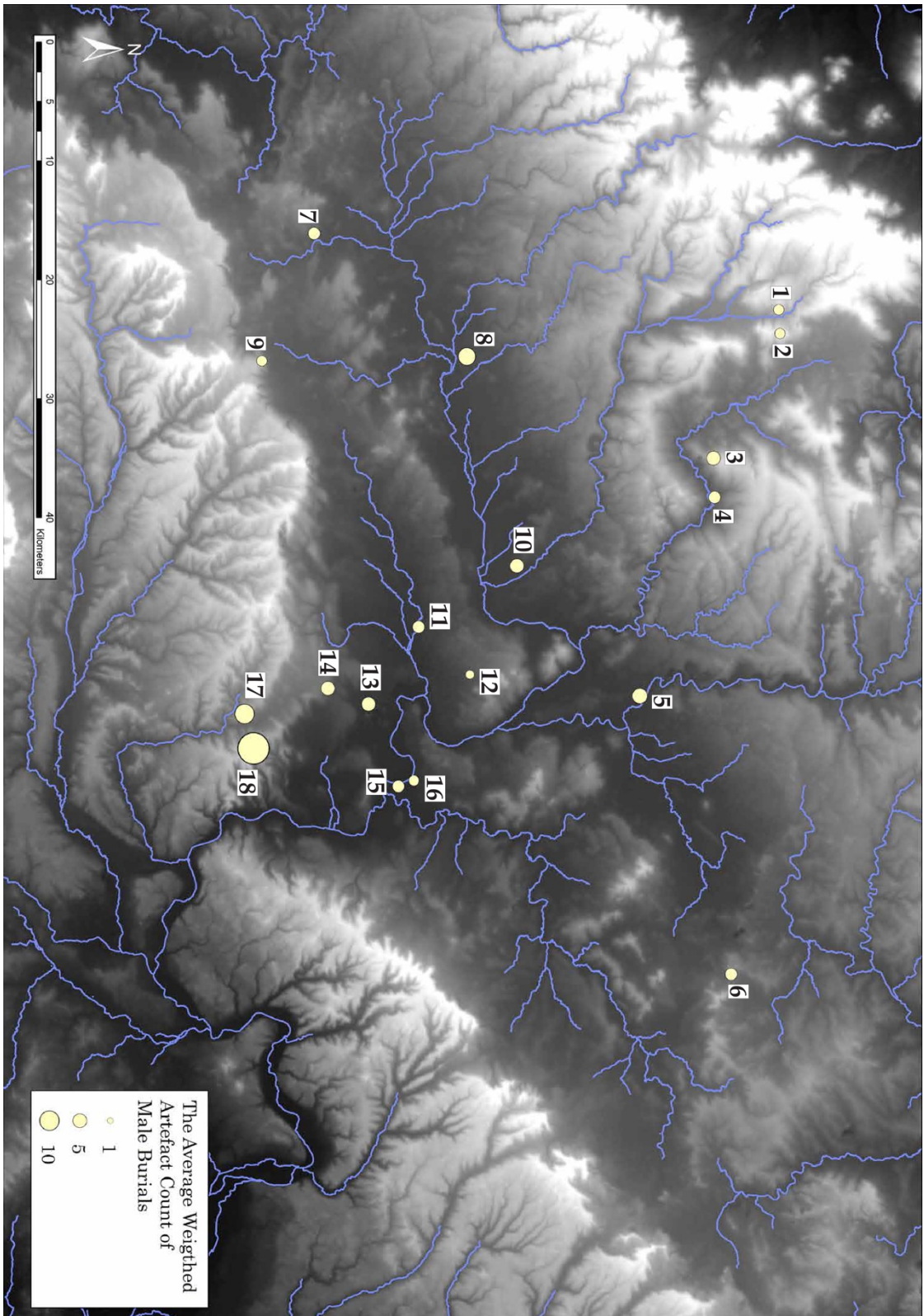


Graph 5.27: The average weighted artefact count of male gendered burials at each cemetery.

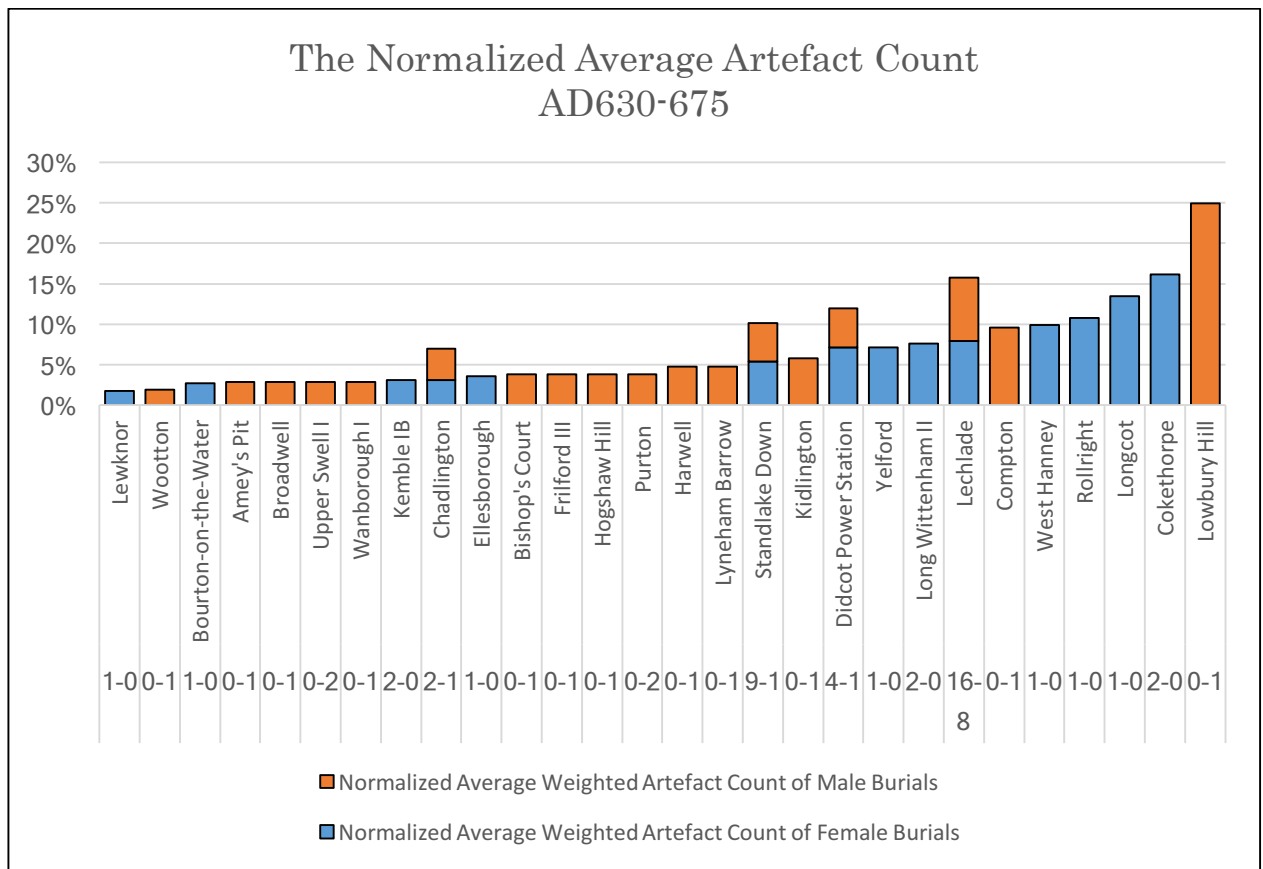
The two sites with the highest average male artefact counts – Lowbury Hill and Compton – are probably supra-local burials, and the fourth wealthiest site – Kidlington – may also be a supra-local burial (Graph 5.27; Fig.5.42). However, the third wealthiest site – Lechlade – has produced the largest sample of Final Phase male gendered burials in the study area, and this makes the average artefact count of these burials all the more exceptional.

No other cemetery in the study area comes close to the average male burial wealth of Lechlade, but Standlake Down, Lyneham Barrow, Harwell and Didcot Power Station appear to exhibit above average male burial wealth, while Wanborough I, Upper Swell I, Broadwell, Amey's Pit and Wootton appear to be relatively impoverished.

Frilford III may also be a super-local burial, but it is relatively impoverished compared to the other supra-local burials.



5.2.3.3 Normalized Average Male and Female Burial Wealth



Graph 5.28: The normalized average weighted artefact count of male and female gendered burials at each cemetery.

When the average artefact counts of male and female burials are normalized and combined, Lechlade appears to be truly exceptional, with the largest sample of Final Phase burials in the study area and the wealthiest male and female burials of any cemetery in the study area, excluding the supra-local burials (Graph 5.28; Fig.5.43). Long Wittenham II has produced a similar average burial wealth to Lechlade, but this is based on a much smaller sample of gendered burials. Yelford has also produced a similar average artefact count, but the single surviving gendered burial at Yelford cannot be considered representative.

Didcot Power Station has produced a similar female average artefact count to Lechlade and Long Wittenham II, but the male burial wealth falls significantly short of the male burial wealth at Lechlade.

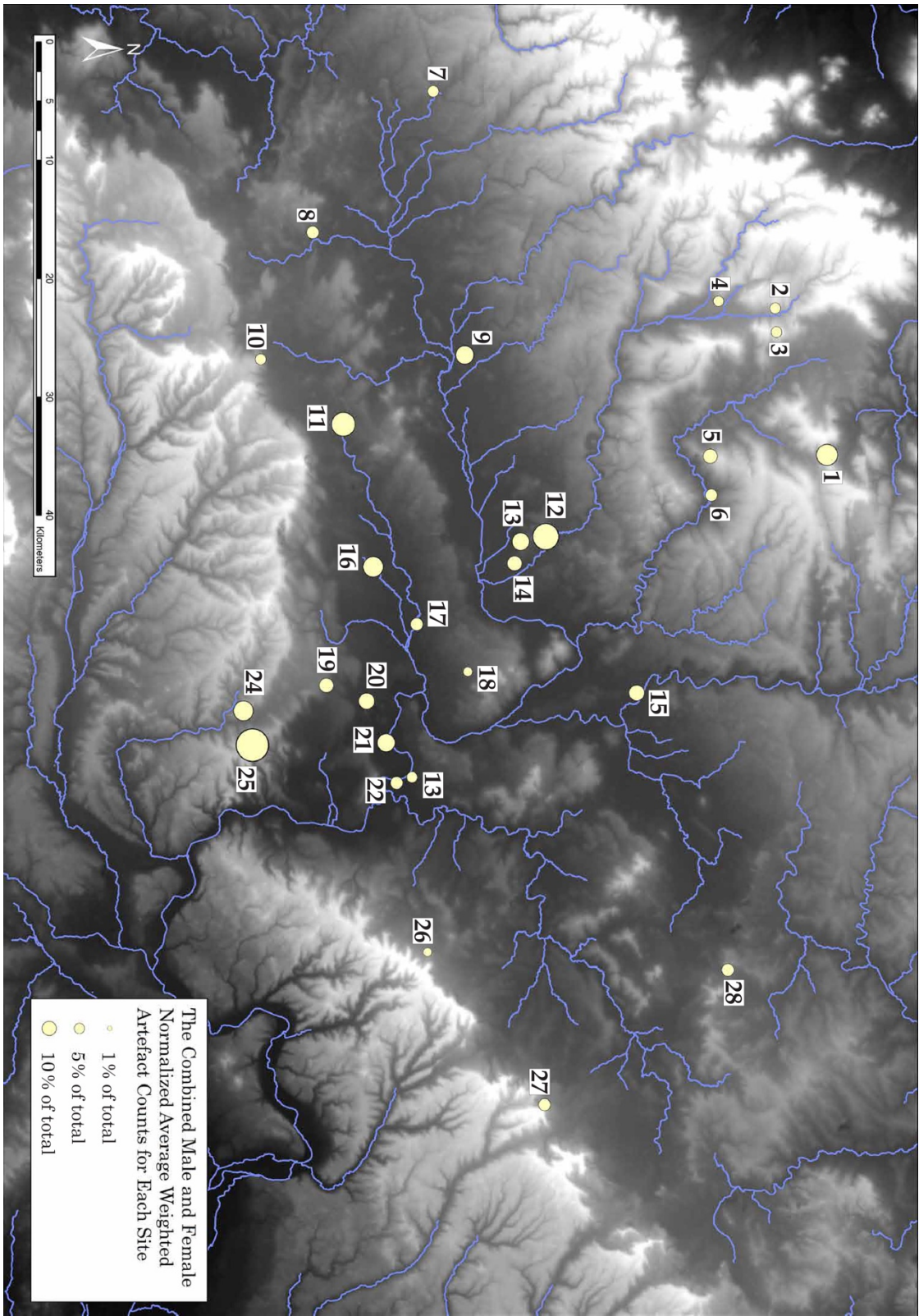


Figure 5.43: The normalized average artefact count of male and female burials at each cemetery, displayed by proportional symbols (1. Rollright 2. Upper Swell I 3. Broadwell 4. Bourton-on-the-Water 5. Lyneham Barrow 6. Chadlington 7. Kemble IB 8. Purton 9. Lechlade 10. Wanborough I 11. Longcot 12. Cokerhorpe 13. Yelford 14. Standlake Down 15. Kidlington 16. West Hanney 17. Frilford III 18. Wootton 19. Harwell 20. Didcot Power Station 21. Long Wittenham II 22. Bishop's Court 23. Amey's Pit 24. Compton 25. Lowbury Hill 26. Lewknor 27. Ellesborough 28. Hogshaw Hill).

5.2.3.4 The Wealthiest Burials

Comparing the wealthiest individual burials from each cemetery, Lechlade once again stands out with the second wealthiest male and female burials in the study area (Graph 5.29-30). Standlake Down – the only other intact Alpha cemetery in the Upper Thames Valley – has also produced an exceptionally wealthy female burial, but the wealthiest male burial at Standlake Down is considerably less impressive, and given the relatively low average artefact count of both male and female burials, Standlake Down cannot compare with the immense wealth recovered from Lechlade.

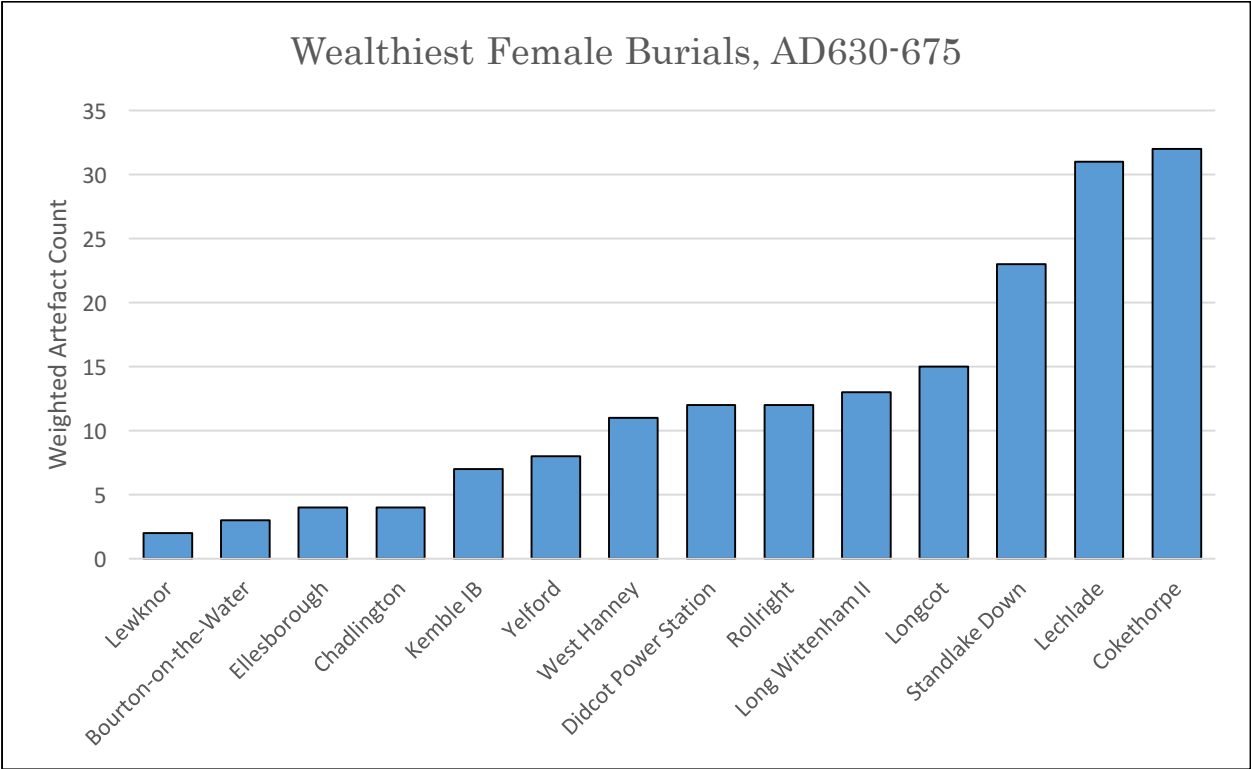
The wealth of individual female burials declines dramatically after Standlake Down, but the wealthiest female burials at Long Wittenham II and Didcot Power Station are still significantly wealthier than any other site, excluding the isolated burials at Longcot, Rollright and West Hanney.

The wealthiest male burials are more difficult to compare quantitatively. The burials at Lechlade, Lowbury Hill and Compton are clearly exceptional, but the seax burials at Kidlington, Purton, Lyneham Barrow, Hogshaw Hill, Frilford III, Chadlington and Bishop's Court may be undervalued by the quantitative methodology (see **Section 4.2.4.2**). The spear burials at Standlake Down, Harwell and Didcot Power Station are relatively unexceptional, but they have produced higher artefact counts than the seax burials at Hogshaw Hill, Frilford III, Chadlington and Bishop's Court.

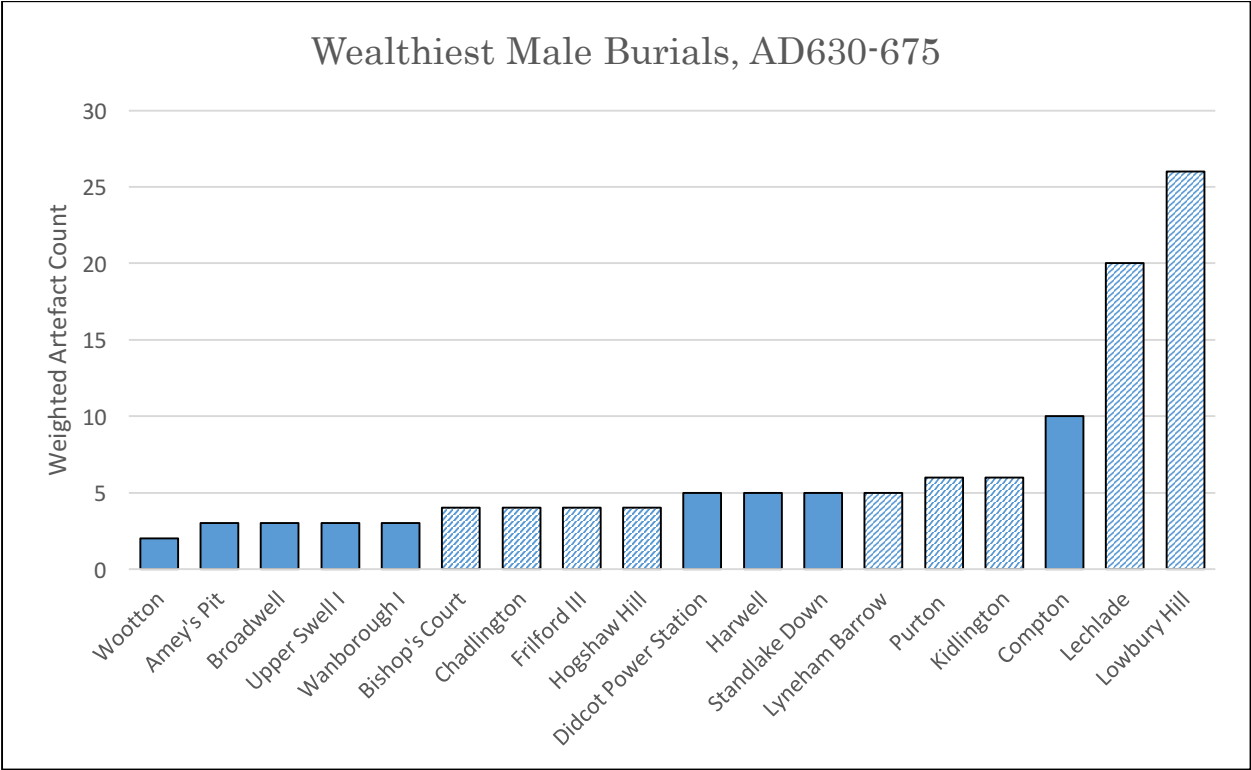
Nevertheless, while Standlake Down and Didcot Power Station have not produced seax burials, they have produced wealthy female burials *and* relatively wealthy male burials. In contrast, Purton, Lyneham Barrow, Hogshaw Hill and Bishop's Court have not produced any female gendered burials, and Kidlington and Frilford III appear to be isolated, possibly supra-local burials. Outside of Lechlade, Standlake Down and Didcot Power Station, only Chadlington has produced relatively wealthy male *and* female burials, and the female burial at Chadlington was interred with an exceptional artefact that may be undervalued by the quantitative methodology (see **Section 4.2.4.2**). This suggests that Standlake Down, Didcot Power Station and Chadlington may be wealthier than the other cemeteries that only interred seax burials.

5.2.3.5 The Distribution of High Status Artefacts

Given the problems in applying the quantitative methodology to Final Phase burials, the distribution of high status artefacts provides a welcome alternative perspective (Fig.4.44); this metric is especially important for analysing the burial wealth of Milton, Ducklington, North Leigh



Graph 5.29: The single wealthiest female burial from each cemetery (Lechlade Burial 71 is excluded; see **Section 4.2.4.2**).



Graph 5.30: The single wealthiest male burial from each cemetery. Burials interred with seaxes or swords are represented by hatched bars, because seaxes may be undervalued by the quantitative methodology (see **Section 4.2.4.2**). The Compton burial may have been interred with a seax, but Dickinson interpreted this artefact as a large knife (Dickinson 1976 II, 92).

and Stanton Harcourt, which are excluded from the quantitative methodology due to their lack of intact adult gendered burials.

The most exceptional artefacts in the study area come from intact adult burials at Lechlade, Chadlington and West Hanney, from a child burial at Ducklington and from the poorly recorded Alpha cemetery at Milton; the 'Abingdon Ring', which may have come from Sutton Courtenay, would also belong among these exceptional artefacts (Hamerow *et al.* 2007, 170-8). Only Lechlade and Milton have produced more than one exceptional artefact, and the most exceptional artefacts in the study area are the three composite disc brooches, recovered from Milton and West Hanney (Fig.5.16).

A second group of slightly less exceptional artefacts, which are less complex and made with less precious materials, have been recovered from Standlake Down, Kemble IB and Rollright. The Kemble IB burial was interred with a composite silver and garnet pin, the Rollright burial was interred with silver and garnet fittings, and the wealthiest burial at Standlake Down was interred with several such artefacts.

The wealthiest burials at most other sites were interred with varying quantities of simple artefacts made with relatively precious materials. The burial at Cokethorpe was interred with a large quantity of silver artefacts and several cowrie shells, but the finished artefacts are all fairly simple. Didcot Power Station and Long Wittenham II have produced similarly simple silver artefacts, while the Longcot burial was interred with silver and amethyst beads, and the Yelford burial was interred with a single amethyst bead.

The male burials exhibit a much more restricted range of artefacts, and most of the wealthy burials in the study area are simple seax and knife burials. Only Compton, Lechlade, Lowbury Hill and Milton have produced more exceptional artefacts; the Compton burial was interred with a Group 7 shield, two spears and a possible seax, and Lechlade has produced several seax burials, one of which was interred with a Group 7 shield and two spears; meanwhile, the Lowbury Hill burial represents an entirely different league, with a sword, Group 7 shield, inlaid spearhead, hanging bowl and silver shield fittings. No assemblages have survived intact from Milton, but the two unassociated seaxes, the unassociated hanging bowl, and the two unassociated swords indicate that the wealthiest male burials at Milton were probably at least as exceptional as Lechlade, and perhaps as exceptional as Lowbury Hill.

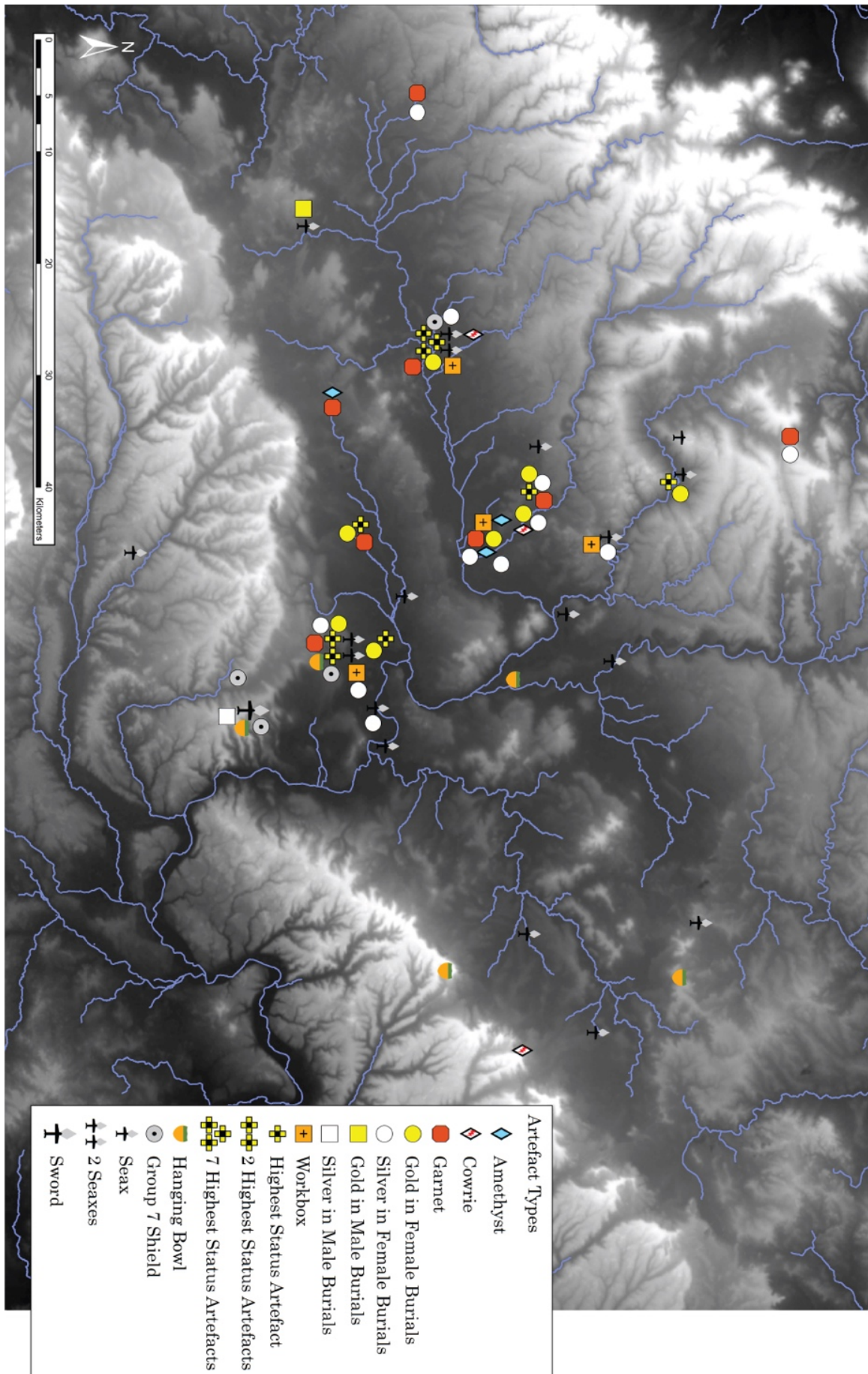


Figure 5.44: The distribution of rare, imported or otherwise high status artefacts in mid-7th Century burials.

5.2.3.6 A Holistic Ranking of Final Phase Burial Wealth

Taking into account the distribution of high status artefacts, the wealthiest individual burials, and the average artefact count, the wealthiest mid-7th Century cemeteries appear to be the Alpha cemeteries at Lechlade and Milton, and the wealthiest isolated supra-local burials appear to be those at Lowbury Hill, Cokethorpe, West Hanney and Ducklington.

Lechlade consistently stands out with the second wealthiest female and male burials in the study area, the highest average artefact count of any cemetery outside of the isolated supra-local burials, and several of the most exceptional artefacts in the study area.

Milton, on the other hand, has not produced any intact grave groups, but the unassociated material is beyond exceptional, surpassing every other site, in both quantity and quality, except Lechlade. Despite its near complete destruction, Milton has produced two composite disc brooches, a hanging bowl, two seaxes and a Group 7 shield. Only Lechlade, one of the best recorded cemeteries in the study area, has produced a greater quantity of exceptional artefacts, and even Lechlade has not produced anything rivalling the Milton composite disc brooches.

Meanwhile, the isolated supra-local burials at Lowbury Hill, West Hanney and Ducklington have also produced some of the most exceptional artefacts in the Upper Thames Valley, clearly setting these burials apart from the other isolated burials. The artefacts interred with the Cokethorpe burial are less exceptional, but the sheer quantity of silver interred in this burial sets it apart from the other isolated burials.

The Alpha cemetery at Standlake Down and the smaller cemeteries at Didcot Power Station, Long Wittenham II and Chadlington appear to be second tier cemeteries, and the isolated burials at Rollright, Longcot and Compton appear to be second tier supra-local burials. North Leigh, which has produced a relatively wealthy child burial and an unassociated seax, may also belong with the second tier cemeteries, although the lack of intact adult gendered burials at North Leigh has excluded it from the quantitative methodology.

Standlake Down has produced the third wealthiest female burial in the study area, but the average artefact count and the quality of high status artefacts recovered from Standlake Down are more on par with the smaller cemeteries at Didcot Power Station and Long Wittenham II. Meanwhile, Chadlington has produced one of the more exceptional artefacts known from the study area, but the average artefact count of Chadlington and the wealth of individual burials are much less impressive.

The isolated burials at Rollright, Longcot and Compton are similarly less exceptional than the isolated burials at Lowbury Hill, Cokethorpe, West Hanney and Ducklington in almost every sense.

Yelford, Purton, Lyneham Barrow, Hogshaw Hill and Bishop's Court appear to be third tier cemeteries, and Frilford III and Kidlington probably represent the lowest tier of supra-local burials. The cemetery at Stanton Harcourt, which lacks intact adult gendered burials, is probably also a third tier cemetery, and on current evidence, Kemble IB also belongs with these cemeteries, although the silver and garnet pin from Kemble IB is suggestive of wealthier burials.

Meanwhile, the burials at Wanborough I, Upper Swell I, Broadwell, Amey's Pit, Wootton, Ellesborough, Bourton-on-the-Water and Lewknor all appear to be relatively impoverished.

5.2.3.7 The Spatial Distribution of Burial Wealth

There appear to be three core concentrations of burial wealth during the mid-7th Century: the Fairford to Lechlade area, the Windrush confluence and the Abingdon to Dorchester area (Fig.5.45). The two wealthiest cemeteries – Lechlade and Milton – and three of the four second tier cemeteries – Standlake Down, Didcot Power Station and Long Wittenham II – are all located in these three areas, and if the isolated burials are excluded, the average artefact count, the wealthiest individual burials and the most exceptional artefacts are all concentrated in these core areas.

Outside of the three core areas, there appears to be a secondary concentration of wealthier cemeteries along the Evenlode river, including Chadlington and North Leigh, but the Evenlode confluence itself is poorly represented among the mid-7th Century burials, and none of the cemeteries from the Evenlode river valley can compare to the three core areas of burial wealth.

Of the three core areas, the Fairford to Lechlade and Abingdon to Dorchester areas appear to be significantly wealthier than the Windrush confluence. The Alpha cemeteries at Lechlade and Milton appear to be significantly wealthier than the Alpha cemetery at Standlake Down, and the smaller cemeteries at Didcot Power Station and Long Wittenham II – part of the Abingdon to Dorchester area – appear to be significantly wealthier than the smaller cemeteries of the Windrush confluence, at Yelford and Stanton Harcourt.

The Fairford to Lechlade and Abingdon to Dorchester areas are more difficult to compare because the Milton cemetery is so poorly recorded, but there is some basis to suggest that the Abingdon to Dorchester area was interring wealthier burials than the Fairford to Lechlade area: the composite

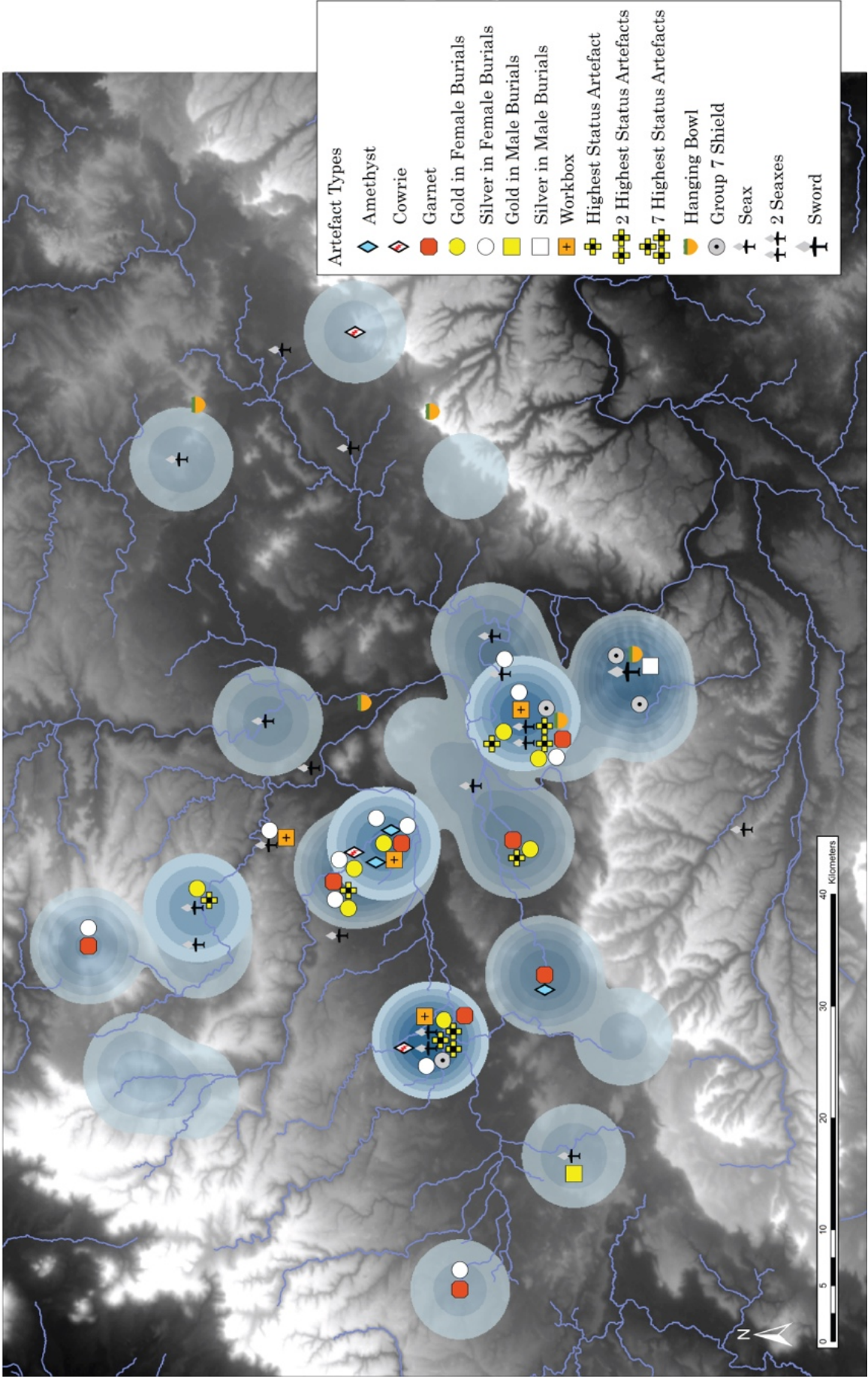


Figure 5.45: The distribution of rare, imported or otherwise high status artefacts in mid-7th Century burials, overlaid on the two-layer kernel density of normalized average burial wealth.

disc brooches recovered from Milton surpass the complexity of any artefact recovered from Lechlade, and although the two swords recovered from Milton are generally assumed to belong to the 6th Century, they may actually date to the 7th Century. Moreover, the two second tier cemeteries at Didcot Power Station and Long Wittenham II are also part of the Abingdon to Dorchester area, and no comparable cemeteries have been discovered in the Fairford to Lechlade area. The ring of isolated supra-local burials surrounding the Abingdon to Dorchester area is also unparalleled in the Fairford to Lechlade area.

5.2.3.8 Conclusions

There appear to be three core concentrations of burial activity in the Upper Thames Valley during the mid-7th Century – the Fairford to Lechlade area, the Windrush confluence and the Abingdon to Dorchester area (see **Section 5.1.2.2**) – and these three core areas of burial activity also appear to be the core concentrations of burial wealth.

Of these three core areas, the Fairford to Lechlade area has produced the wealthiest intact burials, but the surviving artefacts from Milton suggest that this cemetery was originally at least as wealthy as Lechlade, and the concentration of smaller wealthy cemeteries in the Abingdon to Dorchester area, as well as the distinct group of supra-local burials surrounding the Abingdon to Dorchester area, suggest that the Abingdon to Dorchester area may have originally been even wealthier than the Fairford to Lechlade area.

The Abingdon to Dorchester area was an important royal heartland of the West Saxon/Gewissan kingdom at this time (until c.AD661), and the great hall complexes at Sutton Courtenay and Long Wittenham were probably also in use at this time. The Alpha cemetery at Milton, one of the wealthiest, if not the wealthiest mid-7th Century cemetery in the Upper Thames Valley, was located just over 1km south of the great hall complex at Sutton Courtenay, and the wealthiest small cemeteries in the study area – Long Wittenham II and Didcot Power Station – were respectively located just under 1km west of the Long Wittenham great hall complex and just over 2km southeast of the Sutton Courtenay great hall complex (Fig.5.46). Moreover, the Style II mounts recovered from Sutton Courtenay and the ‘Abingdon Ring’, possibly also from Sutton Courtenay (Hamerow *et al.* 2007, 170-8), may indicate the presence of at least one exceptionally wealthy mid-7th Century burial at the Sutton Courtenay great hall complex itself, although the context of these artefacts is unknown and they may represent casual losses rather than grave goods.

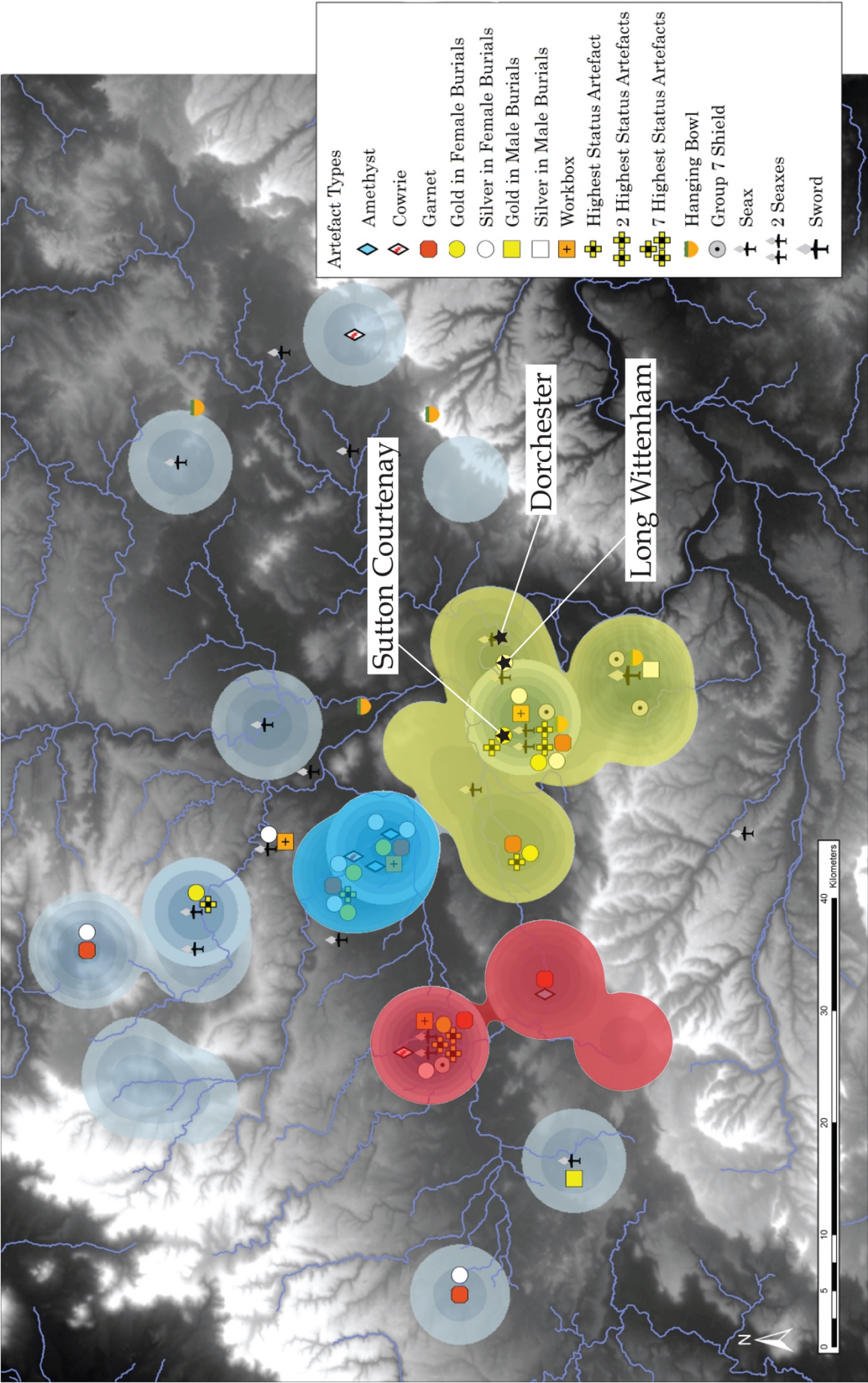


Figure 5.46: The core areas of 7th Century burials and burial wealth, showing the locations of the great hall complexes at Sutton Courtenay and Long Wittenham and the episcopal seat at Dorchester (Fairford to Lechlade area: red; Windrush confluence: blue; Abingdon to Dorchester area: yellow).

5.3 The Development of Socio-Economic Power in Burial

5.3.1 Power in Numbers

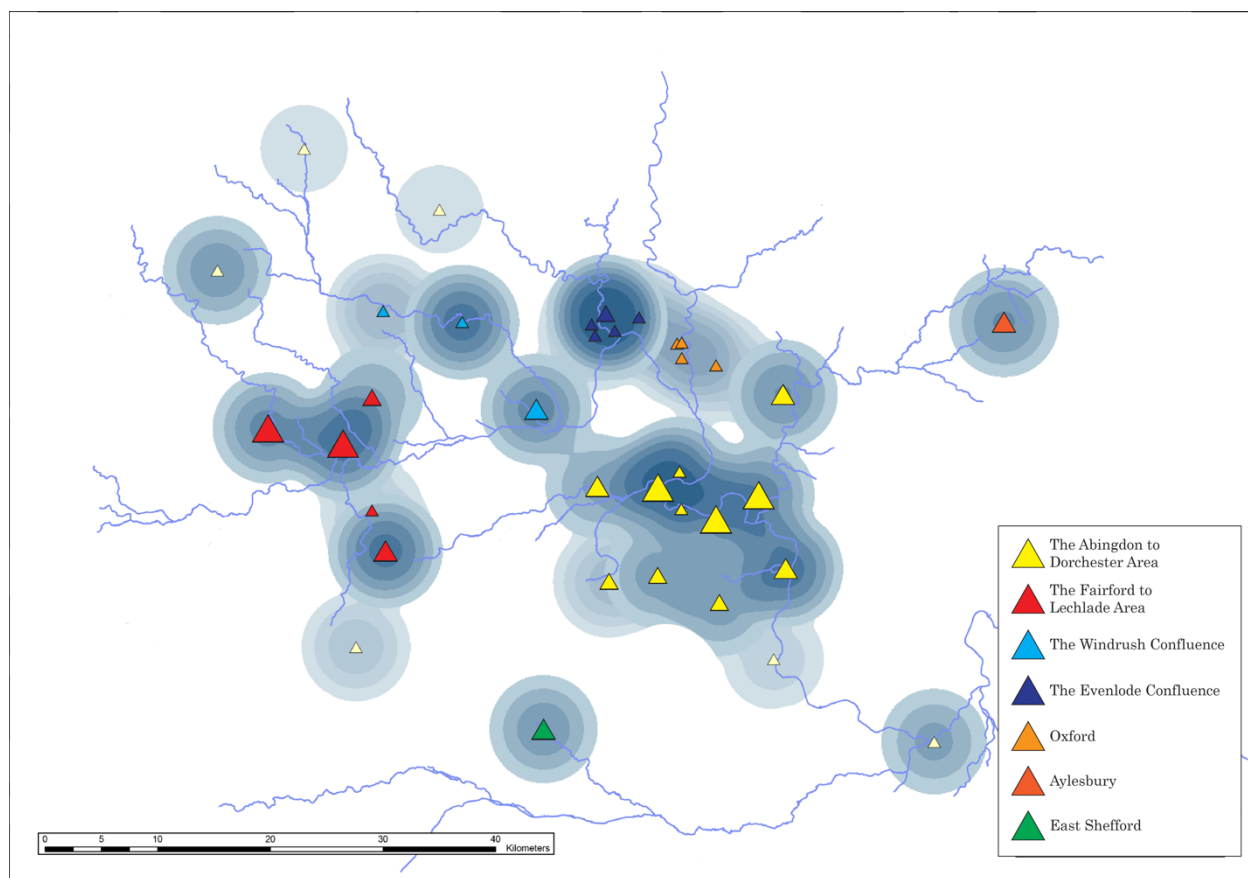


Figure 5.47: The kernel density of burial wealth, showing the hypothetical burying communities. The supra-local concentrations of large cemeteries in the Fairford to Lechlade and Abingdon to Dorchester areas were probably the largest, most powerful and most socio-politically complex communities in the Upper Thames Valley during the 6th Century.

From the beginning of the 6th Century, the Fairford to Lechlade and Abingdon to Dorchester areas appear to have been the core areas of burial activity in the Upper Thames Valley. These two areas were home to all of the largest cemeteries in the study area, and these clusters of large Alpha cemeteries appear to have acted as supra-local nodes of activity, giving rise to a dendritic network of Beta and Gamma cemeteries, radiating outward from these core areas (Fig.5.47).

Larger burying communities probably went hand-in-hand with greater socio-political complexity and greater socio-economic power, and dense clusters of large burying communities, linked together by the river network, were probably especially conducive to the development of supra-local socio-political units, compounding the potential socio-political complexity and socio-economic power of each individual community.

The supra-local clusters of Alpha, Beta and Gamma cemeteries in the Fairford to Lechlade and Abingdon to Dorchester areas were therefore probably the first supra-local socio-political units to emerge in the Upper Thames Valley, and these supra-local socio-political units were probably the most socio-politically complex and socio-economically powerful communities in the study area.

This is borne out by the distribution of burial wealth: the wealthiest 6th Century cemeteries, according to the normalized average artefact count, are concentrated in these two areas, and these cemeteries have also produced the largest and most varied assemblages of high status artefacts, as well as the wealthiest individual burials and the most extreme degree of wealth inequality.

5.3.2 The Formation of Supra-Local Socio-Political Units

Over the course of the 6th Century, burial wealth appears to have become increasingly concentrated in certain burials and in certain cemeteries. The wealthiest individual burials in the study area are all datable to the mid-6th or late 6th/early 7th Century, and gendered burial appears to have been increasingly restricted to a select few cemeteries over the course of the later 6th Century. This suggests that the burying communities of the Upper Thames Valley were becoming increasingly hierarchical and probably increasingly socio-politically complex, and certain burying communities may have become increasingly dominant over the course of the mid-to-late 6th Century.

During the mid-6th Century, the Fairford to Lechlade area, especially the cemeteries at Lechlade and Watchfield, appears to have become the primary concentration of burial wealth in the Upper Thames Valley, and given the extreme wealth concentrated in individual burials in these cemeteries, especially Grave 18 at Lechlade, it seems justified to suggest the development of a supra-local socio-political unit in the Fairford to Lechlade area around this time.

However, sometime during the later 6th Century, there appears to have been a significant shift in the distribution of burial wealth, from the Fairford to Lechlade area to the Abingdon to Dorchester area. The diagnostic late 6th/early 7th Century grave goods are heavily concentrated in the Abingdon to Dorchester area, and the wealthiest late 6th/early 7th Century burials are also concentrated in this area.

This shift in the balance of power, from the Fairford to Lechlade area to the Abingdon to Dorchester area, coincides with the historically documented emergence of the West Saxon/Gewissan kingdom in the Abingdon to Dorchester area, around AD570-590 (Dickinson 1976; Dumville 1985, 50-6; Hawkes 1986; Blair 1994; Yorke 1995; Hamerow 1999b; Hamerow *et al.* 2013). It seems likely that a supra-local socio-political unit had already emerged in the Abingdon to Dorchester area during the mid-6th Century, probably in parallel with the Fairford to

Lechlade area (cf. Renfrew 1986 for simultaneous change among peer polities), but the shift in burial wealth towards the Abingdon to Dorchester area during the late 6th Century probably marked the development of the first *supra-regional* socio-political unit in the Upper Thames Valley.

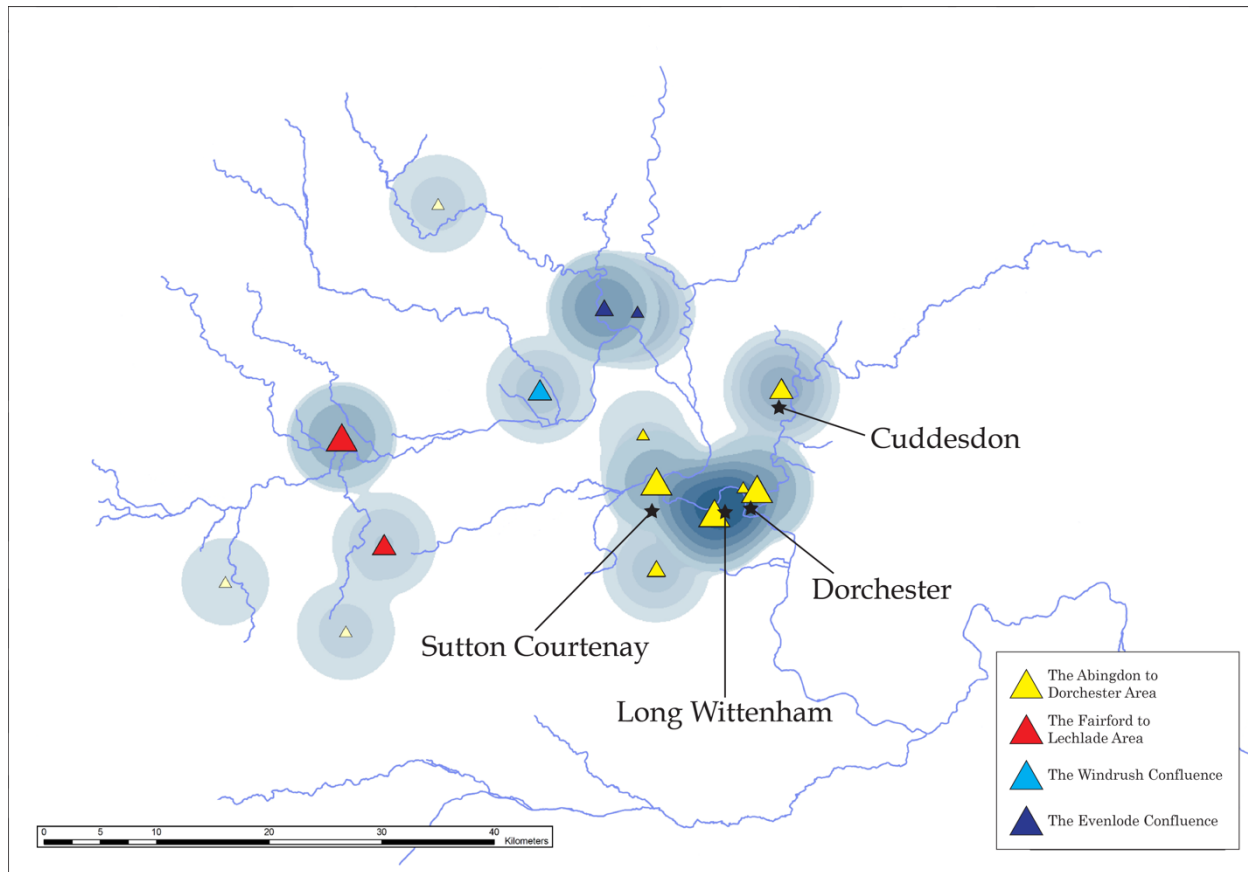


Figure 5.48: The concentration of burial wealth in the Abingdon to Dorchester area during the late 6th/early 7th Century was soon followed by the emergence of the great hall complexes at Sutton Courtenay and Long Wittenham, the establishment of the first West Saxon bishopric at Dorchester, and the interment of the princely burial at Cuddesdon.

5.3.3 Expansion and Consolidation of the West Saxon/Gewissan Kingdom

The Gewisse appear to have rapidly extended their hegemony over the entire Upper Thames Valley, allegedly capturing Cirencester, Gloucester and Bath in AD577, fighting at Woden's Barrow in Wiltshire, in AD592, and even harrying King Æthelberht of Kent (Dumville 1985, 50-6; Yorke 1995, 32-6). Bede went so far as to suggest that King Ceawlin of Wessex held *imperium* over all of southern England at this time (Bede HE II, ch.5).

However, this account is probably misleading. The nascent kingdoms of the late 6th and earlier 7th Centuries were probably not stable territorial units, but rather extensive and unstable military hegemonies, resembling large-scale protection rackets, in which relatively small and mobile

warbands conducted raids well outside of their territorial base and exacted tribute under threat of force from a large area (Yorke 1990, 157-62; Scull 1993). Initially, these hegemonies probably did not have the power to replace or directly control the existing elites of neighbouring groups; instead, these hegemonies merely sought to maintain dominance over existing elites through force, gifts, oaths of fealty and the extraction of tribute.

This is consistent with the archaeological evidence for the Upper Thames Valley, which suggests that the power of the West Saxon/Gewissan kings was relatively superficial at this time, even within the Upper Thames Valley. All of the known early 7th Century high status settlements – Sutton Courtenay, Long Wittenham and Dorchester (see **Section 7.2**) – were located within the Abingdon to Dorchester area, suggesting a rudimentary and superficial regional power structure, concentrating all power in the royal heartland, with little evidence for a wider administrative bureaucracy (this is discussed in depth in **Chapters 7-8**).

This is also supported by the distribution of mid-7th Century burials and burial wealth. There appear to be three core concentrations of mid-7th Century burials and burial wealth in the Upper Thames Valley – the Abingdon to Dorchester area, the Fairford to Lechlade area, and the Windrush confluence – and it is by no means clear, from either the distribution of burials or the distribution of burial wealth, that the Abingdon to Dorchester area was the dominant power in the study area at this time and the heartland of a supra-regional kingdom. The Fairford to Lechlade area continued to inter immensely wealthy burials in the 7th Century, and based purely on the burial evidence, it would be easy to mistake Lechlade for the heart of the West Saxon/Gewissan kingdom at this time. Meanwhile, the Windrush confluence and the Windrush and Evenlode river valleys appear to have actually become more important during the 7th Century.

In fact, the only direct evidence for West Saxon/Gewissan power outside of the Abingdon to Dorchester area are the isolated supra-local burials immediately surrounding the Abingdon to Dorchester area. It has been previously argued that these isolated elite burials, some of which express direct links to the Abingdon to Dorchester area, attest to the integration of neighbouring communities into the West Saxon/Gewissan heartland (see **Section 5.1.2.3**). The distribution of these burials, however, immediately surrounding the Abingdon to Dorchester area and the absence of similar supra-local burials with clear links to the Abingdon to Dorchester area in other parts of the Upper Thames Valley suggests that the West Saxon/Gewissan kings were still focused on consolidating power in the immediate vicinity of the royal heartland well into the mid-7th Century. The other core areas of the Upper Thames Valley – the Fairford to Lechlade area and the Windrush Confluence – may have been only superficially dominated at this time.

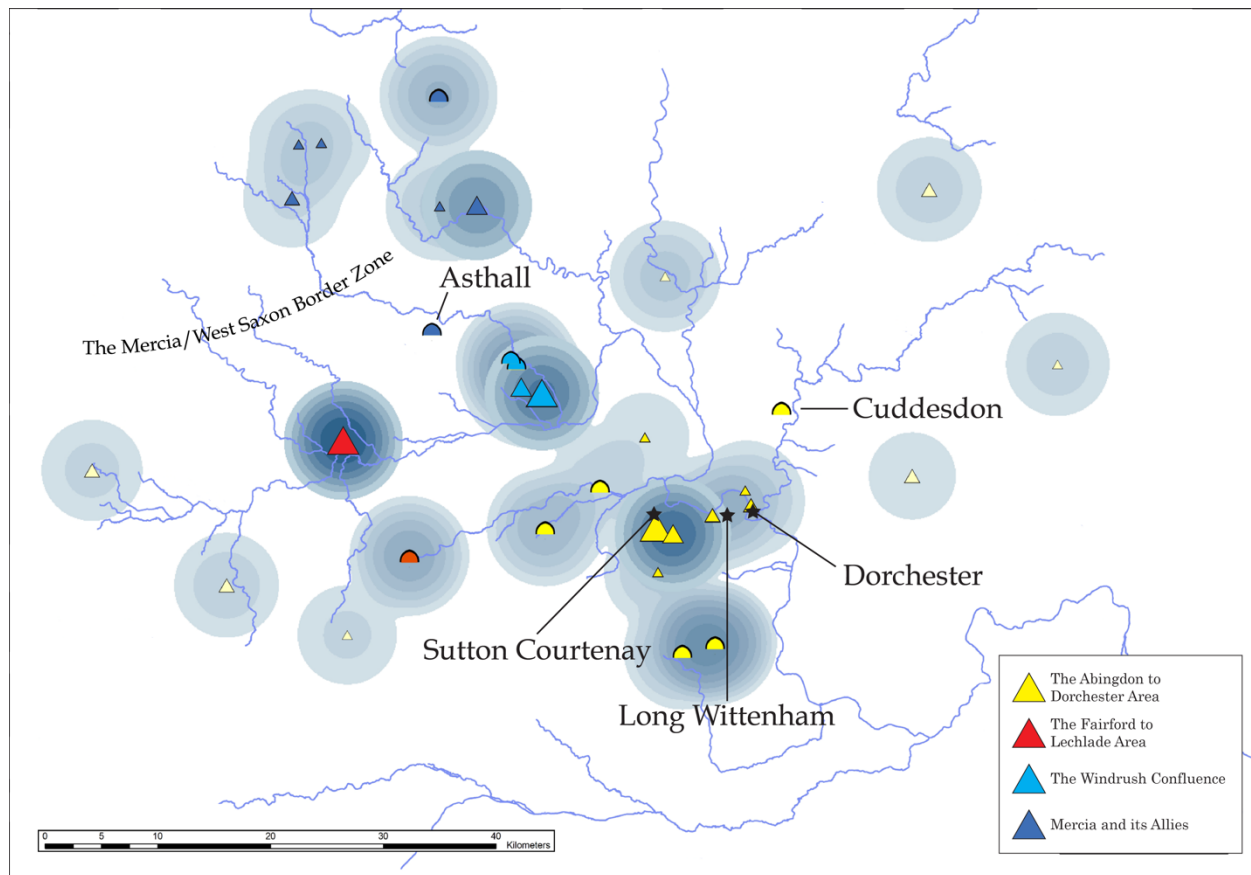


Figure 5.49: Burial wealth and burying communities in the mid-7th Century, showing the consolidation of West Saxon/Gewissan power in the immediate vicinity of the Abingdon to Dorchester area through the use of isolated supra-local burials.

This appears to be consistent with the national pattern of early 7th Century great hall complexes, which show little evidence for complex settlement hierarchy and many of which appear to be clustered in royal heartlands (see **Section 2.2.2.2, 3.3.4-5, 7.2.12**). This is also supported by the distribution of high status settlements in the Upper Thames Valley, which appear to be exclusively located in the Abingdon to Dorchester area during the earlier 7th Century and which only spread to other areas of the Upper Thames Valley during the later 7th and 8th Centuries. The distribution of settlement evidence and the consolidation of power in the Upper Thames Valley is the subject of the next two chapters, **Chapters 6-7**.

Power and Place in the Upper Thames Valley

Chapter 6: Settlement Methodology

This chapter outlines the Aims (Section 6.1) and Methodology (Section 6.2) for analysing settlements in the Upper Thames Valley. **Chapter 7** reports the results of this analysis.

6.1 The Aims

The primary aim of the Upper Thames Valley case study is to better understand the role of great hall complexes in kingdom formation, by reconstructing the regional development of socio-economic power in the Upper Thames Valley and by situating the great hall complexes within this development.

This part of the case study (**Chapters 6-7**) aims to reconstruct the development of socio-economic power in the Upper Thames Valley, from the late 5th to mid-8th Century, by analysing the changing distribution of settlement activity and by analysing the development of high status settlements.

In contrast to the burials analysis (**Chapters 4-5**), the settlements analysis deals directly with the great hall complexes themselves, particularly in the analysis of high status settlements.

6.2 The Methodology

This study uses two metrics to analyse the development of socio-economic power in settlements: the distribution of settlement activity (Section 6.2.3.1) and the analysis of high status settlements (Section 6.2.3.2).

6.2.1 The Settlements Data

6.2.1.1 The Sources

The settlements dataset used in this study is based primarily on the Pastscape database and the county Historic Environment Records. These databases are further supplemented by The Bournemouth Archaeological Investigations Project database (<https://cswb.bournemouth.ac.uk/aip/aipintro.htm>), the Tribal Hidage database (provided by Sue Harrington), Freda Berisford's unpublished B.Litt. thesis (Berisford 1973), and the online report archives of Oxford Archaeology (<https://library.thehumanjourney.net>), Thames Valley Archaeological Services (<http://tvas.co.uk/reports/reports.asp>) and Cotswold Archaeology (<http://reports.cotswoldarchaeology.co.uk/>) (see **Appendix 3** for a catalogue of all settlement sites and references).

The study area from which the settlements dataset has been gathered is largely co-terminus with the modern administrative units of Oxfordshire, Swindon, West Berkshire, Gloucestershire's Cotswold district, Wiltshire's North Wiltshire district, and Buckinghamshire's Aylesbury Vale and Wycombe districts, although certain sites that lie outside the Upper Thames Valley – in southeast Oxfordshire, south and east Berkshire, southwest North Wiltshire, and northwest Cotswold – are excluded from the analysis.

The dataset of cropmark sites, on the other hand, is based almost entirely on Benson and Miles' (1974a) aerial survey of the Upper Thames Valley river gravels. Unfortunately, this survey does not include sites west of Lechlade or sites outside of the Thames basin, and cropmark data is not readily available for these areas. While the Upper Thames Valley cropmarks have been surveyed by the National Mapping Programme, the NMP has not, to the knowledge of this author, produced a catalogue of Anglo-Saxon cropmark sites like that available in Benson and Miles (1974a). A few additional sites are listed in Pastscape and the County HERs, but by-and-large, the Benson and Miles survey is much more exhaustive (see **Appendix 3** for a catalogue of all cropmarks sites and references).

6.2.1.2 The Settlement Sites

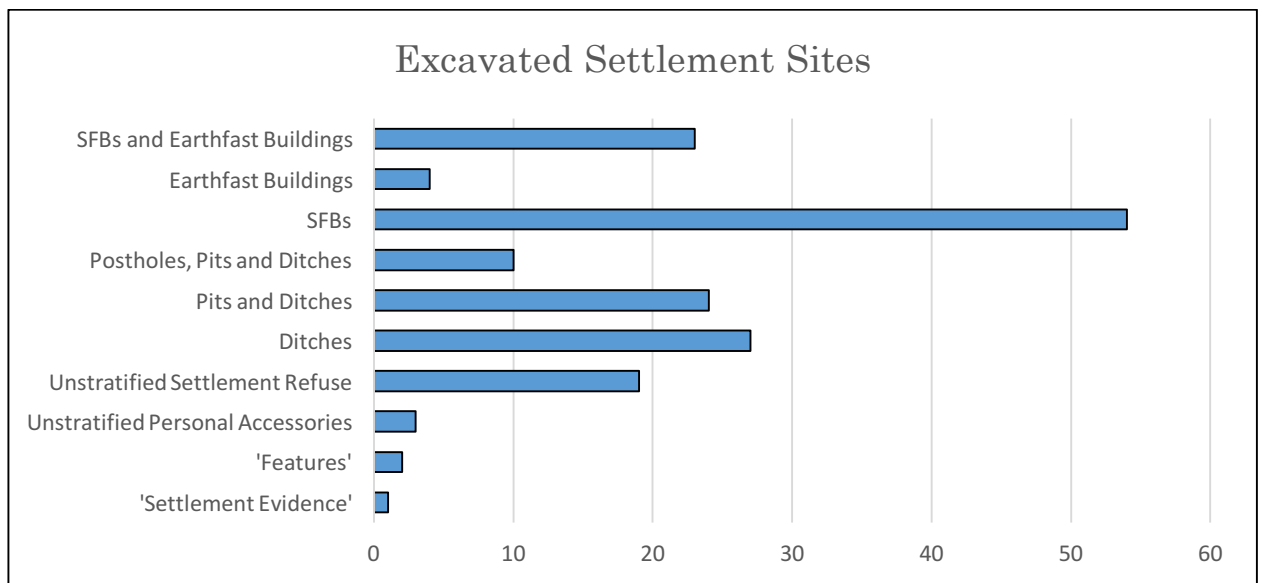
This study includes 167 excavated settlement sites and 47 cropmark sites (Graph 6.1; Fig.6.1) (see catalogue in **Appendix 3**). The evidence for Anglo-Saxon occupation at these sites ranges from earthfast buildings and sunken-feature buildings to postholes and unstratified artefacts. All of these sites provide some evidence of Anglo-Saxon activity, but the 82 sites with earthfast buildings and/or sunken-feature buildings form the backbone of the analysis.

6.2.2 The Chronology

6.2.2.1 Dating

Early Anglo-Saxon settlement features are characteristically difficult to date. This is partially due to a lack of closely datable artefacts, but it is predominantly due to the nature of the deposits themselves, which are typically secondary or tertiary and which can contain an assortment of refuse from a century or more of occupation (Tipper 2004; Hamerow 2012, 60-1, 67-70).

For this reason, settlement features are not individually dated in this study, and most sites are treated as a single chronological entity, in which all features of that site are treated as contemporaneous. Only a handful of long-lived and well-excavated sites, like Yarnton and Eynsham Abbey, can be confidently divided into more than one phase.



Graph 6.1: The Anglo-Saxon settlement sites (Unstratified Settlement Refuse: artefacts typically recovered from settlement sites, e.g. pin beaters, loomweights, combs; Unstratified Personal Accessories: artefacts that could come from settlements or burials, e.g. beads, knives; 'Features': sites described as 'Anglo-Saxon features', nothing else is known; 'Settlement Evidence': sites described as 'Anglo-Saxon settlement evidence', nothing else is known).

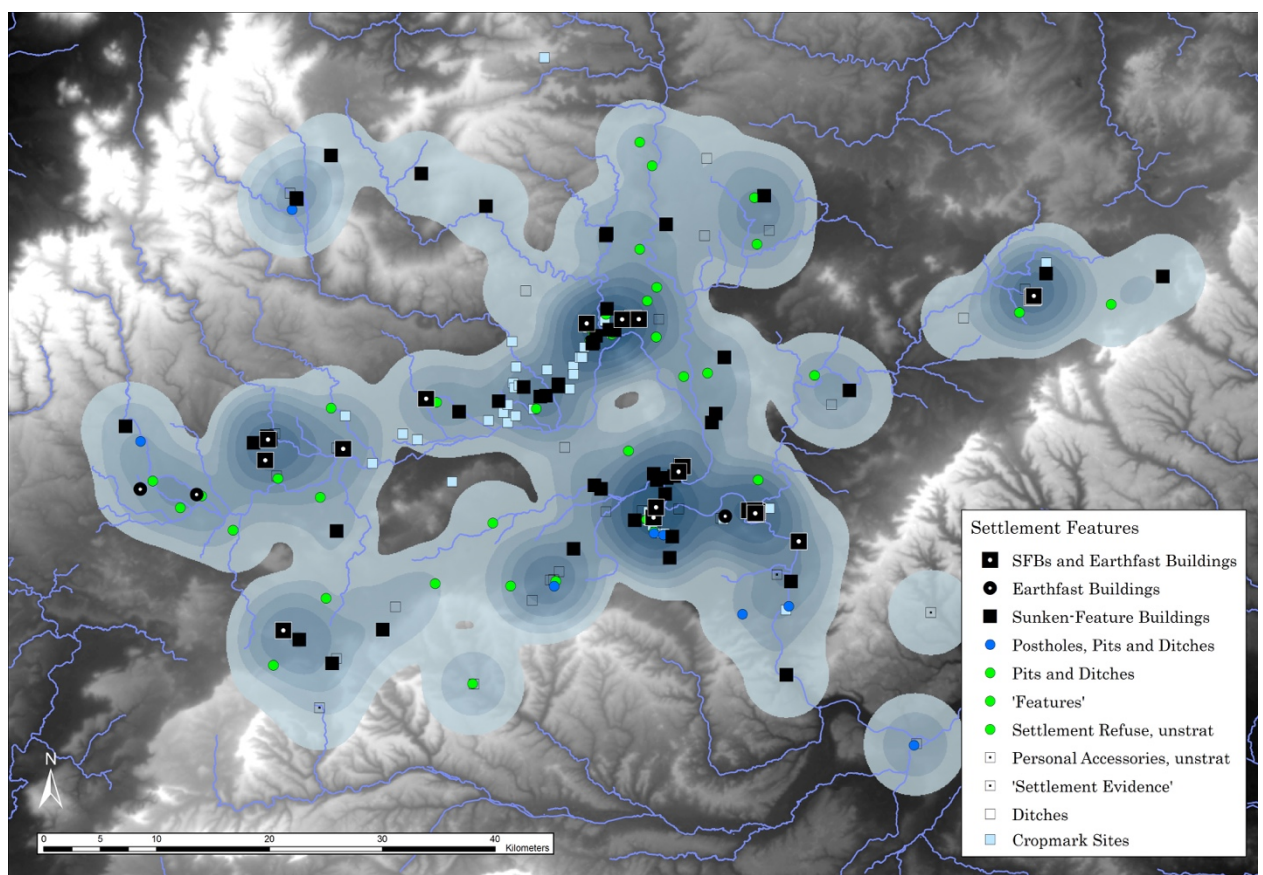


Figure 6.1: All settlement sites analysed in this study, including 167 excavated settlement sites and 47 cropmark sites (see **Appendix 3** for a catalogue of all settlement sites).

6.2.2.2 Phasing

The settlement sites are divided into three chronological phases: the 6th Century, the 7th Century and the late 7th/8th Century. For each of these phases, each site and, where relevant, each phase of each site is classified as ‘probably occupied’, ‘possibly occupied’ or ‘not occupied’ (see **Appendix 3** for the phasing of each site).

6.2.3 The Two Metrics of Socio-Economic Power

6.2.3.1 The Distribution of Settlement Activity

The first and most straightforward metric of socio-economic power in settlement is the distribution of settlement activity. Larger settlements suggest larger communities and denser settlement activity suggests more intensively exploited landscapes with closer connections between neighbouring communities. Densely clustered settlement activity probably gave way to larger communities, and clusters of large communities may have given way to supra-local communities. Larger settlements and denser settlement activity therefore probably went hand-in-hand with more complex social organization and greater socio-economic power (cf. Boyd and Richerson 1988; Richerson *et al.* 2003 for the correlation between group size and hierarchy). The distribution of settlement activity is therefore an important baseline for understanding the distribution of socio-economic power.

In this study, the distribution of settlement activity is estimated through a combination of four methods: the distribution of all excavated settlement sites, the distribution of excavated sunken-feature buildings, the distribution of excavated earthfast buildings, and the distribution of unexcavated settlement sites.

6.2.3.1.1 The Distribution of All Excavated Settlement Sites

The distribution of all excavated settlement sites analyses the distribution of all 167 settlement sites included in this study, treating each site as a single, interchangeable data point. This is the most straightforward method of analysing settlement density, but it is severely limited. A single extensive excavation is treated as a single data point, regardless of how extensive the settlement may be, while several neighbouring excavations are treated as separate sites, although they may be part of the same settlement. Similarly, a site producing a single pit is treated interchangeably with a site producing 40 sunken-feature buildings. To address these limitations, the distribution of all settlement sites is compared with the distribution of sunken-feature buildings.

6.2.3.1.2 The Distribution of Excavated Sunken-Feature Buildings

The distribution of excavated sunken feature buildings analyses the distribution of distinct (i.e. not intercutting) sunken-feature buildings, taking into account the number of sunken-feature buildings at each site. Sunken-feature buildings are the most consistent and easily identifiable feature found on Anglo-Saxon settlements, and they are therefore the most reliable indication of the density of settlement activity.

However, sunken-feature buildings may be less representative of settlement activity in more westerly areas of the Upper Thames Valley, where non-Anglo-Saxon building forms may be more common (see **Section 6.2.4.2**). Moreover, sunken-feature buildings generally became less common on Anglo-Saxon settlements over the course of the 7th and 8th Centuries (Tipper 2004, 11-4), and for these reasons, the distribution of sunken-feature buildings is compared with the distribution of earthfast buildings.

6.2.3.1.3 The Distribution of Excavated Earthfast Buildings

The distribution of excavated earthfast buildings analyses the distribution of distinct (i.e. not intercutting) earthfast buildings with an area larger than 20m² – the positive identification of smaller earthfast structures is considerably more difficult, more inconsistent and ultimately less significant (the 20m² threshold is based on the distinction between “free-standing rectangular post-built structures” and “ancillary structures” at Barrow Hills, the former having areas more than 25m² and the later having areas less than 15m²; Chambers and McAdam 2007, 67).

The *excavated* settlement sites, however, only account for a fraction of the total settlement record, and the sample of excavated sites may be unrepresentative of the total.

6.2.3.1.4 The Distribution of Unexcavated Settlement Sites

To assess the robustness of the excavated sample, the circumstances of discovery for each settlement site are analysed for potential biases, and the distribution of excavated sites is compared with the distribution of Anglo-Saxon cropmark sites. The positive identification of sunken-feature buildings in aerial photographs is itself highly unreliable, but this nevertheless gives some indication of the distribution of *possible* sites.

Ideally, the distribution of Anglo-Saxon settlement sites would also be compared against the distribution of Prehistoric, Roman and Medieval activity, both settlement and other monument types. However, a comparable dataset for these periods was not readily available for this study, and building such a dataset is outside the scope of this study. The English Landscape and Identities Project (EngLaId) has recently built a truly immense database of sites, stretching from the Bronze

Age to the Norman Conquest, for the entirety of England. However, the sites in the EngLaId database are only recorded to the nearest square kilometre, enabling only the broadest of comparisons at the sub-regional scale, and the organization of the database differs significantly from the present study. A comparison of Anglo-Saxon settlement records from the EngLaId database with the present dataset used in this study shows significant differences (cf. Green *et al.* 2017; The English Landscape and Identities Project 2017). Suffice to say, these databases are built for different purposes, and they are therefore not readily comparable.

6.2.3.2 High Status Settlements

The second metric of socio-economic power in settlement is the analysis of high status settlements. This section identifies and analyses a range of high status settlements, considering the evidence for each site individually before exploring the emergence, development and changing distribution of high status settlement as a single overarching phenomenon.

This analysis includes known high status settlements, like the great hall complexes at Sutton Courtenay and Long Wittenham, but it also includes the tentative identification and analysis of a range of other possible high status settlement sites. The identification of these other possible high status settlement sites is based on the identifying characteristics of great hall complexes, including the size of the buildings, the architectural style of the buildings, the spatial layout of the site, the evidence for ritual activity, and the evidence for high status material culture and high status craft-working. The evidence for these other possible high status sites does not stand out on a national scale, but these sites do appear to be outliers among the excavated settlements of the Upper Thames Valley, exhibiting larger than average or more robust buildings, an unusual degree of spatial organization, an unusual density of ritual activity and/or an unusual quantity or quality of high status material culture and/or craft-working.

6.2.4 Methodological Limitations

6.2.4.1 The Distribution of Anglo-Saxon Material Culture

The distribution of settlement activity is based in large part on the distribution of sunken-feature buildings, which are a distinctively Anglo-Saxon building form, and the identification of possible high status settlement sites is based on the characteristics of great hall complexes, which are a distinctively Anglo-Saxon expression of power (see **Section 3.1.3**). However, John Blair has argued that the Upper Thames Valley lay on the edge of the Anglo-Saxon building tradition (Blair 2013a), and as such, the more westerly areas of the Upper Thames Valley may have utilized non-Anglo-Saxon building forms and non-Anglo-Saxon expressions of power. The apparent expansion

of Anglo-Saxon material culture into the Cotswolds during the 7th Century lends some support to this possibility; however, the sites around Fairford and Lechlade, at the western edge of the Upper Thames Valley, have produced substantial evidence for Anglo-Saxon material culture, including the third largest excavated settlement and the second largest excavated cemetery in the study area. Nevertheless, the possibility of unrecognized non-Anglo-Saxon settlements and non-Anglo-Saxon high status sites cannot be ruled out.

Power and Place in the Upper Thames Valley

Chapter 7: Power in Settlement

This chapter presents the analysis of the settlement evidence for the Upper Thames Valley. The aim is to reconstruct the regional development of socio-economic power in the Upper Thames Valley, from the late 5th to mid-8th Century, by analysing the distribution of settlement activity (**Section 7.1**) and the development of high status settlements (**Section 7.2**).

Section 7.1 identifies the primary concentrations of Anglo-Saxon settlement, building on the distribution of burials analysed in **Chapter 5**, to reconstruct the location, size and structure of the primary Anglo-Saxon communities in the Upper Thames Valley, from the late 5th to mid-8th Century.

Section 7.2 identifies, compares and contrasts a range of different possible high status settlement sites, bringing together the evidence from each of these sites to explore the overall development of high status settlements in the Upper Thames Valley, from the late 5th to mid-8th Century.

The distribution of settlement activity and the analysis of high status settlement sites form an essential part of understanding the regional context of great hall complexes and the role of great hall complexes in kingdom formation. The great hall complexes themselves feature prominently in this chapter, but the wider relationship between burials, burial wealth, settlements, high status sites and great hall complexes and the role of each of these elements in the formation of the West Saxon/Gewissan kingdom is discussed in more detail in **Chapter 8**, the concluding chapter of **Part II**.

7.1 The Distribution of Settlement Activity

7.1.1 The Distribution of All Excavated Settlement Sites

This study includes 167 excavated settlement sites, ranging from extensive scatters of sunken-feature buildings to isolated pits and unstratified domestic refuse (see **Section 6.2.1.2**; also see **Appendix 3** for a full catalogue of settlement sites). These sites are heavily concentrated along the river network, especially within the Thames basin, but there are also significant concentrations of settlement along the Cole, Windrush, Evenlode, Cherwell, Ock and Thame watersheds (Fig.7.1).

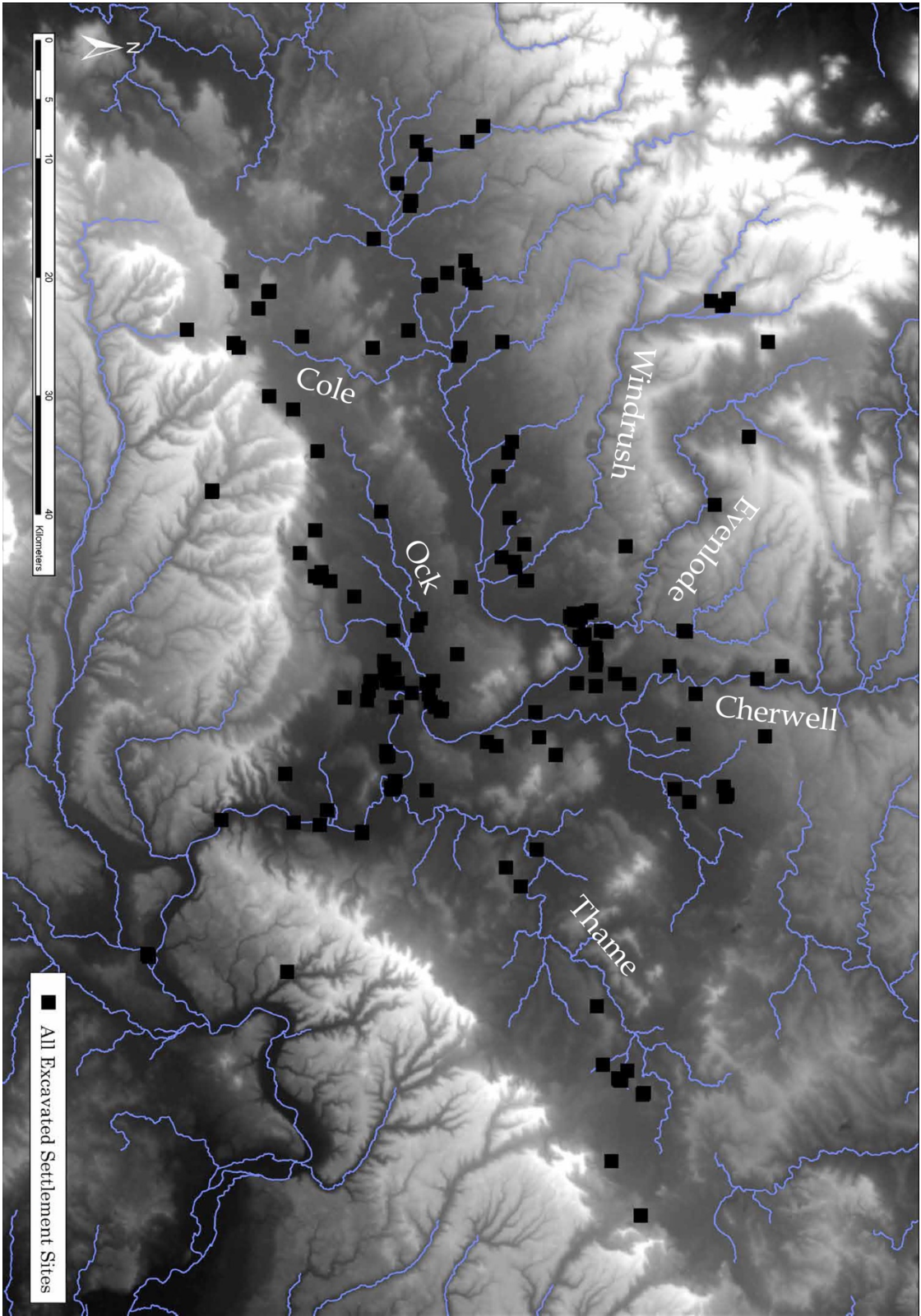


Figure 7.1: The 167 excavated settlement sites analysed in this study are heavily concentrated along the river network (see **Appendix 3** for a full catalogue of settlement sites).

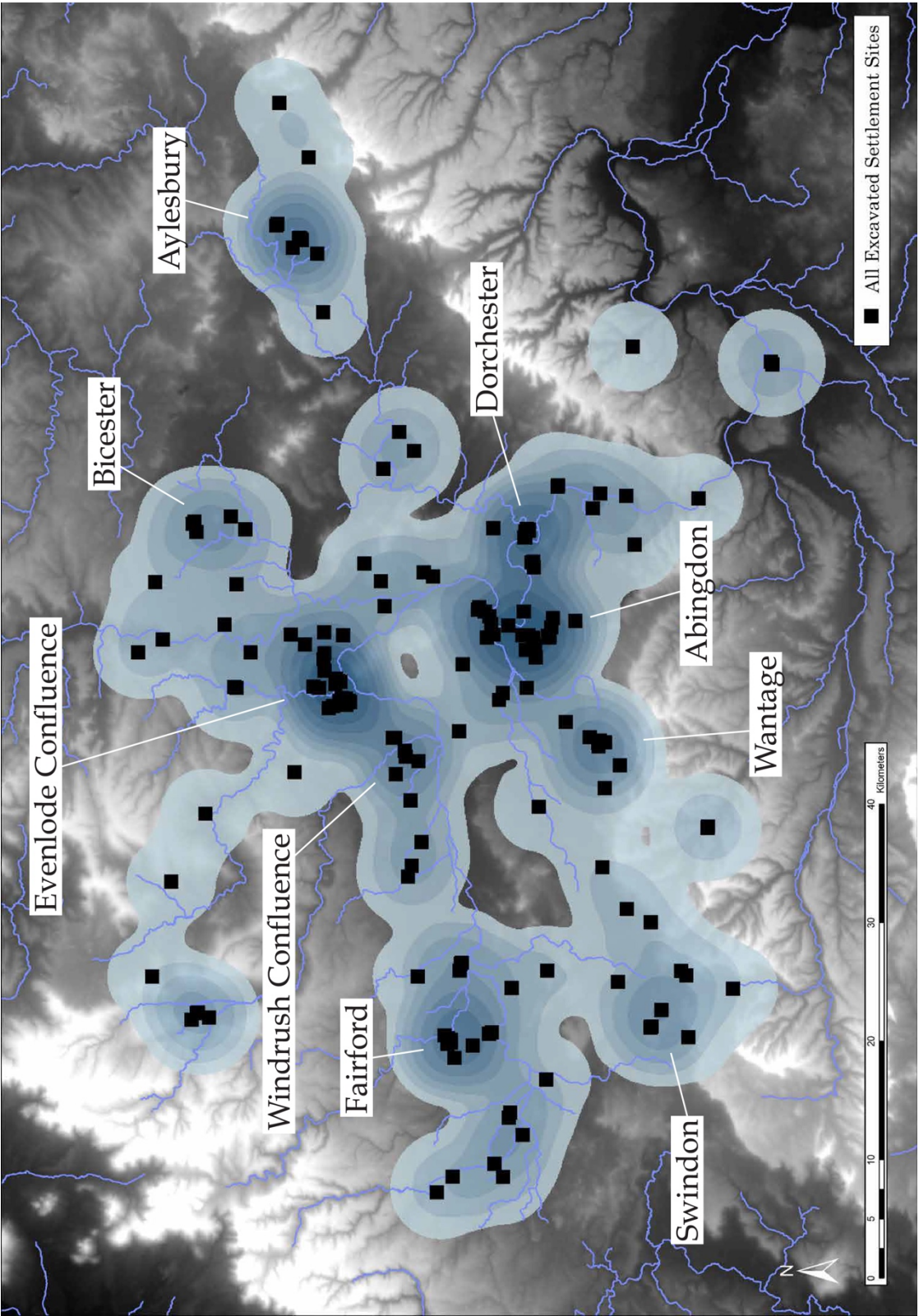


Figure 7.2: The unweighted kernel density of all excavated settlement sites, showing the primary and secondary concentrations of sites.

The densest concentrations of excavated settlement sites are found around Fairford (Glos.), the Evenlode confluence (Oxon.), Abingdon (Oxon.), Dorchester (Oxon.) and Aylesbury (Bucks.), and there appear to be secondary concentrations of excavated settlement sites around the Windrush confluence (Oxon.), Swindon (Wilts.), Wantage (Oxon.) and Bicester (Oxon.) (Fig.7.2).

However, this distribution is misleading because it fails to take into account the size of each settlement and the nature of the evidence for each site, and as such, it is important to compare the distribution of all excavated settlement sites with the distribution of excavated sunken-feature buildings and earthfast buildings.

7.1.2 The Distribution of Excavated Sunken-Feature Buildings

The distribution of sunken-feature buildings, taking into account the number of distinct (i.e. not intercutting) sunken-feature buildings at each site, suggests three primary concentrations of settlement, around Fairford, the Evenlode confluence and Abingdon. These areas have produced the densest concentrations of excavated sunken-feature buildings (Fig.7.3) and the largest individual settlements, in terms of the number of distinct sunken-feature buildings at each site (Fig.7.4; Graph 7.1).

The Abingdon area, in particular, stands out with the two largest excavated settlements in the study area – Barrow Hills (Oxon.) (Chambers and McAdam 2007) and Sutton Courtenay (Leeds 1923b; 1927; 1947) – and Abingdon has also produced numerous smaller settlement sites at Audlett Drive (Oxon.) (Keavill 1992), Barton Court Farm (Oxon.) (Miles 1984; 1986), Abingdon Causewayed Enclosure (Oxon.) (Avery and Brown 1972), Corporation Farm (Oxon.) (Anonymous 1973; Parrington and Henderson 1974), Spring Road Cemetery (Oxon.) (Allen *et al.* 2008), St. Helen's Church (Oxon.) (Rahtz 1976b, 408) and the Vineyard (Oxon.) (Allen 1990a; 1990b).

Meanwhile, the Fairford area has produced the third and sixth largest excavated settlements in the study area – Horcott Quarry (Glos.) (Hayden *et al.* 2017) and Horcott Road (Glos.) (Bradley and Wilkins 2016) – and Fairford has also produced three smaller settlement excavations at Cirencester Road (Glos.) (Bashford 2013; Bain 2015), Home Farm (Glos.) (Craddock-Bennett 2016) and Lady Lamb Farm (Glos.) (Hey 2001). This concentration of settlement around Fairford is a relatively new discovery, and the known sites may only represent the tip of the iceberg.

The Evenlode confluence, on the other hand, has long been identified as a core area of Anglo-Saxon settlement, with the fourth and fifth largest excavated settlements in the study area – New Wintles Farm (Oxon.) (Hawkes and Gray 1969; Berisford 1973; Gray 1974) and Purwell Farm (Oxon.) (Case 1958a; Wilson and Hurst 1960; Arthur and Jope 1963; Berisford 1973) – and the

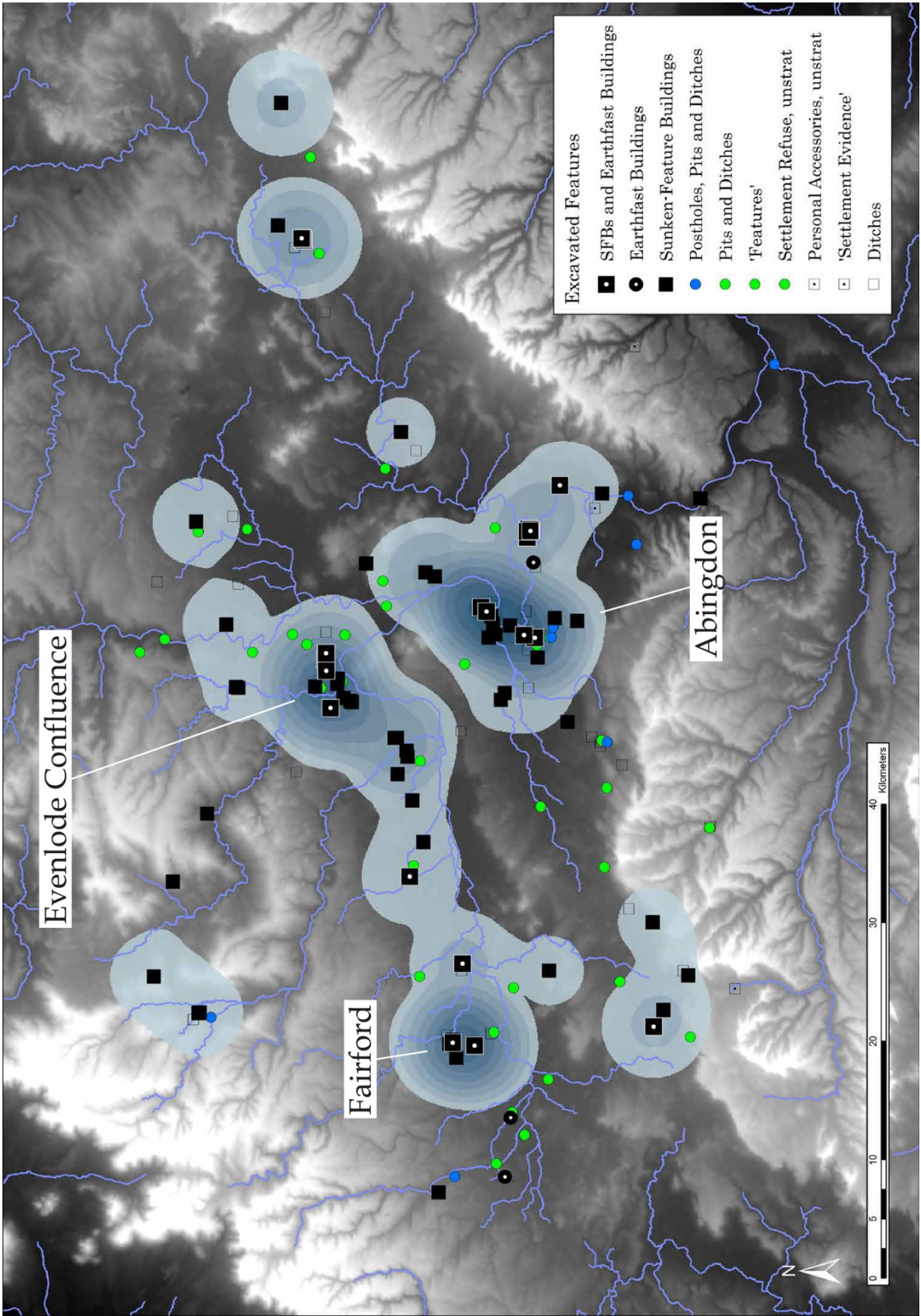


Figure 7.3: The weighted kernel density of sunken-feature buildings, weighted by the number of distinct sunken-feature buildings at each site.

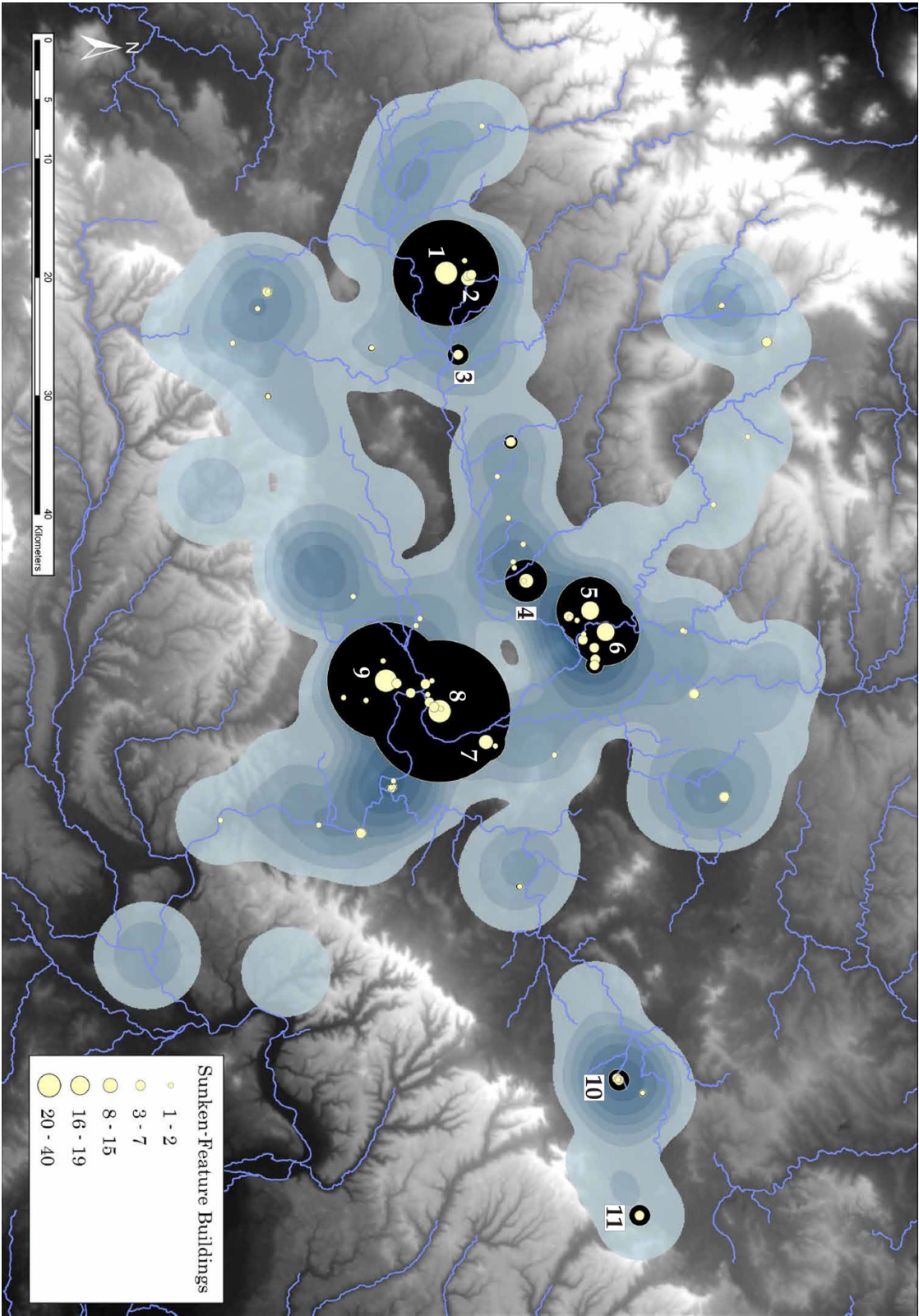
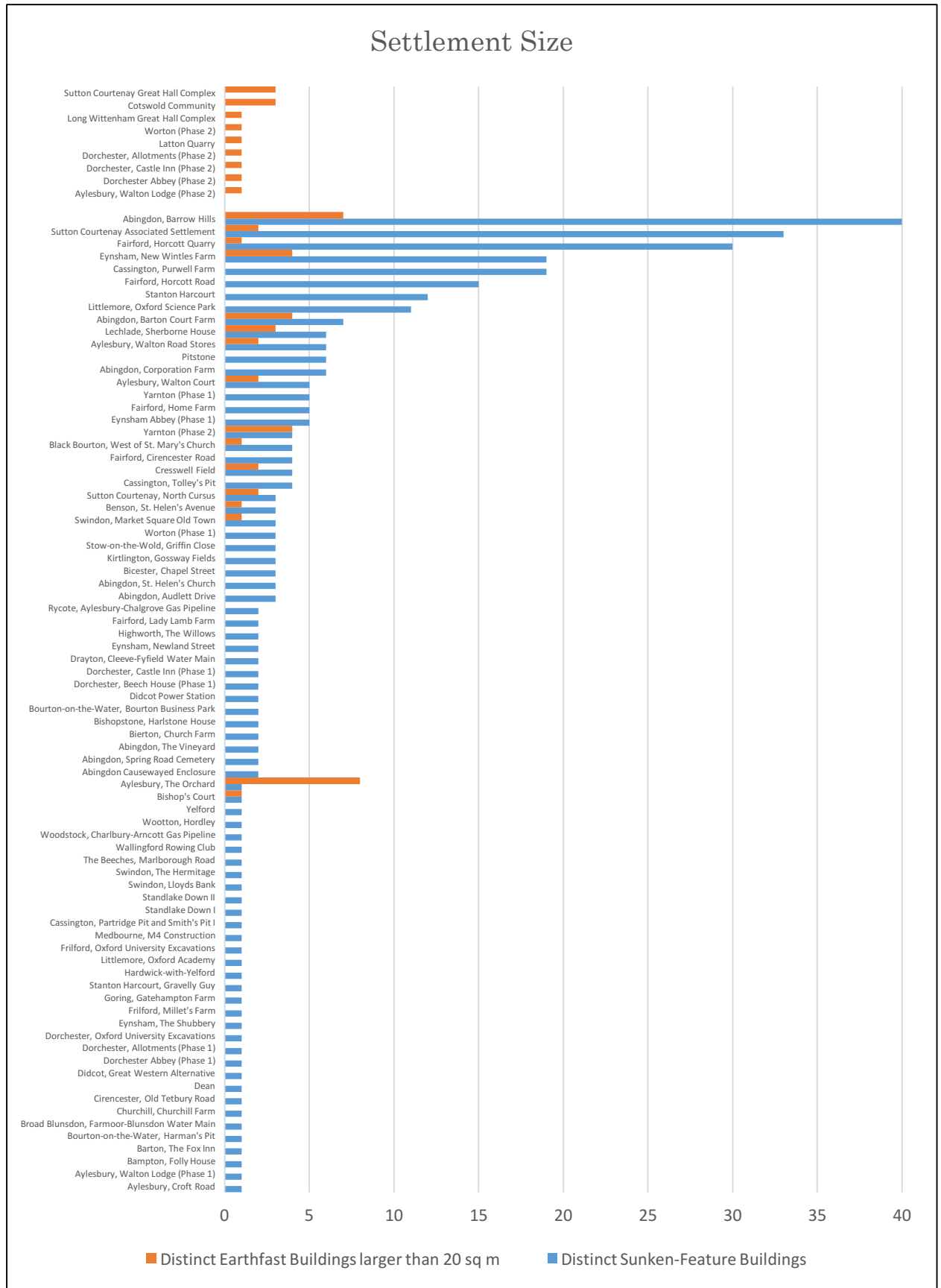


Figure 7.4: The largest individual settlement excavations, in terms of the number of distinct sunken-feature buildings, overlaid on top of the unweighted kernel density of all settlement sites (1. Fairford, Horcott Quarry 2. Fairford, Horcott Road 3. Lechlade, Sherborne House 4. The Windrush confluence, Stanton Harcourt 5. The Evenlode confluence, New Wintles Farm 6. The Evenlode confluence, Purwell Farm 7. Littlemore, Oxford Science Park 8. Abingdon, Barrow Hills 9. Abingdon, Sutton Courtenay 10. Aylesbury, Walton Road Stores 11. Pistone).



Graph 7.1: The number of distinct sunken-feature buildings and earthfast buildings larger than 20m² excavated at each site.

Evenlode confluence has also produced numerous smaller settlement excavations at Cresswell Field (Oxon.) (Hey *et al.* 2004), Eynsham Abbey (Oxon.) (Hardy *et al.* 2003), Newland Street (Oxon.) (Leeds 1938; Berisford 1973), Partridge Pit/Smith's Pit I (Oxon.) (Leeds 1940; Berisford 1973), The Shrubbery (Oxon.) (Chambers 1976), Tolley's Pit (Oxon.) (Leeds 1938; 1940; Berisford 1973), Worton (Oxon.) (Hey *et al.* 2004) and Yarnton (Oxon.) (Hey *et al.* 2004). However, most of these excavations are poorly recorded; only Cresswell Field, Eynsham Abbey, Worton and Yarnton have been excavated and recorded to modern standards, and this leaves many questions unanswered about the nature and extent of Anglo-Saxon settlement around the Evenlode confluence.

Smaller concentrations of sunken-feature buildings have also been excavated around the Windrush confluence, at Stanton Harcourt (Oxon.) (Stone 1859a; Leeds 1923b; Leeds and Bradford 1942b; Berisford 1973), and between Oxford and Abingdon, at the Littlemore Science Park (Oxon.) (Moore 2001; Mudd *et al.* 2013). Still smaller groups of sunken-feature buildings have been excavated around Aylesbury (Farley 1975; Dalwood *et al.* 1989; Dalwood and Hawkins 1989; Ford *et al.* 2004), Lechlade (Glos.) (Bateman *et al.* 2003) and Pitstone (Bucks.) (Phillips 2005). Dorchester has also produced several sunken-feature buildings spread out over a number of small excavations, including Dorchester Abbey (Keevill 2003), Dorchester Allotments (Frere 1962; 1984), Beech House (Rowley and Brown 1981) and Castle Inn (Bradley 1978).

7.1.3 The Distribution of Excavated Earthfast Buildings

The Abingdon area, which has produced the largest concentration of excavated sunken-feature buildings, has also produced the largest concentration of excavated earthfast buildings (Fig.7.5-6; Graph 7.1), and the scatter of earthfast buildings east of Abingdon, at the Long Wittenham Great Hall Complex (McBride Forthcoming), Dorchester (Frere 1962; May 1977; Bradley 1978; Rowley and Brown 1981; Keevill 2003) and Benson (Oxon.) (Pine and Ford 2003; McBride 2016), is arguably part of the same extended Abingdon to Dorchester area, which appears to have been a supra-local concentration of both burial and settlement.

After the Abingdon to Dorchester area, the excavations around Aylesbury have produced the next largest concentration of earthfast buildings, with numerous earthfast buildings at The Orchard (Ford *et al.* 2004), Walton Court (Farley 1975), Walton Road Stores (unpublished) and Walton Lodge (Dalwood *et al.* 1989). Aylesbury has produced a relatively small number of sunken-feature buildings, but the concentration of earthfast buildings in this area suggests that Aylesbury was one of the core areas of Anglo-Saxon settlement.

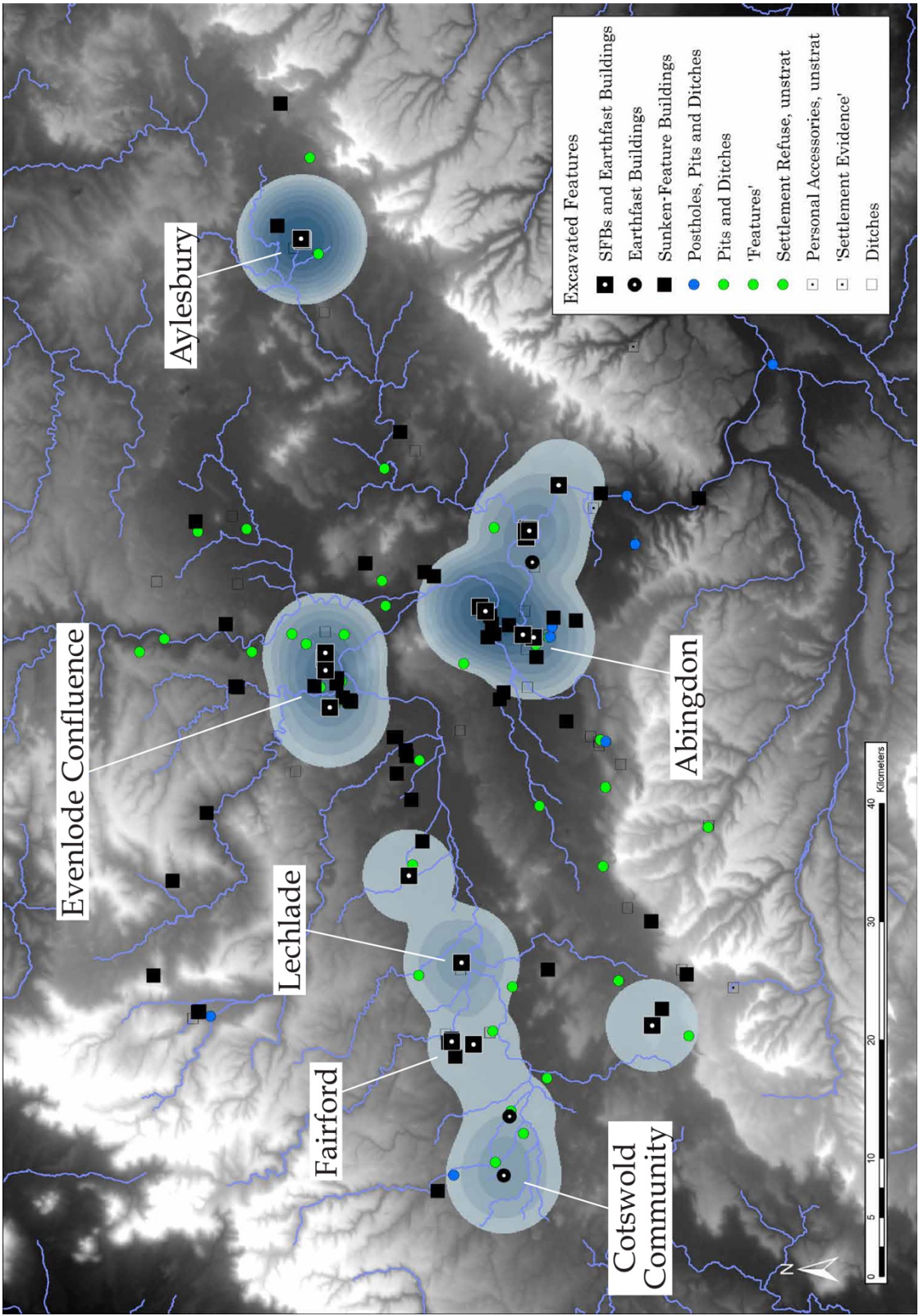


Figure 7.5. The weighted kernel density of earthfast buildings, weighted by the number of distinct earthfast buildings larger than 20m² at each site.

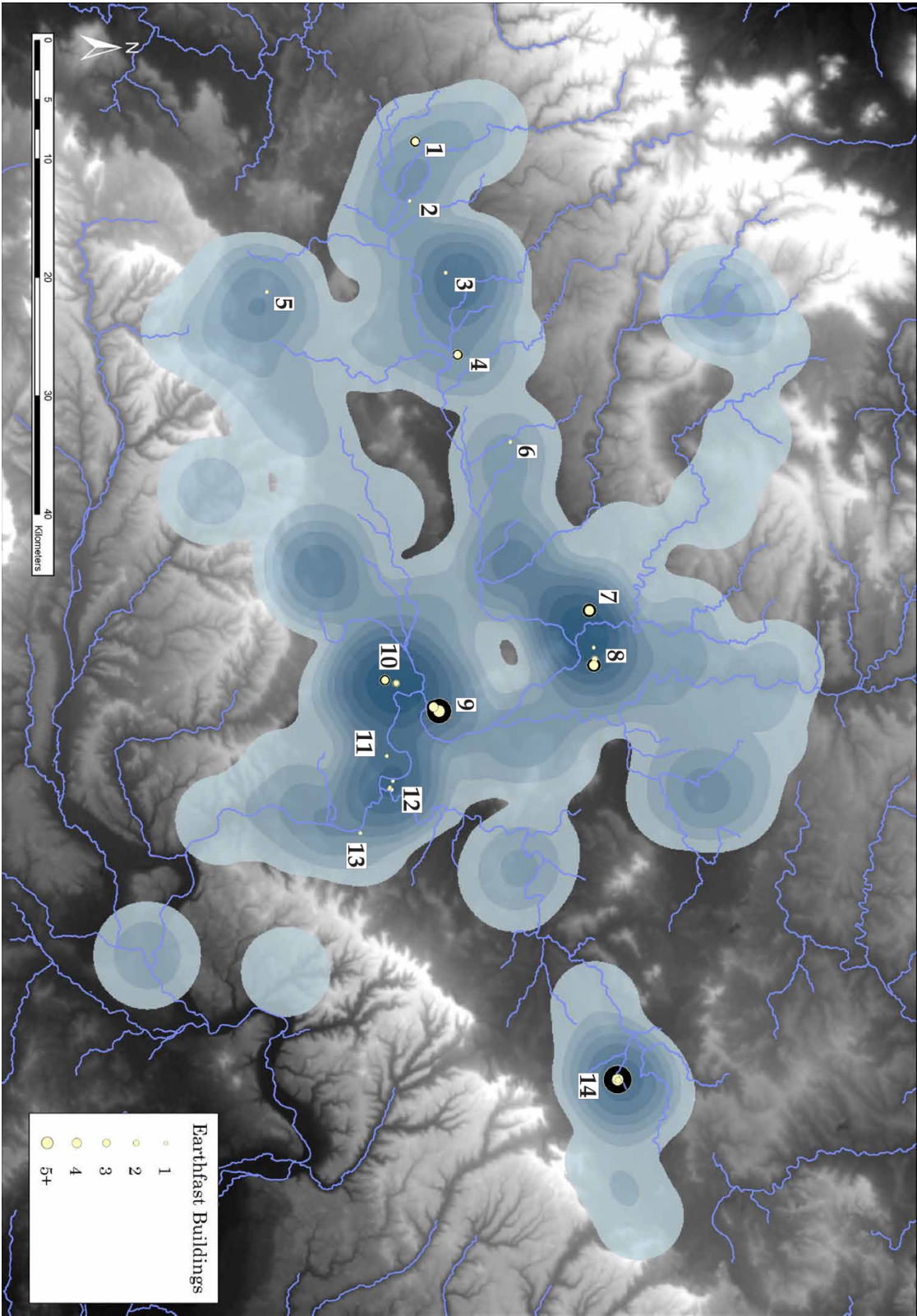


Figure 7.6: The largest individual settlement excavations, in terms of the number of earthfast buildings, overlaid on top of the unweighted kernel density of all settlement sites (1. Cotswold Community 2. Latton Quarry 3. Fairford, Horcott Quarry 4. Lechlade, Sherborne House 5. Swindon, Old Town Market Square 6. Black Bourton 7. The Evenlode confluence, New Winkles Farm 8. The Evenlode confluence, Worton, Cresswell Field and Yarnon 9. Abington, Barrow Hills and Barton Court Farm 10. Sutton Courtenay Great Hall Complex, Associated Settlement and North Cursus 11. Long Wittenham Great Hall Complex 12. Dorchester, various sites 13. Benson, St. Helen's Avenue 14. Aylesbury, various sites).

The Evenlode confluence has also produced a large concentration of earthfast buildings, matching the concentration of sunken-feature buildings in this area and strongly suggesting that the Evenlode confluence was one of the core areas of Anglo-Saxon settlement in the Upper Thames Valley.

The Fairford area, however, has produced relatively few earthfast buildings, and even with the neighbouring site at Lechlade, Sherborne House, the current number of excavated earthfast buildings in the Fairford to Lechlade area pales in comparison to the larger concentrations of earthfast buildings around Aylesbury, the Evenlode confluence and the Abingdon to Dorchester area. The earthfast buildings at Black Bourton (Oxon.), Latton Quarry (Wilts.) and Cotswold Community (Wilts.) have also been grouped with the Fairford to Lechlade area by the kernel density (Fig.7.5), but this extensive scatter of sites is far more diffuse than the other major concentrations of earthfast buildings.

The differences in the distribution of sunken-feature buildings and earthfast buildings may be partially due to recovery biases: much of the excavated area at Horcott Quarry was covered in Iron Age postholes, making the positive identification of earthfast buildings extremely difficult. However, the different distributions of sunken-feature buildings and earthfast buildings also appear to be at least partially chronological: many of the sites with evidence for earthfast buildings belong to the 7th and 8th Centuries, when earthfast structures appear to have become more robust and more regular and thus easier to identify (see **Section 7.1.5** for chronological change in the distribution of Anglo-Saxon settlement).

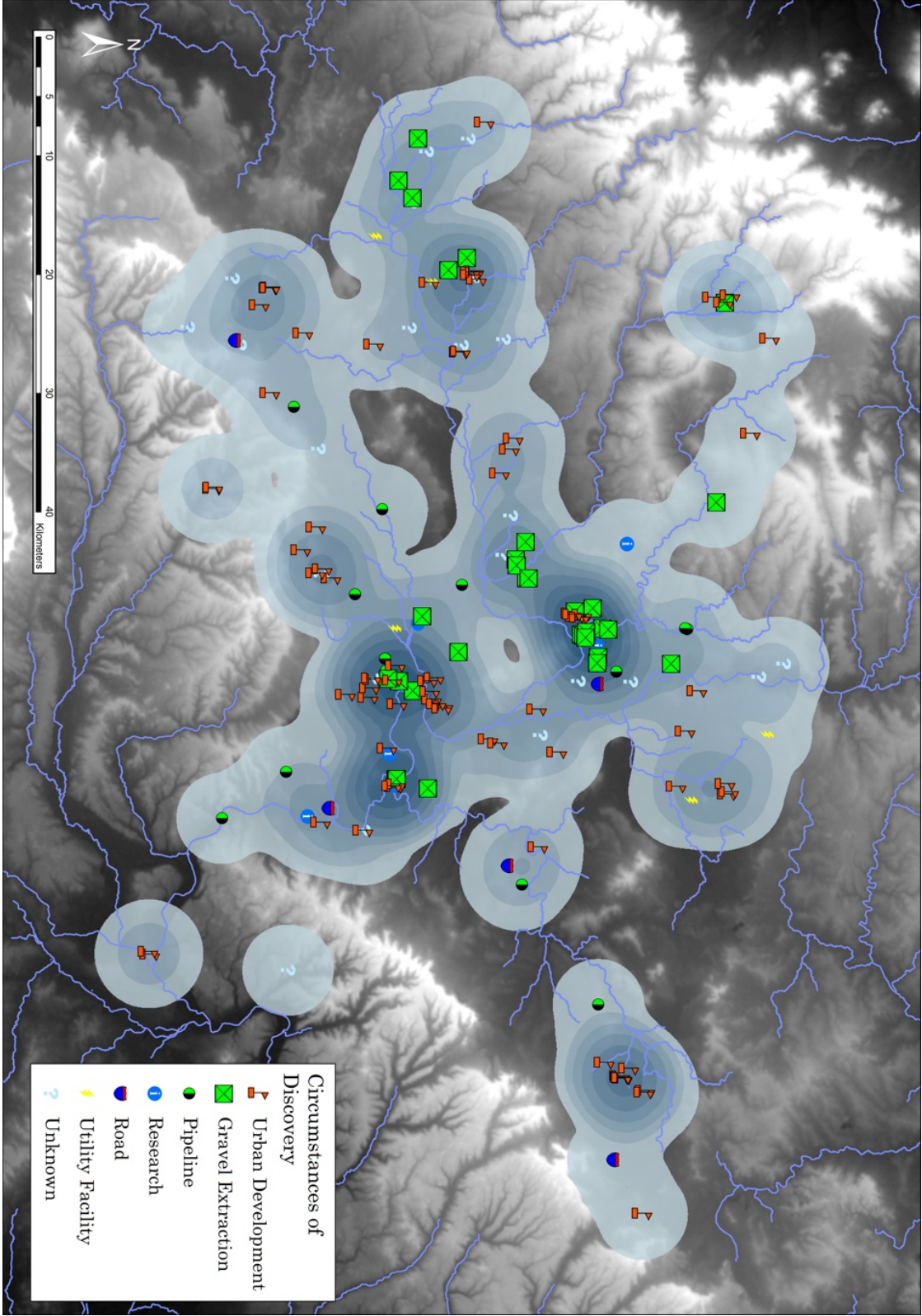
7.1.4 The Distribution of Unexcavated Settlement Sites

7.1.4.1 Factors Affecting the Distribution of Excavated Settlement Sites

The known settlements probably only account for a fraction of the total settlement record, and the distribution of known settlement sites may be unrepresentative of the total. Gravel quarrying has produced many of the largest settlement excavations, and the most intensively quarried areas – Abingdon, Fairford, Dorchester, the Evenlode confluence and the Windrush confluence – have also produced some of the densest concentrations of excavated settlement sites (Fig.7.7).

However, many of the settlement sites around Fairford, Abingdon, Dorchester and the Evenlode confluence have also been excavated in the course of urban development, and this suggests that the concentrations of settlement activity in these areas are not solely the product of gravel quarrying. The extensive distribution of development excavations around Abingdon, in particular, suggests that the concentration of settlement around Abingdon is significant.

Figure 7.7: The circumstances of discovery of all settlement sites, overlaid on top of the unweighted kernel density of all excavated settlement sites.



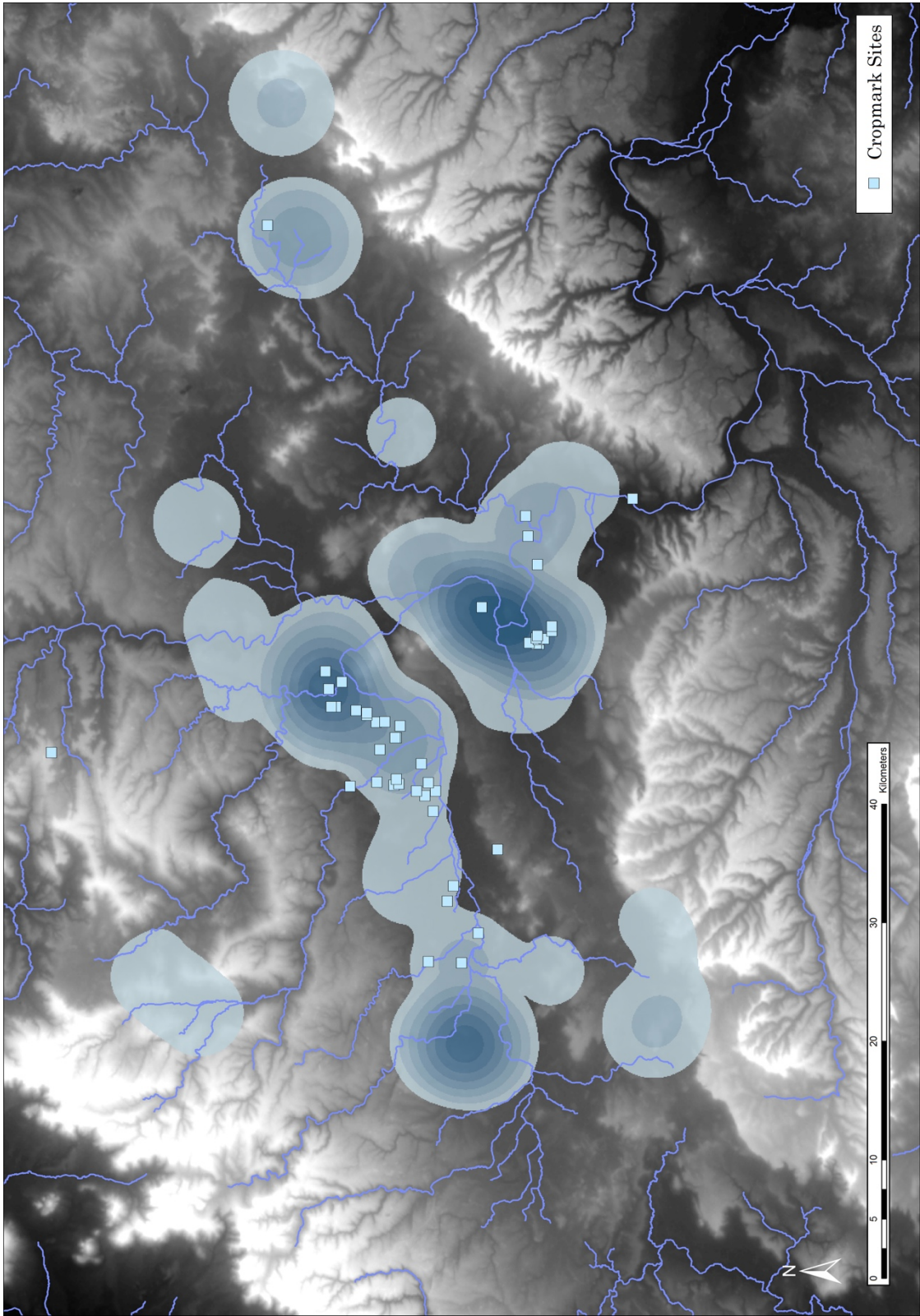


Figure 7.8: All Anglo-Saxon cropmark sites identified in aerial photographs – predominantly consisting of possible sunken-feature buildings – overlaid on top of the weighted kernel density of excavated sunken-feature buildings.

The concentrations of settlement around Fairford and the Evenlode confluence are less robust, however. All of the large settlement excavations in these areas are the result of gravel quarrying, and unlike the extensive spread of development excavations around Abingdon, the development excavations around Fairford and the Evenlode confluence are tightly clustered under the modern villages of Fairford and Eynsham. Nevertheless, the sheer density of development excavations around Fairford and Eynsham lends some support to the significance of these areas.

The settlement sites around Aylesbury have been exclusively discovered through urban development, but the extensive distribution of these sites, exceeding the urban area of Aylesbury itself, suggests this concentration of settlement is significant.

The minor concentration of settlement around Dorchester is less reliable. The development excavations are tightly clustered under the modern village, and the extensive gravel quarries surrounding Dorchester have revealed relatively little evidence for Anglo-Saxon settlement.

7.1.4.2 The Distribution of Cropmark Settlement Sites

The distribution of cropmark sites shows two concentrations of *possible* unexcavated settlement features: one just south of Abingdon and one extended concentration stretching between the Evenlode and Windrush confluences (Fig.7.8). This appears to confirm the importance of the Abingdon area and the Evenlode confluence, but it also suggests that the Windrush confluence is underrepresented in the settlement record. Furthermore, the extended concentration of cropmark sites stretching between the Evenlode and Windrush confluences suggests that these two areas may have been part of a single supra-local concentration of Anglo-Saxon activity, approximately comparable to the Abingdon to Dorchester and Fairford to Lechlade areas. The distinct absence of cropmark sites in between these three supra-local concentrations of activity strongly supports the identification of three discrete concentrations of Anglo-Saxon activity in these areas.

Unfortunately, the available dataset of cropmark sites is largely restricted to the Thames gravels, between Lechlade and Goring (see **Section 6.2.1.1**), and this gives little indication of the possible unexcavated settlement sites around Fairford and Aylesbury.

7.1.5 Chronological Change in the Distribution of Anglo-Saxon Settlement

Anglo-Saxon settlement features are largely resistant to precise dating, but the settlement sites analysed in this study can be broadly divided into three periods – the 6th Century, the 7th Century and the late 7th/ 8th Century – and for each of these periods, each site and, where relevant, each phase of each site is classified as ‘probably occupied’, ‘possibly occupied’ or ‘not occupied’

(Fig.7.9-14) (see **Appendix 3** for the phasing of each site). For the purposes of this section, it is assumed that all settlement features on a particular site were contemporary, except in a few rare cases where there is sufficient evidence for more precise phasing; for most sites, however, it is impossible to phase the settlement features more precisely. This section therefore provides only a broad indication of relative chronology between different sites, rather than a precise phasing of specific settlement features.

The Abingdon to Dorchester area has produced the most robust evidence for 6th Century settlement in the Upper Thames Valley. The 6th Century sites in the Abingdon to Dorchester area and especially the sites around Abingdon itself have produced the largest concentrations of sunken-feature buildings and earthfast buildings in the study area (Fig.7.9-8). The 6th Century sites around Fairford and the Evenlode confluence have produced smaller concentrations of sunken-feature buildings, and neither area has produced significant numbers of earthfast buildings. The 6th Century sites around Aylesbury have produced a more robust concentration of earthfast buildings, but a less significant concentration of sunken-feature buildings. Therefore, while there are clear difficulties in dating and phasing the settlement data, on present evidence, the Abingdon to Dorchester area, and the Abingdon area in particular, appears to have been the most significant concentration of Anglo-Saxon settlement activity in the study area during the 6th Century. The Fairford area and the Evenlode confluence appear to have been secondary concentrations of settlement activity, and the Aylesbury area appears to have been a tertiary concentration of settlement at this time.

Over the course of the 7th Century and into the late 7th and 8th Centuries, Abingdon, Fairford, the Evenlode confluence and Aylesbury each continue to exhibit significant concentrations of settlement activity, but the relative importance of these areas appears to shift significantly. From the beginning of the 7th Century, there is a marked decline in the number of securely dated settlement features in the Abingdon area, while the Evenlode confluence exhibits a significant increase in both sunken-feature buildings and earthfast buildings over the course of the 7th and 8th Centuries (compare Fig.7.9-10, 7.11-12, 7.13-14), and the Vale of Aylesbury exhibits a significant increase in the number of earthfast buildings during the late 7th and 8th Centuries.

Fairford also exhibits a slight increase in sunken-feature buildings during the 7th Century, and the entire northwestern quadrant of the Upper Thames Valley exhibits a significant increase in the number of excavated settlement sites during the 7th and 8th Centuries, including new sites at Cotswold Community, Latton Quarry, Lechlade, Black Bourton, Bourton-on-the-Water (Glos.), Stow-on-the-Wold (Glos.) and Churchill (Oxon.).

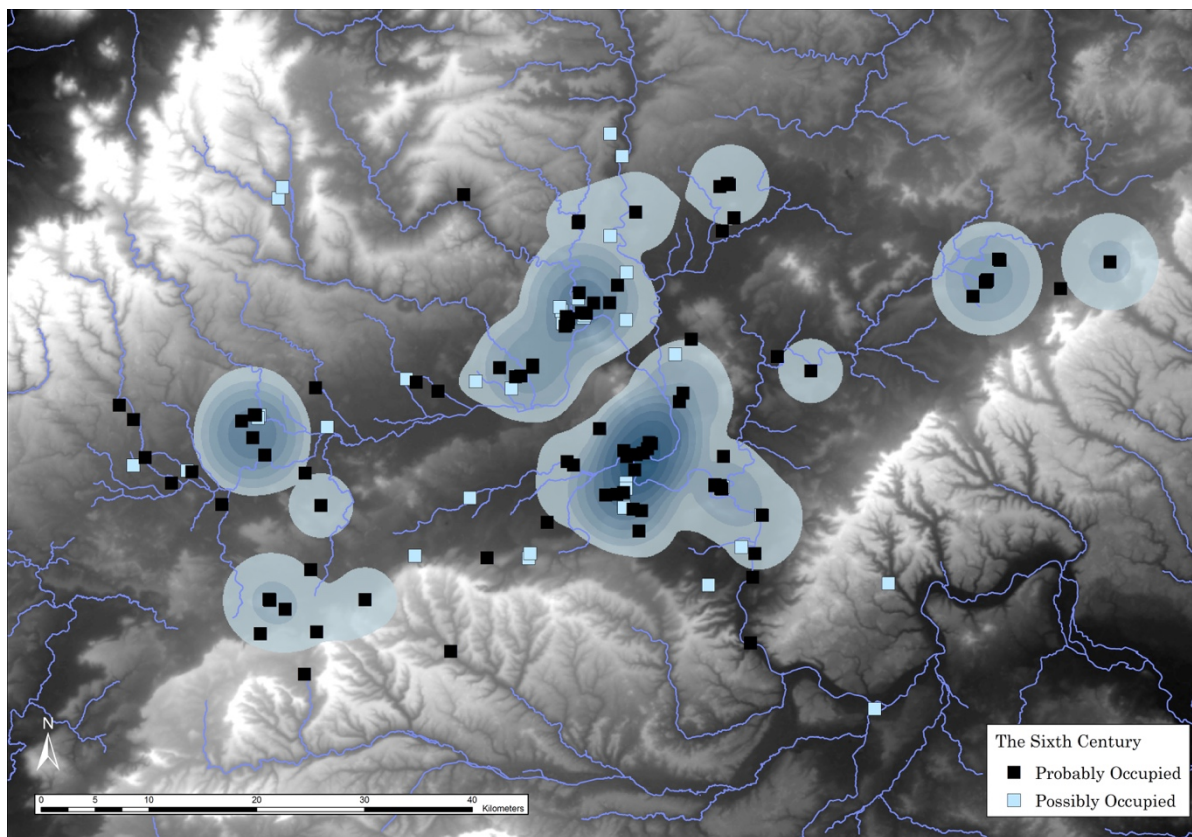


Figure 7.9: The distribution of sunken-feature buildings at sites with evidence for 6th Century occupation. The weighted kernel density only takes into account the sunken-feature buildings at sites that were ‘probably occupied’ in the 6th Century.

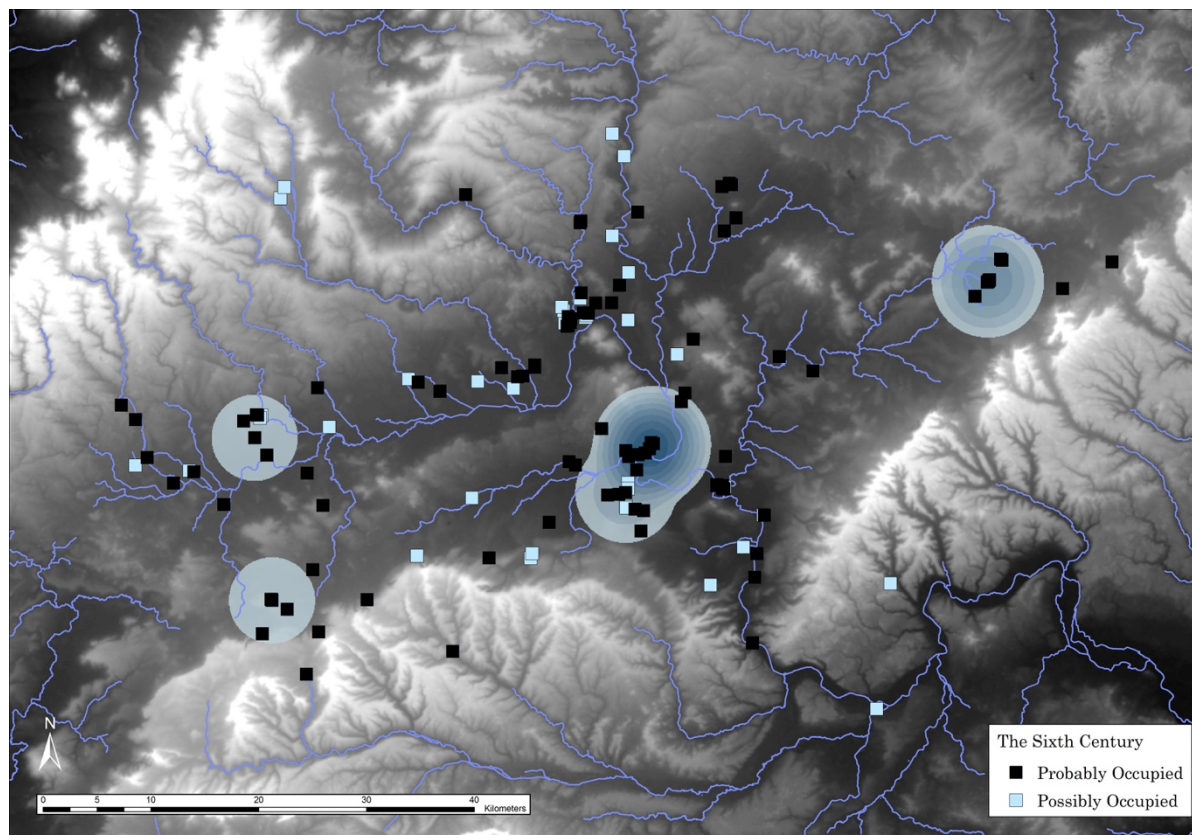


Figure 7.10: The distribution of earthfast buildings at sites with evidence for 6th Century occupation. The weighted kernel density only takes into account the earthfast buildings at sites that were ‘probably occupied’ in the 6th Century.

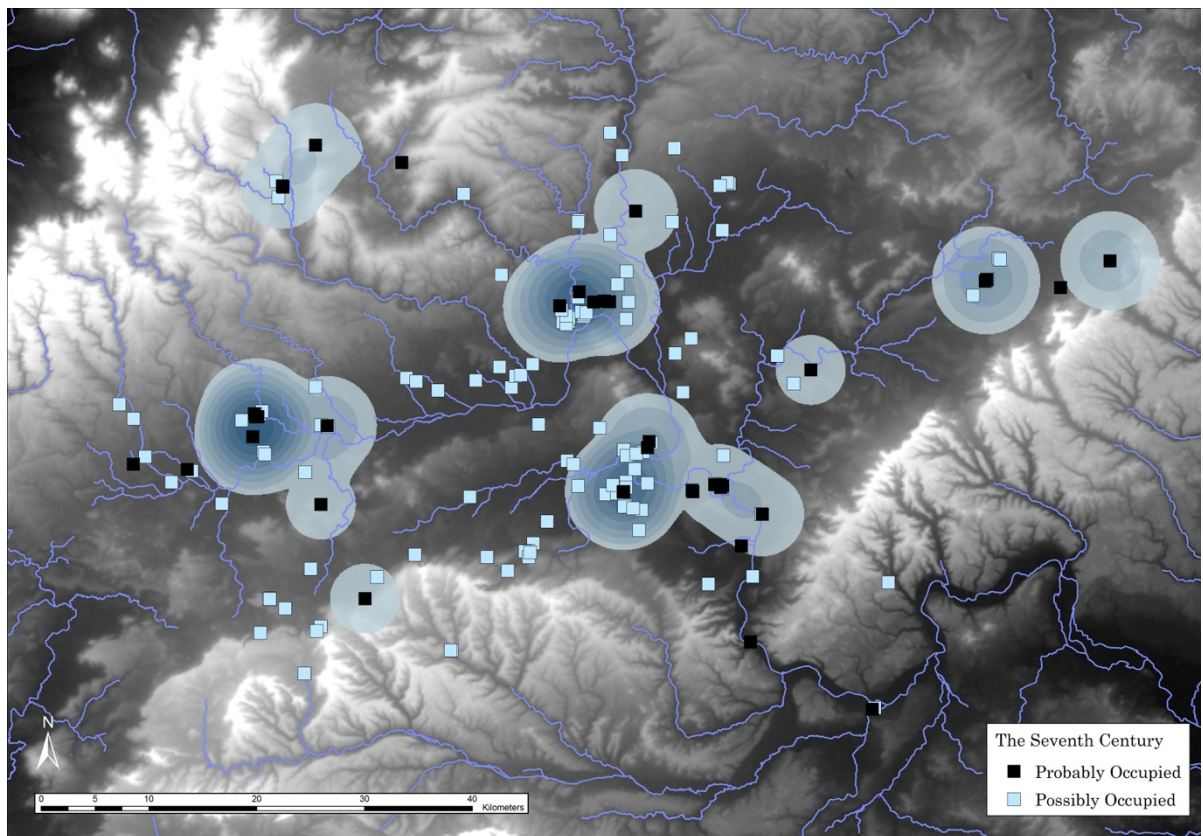


Figure 7.11: The distribution of sunken-feature buildings at sites with evidence for 7th Century occupation. The weighted kernel density only takes into account the sunken-feature buildings at sites that were ‘probably occupied’ in the 7th Century.

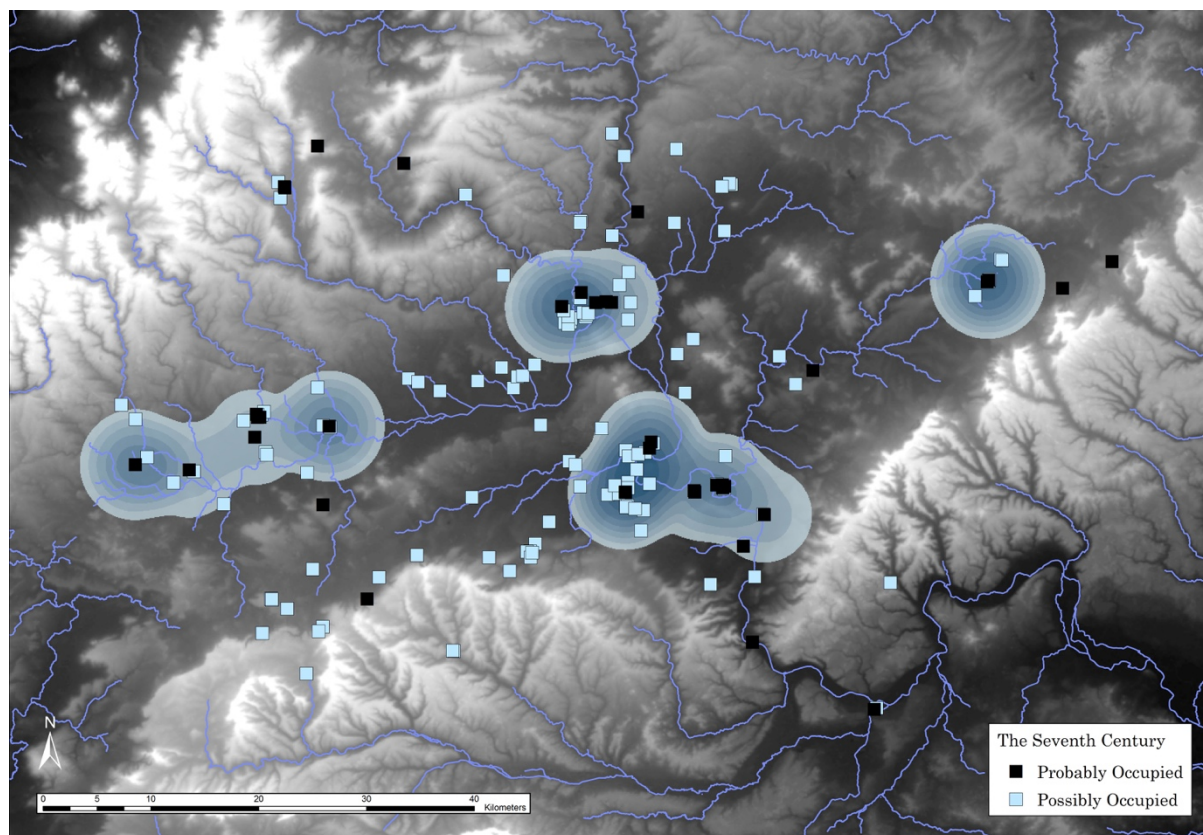


Figure 7.12: The distribution of earthfast buildings at sites with evidence for 7th Century occupation. The weighted kernel density only takes into account the earthfast buildings at sites that were ‘probably occupied’ in the 7th Century.

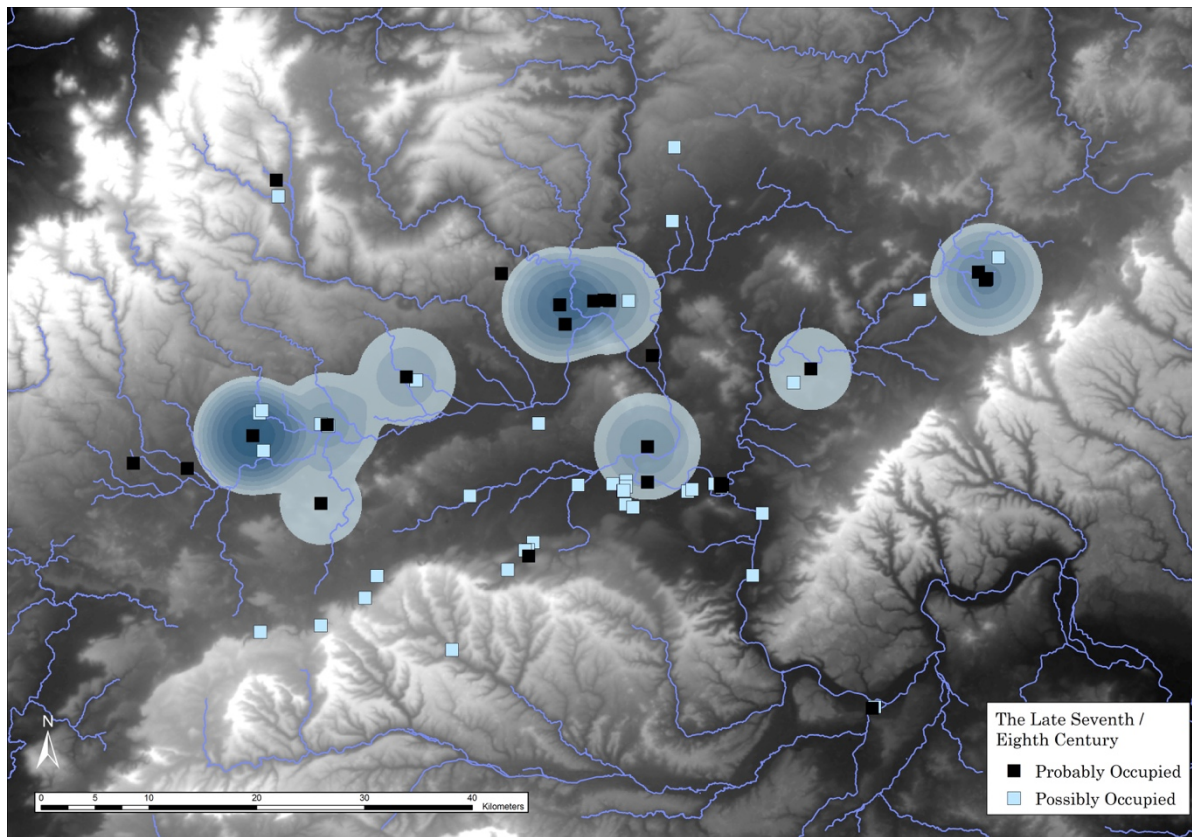


Figure 7.13: The distribution of sunken-feature buildings at sites with evidence for late 7th/8th Century occupation. The weighted kernel density only takes into account the sunken-feature buildings at sites that were ‘probably occupied’ in the late 7th/8th Century.

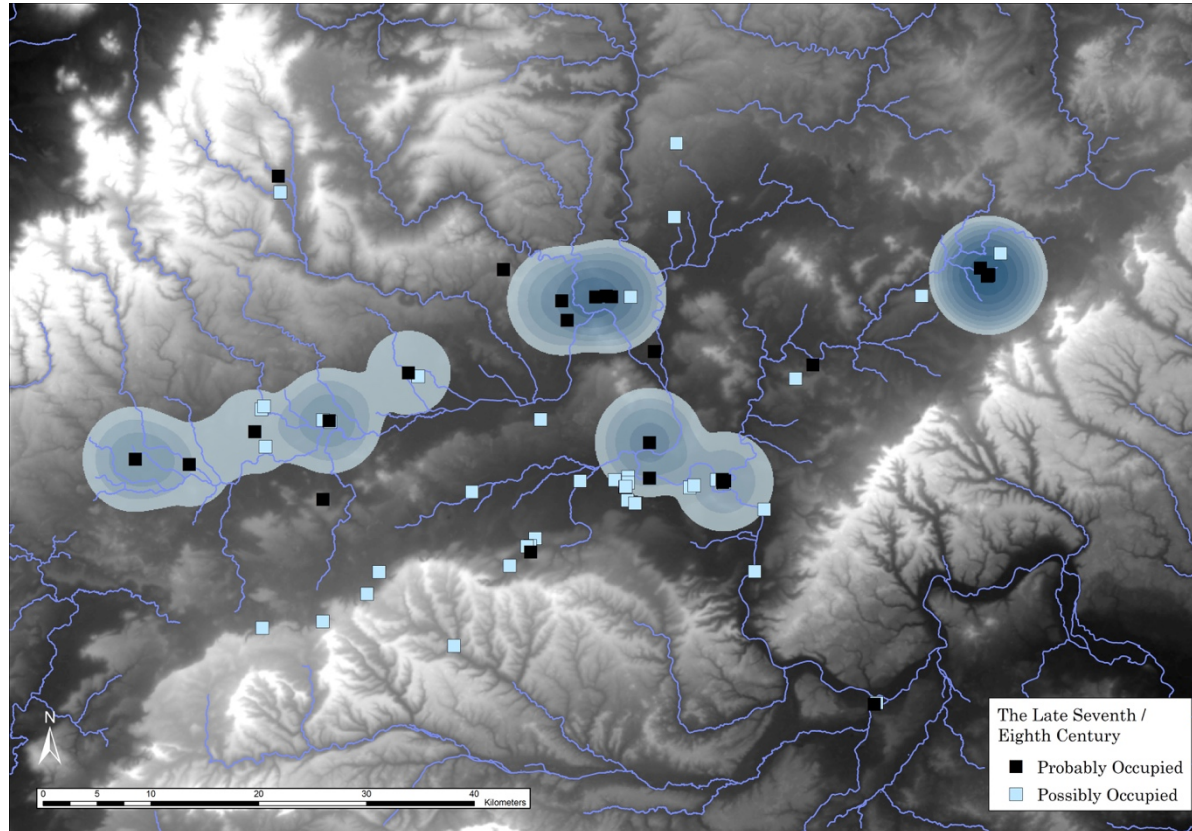


Figure 7.14: The distribution of earthfast buildings at sites with evidence for late 7th/8th Century occupation. The weighted kernel density only takes into account the earthfast buildings at sites that were ‘probably occupied’ in the late 7th/8th Century.

In the first half of the 8th Century, the Abingdon to Dorchester area, the Fairford to Lechlade area, the Evenlode confluence and the Vale of Aylesbury were probably all home to important concentrations of Anglo-Saxon settlement, but it is the Evenlode confluence and the Vale of Aylesbury that have produced the most robust, securely dated evidence for 8th Century settlement features, and this represents a significant shift from the distribution of 6th Century settlement evidence.

7.1.6 Comparing the Distribution of Settlements and Burials

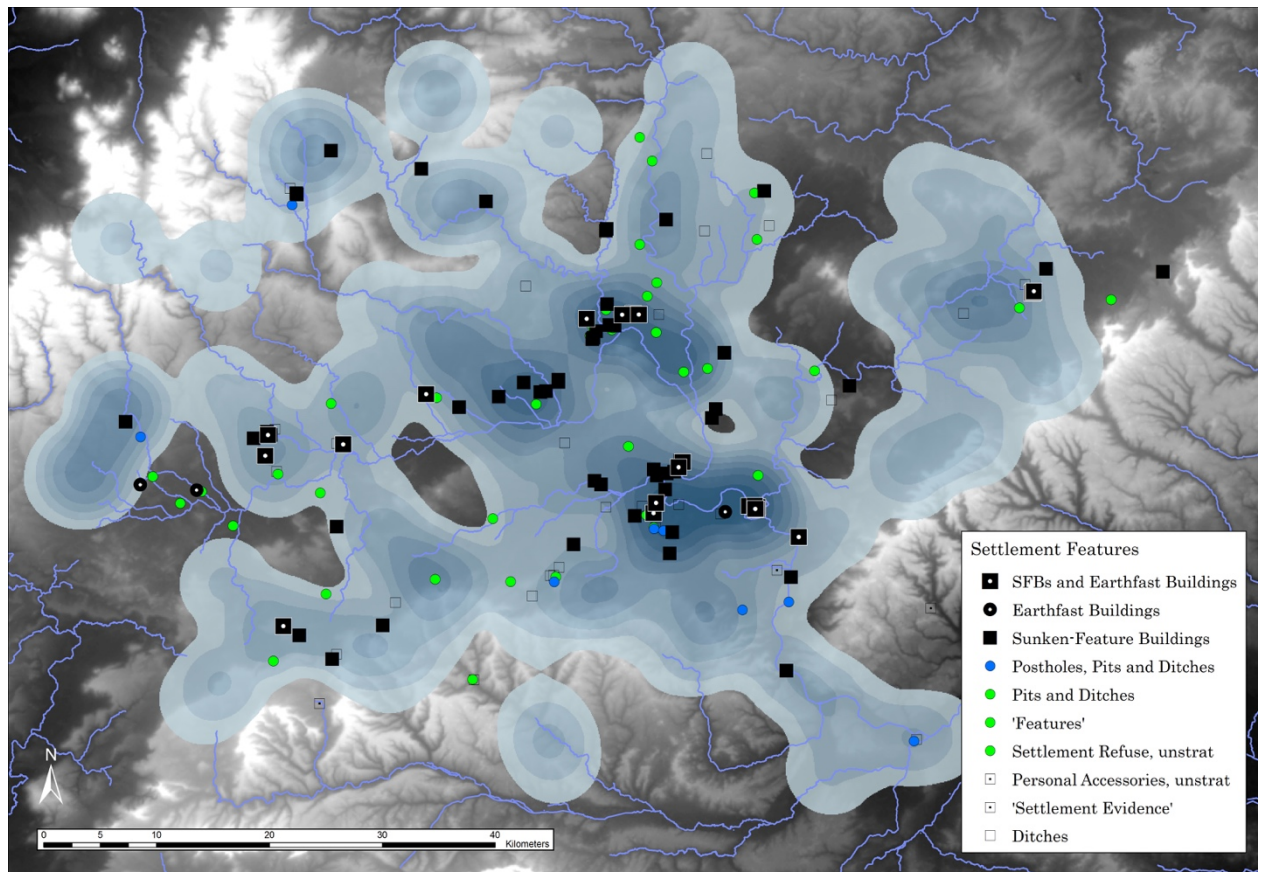


Figure 7.15: All excavated settlement sites, overlaid on top of the unweighted kernel density of all cemeteries.

The distribution of all excavated settlement sites closely parallels the distribution of all excavated cemeteries (Fig.7.15). However, this does not take into account the size of each site or nature of the evidence for each site – to do so, the burial and settlement evidence must be divided into their respective chronological periods and compared accordingly; only the 6th and 7th Century evidence can be compared, however, as the burials dataset ends in the late 7th Century.

Comparing the distribution of 6th and 7th Century sunken-feature buildings and earthfast buildings with the distribution of 6th and 7th Century burials, there are clear similarities (Fig.7.16-17). The

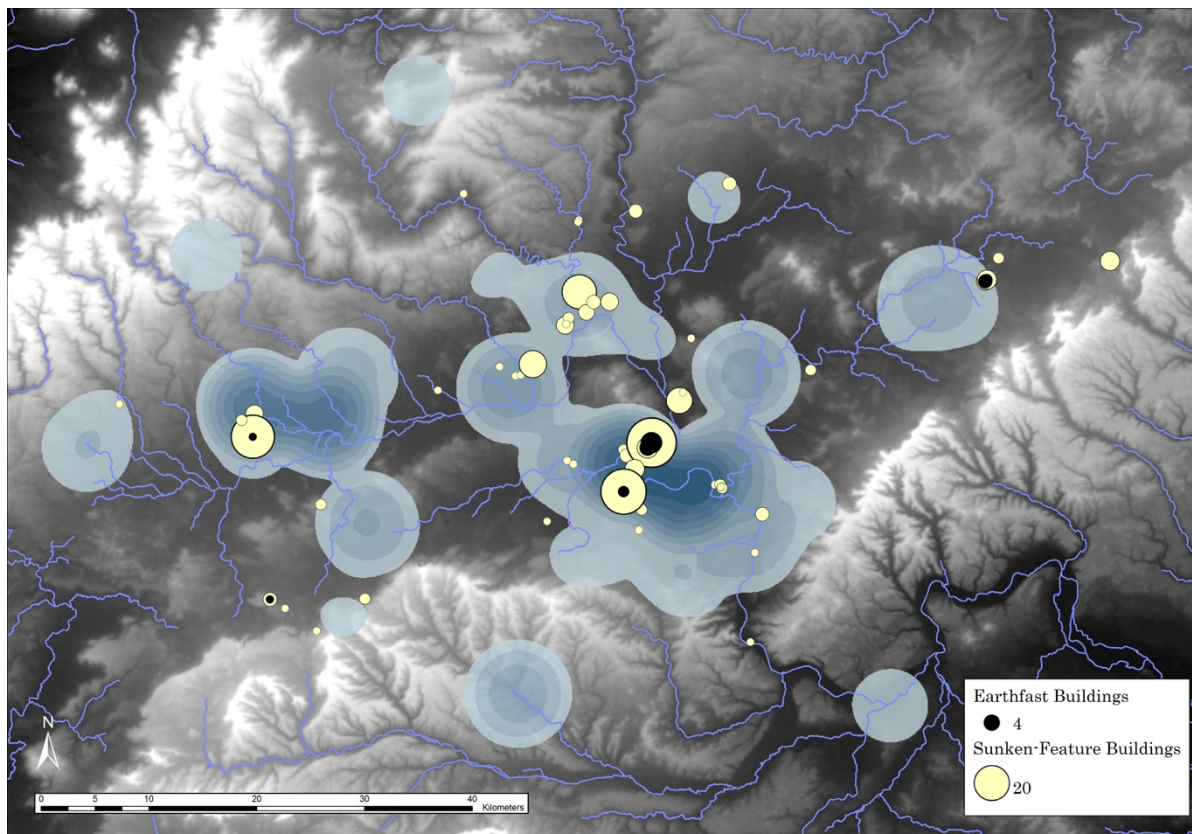


Figure 7.16: The distribution of sunken-feature buildings and earthfast buildings on 6th Century settlements, displayed by proportional symbols, overlaid on top of the weighted kernel density of 6th Century burial.

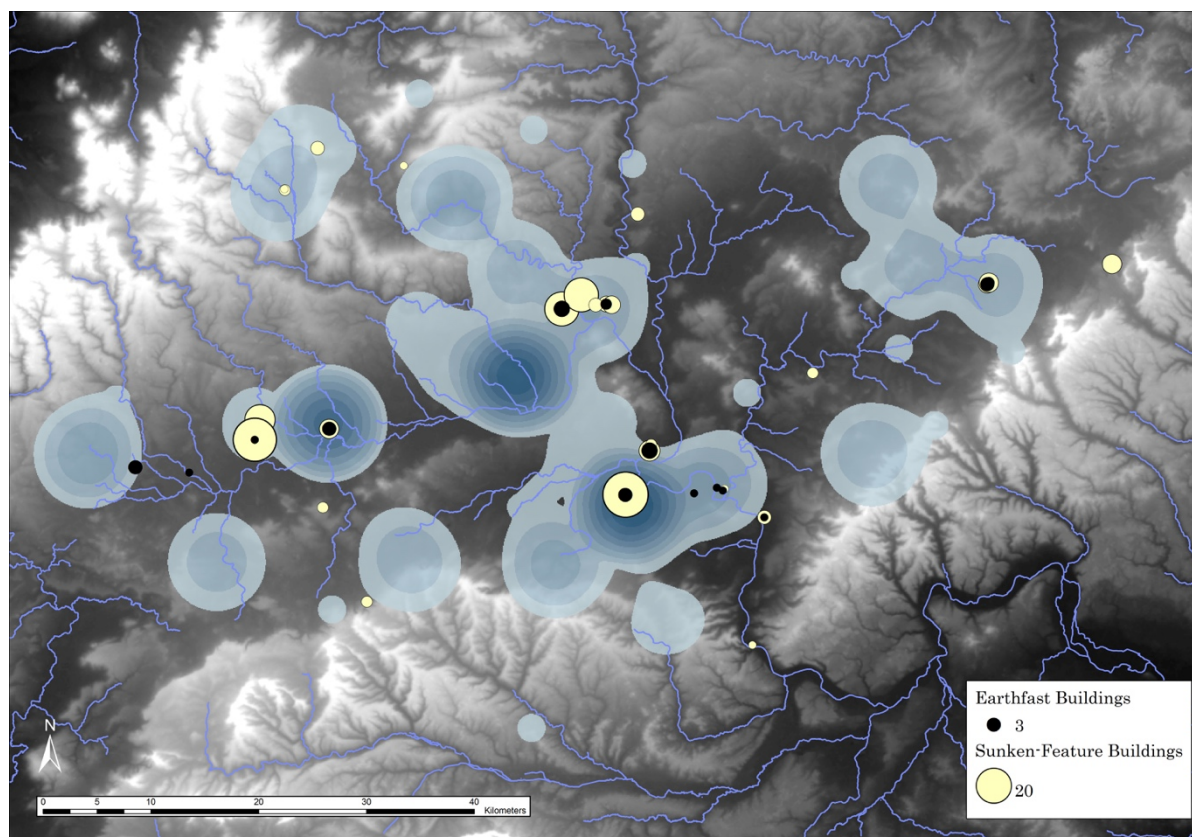


Figure 7.17: The distribution of sunken-feature buildings and earthfast buildings on 7th Century settlements, displayed by proportional symbols, overlaid on top of the weighted kernel density of mid-7th Century burial (for the purposes of comparison, the poorly recorded cemetery at Milton has been displayed here as a large Alpha cemetery, comparable in size to Lechlade and Standlake Down).

Fairford to Lechlade area, the Windrush and Evenlode confluences and the Abingdon to Dorchester area consistently stand out among both burials and settlements as core areas of Anglo-Saxon activity. The burial evidence for the Vale of Aylesbury is less robust, but this may be because Aylesbury only became a core area of Anglo-Saxon settlement in the late 7th and 8th Centuries after the decline of the Final Phase burial rite.

Chronological changes in the distribution of Anglo-Saxon settlement also appear to be broadly paralleled in the changing distribution of burials. The proliferation of Anglo-Saxon settlement around the upper reaches of the Evenlode and Windrush river valleys during the 7th Century is matched by a corresponding proliferation of Anglo-Saxon burial in these areas, and the intensification of Anglo-Saxon settlement around the Evenlode confluence during the 7th and 8th Centuries is paralleled by the concentration of 7th Century burial around the Windrush confluence.

The relative absence of securely dated 7th and 8th Century settlement evidence in the Abingdon area is also matched by a relative absence of 7th Century burial evidence; the poorly recorded cemetery at Milton has been argued to have originally been comparable in size to Lechlade and Standlake Down, but at present, the evidence for 7th Century burial in the Abingdon to Dorchester area pales in comparison to the Fairford to Lechlade area and the Windrush confluence.

There are also significant differences between the distributions of settlement and burial, however, and these differences suggest gaps in the archaeological record. Lechlade, Long Wittenham and Dorchester/Berinsfield have produced substantially more burial evidence than settlement evidence, suggesting that the known settlements in these areas are not representative. Meanwhile, Aylesbury and the Evenlode confluence have produced substantially more settlement evidence, suggesting that the known cemeteries in these areas are not representative. Each of these areas was probably an important concentration of both burial and settlement.

7.1.7 Conclusions

The Fairford to Lechlade area, the Windrush and Evenlode confluences, the Abingdon to Dorchester area and the Vale of Aylesbury each appear to have been core areas of settlement and burial at different times over the course of the 6th, 7th and 8th Centuries (Fig.7.18-20).

During the 6th Century, the Abingdon to Dorchester area appears to have been the primary concentration of Anglo-Saxon burial and settlement in the Upper Thames Valley, with three of the five excavated Alpha cemeteries and both the largest and second largest excavated settlements in the study area (in terms of the number of sunken-feature buildings). The Fairford to Lechlade area appears to have come a close second, with the two remaining Alpha cemeteries and the third largest

excavated settlement in the study area. Moreover, both of these areas were surrounded by supra-local clusters of Beta and Gamma cemeteries, further confirming their special status, and the Abingdon to Dorchester area, in particular, appears to have been at the heart of a truly extensive cluster of burial and settlement, stretching from Frilford in the west to Wallingford in the east and from Wheatley and Littlemore in the north to the Berkshire Downs scarp in the south (Fig.7.18).

The Evenlode and Windrush confluences appear to represent a secondary cluster of 6th Century activity, with the fourth largest excavated settlement at Purwell Farm – part of the Evenlode confluence – the fifth largest excavated settlement at Stanton Harcourt – part of the Windrush confluence – and the Beta cemetery at Brighthampton – also part of the Windrush confluence. Meanwhile, the Vale of Aylesbury has produced a tertiary concentration of 6th Century burial and settlement, with the third largest concentration of earthfast buildings, a minor concentration of sunken-feature buildings, and very little burial evidence.

During the 7th Century, there appear to be three primary concentrations of Anglo-Saxon burial and settlement in the Upper Thames Valley: the Abingdon to Dorchester area, the Fairford to Lechlade area and the Windrush and Evenlode confluences (Fig.7.19). The Abingdon to Dorchester area and the Fairford to Lechlade area continue to exhibit major concentrations of burial and settlement during the 7th Century, while the Windrush and Evenlode confluences exhibit a significant increase in settlement and burial during the 7th Century, becoming one of the core areas of burial and settlement in the study area. The Vale of Aylesbury, meanwhile, appears to have continued to be a secondary or tertiary area during the earlier 7th Century, only becoming a core area of activity in the later 7th Century.

The Abingdon to Dorchester area, although still a core area of activity, has produced significantly less evidence for 7th Century activity than 6th Century activity. However, given that the Abingdon to Dorchester area was the heartland of the West Saxon/Gewissan kingdom in the earlier 7th Century, it is difficult to accept this apparent decline in burial and settlement activity. The great hall complex at Sutton Courtney, the paramount high status settlement in the Upper Thames Valley, was constructed just south of Abingdon during the late 6th/early 7th Century, and the associated settlement appears to have been one of the largest 7th Century settlements in the study area. There is also evidence for high status 7th Century settlements at Long Wittenham and Dorchester (see **Section 7.2**), and the poorly recorded cemetery at Milton, just south of Sutton Courtenay, may have been one of the largest and wealthiest Final Phase cemeteries in the Upper Thames Valley. The apparent decline in securely dated burial and settlement evidence may

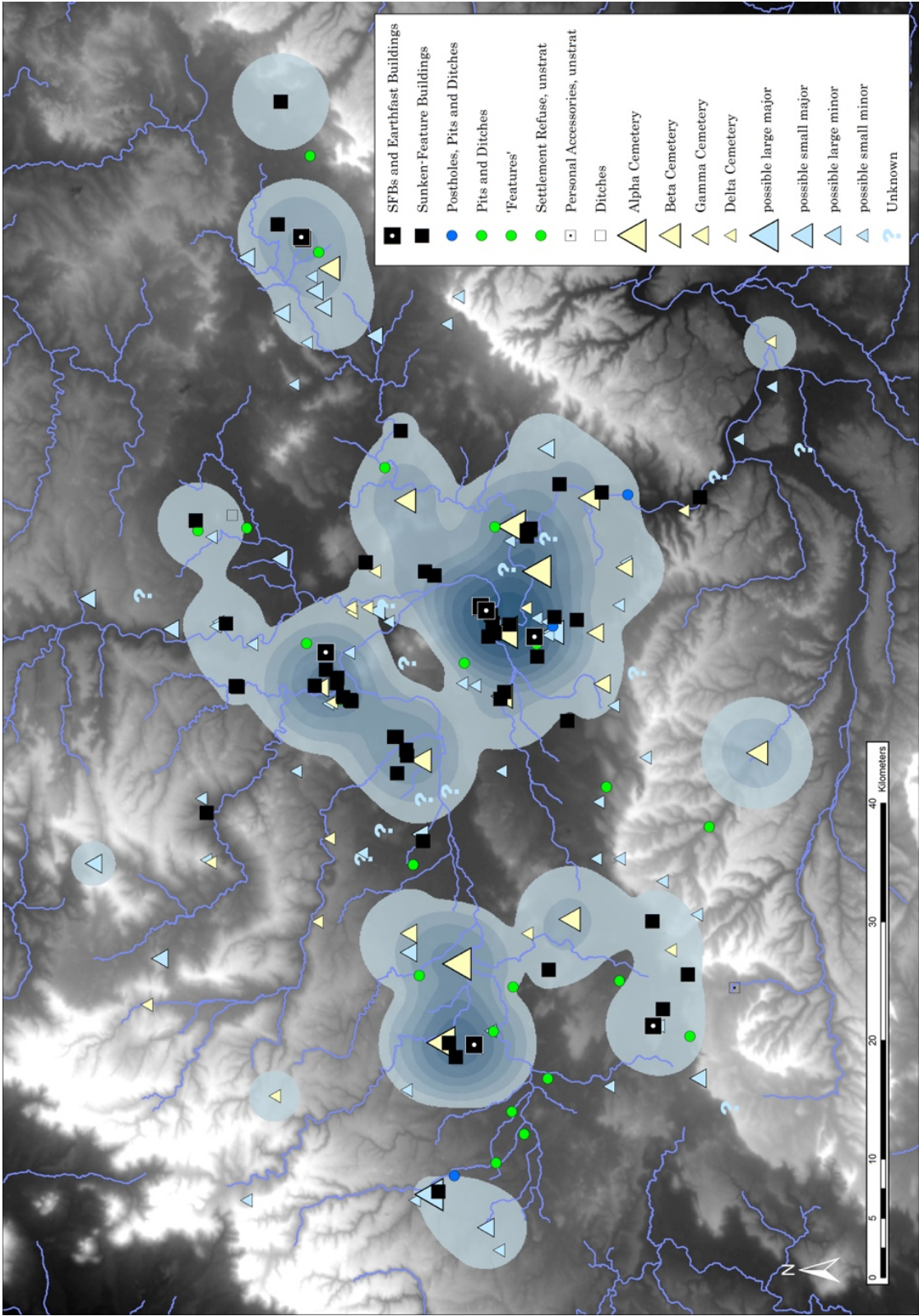


Figure 7.18: The distribution of 6th Century settlement and burial. The number of sunken-feature buildings and the number of burials at each site has been normalized and combined into a single metric, providing a single representation of the distribution of 6th Century settlement and burial activity.

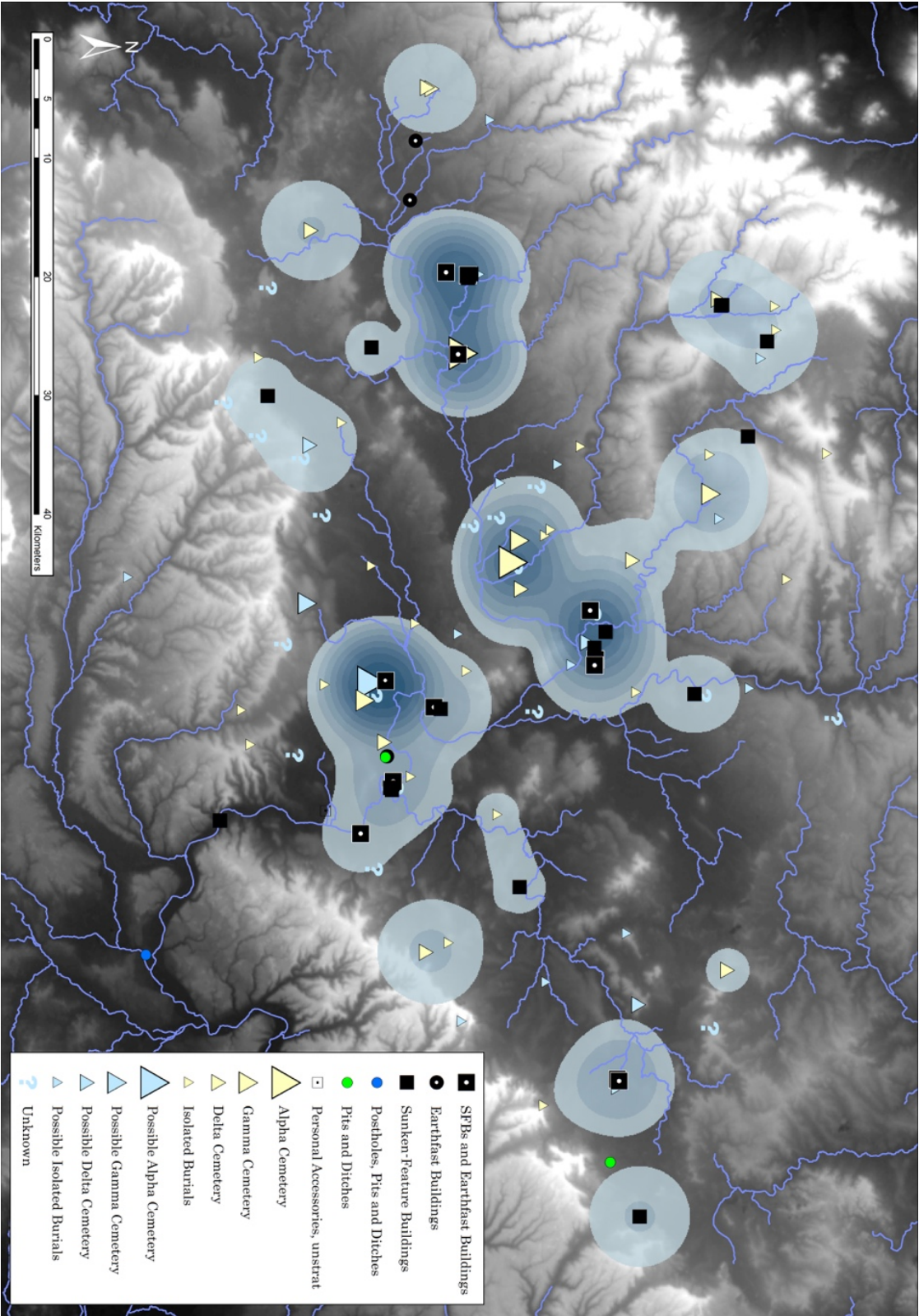


Figure 7.19: The distribution of 7th Century settlement and burial. The number of sunken-feature buildings and the number of burials at each site has been normalized and combined into a single metric, providing a single representation of the distribution of 7th Century settlement and burial activity (For the purposes of this metric the poorly recorded cemetery at Milton has been assigned 50 burials, placing Milton on par with the 54 burials recorded at Standlake Down).

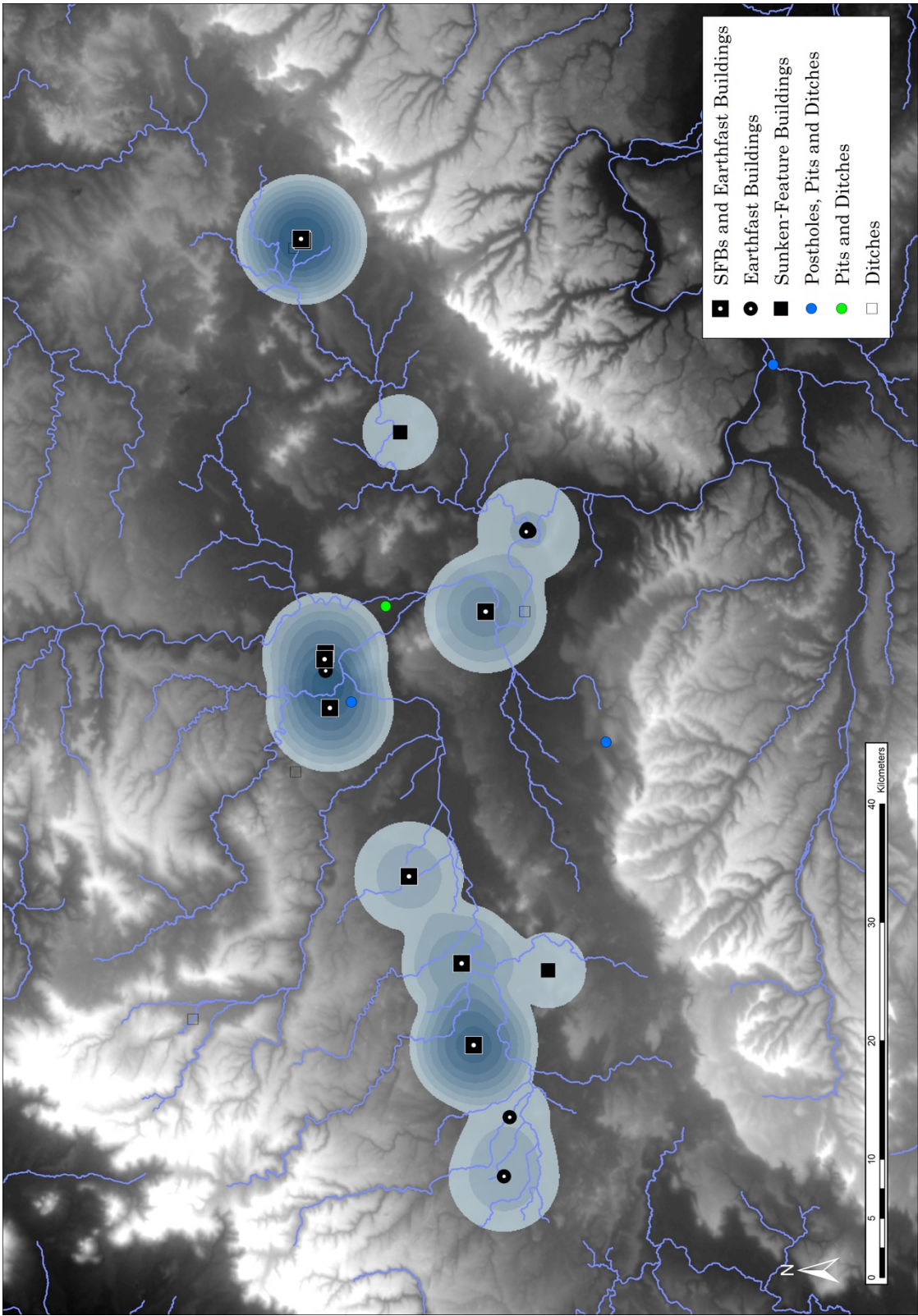


Figure 7.20: The distribution of late 7th/8th Century settlement. The number of sunken-feature buildings and the number of earthfast buildings at each site has been normalized and combined, providing a single representation of the distribution of late 7th/8th Century settlement activity.

therefore be unrepresentative, but the Abingdon to Dorchester area probably did experience a significant crisis around c.AD661, when the West Saxon/Gewissan kingdom was expelled from the Upper Thames Valley by Mercia, and this event may have had significant consequences for the Abingdon to Dorchester area, precipitating a decline in burial and settlement or a shift to new, as yet unexcavated, sites.

By the mid-8th Century, the excavated settlement evidence for the Abingdon to Dorchester area looks particularly weak, and the primary concentrations of excavated settlement activity appear to have shifted to the Evenlode confluence and the Vale of Aylesbury (Fig.7.20). The evidence for settlement activity around Aylesbury appears to have become significantly more robust over the course of the 7th and early 8th Centuries, producing the largest concentration of 8th Century earthfast buildings in the study area, while the Evenlode confluence has produced the next two largest settlements, in terms of earthfast buildings, and the second largest settlement, in terms of sunken-feature buildings, all securely dated to the later 7th and earlier 8th Centuries.

The area between Cirencester and Black Bourton, including the Fairford to Lechlade area, has also produced several securely dated late 7th/8th Century sites, but the largest site – Horcott Quarry – has produced relatively little evidence of 8th Century occupation, and on the whole, the securely dated settlement evidence in this area cannot compare with the evidence from Aylesbury and the Evenlode confluence.

As with the Abingdon to Dorchester area, it is unclear whether this reflects a real decline in settlement around the Fairford to Lechlade area at this time. The 7th Century was a transitional period, and few Anglo-Saxon settlements appear to have remained static between the 6th and 9th Centuries (Hamerow 2012, 67-70). Middle Saxon settlement in general is notoriously elusive (Blair 2013a, 9-11), and Middle Saxon continuity on Early Saxon sites is probably also under-recognized. At Yarnton, Middle Saxon occupation was only recognized through radiocarbon dating (Hey *et al.* 2004), and it has been suggested that the 8th Century may have even been largely aceramic in the Upper Thames Valley (Blinkhorn in Hardy *et al.* 2003, 172-4).

As such, there can be no certainty about chronological changes in the distribution of Anglo-Saxon settlement, but based on current evidence, the Windrush and Evenlode confluences and the Vale of Aylesbury do appear to have become significantly more important over the course of the 7th and 8th Centuries. Whether or not this development was accompanied by a relative decline in the importance of the Abingdon to Dorchester and Fairford to Lechlade areas is uncertain, however.

7.2 High Status Settlements

This section explores the development of high status settlements in the Upper Thames Valley, identifying, comparing and contrasting a range of different possible high status sites, with the aim of reconstructing the regional settlement hierarchy and exploring the development of this hierarchy over time.

The high status sites analysed in this section include the great hall complexes at Sutton Courtenay and Long Wittenham as well as a range of other possible high status sites, which stand out among the excavated settlements of the Upper Thames Valley for their larger than average or more robust buildings, their unusual degree of spatial organization, their unusual density of ritual activity and/or their unusual quantity or quality of high status material culture and/or craft-working. These possible high status sites include a large post-in-trench building at Worton, a possible great hall at Benson, several possible high status buildings at Dorchester and Bishop's Court, a possible elite precinct at Aylesbury, a possible monastic craft-working area at Eynsham Abbey, a possible great hall at Sunningwell (Oxon.), a large annexed building at Cresswell Field and a post-in-trench building at Latton Quarry.

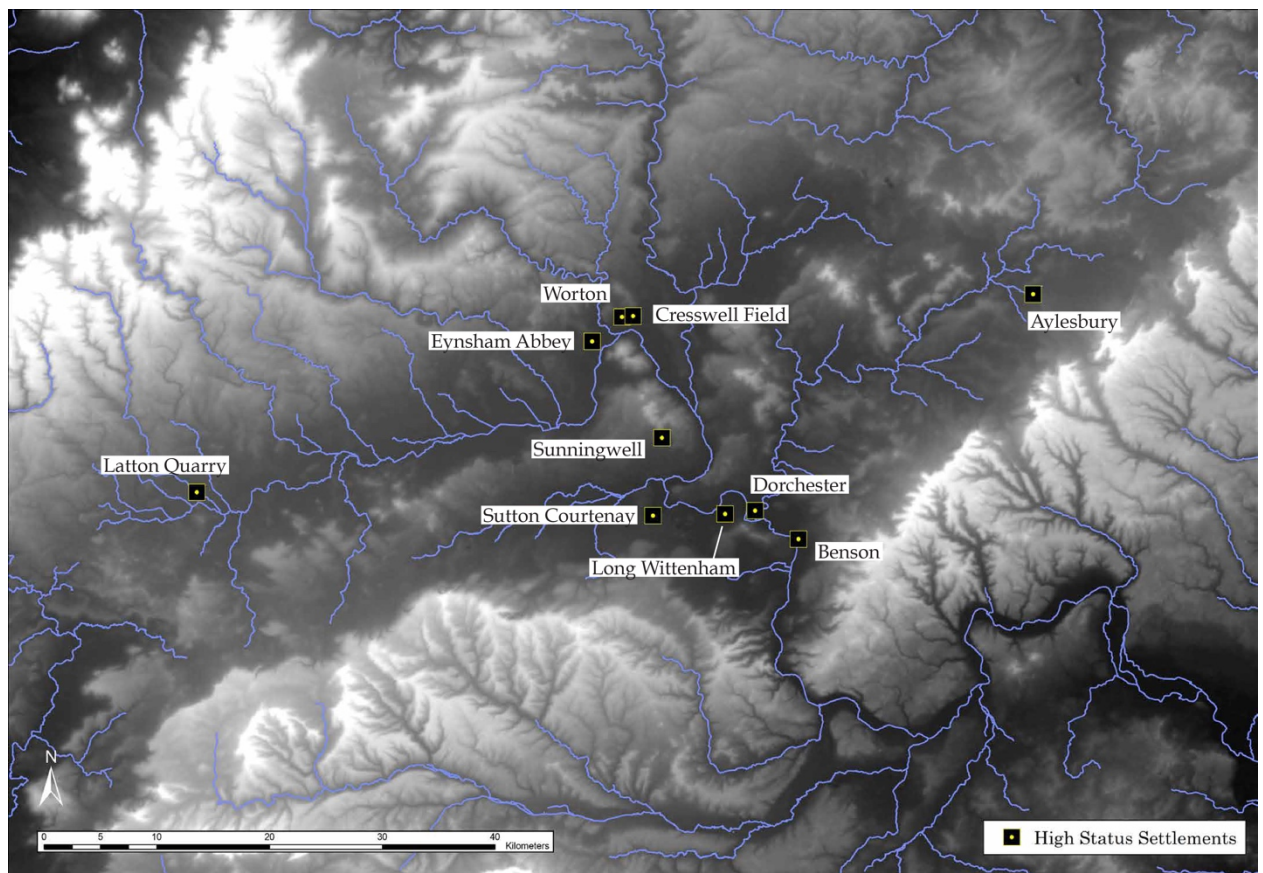


Figure 7.21: The sites analysed in this section.

For each of these sites, the evidence for high status activity is compared and contrasted with the other excavated settlements of the Upper Thames Valley, placing each site within a regional settlement hierarchy before exploring the overall development of this settlement hierarchy in the concluding section (**Section 7.2.12**).

7.2.1 Sutton Courtenay

Sutton Courtenay is the paramount excavated power centre in the Upper Thames Valley. From sometime in the 6th Century to the later 7th Century, the evidence for high status activity at Sutton Courtenay exceeds every other excavated site in the study area, by almost every metric.

7.2.1.1 The Built Environment

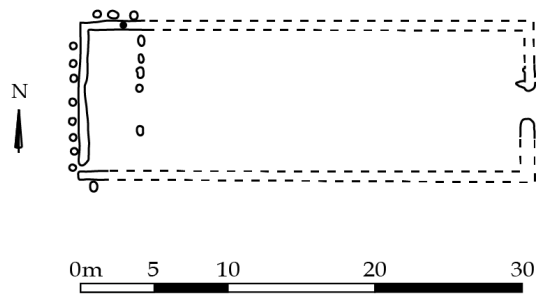
The 30m long great hall at Sutton Courtenay is by far the largest excavated building in the Upper Thames Valley (Fig.7.22). A 30m great hall was provisionally identified at Long Wittenham from aerial photographs and LiDAR (Hamerow *et al.* 2013), but this has recently been shown in excavation to be a Late Roman enclosure (see **Section 7.2.2.1**; McBride Forthcoming). A possible 30m great hall has also been identified at Sunningwell from geophysics, but this feature has yet to be excavated and its date and nature are questionable (see **Section 7.2.8**). Meanwhile, a possible great hall excavated at Benson may have been as long as 30m, but only 20m of this feature have been exposed in excavation (see **Section 7.2.4.1**).

The Sutton Courtenay great hall also boasts the most substantial and carefully constructed foundation trenches of any excavated building in the Upper Thames Valley (Fig.7.23). Only Structure 4100 at Long Wittenham approaches the depth and regularity of the Sutton Courtenay foundations (see **Section 7.2.2.1**).

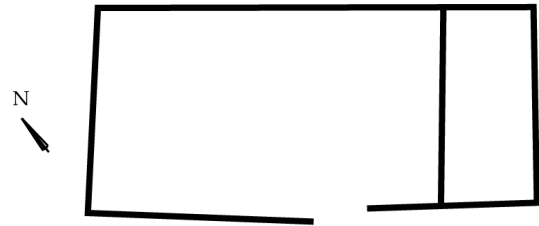
The Sutton Courtenay central precinct also exhibits a greater degree of spatial organization than almost any other site in the study area (Fig.7.24); only Long Wittenham can rival the extensive planned layout of the Sutton Courtenay central precinct. The possible high status site at Sunningwell may yet prove to be similarly well-organized, but on current evidence, the site cannot compare with the extensive central precincts of Sutton Courtenay and Long Wittenham. The possible high status settlement at The Orchard in Aylesbury also exhibits a high degree of spatial organization (see **Section 7.2.6**), but this site probably postdates Sutton Courtenay, emerging in the late 7th/early 8th Century, and on current evidence, the scale of the site pales in comparison to Sutton Courtenay.

Large Buildings in the Upper Thames Valley

Sutton Courtenay 500



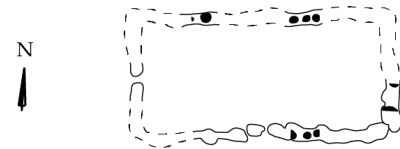
Sunningwell (magnetometer)



Benson Feature 1006



Worton B108



Long Wittenham 4100



Bishop's Court



Dorchester Allotments

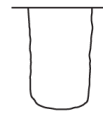
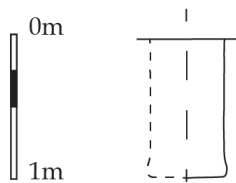


Figure 7.22: The great hall at Sutton Courtenay, compared with other large buildings in the Upper Thames Valley (redrawn from Frere 1962; 1984; May 1977; Hey *et al.* 2004; Brennan and Hamerow 2015; the Benson site archive; Roger Ainslie pers. comm.).

Foundation Trenches in the Upper Thames Valley

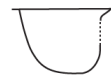
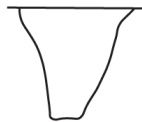
Sutton Courtenay 500

Long Wittenham 4100



Worton B108

Bishop's Court

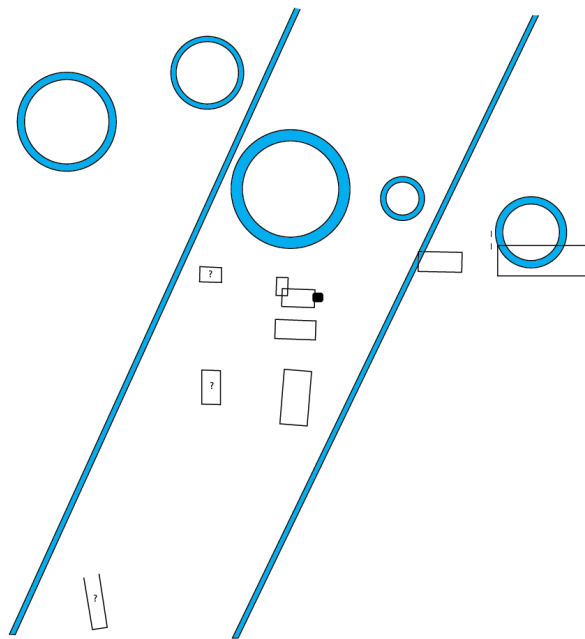


Benson Feature 1006

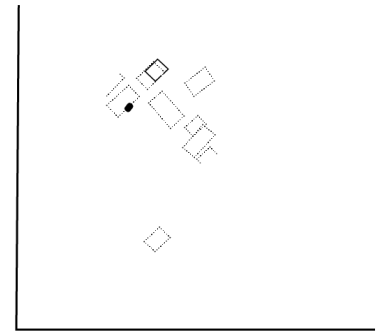


Figure 7.23: The foundation trench of the Sutton Courtenay great hall, compared with the foundations of other large buildings in the Upper Thames Valley (redrawn from May 1977; Hey *et al.* 2004; Brennan and Hamerow 2015; the Benson site archive).

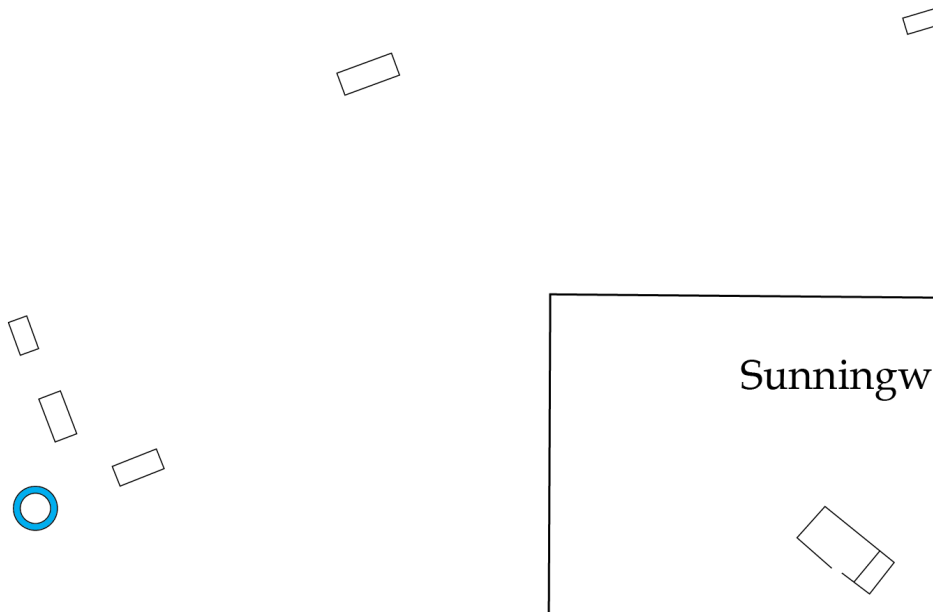
Sutton Courtenay



Aylesbury, The Orchard



Long Wittenham



Sunningwell

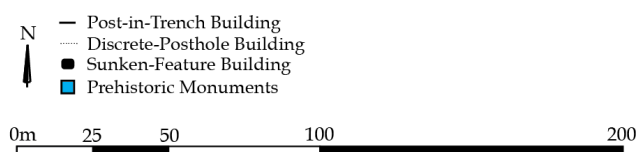
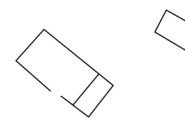


Figure 7.24: The Sutton Courtenay central precinct, compared with the central precinct of Long Wittenham, the possible high status site identified at Sunningwell, and the possible 8th Century high status site at The Orchard in Aylesbury (redrawn from Ford *et al.* 2004; Booth *et al.* 2007; Hamerow *et al.* 2007; Wessex Archaeology 2010; Roger Ainslie pers. comm.).

7.2.1.2 The Wider Site

The Sutton Courtenay great hall complex appears to have been located in one of the densest concentrations of Anglo-Saxon settlement activity in the Upper Thames Valley.

To the north of the central precinct, 32 distinct sunken-feature buildings and 2 earthfast buildings were excavated in advance of gravel quarrying during the 1920-30s (Leeds 1923b; 1927; 1947), and this remains the second largest settlement excavation in the Upper Thames Valley, in terms of sunken-feature buildings (Fig.7.25). Moreover, the distribution of excavated features – tightly clustered around the quarried area – suggests that a large number of sunken-feature buildings were probably quarried away without any record, and given the circumstances of the excavation, it also seems highly likely that many earthfast buildings went unnoticed and unrecorded in both the quarried area and the excavated area. Settlement activity probably also extends to the west of the excavated area, and to the northeast, where Anglo-Saxon pits, gullies and postholes were recently excavated at Peewit Farm (Oxon.) (Porter 2013).

Another sunken-feature building was excavated underneath the central precinct itself (Brennan and Hamerow 2015), and a combination of aerial photographs and geophysical survey indicates further possible sunken-feature buildings immediately east, west and south of the central precinct (Benson and Miles 1974a, 60-2; 1974b; Hamerow *et al.* 2007, 115). In total, the associated settlement at Sutton Courtenay may cover 23ha or more, making it the largest identified settlement in the Upper Thames Valley.

Another cluster of 30 possible sunken-feature buildings has been identified in aerial photographs approximately 475m west of the central precinct, and yet another cluster of possible sunken-feature buildings has been identified 680m south of the central precinct, although the nature and date of these features are unconfirmed (Fig.7.26) (Benson and Miles 1974a, 62). On a larger scale, the extended Abingdon area, including the settlements around Sutton Courtenay and Barrow Hills, has produced the densest concentration of excavated settlement sites and the densest concentration of excavated sunken-feature buildings in the study area. This is probably not a coincidence that the great hall complex at Sutton Courtenay – the paramount excavated power centre in the study area – emerged out of the densest concentration of excavated settlement activity in the study area.

The Sutton Courtenay great hall complex also appears to have been associated with two important cemeteries. The Alpha cemetery at Milton, possibly one of the largest and wealthiest 7th Century cemeteries in the Upper Thames Valley (see **Section 5.2.3.6**), lay approximately 1km south of Sutton Courtenay, and the proximity of these two sites – one of the most important 7th Century

Sutton Courtenay

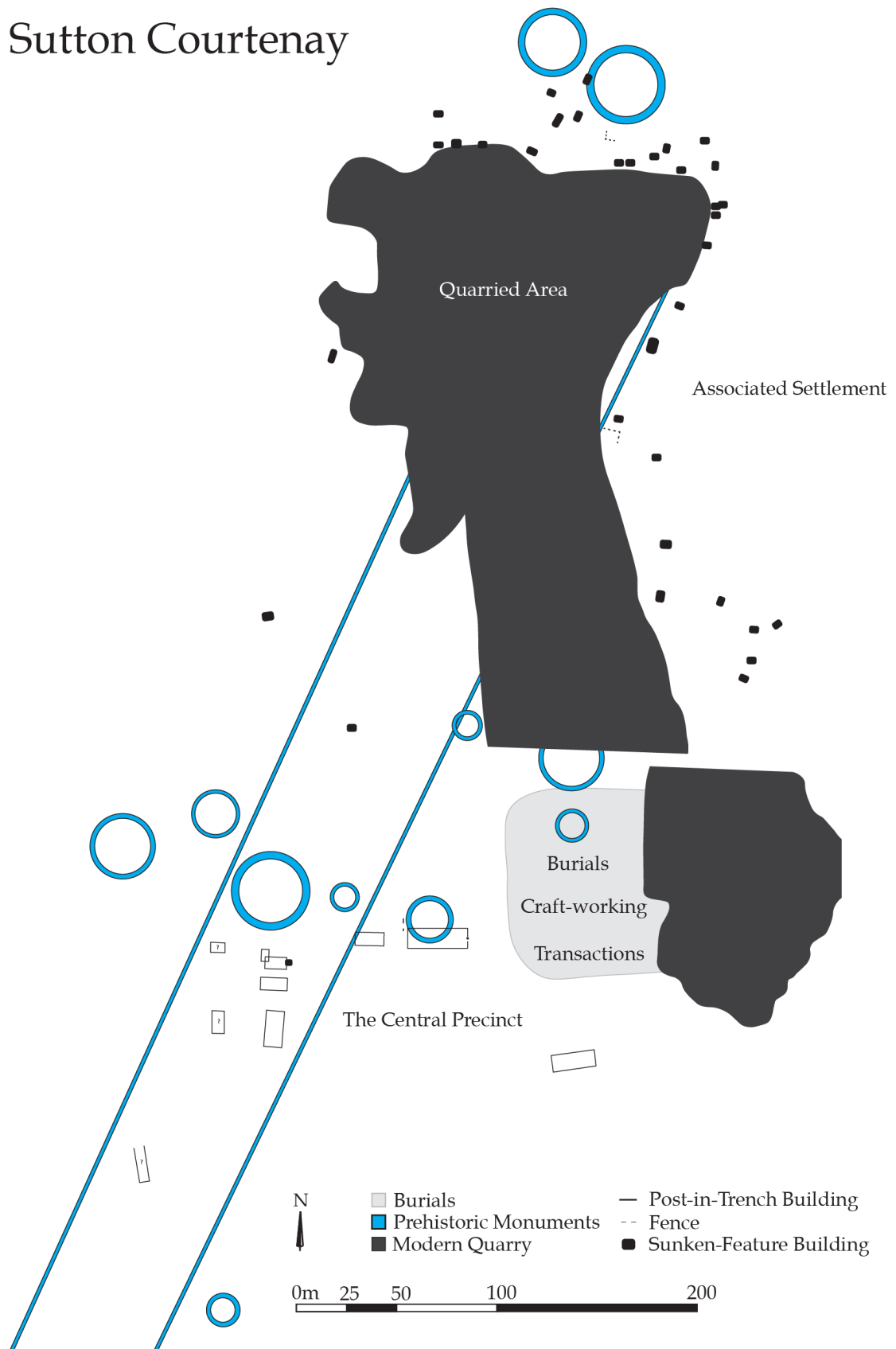


Figure 7.25: The associated settlement to the north of the Sutton Courtenay central precinct (redrawn from Booth *et al.* 2007; Hamerow *et al.* 2007; Wessex Archaeology 2010).

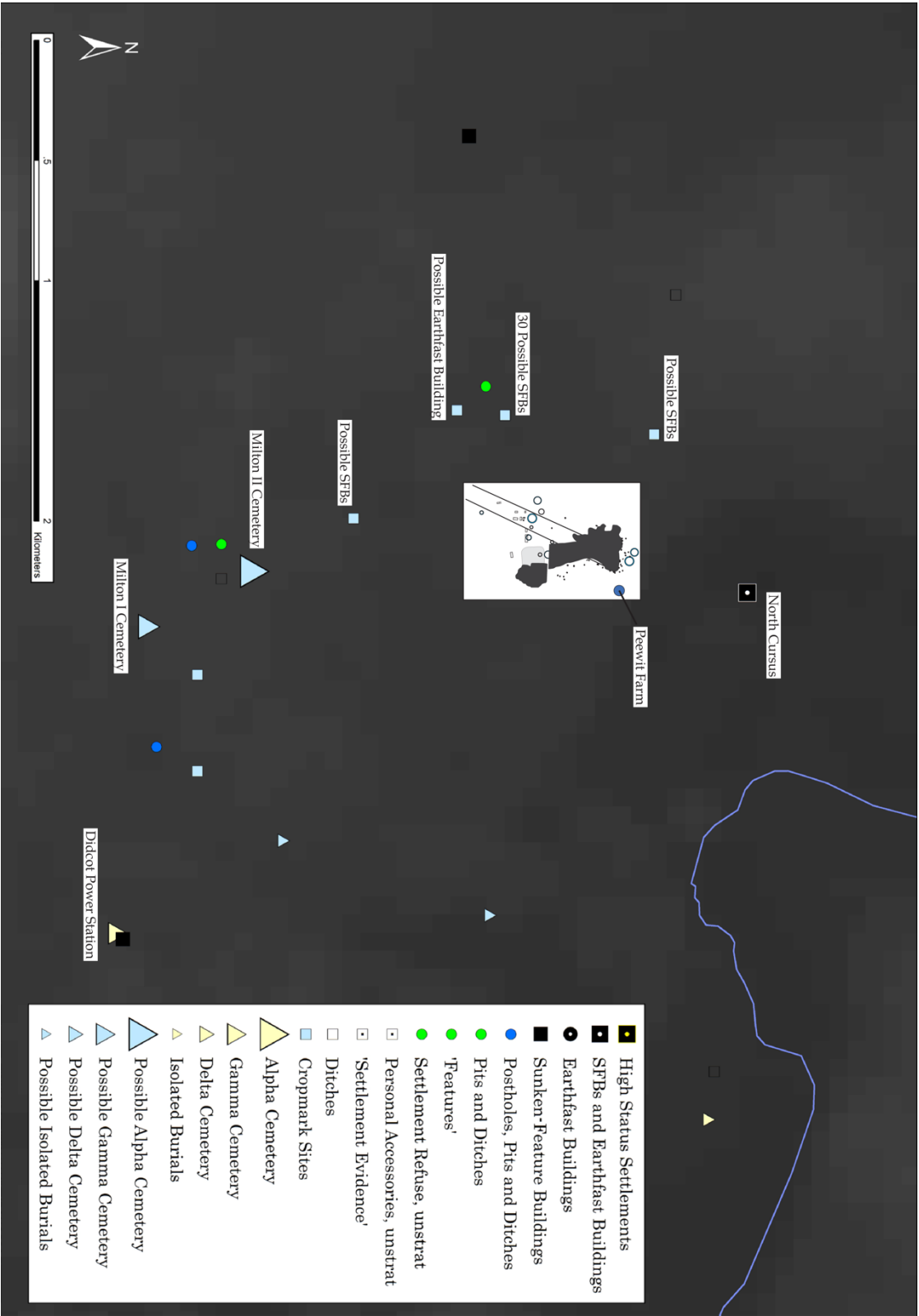


Figure 7.26: The wider hinterland of the Sutton Courtenay great hall complex.

settlements in the Upper Thames Valley and one of the most important 7th Century cemeteries in the Upper Thames Valley – was probably not a coincidence. These two sites may have formed an important landscape of royal power for the early West Saxon/Gewissan kings.

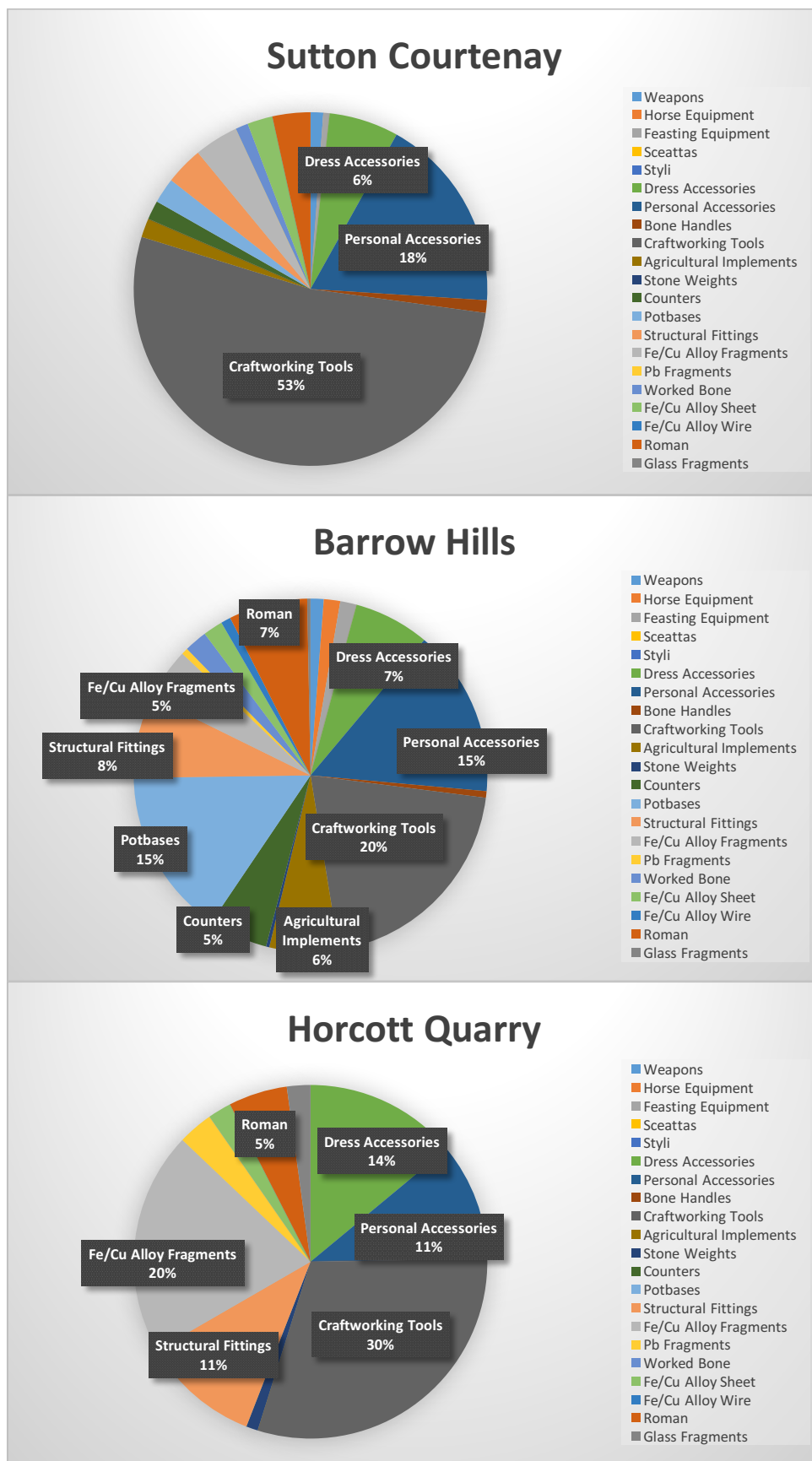
There also appear to have been several burials in the immediately vicinity of the central precinct itself. A human mandible was recovered in field-walking immediately to the east of the central precinct, and a variety of 6th and 7th Century dress accessories have also been recovered from this area by amateur metal-detectorists, strongly suggesting the presence of 6th and 7th Century burials (Fig.7.25) (Hamerow *et al.* 2007, 170-9, 183, 185). Moreover, the late 6th and 7th Century dress accessories recovered from this area – a gold plated disc brooch and an assortment of Style II mounts – are only found in the wealthiest late 6th and 7th Century burials in the Upper Thames Valley (see **Section 5.2.3.5**), suggesting that at least one very high status burial was interred in the immediate vicinity of the great hall complex, probably while the great halls were in use.

7.2.1.3 Material Culture and Craft-Working

The Sutton Courtenay great hall complex has produced exceptional evidence for high status material culture and craft-working. Like most great hall complexes, the central precinct has produced very little material culture, but an undated silver sheet fragment was metal-detected in the topsoil overlying the great hall (Wessex Archaeology 2010), and metal-detecting immediately to the east of the central precinct has produced undated gold sheet fragments, gold droplets and gold-copper solder. Further to the southeast, a series of pits have produced a glass vessel fragment and a lump of copper-alloy, which may be spillage from casting (Hamerow *et al.* 2007, 157-60).

This evidence for gold and silver-smithing, although undated, is unparalleled among the excavated settlements of the Upper Thames Valley, and while the glass vessel fragment is not especially unusual, the evidence for copper-alloy-working is less common; many of the other sites that have produced evidence of copper-alloy-working have also produced other evidence of high status occupation.

The associated settlement to the north of the Sutton Courtenay central precinct has also produced evidence of copper-alloy-working, as well as prodigious evidence of more mundane craft-working, especially textile manufacturing. In fact, the associated settlement at Sutton Courtenay has produced a higher proportion of textile implements and craft-working tools, relative to the total number of artefacts recovered from the site, than any other sizeable settlement in the Upper Thames Valley (Graph 7.2). Moreover, the associated settlement has produced one of the highest status artefacts from any excavated settlement in the study area – a silver-gilt equal arm brooch –



Graph 7.2: The proportion of different types of material culture recovered from all stratified contexts at Sutton Courtenay, Barrow Hills and Horcott Quarry. Sutton Courtenay has produced the highest proportion of craft-working tools of any substantial settlement assemblage recovered from the Upper Thames Valley.

and the associated settlement has also produced the only seax recovered from an early Anglo-Saxon settlement in the Upper Thames Valley (Leeds 1923b, 171; 1927, 65).

This suggests that the associated settlement at Sutton Courtenay was exceptional in its own right, and even if the great halls had not been identified, the Sutton Courtenay associated settlement would still stand out among the excavated settlements of the Upper Thames Valley. The associated settlements at Lyminge and Rendlesham were similarly exceptional, and the evidence from these sites suggests that the wealth and status of the associated settlements probably predated the construction of the great halls (see **Section 3.1.1**).

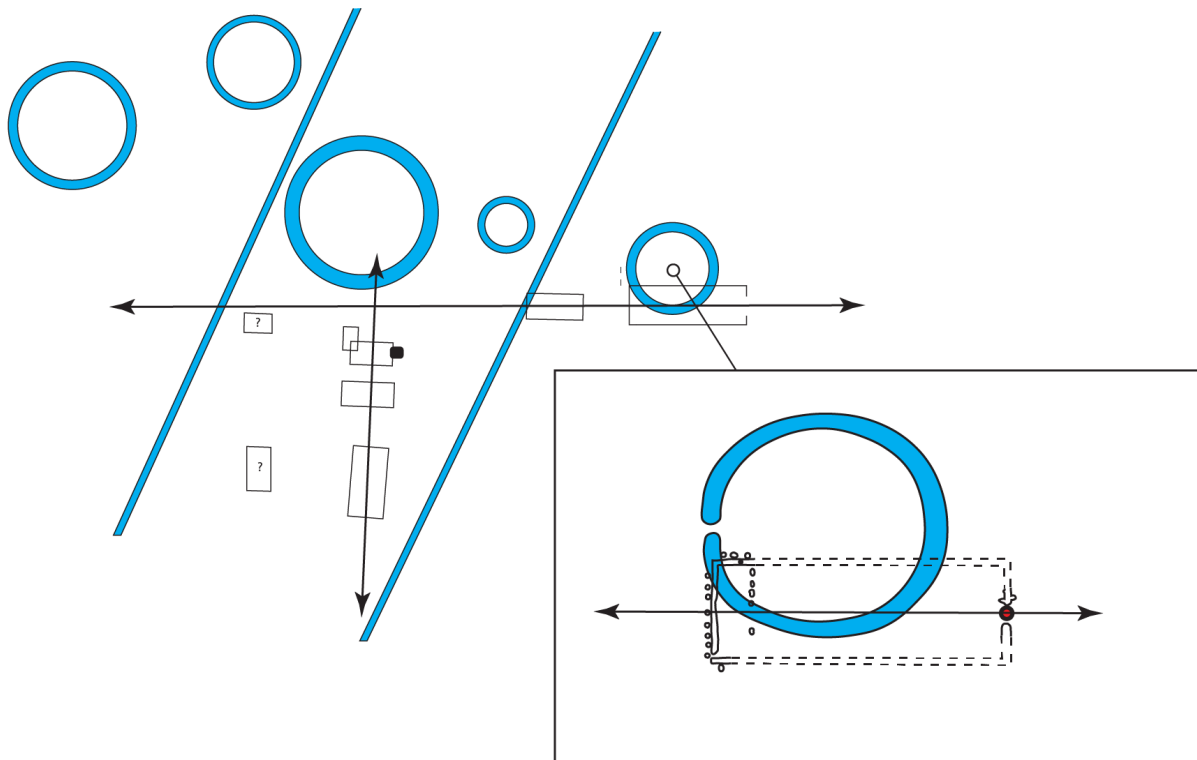
7.2.1.4 Ritual Activity

The great halls at Sutton Courtenay appear to have been deliberately laid out in reference to a Bronze Age barrow cemetery; the N-S axis of the central precinct was aligned on the largest barrow of the cemetery, and the great hall itself was constructed on top of another barrow in an almost identical arrangement to the halls at Lyminge and Hatton Rock (Fig.7.27) (see **Section 2.6.3**).

No other site in the Upper Thames Valley has produced such unequivocal evidence for the explicit and integral appropriation of earlier monuments. One of the buildings at Long Wittenham appears to have been aligned on a prehistoric barrow, but on present evidence, Sutton Courtenay exhibits significantly more extensive and intensive use of earlier monuments. Several other settlements in the study area were located in the vicinity of earlier monuments, and several sunken-feature buildings at Barrow Hills were cut into prehistoric barrows, but no other site was so entirely laid out in reference to earlier monuments, and nowhere else was an earthfast building deliberately cut into a prehistoric monument.

The associated settlement at Sutton Courtenay has also produced an unusually large number of ritual deposits; in fact, the associated settlement has produced the highest density of ritual deposits per excavated sunken-feature building of any large settlement in the study area. While the majority of larger settlements in the Upper Thames Valley have produced approximately one ritual deposit per every three to five sunken-feature buildings, the Sutton Courtenay associated settlement has produced more than twice this number (based on the author's calculations). Moreover, the Sutton Courtenay ritual deposits include some of the most unusual ritual deposits in the study area: one sunken-feature building produced the fore and hind feet of a dog deposited separately in the east and west gable postholes (Leeds 1927, 71; Sofield 2012, app.B), and the extended burial of an adult woman was found deposited in a large pit, inverted and with arms outstretched towards an infant burial at the base of the pit (Leeds 1947, 86-7; Sofield 2012, app.B).

Sutton Courtenay



Long Wittenham



Figure 7.27: The use of prehistoric monuments at Sutton Courtenay and Long Wittenham. No other site in the Upper Thames Valley exhibits the extent of monumantal appropriation apparent at Sutton Courtenay (redrawn from Booth *et al.* 2007; Hamerow *et al.* 2007; Wessex Archaeology 2010).

It seems likely that some of the ritual activity at the Sutton Courtenay associated settlement predated the great halls, and the Bronze Age barrows at Sutton Courtenay may have also been a focus for ritual activity before the construction of the great halls. 6th Century dress accessories, probably indicative of 6th Century burials, have been recovered immediately to the east of the great halls, and the large post obstructing the east doorway of the great hall may also predate the great hall complex, although the dating evidence for this post may be residual (see **Section 2.6.4**).

7.2.1.5 Chronology and Development

The occupational sequence at Sutton Courtenay is uncertain, but some part of the associated settlement definitely predated the construction of the great halls (Brennan and Hamerow 2015, 331-3), and there is some evidence to suggest that the site was already exceptional during the 6th Century. Although it had probably been curated for some time before it was deposited, the silver-gilt equal arm brooch recovered from the Sutton Courtenay associated settlement was manufactured in the 5th Century, and it seems likely that at least some portion of the exceptional evidence for craft-working and ritual activity recovered from the Sutton Courtenay associated settlement predates the great hall complex. This possibility is supported by the evidence from Lyminge and Rendlesham, which have produced considerable evidence for 6th Century high status activity (see **Section 3.1.1**).

The 6th Century dress accessories metal-detected to the east of the Sutton Courtenay central precinct also suggest that the Bronze Age barrows at Sutton Courtenay were already a focus for burial before the construction of the great halls, and the large post obstructing the east doorway of the great hall may have also been a focus for ritual activity at this time, but the date of this post is uncertain, and it may actually postdate the great hall (see **Section 2.6.4**). Yeavinger and Lyminge appear to have grown out of similar pre-existing ritual foci, incorporating burials, prehistoric monuments and standing posts, and it has been previously argued that these pre-existing ritual foci were part of important 6th Century assembly sites (see **Section 3.1.1**).

This evidence, tentative as it is, would set Sutton Courtenay apart from every other excavated settlement in the study area. The 6th Century settlements of the Upper Thames Valley are not easily differentiated, and no other excavated settlement in the study area shows any sign of high status activity during the 6th Century.

The first great halls at Sutton Courtenay were probably constructed around the turn of the 7th Century. While there is no dating evidence for the great halls themselves, the easternmost hall of the central precinct was constructed with a B4 wall type, which appears to have been

characteristically early, and this, combined with the post-in-trench foundations, probably places the construction of this building in the early 7th Century, c.AD600-630 (see **Section 3.2.1**; Hamerow *et al.* 2007, 163-5). At this time, Sutton Courtenay was almost certainly one of the highest status settlement sites in the Upper Thames Valley.

How long this lasted, however, is unclear. The apparent lack of superimposed phases at Sutton Courtenay suggests that the great hall complex may have been relatively short-lived, and the site may have become increasingly neglected as the Upper Thames Valley became a contested border zone between Wessex and Mercia. The great hall complex probably underwent a significant transformation, if not outright abandonment, around c.AD661, when Mercia forced Wessex to abandon the Upper Thames Valley.

Nevertheless, even if the great hall complex was abandoned at this time, Sutton Courtenay clearly maintained some importance into the late 7th/early 8th Century, when it produced one of the largest concentrations of single-loss sceattas in the Upper Thames Valley. Moreover, a 9th Century royal charter issued at Sutton Courtenay suggests that there continued to be a strong royal presence in the area well after the abandonment of the great hall complex (Sawyer 1968, 338a; Hamerow *et al.* 2007, 117). The nature of this royal presence is unclear, but the recent discovery of Ipswich ware at the north end of the Sutton Courtenay village suggests that the focus of activity may have shifted to the modern village by the later 8th Century (Mundin and McNicoll-Norbury 2009).

7.2.2 Long Wittenham

Long Wittenham is one of the most obscure great hall complexes in England. The site was first identified from aerial photographs in 1975, and in 1986, Sonia Hawkes suggested that the site may be comparable to Sutton Courtenay (Hawkes 1986), but there was no published plan of the site until 2013 (Hamerow *et al.* 2013), and prior to this thesis, the date and nature of the site were unconfirmed.

As such, a fieldwork project has recently been undertaken, as part of this thesis, to investigate the date and nature of the Long Wittenham site. This project was organized and supervised by Prof. Helena Hamerow, Dr. Jane Harrison, and the author of this thesis, Adam McBride. The fieldwork began in 2015 with a magnetometer survey covering approximately half of the cropmark site, and this survey was followed by metal-detecting in August 2015 and October 2016 and two seasons of excavation in August 2015 and September 2016. The full results of this fieldwork will be published elsewhere (McBride Forthcoming), but the most pertinent findings are discussed here.

7.2.2.1 The Built Environment

Five post-in-trench buildings have previously been identified at Long Wittenham from aerial photographs (Hawkes 1986; Booth *et al.* 2007; Hamerow *et al.* 2013), and another possible post-in-trench building was identified in the 2015 geophysical survey (Fig.7.28).

However, in the 2015 excavation, the largest of the cropmark buildings – the 30m long great hall – was actually found to be a Late Roman enclosure, and this brings the entire site into question. Without the 30m great hall, the largest building identified at Long Wittenham is the possible building identified in the 2015 geophysical survey, which is approximately 19m long, but like the alleged great hall, this feature may actually be part of the Late Roman enclosure system (Fig.7.28). The four other buildings identified in aerial photographs can be more confidently interpreted as Anglo-Saxon buildings, but these features appear to range from 11-16m in length – well below the 18m threshold used in this study for great halls (see **Section 2.1.1.1**) – and this would place Long Wittenham in the same league as the minor hall complexes at Chalton, Polebrook and Thirlings, rather than the great hall complexes (Fig.7.29).

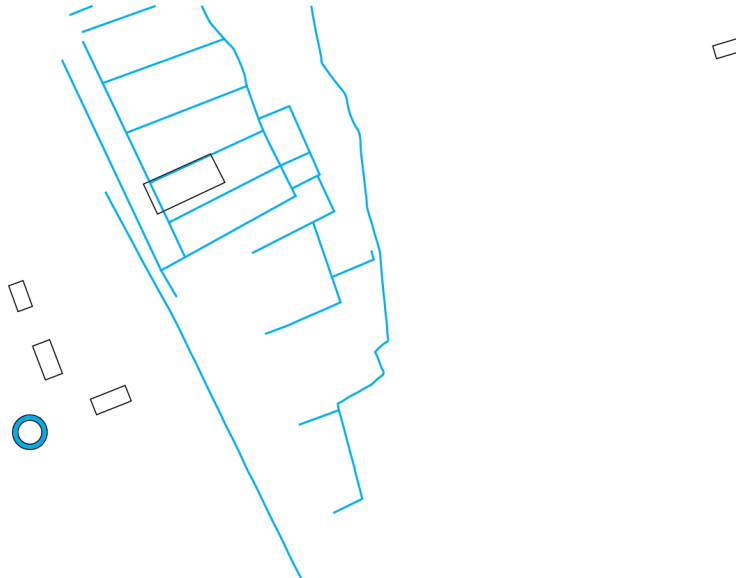
Nevertheless, Long Wittenham does appear to be a high status site. In 2016, the easternmost building identified at Long Wittenham was excavated and found to be constructed in a typical great hall architectural style (Fig.7.30).

Structure 4100 was an 11.59m long post-in-trench building, laid out on an approximate two-square plan with entrances in the middle of three walls and an internal partition in the eastern half of the building. The wall trenches were carefully cut, with vertical or near-vertical sides and a sub-flat base, and the trenches were remarkably substantial for a relatively small building, extending approximately 0.70m below the gravel horizon and probably 1m below the original ground surface. The depth of the wall trenches was also remarkably consistent, varying only 0.08m in eleven of the thirteen sections. Outside of Sutton Courtenay, no other site in the Upper Thames Valley has produced such substantial and carefully cut foundation trenches.

The walls of Structure 4100 appeared to be primarily constructed from 0.10-0.12m wide rectangular planks, placed centrally within the wall trenches. The wall planks appeared to be placed at intervals, resembling the C9 wall type used at Cowdery's Down and Lyminge, but the discovery of a shallow plank spanning one of these intervals suggests that the building may have actually been constructed with the one-up-one-down wall type, known from Yeavinger and Cowage Farm. Several possible external raking posts were also identified outside the north, east and west walls of the building.

Long Wittenham

Before the current fieldwork project



After the current fieldwork project

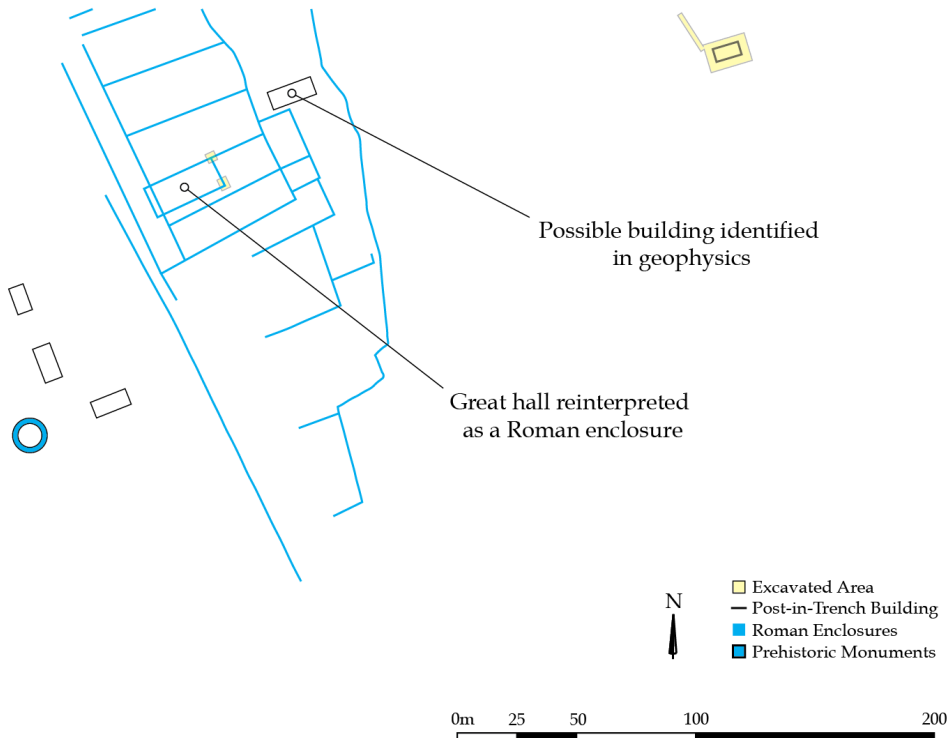
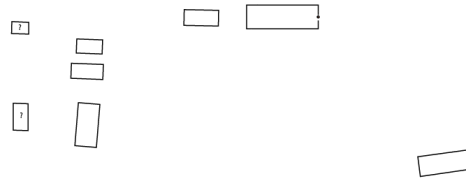
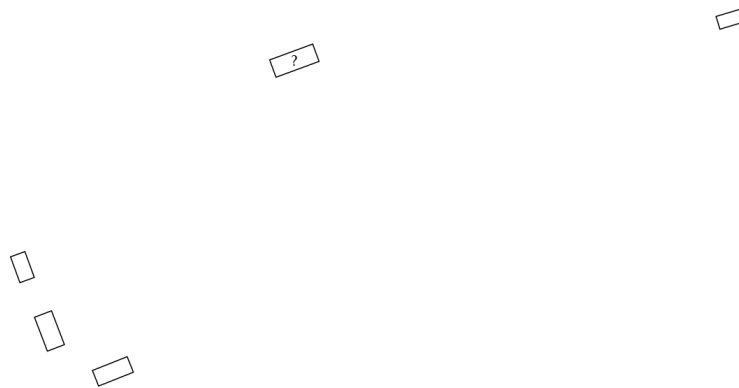


Figure 7.28: The halls at Long Wittenham, before and after the recent fieldwork. A new possible building was identified in the 2015 magnetometer survey, and after the 2015 excavation, the great hall was reinterpreted as a Late Roman enclosure.

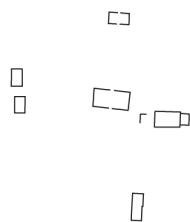
Sutton Courtenay



Long Wittenham



Polebrook



Thirlings

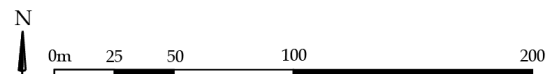
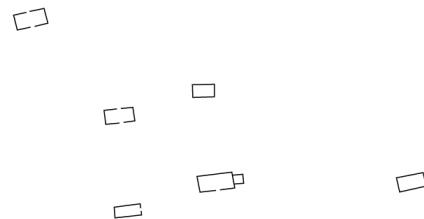
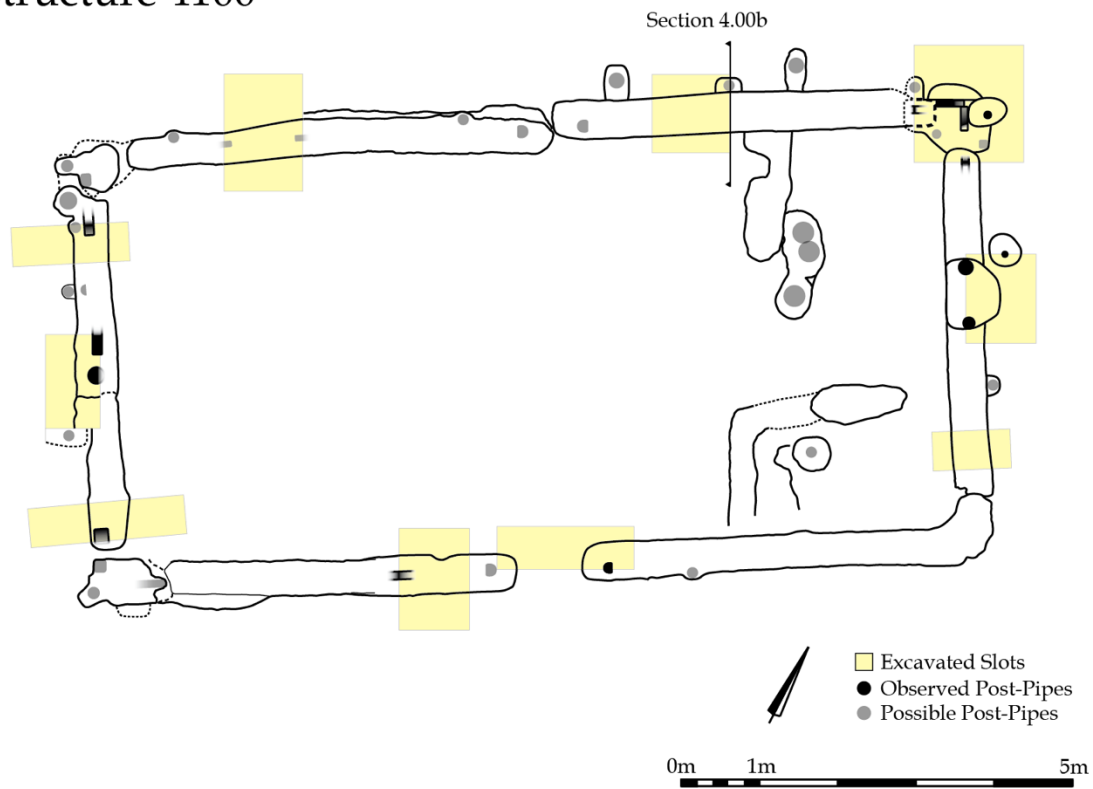


Figure 7.29: Without the 30m great hall, Long Wittenham appears to lie somewhere between the great hall complexes and the minor hall complexes (redrawn from O'Brien and Miket 1991; Upex 2002, 2003, 2004, 2005; Booth *et al.* 2007; Hamerow *et al.* 2007; Wessex Archaeology 2010).

Structure 4100



Section 4.00b

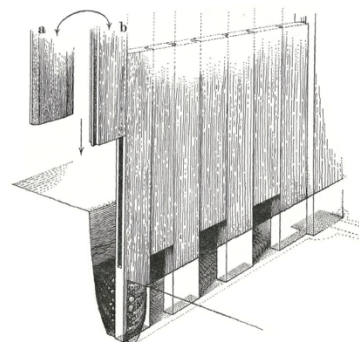
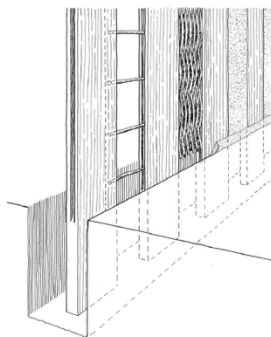
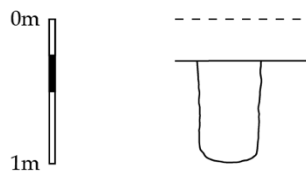


Figure 7.30: Structure 4100, in plan and in section. The walls were probably constructed with either a C9 wall type (left) or the one-up-on-down wall type (right) (after Hope-Taylor 1977; Millett and James 1983).

Many of these structural elements appeared to have been withdrawn, suggesting that the building was systematically dismantled – another common characteristic of great hall complexes.

Structure 4100 produced very little material culture, but one fragment of animal bone was substantial enough to be radiocarbon dated, producing a range of AD608-679, with the majority of the curve falling between AD635-670. This is consistent with the architectural style of Structure 4100, which suggests a date in the early-to-middle 7th Century (see **Section 3.2.1**).

7.2.2.2 The Wider Site

The great hall complex at Long Wittenham was associated with two cemeteries: the large 5-6th Century Alpha cemetery at Long Wittenham I and the small mid-7th Century Delta cemetery at Long Wittenham II (Fig.7.31) (Clutterbuck 1848; Akerman 1860; 1861; 1862; Dickinson 1976, II; Sims and Thacker 2015).

Possible sunken-feature buildings have been identified in aerial photographs to the south of the central precinct (Benson and Miles 1974a, 66), and a probable sunken-feature building was excavated at the eastern edge of the Long Wittenham I cemetery during the 19th Century (Hamerow *et al.* 2013, 63).

Early/Middle Saxon pottery and a “perforated clay ring”, possibly describing an Anglo-Saxon loomweight, have been found to the north of the great halls, suggesting further settlement activity in the vicinity of the modern parish church (Pastscape Monument 238253), and two Anglo-Saxon refuse pits, radiocarbon dated to AD590-670, were also excavated to the southeast of the great hall complex (Allen *et al.* 2010, 225-9, 239).

However, metal-detecting in 2015 and 2016 produced very little evidence of Anglo-Saxon occupation, and on the whole, the evidence for associated settlement activity at Long Wittenham pales in comparison to Sutton Courtenay.

7.2.2.3 Material Culture and Craft-Working

The excavations at Long Wittenham produced very little material culture. The metal-detecting produced slightly more evidence – an early 7th Century sword pyramid and a Middle Saxon strap-end – but the assemblage is still surprisingly small given that the survey covered 8ha.

The central precincts of great hall complexes typically produce very little material culture, but the metal-detecting survey at Long Wittenham extended well beyond the central precinct, with little to show for the effort. Metal-detecting at Sutton Courtenay recovered considerably more high status material culture in the immediate vicinity of the central precinct.

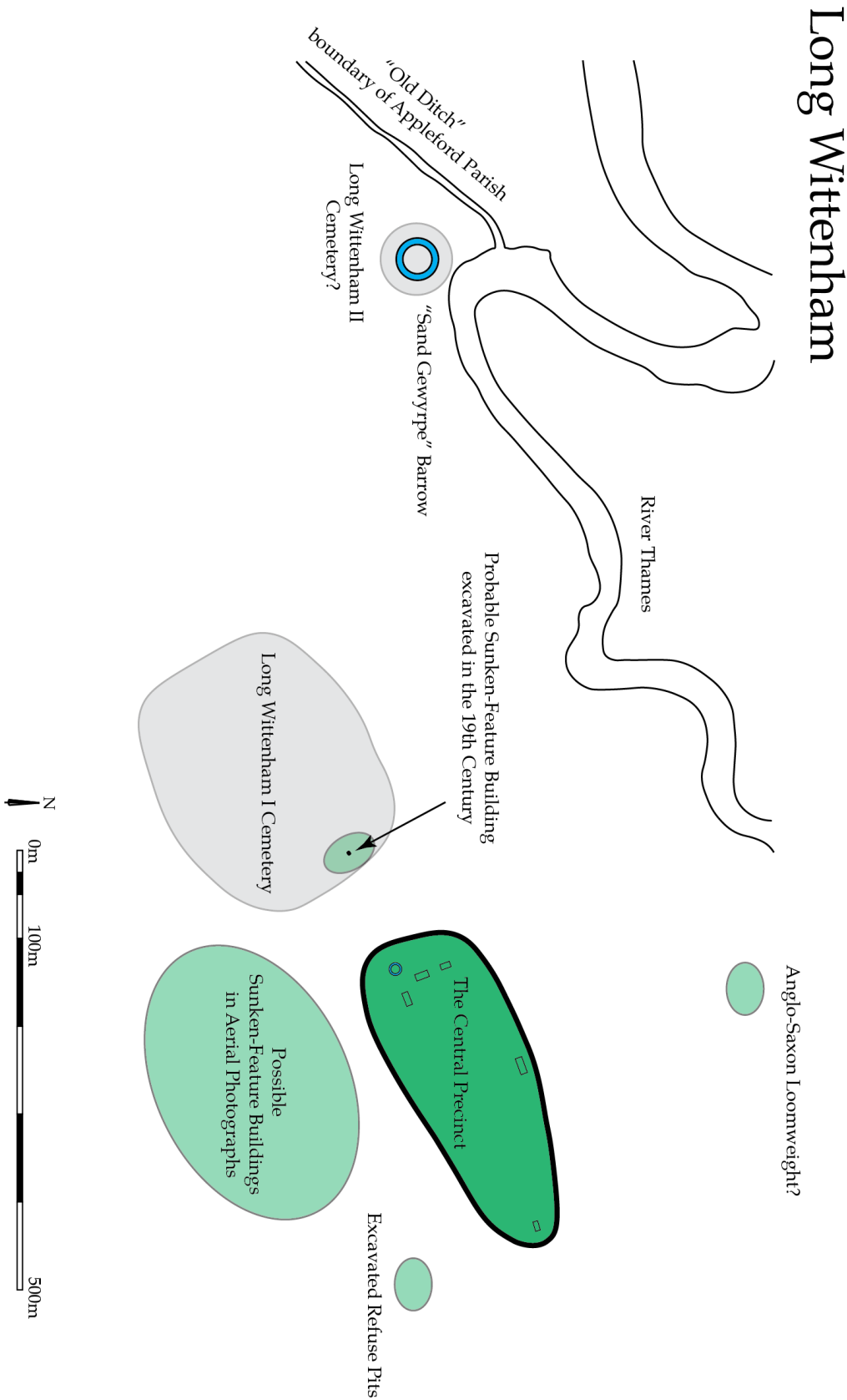


Figure 7.31: The associated settlement and burial activity at Long Wittenham.

Prior to the current project, three sceattas, a 9th Century strap-end and a 10th Century bracelet had been recovered over a wide area to the west of the Long Wittenham great hall complex, but nothing had been previously reported from the vicinity of the great halls.

7.2.2.4 Ritual Activity

The southernmost hall identified at Long Wittenham appears to have been aligned on a ring ditch, which may be a prehistoric barrow, and farther to the west of the great hall complex, the Long Wittenham II cemetery appears to have been located in the vicinity of another important barrow, which may have been an assembly site (Fig.7.31). This barrow appears to have been a market site in the post-Medieval period (Anni Byard pers. comm.), and it may be the *sand gewyrpe*¹ mentioned in the 11th Century charter bounds of Appleford parish (Gelling 1973, 754-755; Kelly 2000, 76-81). This, combined with the recent discovery of human bones, radiocarbon dated to the 6th Century (Anni Byard pers. comm.), strongly suggests that this landmark was a ritually significant place, and possibly an assembly site, during the 6th and 7th Centuries.

7.2.2.5 Chronology and Development

The wealth and size of the Long Wittenham I cemetery suggests that Long Wittenham, like Sutton Courtenay, may have already been a focus for high status activity in the 6th Century, before the construction of the first post-in-trench halls.

However, the only excavated hall at Long Wittenham, with its C9 or one-up-one-down wall type, appears to be stylistically later than the earliest excavated hall at Sutton Courtenay – the East Hall – which was constructed with a characteristically early B4 wall type, and this may suggest that the high status settlement at Long Wittenham emerged slightly later than Sutton Courtenay. However, the other unexcavated halls at Long Wittenham may be earlier, and at present, there is not enough evidence to support either possibility. The relative dating of these sites therefore remains unclear.

In either case, however, Long Wittenham appears to be of significantly lower status than Sutton Courtenay by almost every metric. The largest possible building identified at Long Wittenham is 19m long, and the largest confidently identified building is even smaller, at 16m long. This pales in comparison to the 30m long great hall at Sutton Courtenay, the largest open-form great hall in England. The associated settlement at Sutton Courtenay was also probably one of the largest settlements in the Upper Thames Valley, while Long Wittenham has only produced one probable

¹ an unusual term meaning artificial upcast of sand/gravel arranged in a heap, small mound or linear bank; the author would like to thank John Blair and Kanerva Blair-Heikkinen for their comments on this term.

sunken-feature building. The material culture recovered in metal-detecting at Sutton Courtenay is also much more impressive, producing the only evidence for gold and silver-smithing in the Upper Thames Valley, albeit undated, and the 7th Century grave goods recovered from Sutton Courtenay are in an entirely different league from the burial assemblages recovered from the Long Wittenham II cemetery, not to mention the cemetery at Milton, which was located a comparable distance south of Sutton Courtenay and which was probably one of the wealthiest 7th Century cemeteries in the study area. The monumental complex appropriated by the Sutton Courtenay great halls is also much more impressive than the prehistoric monuments thus far identified at Long Wittenham. Moreover, the high status activity at Sutton Courtenay appears to have been more enduring: Sutton Courtenay has produced a large assemblage of 8th Century sceattas, and the parish of Sutton Courtenay continued to be a royal estate and occasional royal residence into the Late Saxon period.

There is therefore substantial and wide-ranging evidence to suggest that Long Wittenham was of significantly lower status than Sutton Courtenay, and in this sense, Long Wittenham may be compared with the minor hall complex at Thirlings. Like Long Wittenham, Thirlings appears to be a secondary high status settlement located in close proximity to a much more impressive great hall complex – Yeavinger, in this case – and it has been suggested above that Thirlings may represent the permanent residence of a regional magnate who administered the *regio* in the king's stead, preparing the civic-ceremonial centre at Yeavinger for the king's visits and perhaps hosting local and sub-regional assemblies at Yeavinger in the king's absence (see **Section 3.1.1.2**).

There are clear differences between Long Wittenham and Thirlings. Although Long Wittenham does not appear to have a great hall, the layout of Long Wittenham appears to be designed at least in part for ritual and public action, closely resembling the layout of the great hall complexes (Fig.7.29). However, the layout of Polebrook compares more favourably with Long Wittenham (Fig.7.29), and it is worth emphasizing that unlike the great hall complexes, the minor hall complexes exhibit considerable variation – a consequence of their lower status and parochial nature (see **Section 2.8.3**) – and Long Wittenham would not be out of place within this variation.

Therefore, on current evidence, Long Wittenham is reinterpreted as an early-to-middle 7th Century minor hall complex, contemporary with and secondary to the great hall complex at Sutton Courtenay and perhaps also to the *civitas* at Dorchester (see **Section 7.2.5**). However, Long Wittenham was by no means a low status site; outside of Sutton Courtenay, no other site in the study area has produced such unequivocal evidence of the great hall architectural style. During the earlier 7th Century, Long Wittenham was probably second in status only to Sutton Courtenay and possibly Dorchester.

7.2.3 Worton

Outside of the known high status sites at Sutton Courtenay and Long Wittenham, the most convincing possible high status settlement excavated in the Upper Thames Valley is the site at Worton, part of the Evenlode confluence.

7.2.3.1 The Built Environment

Excavations at Worton have produced a large 17.3m long post-in-trench building (Fig.7.32), and several other possible post-in-trench buildings have been identified in the surrounding area, from aerial photography and geophysics (Hey *et al.* 2004, 197-8, 201, 245-49).

During the 7th Century, a building of this size would typically be indicative of a great hall complex. However, the Worton building has been radiocarbon dated AD640-880, with the majority of the curve falling between the mid-7th and the late 8th Centuries. The 8th Century building tradition is poorly defined, and it is uncertain to what degree the Worton building should be considered exceptional. However, at present, the Worton building is one of the largest 8th Century buildings identified in the Upper Thames Valley, and this suggests that it should be interpreted as high status.

The Worton building was constructed with post-in-trench foundations, but the foundations were highly irregular, both in profile and in plan (Fig.7.32). In profile, the foundations ranged 0.40-0.80m deep, and in most places, the foundations were wider than they were deep. In plan, the line of the foundations was remarkably irregular, to the point of being almost serpentine. This stands in stark contrast to the foundations of most great hall buildings (Fig.7.33), but in light of the later dating of the Worton building, this irregularity may represent the late 7th/8th Century development of the great hall architectural style. In the second half of the 7th Century, great hall buildings became less robust, with shallower and less regular foundation trenches, and the formerly coherent phenomenon of great hall complexes appears to have begun to fracture, with smaller and larger sites and smaller and larger great halls (see **Section 3.3**). If this trend continued into the 8th Century, it may have resulted in a building like that excavated at Worton, which was smaller than the smallest 7th Century great halls and substantially less regular than the least regular 7th Century great halls, and yet still significantly larger and more substantial than almost any other 8th Century building excavated in the study area.

7.2.3.2 The Wider Site

Several other post-in-trench buildings have been identified at Worton from aerial photography and geophysical survey (Hey *et al.* 2004, 201, 245-49). However, only one of these buildings is especially convincing, suggesting that the high status settlement at Worton was relatively small,

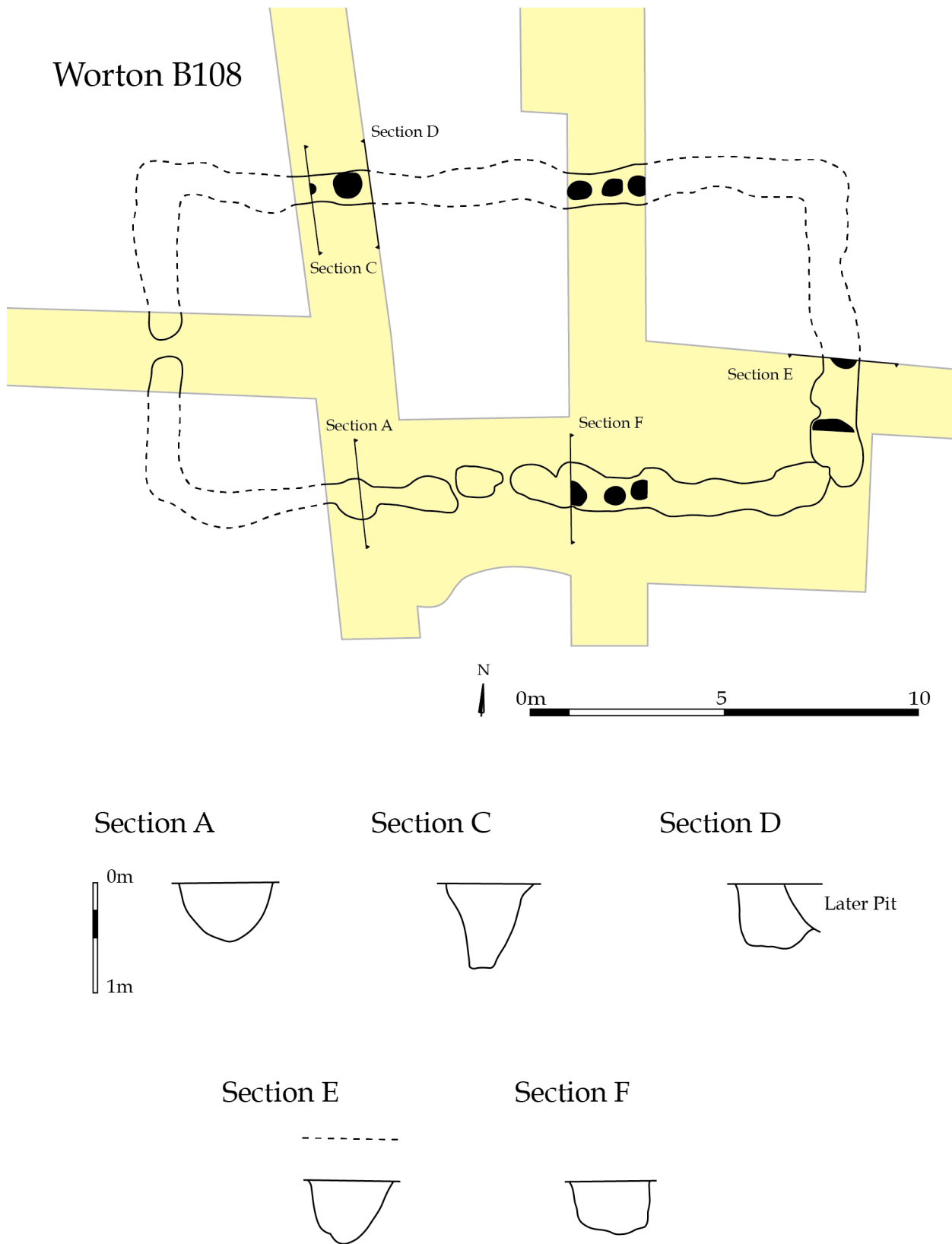


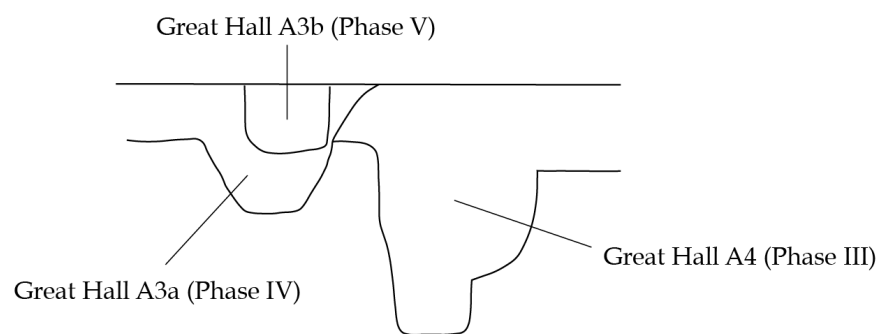
Figure 7.32: Worton building B103, in plan and in section (redrawn from Hey *et al.* 2004).

Sutton Courtenay 500

Long Wittenham 4100

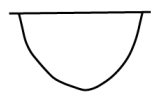


Yeavering

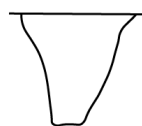


Worton

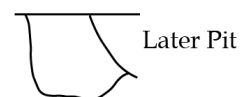
Section A



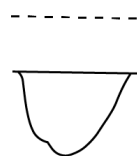
Section C



Section D



Section E



Section F



Figure 7.33: The irregular foundations of the Worton building represent the culmination of the later development of the great hall architectural style, which can be seen in the sequence of great hall foundations at Yeavering. This stands in marked contrast with the early-to-middle 7th Century buildings at Sutton Courtenay and Long Wittenham (redrawn from Brennan and Hamerow 2015; Hope-Taylor 1977; Hey *et al.* 2004).

and like the small great hall complex at Doon Hill, the small elite precinct at Worton would seem to parallel the relatively small size of the excavated hall at Worton.

The layout of the elite precinct at Worton also appears to have been irregular, paralleling the irregularity of the excavated building itself (Fig.7.34), and like the irregular foundations of the excavated building, the irregular layout can be explained as part of the later development of the great hall architectural style – as buildings became less robust and more irregular, the layout may have also become less precise and more irregular.

Although the elite precinct at Worton appears to have been relatively small, it appears to have been associated with a relatively large pre-existing settlement (Fig.7.34). Two sunken-feature buildings were excavated 100m to the east, and another sunken-feature building was excavated underneath the great hall itself. Numerous other sunken-feature buildings have also been identified in aerial photographs to the north and east, and field-walking has recovered an extensive scatter of Early/Middle Saxon pottery covering the entire area.

7.2.3.3 Chronology and Development

The Worton building was probably constructed sometime during the late 7th or 8th Centuries. The building has been radiocarbon dated AD640-880, with the majority of the curve falling between the mid-7th and the late 8th Centuries, and this is consistent with the architectural style of the building, which appears to represent a continuation of the later 7th Century developments at great hall complexes. This would place the construction of the Worton building after the Mercian conquest of the Upper Thames Valley in c.AD661, although it is unclear to what degree this distinction was significant.

Like Sutton Courtenay, the high status site at Worton appears to have grown out of a large, pre-existing and probably important settlement, but it is unclear whether the high status activity at Worton predates the construction of the excavated hall, or whether Worton represents a new high status site, perhaps founded after the Mercian conquest.

On present evidence, the relatively small hall at Worton and the relatively small elite precinct appear to represent a secondary or tertiary power centre when compared with the other possible high status settlements of the Upper Thames Valley. The sites at Benson (see **Section 7.2.4**) and Aylesbury (see **Section 7.2.6**) were probably contemporary with Worton, and both appear to represent more significant power centres.

Worton

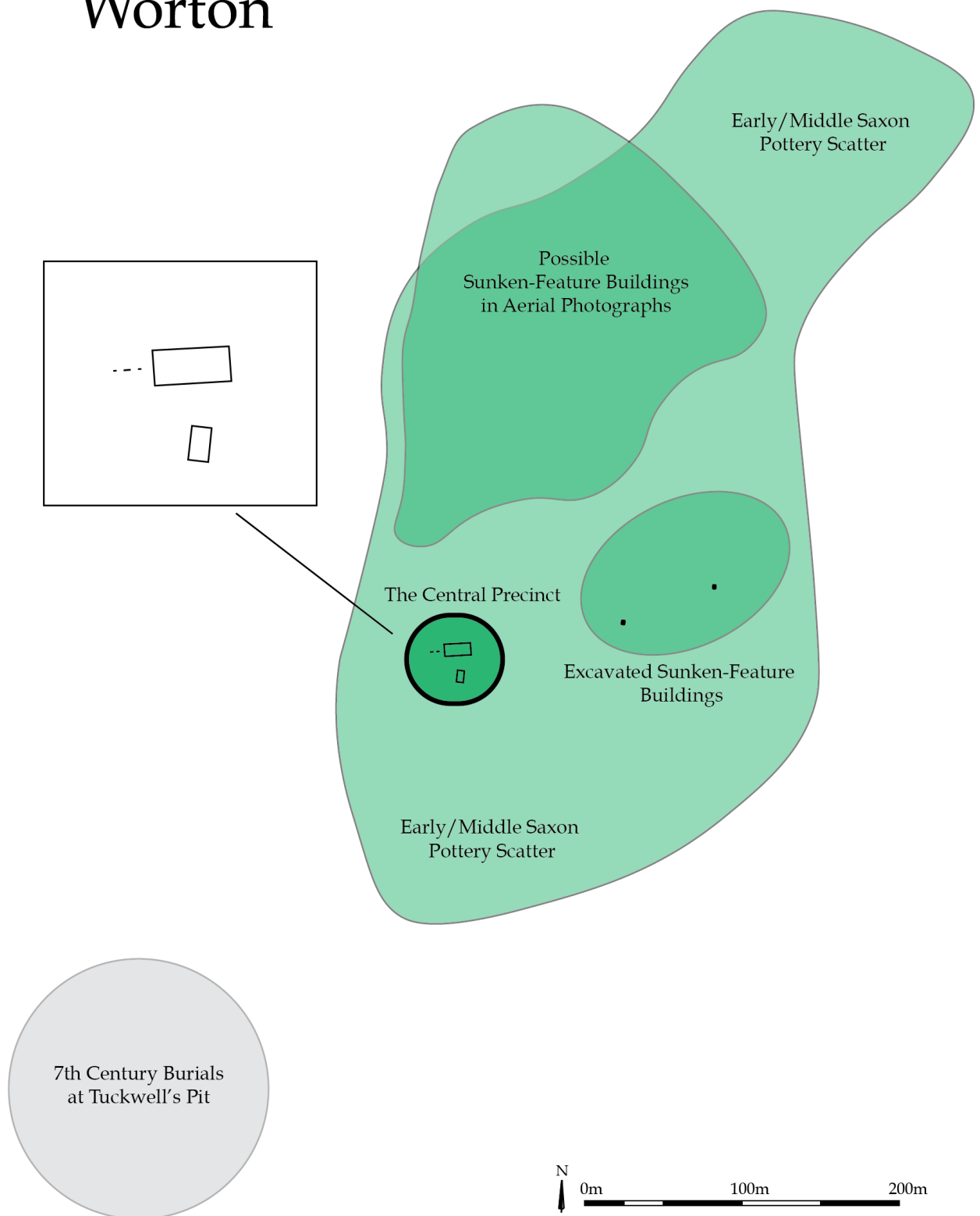


Figure 7.34: The associated settlement and burial activity at Worton (redrawn from Hey *et al.* 2004).

7.2.4 Benson

A possible later 7th/8th Century great hall has also been identified at Benson. The feature in question convincingly resembles a post-in-trench great hall in plan, but in section, the foundation trenches are shallow and irregular. There is no immediate parallel for this feature, but as it stands now, the closest parallels are the foundation trenches of Great Hall A3b at Yeavinger, which was probably constructed shortly after AD630-640, and the Worton building, which was probably constructed sometime between AD640 and AD800. Therefore, the most convincing interpretation of the Benson feature is a late-type great hall, constructed between the mid-7th and the late 8th Centuries.

7.2.4.1 The Built Environment

A small development excavation at Benson uncovered a rectangular ditched feature, 10m wide and at least 20m long, which the author of this thesis has previously identified as a possible 7th or 8th Century great hall (Pine and Ford 2003; McBride 2016). In plan, this feature resembles the form and dimensions of an open-form great hall, and several characteristic external posts have been identified around the outside of the possible building (Fig.7.35). The excavators interpreted this possible great hall as a ditched enclosure (Pine and Ford 2003, 144), but early Anglo-Saxon enclosures are typically much larger, less regular in plan, and repeatedly recut (McBride 2016, 24-5).

However, the profile of the Benson feature is unusually shallow and irregular for a great hall foundation trench (Fig.7.35). The foundations of the Sutton Courtenay great hall exhibit a remarkably rectangular profile, cut 1m below the gravel horizon, while the Benson foundations range from sub-rectangular to bowl-shaped and average 0.30m below the gravel horizon. There are two potential explanations for this: the Benson foundations may have been severely truncated, or they may belong to the later development of the great hall architectural style. The great halls at Lyminge were heavily truncated (Thomas and Knox 2013, 10; Thomas and Knox 2014, 7, 10), and if the early phases of Yeavinger had been similarly truncated, the foundations would closely resemble those excavated at Benson. However, the later great halls at Yeavinger provide a more convincing parallel to Benson *without* the need for severe truncation, and within the Upper Thames Valley, the late 7th/8th Century building at Worton provides a very convincing parallel to the Benson feature (Fig.7.36). Open-form great halls, like that at Benson, were typically replaced by annexed great halls during the mid-to-late 7th Century, but open-form great halls may have had a longer currency in Southern England (see **Section 3.3.2**), and the open-form plan of the Worton building once again provides a convincingly parallel. Moreover, the written sources indicate that

Benson Feature 1006

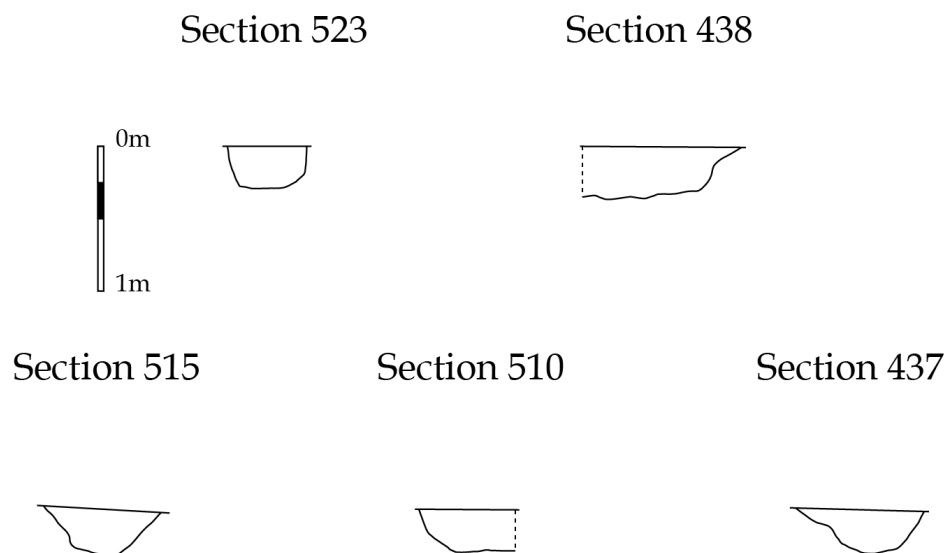
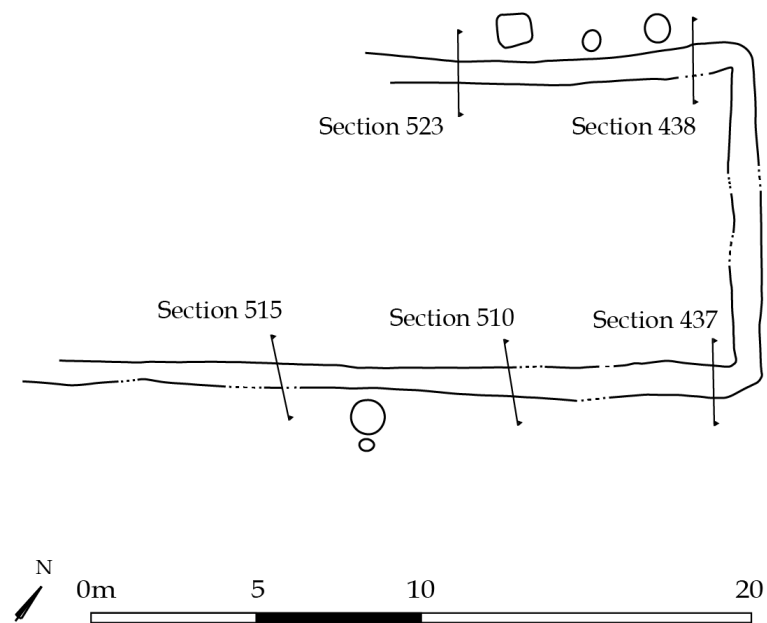
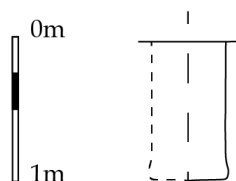
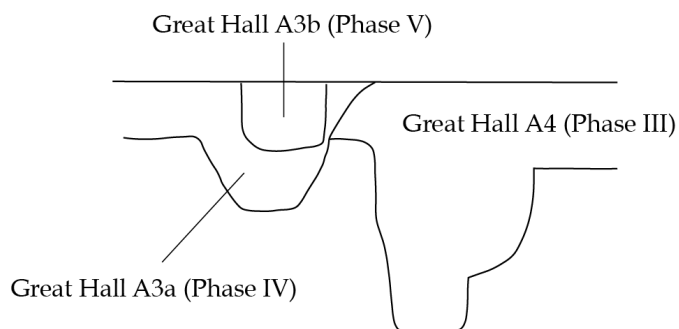


Figure 7.35: Benson Feature 1006, in plan and in section (redrawn from the Benson archive).

Sutton Courtenay

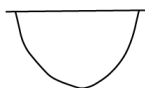


Yeavinger

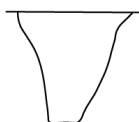


Worton

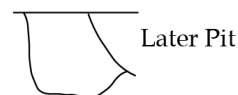
Section A



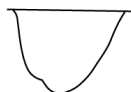
Section C



Section D



Section E



Section F



Benson

Section 523



Section 438



Section 515



Section 510



Section 437



Figure 7.36: The profile of Benson Feature 1006 is unusually shallow and irregular when compared with the earlier 7th Century great halls at Sutton Courtenay and Yeavinger, but the latest halls at Yeavinger were constructed with considerably shallower foundations, and the 8th Century hall at Worton had highly irregular foundations, although they are deeper than the Benson foundations (redrawn from Hope-Taylor 1977; Hey *et al.* 2004; Brennan and Hamerow 2015; the Benson archive).

Benson was an important royal centre during the 8th Century, and this provides a plausible context for an 8th Century great hall at Benson (Blair 1994; Miles and Brookes 2014). The location of the Benson great hall, underneath the modern village, is also more consistent with a later 7th/8th Century date. The vast majority of identified 7th Century great halls, like those at Sutton Courtenay, are now located under modern agricultural fields, removed from later urban areas; royal activity during the 8-9th Centuries, on the other hand, was more often associated with stable population centres, which developed into later towns and villages, like Benson.

There is therefore considerable circumstantial evidence to suggest that the Benson feature was a late-type great hall, constructed sometime between the mid-7th and the late 8th Centuries. Few great halls have been securely dated to the 8th Century, but the great halls at Northampton, Brandon and Cowage Farm, as well as the smaller hall at Worton, clearly demonstrate that exceptionally large post-in-trench buildings continued to be constructed into the 8th Century.

7.2.4.2 The Wider Site

The Benson great hall shares its orientation with two shallow gullies, which may represent the truncated remains of other post-in-trench buildings, although these features are essentially undated and this interpretation is far from certain. All of these features share the same orientation as the modern parish church, which may have ultimately acquired its orientation from an 8th Century predecessor (Fig.7.37) (John Blair pers. comm.). If this were the case, it would suggest that the central precinct of the Benson site may lie immediately to the northwest of the excavated area. However, the ritually organized central precincts of the early 7th Century great hall complexes appear to have broken down in the later 7th Century (see **Section 3.3.3** and **3.4.1**), and the overall layout of the high status settlement at Benson is therefore uncertain.

Three sunken-feature buildings were also excavated 50m southwest of the possible great hall, and one of these was radiocarbon dated AD545-659 (AD601-648 at 1 σ) (Pine and Ford 2003, 171-2). An unstratified pin beater was also recovered from the area immediately west of the possible great hall, and unstratified pottery has been recovered in various locations to the north, east and west (Salzman 1939, 352; Lowe 2003; Weale 2010; Berisford 1973; Oxfordshire HER).

7.2.4.3 Chronology and Development

Based on the parallels with Yeavinger and Worton, the most convincing interpretation of the Benson feature is a late-type great hall, constructed between the mid-7th and the late 8th Centuries.

Like the Worton hall, this would probably place the construction of the Benson great hall after the Mercian conquest of the Upper Thames Valley, in c.AD661, and this horizon between Mercian

Benson

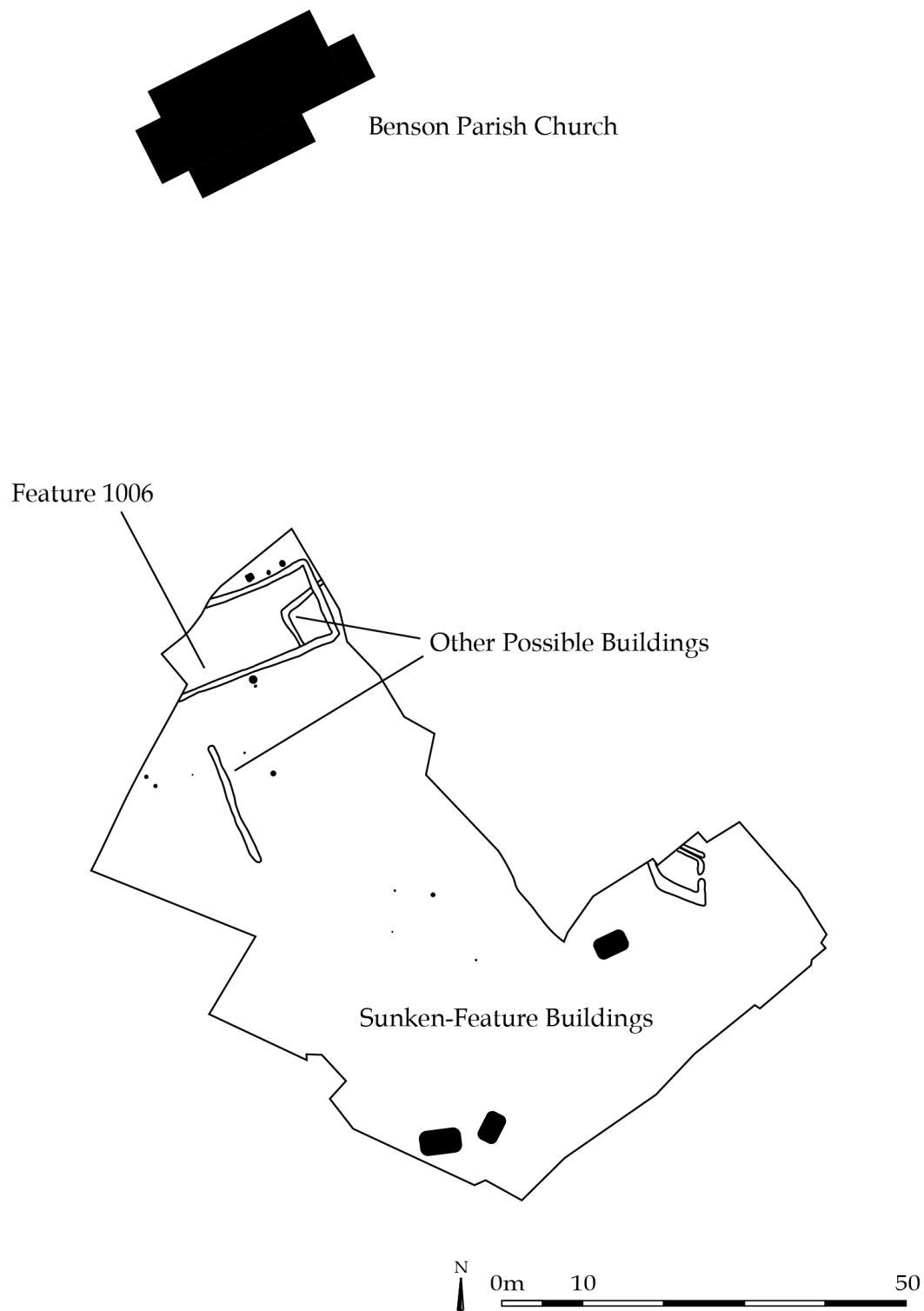


Figure 7.37: The wider site at Benson, showing the other possible post-in-trench buildings and the shared orientation of the modern parish church (redrawn from Pine and Ford 2003; the Benson archive; Blair pers. comm.). The excavators dated the two gullies – the other possible buildings – to the Neolithic period, based on a few sherds of Neolithic pottery, but one of these features also produced a sherd of possible Saxon/Iron Age pottery and the archived context sheets describe this feature as a ‘possible beam slot’.

and West Saxon/Gewissan hegemony might explain the particularly pronounced differences between the earlier great halls at Sutton Courtenay and Long Wittenham and the later halls at Benson and Worton. Great halls across England became less robust and less regular over the course of the 7th Century, but the differences between Sutton Courtenay and Long Wittenham, on the one hand, and Benson and Worton, on the other, are particularly dramatic. Benson and Worton may therefore represent a later Mercian style, while Sutton Courtenay and Long Wittenham may have been constructed in an earlier West Saxon/Gewissan style.

Benson appears to have been one of the most important 8th Century power centres in the Upper Thames Valley. The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle records a major battle between Wessex and Mercia at Benson in the later 8th Century (ASC 779), and by the Late Saxon period, Benson was one of the most valuable royal estates in the Upper Thames Valley (Blair 1994). Benson may have therefore been one of the highest status settlements in the Upper Thames Valley in the 8th Century, and the great hall – currently the largest possible 8th Century building known from the Upper Thames Valley – supports this suggestion.

As with Worton, it is unclear whether there was earlier high status activity at Benson, or whether Benson represents a new high status site, founded after the Mercian conquest. Benson was recorded in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle among the four *tunas* captured by Cuthwulf in AD571. However, the charters and the archaeological evidence suggest that three of these *tunas* – Benson, Eynsham and Aylesbury – became more important during the later 7th and 8th Centuries, suggesting that these *tunas* may in fact reflect the 9th Century memory of 8th Century power centres, rather than any real indication of late 6th Century significance (see **Section 7.2.6.4** and **7.2.7**).

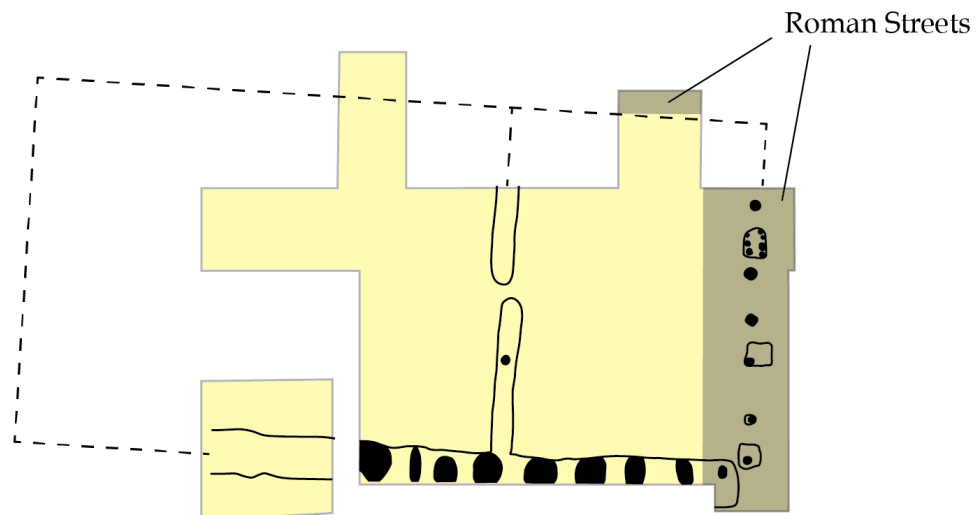
7.2.5 Dorchester and Bishop's Court

The *civitas* at Dorchester was the first episcopal seat of the West Saxon/Gewissan kingdom, c.AD635-660, and excavations in and around Dorchester have produced several possible high status post-in-trench buildings and several high status artefacts.

7.2.5.1 The Built Environment

Sheppard Frere's excavations in the Dorchester Allotments exposed a section of post-in-trench foundations, which probably belong to a large, potentially high status post-in-trench building (Frere 1962, 125-7). The foundations themselves were substantial, cut 0.61m into the natural, and if the break in the internal partition wall represents the longitudinal axis of the building, the total length would be approximately 14m, assuming a typical two-square layout (Fig.7.38).

Dorchester Allotments



Dorchester Abbey

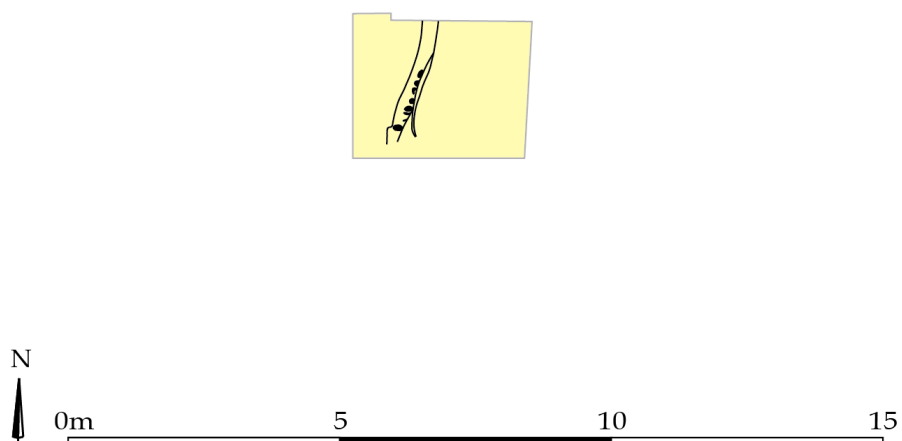


Figure 7.38: The post-in-trench buildings at the Dorchester Allotments and Dorchester Abbey (redrawn from Frere 1962; Keevill 2003).

If this building were constructed in the 7th or 8th Centuries, the substantial foundations of the south wall and the possible 14m length of the building would suggest a high status context. However, the building is essentially undated and could belong to the Late Saxon period.

Excavations at Dorchester Abbey have also produced evidence for a post-in-trench building, probably dating to the later 7th/8th Century (Fig.7.38) (Keevill 2003, 326, 355). This building appears to have been relatively small, but post-in-trench buildings are rare in the Upper Thames Valley before the Late Saxon period, and they are almost exclusively associated with possible high status sites.

A possible post-in-trench building was also identified in the excavations at Castle Inn (Bradley 1978, 23), but the interpretation of this feature is highly speculative. It is just as likely to be a palisade trench, and it is only broadly datable to the Early-Middle Saxon period.

A more convincing high status post-in-trench building has been excavated west of Dorchester, at Bishop's Court (May 1977). This building was interpreted by the excavators as an Iron Age building (May 1977, 57-9), but the feature strongly resembles an Anglo-Saxon post-in-trench building (Fig.7.39), and the only dating evidence – two abraded Iron Age potsherds – could easily be residual. The building was excavated under rescue conditions in 1957-8, before Anglo-Saxon post-in-trench buildings were well known, and the excavators suggested that the building went through two phases – a discrete-posthole building cut into an earlier sleeper-beam trench – but this is probably a misinterpretation of a single phase post-in-trench building. The drawings and accompanying description portray what appears to be a typical C9 wall type, with thinner timbers or wattle-and-daub screens inserted in between the wall planks, and the protrusion extending from the southwest corner of the building may even represent the truncated remains of an external raking post.

The salvaged south wall of the Bishop's Court building appears to have been approximately 7.5m long, making for a rather small building, but there is some evidence to suggest that this was the end wall of the building, which would make the total length of the building approximately 15m. The west wall of the building, which was largely destroyed, had significantly deeper foundations than the south wall – 0.50m compared with 0.30m – and this is typical of the long walls on a gable-roofed building, which must bear the outward thrust of the gable roof (James *et al.* 1984, 191). This is highly speculative, but this would make the Bishop's Court building one of the largest pre-9th Century buildings in the Upper Thames Valley.

Bishop's Court

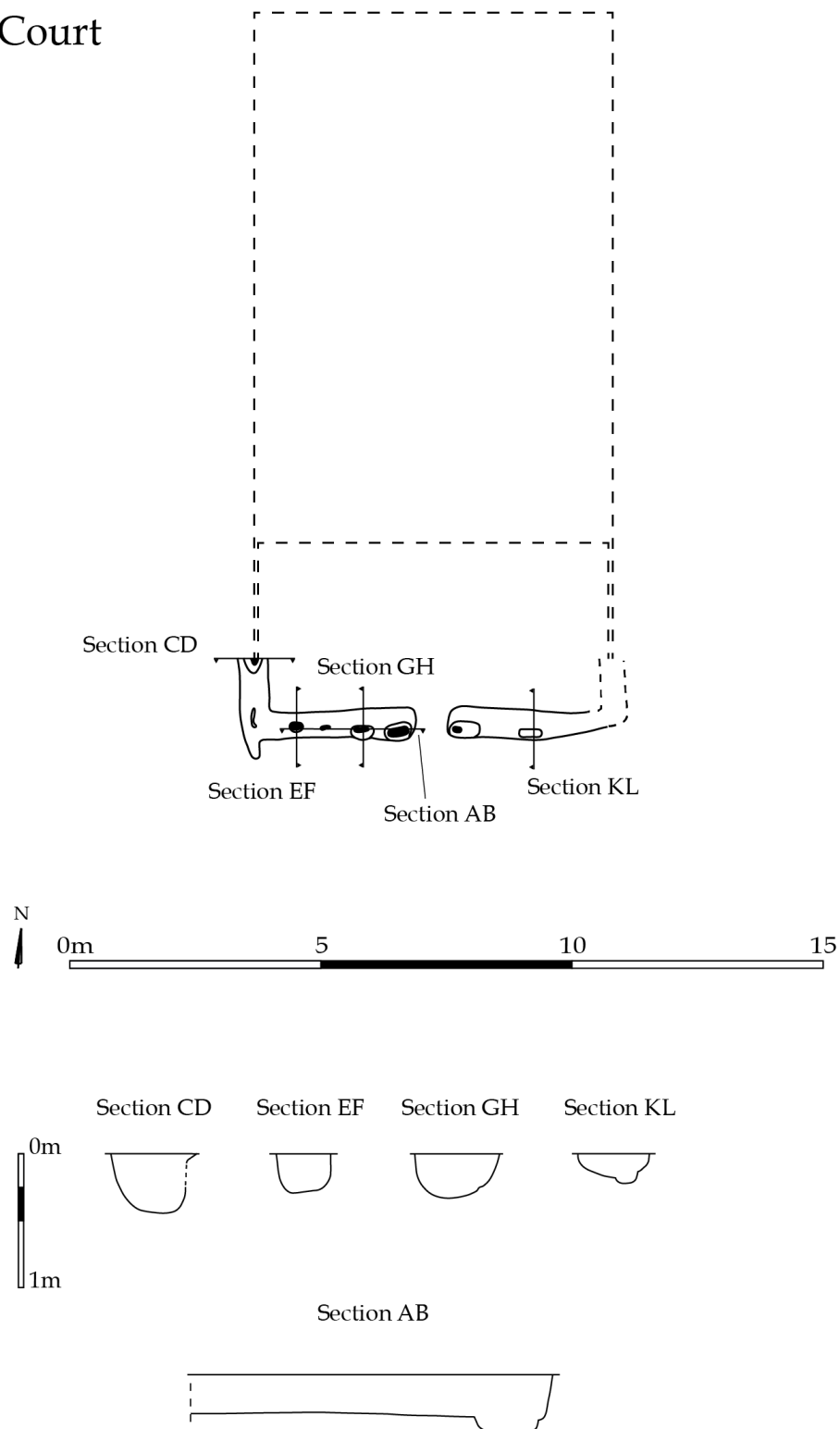


Figure 7.39: The Bishop's Court building, in plan and in section, showing the potential dimensions of the building, depending on whether the surviving wall represents an end wall or a long wall (redrawn from May 1977).

The west and south wall trenches of the Bishop's Court building, cut 0.50m and 0.30m into the natural geology, are relatively shallow when compared with the 0.66-0.70m wall trenches of similarly sized buildings at Sutton Courtenay and Long Wittenham (Wessex Archaeology 2010; see **Section 7.2.2.1**), and this may suggest a later dating for the Bishop's Court building, but the foundations are still within the range of other 7th Century great hall complexes, and if the site had been stripped by a drag-line, as seems probable, the foundations are likely to have been more truncated than those at Sutton Courtenay and Long Wittenham. Nevertheless, the foundations of the Bishop's Court building also appear to be less regular than those excavated at Sutton Courtenay and Long Wittenham, and this would also suggest a later dating. However, the foundations of the Bishop's Court building appear to be more regular than those of the Worton and Benson buildings, and the Bishop's Court building was constructed with rectangular planks, while the Worton building used rounded posts of various different sizes (compare Fig.7.39 with Fig.7.32). In total, this may suggest a date in the mid-to-late 7th Century, and this would be consistent with the date range for the West Saxon/Gewissan bishopric, c.AD635-660, but this is highly speculative. Nevertheless, a building of this architectural style would probably be indicative of a high status site in either the 7th or 8th Centuries, although a Late Saxon date is not out of the question.

7.2.5.2 Dorchester, Bishop's Court and the Wider Site

Dorchester and Bishop's Court were probably part of a single extensive, multi-focal settlement, combining royal and ecclesiastical activity. The open ground of Bishop's Court would have been a typical setting for 7th Century royal activity, while the Roman ruins of Dorchester would be more befitting of an ecclesiastical power centre (Fig.7.40).

Like the extensive activity surrounding Sutton Courtenay, Dorchester was probably associated with multiple clusters of settlement and burial covering a large area and perhaps extending as far as north as the Alpha cemetery at Berinsfield. However, unlike the high status buildings at Sutton Courtenay, which appear to be concentrated within a relatively small area, the post-in-trench buildings around Dorchester and Bishop's Court appear to be widely distributed, suggesting that the high status settlement at Dorchester may have been much larger and perhaps multi-focal, with two or more distinct elite precincts.

The settlement activity around Bishop's Court was largely destroyed in the mid-20th Century by gravel quarrying, but the cropmarks of several possible sunken-feature buildings have been identified in the vicinity, and one of these sunken-feature buildings was apparently excavated in 1973 (Benson and Miles 1974a, 68), although the record of this excavation could not be located by the author of this thesis. Another possible 30m long post-in-trench building was identified in

aerial photographs roughly 200m north of the excavated post-in-trench building, but it was quarried away before it could be investigated and it is just as likely to be a Roman feature (May 1977, 44-5). A small 7th Century cemetery was also excavated in this area, but the burials were unremarkable.

Excavations around Dorchester have produced several sunken-feature buildings, and the excavations at the Dorchester Allotments revealed several possible discrete-posthole and post-in-trench buildings, but the excavation trenches were too small to confirm the nature of these features (Frere 1962; 1984). The Dorchester Allotments also produced evidence for numerous ditches and/or palisade trenches, one of which produced Late Saxon pottery, but some of which may belong to the later 7th or 8th Centuries.

Excavations at the Beech House site have also produced evidence for several possible timber buildings (Rowley and Brown 1981, 12-3), which have been suggested to resemble the small monastic cells excavated at Whitby and Hartlepool (Blair 1994, 59, note 71). The interpretation of these possible buildings is problematic and their existence is not certain, but they appear to have been replaced by a series of stone buildings, starting in the 8th or 9th Century, and this is strongly suggestive of ecclesiastical or otherwise high status occupation (Rowley and Brown 1981, 13).

7.2.5.3 Material Culture and Craft-Working

The excavations at Dorchester Abbey have produced 7th Century imported Mediterranean pottery and 8-9th Century evidence of possible glass manufacturing, which is exceedingly rare (Keevill 2003). Two 7th Century gold coins and an early 7th Century gold and garnet sword pyramid have also been recovered from the Dorchester area, although their exact provenance is unknown (Dickinson 1974). An enigmatic and probably high status 7th Century anthropomorphic lock was also recovered from the upper fills of a Roman ditch at Bishop's Court (May 1977, 73-5; Hawkes 1986, 88).

7.2.5.4 Chronology and Development

Dorchester was the site of King Cynegils baptism in AD635, and thereafter, Dorchester became the seat of the first West Saxon/Gewissan bishopric, until c.AD660, when Mercian expansion forced King Cenwalh to establish a new bishopric at Winchester (ASC *passim*.; Bede HE III, ch.7; Yorke 1995, 57-8).

However, Dorchester/Bishop's Court was probably already an important centre before the establishment of the West Saxon/Gewissan bishopric. The nearby cemetery at Berinsfield produced two of the wealthiest late 6th/early 7th Century male burials in the study area, and the

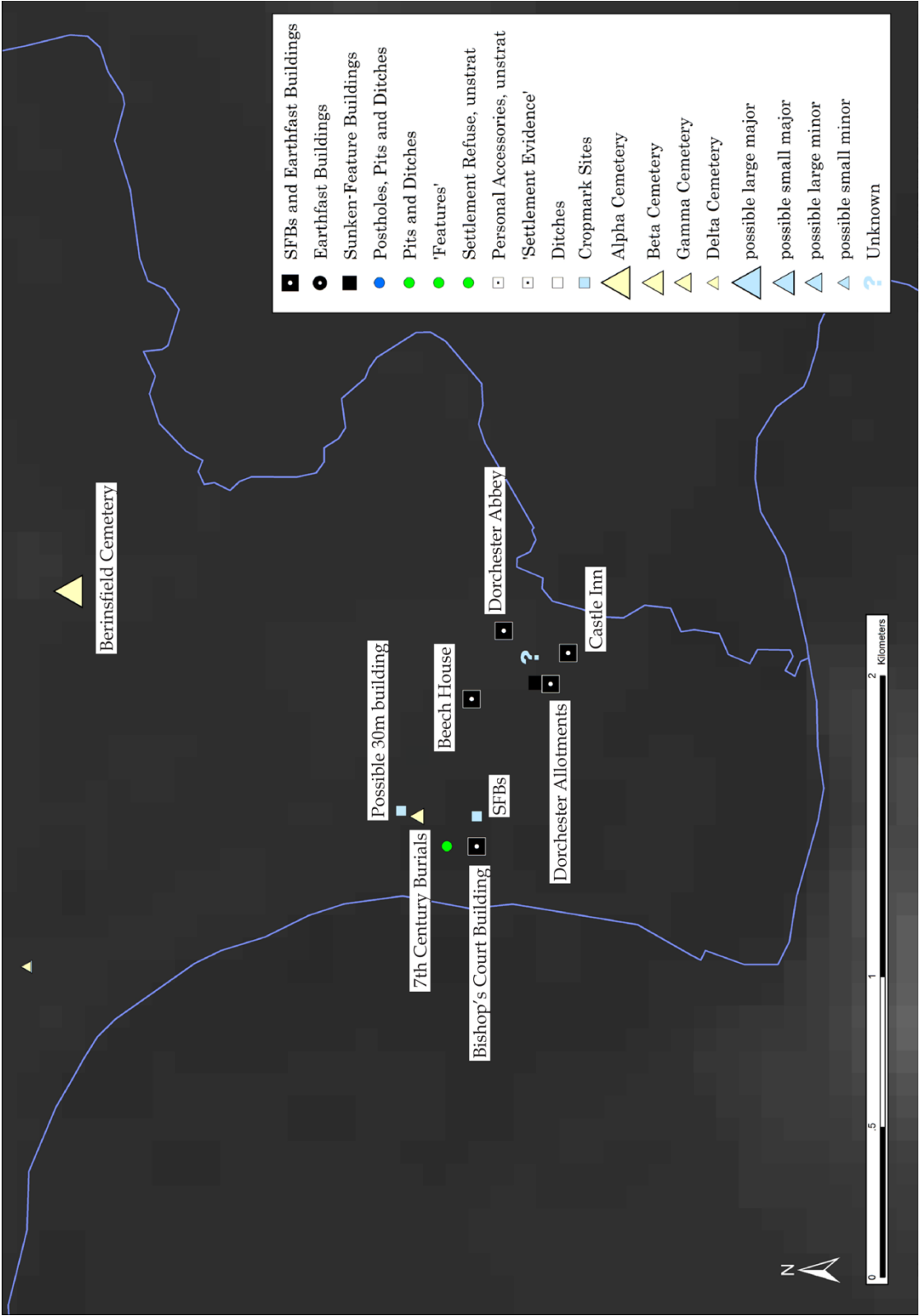


Figure 7.40: The extended high status complex at Dorchester/Bishop's Court.

early 7th Century princely burial at Cuddesdon, positioned along the northern approach into the Dorchester area, was perhaps one of the wealthiest burials in a generation, strongly suggesting that Dorchester/Bishop's Court was already an important centre at this time.

The emergence of the high status settlement at Dorchester/Bishop's Court may have therefore paralleled the emergence of Sutton Courtenay, around the turn of the 7th Century. However, there is no direct evidence for this, and in fact, none of the post-in-trench buildings excavated at Dorchester or Bishop's Court can be securely dated to the 7th Century, let alone the early 7th Century. It is therefore entirely possible that the high status settlement at Dorchester/Bishop's Court did not predate the founding of the West Saxon/Gewissan bishopric, in c.AD635.

Even in the mid-7th Century, the evidence for securely dated high status activity at Dorchester/Bishop's Court is slight, but the documented royal and episcopal activity at Dorchester and the gold coins and gold and garnet sword pyramid recovered from Dorchester suggest that Dorchester/Bishop's Court was of similar status to Sutton Courtenay at this time, although the two sites were probably functionally and conceptually different.

Sutton Courtenay was a traditional Anglo-Saxon power centre, growing out of an extensive open-ground settlement and appropriating a prehistoric monumental complex. Dorchester was also surrounded by an extensive prehistoric monumental complex, and Bishop's Court may have looked something like Sutton Courtenay in the early 7th Century, but at present, Dorchester/Bishop's Court does not appear to resemble a great hall complex. Moreover, whatever Dorchester was before the baptism of King Cynegils, the establishment of the episcopal seat at Dorchester must have fundamentally and irrecoverably changed the conceptual understanding of both Sutton Courtenay and Dorchester/Bishop's Court. The episcopal seat at Dorchester, founded by a Latin bishop in the ruins of a Roman town, represented a new kind of Romanized power centre, and this new power centre probably brought new ideas about exclusionary power, inspired by Imperial Rome.

Dorchester probably also continued to be an important centre after the Mercian conquest. The evidence from Dorchester Abbey, Beech House and the Allotments suggests that the high status activity at Dorchester continued into the 8th and 9th Centuries, and this is supported by the establishment of a short-lived Mercian bishopric at Dorchester in the AD670s (Bede HE IV, ch.23; Blair 1994, 58).

7.2.6 Aylesbury

A possible 8th Century high status settlement has been identified at The Orchard in Aylesbury. The dense, formalized layout of the site resembles a high status precinct, and although Anglo-Saxon settlements typically became more formally organized over the course of the 7th and 8th Centuries (Reynolds 2003; Hamerow 2012, 72-83), The Orchard's dense semi-urban layout has no parallel among the excavated settlements of the Upper Thames Valley.

7.2.6.1 The Built Environment

The dense, formalized layout of The Orchard resembles the central precinct of a great hall complex (Fig.7.41) (Ford *et al.* 2004), and the closest parallels are the great hall complex at Cowage Farm and the minor hall complex at Chalton, both of which may have been partially contemporary with The Orchard (Fig.7.42) (see **Section 2.4** and **3.1.1.2**).

A small post-in-trench building has also been excavated at The Orchard, and although this building is unusually small – 6 by 4.9m – the rarity of pre-9th Century post-in-trench buildings in the Upper Thames Valley suggests that any such building should be considered an indication of some status.

The Orchard has yet to produce an exceptionally large building, and with the exception of the one post-in-trench building, the great hall architectural style is conspicuously absent, but the elite precinct almost certainly extends beyond the excavated area, leaving ample room for an 8th Century great hall.

7.2.6.2 The Wider Site

The central precinct of The Orchard appears to have been relatively small and clearly delineated; excavations to the northeast, east and south each appear to have reached the edge of the precinct (Fig.7.41). However, the central precinct may extend farther to the west, and it almost certainly continues to the southwest. If there was a great hall building at The Orchard, it would most likely lie to the southwest of the excavated area.

Excavations to the northeast at Walton Road Stores, to the south at Walton Lodge and to the southwest at Walton Court have revealed a large area of associated settlement, including several discrete-posthole buildings and numerous sunken-feature buildings. Several spearheads and a seax, probably indicative of a mid-7th Century cemetery, have also been recorded 500m to the east of The Orchard (Fig.7.43).

Excavations at The Prebendal (Farley 2012), approximately 1km to the northwest, have also revealed evidence of 8th Century high status occupation, probably related to an 8th Century minster.

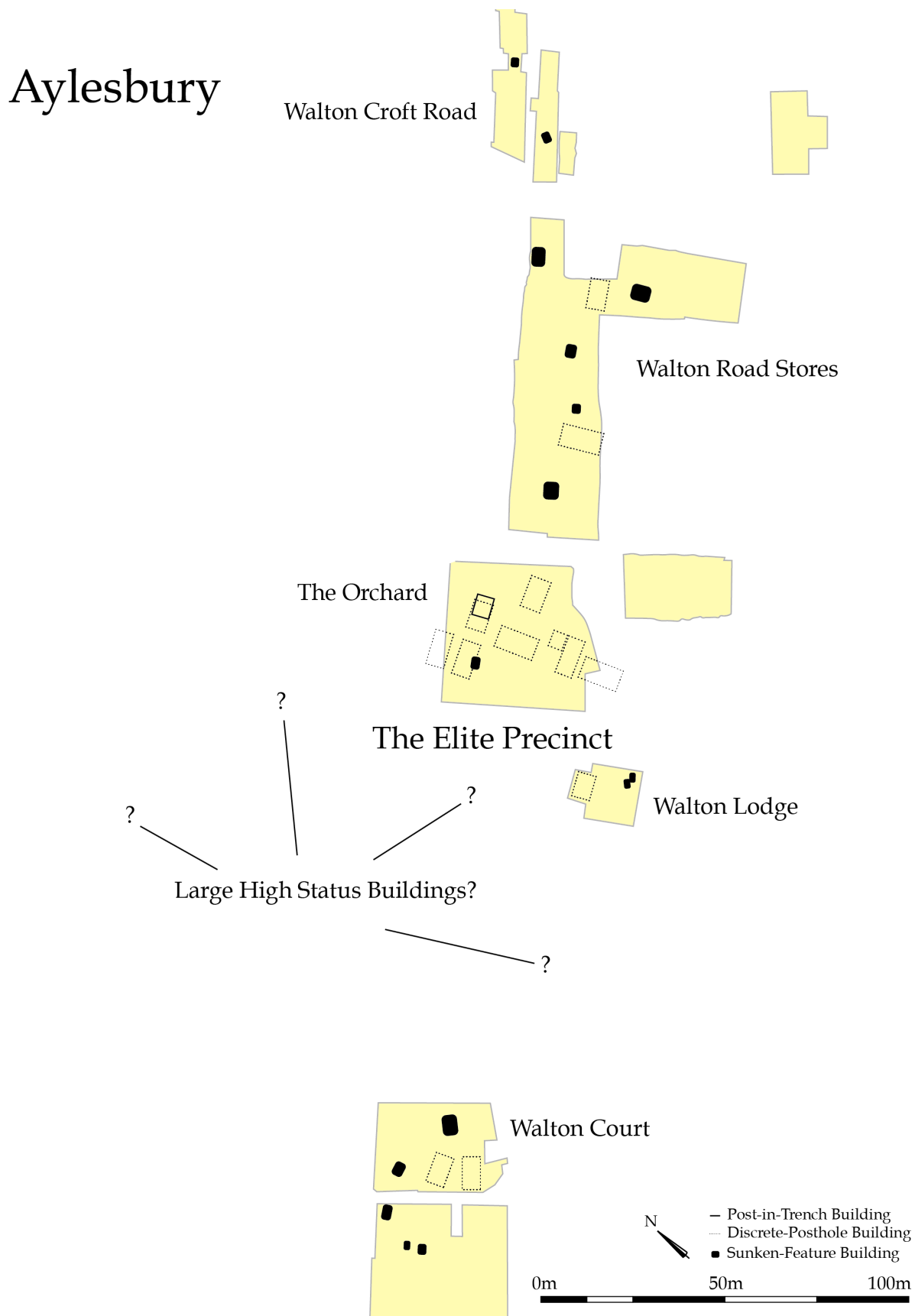
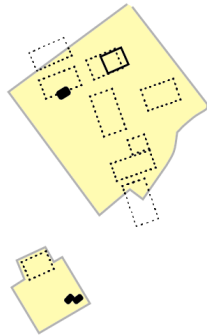
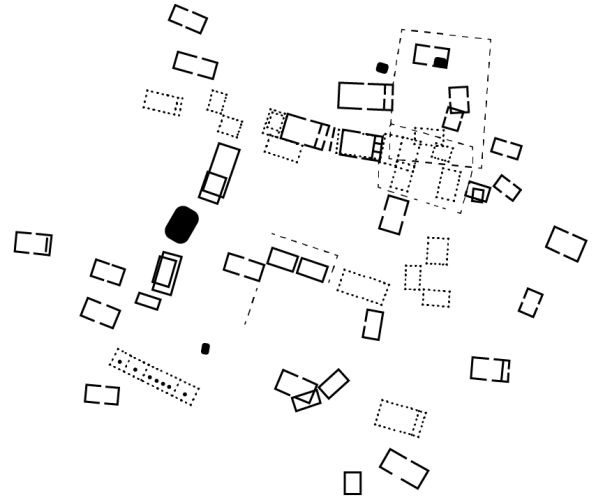


Figure 7.41: The Aylesbury sites: the earthfast buildings excavated at The Orchard and at Walton Lodge are significantly more robust and carefully constructed than the buildings at Walton Court and Walton Road Stores. These two sites represent the northern and west edges of the elite precinct (redrawn from Farley 1975; Dalwood and Hawkins 1989; Dalwood *et al.* 1989; Ford *et al.* 2004).

The Orchard



Chalton



Cowage Farm

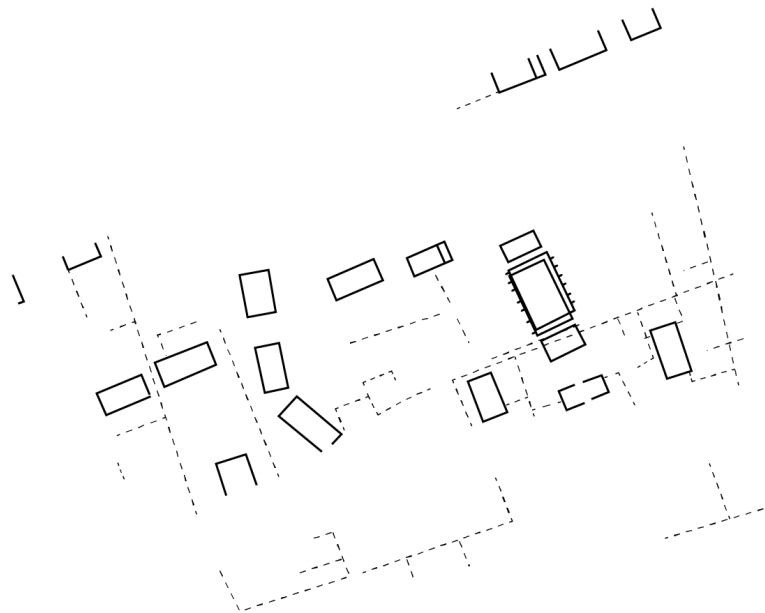


Figure 7.42: The Orchard bears a strong resemblance to Chalton and, to a lesser degree, Cowage Farm (redrawn from Champion 1977; Hinchliffe 1986; Dalwood *et al.* 1989; Ford *et al.* 2004).

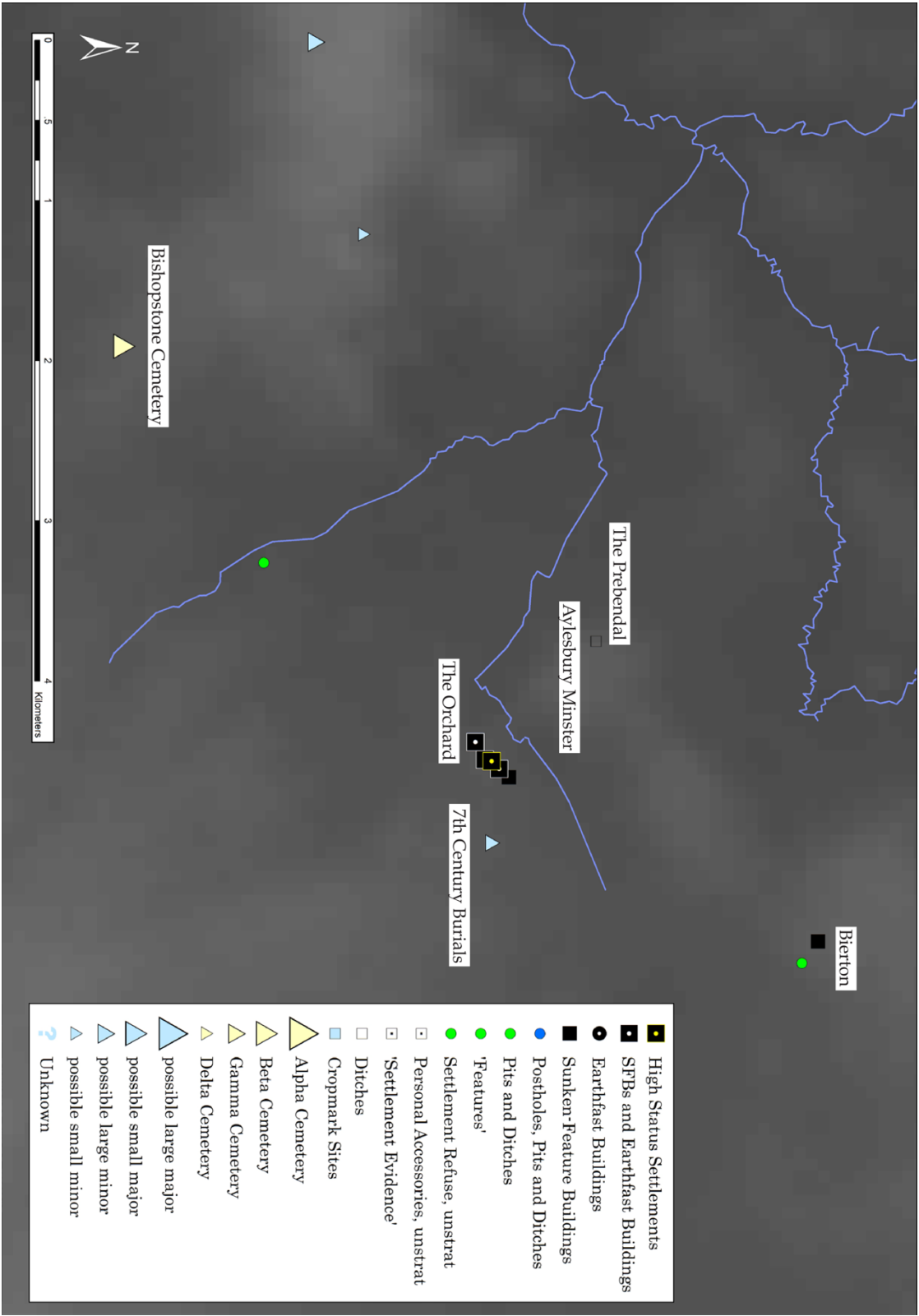


Figure 7.43: The wider hinterland of The Orchard. The minster at Aylesbury lay immediately across the valley from The Orchard and may have been in some way related to The Orchard.

7.2.6.3 Material Culture and Craft-Working

Like the 7th Century great hall complexes, the central precinct of The Orchard has produced very little material culture; several sherds of Ipswich Ware are the only indication of high status activity in the central precinct itself. However, like the great hall complexes, the associated settlement at The Orchard has produced evidence of high status material culture and high status craft-working. Walton Court has produced a 7th Century silver-gilt pendant and an undated silver ring as well as evidence for copper-alloy-working (Farley 1975), and Walton Road Stores has produced at least two sceattas (this site is poorly recorded, and there are likely to be other important finds).

7.2.6.4 Chronology and Development

The associated settlement features at Walton Court and Walton Road Stores are dated to the 7th and 8th Centuries by various diagnostic artefacts (Farley 1975; Bucks HER), but the central precinct at The Orchard was probably established slightly later, during the 8th Century, and The Orchard probably continued to be occupied into the late 8th and 9th Centuries, based on the presence of Ipswich, Maxey and St. Neot's wares (Ford *et al.* 2004).

Although The Orchard clearly postdates Sutton Courtenay, both sites appear to follow a similar development. The associated settlement at Walton Court and Walton Road Stores appears to have predated the high status central precinct at The Orchard, and like the associated settlement at Sutton Courtenay, the 7th Century high status artefacts recovered from Walton Court suggest that the associated settlement of The Orchard had already developed some degree of importance before the emergence of the central precinct.

The silver artefacts recovered from Walton Court are among the highest status artefacts recovered from any settlement excavation in the study area, and the sceattas recovered from Walton Road Stores are also unusual finds among the settlements of the Upper Thames Valley. This, combined with the planned semi-urban layout of The Orchard, suggests that these sites represent one of the highest status late 7th/8th Century settlements known from the Upper Thames Valley.

Aylesbury was almost certainly the site of a late 7th/8th Century minster, located within the Iron Age hillfort that gives Aylesbury its name (Blair 1994, 61; Farley 2012, 107), and although Aylesbury is not recorded as a royal possession until the 10th Century, Æthelweard describes all the *tunas* captured by Cuthwulf in AD571 – Eynsham, Benson, Limbury and Aylesbury – as royal sites, and the post-Conquest hagiography of St. Osgyth, the patron saint of the Aylesbury minster, describes a royal estate at Quarrendon, 3km to the north of Aylesbury (Sawyer 1983; Blair 1989,

106-7; 1994, 61). This suggests that Aylesbury was commonly believed to have been an early royal centre, predating the Late Saxon period.

Aylesbury was therefore probably an important royal and ecclesiastical power centre during the 8th Century, and given the evidence for high status material culture at Walton Court and Walton Road Stores and the planning evident in the layout of The Orchard, it seems highly likely that these sites were somehow associated with royal and/or ecclesiastical power.

Like Benson, Aylesbury was recorded among the four *tunas* captured by Cuthwulf in AD571, and this may indicate that Aylesbury was already an important centre in the late 6th Century. However, like Benson, there is little evidence for the importance of Aylesbury before the later 7th Century, and this lends further support to the possibility that the four *tunas* are actually a 9th Century reference to 8th Century power centres (see **Section 7.2.4.3**).

7.2.7 Eynsham Abbey

The 8th Century occupation at Eynsham Abbey has produced several indications of high status activity, including glass vessels, styli, sceattas, possible evidence for large-scale ironworking and copper-alloy-working, and a varied high status diet, including marine fish, oysters, deer and prestigious wild birds (Hardy *et al.* 2003). No contemporary buildings were identified in the excavated area, but the site may be peripheral to an important high status settlement.

Eynsham Abbey appears to have been a powerful minster during the 8th Century, and this site is almost certainly related to the minster (Blair 1994, 63; Hardy *et al.* 2003, 3-11). Eynsham was also recorded among the four *tunas* captured by Cuthwulf in AD571. However, like Benson and Aylesbury, the archaeological evidence suggests that Eynsham and the Evenlode confluence in general became more important over the course the 7th and 8th Centuries, once again suggesting that the four *tunas* reflect 8th Century power centres, rather than late 6th Century power centres.

7.2.8 Sunningwell

A possible great hall complex has been recently identified near Sunningwell² (the exact location is currently withheld; Ainslie 2012), where two possible post-in-trench buildings have been identified from geophysics. The larger feature appears to be 30m long and 14m wide, and the smaller feature appears to be 8.2m wide and at least 14m long (Fig.7.44). Based on the size and form of these features and their spatial relationship to each other, John Blair has suggested that

² The author would like to thank John Blair and Roger Ainslie for sharing details about this site.

Sunningwell

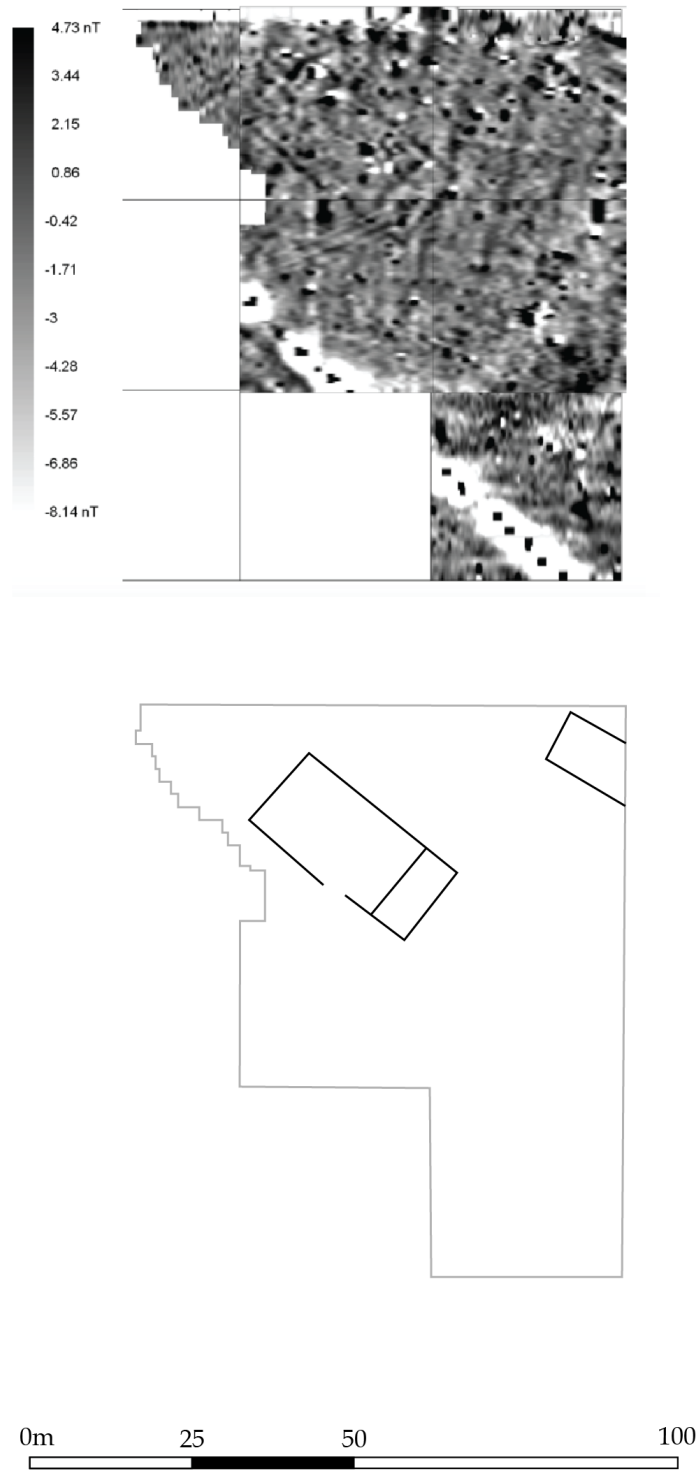


Figure 7.44: The magnetometer survey at Sunningwell, showing a transcription of the possible Anglo-Saxon buildings (after Ainslie 2012).

this may be an unidentified great hall complex (Blair pers. comm.). However, the site has not been ground-truthed, and the features may in fact cut through a ridge and furrow field system, which would suggest that they are much later in date (Ainslie 2012). Moreover, the 14m width of the larger feature would be unprecedented for a 7th Century great hall. For this reason, in particular, the Sunningwell site is regarded with scepticism by the present author until the date and nature of the subsurface deposits can be confirmed.

7.2.9 Cresswell Field

The late 7th/8th Century settlement at Cresswell Field has produced several indicators of high status activity, including most notably, a large 16.7m long annexed building (Fig.7.45) (Hey *et al.* 2004, 177-81). This building was constructed with discrete-posthole foundations and appears to be relatively unexceptional, except in that it was constructed with a gable-end annex, which are typically associated with large high status buildings (Hamerow 2012, 39). This is currently the earliest annexed building identified in the Upper Thames Valley, and the annex makes this building one of the largest pre-9th Century buildings excavated in the Upper Thames Valley (the annexed building at Yarnton belongs to the late 8th/9th Century).

Cresswell Field has also produced evidence for copper-alloy-working (Hey *et al.* 2004, 185, 311, Table 16.2) and an unusually high density of ritual features, although the sample is small – two deposits in four sunken-feature buildings (Hey *et al.* 2004, 183, 336-7; Sofield 2012, app.B). Nevertheless, combined with the large annexed building, this evidence suggests that Cresswell Field may have been a relatively high status settlement – either a minor high status site in its own right or part of a larger high status complex.

Given the proximity between Cresswell Field and the high status settlement at Worton (Fig.7.46), Cresswell Field may have been part of the associated settlement of Worton, but Cresswell Field is separated from Worton by a relict watercourse and the distance between Worton and Cresswell Field appears to be typical for neighbouring settlements in this area. As such, Cresswell Field appears to be a minor high status site in its own right, perhaps best interpreted as a ‘leading farm’.

7.2.10 Latton Quarry

The excavations at Latton Quarry may have revealed another late 7th/8th Century site with some pretensions of status, perhaps another ‘leading farm’, comparable to Cresswell Field.

An apparently isolated 13m long building has been excavated at Latton Quarry, constructed with an unusual amalgam of discrete postholes and shallow intermittent foundation trenches (Fig.7.47)

Cresswell Field

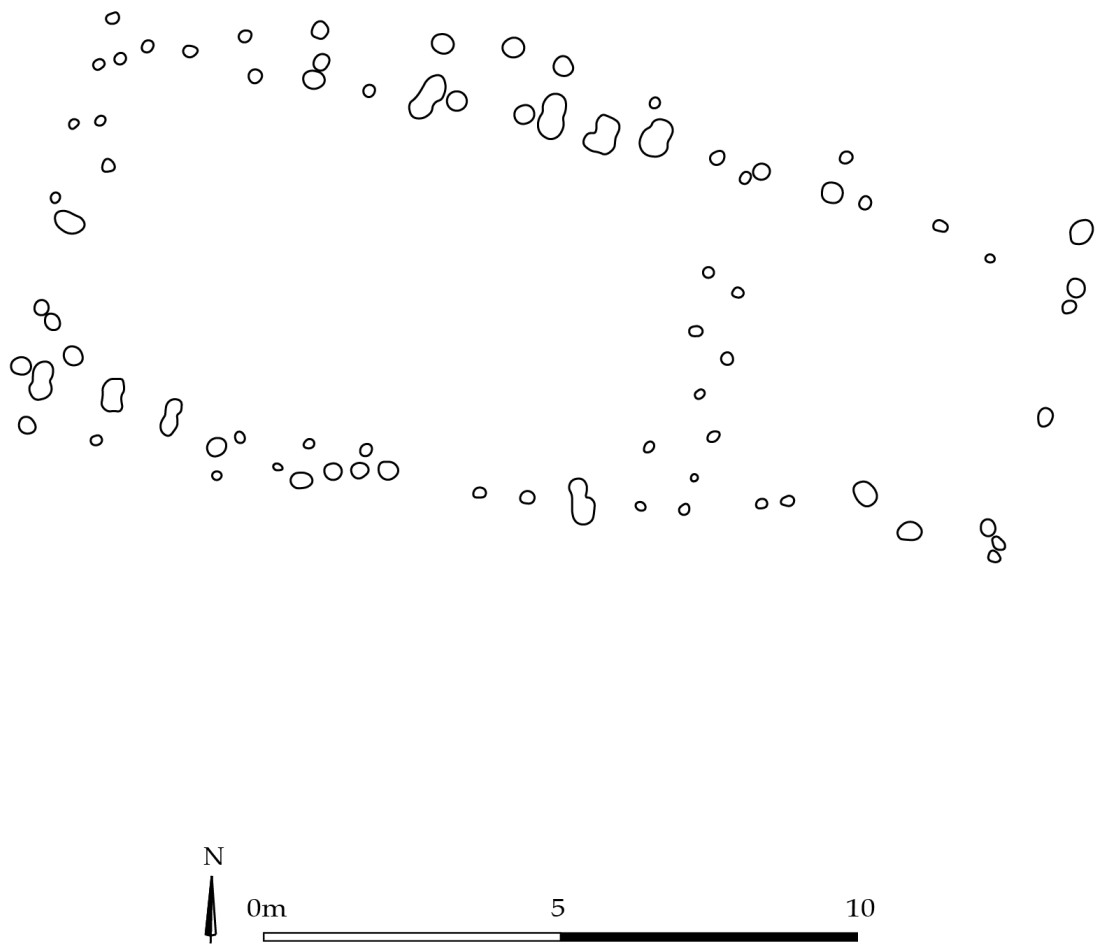


Figure 7.45: The annexed building at Cresswell Field (redrawn from Hey *et al.* 2004).

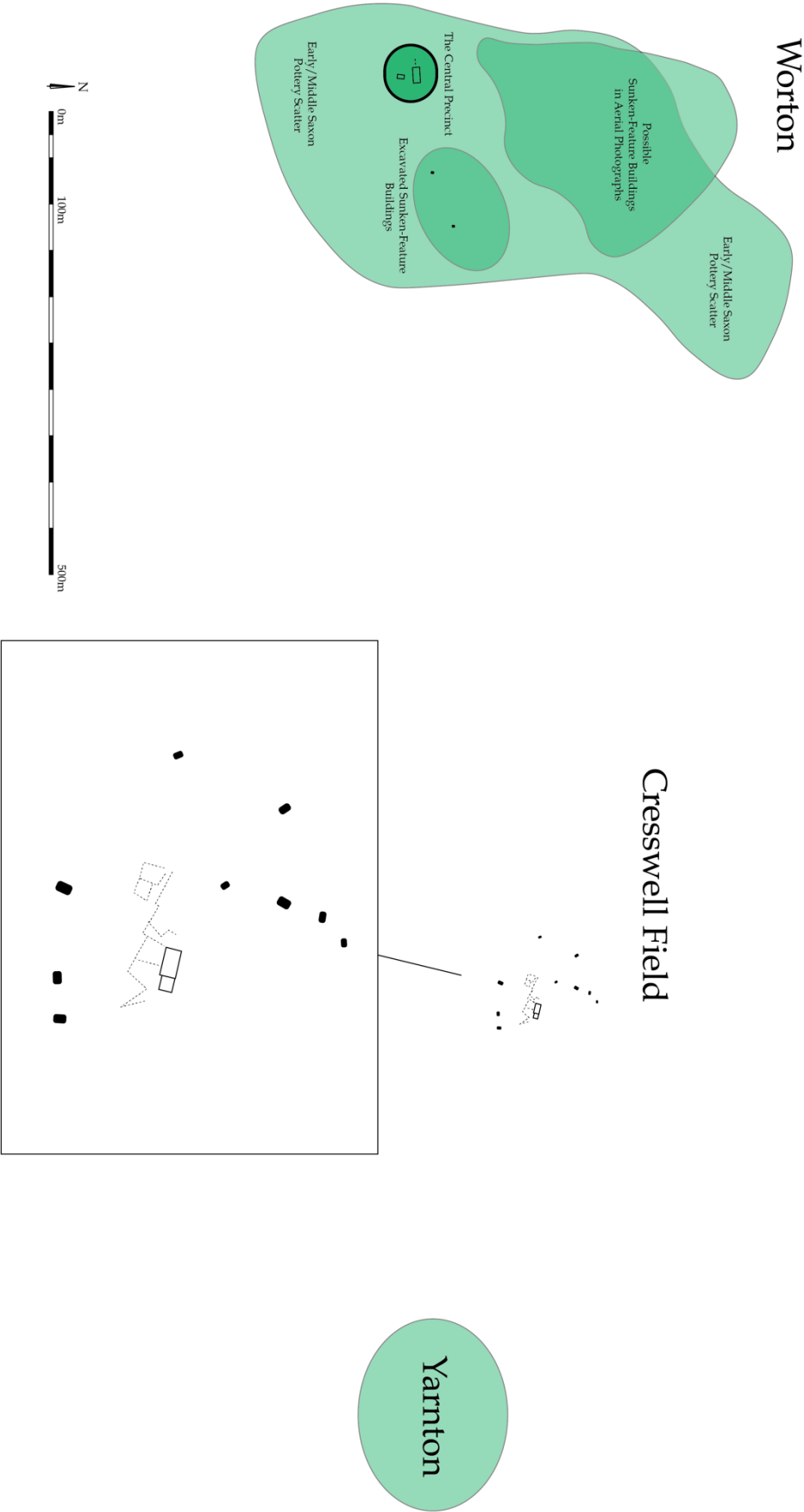
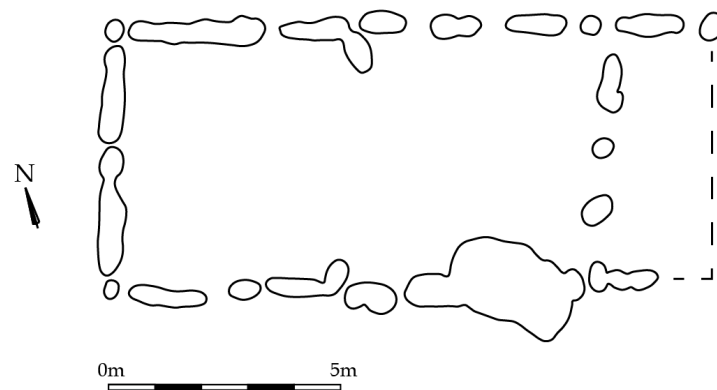
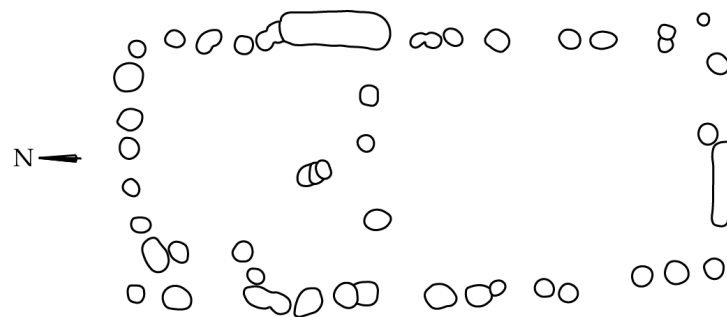


Figure 7.46: The wider site at Cresswell Field (redrawn from Hey *et al.* 2004).

Latton Quarry



Yarnton



New Wintles Farm

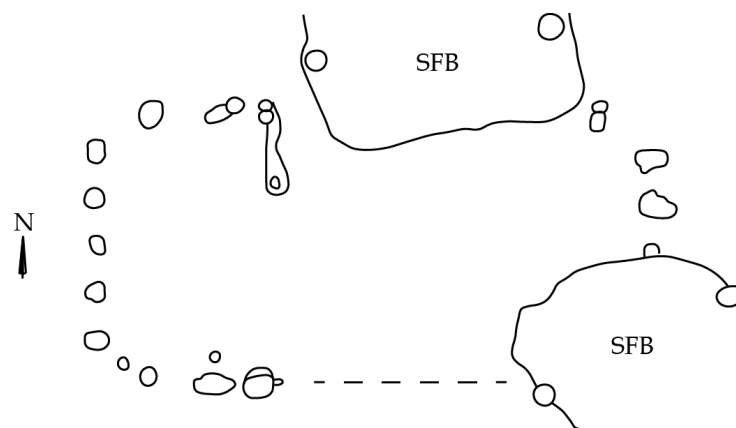


Figure 7.47: The Latton Quarry building, compared with the buildings at Yarnton and New Wintles Farm (redrawn from Rahtz 1976b; Hey *et al.* 2004; Pine 2009).

(Pine 2009). This building produced animal bone that has been radiocarbon dated AD406-544, but a mid-to-late 7th or 8th Century date seems much more probable, based on the size and morphology of the building.

The Latton Quarry building is very similar in size to the New Wintles Farm and Yarnton buildings (Berisford 1973; Hey *et al.* 2004), and all three buildings use some combination of discrete postholes and shallow foundation trenches, but the foundations of the Latton Quarry building appear to be much more robust and carefully constructed, resulting in a truly hybrid foundation type. This hybrid construction may be a deliberate and concerted attempt to emulate continuous foundation trenches, with the intention of attaining some measure of the status associated with post-in-trench buildings.

The evidence for high status activity at Latton Quarry is therefore slight, but there is enough to tentatively place Latton Quarry on a par with Cresswell Field, both of which appear to be slightly higher in status than the typical late 7th/8th century settlement but probably of considerably lower status than Worton and vastly lower status than Benson and Aylesbury.

7.2.11 Other Possible High Status Settlements

7.2.11.1 Shakenoak

The status and nature of Shakenoak are unclear. No buildings have been identified at Shakenoak, and there is no documentary record of the site, but the later 7th/8th Century phases of the site have produced glass vessel fragments, three sceattas and prodigious evidence for large-scale ironworking, strongly suggesting that the site had some importance in the later 7th/8th Century (Brodrigg *et al.* 2005, 173, 241).

7.2.11.2 Swindon

Excavations at Swindon, Market Square/Old Town have produced vessel glass and a 7th Century gold and garnet mount, but the site has never been published and little else is known (Canham 1975). The gold and garnet mount is one of the highest status artefacts recovered from any settlement excavation in the Upper Thames Valley, and this may suggest that Swindon was an important 7th Century centre, but with no other details, there is not enough information to make further conclusions.

7.2.11.3 Purwell Farm

Almost nothing is known of Purwell Farm, but it appears to have been a relatively large settlement and the unequivocal evidence for the production of late 6th Century saucer brooches suggests that

the site may have had some importance at that time (Arthur and Jope 1963; Berisford 1973).

7.2.11.4 Barton Court Farm

The site at Barton Court Farm has produced two relatively large discrete-posthole buildings, 10.2m long (Structure A) and 11.8m long (Structure C), and the average size of the earthfast buildings at Barton Court Farm is substantially greater than those at the neighbouring settlement of Barrow Hills. Moreover, the Barton Court Farm buildings are laid out with considerably greater spatial organization than those at Barrow Hills. These characteristics would not be out of place in the later 7th Century, but the vast majority of sunken-feature buildings at Barton Court Farm have been dated to the 5th Century, and the excavators argued that the entire settlement had been abandoned by the mid-6th Century (Miles 1984, 7:F4; 1986, 19; Chambers and McAdam 2007, 302). If this were the case, Barton Court Farm would be quite exceptional among the excavated settlements of the 6th Century.

However, one of the sunken-feature buildings at Barton Court Farm produced pottery with a 'swallow's nest' lug, which is typically dated to the late 6th/7th Century, and an 8-9th Century handled comb was found in the upper fills of a Late Roman ditch (Miles 1984, 5:E10), suggesting that the site continued to be occupied into the 7th and 8th Centuries. Given that Barrow Hills is largely lacking in 7th Century occupation evidence, this may represent a broad settlement shift, from 5th Century Barton Court Farm to 6th Century Barrow Hills and back to 7th Century Barton Court Farm. As such, the earthfast buildings at Barton Court Farm would have been fairly typical for their time.

7.2.11.5 New Wintles Farm

A possible pre-Christian shrine has been identified at New Wintles Farm by John Blair (1995, 19), and the site has also produced a cowrie shell – a relatively rare imported commodity (Hawkes and Gray 1969; Berisford 1973; Gray 1974). However, the site appears to be otherwise unexceptional. The most robust earthfast building at New Wintles Farm closely parallels that at Yarnton (Fig.7.47), and the overall size and density of settlement are also similar. New Wintles Farm is largely unpublished, so any conclusions are provisional, but on present evidence, New Wintles Farm appears to represent a fairly typical 7th or 8th Century farmstead in the Upper Thames Valley.

7.2.11.6 Black Bourton

Two pre-Christian shrines have also been identified at Black Bourton (Gilbert 2008a, 155-6), but there is no evidence to support this suggestion. A gilded buckle was also recovered in excavation,

but the excavations at Barrow Hills produced several gilded dress accessories, suggesting that these artefacts are part of a typical settlement assemblage in the Upper Thames Valley.

7.2.12 High Status Settlements and the Development of the Settlement Hierarchy

This study has identified nine probable or possible high status sites among the excavated settlements of the Upper Thames Valley, including the great hall complex at Sutton Courtenay, the minor hall complex at Long Wittenham, the *civitas* at Dorchester/Bishop's Court, the possible great hall at Benson, the minster and possible high status precinct at Aylesbury, the minster at Eynsham Abbey, the large post-in-trench building at Worton, and the two possible leading farms at Cresswell Field and Latton Quarry. In addition to these nine sites, the excavations at Shakenoak have also produced some evidence of high status material culture and craft-working, and a possible great hall complex has also been identified at Sunningwell from geophysics.

These sites exhibit a range of different dates, locations, forms, functions and statuses, and these differences appear to indicate a broad chronological development of high status settlement, characterized by the proliferation, geographical expansion and diversification of high status settlement over the course of the 6th, 7th and 8th Centuries. These developments probably reflect the emergence of a more extensive, more pervasive and more complex settlement hierarchy.

7.2.12.1 The First High Status Settlements

The earliest high status settlements in the Upper Thames Valley appear to be the great hall complex at Sutton Courtenay, the minor hall complex at Long Wittenham and the *civitas* at Dorchester/Bishop's Court (Fig.7.48).

Like the great hall complexes at Lyminge, Rendlesham and Yeavinger (see **Section 3.1.1**), there is some evidence to suggest that Sutton Courtenay was already an important place during the 6th Century (see **Section 7.2.1.5**), and the sites at Long Wittenham and Dorchester/Bishop's Court may have also been important 6th Century centres – both sites are associated with important 6th Century cemeteries – but at present, there is no evidence for high status 6th Century settlement activity at these sites.

The first great halls at Sutton Courtenay were probably constructed sometime around the turn of the 7th Century, and the first high status post-in-trench buildings at Long Wittenham and Dorchester/Bishop's Court may have also been constructed around this time. However, at present, the only excavated building at Long Wittenham appears to have been constructed slightly later, sometime during the early-to-middle 7th Century, and there is no definitive evidence for high status

settlement at Dorchester/Bishop's Court before the establishment of the Dorchester bishopric in c.AD635.

The great hall complex at Sutton Courtenay may have therefore been the only high status settlement in the Upper Thames Valley for a time, which would suggest a simple and superficial settlement hierarchy. However, at some point in the later 6th or earlier 7th Century, perhaps in parallel with Sutton Courtenay or perhaps slightly later, two other high status settlements emerged at Long Wittenham and Dorchester/Bishop's Court, and these three sites represent the beginnings of the settlement hierarchy in the Upper Thames Valley.

Sutton Courtenay was a great hall complex – a civic-ceremonial centre built by supra-regional kings to harness corporate power through public action (see **Section 3.1.1**) – and on present evidence, Sutton Courtenay appears to have been the paramount early 7th Century power centre in the Upper Thames Valley.

Long Wittenham has been suggested to be a minor hall complex (see **Section 7.2.2.5**) – a secondary and more parochial form of high status settlement, which may represent the more permanent elite residence of a less powerful and perhaps more parochial magnate (see **Section 3.1.1.2**). The functions of Long Wittenham and how this site related to Sutton Courtenay and Dorchester/Bishop's Court are unclear, but at present, it does seem fairly clear that Long Wittenham was of significantly lower status than Sutton Courtenay.

The *civitas* at Dorchester/Bishop's Court exhibits more substantial evidence of high status activity, and the site may have been of similar status to Sutton Courtenay, but at present, the site does not appear to resemble a great hall complex, and the nature of the site is uncertain before the baptism of King Cyneigils and the establishment of the Dorchester bishopric in c.AD635. After the establishment of the bishopric, however, Dorchester almost certainly became one of the most important power centres in the Upper Thames Valley. Whatever Dorchester was before the baptism of King Cyneigils, the new episcopal and presumably royal centre at Dorchester probably represented something new – a Romanized capital, a *civitas* in Bede's words, like Canterbury and Bamburgh – and this new Romanized power centre probably represents the advent of new ideas about power and kingship in Anglo-Saxon society.

These three sites appear to have been the first high status settlements in the Upper Thames Valley, and on present evidence, they appear to have been the only high status settlements in the Upper Thames Valley during the early-to-middle 7th Century. These early sites are exclusively located in the Abingdon to Dorchester area – the heartland of the West Saxon/Gewissan kingdom at this

time – and the concentration of these high status sites in the royal heartland suggests a simple and superficial settlement hierarchy, in which West Saxon/Gewissan power was relatively weak outside of the Abingdon to Dorchester area.

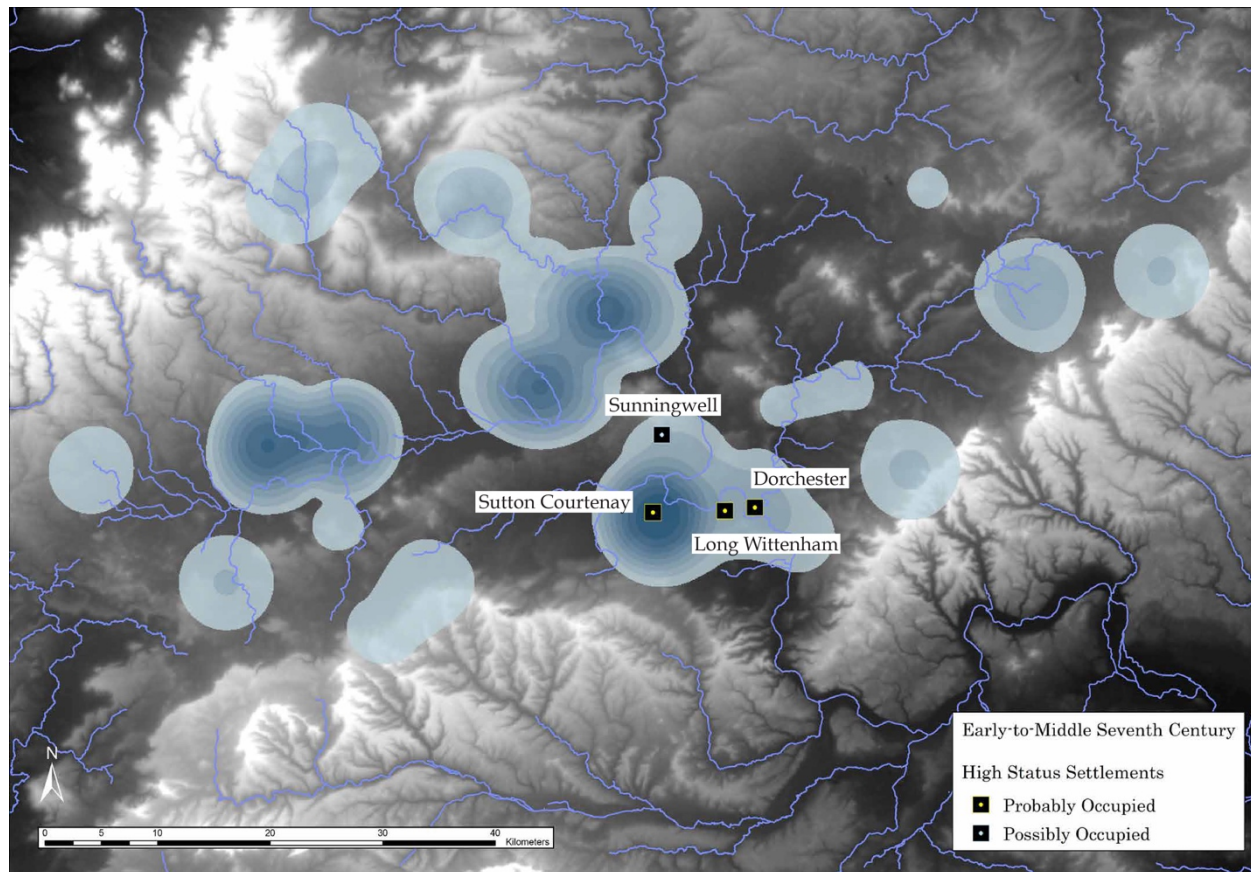


Figure 7.48: The high status settlements of the early-to-middle 7th Century. The site at Sunningwell may also date to this period, but at present the date and nature of the site are unconfirmed.

7.2.12.2 The Expansion of the Settlement Hierarchy

It was not until the later 7th Century, perhaps after the Mercian conquest of the Upper Thames Valley in c.AD661, that high status settlements appear to have spread outside of the Abingdon to Dorchester area.

The later 7th and 8th Century sites are much more widespread, with a new high status settlement at Aylesbury, a new high status site at Latton Quarry, and several new high status settlements around the Evenlode confluence, at Eynsham Abbey, Worton and Cresswell Field. This expansion of high status settlement appears to parallel the overall expansion of settlement activity during the 7th and 8th Centuries, which saw significant increases in the number of securely dated settlement features around the Evenlode confluence, the Vale of Aylesbury and across the entire northwestern quadrant of the study area.

Meanwhile, there were still probably several high status settlements in the Abingdon to Dorchester area as well. A new high status settlement appears to have emerged at Benson, and Dorchester/Bishop's Court appears to have continued to be an important high status settlement into the later 7th and 8th Centuries, while Sutton Courtenay also retained some importance into the early 8th Century.

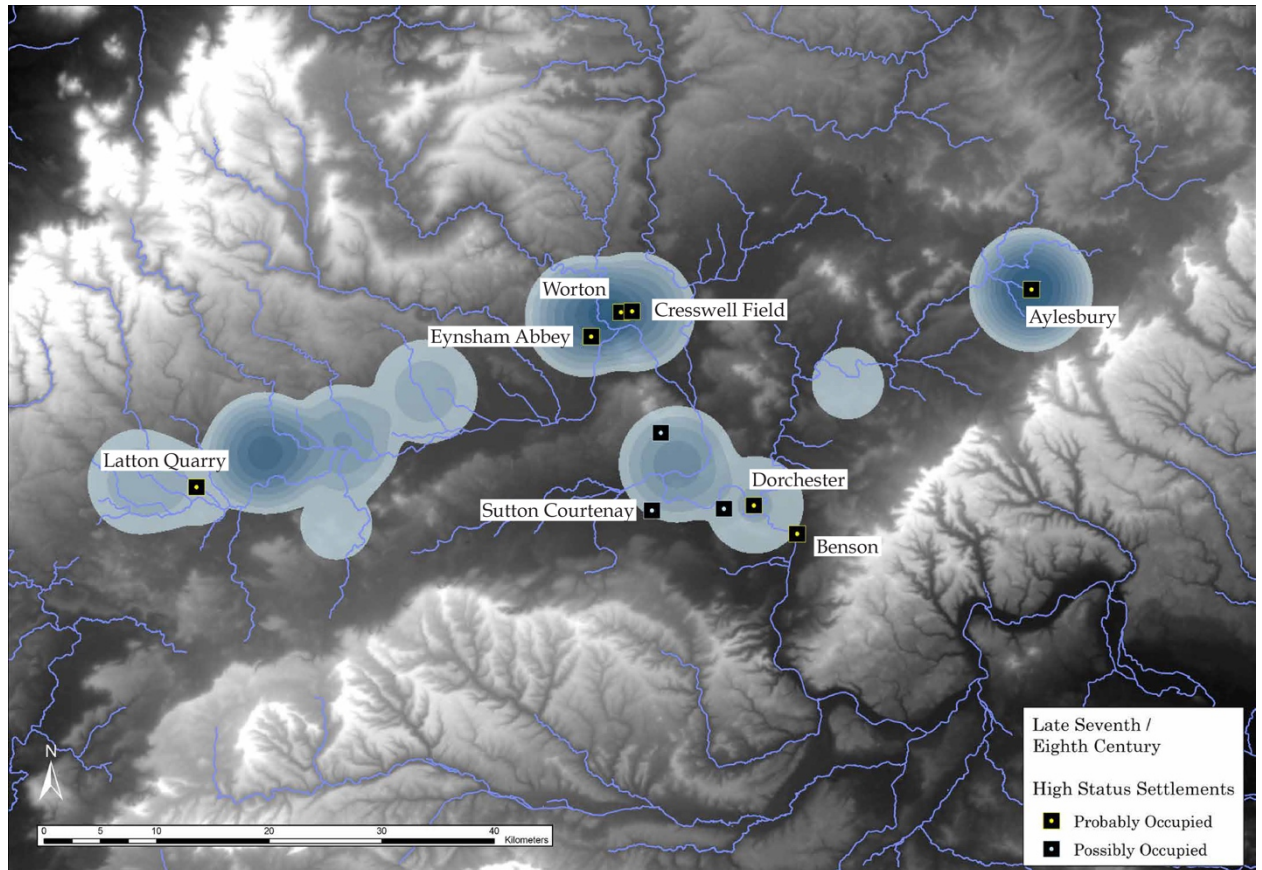


Figure 7.49: The high status settlements of the later 7th and 8th Centuries.

The settlement hierarchy in the Upper Thames Valley appears to have become increasingly complex around the turn of the 8th Century, with increasing economic specialization and the development of more complex social, political and economic hierarchies (Blinkhorn 1999; Moreland 2000; Crabtree 2010; Ulmschneider 2011). In the Upper Thames Valley, at least four levels of status can be identified among the excavated settlements of the later 7th and 8th Centuries, and among these sites, there were probably many more functional and conceptual differences.

Benson, Dorchester/Bishop's Court, Aylesbury and Eynsham Abbey are probably the primary excavated power centres from this period. Benson was a documented royal *tun* in the 8th Century, and the possible great hall at Benson is the largest identified late 7th/8th Century building in the study area. Dorchester/Bishop's Court briefly became the episcopal seat of a Mercian bishopric in the AD670s, and the various excavations around Dorchester have produced several poorly dated

post-in-trench buildings, a series of stone buildings that may date to the later 8th Century, and possible evidence of 8th Century glass manufacturing. Meanwhile, Aylesbury was an 8th Century minster and a royal possession by the 10th Century, if not before, and The Orchard has produced convincing evidence for a high status 8th Century precinct. Eynsham Abbey was also an 8th Century minster, and the site has produced evidence for large-scale ironworking and copper-alloy-working, as well as sceattas, vessel glass and a high status diet.

Worton appears to be a secondary or tertiary power centre. The excavated hall is relatively small and it appears to have been especially poorly constructed, even for the 8th Century. Worton also appears to have relatively few high status buildings, and the layout of the elite precinct is considerably less precise than that of The Orchard. However, outside of the possible great hall at Benson, the Worton building is the largest 8th Century building known from the Upper Thames Valley.

Cresswell Field and Latton Quarry have been suggested to be leading farms. These sites are considerably less impressive than Worton, but they still appear to be emulating the great hall architectural style, and the evidence for copper-working and ritual activity at Cresswell Field is further suggestive of high status activity.

Below these sites, Yarnton, New Wintles Farm and Barton Court Farm appear to represent more typical late 7th/8th Century settlements.

The later 7th and 8th Centuries therefore saw the development of a more complex, more extensive and more pervasive settlement hierarchy. This was marked by a geographical expansion of high status settlement outward from the Abingdon to Dorchester area, a general proliferation of high status sites and a marked diversification of different forms, functions and statuses. These developments can be traced back to the earlier 7th Century with the emergence of the first ecclesiastical power centre at Dorchester and the first secondary power centre at Long Wittenham, but the later 7th and 8th Centuries appear to have marked a significant acceleration in the development of the settlement hierarchy, and these developments probably reflect significant changes in the nature of power, which will be explored in next chapter.

Power and Place in the Upper Thames Valley

Chapter 8: Great Hall Complexes in Context

This chapter presents the conclusions of **Part II** of this thesis, situating the burial and settlement evidence within a broader theoretical framework of great hall complexes, kingdom formation and the development of power in the Upper Thames Valley, from the late 5th to the mid-8th Centuries.

Section 8.1 explores the development of the first supra-local socio-political units in the Upper Thames Valley, over the course of the 6th Century. **Section 8.2** explores the development of the West Saxon/Gewissan kingdom – the first supra-regional kingdom in the Upper Thames Valley – from the later 6th to the mid-7th Century. **Section 8.3** explores the development of more complex settlement hierarchies, the dissemination of the great hall architectural style and the emergence of a stratified society during the later 7th and 8th Centuries.

This chapter brings together the burial and settlement evidence from the Upper Thames Valley with the theoretical models for great hall complexes, public assembly and the development of power previously discussed in **Chapter 3**. The aim of this chapter is to explain, rather than describe, and as such, it is narrative, theoretical and highly speculative.

8.1 The Emergence of Supra-Local Socio-Political Units

The written sources of the 7th and 8th Centuries depict the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms as complex amalgamations of numerous smaller socio-political units, of varying size, antiquity, stability and independence, and this has led to the argument that the supra-regional kingdoms of the 7th Century emerged out of a “knock-out competition” between smaller and more ancient socio-political units, in which the victors swallowed up their rivals, creating ever larger and more powerful kingdoms (Bassett 1989; Scull 1993; 1999). Pushed back far enough, this process begins with the development of the first supra-local socio-political units.

8.1.1 The First Supra-Local Socio-Political Units in the Upper Thames Valley

It has been previously argued that the Fairford to Lechlade and Abingdon to Dorchester areas were probably the first supra-local socio-political units to emerge in the Upper Thames Valley (Fig.8.1) (see **Section 5.1.1.3** and **5.3.1-2**)

These two areas have produced the largest and densest concentrations of 6th Century burial and settlement in the Upper Thames Valley, including the five largest excavated cemeteries and the

three largest excavated settlements in the study area (in terms of sunken-feature buildings), and these dense concentrations of large cemeteries and settlements appear to have acted as supra-local nodes of activity, giving rise to supra-local networks of smaller Beta and Gamma cemeteries.

The Beta cemeteries at Frilford, Watchfield and Wheatley, in particular, are directly linked to the Fairford to Lechlade and Abingdon to Dorchester areas by tributaries of the Thames, and the Beta cemetery at Wallingford is linked to the Abingdon to Dorchester area by the Thames itself.

These supra-local networks of large cemeteries and settlements, linked together by the river system, may represent the building blocks of the first supra-local socio-political units in the Upper Thames Valley. Larger cemeteries and settlements suggest larger communities, and larger communities probably went hand-in-hand with greater socio-political complexity and greater socio-economic power, both of which would tend to encourage increasing competition both within and between different communities. Dense clusters of large communities, linked together by the river network, would have therefore encouraged a spiralling cycle of intensifying competition between these communities, eventually leading to the amalgamation of rival communities into a single supra-local socio-political unit (cf. Renfrew 1986).

This is, of course, highly speculative, but this may represent the qualifying round of the “knock-out competition” (Bassett 1989, 26-7), and in the Upper Thames Valley, the Fairford to Lechlade and Abingdon to Dorchester areas appear to have been the first teams to emerge victorious.

At present, no other area in the Upper Thames Valley has produced comparable evidence for supra-local networks of 6th Century activity. The 6th Century settlements and cemeteries of the Windrush and Evenlode confluences are fewer and smaller, and much of the Anglo-Saxon activity around the Windrush and Evenlode confluences appears to date to the 7th and 8th Centuries. Crucially, there is no evidence to suggest that the Windrush and Evenlode confluences were surrounded by supra-local clusters of Beta and Gamma cemeteries; instead, the Windrush and Evenlode confluences were themselves home to these second-tier cemeteries, strongly suggesting that these areas were of secondary importance during the 6th Century.

The Vale of Aylesbury has produced even less evidence for 6th Century activity, with very few intact burials and very little securely dated 6th Century settlement activity. Like the Windrush and Evenlode confluences, the majority of settlement activity in the Vale of Aylesbury is more securely dated to the 7th and 8th Centuries.

The Fairford to Lechlade and Abingdon to Dorchester areas therefore appear to have been the first and perhaps the only 6th Century supra-local socio-political units in the Upper Thames Valley.

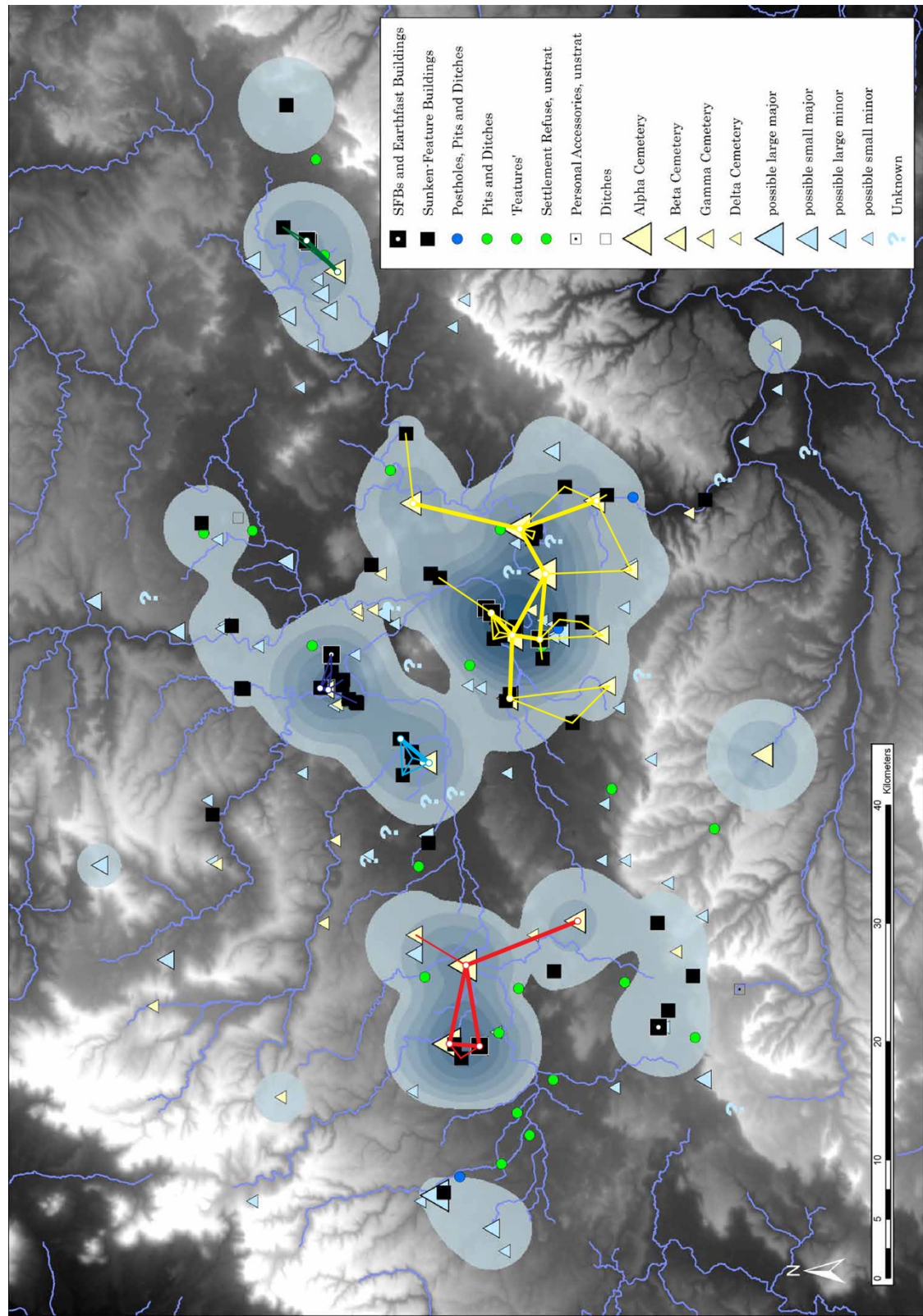


Figure 8.1: A hypothetical reconstruction of the 6th Century communities of the Upper Thames Valley: the Abingdon to Dorchester area (in yellow), the Fairford to Lechlade area (in red), the Evenlode confluence (in blue), the Windrush confluence (in purple), and the Vale of Aylesbury (in brown). The largest cemeteries and settlements have been demarcated with white circles (the kernel density is taken from Fig.7.18).

8.1.2 Supra-Local Socio-Political Units and the Development of Socio-Economic Power

8.1.2.1 The Distribution of Socio-Economic Power in the Sixth Century

Among the cemeteries of the Upper Thames Valley, larger cemeteries tend to produce wealthier burials, more exceptional artefacts and higher average artefact counts, and the supra-local concentrations of large cemeteries in the Fairford to Lechlade and Abingdon to Dorchester areas appear to heighten this effect, producing the wealthiest individual burials, the most varied assemblages of high status artefacts, and many of the wealthiest cemeteries (Fig.8.2; Graph 8.1) (see **Section 5.2.1.9**).

The Alpha cemetery at Lechlade, part of the Fairford to Lechlade area, interred the three wealthiest 6th Century female burials in the study area and the second wealthiest 6th Century male burial in the study area, and Lechlade also exhibits the highest average artefact count of any large 6th Century cemetery in the study area. Meanwhile, the cemetery at Watchfield, a Beta cemetery associated with the Fairford to Lechlade area, has produced the single wealthiest 6th Century male burial in the study area and the second highest average artefact count of any large cemetery in the study area.

After Lechlade and Watchfield, the Alpha cemeteries at Abingdon and Berinsfield, both part of the Abingdon to Dorchester area, have produced the next highest average artefact counts in the study area, and the Alpha cemetery at Long Wittenham I, also part of the Abingdon to Dorchester area, has produced the fourth wealthiest female burial and the third wealthiest male burial in the study area.

The Abingdon to Dorchester area has also produced the most robust evidence in the study area for a high status 6th Century settlement. Although largely undated, the associated settlement at Sutton Courtenay has produced exceptional evidence for ritual activity, craft-working and high status material culture, and the 5th Century silver-gilt equal arm brooch deposited at Sutton Courtenay suggests that at least some of this high status activity predates the construction of the first great halls (see **Section 7.2.1.5**).

Other areas of the Upper Thames Valley, particularly the Windrush and Evenlode confluences, also exhibit significant evidence of socio-economic power during the 6th Century, but on the whole, the evidence is less robust than that of the Fairford to Lechlade and Abingdon to Dorchester areas. The small cemetery at Purwell Farm, part of the Evenlode confluence, has produced the highest average artefact count in the study area, but the average artefact count of this small cemetery is

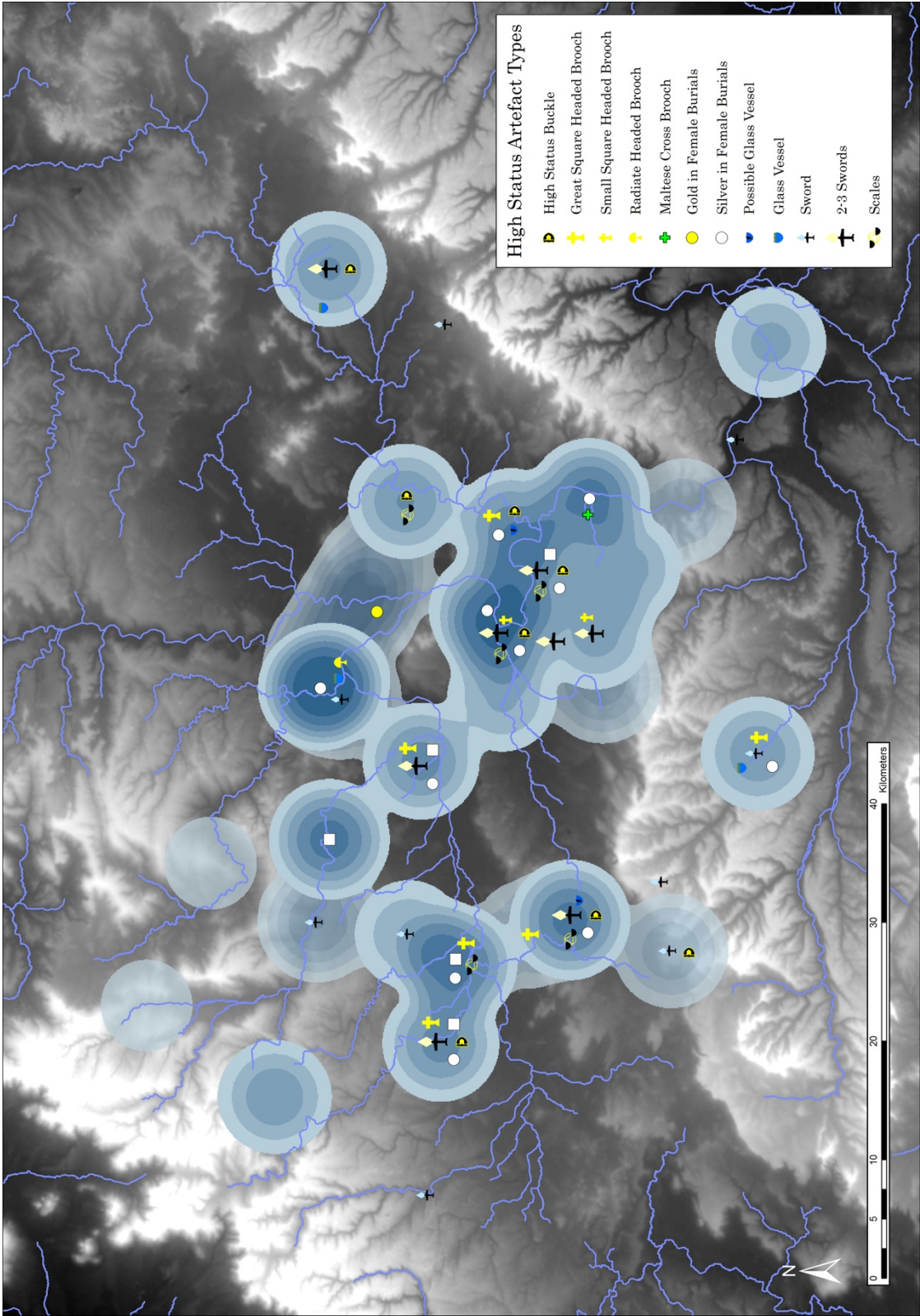
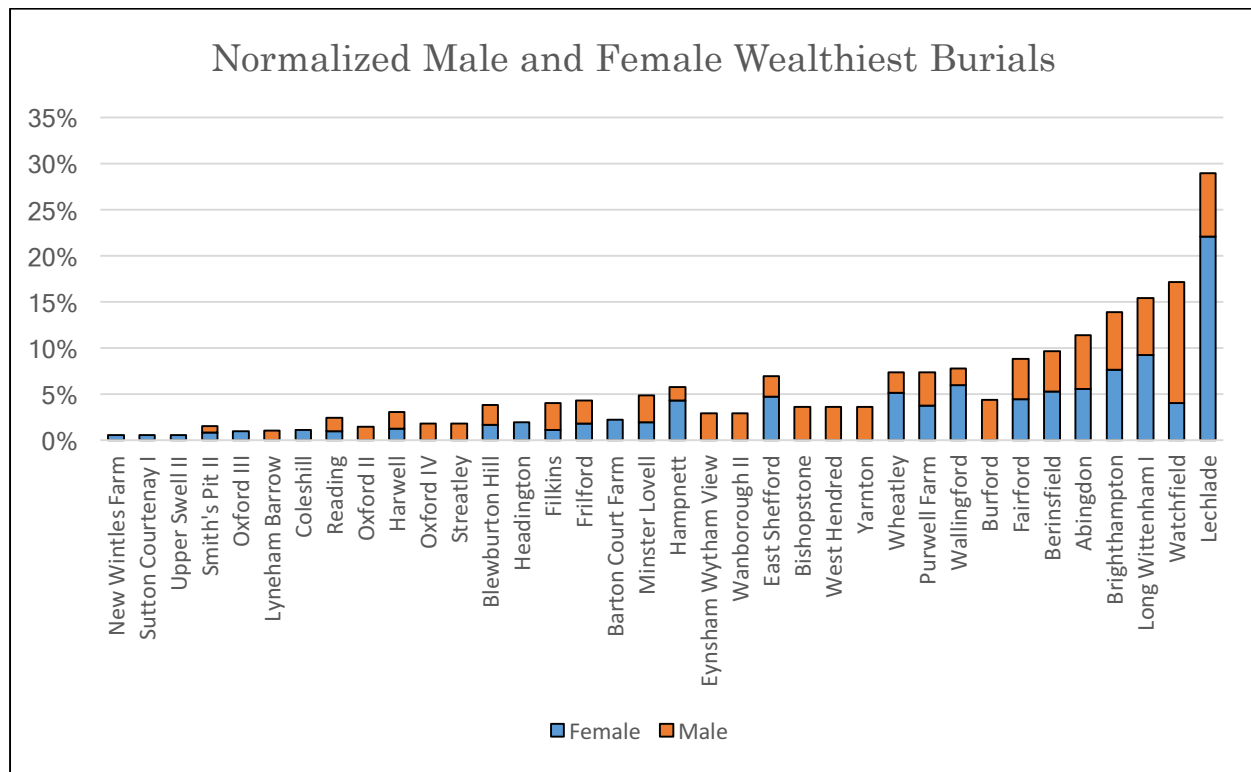


Figure 8.2: The distribution of 6th Century burial wealth, showing the high status artefact types recovered from each cemetery, overlaid on top of the kernel density of the normalized average artefact count (the kernel density is taken from Fig.5.26).



Graph 8.1: The single wealthiest male and female burials from each site, combined using normalization (see **Section 5.2.1.8.2**).

less reliable than that of the much larger cemeteries in the Fairford to Lechlade and Abingdon to Dorchester areas, and the wealthiest burials at Purwell Farm are actually significantly less wealthy than the wealthiest burials in the Fairford to Lechlade and Abingdon to Dorchester areas.

The Fairford to Lechlade and Abingdon to Dorchester areas therefore exhibit the greatest evidence for socio-economic power in the Upper Thames Valley during the 6th Century, and this is probably related to the emergence of the first supra-local socio-political units in these areas. The Fairford to Lechlade and Abingdon to Dorchester areas were probably the most powerful areas in the Upper Thames Valley during the 6th Century because they were home to supra-local concentrations of large, wealthy and powerful *local* communities, whose proximity created a multiplier effect, encouraging the development of ever larger, wealthier and more powerful communities, which eventually coalesced into considerably more powerful *supra-local* communities over the course of the 6th Century.

8.1.2.2 The Concentration of Power and the Emergence of Supra-Local Socio-Political Units

The fundamental building blocks of the first supra-local socio-political units were probably in place from the beginning of the 6th Century. The Fairford to Lechlade and Abingdon to Dorchester areas appear to have been the primary concentrations of burial activity in the Upper Thames Valley

from at least the early 6th Century, and the cemeteries in these areas were already interring exceptionally wealthy burials in the late 5th Century.

However, the mid-6th Century appears to mark a significant turning point in the development of socio-economic power in the Upper Thames Valley.

It has been previously argued that the burial wealth of the Upper Thames Valley became increasingly concentrated in certain burials and in certain cemeteries over the course of the 6th Century (Fig.8.3) (see **Section 5.2.2.3** and **5.3.2**). The wealthiest 6th Century burials are all datable between the mid-6th Century and the late 6th/early 7th Century, AD530-630, and the wealthiest burials of the mid-to-late 6th Century, AD560-630, appear to have become increasingly concentrated in certain cemeteries, as the gendered burial rite became increasingly restricted. This suggests that the burying communities of the Upper Thames Valley were becoming increasingly hierarchical and probably increasingly socio-politically complex over the course of the 6th Century, and certain communities may have become increasingly dominant at this time.

The cemeteries of the Fairford to Lechlade and Abingdon to Dorchester areas, in particular, appear to have increasingly monopolised burial wealth and gendered burial over the course of the 6th Century. The wealthiest mid-to-late 6th Century cemeteries and almost all of the wealthiest burials dating AD560-630 are concentrated in the Fairford to Lechlade and Abingdon to Dorchester areas. Purwell Farm and Yarnton, both part of Evenlode confluence, are the only cemeteries outside of the Fairford to Lechlade and Abingdon to Dorchester areas that have produced a wealthy late 6th/early 7th Century burial.

This suggests that the Fairford to Lechlade and Abingdon to Dorchester areas may have increasingly distanced themselves from the other communities of the Upper Thames Valley during the mid-to-late 6th Century, both in terms of overall wealth and power and in terms of hierarchy and socio-political complexity, as the burial wealth in these areas became concentrated in fantastically wealthy individual burials.

The mid-to-late 6th Century was therefore probably an important period for the consolidation and integration of supra-local power structures, and it may have been during this period that the supra-local networks of burial and settlement in the Fairford to Lechlade and Abingdon to Dorchester areas coalesced into the first supra-local socio-political units in the Upper Thames Valley.

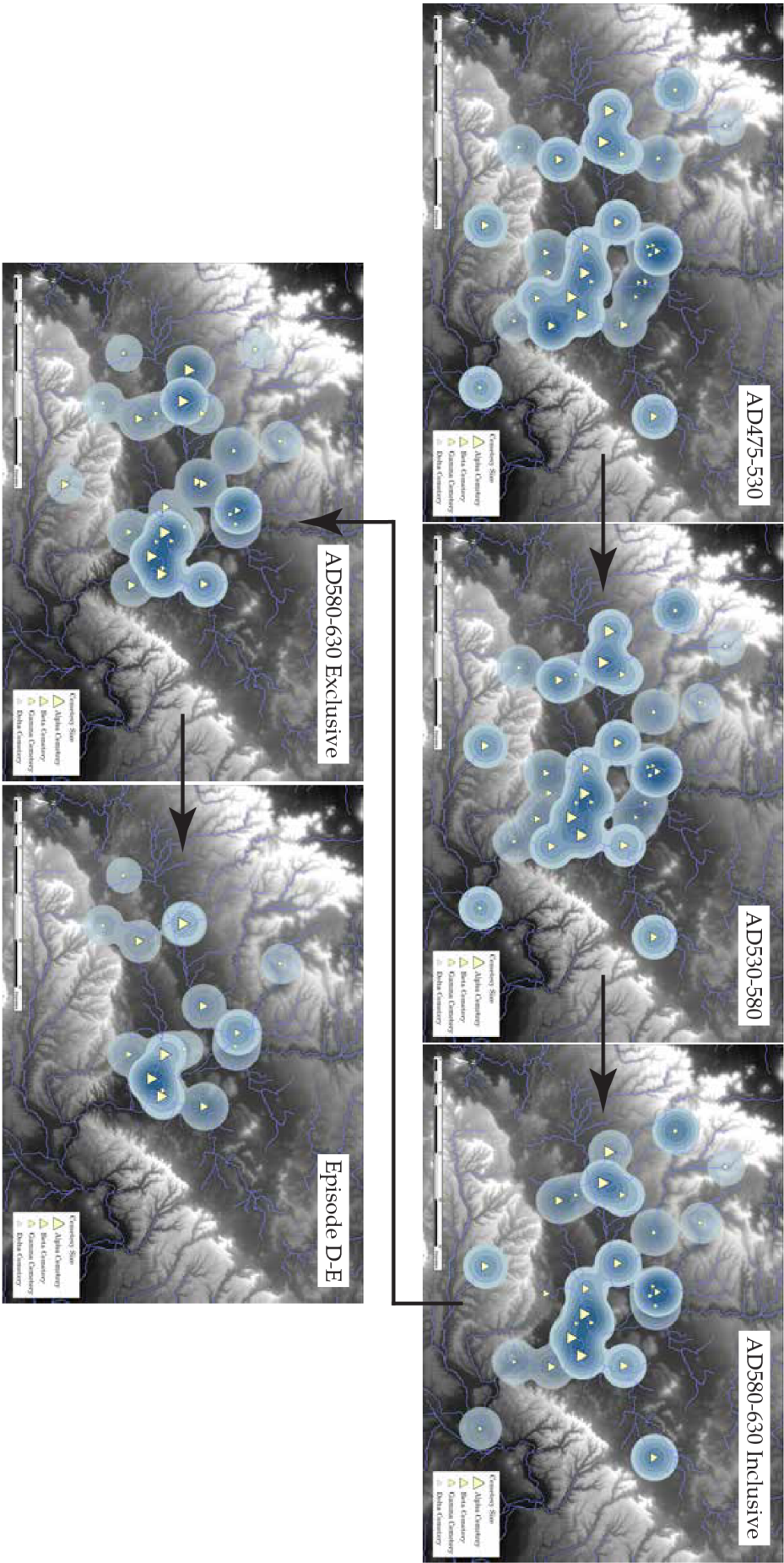


Figure 8.3: The kernel density of the average artefact count, showing the increasing concentration of burial wealth over the course of the 6th Century (see Section 5.2.2).

8.1.3 Corporate Power, Assembly and the Formation of Supra-Local Socio-Political Units

8.1.3.1 Corporate Power and Supra-Local Socio-Political Units

The formation of more complex socio-political units often goes hand-in-hand with the development of hereditary elites (Flannery and Marcus 2012, *passim.*). Larger communities require more complex socio-political organization, and this is typically accompanied by a more hierarchical distribution of power. In the Upper Thames Valley, this development can be seen in the increasing concentration of wealth in a select few exceptional burials during the mid and later 6th Century, particularly within large cemeteries and especially within the large cemeteries of the Fairford to Lechlade and Abingdon to Dorchester areas. Moreover, many of these exceptionally wealthy burials are female, which has been suggested to represent a statement of ancestral control over certain resources (Hamerow 2016), and this would seem to support the growing importance of descent groups and lineages in determining access to wealth and power.

However, there is actually very little evidence in the excavated cemeteries and settlements of the Upper Thames Valley to support the existence of a hereditary elite group during this period. The excavated cemeteries do not exhibit any discernible spatial clustering of elite burials, and there is as yet no evidence for large residential buildings during this period (Härke in Boyle *et al.* 1995; cf. Scull 1993; 1999; 2011; Härke 1997; Hamerow 2012, 71-2).

Nevertheless, the burial evidence from the Upper Thames Valley does suggest that the degree of wealth inequality in Anglo-Saxon society was increasing, both within communities and between communities, and this would seem to be at odds with the apparent absence of a hereditary elite. This is particularly problematic in the later 6th Century when the first documented kingdoms start to appear in the written record. These kingdoms were allegedly ruled by hereditary dynasties, and this sharp dichotomy between documented royal families and the apparent absence of hereditary elites in the archaeological record is a central problem in understanding the process of kingdom formation in Anglo-Saxon England (cf. Scull 1993, 1999).

However, this apparent paradox is actually consistent with a predominantly corporate power structure, in which there can be considerable hierarchy, even in the absence of a well-defined hereditary elite (Blanton *et al.* 1996; Drennan *et al.* 2012; Thurston 2012). It goes without saying, there is very little direct evidence for this, but as a theoretical model, corporate power is exceedingly useful in explaining the early stages of Anglo-Saxon kingdom formation.

As has been argued in **Chapter 3 (Section 3.1.1.1)**, Anglo-Saxon society appears to have been

characterized by a predominantly corporate power structure during the earlier 6th Century, in which status was largely achieved and power was vested in the community, rather than the individual or the descent group. Power in this society would have been shared and collectively constructed by all members of the community. Individuals could gain influence within the community, which could lead to considerable power, but outside of one's immediate household, individuals probably did not have *direct* power over others. Instead, an individual's power stemmed from their influence within the community, which in turn stemmed from their ability to attract and maintain followers and to convince or coerce others to do their bidding (Thurston 2012; for similar societies, see Sahlins 1963; Van Bakel *et al.* 1986; Hayden and Gargett 1990; Clark and Blake 1994, Hayden 1995; Lindstrom 2010; Flannery and Marcus 2012).

In this type of society, the power of the community as a whole was probably relatively stable, and as such, certain communities could become consistently and considerably more powerful than others. This appears to have been the case for the Fairford to Lechlade and Abingdon to Dorchester areas, which appear to have become increasingly powerful over the course of the 6th Century.

As these communities became more powerful, certain individuals, households and descent groups within these communities probably also became more powerful, but unlike the power of the community as a whole, the power of individuals within these communities was achieved and personal, and thus unstable and impermanent. Certain individuals may have amassed immense power for themselves, their household and their followers, only for it to dissipate after their death. This might explain why the fantastically wealthy 6th Century burials of the Fairford to Lechlade and Abingdon to Dorchester areas do not appear to be restricted to a particular descent group.

The ambitious leaders in these communities – so-called aggrandizers (cf. Sahlins 1963; Hayden and Gargett 1990; Clark and Blake 1994, Hayden 1995; Lindstrom 2010; Flannery and Marcus 2012) – would no doubt try to pass their power on to their children, but in a society with strong proscriptions against ascribed status, overly ambitious leaders and their children could quickly lose their followers, and without followers, they would have no influence and no power (Thurston 2012). Still, the children of more influential individuals would have inevitably been better positioned to become more influential themselves, and as the potential height of achieved power increased, the potential for hereditary dynasties must have become inexorable, even as such dynasties remained officially unacceptable.

Nevertheless, even in the late 6th Century, when the later histories record the existence of royal dynasties, the archaeological record suggests that the rights and obligations of the elite were

relatively weak, and corporate power must have still been a potent force in Anglo-Saxon society. This would explain the volatility of the early kingdoms, which appear to have been largely predicated on the skill of individual kings and their immediate family (Scull 1993; 1999), and this would also explain why the great hall complexes appear to have emerged out of public assembly sites, rather than magnate residences (see **Section 3.1.1**). As has been argued in **Chapter 3** (see **Section 3.1.1.1**), the public assembly was the primary institution of power in early Anglo-Saxon society. Power and influence ultimately stemmed from public opinion, and the public assembly was the gatekeeper of public opinion. The elite were not yet powerful enough to bring the community to them; instead, the elite had to go to the community. Power therefore emanated from the public assembly, not the elite household.

8.1.3.2 Supra-Local Socio-Political Units and Supra-Local Assemblies

In the corporate/exclusionary model, the public assembly is central to the creation of power (see **Section 3.1.1.1**), but at its core, the primary function of the public assembly was social cohesion. The public assembly was the glue that bound communities together, where group identity was created and reinforced, where laws were recognized and disputes were settled (Pantos 2002; Barnwell and Mostert 2003; Pantos and Semple 2004; Thurston 2012).

The public assembly was therefore central to the creation of a community, and the development, consolidation and integration of supra-local socio-political units was therefore probably dependent in part on the development of supra-local assemblies, which would have played a crucial role in constructing a new supra-local identity and mitigating the tensions between different local communities.

The first supra-local socio-political units in the Fairford to Lechlade and Abingdon to Dorchester areas may have therefore been formed, in part, around the emergence of supra-local assemblies in these areas. Initially, these supra-local assemblies may have shifted from site to site, perhaps moving between different local assembly sites. Each of the largest and most powerful communities – Fairford, Lechlade, Abingdon, Long Wittenham and Dorchester – probably had their own local assembly sites, and supra-local assemblies may have been held at each of these sites at different times.

However, as power became increasingly concentrated (see **Section 8.1.2.2**), certain sites may have emerged as preferred or purpose-built supra-local assembly sites (Fig.8.4). It has been previously argued that the great hall complexes grew out of important 6th Century assembly sites (see **Section 3.1.1**), and in light of the evidence for 6th Century high status activity at Sutton Courtenay (see

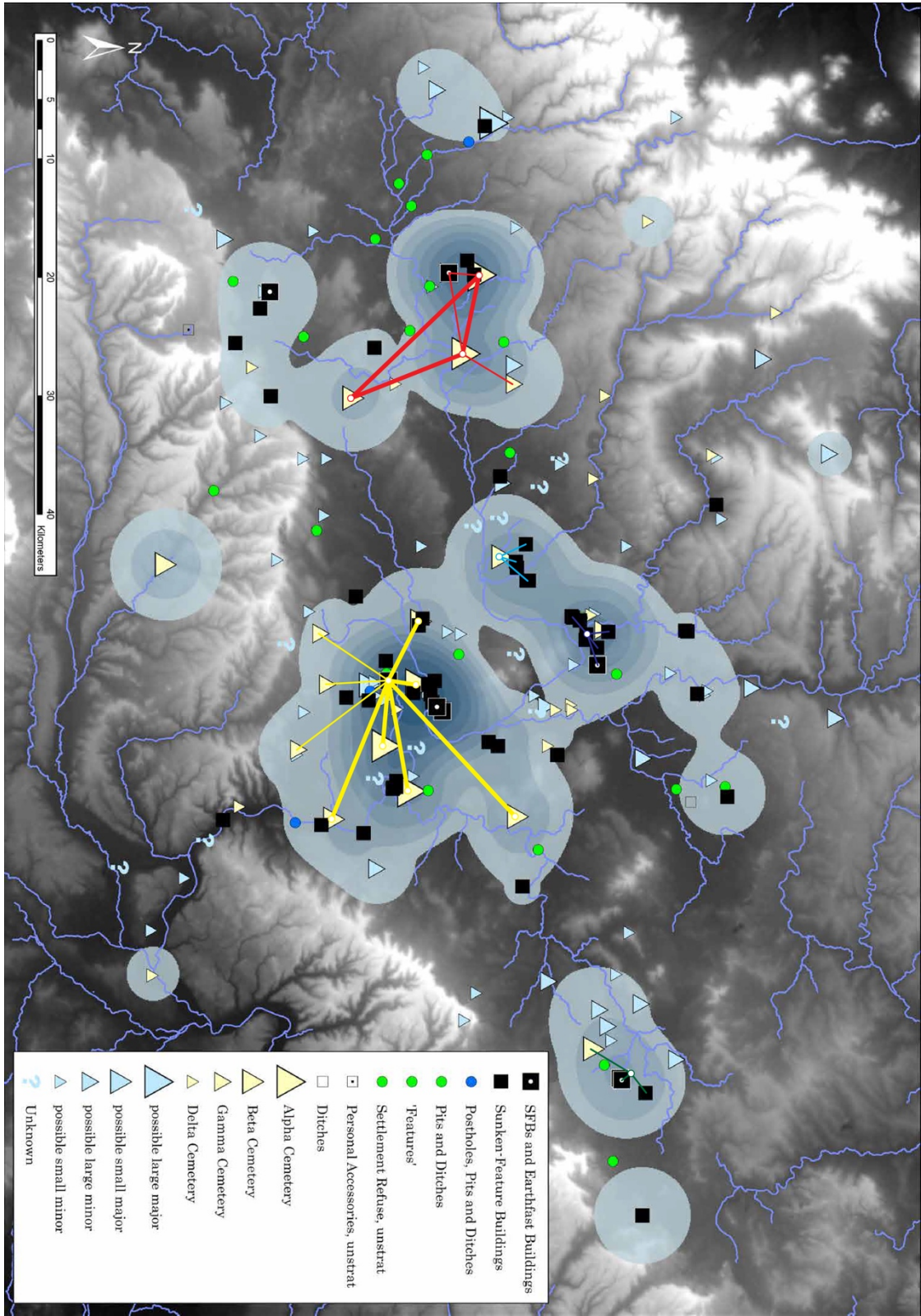


Figure 8.4: A hypothetical reconstruction of supra-local assembly networks (important communities are represented by white circles, each of which probably had their own local assembly site). The local communities of the Abingdon to Dorchester area may have increasingly come together at Sutton Courtenay for supra-local assemblies over the course of the mid-to-late 6th Century. A comparable supra-local assembly site may have existed in the Fairford to Lechlade area, but it has yet to be identified.

Section 7.2.1.5), the 6th Century precursor to the Sutton Courtenay great hall complex may have been one of these preferred or purpose-built supra-local assembly sites.

It is unclear, however, whether Sutton Courtenay was the *only* preferred or purpose-built supra-local assembly site in the Abingdon to Dorchester area. No other site in the study area has produced comparable evidence for 6th Century high status settlement, and given the paramount status of Sutton Courtenay during the 7th Century, this site may have already been unique in the 6th Century. However, Long Wittenham and Dorchester, in particular, may have held similar positions, and the high status burials interred at Long Wittenham I and Berinsfield suggest that these sites were also important centres in some sense during the 6th Century.

A comparable supra-local assembly site probably also existed in the Fairford to Lechlade area, although it has yet to be identified. Meanwhile, the Windrush and Evenlode confluences and the Vale of Aylesbury probably had their own more localized assembly sites.

8.2 Great Hall Complexes and the Emergence of Supra-Regional Kingdoms

The late 6th/early 7th Century was a critical turning point for the emergence of exclusionary, ascribed hierarchy, when the first truly exceptional buildings and burials begin to appear in the archaeological record and the first credible ‘kings’ begin to appear in the historical record.

8.2.1 The Gewisse and the Emergence of Supra-Regional Hegemony

The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, Bede and the West Saxon Regnal List record the emergence of the *Gewisse* – progenitors of the West Saxon kingdom – around AD570-590, under the war leader Ceawlin and his brother Cuthwulf (Dumville 1985, 50-6; Yorke 1995, 32-6). The origins of the Gewissan kingdom are obscure, but the written sources place these first semi-historical kings in and around the Upper Thames Valley, and the documented bishopric at Dorchester suggests that the Abingdon to Dorchester area, in particular, held a special significance for the early Gewissan kings (Dickinson 1976; Hawkes 1986; Yorke 1990; 1995; Blair 1994; Hamerow 1999b; Hamerow *et al.* 2013).

This is consistent with the archaeological record, which shows a strong concentration of burial wealth in the Abingdon to Dorchester area during the later 6th Century, around the same time as the documented emergence of the Gewissan kingdom. Gendered burial appears to have been heavily concentrated in the Abingdon to Dorchester area at this time, and the wealthiest late 6th/early 7th Century burials also appear to be concentrated in this area. The burial wealth of

Berinsfield and Long Wittenham I, in particular, appears to have peaked in the late 6th/early 7th Century, when the gendered burial rite was in terminal decline at most 6th Century cemeteries.

Soon afterward, around the turn of the 7th Century, the first great halls were probably constructed at Sutton Courtenay, and the first high status buildings at Dorchester/Bishop's Court and Long Wittenham may have also been constructed around this time. The princely burial at Cuddesdon, immediately to the north of Dorchester, was probably also interred sometime during the early 7th Century.

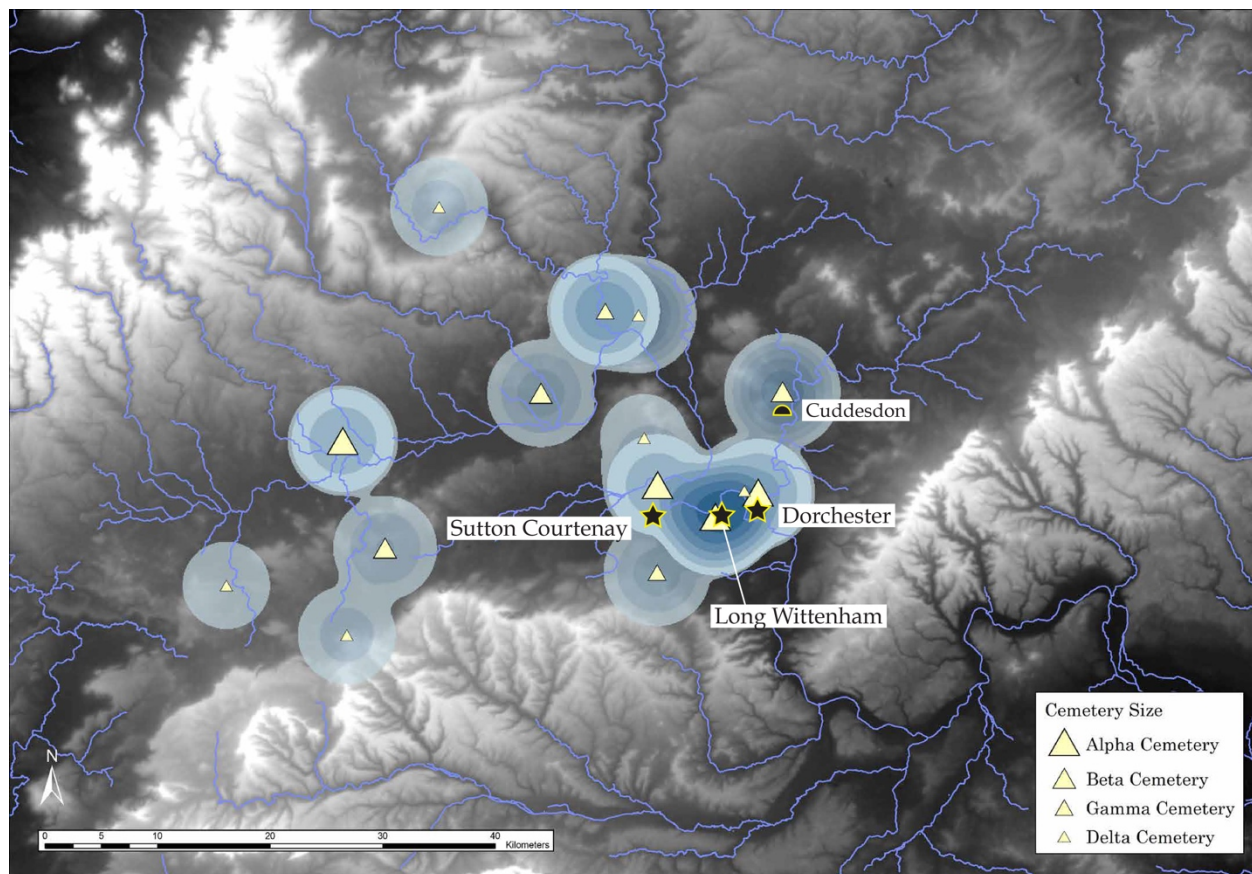


Figure 8.5: The early Gewissan heartland, showing the concentration of early 7th Century high status settlements and late 6th/early 7th Century burial wealth in the Abingdon to Dorchester area, including the early 7th Century princely burial at Cuddesdon.

There is therefore substantial evidence to suggest that the Abingdon to Dorchester area was the heartland of the Gewissan kingdom from the late 6th to mid-7th Centuries, and it seems reasonable to identify the origin of the Gewisse in the emergence of the first supra-local socio-political unit in the Abingdon to Dorchester area, starting sometime during the mid-6th Century.

8.2.1.1 Supra-Local Socio-Political Units and the Emergence of Supra-Regional Hegemony

The emergence of the Gewissan kingdom, around AD570-590, probably represents the culmination of a volatile period of conflict, alliance and shifting power dynamics between the

Abingdon to Dorchester area and the other communities of the Upper Thames Valley, perhaps primarily the Fairford to Lechlade area. As has been argued, these two areas appear to have been home to the first supra-local socio-political units in the Upper Thames Valley, and it seems likely that these two areas were fierce rivals at one point. As burial wealth became increasingly concentrated over the course of the 6th Century, the Fairford to Lechlade and Abingdon to Dorchester areas probably became increasingly powerful and increasingly socio-politically complex, and as these two areas began to extend their power and influence over neighbouring communities, they may have increasingly come into conflict with each other.

This would, in theory, represent the second round of the “knock-out competition” (Bassett 1989, 26-7), and the Gewisse of the Abingdon to Dorchester area appear to have emerged victorious.

According to the written sources, the Gewisse rapidly extended their hegemony over the entire Upper Thames Valley, allegedly capturing Cirencester, Gloucester and Bath in AD577, fighting at Woden’s Barrow in Wiltshire, in AD592, and even harrying King Æthelberht of Kent (Dumville 1985, 50-6; Yorke 1995, 32-6). Bede went so far as to suggest that Ceawlin had held *imperium* over all of southern England at this time (Bede HE II, ch.5).

However, this account is probably misleading. Even if Ceawlin was involved in skirmishes across southern England, these battles probably do not represent the territorial conquests of a sovereign kingdom, but rather the lightning raids of a relatively superficial and unstable military hegemony. The ‘kingdoms’ of the late 6th and early 7th Centuries were probably not stable territorial units, but rather extensive military hegemonies resembling large-scale protection rackets, in which relatively small and mobile warbands could conduct raids well outside of their territorial base and exact tribute under threat of force from a large area (Yorke 1990, 157-62; 1995, 64-7; Scull 1993). Initially, these hegemonies probably did not have the power or the desire to replace or directly control the existing elites of neighbouring groups; instead, these hegemonies only sought to maintain dominance over existing elites through force, gifts, oaths of fealty and the extraction of tribute.

As such, the early Gewissan hegemony of the late 6th and early 7th Centuries was probably fundamentally superficial, personal and unstable. The known high status settlements of the early 7th Century are exclusively located in the Abingdon to Dorchester area, suggesting that royal power was relatively superficial outside of the Gewissan heartland, and outside of these elite settlements, there is little to suggest that the everyday experience of most people living in the Upper Thames Valley had changed in a significant way. The Fairford to Lechlade area continued to inter

immensely wealthy burials throughout the late 6th and 7th Centuries, and based purely on the burial evidence, it would be easy to mistake Lechlade for the heart of the Gewissan kingdom at this time. Meanwhile, the Windrush confluence and the Windrush and Evenlode river valleys appear to have actually become more important during the 7th Century.

At this time, Gewissan dominance over the Fairford to Lechlade area and the Windrush and Evenlode confluences may have amounted to no more than a regular payment of tribute and a nominal recognition of overlordship. However, this initial state of superficial hegemony did not last.

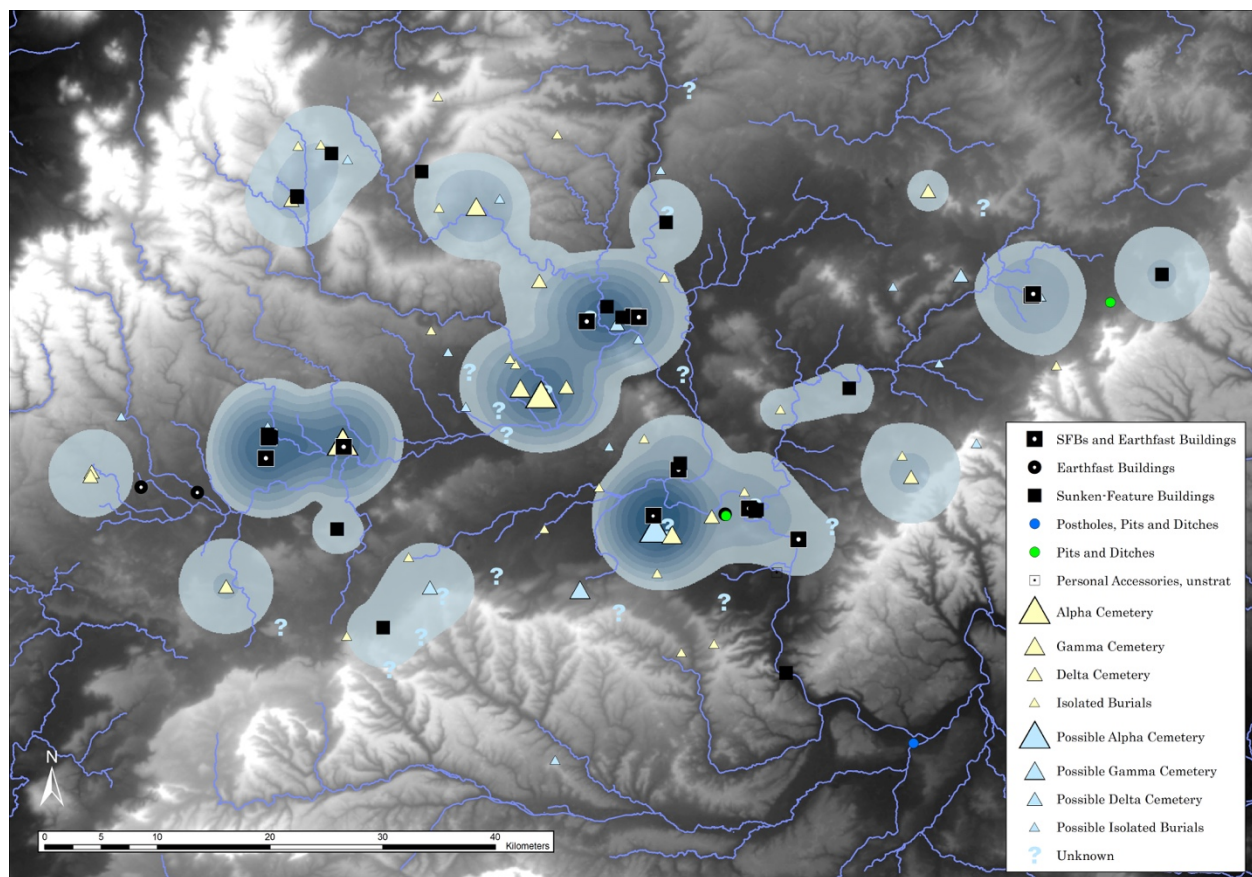


Figure 8.6: The distribution of burial and settlement during the mid-7th Century (the kernel density shows the normalized density of burial and settlement, see Fig.7.19). The Abingdon to Dorchester area actually appears to be *less* dominant during the 7th Century, in terms of the distribution of Anglo-Saxon activity.

8.2.2 Great Hall Complexes and the Consolidation of Power

The first great halls at Sutton Courtenay were probably constructed around the turn of the 7th Century (see **Section 7.2.1.5** and **3.2.1**), and this would place the construction of the first great halls almost a generation after the documented emergence of the Gewissan kingdom, c.AD570-590 (Dumville 1985, 50-6; Yorke 1995, 32-6). This suggests that the great halls were not part of the initial act of kingdom formation, but rather the ensuing consolidation of royal power.

The great halls at Sutton Courtenay appear to have only become necessary and/or possible once the Gewissan kingdom had reached a certain stage of development, and this may have actually been typical of great hall complexes. The discrete-posthole halls at Lyminge and Cowdery's Down were probably constructed earlier, in the later 6th Century (see **Section 2.4**), and there may have been similar discrete-posthole halls at Sutton Courtenay, but it seems unlikely that any great halls predated the emergence of supra-regional kingdoms: the rarity of great hall complexes and their striking similarity across Anglo-Saxon England strongly suggest that these sites were the sole initiative of supra-regional elites (see **Section 2.5**). If great hall complexes had emerged before the development of supra-regional kingdoms, they would be more numerous, there would be greater regional variation and there would be a clear gradation of different status sites, from the residence of a local chieftain to the *villa regia* of a supra-regional king.

Therefore, the great halls appear to be a slightly later development, emerging only after the initial development of supra-regional kingdoms, and as such, it is argued here that the great hall complexes played an essential role in the *consolidation* of these newly formed supra-regional kingdoms, rather than in the initial act of kingdom formation itself.

More specifically, it is argued that the great hall complexes played an essential role in the consolidation of supra-regional kingdoms through the creation of new *supra-regional* assembly sites out of pre-existing *supra-local* assembly sites. Prior to the emergence of the Gewissan kingdom, Sutton Courtenay may have been a supra-local assembly site of the Abingdon to Dorchester area, but once the Gewisse of the Abingdon to Dorchester area had extended their hegemony over the entire Upper Thames Valley, Sutton Courtenay may have become a supra-regional assembly site, drawing together people from across the Gewissan kingdom (see **Section 2.2.2.2**). This new supra-regional assembly would have necessitated an appropriately monumental setting, and this may be the impetus behind the construction of the first great halls.

Supra-regional assemblies would have played an important role in creating a new supra-regional kingdom. By inviting subjugated communities under Gewissan hegemony to this new supra-regional assembly, the Gewissan elite were inviting these communities to become part of the new Gewissan kingdom. Rather than pay tribute, these communities could host the king, providing food and drink in exchange for access to the king (Charles-Edwards 1989). Feasting and gift exchange would have forged sacred bonds between former rivals, creating new supra-regional power relationships, with new rights and obligations (Bazelmans 1999; Hagen 2006; Rollason 2009; Pollington 2011; Hayden 2014; the assembly feast was probably later formalized in the royal *feorm*: Hagen 2006, 306, 409; Faith 2009, 31).

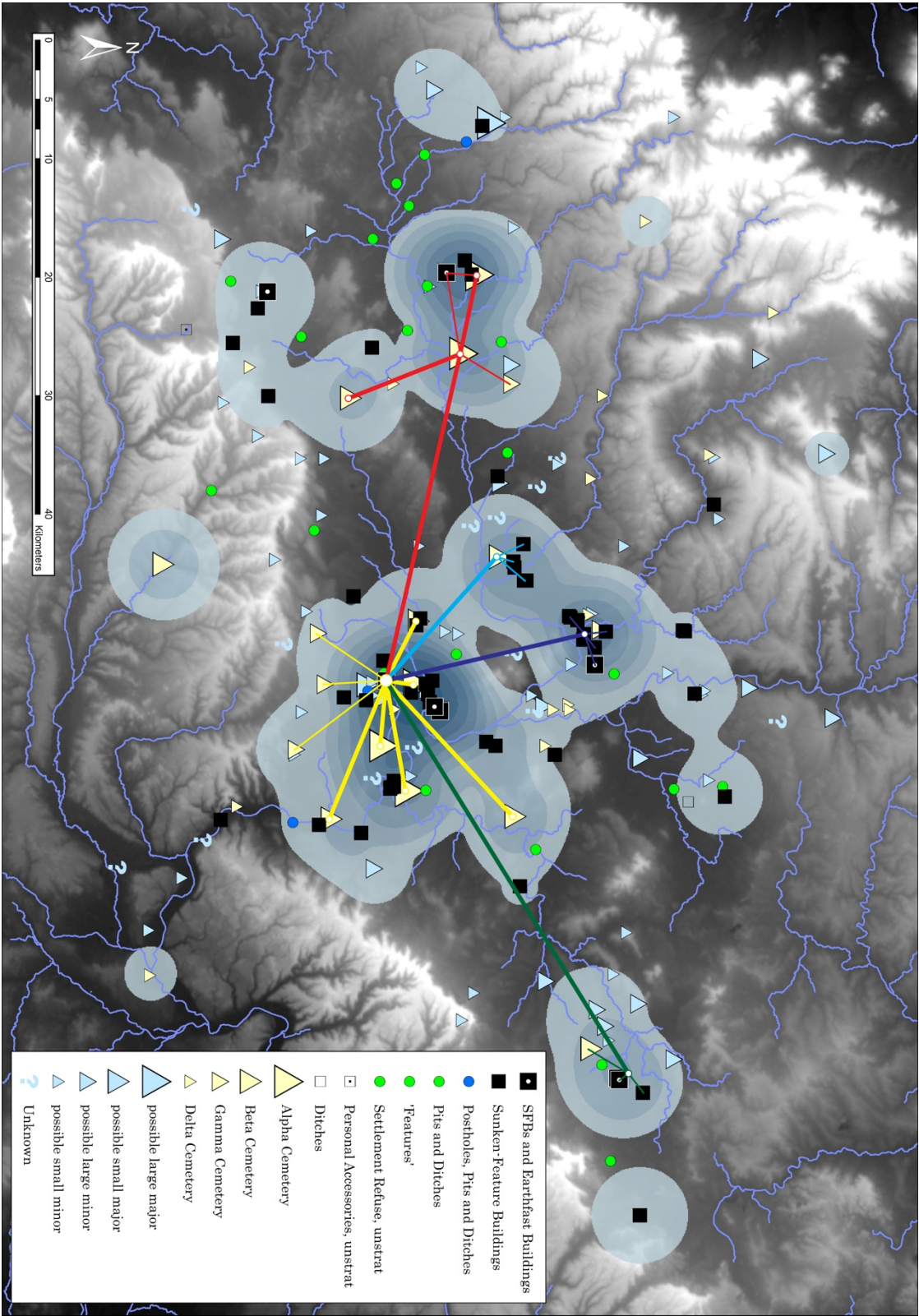


Figure 8.7: A hypothetical reconstruction of the new supra-regional assembly network, centred on the great hall complex at Sutton Courtenay.

The construction of the first great halls probably paralleled the creation of the hall ideal, which in turn, paralleled the creation of the ideology of kingship (Herschend 1993; 1998; **Section 3.3.2.1**). The hall itself was propaganda for the institution of kingship, and the acting out of new power relationships in the hall would have recursively created and reinforced the new ideology of kingship, embedding the king within new regional systems of obligation and simultaneous distancing the supra-regional king from regional and sub-regional elites. In this way, the great hall complexes transformed warlords into kings and hegemonies into kingdoms.

At the same time, however, the great hall complexes still appear to have had some degree of local significance (see **Section 2.2.2.1**), and this suggests that they retained their earlier functions as local and supra-local centres, in between regional and supra-regional assemblies (see **Section 2.5.1**).

8.2.3 Long Wittenham, Dorchester and the Beginnings of the Settlement Hierarchy

Sutton Courtenay is the only site in the Upper Thames Valley that has produced evidence for high status buildings dating to the early 7th Century, and for a time, it may have been the only high status settlement in the Upper Thames Valley. However, at some point in the later 6th or earlier 7th Century, perhaps in parallel with Sutton Courtenay or perhaps slightly later, two other high status settlements emerged at Long Wittenham and Dorchester/Bishop's Court, and these three sites represent the beginnings of the settlement hierarchy in the Upper Thames Valley (Fig.8.8).

The minor hall complex at Long Wittenham has been suggested to be a secondary centre – the residence of a lesser magnate who administered the *regio* in the king's absence (see **Section 7.2.2.5**). This is entirely speculative, but Long Wittenham does appear to be of significantly lower status than Sutton Courtenay, and this diversification of high status settlements would have been an important first step in the development of a more complex settlement hierarchy.

The *civitas* at Dorchester/Bishop's Court, on the other hand, may have been of similar status to Sutton Courtenay, but at present, the site does not appear to resemble a great hall complex, and the nature of the site is uncertain before the baptism of King Cynegils and the establishment of the bishopric in c.AD635. After the establishment of the bishopric, Dorchester almost certainly became one of the most important power centres in the Upper Thames Valley, but this event probably fundamentally altered the meaning and use of the site; whatever Dorchester/Bishop's Court was before the conversion of King Cynegils, the episcopal seat represented an entirely new form of high status settlement, and the arrival of the Latin Church in the Upper Thames Valley

probably had very significant implications for the development of a more complex and more pervasive settlement hierarchy.

The development of the settlement hierarchy is a profoundly important step in the development of power in Anglo-Saxon England. As has been argued in **Chapter 3**, the development and consolidation of supra-regional kingdoms was predicated on a broad transition from corporate group-oriented power to exclusionary individualizing power, which effectively translates to the separation of the elite from the wider populace. The development of more complex settlement hierarchies and the concomitant delegation of power would have been inherently exclusionary, literally separating the king from the wider populace (see **Section 3.3.4**).

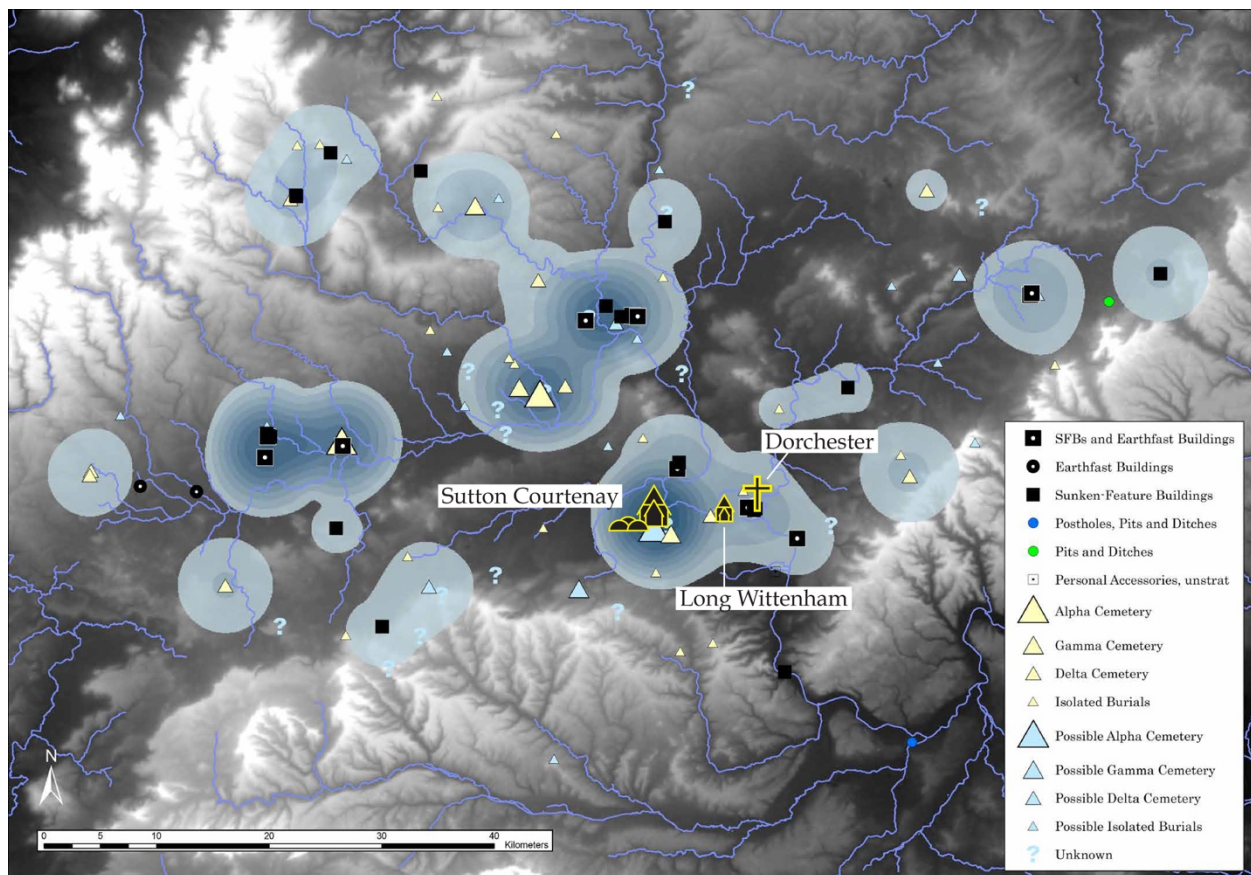


Figure 8.8: The early 7th Century high status settlements: the great hall complex and supra-regional assembly site at Sutton Courtenay, the minor hall complex and secondary centre at Long Wittenham, and the episcopal and possibly royal *civitas* at Dorchester (the kernel density is the normalized burial and settlement from Fig.7.19).

However, the development of the settlement hierarchy would only really come to fruition in the later 7th and 8th Centuries. The high status settlements at Sutton Courtenay, Long Wittenham and Dorchester/Bishop's Court were still concentrated in the Abingdon to Dorchester area, and this suggests that Gewissan control over neighbouring communities remained relatively superficial at this time. Moreover, the dense clustering of high status settlements in this area suggests that even

within the Abingdon to Dorchester area royal power was fluid, unstable and superficial (see **Section 2.2.2.2**; Blair 2005, 280). Nevertheless, Gewissan hegemony still appears to have been pervasive enough to prevent the other communities of the Upper Thames Valley from building their own high status sites at this time.

At the same time, the conversion to Christianity may have had separate and equally significant repercussions for the development of exclusionary power. Latin Christian ideology, with its divine ascribed hierarchy, was probably significantly more exclusionary than traditional Germanic society, and Latin missionaries probably also encouraged a more exclusionary hierarchy to facilitate conversion (Urbanczyk 2003). The conversion therefore offered a new exclusionary ideology, but it may have also weakened corporate power. The conversion would have altered official attitudes towards pre-Christian ritual foci, which were probably at the heart of many public assembly sites, and this may have been used by the elite to deliberately weaken the power of the public assembly, shifting ritual from the public sphere into the exclusive control of the Church (Edward 1989; Thurston 2012; Semple 2013). The establishment of the bishopric at Dorchester in c.AD635 may have therefore been a watershed moment in the weakening of corporate power and the concomitant development of exclusionary power structures. Moreover, this would have fundamentally altered the significance of Sutton Courtenay and Dorchester, potentially precipitating a decline in the importance of Sutton Courtenay and a corresponding rise of the importance of Dorchester.

8.2.4 Supra-Local Burials and the Expansion of the Gewissan Heartland

The princely burials at Cuddesdon and Asthall were probably interred shortly after the first great halls were constructed at Sutton Courtenay, and like the great halls, these possibly royal burials probably played an important role in creating and reinforcing the ideology of kingship.

The later supra-local burials of the mid-7th Century, however, appear to represent more localized, lower-level power relationships. These burials were significantly less wealthy and probably included individuals that were outside of the royal descent group. Like the proliferation and diversification of high status settlements, this proliferation and diversification of isolated elite burials may reflect the development of more pervasive hierarchies, incorporating progressively more parochial elites into the Gewissan power structure.

It has been previously argued that the isolated elite burials surrounding the Abingdon to Dorchester area, some of which express direct links to the Abingdon to Dorchester area, attest to the integration of neighbouring communities into the Gewissan heartland (see **Section 5.1.2.3** and

5.3.3), and this is the first evidence that the Gewisse were beginning to consolidate power outside of the Abingdon to Dorchester area. However, the distribution of these burials, immediately surrounding the Abingdon to Dorchester area, suggests that the Gewissan kings were still focused on consolidating power in the immediate vicinity of the royal heartland even in the mid-7th Century.

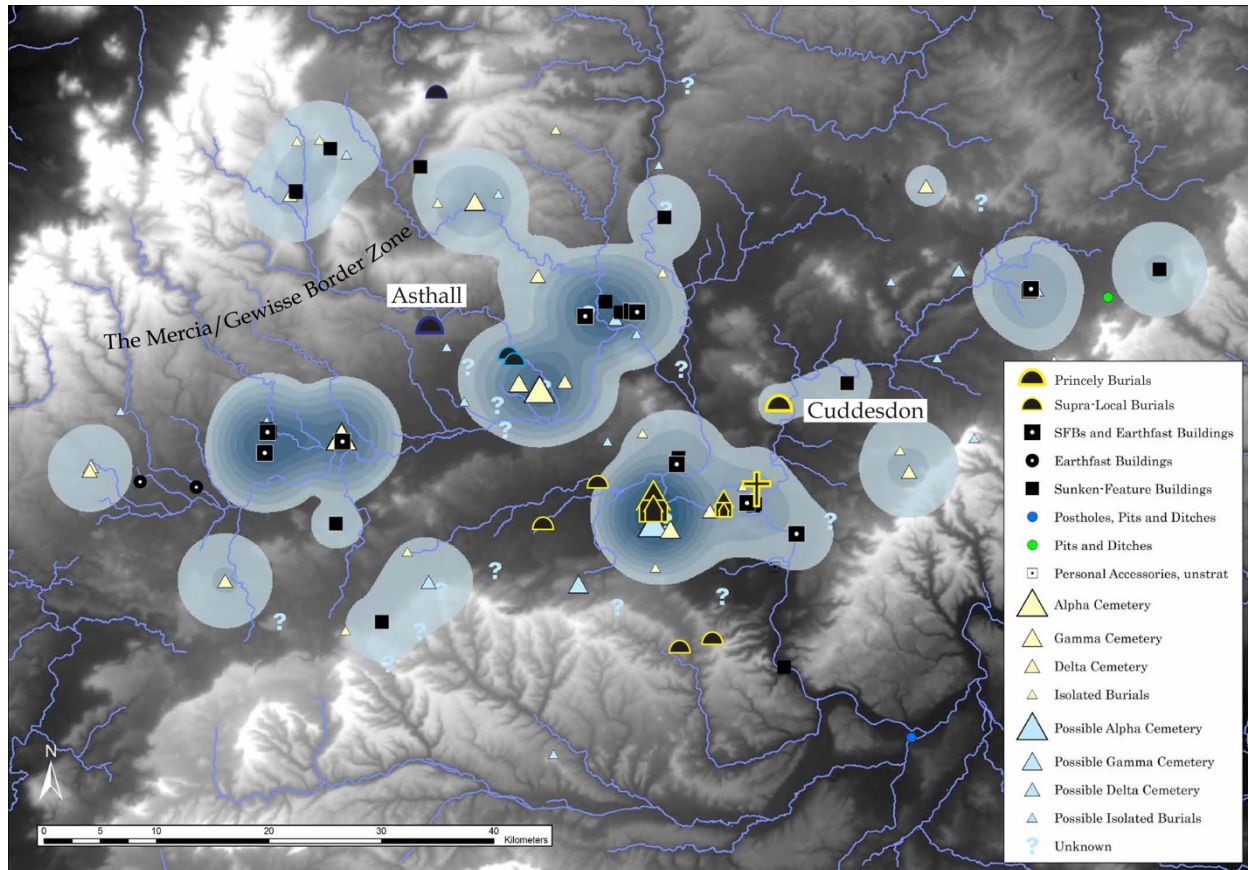


Figure 8.9: The early 7th Century princely burials and the mid-7th Century supra-local burials are strongly concentrated around the Gewissan royal heartland – the Abingdon to Dorchester area – and along the postulated supra-regional border between the Gewisse and Mercia (Yellow = the Abingdon to Dorchester area, Blue = the Windrush confluence, Purple = possibly Mercian/Hwiccan).

Nevertheless, while Gewissan power in the Upper Thames Valley may have been relatively superficial outside of the Abingdon to Dorchester area, it remains unclear whether the Gewisse had other royal heartlands, similar to the Abingdon to Dorchester area. By AD661, the Gewissan/West Saxon hegemony probably extended over much of Hampshire and Wiltshire, and by AD680, Exeter had an English, probably Gewissan/West Saxon, abbot (Yorke 1995, 60). With such a large hegemony, the Gewisse/West Saxons may have had numerous different royal heartlands, each of which resembled the Abingdon to Dorchester area and each of which may have loosely controlled a region approximately the size of the Upper Thames Valley. The great hall complexes at Cowage Farm and Cowdery's Down and the later Gewissan/West Saxon capital at Winchester are possible examples of other royal heartlands.

8.3 The Development of the Settlement Hierarchy and the Emergence of a Stratified Society

The Upper Thames Valley appears to have undergone several significant transformations over the course of the 7th Century. The overall distribution of Anglo-Saxon activity appears to have expanded outward from the Thames basin, and there was a general intensification of Anglo-Saxon activity outside of the Abingdon to Dorchester area, with a new core area of mid-7th Century burial around the Windrush confluence and an expansion of 7th and 8th Century settlement around the Evenlode confluence, the Vale of Aylesbury, the Fairford to Lechlade area and across the entire northwestern quadrant of the study area. By the early 8th Century, the Evenlode confluence and the Vale of Aylesbury appear to have become the primary concentrations of securely dated settlement activity in the study area (Fig.8.10) (see **Section 7.1.7**).

There also appears to have been a general proliferation and diversification of high status settlement outside of the Abingdon to Dorchester area during the later 7th and 8th Centuries, with new high status sites at Aylesbury, Eynsham, Worton, Cresswell Field and Latton Quarry (Fig.8.10) (see **Section 7.2.12.2**).

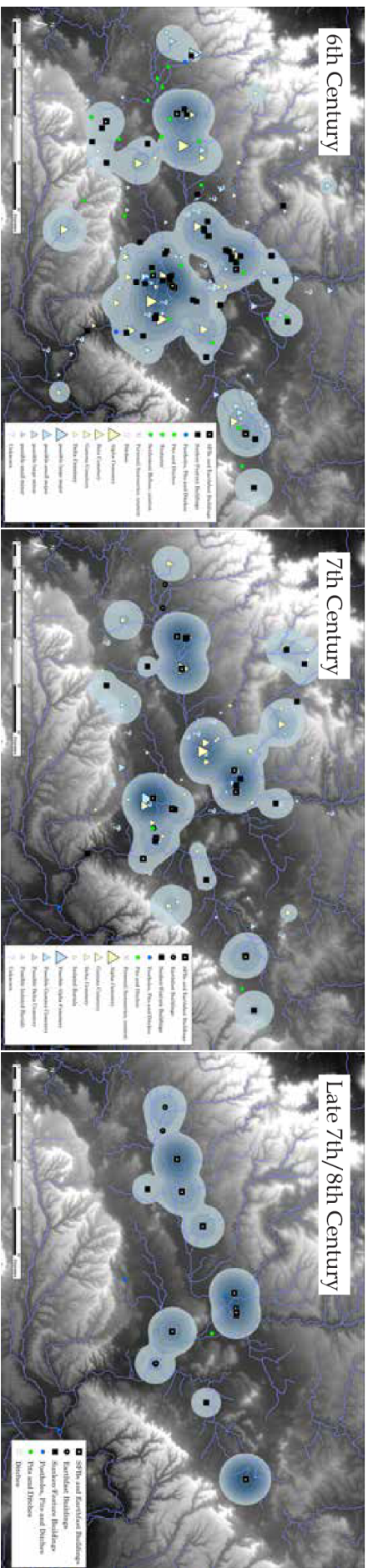
The Abingdon to Dorchester area was not entirely left out these developments. A new high status settlement probably emerged at Benson during the later 7th or 8th Centuries, and Dorchester almost certainly remained an important centre during the 8th Century, while Sutton Courtenay probably also remained an important place. However, the bulk of securely dated burial and settlement evidence from the Abingdon to Dorchester area belongs to the 6th and earlier 7th Centuries, and there does therefore appear to be a shift, if only a relative expansion of activity outside of the Abingdon to Dorchester area.

All of these developments – the expansion of Anglo-Saxon activity, the proliferation of high status settlements, the increasing prominence of the Evenlode confluence and the Vale of Aylesbury, and the relative decline of the Abingdon to Dorchester area – were probably related, and they may be, in part, linked to the Mercian conquest of the Upper Thames Valley.

8.3.1 The Mercian Conquest

From AD628, the Gewisse were increasingly threatened by the rise of Mercia, and in AD642, the Gewissan King Cenwalh appears to have submitted to Mercian supremacy, marrying the sister of Penda and renouncing Christianity (Bede HE III, ch.7). In AD645, Cenwalh attempted to rebel against Penda and was driven into exile in East Anglia (ASC 645; Yorke 1995, 57-8). Upon his return to power in AD648, Cenwalh appears to have abandoned the Upper Thames Valley,

The Distribution of All Burial and Settlement



The Distribution of High Status Settlement

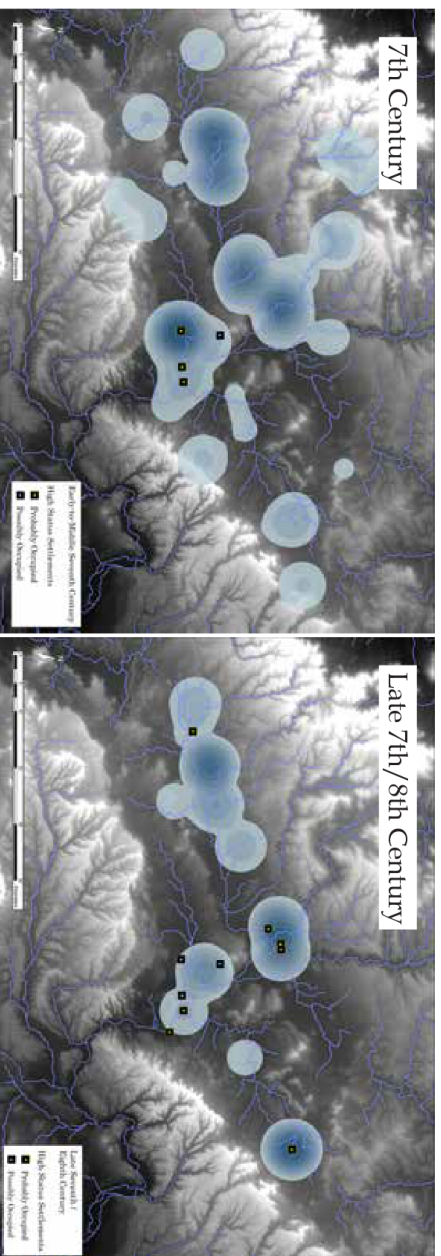


Figure 8.10: The changing distribution of Anglo-Saxon burial and settlement over the course of the 6th, 7th and 8th Centuries (the kernel densities are from Fig.7.18-20).

building a new church at Winchester (ASC F 648) and giving the Upper Thames Valley to his kinsman Cuthred as a subkingdom (ASC 648). In AD660, Cenwalh created a new Gewissan bishopric at Winchester, and shortly thereafter, the Gewissan bishopric at Dorchester was abandoned (ASC 660; Bede HE III, ch.7). In AD661, the Chronicle records King Wulfhere of Mercia ravaging the Berkshire Downs, and this probably marks the Mercian annexation of the Upper Thames Valley (ASC 661). This is supported by the charter evidence, which suggests that Thame (Oxon.) had become a Mercian royal centre by the early 670s (Yorke 1995, 58; S1165), and the battle between Wessex and Mercia at Woden's Barrow (Wilts.) in AD715 suggests that Mercia had held the Upper Thames Valley throughout the later 7th and early 8th Centuries (ASC 715).

The later 7th and 8th Century high status settlements at Benson, Aylesbury, Eynsham, Worton, Cresswell Field and Latton Quarry were therefore probably constructed under Mercian overlordship, and the rise of the Evenlode confluence and the Vale of Aylesbury probably occurred at least partially under Mercian hegemony. However, these developments were probably already underway well before the Mercian conquest. The Windrush and Evenlode confluences appear to have become increasingly important from the later 6th Century, and the expansion of settlement away from the Thames basin reflects a larger Middle Saxon development (Hamerow 1992; 2012, 147-8). Moreover, the proliferation of high status settlements was probably part of the wider development of more complex settlement hierarchies and heterarchies, which occurred across Anglo-Saxon England during the later 7th and 8th Centuries (see **Section 3.4**; Ulmschneider 2011). This development was an essential part of the consolidation of the new Anglo-Saxon kingdoms, and it was probably not restricted to the Mercian kingdom, although it is possible that Mercia was especially precocious in the development and consolidation of exclusionary power structures.

8.3.2 The Development of the Settlement Hierarchy

The high status settlements of the later 7th and 8th Centuries appear to be much more widely distributed than the earlier 7th Century sites (Fig.8.11). The known high status settlements of the early-to-middle 7th Century are exclusively located in the Abingdon to Dorchester area, while the later 7th and 8th Century sites appear to be spread across all of the major communities of the Upper Thames Valley, and this is strongly suggestive of a more pervasive settlement hierarchy reflecting more pervasive power structures.

The new high status settlements of the later 7th and 8th Centuries also appear to be more varied than the earlier sites – in form, status and function. The high status activity at Eynsham Abbey was almost certainly related to the documented minster, while the possible great hall at Benson

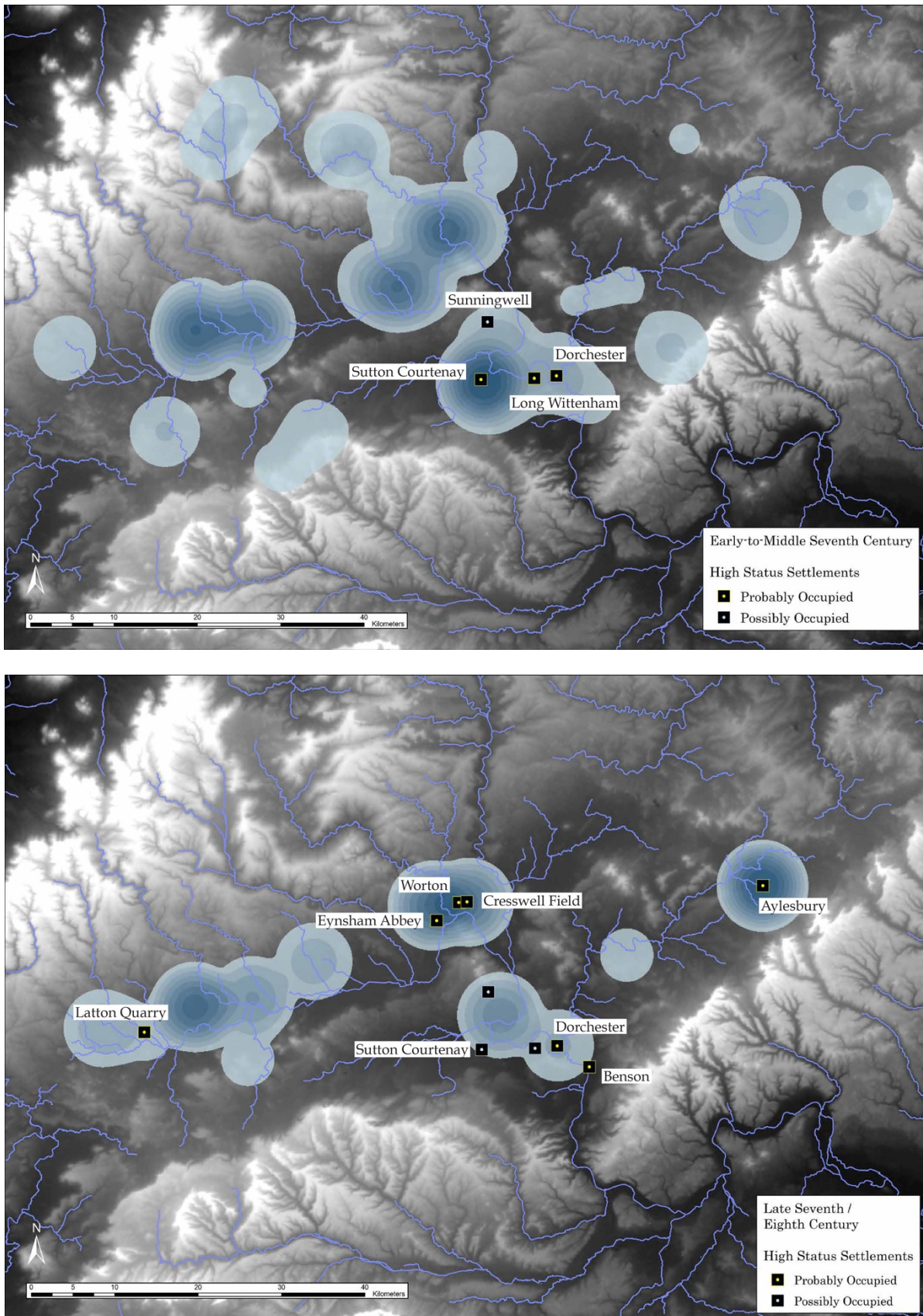


Figure 8.11: The high status settlements of the early-to-middle 7th Century and the later 7th/8th Centuries, showing the proliferation and geographical expansion of high status settlement over the course of the 7th and 8th Centuries.

may be related to the documented royal *tun* and Aylesbury probably had both royal and ecclesiastical elements. Worton may represent a lower status secondary or tertiary power centre, perhaps associated with Eynsham Abbey or perhaps the residence of a lesser secular magnate. Cresswell Field and Latton Quarry appear to be of much lower status, perhaps belonging to locally important families, who may have doubled as secular or ecclesiastical officials at certain times. This new complexity, combined with the wider distribution of high status settlements, attests to the development of a more pervasive and more complex settlement hierarchy, and this more pervasive and more complex settlement hierarchy represents a significant step in the development of exclusionary power. As has been argued in **Chapter 3** (see **Section 3.3.4**), the creation of a settlement hierarchy and the delegation of power is inherently exclusionary, as it separates the ruler from the people.

Moreover, the development of a more complex settlement hierarchy probably also went hand-in-hand with the development of more exclusionary forms of high status settlement. It has been previously argued that the later development of great hall complexes represents a conceptual and functional shift from civic-ceremonial centres, designed to harness and channel corporate power, to private magnate residences, designed to exclude the wider populace and reinforce the growing gap between the elite and the people (see **Section 3.3**). It has been further suggested that the development of more complex settlement hierarchies is fundamentally linked to the functional and conceptual shift from civic-ceremonial centre to magnate residence (see **Section 3.3.4**). As the wider populace was increasingly excluded from the king's hall, middlemen filled the gap, relaying popular concerns to the king and royal decrees to the people, and as these middlemen built their own lesser halls, it would only be natural to conceive of these halls as the private residences of an individual rather than a public centre of the people.

The king was a personification of the people, and the king's hall was the home of the people – a manifestation of the good king's right to rule (Herschend 1993; 1998; Thurston 2012). Aristocrats, on the other hand, were private individuals, and their halls were private residences. The delegation of power from kings to aristocrats and the shift from civic-ceremonial centres to magnate residences were therefore interrelated, and both developments were significant steps in the development of exclusionary power.

8.3.3 The Dissemination and Dilution of the Great Hall Architectural Style

The proliferation and diversification of high status settlements during the later 7th and 8th Centuries appears to have been paralleled by the dissemination and concomitant dilution of the great hall

architectural style (Fig.8.12-13). The buildings and layout of Aylesbury and the possible buildings at Benson are significantly more irregular and less robust than those of the earlier 7th Century great hall complexes, but among the excavated settlements of the later 7th and 8th Centuries, these sites appear to represent the most precise and robust examples of the great hall architectural style in the Upper Thames Valley. And with each step down the settlement hierarchy, the great hall architectural style appears to have become increasingly diluted. The Worton building is smaller than the possible great hall at Benson, and although the foundations of the Worton building are deeper, they are less regular in plan and in section. Meanwhile, the Cresswell Field and Latton Quarry buildings are substantially smaller, less regular and less robust than both the Worton building and the possible Benson building, but these sites nevertheless exhibit some measure of the great hall architectural style, in the annex at Cresswell Field and in the hybrid post-in-trench foundations at Latton Quarry. It is not surprising to find that the great hall architectural style is more diluted at these lower status sites, but it is surprising to find that the great hall architectural style is present in any form at such low status sites.

During the earlier 7th Century, the great hall architectural style was a strongly coherent phenomenon and almost entirely restricted to great hall complexes (see **Section 2.8**). However, over the course of the 7th Century, the great hall architectural style began to fragment (Fig.8.14). The size of great halls became increasingly diverse, and the size of great hall complexes may have also become more diverse (see **Section 3.3.4**). At the same time, the minor hall complexes appear to have become increasingly similar to the smaller great hall complexes (see **Section 3.3.5**). These developments appear to represent the emergence of a more complex settlement hierarchy, and as power was disseminated, delegated and diluted down this settlement hierarchy, so too was the great hall architectural style disseminated and diluted.

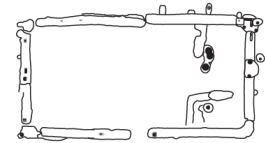
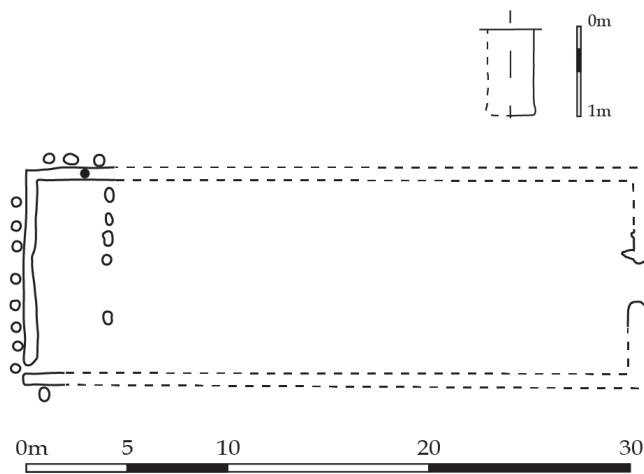
The dissemination and dilution of the great hall architectural style among the later 7th and 8th Century settlements of the Upper Thames Valley therefore appears to represent the continuation and culmination of the later development of great hall complexes.

8.3.4 The Development of a Stratified Society

Frands Herschend argues that the dissemination of the hall ideal to the wider populace was, in essence, the dissemination of the ideology of the elite, and the acceptance of this ideology by the wider populace was a critical turning point in the separation of the elite from the rest of society and the creation of a new aristocratic group and a stratified society (Herschend 1998, 160-5; cf. Flannery and Marcus 2012).

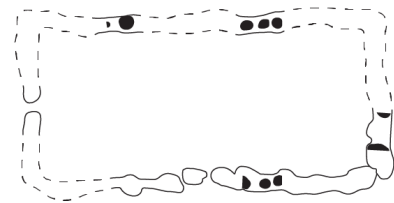
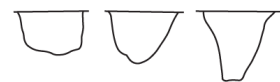
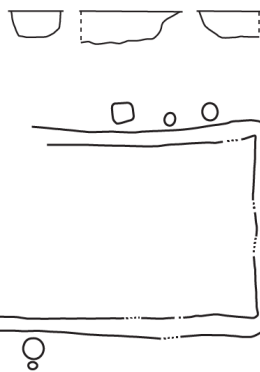
Sutton Courtenay

Long Wittenham



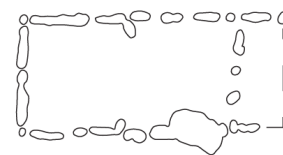
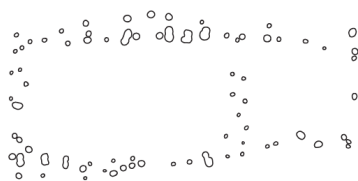
Benson

Worton



Cresswell Field

Latton Quarry



Yarnton

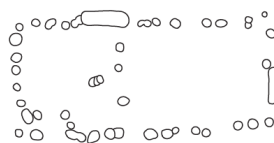
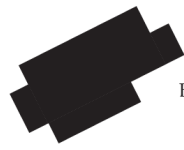


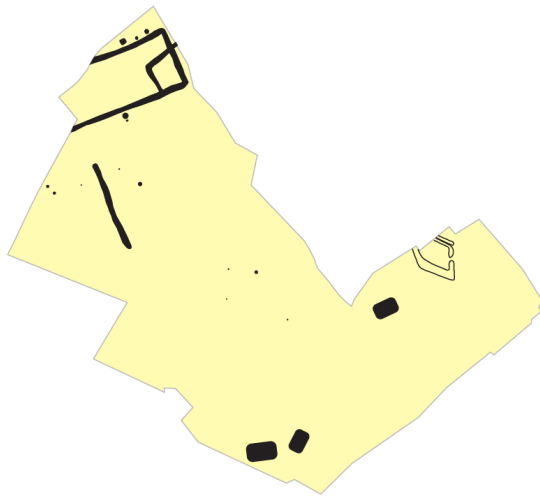
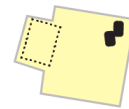
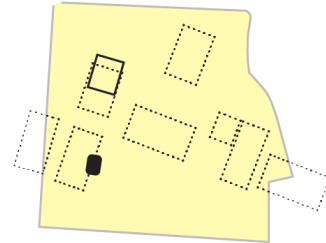
Figure 8.12: The progressive dilution of the great hall architectural style: the early 7th Century halls at Sutton Courtenay and Long Wittenham represent the height of the great hall architectural style, while the later 7th and 8th Century halls are much more irregular, and there is a fairly clear gradation of size, regularity and robustness, from the royal *tun* at Benson to the secondary centre at Worton to the leading farms at Cresswell Field and Latton Quarry to the more typical farmstead at Yarnton.

Benson

The Orchard

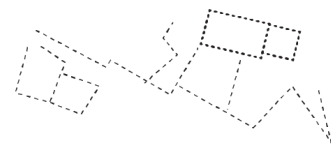
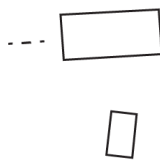


Benson Parish Church



Worton

Cresswell Field



0m 50m 100m

Figure 8.13: The progressive dilution of elite precincts: the later 7th and 8th Century sites exhibit significant differences in the number of high status buildings and the regularity of the site layout, suggesting a gradation of status, from Benson and The Orchard to Worton to Cresswell Field.

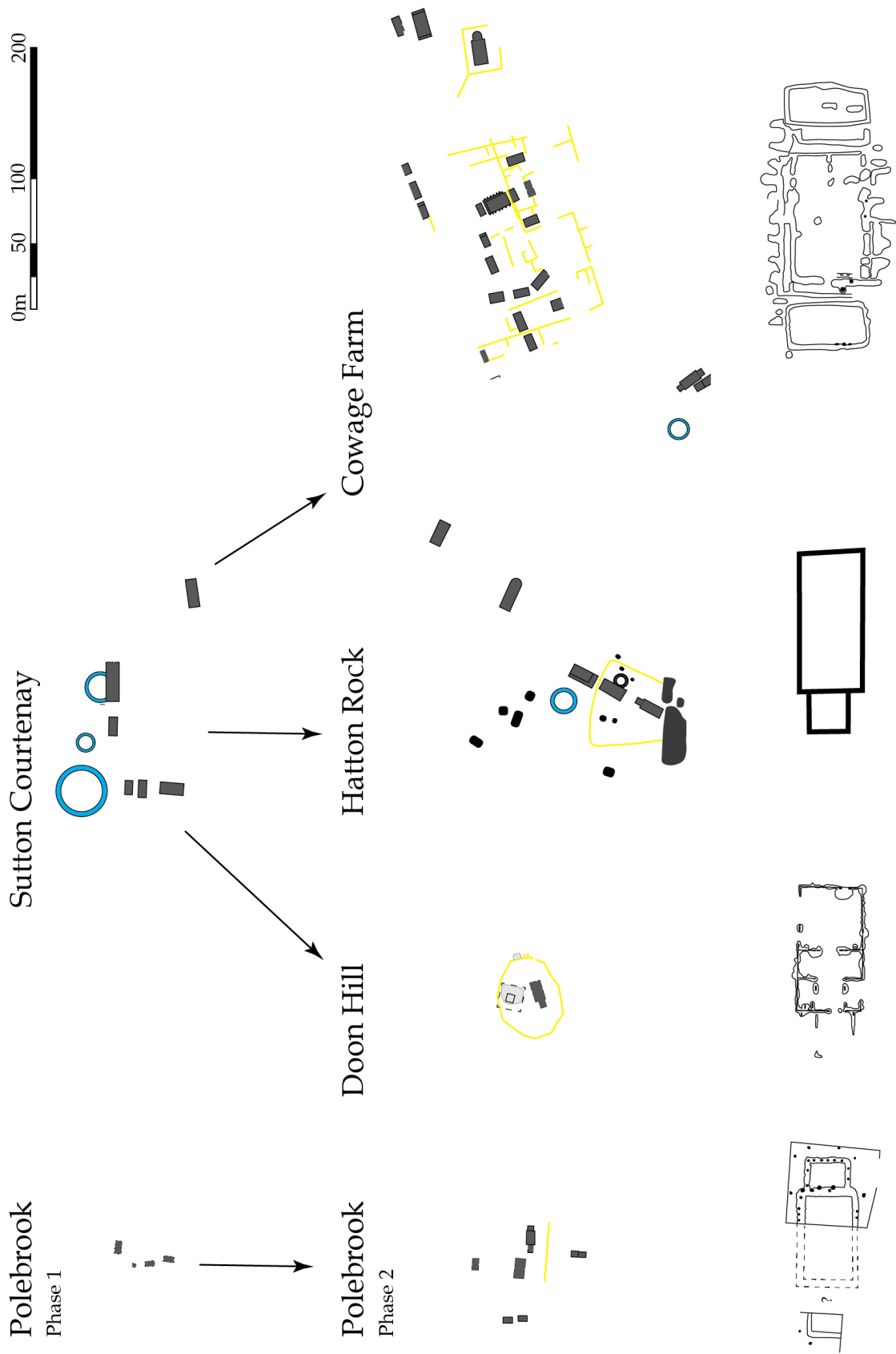


Figure 8.14: The development of great hall complexes and minor hall complexes, over the course of the later 7th Century, showing increasing differences in the size of the great halls and the size and complexity of the elite precincts, suggesting increasing differences in status and the development of a more complex settlement hierarchy. Continued into the late 7th and 8th Centuries, these developments produced the complex array of different forms, functions and statuses apparent among the excavated settlements of the Upper Thames Valley.

In Anglo-Saxon England, this turning point appears to have occurred during the mid-to-late 7th and earlier 8th Centuries, when the wider populace was increasingly excluded from the king's hall – the literal separation of the elite from the wider society – and the great hall architectural style was increasingly disseminated throughout the new settlement hierarchy, further separating the king from the wider populace. The combination of these two processes would have cemented the separation of the elite from the wider populace, legitimising the institution of kingship and creating a stratified society.

At the same time, these developments appear to have rendered the great hall architectural style obsolete. Herschend suggests that the dissemination of the hall ideology would result in its devaluation and its eventual abandonment by the elite (Herschend 1998, 164), and this appears to be what happened in Anglo-Saxon England, although this is only half of the story. The elite were already moving away from the great hall architectural style – away from civic-ceremonial centres – and towards a new elite style of private, exclusionary magnate residences, before the widespread dissemination of the great hall architectural style (see **Section 3.4.2**). The great hall architectural style was therefore only disseminated once it had lost its status among the highest echelon of supra-regional elites, but the dissemination of the great hall architectural style probably accelerated its dilution and devaluation, and it is the combination of these two processes that ultimately rendered the great hall architectural style obsolete.

Chapter 9

Great Hall Complexes: from Civic-Ceremonial Centre to Royal Residence

This chapter brings together the conclusions from **Part I** and **Part II** to address the primary aim of this thesis – to explain why great hall complexes were built, why and how they developed over time and why they were abandoned.

This chapter lays out the final conclusions of the thesis in a clear and concise chronological narrative, and in doing so, this chapter summarises, distils and glosses over a wide range of complex and often equivocal evidence. These conclusions are far from certain; instead, the narrative presented here should be considered a useful model for understanding great hall complexes and kingdom formation, which is internally consistent with the current evidence, but which may be readily overturned by the next major excavation.

9.1 Why Were Great Hall Complexes Built?

Great hall complexes appear to have been supra-regional civic-ceremonial centres, designed to appropriate and monumentalise pre-existing assembly sites for the purpose of harnessing and investing corporate power in the new exclusionary power structures of the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms.

Power in early Anglo-Saxon England was probably largely achieved and heterarchically distributed, creating a predominantly corporate power structure, in which power was shared and collectively constructed, and exclusionary power was largely constrained. Ambitious individuals in this society could achieve considerable power through aggrandizing behaviours, but this power was limited, unstable and impermanent (see **Section 3.1.1.1** and **8.1.3.1**).

The primary institution of power in this society was the public assembly, where the community was created and reinforced, where public opinion was expressed, shaped and rarefied. However, in the process of focusing and directing corporate power, the assembly also created potent opportunities for exclusionary power-building. Assemblies were therefore both a constraint and a potential facilitator of exclusionary power, and the emergent elites in this society therefore sought to appropriate this institution, attempting to harness and invest corporate power in certain groups and certain individuals (see **Section 3.1.1.1** and **3.3.2.1**).

Over the course of the mid-to-late 6th Century, power in this society became increasingly concentrated in certain areas, in certain communities, and in certain individuals, and it seems likely

that the first supra-local socio-political units in the Upper Thames Valley emerged during this period (see **Section 8.1.2.2**). However, even in the later 6th Century, the excavated evidence gives little indication of a well-defined hereditary elite group, suggesting that exclusionary power remained relatively weak even after the emergence of the first supra-local socio-political units. This suggests that the elites in this society were still, in large part, subject to public approval, and the public assembly would have therefore continued to hold great importance well into the late 6th Century (see **Section 8.1.3.1**).

The first supra-local socio-political units of the mid-to-late 6th Century were therefore probably formed, in part, around the development of supra-local assembly sites, where these new supra-local communities could be created and consolidated (see **Section 8.1.3.2**), and in the later 6th Century, when the first supra-regional hegemonies emerged, some of these supra-local assembly sites may have become supra-regional assembly sites, creating and consolidating the new supra-regional communities of the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms. These new supra-regional assembly sites would have necessitated a new scale of investment, and this is suggested to be the origin of the great hall complexes.

The majority of great hall complexes appear to have emerged out of pre-existing Anglo-Saxon sites, and in several cases, these pre-existing sites appear to have been important centres in their own right, well before the construction of the first great halls (see **Section 3.1.1**). However, unlike the Scandinavian halls, which emerged directly out of leading farms, the Anglo-Saxon halls appear to have emerged out of important pre-existing ritual foci. From the beginning, these sites appear to be designed to facilitate symbolic public action, and this, combined with the evidence for burial, prehistoric monuments, cult activity, craft-working and exchange, suggests that the earliest phases of the great hall complexes were designed around the functions of public assembly (see **Section 3.1.1** and **3.1.1.1**).

The great hall complexes therefore appear to have emerged out of important pre-existing assembly sites, which may have been the preferred supra-local assembly sites of the first supra-local socio-political units (see **Section 8.1.3.2**), but the construction of the first great halls represents a significant new level of investment – the monumentalisation of the public assembly – and this new monumental scale of investment probably reflects the emergence of the first supra-regional kingdoms and the need for supra-regional assembly sites (see **Section 8.2.2**).

The great hall complexes were therefore constructed to provide a suitably monumental setting for supra-regional assemblies, where the subjugated communities of the new supra-regional

hegemonies were invited to host the king rather than pay tribute, and in doing so, these communities were legitimising the new institution of kingship in exchange for access to the king. The acting out of these new power relationships in the king's hall would have recursively created and reinforced the new ideology of kingship, embedding the king within new regional systems of obligation and simultaneous distancing the supra-regional king from regional and sub-regional elites (see **Section 8.2.2**).

9.2 Why and How Did Great Hall Complexes Develop Over Time?

The great hall complexes appear to have evolved over time to meet the changing needs of Anglo-Saxon kings. The development and consolidation of supra-regional kingdoms was predicated on a broad transition from corporate group-oriented power to exclusionary individualizing power, and this transition is reflected in the development of the great hall complexes. More crucially, however, the great hall complexes may have actually played an important role in precipitating these changes, shaping the transition from corporate to exclusionary power.

The great hall complexes were initially created to harness corporate power, to elicit public approval and legitimise the new power structures of the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms (see **Section 3.1.1.1**), and the early development of the great hall complexes was marked by increasing scale, robustness and elaboration, as kings competed to impress lesser magnates and the wider populace as well as each other (Fig.9.1) (see **Section 3.1.2** and **3.2**). Paradoxically, however, the increasing monumentalisation of the public assembly in these early phases actually attests to the fundamental insecurity of the new supra-regional kings.

Nevertheless, the enclosure and monumentalisation of the public assembly was a significant step in the development of exclusionary power, and the creation of the hall ideal probably paralleled the creation of the ideology of kingship, as the hall itself became propaganda for the institution of kingship (see **Section 3.3.2.1**). However, this was only one step along a larger continuum. The early great halls were designed to appropriate collective power, not exclude it.

Over the course of mid-to-late 7th Century, however, the great hall complexes appear to have become increasingly exclusionary (Fig.9.2-4). The annexes, internal partitions and offset doorways of the later great halls and the ditched and palisaded boundaries of the later central precincts reflect increasing restrictions on movement and visibility, and this suggests that the wider populace was increasingly excluded from the halls of power (see **Section 3.3.2** and **3.3.3**).

At the same time, the trend towards less robust wall types, shallower foundations and less prominent external raking posts suggests less concern for public display, which in turn suggests that Anglo-Saxon kingship had become less dependent on public action and public approval (see **Section 3.3.1** and **3.3.2.1**). Together, these developments suggest a conceptual and functional shift from civic-ceremonial centres to private royal residences.

The later great hall complexes also appear to have become increasingly diverse, with different size sites and different size great halls (see **Section 3.3.4**), and the differences between great hall complexes and minor hall complexes appear to have been blurred as the minor hall complexes began to adopt increasingly more characteristics of the great hall architectural style (see **Section 3.3.5**). These developments probably attest to the emergence of more complex and more pervasive settlement hierarchies – further separating the king from the wider populace – and these developments appear to have intensified in the later 7th and 8th Centuries, with the widespread proliferation, diversification and geographical expansion of high status sites, exhibiting an ever increasing variety of forms, functions and statuses (Fig.9.4) (see **Section 8.3.2**).

The development of the settlement hierarchy was probably closely related to the development of exclusionary power and the shift from civic-ceremonial centres to private royal residences. As the wider populace was increasingly excluded from the king's hall, middlemen must have filled the gap, relaying popular concerns to the king and royal decrees to the people. In the later 7th Century, these middlemen may have been increasingly given their own halls, effectively replacing the supra-regional great hall complexes with the local magnate's hall, and this shift from the king's hall to the magnate's hall would have gone hand-in-hand with the conceptual shift from public centre to private residence (see **Section 3.3.4**).

At the same time, the development of the settlement hierarchy was accompanied by the dissemination of the great hall architectural style, which probably paralleled the dissemination of the hall ideal, which was itself propaganda for the ideology of kingship and the new power structures of the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms. As such, the dissemination of the great hall architectural style attests to the widespread acceptance and legitimation of the institution of kingship and the concomitant separation of the elite from the wider populace, consolidating the new power structures of the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms and creating a stratified society (see **Section 8.3.3** and **8.3.4**).

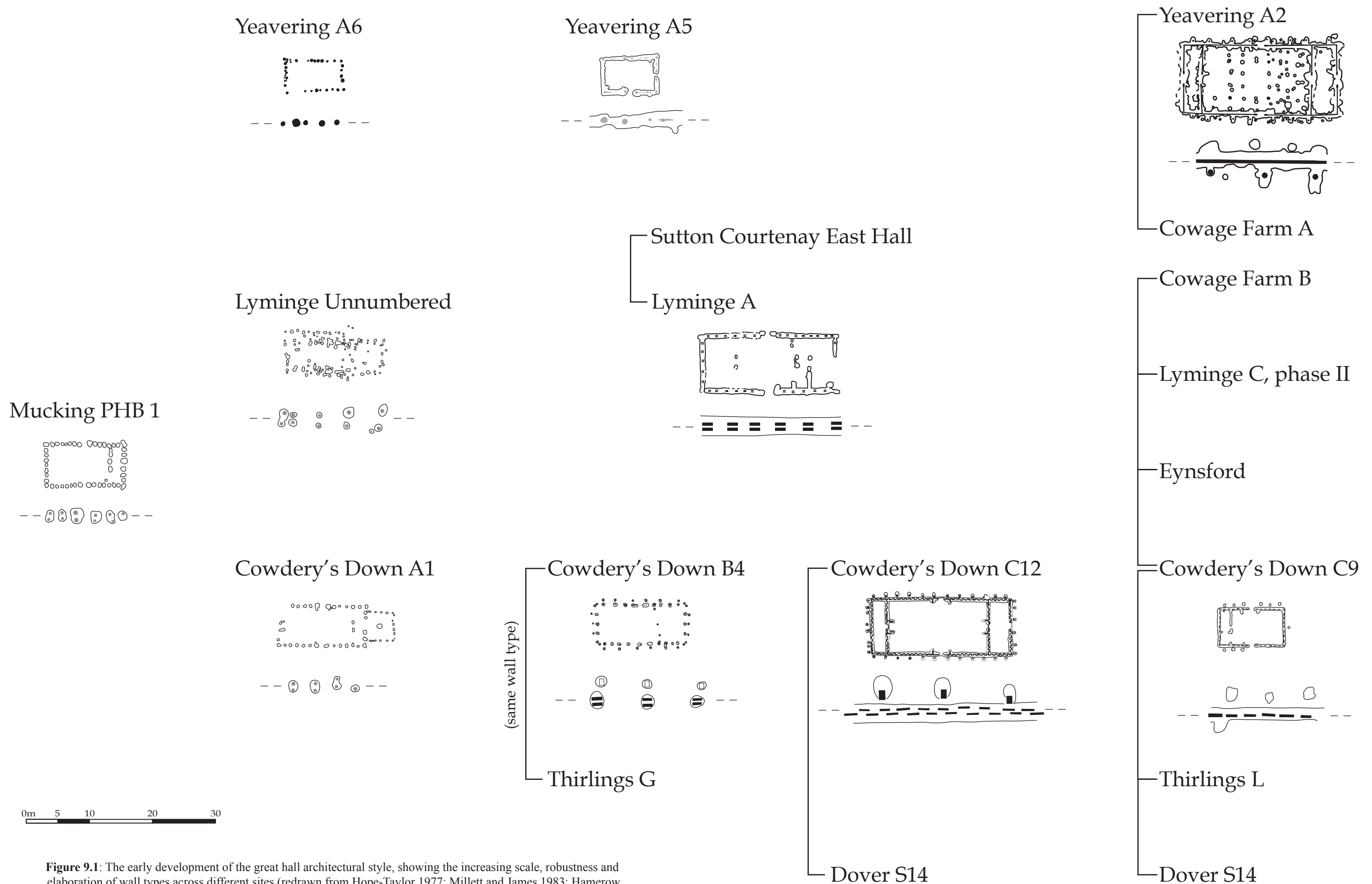
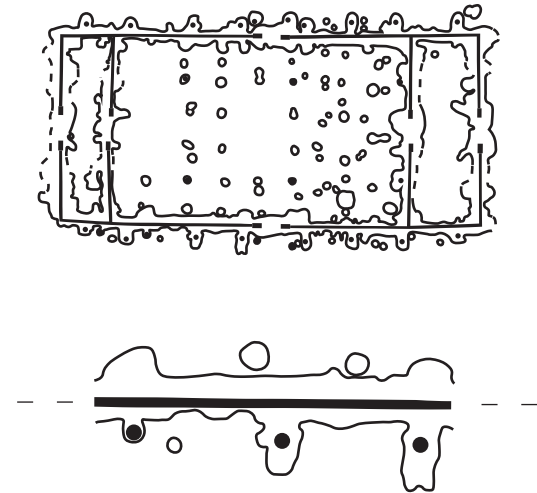
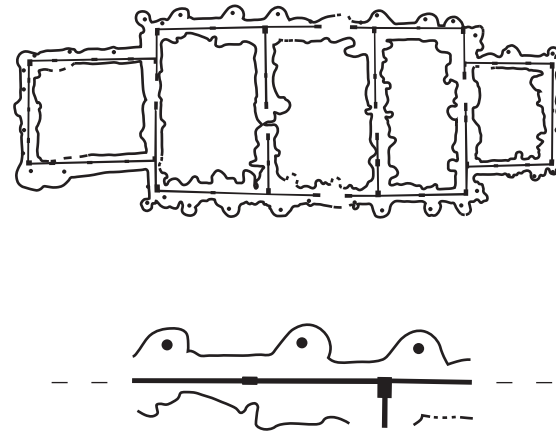


Figure 9.1: The early development of the great hall architectural style, showing the increasing scale, robustness and elaboration of wall types across different sites (redrawn from Hope-Taylor 1977; Millett and James 1983; Hamerow 1993a; Thomas and Knox 2015; Thomas 2017) (The positions of the greyed-out posts in Cowdery's Down A1, Lyminge Unnumbered and Mucking PHB 1 are conjectural, and the positions of planks in Lyminge A are based on pictures and schematic, rather than accurate).

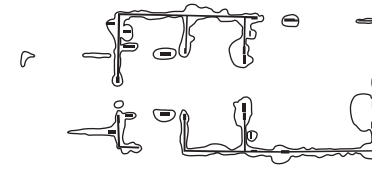
Yeavinger A2



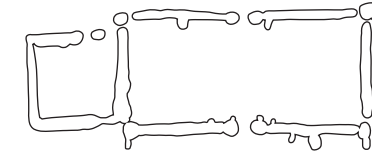
Yeavinger A3a



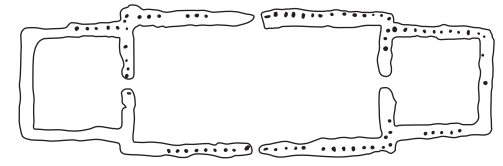
Doon Hill



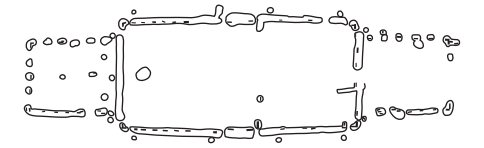
Lockerbie



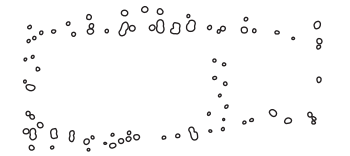
Northampton



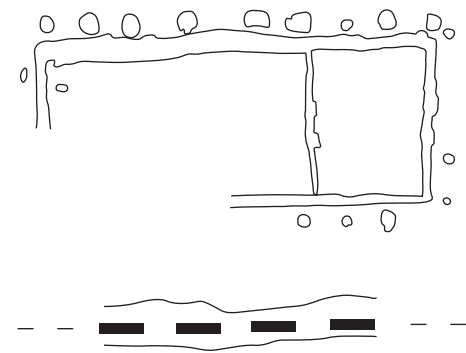
Brandon



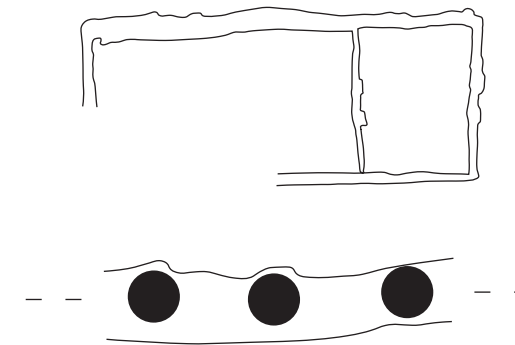
Cresswell Field



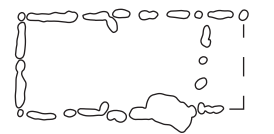
Lyminge C, phase II



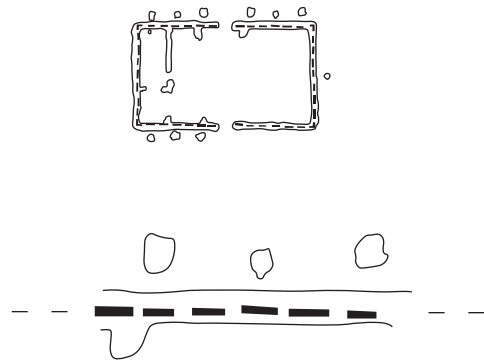
Lyminge C, phase III



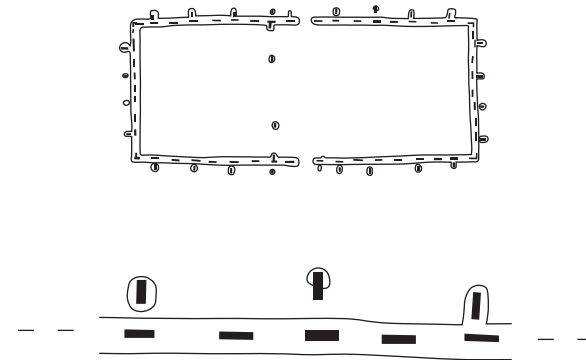
Latton Quarry



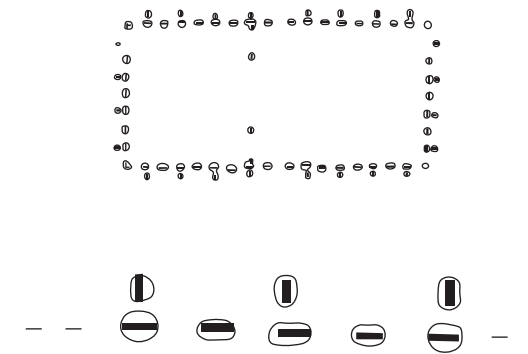
Cowdery's Down C9



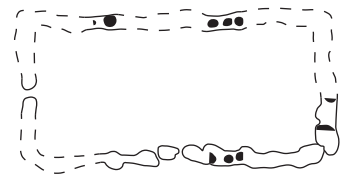
Cowdery's Down C14



Cowdery's Down B/C15



Worton



Benson

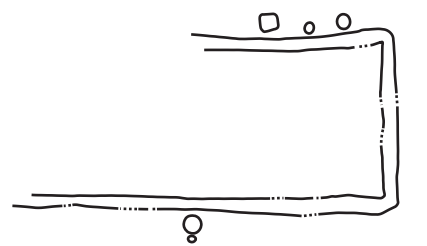


Figure 9.2: The later development of the great hall architectural style, showing the increasing use of less robust wall types and the increasing dissemination, diversification and dilution of the great hall architectural style over the course of the later 7th and 8th Centuries (redrawn from Hope-Taylor 1977; Millett and James 1983; Williams *et al.* 1985; Hey *et al.* 2004; Pine 2009; Kirby 2012; Tester *et al.* 2014; Thomas and Knox 2015; Thomas 2017; Benson archive; Doon Hill RCAHMS Archive) (The positions of planks and posts in Lyminge C are based on pictures and schematic, rather than accurate).

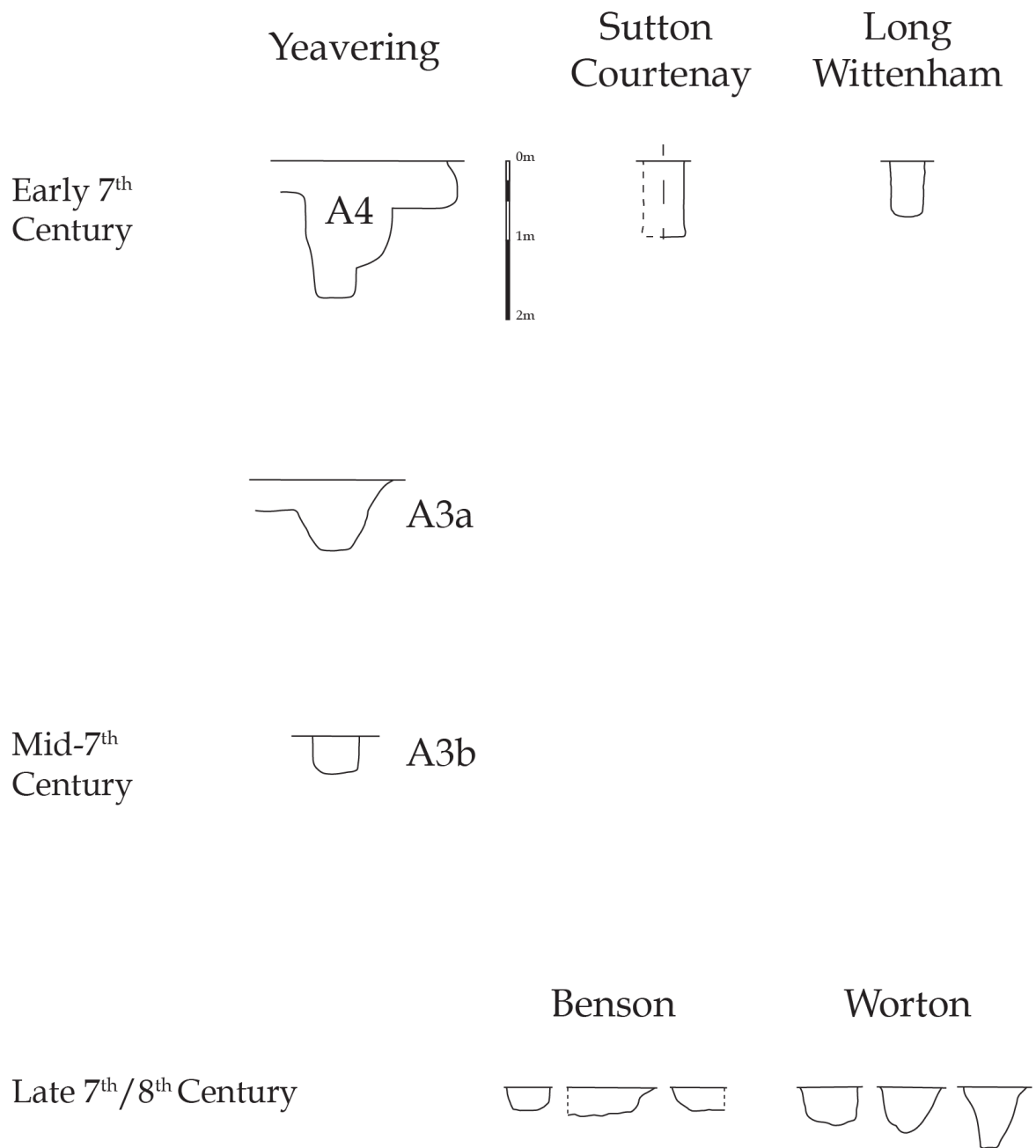


Figure 9.3: The foundations of large post-in-trench buildings often, though not universally, became increasingly shallow and increasingly irregular over the course of the later 7th and 8th Centuries.

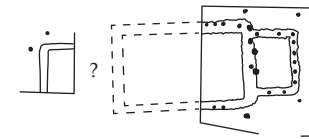
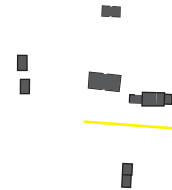
Polebrook

Phase 1

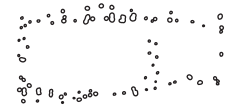
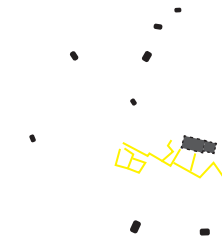


Polebrook

Phase 2



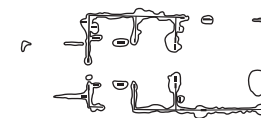
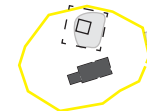
Cresswell Field



Worton



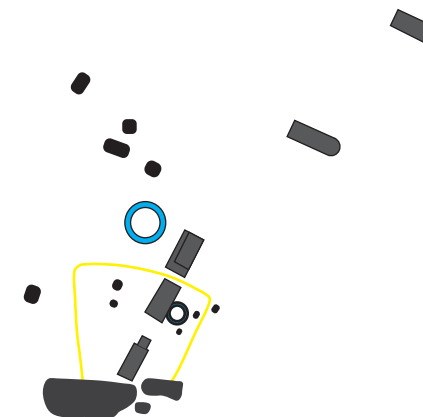
Doon Hill



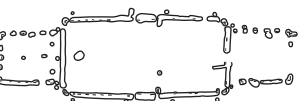
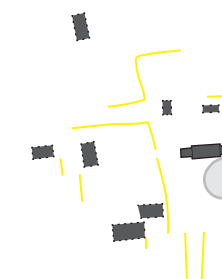
The Orchard



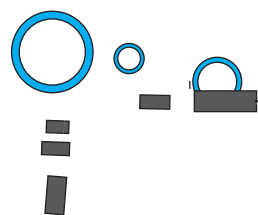
Hatton Rock



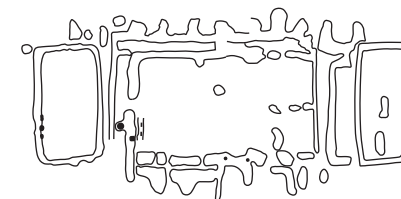
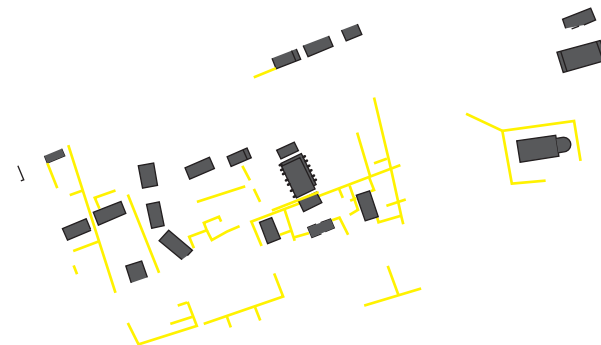
Brandon



Sutton Courtenay



Cowage Farm



Benson

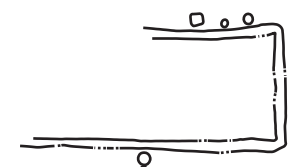


Figure 9.4: The proliferation and diversification of high status sites and the concomittant dessemination, diversification and dilution of the great hall architectural style (redrawn from Hirst and Rahtz 1973; Hinchliffe 1986; Upex 2002; 2003; 2004; 2005; Hey *et al.* 2004; Ford *et al.* 2004; Gethin 2007; Hamerow *et al.* 2007; Tester *et al.* 2014; Brennan and Hamerow 2015; Benson archive; Doon Hill RCAHMS Archive).

9.3 Why Were Great Hall Complexes Abandoned?

Frands Herschend has suggested that the dissemination of the hall ideal would result in its devaluation and its eventual abandonment by the elite (Herschend 1998, 164), and this appears to have happened in Anglo-Saxon England, although this is only half of the story.

At the highest levels of society, the devaluation of the great hall architectural style appears to have begun before its dissemination. The great halls were created to harness corporate power and legitimise the new elite of the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms, and in the early 7th Century, this potent technology of power appears to have been restricted to a handful of extremely high status sites.

However, over the course of the 7th Century, the elite became increasingly powerful and stable – the great hall architectural style had fulfilled its purpose – and as such, the elite architectural style began to change, becoming increasingly private, less robust and less grandiose as the great hall complexes shifted from civic-ceremonial centres to private residences (see **Section 3.4.2**).

As this was happening, the great hall architectural style was increasingly disseminated down the settlement hierarchy, becoming increasingly diluted and devalued with each rung of the hierarchy (see **Section 8.3.3** and **8.3.4**).

The combination of these two processes rendered the great hall architectural style obsolete. The purpose of the great hall complexes and the hall ideal – the legitimation of the new elite – had been fulfilled, and in the process, the great hall architectural style and the great hall complexes themselves had lost their practical value, becoming the poetic legends of a bygone heroic era. Large buildings continued to be constructed into the 8th Century, but these buildings reflect a new more private elite style, which was less robust, less grandiose and more varied. These were the domestic halls of magnate residences, rather than the public halls of civic-ceremonial centres.

Berinsfield	458048	195660	400-630	Intact Gendered Burials	114	4	45	Alpha	9.54	6.80	3.87	3.80	7.67	Boyle <i>et al.</i> 1995
Bishop's Court II	457500	194500	475-630	Unassociated Grave Goods	?	?	0	?						Dickinson 1976 II, site 54
Bishopstone I	479800	211000	400-600	Intact Gendered Burials	18	0	5	Beta		6.00		3.35	6.70	Dickinson 1976 II, site 18
Bishopstone II	480700	218000	475-600	Unassociated Grave Goods	4	0	0	?Gamma						Dickinson 1976 II, site 19
Bledlow, Cop Round Barrow	477400	200100	475-675	Disturbed Gendered Burials	1	6	0	?Delta						Dickinson 1976 II, site 20
Blewburton Hill	454555	186115	475-580	Intact Gendered Burials	21	1	11	Gamma	5.30	6.00	2.15	3.35	5.50	Dickinson 1976 II, site 22
Brightthampton	438302	203267	450-600	Intact Gendered Burials	67	13	37	Beta	8.86	6.82	3.59	3.81	7.40	Dickinson 1976 II, site 25
Brize Norton I	430000	208100	475-630	Possible Anglo-Saxon Burials	?	0	0	?						Dickinson 1976 II, site 26
Brize Norton II	430500	208200	475-675	Disturbed Gendered Burials	1	0	0	?Delta						Dickinson 1976 II, site 27
Broad Town	409000	177200	475-630	Unassociated Grave Goods	?	0	0	?						Dickinson 1976 II, site 28
Broughton Poggs	422100	204300	475-600	Disturbed Gendered Burials	18	0	0	?Gamma						Dickinson 1976 II, site 30
Burford	424700	212000	475-530	Intact Gendered Burials	1	0	1	Delta		12.00		6.70	13.41	Dickinson 1976 II, site 31
Castle Hill	457000	192500	475-600	Possible Anglo-Saxon Burials	?	?	0	?						Dickinson 1976 II, site 93
Cherbury Camp	437400	196500	475-630	Unassociated Grave Goods	2	0	0	?Delta						Dickinson 1976 II, site 36
Chimney	435700	200800	475-1100	Possible Anglo-Saxon Burials	?	0	0	?						Crawford 1989; Dickinson 1976 II, site 37

Chinnor I, Twinbarrow	475100	201100	475-580	Unassociated Grave Goods		2	0	0		?Delta						Dickinson 1976 II, site 38
Cirencester I	401600	202300	475-560	Disturbed Gendered Burials		2	0	0		?Delta						Dickinson 1976 II, site 40
Cirencester II	401500	202500	475-675	Disturbed Gendered Burials		3	0	0		?Delta						Dickinson 1976 II, site 41
Cirencester III	401700	202600	475-600	Unassociated Grave Goods		?	?	0		?Alpha						Dickinson 1976 II, site 42
Clifton Hampden	454400	196000	475-630	Possible Anglo-Saxon Burials		?	0	0		?						Dickinson 1976 II, site 43
Coleshill	423700	194300	530-600	Intact Gendered Burials		1	0	1		Delta	8.00		3.25		6.49	Dickinson 1976 II, site 45
Cote	435000	203000	475-630	Possible Anglo-Saxon Burials		?	?	0		?						Dickinson 1976 II, site 46
Cumnor	446500	204400	475-630	Possible Anglo-Saxon Burials		?	0	0		?						Dickinson 1976 II, site 48
Dinton	476500	211500	475-580	Disturbed Gendered Burials		22	0	0		?Gamma						Dickinson 1976 II, site 49
Dorchester Rotten Row	457829	194124	350-1100	Possible Anglo-Saxon Burials		?	0	0		?						Chambers 1983
East Shefford	438940	174900	400-600	Intact Gendered Burials		78	1	23		Beta	9.13	4.13	3.71	2.30	6.01	Dickinson 1976 II, site 60
Ewelme	464600	192700	475-675	Possible Anglo-Saxon Burials		20	0	0		?Gamma						Dickinson 1976 II, site 62
Eynsham Wytham View	443500	209800	475-600	Intact Gendered Burials		7	0	1		Delta		8.00		4.47	8.94	Dickinson 1976 II, site 63
Fairford	414500	201600	475-600	Intact Gendered Burials		180	5	18		Alpha	7.64	7.71	3.10	4.31	7.41	Dickinson 1976 II, site 65

Filkins	423700	204300	475-600	Intact Gendered Burials	24	0	10	Gamma	5.80	3.60	2.35	2.01	4.36	Dickinson 1976 II, site 66
Foxcote Manor	401200	218000	475-630	Disturbed Ungendered Burials	3	0	0	?Delta						Dickinson 1976 II, site 68
Frilford I	443730	196440	400-600	Intact Gendered Burials	28	13	20	Beta	5.46	4.57	2.22	2.55	4.77	Dickinson 1976 II, site 69
Frilford II	444600	198700	400-600	Possible Anglo-Saxon Burials	1	0	0	?Delta						Dickinson 1976 II, site 70
Hampnett	410000	215600	475-600	Intact Gendered Burials	10	5	7	Delta	11.00	3.00	4.46	1.68	6.14	Dickinson 1976 II, site 74
Hartwell	479100	212500	475-630	Unassociated Grave Goods	?	0	0	?						Dickinson 1976 II, site 75
Harwell	449065	188548	475-675	Intact Gendered Burials	7	0	3	Gamma	6.50	5.00	2.64	2.79	5.43	Dickinson 1976 II, site 76
Headington	454250	207150	500-560	Intact Gendered Burials	2	0	1	Delta	14.00		5.68		11.36	Boston 2004
Hinton Down	425300	180000	475-675	Disturbed Gendered Burials	1	0	0	?Delta						Dickinson 1976 II, site 78
Horcott Quarry	414320	198750	400-675	Intact Unfurnished Burials	19	0	0	?Gamma						Hayden <i>et al.</i> 2017
Kemble I	398900	197800	475-600	Disturbed Gendered Burials	26	0	0	?Gamma						Dickinson 1976 II, site 82
Kemble II	397000	196700	475-600	Unassociated Grave Goods	?	0	0	?Delta						Dickinson 1976 II, site 83
Kempsford	415500	197400	475-600	Disturbed Ungendered Burials	1	0	0	?						Dickinson 1976 II, site 84
Kingsey	474100	207200	475-675	Unassociated Grave Goods	5	0	0	?Gamma						Dickinson 1976 II, site 86

Kingston Bagpuize	439000	201000	475-675	Possible Anglo-Saxon Burials	?	?	0	?					Pastscapae 918220
Kirtlington I	449970	220370	475-675	Possible Anglo-Saxon Burials	?	0	0	?Delta					Dickinson 1976 II, site 87
Kirtlington II	449600	220600	475-600	Disturbed Gendered Burials	1	0	0	?Delta					Dickinson 1976 II, site 88
Lechlade	421150	200250	475-675	Intact Gendered Burials	149	29	70	Alpha	16.41	5.95	6.66	3.32	Boyle <i>et al.</i> 1998; 2011
Lew	432400	206400	475-675	Possible Anglo-Saxon Burials	?	?	0	?					Dickinson 1976 II, site 90
Little Kimble	482000	206000	475-600	Possible Anglo-Saxon Burials	1	0	0	?					Dickinson 1976 II, site 92
Lockinge II	442900	187000	475-560	Disturbed Gendered Burials	1	0	0	?Delta					Dickinson 1976 II, site 95
Long Hanborough	443100	211100	475-675	Disturbed Ungendered Burials	0	2	0	?Delta					Dickinson 1976 II, site 97
Long Wittenham I	454250	193508	425-630	Intact Gendered Burials	196	51	93	Alpha	8.69	5.81	3.52	3.25	Dickinson 1976 II, site 98
Lower Heyford	449360	224370	475-675	Disturbed Gendered Burials	3	0	0	?Gamma					Dickinson 1976 II, site 101
Lyneham Barrow	429700	221000	530-675	Intact Gendered Burials	1	0	1	Delta		3.00		1.68	Dickinson 1976 II, site 105
Lyneham I, Lyneham Camp	429900	221400	475-580	Unassociated Grave Goods	3	0	0	?Delta					Dickinson 1976 II, site 104
Milton I	449100	192100	475-675	Disturbed Gendered Burials	11	0	0	?Beta					Dickinson 1976 II, site 106
Milton II	448870	192540	475-675	Disturbed Gendered Burials	1	0	0	?Delta					Dickinson 1976 II, site 107

Minster Lovell	431700	211000	400-630	Intact Gendered Burials	4	0	2	Delta	14.00	8.00	5.68	4.47	10.15	Dickinson 1976 II, site 108
New Wintles Farm	443200	210800	475-675	Intact Gendered Burials	3	0	1	Delta	4.00		1.62		3.25	Dickinson 1976 II, site 64
Oddington, Glos	421600	225300	475-675	Disturbed Gendered Burials	3	0	0	?Gamma						Dickinson 1976 II, site 110
Oddington, Oxon	455300	215200	475-630	Possible Anglo-Saxon Burials	?	?	0	?Gamma						Dickinson 1976 II, site 111
Osney	450000	206000	400-500	Disturbed Cremation	?	1	0	?Delta						Dickinson 1976 II, site 112
Oxford I, Radcliffe Infirmary	450900	207000	475-600	Disturbed Gendered Burials	3	0	0	?Gamma						Dickinson 1976 II, site 114
Oxford II	451200	207800	475-530	Intact Gendered Burials	2	0	1	Delta		4.00		2.23	4.47	Dickinson 1976 II, site 115
Oxford III	450800	209100	475-530	Intact Gendered Burials	1	0	1	Delta	7.00		2.84		5.68	Dickinson 1976 II, site 116
Oxford IV	451200	209200	475-600	Intact Gendered Burials	2	0	1	Delta		5.00		2.79	5.59	Dickinson 1976 II, site 117
Oxford, unprovenanced	451336	206186	475-675	Possible Anglo-Saxon Burials	?	0	0	?						Dickinson 1976 II, unnumbered p192
Purley	465400	176500	475-600	Disturbed Gendered Burials	2	0	0	?Delta						Dickinson 1976 II, site 119
Purton	410800	187400	475-675	Disturbed Gendered Burials	1	0	0	?Delta						Dickinson 1976 II, site 120
Purwell Farm	444450	211752	475-630	Intact Gendered Burials	21	0	5	Gamma	24.50	9.00	9.94	5.03	14.97	Dickinson 1976 II, site 32
Reading I	473600	173800	475-600	Intact Gendered Burials	5	10	3	Delta	7.00	4.00	2.84	2.23	5.07	Dickinson 1976 II, site 121

Reading III	469800	173700	475-630	Disturbed Gendered Burials	1	0	0	?Delta					Dickinson 1976 II, site 123	
Ready Token	410500	204500	500-600	Disturbed Gendered Burials	2	0	0	?Delta					Dickinson 1976 II, site 124	
Rollright	429595	230883	475-675	Disturbed Gendered Burials	14	2	0	?Gamma					Meaney 1964, 260	
Scutchamer Knob	445650	185030	475-675	Possible Anglo-Saxon Burials	?	0	0	?					Meaney 1964, 45; Sanmark and Semple 2008, 252-5	
Segsbury Camp	438540	184320	475-600	Unassociated Grave Goods	?	?	0	?Delta					Dickinson 1976 II, site 125	
Shakenoak	437400	213800	425-600	Intact Unfurnished Burials	9	0	0	?Delta					Brodrick <i>et al.</i> 2005; John Blair pers. comm. for dating	
Shipton-on-Cherwell	448100	217500	475-560	Unassociated Grave Goods	2	0	0	?Delta					Dickinson 1976 II, site 127	
Smith's Pit II	445267	210235	475-630	Intact Gendered Burials	10	0	2	Delta	6.00	2.00	2.43	1.12	3.55	Dickinson 1976 II, site 33
Souldern	451900	231400	475-675	Disturbed Ungendered Burials	6	3	0	?Gamma						Dickinson 1976 II, site 129
Sparsholt	434800	188300	475-675	Disturbed Gendered Burials	1	0	0	?Delta						Dickinson 1976 II, site 130
Speisbury	435100	221800	475-675	Disturbed Gendered Burials	1	0	0	?Delta						Dickinson 1976 II, site 131
Standlake Down II	439200	204500	475-675	Disturbed Gendered Burials	1	0	0	?Delta						Dickinson 1976 II, site 133
Stone	477900	212200	475-630	Disturbed Gendered Burials	9	?	0	?Gamma						Dickinson 1976 II, site 137
Stratton	401200	203800	475-600	Disturbed Gendered Burials	2	0	0	?Delta						Dickinson 1976 II, site 138

Streatley	459360	181140	500-600	Intact Gendered Burials	1	0	1	Delta		5.00		2.79	5.59	Dickinson 1976 II, site 139
Sutton Courtenay Great Hall Complex	448733	193671	475-675	Disturbed Gendered Burials	4	0	0	?Gamma						Hammerow <i>et al.</i> 2007
Sutton Courtenay I, Amey's Pit	451150	194430	500-600	Intact Gendered Burials	3	0	1	Delta	4.00		1.62		3.25	Dickinson 1976 II, site 140
Sutton Courtenay II	450300	193520	475-560	Unassociated Grave Goods	1	0	0	?Delta						Dickinson 1976 II, site 141
Sutton Courtenay III	449990	192660	475-675	Possible Anglo-Saxon Burials	1	0	0	?Delta						Dickinson 1976 II, site 142
Swindon I	415901	183206	475-630	Disturbed Gendered Burials	1	0	0	?Delta						Dickinson 1976 II, site 145; site 145 is actually two sites, which I have named Swindon I and II
Theale	464500	171000	450-600	Possible Anglo-Saxon Burials	?	?	0	?						Dickinson 1976 II, site 147
Tubney Wood	444800	199800	400-675	Intact Unfurnished Burials	6	0	0	?Delta						Simmonds <i>et al.</i> 2011
Uffington I	430000	186500	530-675	Disturbed Gendered Burials	1	?	0	?Delta						Dickinson 1976 II, site 148
Uffington II	430000	188500	475-630	Disturbed Gendered Burials	1	0	0	?Delta						Dickinson 1976 II, site 149
Upper Heyford I	452200	226700	475-630	Possible Anglo-Saxon Burials	?	0	0	?						Dickinson 1976 II, site 150
Upper Swell II	417700	226400	500-600	Intact Gendered Burials	3	0	1	Delta	4.00		1.62		3.25	Dickinson 1976 II, site 153
Upton	451400	186600	475-630	Disturbed Gendered Burials	2	0	0	?Delta						Dickinson 1976 II, site 154

Wallingford	460432	189090	475-600	Intact Gendered Burials	40	9	6	Beta	18.20	5.00	7.38	2.79	10.18	Dickinson 1976 II, site 155; Hamerow and Westlake 2013
Wanborough II	422300	182200	475-630	Intact Gendered Burials	8	0	1	Delta		8.00		4.47	8.94	Dickinson 1976 II, site 157
Watchfield	424912	190718	475-630	Intact Gendered Burials	52	2	21	Beta	10.17	10.25	4.13	5.73	9.85	Scull 1992
West Hendred	444750	187982	400-600	Intact Gendered Burials	10	0	1	Gamma		10.00		5.59	11.17	Hamerow 1993b
Wheatley	460200	204600	475-630	Intact Gendered Burials	70	0	11	Beta	10.67	4.00	4.33	2.23	6.56	Dickinson 1976 II, site 159
Whitchurch	462200	178200	475-600	Possible Anglo-Saxon Burials	?	0	0	?						Dickinson 1976 II, site 160
Winchendon I	473520	212910	475-600	Disturbed Ungendered Burials	1	1	0	?Delta						Dickinson 1976 II, site 161
Winchendon II	476000	215000	475-675	Disturbed Gendered Burials	2	0	0	?Gamma						Dickinson 1976 II, site 162
Wytham	447390	209340	475-675	Disturbed Ungendered Burials	3	0	0	?Delta						Dickinson 1976 II, site 166
Yarnton	447400	211400	475-630	Intact Gendered Burials	2	0	1	Delta		10.00		5.59	11.17	Dickinson 1976 II, site 167

1.2 The Cemeteries of the Mid-Seventh Century

Site	Easting	Northing	Date	Recovery	Minimum Inhumations	Minimum Cremations	Intact Adult Gendered Inhumations	Size Categories	Average Female Weighted Artefact Count	Average Male Weighted Artefact Count	Normalized Female Artefact Count	Normalized Male Artefact Count	Combined Male and Female Normalized Artefact Counts	Main References
Adwell Cop	470800	199000	600-675	Intact Ungendered Burials	3	0	0	Isolated Burials						Dickinson 1976 II, site 6
Amey's Pit	456800	195800	550-675	Intact Gendered Burials	2	0	1	Isolated Burials		3.00		2.88	5.76	Dickinson 1976 II, site 42
Ashdown	428100	182900	475-675	Unassociated Grave Goods	?	0	0	?						Dickinson 1976 II, site 8
Ashendon	470000	214000	550-630	Disturbed Gendered Burials	1	0	0	?Isolated Burials						Dickinson 1976 II, site 9
Asthall	428990	210100	610-650	Disturbed Gendered Burials	1	0	0	Isolated Burials						Dickinson and Speake 1992; Dickinson 1976 II, site 10; Leeds 1923a
Aston Tirrild	455000	186000	450-675	Unassociated Grave Goods	1	0	0	?						Dickinson 1976 II, site 12
Aylesbury I	482900	213300	630-675	Disturbed Gendered Burials	?	0	0	?Delta						Dickinson 1976 II, site 13
Bampton	432070	203336	475-675	Disturbed Ungendered Burials	2	0	0	?Isolated Burials						Blair 2013b
Bishop's Court	457300	194500	600-675	Intact Gendered Burials	10	0	1	Delta		4.00		3.84	7.68	Dickinson 1976 II, site 53
Bledlow, Cop Round Barrow	477400	200100	475-675	Intact Cremations	0	1	0	?Isolated Burials						Dickinson 1976 II, site 20
Bourton-on-the-Water	416600	221700	630-675	Intact Gendered Burials	8	0	1	Delta	3.00		2.69		5.39	Dickinson 1976 II, site 23

Brize Norton II	430500	208200	475-675	Disturbed Gendered Burials	1	0	0	?Isolated Burials						Dickinson 1976 II, site 27
Broadwell	419200	226600	600-675	Intact Gendered Burials	2	0	0	1Isolated Burials		3.00		2.88	5.76	Dickinson 1976 II, site 29
Cassington III, Tuckwell's Pit	445500	210700	600-675	Disturbed Gendered Burials	10	0	0	?Delta						Dickinson 1976 II, site 34
Chadlington	433000	221100	600-675	Intact Gendered Burials	22	0	0	3Gamma	3.50	4.00	3.14	3.84	6.98	Dickinson 1976 II, site 35
Chimney	435700	200800	475-1100	Possible Anglo-Saxon Burials	?	0	0	?						Crawford 1989; Dickinson 1976 II, site 37
Cirencester II	401500	202500	475-675	Unassociated Grave Goods	1	0	0	?Isolated Burials						Dickinson 1976 II, site 41
Cokethorpe	436500	207100	630-675	Intact Gendered Burials	3	0	0	2Isolated Burials	18.00		16.16		32.32	Dickinson 1976 II, site 44
Compton	451200	181550	630-675	Intact Gendered Burials	1	0	0	1Isolated Burials		10.00		9.60	19.21	Wintle 2004; Dickinson 1976 II, site 58
Cote	435000	203000	475-630	Possible Anglo-Saxon Burials	?	?	?	?						Dickinson 1976 II, site 46
Cuddesdon	460000	203100	600-675	Disturbed Gendered Burials	4	0	0	0Isolated Burials						Dickinson 1974; Dickinson 1976 II, site 47
Didcot Power Station	450375	191970	600-675	Intact Gendered Burials	16	0	0	5Gamma	8.00	5.00	7.18	4.80	11.98	Boyle <i>et al.</i> 1995
Dorchester Rotten Row	457829	194124	350-1100	Possible Anglo-Saxon Burials	?	0	0	?						Chambers 1983
Dorchester unprovenanced	457723	194445	600-675	Possible Anglo-Saxon Burials	?	0	0	?						Dickinson 1974
Ducklington	436000	207600	630-675	Intact Gendered Burials	2	0	0	0Isolated Burials						Dickinson 1976 II, site 56

Ellesborough	484500	207000	600-675	Intact Gendered Burials	3	0	1	Isolated Burials	4.00		3.59		7.18	Dickinson 1976 II, site 61
Ewelme	464600	192700	475-675	Possible Anglo-Saxon Burials	?	0	0	?						Dickinson 1976 II, site 62
Frilford III	443900	196200	600-675	Intact Gendered Burials	1	0	1	Isolated Burials	4.00			3.84	7.68	Dickinson 1976 II, site 71
Great Tew	440200	227500	600-675	Intact Ungendered Burials	1	0	0	Isolated Burials						Dickinson 1976 II, site 73
Harwell	449065	188548	475-675	Intact Gendered Burials	1	0	1	Isolated Burials	5.00			4.80	9.60	Dickinson 1976 II, site 76
Hinton Down	425300	180000	475-675	Disturbed Gendered Burials	?	0	0	?						Dickinson 1976 II, site 78
Hogshaw Hill	473100	222500	600-675	Intact Gendered Burials	4	0	1	Delta	4.00			3.84	7.68	Dickinson 1976 II, site 79
Horcott Quarry	414320	198750	400-675	Intact Unfurnished Burials	3	0	0	?Isolated Burials						Hayden <i>et al.</i> 2017
Kemble IB	398870	197590	630-675	Intact Gendered Burials	2	0	2	Delta	3.50		3.14		6.29	Wilkinson 1988
Kemble III	398770	197200	600-675	Intact Gendered Burials	7	0	0	Delta						King <i>et al.</i> 1996
Kidlington	449700	214800	630-675	Intact Gendered Burials	1	0	1	Isolated Burials	6.00			5.76	11.52	Dickinson 1976 II, site 85
Kingsey	474100	207200	475-675	Unassociated Grave Goods	1	0	0	?Isolated Burials						Dickinson 1976 II, site 86
Kingston Bagpuize	439000	201000	475-675	Possible Anglo-Saxon Burials	?	?	0	?						Pastscapc 918220
Kirtlington I	449970	220370	475-675	Possible Anglo-Saxon Burials	?	0	0	?						Dickinson 1976 II, site 87

Lechlade	421150	200250	475-675	Intact Gendered Burials	72	0	26	Alpha	8.88	8.13	7.97	7.80	15.77	Boyle <i>et al.</i> , 1998; 2011
Lew	432400	206400	475-675	Possible Anglo-Saxon Burials	?	?	0	?						Dickinson 1976 II, site 90
Lewknor	471600	197100	630-675	Intact Gendered Burials	12	0	1	Delta	2.00		1.80		3.59	Dickinson 1976 II, site 91
Lockinge I, Arn Hill	442200	187100	600-1100	Disturbed Gendered Burials	?	0	0	?Gamma						Dickinson 1976 II, site 94
Long Hanborough	443100	211100	475-675	Intact Unfurnished Burials	2	2	0	?						Dickinson 1976 II, site 97
Long Wittenham II	453900	193600	630-675	Intact Gendered Burials	11	0	2	Delta	8.50		7.63		15.26	Dickinson 1976 II, site 99
Longcot	427000	190000	630-675	Intact Gendered Burials	1	0	1	Isolated Burials	15.00		13.47		26.94	Dickinson 1976 II, site 96
Lowbury Hill	454100	182300	630-675	Intact Gendered Burials	1	0	1	Isolated Burials		26.00		24.97	49.94	Dickinson 1976 II, site 100
Lower Heyford	449360	224370	475-675	Disturbed Gendered Burials	1	0	0	?Isolated Burials						Dickinson 1976 II, site 101
Lynham Barrow	429700	221000	530-675	Intact Gendered Burials	2	0	1	Isolated Burials		5.00		4.80	9.60	Dickinson 1976 II, site 105
Milton II	448870	192540	475-675	Disturbed Gendered Burials	12	0	0	?Alpha						Dickinson 1976 II, site 107
New Wintles Farm	443200	210800	475-675	Intact Ungendered Burials	1	0	0	Isolated Burials						Dickinson 1976 II, site 64
North Leigh	438600	214500	600-675	Intact Gendered Burials	8	0	0	Delta						Dickinson 1976 II, site 109
Oddington, Glos	421600	225300	475-675	Disturbed Gendered Burials	2	0	0	?Isolated Burials						Dickinson 1976 II, site 110

Oving	478000	221000	600-675	Unassociated Grave Goods	?	0	0	?						Dickinson 1976 II, site 113
Oxford, unprovenanced	451336	206186	475-675	Possible Anglo-Saxon Burials	?	0	0	?						Dickinson 1976 II, unnumbered p192
Purton	410800	187400	475-675	Intact Gendered Burials	13	0	2	Delta		4.00		3.84	7.68	Dickinson 1976 II, site 120
Rollright	429595	230883	475-675	Intact Gendered Burials	1	0	1	Isolated Burials	12.00		10.77		21.55	Hamerow Forthcoming; Meaney 1964, 260
Scutthamer Knob	445650	185030	475-675	Possible Anglo-Saxon Burials	?	?	0	?						Meaney 1964, 45; Sanmark and Semple 2008, 252-5
Souldern	451900	231400	475-675	Disturbed Ungendered Burials	?	?	0	?						Dickinson 1976 II, site 129
Sparsholt	434800	188300	475-675	Disturbed Gendered Burials	?	0	0	?						Dickinson 1976 II, site 130
Spelsbury	435100	221800	475-675	Unassociated Grave Goods	1	0	0	?Isolated Burials						Dickinson 1976 II, site 131
Standlake Down I	438750	204450	580-675	Intact Gendered Burials	54	0	10	Alpha	6.00	5.00	5.39	4.80	10.19	Brown 1973; Dickinson 1973; Dickinson 1976 II, site 132
Standlake Down II	439200	204500	475-675	Disturbed Gendered Burials	?	0	0	?						Dickinson 1976 II, site 133
Stanton Harcourt	441005	205115	600-675	Intact Gendered Burials	23	0	0	Delta						Dickinson 1976 II, site 135
Sutton Courtenay Great Hall Complex	448733	193671	475-675	Disturbed Gendered Burials	3	0	0	?Delta						Hamerow <i>et al.</i> 2007
Sutton Courtenay III	449990	192660	475-675	Possible Anglo-Saxon Burials	?	0	0	?						Dickinson 1976 II, site 142

Swindon II	415657	183758	600-1100	Disturbed Unfurnished Burials	?	0	0	?						Dickinson 1976 II, site 145; site 145 is actually two sites, which I have named Swindon I and II	
Tubney Wood	444800	199800	400-675	Intact Unfurnished Burials	1	0	0	?Isolated Burials						Simmonds <i>et al.</i> , 2011	
Uffington I	430000	186500	530-675	Disturbed Gendered Burials	?	?		0	?					Dickinson 1976 II, site 148	
Upper Swell I	417200	226500	600-675	Intact Gendered Burials	3	0		2	Isolated Burials		3.00		2.88	5.76	Dickinson 1976 II, site 152
Wanborough I	421500	183000	560-675	Intact Gendered Burials	1	0		1	Isolated Burials		3.00		2.88	5.76	Dickinson 1976 II, site 156
Welford	440000	172000	600-675	Unassociated Grave Goods	?	0		0	?Isolated Burials						Dickinson 1976 II, site 158
West Hanney	439042	192510	630-675	Intact Gendered Burials	1	0		1	Isolated Burials	11.00		9.88		19.75	Hamerow <i>et al.</i> , 2015
Winchendon II	476000	215000	475-675	Disturbed Gendered Burials	2	0		0	?Delta						Dickinson 1976 II, site 162
Woolstone RB Villa	428900	187300	600-675	Disturbed Ungendered Burials	8	0		0	?Delta						Dickinson 1976 II, site 164
Wootton	447900	200500	580-675	Intact Gendered Burials	1	0		1	Isolated Burials		2.00		1.92	3.84	Dickinson 1976 II, site 165
Wytham	447390	209340	475-675	Disturbed Ungendered Burials	1	0		0	?Isolated Burials						Dickinson 1976 II, site 166
Yelford	436910	204980	630-675	Intact Gendered Burials	26	0		1	Gamma	8.00		7.18		14.37	Dickinson 1976 II, site 168

Appendix 2: The Burials Methodology

2.1 Phasing

2.1.1 The Allocation of Burials to Phases

The phasing used in this study is largely taken from Hines and Bayliss (2013), but the dating largely follows Dickinson (1976). This introduces some small discrepancies. For example, Hines and Bayliss' Phase B is dated AD530-560, while Dickinson's equivalent phase is dated AD525-550. In this study, these phases and date ranges are considered roughly equivalent. Dickinson's AD550-575 is considered equivalent to Hines and Bayliss' Phase C (AD560-580), and so on.

Keeping in mind the dislocation of dating and phasing, burials that fall across several phases, as most do, are assigned to all of those phases. Thus a burial dated AD525-575 is allocated to Phase B (AD530-560) and Phase C (AD560-580), but not Phase A2 (AD500-530).

The allocation of burials to multiple phases produces a relative chronological distribution, in which the same burial may be analysed with numerous different phases. This relative chronological distribution is necessary due to the wide date ranges for many of the burials in this study. More precise methods of phasing would be misleading. For example, Härke's (1989, 50-1) method of taking the middle point of a burial's date range would have produced an unrepresentative cluster of poorly dated burials in the middle of the 6th Century, simply because this is the midpoint of their wide date range.

2.1.2 Exclusive Period AD580-630 (Phases D-E)

The exclusive period includes all burials phased:

B-C-D, B-C-D-E, C, C-D, C-D-E, D, D-E

It does *not* include burials phased:

A2-B-C-D, A1-A2-B-C-D, A1-A2-B-C-D-E

Exceptions include:

Abingdon Burial 89 (E2 spear)

Lechlade Burial 35 (H2 spear, Böhner Type C knife)

Long Wittenham I Burial 175 (E2 spear)

2.1.3 Episodes B-C, C-D, and D-E

Episode B-C

Includes burials phased A2-B-C-D, B-C, C, B-C-D and B-C-D-E, as well as the exceptions, Abingdon Burial 89, Lechlade Burial 35 and Long Wittenham I Burial 175

Episode C-D

Includes burials phased B-C, B-C-D, B-C-D-E, C, C-D and C-D-E, as well as Abingdon Burial 89, Lechlade Burial 35 and Long Wittenham I Burial 175

Episode D-E

Includes only those female burials with late Kentish-type disc brooches and saucer brooches with a diameter in excess of 60mm (Dickinson 1976 I; *contra* Hines and Bayliss 2013)

Includes only those male burials with C2, C3, E3 or E4 spears, or Group 6 shields, or Group 3 shields with C2, C3, C4, E3, E4, F1, F2, D1, D2 or A2 spears

Exceptions include:

Lechlade Burial 154 (H2 spear, large knife) and 104 (E2 spear, small buckle)

Lechlade appears to be unusually conservative with weapon types

Long Wittenham I Burial 180a (Group 2 shield, E3 spear)

Yarnton Burial 1 (Group 1 shield, C2 spear, seax)

2.2 The Re-Dating of Male Artefacts

It was deemed necessary and feasible to re-date all the male gendered burials in the study area to create a more consistent dating scheme. This was necessary because many of the male burials in Dickinson's (1976) thesis were not explicitly dated, and Dickinson's dating of spears differs from Swanton's (1974) dating, which is used in more recent excavations. In light of the recent re-dating in Hines and Bayliss (2013), it was considered feasible to provide a more consistent male dating framework based on weapon types. The spear re-dating used in this study attempts to combine Dickinson's typology and dating, which was adapted specifically to the Upper Thames Valley, with the newer dating in Hines and Bayliss. The shield re-dating used in this study also updates Dickinson's typology with Hines and Bayliss' dating where possible. The early re-dating of most sword burials in this study is largely based on the lack of well-dated late sword burials in the study area, but this is supported by Hines and Bayliss' early dating of swords.

The male gendered assemblage is primarily dated by weapons, and the dating used here is explicitly listed as follows. However, other closely datable artefacts such as Vestland cauldrons and shield-on-tongue buckles were also taken into account where present.

sword – AD425-550

Hines and Bayliss (2013) date AD425-550.

In the Upper Thames Valley, sword burials are predominantly dated to the late 5th and early 6th Century based on associated artefacts. The existence of three 7th Century examples in the study area suggests caution should be exercised, but these are all from exceptional barrow burials. Of the 6th Century sword burials, none contain characteristically mid-6th or late 6th Century artefacts.

Group 4 shield boss – AD425-525

Hines and Bayliss (2013) date AD525-555.

The Hines and Bayliss sample does not use any radiocarbon dates for the Group 4 bosses. Instead, the phasing of Group 4 bosses appears to be based on the typological seriation of cone height. The general trend of increasing cone height from Group 1 to Group 3 to Group 6 to Group 7 has been applied to the Group 4

bosses, but this is a misapplication of quantitative methods that contradicts the associated artefacts and stylistic analogies of the Group 4 bosses.

The associations of Group 4 bosses are overwhelmingly early: B2, K1, H1/2, H2, H2 and H3 spears.

The only exception to this is Lechlade: Group 4 bosses are the dominant shield type at Lechlade, and the associations run much later: Gotland cauldron, H2, C2/E2 and C2 spears. Lechlade has produced unusually late examples of several early weapon types, and it would seem that the community was exceptionally conservative in weapon styles.

The Tribal Hidage project dates Group 4 bosses before AD525.

Härke in Boyle *et al.* (1995) dates a solitary Group 4 boss at Berinsfield to AD425-525.

Dickinson and Härke (1992) leave open the possibility of Group 4 bosses dating into the late 6th Century, but the floruit is 5th to early 6th Century.

Group 1.1 and Group 1.2 shield bosses – AD475-575

Hines and Bayliss (2013) date AD475-555.

Dickinson and Härke (1992) date AD450-575, with some survival into the later 6th Century.

This study follows Dickinson and Härke's dating to account for the general conservatism of the Upper Thames Valley.

Group 5 shield boss – AD475-550

Dickinson and Härke (1992) date later 5th to 6th Century, with some survival into later 6th Century.

Dickinson (1976 I) dates the whole group to around AD500.

The Tribal Hidage project dates a solitary Group 5 boss at Watchfield to AD475-550.

Group 2 shield boss – AD500-600

Hines and Bayliss (2013) date the majority to AD525-575, but they lump Group 2 and Group 3 bosses into a single group.

Dickinson and Härke (1992) interpret Group 2 bosses as an evolution from Group 1 bosses incorporating the influences of Group 3 bosses, and as such, they suggest that Group 2 either has the same date range as Group 3, which date AD500-600, or Group 2 clusters at the early end of the range, AD500-550.

The earlier dating proposed by Dickinson and Härke (1992) and the earlier associations of Group 2 bosses versus Group 3 bosses has led this study to accept a slightly earlier range for Group 2 than that proposed for Group 3, although this is problematic if the advent of Group 2 is dependent on the influence of Group 3.

Following Geake (1997), Group 2 bosses are not dated into the early 7th Century, unlike Group 3 bosses.

Group 3 shield boss – AD525-625

Hines and Bayliss (2013) date the majority to AD525-575.

The earliest secure date for a Group 3 boss is a Finglesham burial, dated AD525-530.

Dickinson and Härke (1992) date Group 3 bosses from AD500, but the later start date suggested by Hines and Bayliss and the probably delayed adoption of Group 3 bosses in the Upper Thames Valley has led this study to use a start date of AD525.

Dickinson and Härke (1992) argue that Group 3 bosses survive into the 7th Century outside of Kent, and the rarity of Group 6 bosses in the Upper Thames Valley supports the continued popularity of the Group 3 bosses.

Geake (1997) also dates Group 3 bosses into the 7th Century.

Group 6 shield boss – AD 575-625

Hines and Bayliss (2013) date the majority to AD570-620.

Group 7 shield boss – AD600-675

Hines and Bayliss (2013) date broadly to the 7th Century.

A1 and A2 spears – not certain

A1 and A2 spears are traditionally dated to the 5th Century and 7th Century respectively, but the one burial in the Upper Thames Valley with A series spearheads contained A1 and A2 spearheads, as well as a Group 3 boss, which suggests that either the A1 spear was an old heirloom or the A2 spear appeared earlier than is accepted. This burial has been dated AD550-625.

B1 spear – AD600-675

Dickinson (1976 I) dates to the 7th Century.

Geake (1997) dates to the 7th Century.

Swanton (1974) dates to the 5th Century, based on the similarity with continental types, but Dickinson (1976 I) has convincingly dismissed this argument.

B2 spear – AD400-500

Dickinson (1976 I) and Swanton (1974) date B2 spears to the 5th Century.

Geake (1997) and Welch (1983, 127; Down and Welch 1990, 94) argue that the B2 group was actually a 7th Century type, citing examples at Finglesham, Apple Down and Sutton Hoo.

The B2 spear at Berinsfield, interred with what Härke in Boyle *et al.* (1995) classified as a Böhner Type C knife, appears to support the Geake and Welch re-dating, but the radiocarbon dating of this burial by Hills 2009 produced the date range AD450-550, which clearly falls in line with the traditional 5th Century dating.

E1 spear – AD450-575

Swanton (1974) dates AD450-550.

Härke in Boyle *et al.* (1995) dates a solitary E1 spear to AD500-550 and another E1 spear with a Böhner Type A knife to AD500-550.

However, Dickinson (1976 I) argues for the survival of E1 spears into the later 6th Century, based on associations with a Group 3 boss and a Böhner Type C knife.

E1.2 spear – AD500-600

Dickinson (1976 I) isolates a subgroup of E1 spears with lozenge profiles.

E1/2 spear – AD450-675

This dating is based on the dating of E1 and E2 spearheads; all spearheads classified by Dickinson (1976 I) as combining attributes of two different types are dated to the combined total date range of both contributing types.

E2 spear – AD475-675

Swanton (1974) dates broadly 5th to 7th Century.

Dickinson (1976 I) dates the majority to AD575-675, but there are no associated artefacts in the Upper Thames Valley, and this study has therefore adopted the broader dating.

A C2/E2 spear was found with a Group 4 boss at Lechlade, which supports the wider dating, but Group 4 bosses are found with several unusually late associations at Lechlade.

E3 spear – AD550-675

Dickinson (1976 I) dates primarily AD575-675.

E4 spear – AD550-675

Dickinson (1976 I) dates primarily AD575-675.

H1 spear – AD450-575

Hines and Bayliss (2013) date the majority of the H series before AD560, and the entire H series before AD580.

Dickinson (1976 I) dates the entire H series to the AD475-525.

Swanton (1974) dates AD475-550.

Several associations with Group 3 bosses and a Böhner Type C knife demand survival into the mid-6th Century.

H2 spear – AD450-575

Hines and Bayliss (2013) date the majority of the H series before AD560, and the entire H series before AD580; however, the H2 group is the latest of the H series in the Hines and Bayliss typology.

Dickinson (1976 I) dates the type to AD450-625, but she dates the majority of Upper Thames Valley examples from the 5th to earlier 6th Century.

H2.2 spear – AD425-500

Dickinson (1976 I) isolates a subgroup of transitional forms between the B2 and H series.

H3 spear – AD450-575

Hines and Bayliss (2013) date the majority of the H series before AD560, and the entire H series before AD580.

Dickinson (1976 I) dates the Upper Thames Valley examples to AD475-525, arguing that H3 spears only continue into the later 6th Century in Kent.

Swanton (1974) dates broadly to the 6th Century, but Dickinson (1976 I) has levelled many strong criticisms of Swanton's classification.

I, J, K1, K2, L spears – AD450-550

This group of spears with modified sections are all dated by Dickinson (1976 I) to AD450-550.

Swanton (1974) dates 475-550.

Hines and Bayliss (2013) date before AD560.

C1 spear – AD525-675

Dickinson (1976 I) dates the majority of the C series to AD550-675.

Swanton (1974) dates broadly 5th to 7th Century.

Hines and Bayliss (2013) date the entire SP1 group, the rough equivalent of the C series, to after AD525.

Geake (1997) dates the overwhelming majority of C1 spears to the 7th Century.

C2 spear – AD525-650

Dickinson (1976 I) dates the majority to AD575-675, but she admits associations with a Group 1.1 boss and several Group 3 bosses suggest some 6th Century examples.

Hines and Bayliss (2013) date larger SP1 forms to after AD560.

A C2 spear was found with a Group 4 boss at Lechlade, which seems to contradict the late dating of C2 spears, but in light of the other late Group 4 shield burials at Lechlade, it seems more probable that Group 4 bosses saw an unusually long floruit at Lechlade.

C3 spear – AD550-675

Dickinson (1976 I) and Swanton (1974) date the majority to the 7th Century.

C4 spear – AD575-675

Dickinson (1976 I) and Swanton (1974) date the majority to the 7th Century.

D1 spear – AD550-675

The dating of the long socketed D and F series is the most controversial in this study.

Dickinson (1976 I) and Swanton (1974) date D1 spears AD450-625.

Hines and Bayliss (2013) date all spears with sockets greater than 52% of the total length of the spearhead after AD560, and this study follows Hines and Bayliss' re-dating.

Geake (1997) does not challenge Swanton's early start for D1 spears, but her sample does include five D1 spears in 7th Century contexts.

D2 spear – AD550-675

Hines and Bayliss (2013), Dickinson (1976 I), and Swanton (1974) all agree that D2 spears belong predominately to the late 6th and 7th Century.

F1 spear – AD550-675

Swanton (1974) dates the majority to AD450-550.

Dickinson (1976) argues for a broader AD450-625 dating.

Hines and Bayliss (2013) again date all spears with sockets greater than 52% of the total length of the spearhead after AD560, and this study follows Hines and Bayliss' re-dating.

Geake (1997) lists four F1 spears in 7th Century contexts.

F2 spear – AD 550-675

Hines and Bayliss (2013), Dickinson (1976 I), and Swanton (1974) all agree that F2 spears belong predominately to the late 6th and 7th Century.

2.3 Age Determination

Only Adult burials are analysed in this study. Adult burials are defined as all female gendered burials aged 10 years old or older and all male gendered burials aged 12 years old or older. Female burials aged 9-10 years old and male burials aged 11-12 years old are classified as adults, but burials aged 8-10 and 10-12 are classified as children. These age thresholds are based on Boyle *et al.* (1995, 116), Härke (1997, 126-30) and Stoodley (1999, 117-8).

However, the majority of cemeteries analysed in this study do not have such precise age data. Burials described as ‘child’ and ‘infant’ are classified as children, while burials described as ‘young’ are classified according to their assemblage: ‘young’ burials with brooches or weapons are classified as adult.

Many other burials have no age information. All female gendered 6th Century burials of unknown age with two brooches are classified as adult, based on the overwhelming association of two brooch assemblages with adult burials. All female burials of unknown age with one brooch were also classified as adult: 81% of one brooch burials of known age in this study are adults. All burials of unknown age with only necklace-related artefact types, including pierced Roman coins, are classified as children: 81% of necklace-only burials of known age in this study are children. All burials of unknown age with beads and non-necklace types, but no brooches, are also classified as children: 70% of these burials of known age in this study are children. All burials of unknown age with beads and non-necklace types, but no brooches or dress pins, are also classified as children: 77.5% of these burials of known age in this study are children. One burial of unknown age with a bracelet is also classified as a child, based on bracelets being overwhelming associated with children (Dickinson 1976 I; Stoodley 1999, 105-118).

All female gendered 7th Century burials of unknown age are assumed to be adults. Unfortunately, the female gendered assemblages of children cannot be distinguished from the female gendered assemblages of adults during the 7th Century.

All male gendered burials of unknown age are classified as Adult, in both the 6th and 7th Century. Male gendered child burials are substantially less common than female gendered child burials, and weapons, even more so than brooches, seem to have been largely reserved for adults (Dickinson and Härke 1992, 68-9).

This study also experimented with more specific age categories, including child, adolescent, young adult, adult and old adult, but the resulting samples were too small to produce meaningful conclusions, and these categories were therefore not included in the final analysis.

2.4 Defining the Anglo-Saxon Gendered Burial Rite

2.4.1 Female Gender in the Sixth Century

For the 6th Century, Nick Stoodley (1999) lists a range of artefacts that appear consistently in female-sexed burials. These female-linked artefacts occasionally occur in male-sexed burials, but the presence of more than one female-linked artefact in a male-sexed burial is rare. Therefore, female gender in the 6th Century is defined in this study by the presence of two female-linked artefacts. There are five exceptions to this rule: Tier 2 and Tier 3 brooches are so strongly linked

to female identity that the five burials in which these occurred in isolation are classified as female gendered – two of these burials have also been reliably sexed as female.

6th Century female-linked artefacts, 2 required to indicate female gender (based on Stoodley 1999)

spindle-whorl (exclusively female in Stoodley's sample)

shears (exclusively female in Stoodley's sample)

needle (exclusively female in Stoodley's sample)

finger ring (64% in female burials vs. 2% in male burials in Stoodley's sample)

bracelet (63% in female burials vs. 3% in male burials in Stoodley's sample)

brooch (68% in female burials vs. 6% in male burials in Stoodley's sample)

girdle items (47% in female burials vs. 10% in male burials in Stoodley's sample)

including girdle hangers, rings

dress pin (60% in female burials vs. 16% in male burials in Stoodley's sample)

toilet set (74% in female burials vs. 22% in male burials in Stoodley's sample)

comb (60% in female burials vs. 18% in male burials in Stoodley's sample)

1 bead (54% in female burials vs. 21% in male burials in Stoodley's sample)

2 beads required to indicate female gender (Stoodley 1999, 35 *contra* Brush 1993, 148)

2.4.2 Female Gender in the Seventh Century

The female gendered assemblage changed dramatically in the 7th Century, abandoning the classic two brooch peplos-style fashion. Elaborate necklaces became the ultimate signifier of female gender, but less wealthy burials expressed female identity through a variety of other artefacts. The increasing restriction of furnished and gendered burial in the 7th Century means that one female gendered artefact can often be taken as evidence of female gender. There are a few artefacts, however, that continue to appear in male assemblages, despite a female preference; two of these female-linked artefacts are required to identify female gender.

7th Century female gendered artefacts, 1 required to indicate female gender (based on Geake 1997)

necklace components

pendant

metal bead

wire necklace ring

glass beads

of 213 burials with glass beads in Geake's sample (1997, 45), 2 are male gendered, 5 are ungendered and male sexed

amber beads

of 24 burials with amber beads in Geake's sample (1997, 47-8), 1 is male gendered and the bead in this burial is suggested to be a purse toggle

amethyst

beaver tooth pendant

chatelaine
 cowrie
 finger ring
 sheers
 spindle-whorl
 spoons/spatulas
 union pins
 weaving batten
 workbox/thread-box

7th Century female-linked, 2 required to indicate female gender (based on Geake 1997)

keys, only where the identification of a key is reasonably certain

comb (Geake 1997, 64 *contra* Stoodley 1999, 38)

dress pin (72 in female burials vs. 13 in male burials in Geake's sample)

2.5 Artefact Types

What follows is a list of the main artefact types found in the burials of the Upper Thames Valley and how they are counted: 'separately' and 'multiples' refer to whether more than one artefact of the same type and the same material in a single burial are counted separately (separately) or counted together as a single entity (multiples). If an artefact is repeated in different materials – e.g. a cu alloy ring and an iron ring – these are always counted separately. This list is not exhaustive, but it covers the most common types.

animal teeth	multiples = 1 type
teeth of different species are counted separately	
belt buckle	separately = 1 type
strap adjustors	multiples = 1 type
strap ends	multiples = 1 type
bracelet	separately = 1 type
brooch	separately = 1 type
brush handle	separately = 1 type
bucket	separately = 1 type
chain links	not counted
chain links are not counted independently	
ceramic pot	separately = 1 type
isolated potsherds are not counted	
coins	separately = 1 type
comb	separately = 1 type
whole cowrie shell	separately = 1 type
dress pin	separately = 1 type

the distinction between toilet picks, dress pins and other needles is often difficult if not impossible; this study only attempts to separate toilet picks and dress pins, and the published identifications are generally assumed to be correct

union pins/linked pins are counted as two separate types

finger ring separately = 1 type

flint multiples = 1 type

flint is judged on a case-by-case basis as to whether it was residual or not

fragments multiples = 1 type

fragments are counted on a case-by-case basis according to how many original artefacts appear to be represented – the main criteria for distinguishing different artefacts is the presence of different materials and the positions of the fragments within the grave

gaming pieces multiples = 1 type

ornamental girdle hanger separately = 1 type

glass vessel separately = 1 type

 glass fragments multiples = 1 type

keys multiples = 1 type

knife separately = 1 type

lace tags multiples = 1 type

nail multiples = 1 type

necklace

 beads 0-2 = 0 type

 3-7 = 1 type

 8-12 = 2 types

 13-17 = 3 types

 each additional 5 = +1 type

 if there are no other beads 0-2 crystal or millefiori beads = 1 type

whorl/large bead separately = 1 type

metal beads, necklace rings, cowrie shell beads

 1-4 = 1 type

 5-9 = 2 types

 10-14 = 3 types

 each additional 5 = +1 type

glass beads on silver wire necklace rings are not counted independently

glass beads on cu alloy wire rings *are* counted independently

 1-2 glass beads on Ae rings count as 1 type

pendant separately = 1 type

 bullae, amethyst beads, beaver tooth pendants are counted as pendants

organic grave goods	not counted
the survival of organic grave goods is too inconsistent	
ivory purse ring	separately = 1 type
repair clips	multiples = 1 type
independent rings	multiples = 1 type
rings that are attached to other artefacts are not counted independently	
scales	multiples = 1 type
scale pans and balance beams are counted as one entity, but weights are counted separately	
shears	multiples = 1 type
independent spangles	multiples = 1 type
spangles attached to an artefact are not counted independently	
toiletty picks, scoops	multiples = 1 type
tweezers	multiples = 1 type
weapons	
spear	separately = 1 type
shaft fitting	separately = 1 type
spear ferrule	separately = 1 type
shield	separately = 1 type
shield grips are not counted independently	
shield mounts/fittings	
	multiples = 1 type
seax	separately = 1 type
axe	separately = 1 type
sword	separately = 1 type
sword bead	multiples = 1 type
scabbard	multiples = 1 type
scabbard mouth, edging and chape counted as one entity	
arrowhead	separately = 1 type
workbox/threadbox	separately = 1 type
other	on case-by-case basis

2.6 Weighted Artefact Types

Certain artefact types and certain materials are given weighted counts.

2.6.1 Weapons

Spear = 2 weighted count

Shield = 2 weighted count

Seax = 3 weighted count

Axe = 3 weighted count

Sword = 4 weighted count

The weighted value of each weapon is based on the average number of artefacts associated with each weapon type. In Heinrich Härke's sample, spears have an average 3.2 associated artefacts, shields have an average 3.6 associated artefacts, seaxes have an average 4.1 associated artefacts, swords have an average 4.7 associated artefacts, and axes have an average 5.7 associated artefacts (Dickinson and Härke 1992, 68). However, swords are given precedence over axes because they appear from Anglo-Saxon literature and elite 7th Century burials to have held a special symbolic status in elite culture and because the skill required to craft a sword is considerably greater than that required to craft an axe (Härke 2000).

2.6.2 Brooches

In the majority of female gendered burials, brooches represent the largest single investment of skill, labour and resources. However, because brooches are one of the most fundamental signifiers of female gender, they are almost ubiquitous, and the wealth and status they embody must be evaluated on a different scale from other artefacts. Buckle plates with gilding and Salin's Style I decoration are rare, but brooches with such embellishment are fairly common. Brooches are therefore weighted on a distinct tiered system consisting of four tiers.

Brooch Tiers 1-3 are defined by their surface treatment – gilded, tinned or untreated – while Tier 4 is set aside for rare inlaid brooches. The assumption is that the higher the social value of a brooch type, the more likely it was to be tinned or gilded, and this is supported by the correlation between more skill-, labour- and resource-intensive brooch types and a higher proportion of gilded examples.

However, there are significant problems with the recording and survival of tinning and gilding. To address this problem, the brooches in the Ashmolean Museum collection were taken as a representative sample of brooch treatment in the Upper Thames Valley, and the recording of surface treatment in the Ashmolean collection is assumed to be as consistent and complete as could be expected (MacGregor and Bolick 1993). Different brooch types appear to have been accorded different social value in different regions, so only brooches from the Upper Thames Valley were included in the sample.

Tier 1 brooch: one brooch = 1 weighted count, two brooches = 2 weighted count

small long brooch – 5 gilded, 7 tinned, 92 untreated

It was clearly possible for small long brooches to be tinned and even gilded, but the overwhelming majority of untreated examples suggest that the brooch type did not have the social currency of Tier 2 or Tier 3 brooches. Nevertheless, in the rare case that a small long brooch was gilded, that particular brooch is weighted as a Tier 3 brooch.

iron penannular brooch – no examples in the Ashmolean catalogue

cruciform brooch – 1 untreated

The Ashmolean catalogue only lists one cruciform brooch from the study area, a reflection of the low social currency of this brooch form in the Upper Thames

Valley. There are only four burials in this study with cruciform brooches, and of the surviving brooches, none are treated, but a pair of lost brooches were allegedly gilded. The known brooches are treated as Tier 1, but the allegedly gilded pair are classified as Tier 3.

Tier 2 brooch: one brooch = 1 weighted count, two brooches = 3 weighted count

disc brooch – 40 tinned, 60 untreated

applied disc brooch – 5 untreated

This rare type required more skill, labour and resources than normal disc brooches, but their plain decoration and their visual similarity to normal disc brooches suggest that they had a similar social value.

annular brooch – 15 tinned, 53 untreated

equal arm brooch – 2 tinned

supporting arm brooch – 1 untreated

bronze penannular brooch – 6 untreated

Although these brooches are predominantly untreated, their use of copper alloy sets them apart from the iron penannular brooches.

Tier 3 brooch: one brooch = 2 weighted count, two brooches = 4 weighted count

cast saucer brooch – 70 gilded, 14 untreated

great square headed brooch – 6 gilded

small square headed brooch – 12 gilded, 1 untreated

radiate headed brooch – none in Ashmolean collection

One pair in this study, recorded by E.T. Leeds as gilded

tutulus brooch – 1 gilded

maltese cross brooch – 2 gilded

button brooch – 11 gilded, 6 untreated

applied saucer brooch – 19 gilded, 11 untreated

Tier 4 brooch: one brooch = 3 weighted count, two brooches = 6 weighted count

This tier includes all inlaid disc brooches, such as plated disc brooches and keystone brooches, which feature precious metals and glass or gemstone settings. This tier is not based on the Ashmolean collection, but the complexity and use of precious materials in these brooches puts them in an entirely different category. Late-type saucer brooches that imitate jewelled disc brooches with occasional settings are *not* included in this group.

The mid-7th Century composite disc brooches are also not classified as Tier 4 brooches. Brooches fell out of widespread use during the 7th Century, and the rare examples of mid-7th brooches are therefore treated as typical artefacts and classified as ordinary, medium, high or highest status types. As such, the mid-7th Century composite disc brooches are classified as highest status types (see **Appendix 2.6.5**).

2.6.3 Medium Status Types

Medium status types include both specific artefact types and materials from which any artefact type could potentially be made. Medium status types = 2 weighted count.

Materials: ivory, millefiori, rock crystal, solid tin or surface tinning, lead

rock crystal and millefiori beads are counted with other beads, but an additional 1 is added to the weighted count for each bead made with these materials

copper-alloy types in male gendered burials and ungendered burials are also medium

Copper-alloy is rare in these burials, and the restricted nature of the male gendered assemblage suggests that even limited embellishment could send strong signals about wealth and status.

Where tinning was recorded, it has been taken into account. However, as discussed with regard to brooches, the recording and survival of tinning is far from consistent. Attempts are made to distinguish non-brooch objects that were more likely to receive surface treatment, but these apply mostly to gilding. Nevertheless, it is reassuring that many tinned artefacts would otherwise be considered medium or high status types regardless of the tinning: where shield rivets are tinned they are often copper-alloy rivets, where buckles are tinned, they are often more elaborate types like the shield-on-tongue type, which is a high status type. The complete lack of tinned plain copper-alloy buckle plates in the Ashmolean catalogue suggests that such treatment was rare on plain copper-alloy artefacts.

Artefact Types:

bronze vessels

buckets

cowrie shells

curated fragment of a Tier 3 brooch

gaming pieces

glass or amber whorl/large bead

large glass pendants

wheel thrown pottery

3rd Tier 2 brooch with a pair of Tier 2 or 3 brooches

If a third Tier 2 brooch is present in addition to a pair of Tier 2 or Tier 3 brooches, it is counted as a medium status type = 2 weighted count

3rd Tier 3 brooch with a pair of Tier 1 brooches

If a third Tier 3 brooch is present in addition to a pair of Tier 1 brooches, it is counted as a medium status type = 2 weighted count

2.6.4 High Status Types

High status types include specific artefact types and materials from which any artefact type could potentially be made, but they also include styles in which any artefact type could potentially be made. High status types = 3 weighted count.

Materials: amethyst, garnet, solid silver or silvered types, solid gold or gilded types

As with tinning, inconsistent survival and recording of gilding is problematic, but this is addressed by assigning high status to artefact types that are likely to have been gilded: Frankish style metalwork, Salin's Style I and Salin's Style II.

Styles: cloisonné, Salin's Style I, Salin's Style II, decorated Quoit Style

Artefact Types:

glass vessels

A single glass vessel fragment in a purse collection is not counted as high status.

characteristically Frankish, Scandinavian or Germanic types

e.g. shield-on-tongue buckle

Mediterranean bronze vessels

musical instruments

3rd Tier 3 brooch with a pair of Tier 2 or 3 brooches

If a third Tier 3 brooch is present in addition to a pair of Tier 2 or Tier 3 brooches, it is counted as a high status type = 3 weighted count

2.6.5 Highest Status Types

Highest status types are intended to account for the exceptionally high status artefacts that emerged in the 7th Century. These include composite types that incorporate precious materials and evidence considerable craftsmanship. Highest status types = 4 weighted count.

Highest status artefacts must incorporate at least two of the following: solid gold, solid silver, garnet, amethyst, glass and/or shell.

2.7 Kernel Density

The kernel density maps used in this study have been created in ArcMap 10.2.2 software. All kernel density maps in this study use an output raster cell size of 75 and a search radius of 6000m², and the resulting raster is classified using the Jenks natural breaks method.

For kernel density maps with one raster layer, nine Jenks classes are used. For kernel density maps with two overlaid raster layers, the top raster is classified using seven Jenks classes, while the base raster is classified using nine Jenks classes. The base raster is also displayed with 30% transparency. The two-layer kernel densities are used to focus interpretation on the top raster, while also providing the context of the base raster.

2.8 Wealth Inequality in the Wealthiest and Poorest 10%

This metric is calculated by dividing the sum total of the weighted artefact counts of the wealthiest 10% of adult gendered burials in a particular cemetery by the sum total of the weighted artefact counts for all adult gendered burials in that particular cemetery. This provides an indication of the percentage of the total gendered burial wealth that was concentrated in the wealthiest 10% of gendered burials. This is then repeated for the poorest 10% of adult gendered burials.

Inevitably, the wealthiest and poorest 10% of gendered burials in a particular cemetery is often not a whole number. In these cases, the left over decimal is multiplied by the weighted artefact count

of the next wealthiest or poorest burial. For example, Abingdon has 33 female gendered burials, and 10% of 33 = 3.3 burials. The total weighted artefact count of the wealthiest 3.3 burials = the weighted artefact count of the wealthiest three burials + 0.3 of the weighted artefact count of the fourth wealthiest burial.

2.9 The Proportion of Gendered Burial

2.9.1 The Proportion of Gendered Burial in the Sixth Century

Site	Burials	Percent Male Gendered	Percent Female Gendered	Averaged Male and Female Percent Gendered
Abingdon	128	45.24%	86.11%	65.67%
Barton Court Farm	4	0%	100%	50.00%
Berinsfield	114	73.91%	68.97%	71.44%
Blewburton Hill	21	25.00%	75.00%	50.00%
Brighthampton	67	52.63%	71.43%	62.03%
Filkins	24	83.33%	60.00%	71.67%
Lechlade	149	64.29%	72.22%	68.25%
Long Wittenham I	196	75.00%	64.56%	69.78%
Purwell Farm	21	66.67%	75.00%	70.83%
Watchfield	52	62.50%	84.62%	73.56%
Wheatley	70	50.00%	75.00%	62.50%

Table App.2.1: The proportion of gendered burials from all adult sexed burials, AD475-630.

2.9.2 The Proportion of Gendered Burial in the Seventh Century

Site	Burials	Percent Male Gendered	Percent Female Gendered	Averaged Male and Female Percent Gendered
Chadlington	22	16.67%	33.33%	25.00%
Didcot Power Station	16	33.33%	66.67%	50.00%
Lechlade	72	27.27%	57.14%	42.21%
Long Wittenham II	11	N/A	33.33%	33.33%

Table App.2.2: The proportion of gendered burials from all adult sexed burials, AD630-675.

Site	Burials	Percent Gendered
Lechlade	72	43.06%
Standlake Down	28	39.29%
Yelford	26	7.69%
Stanton Harcourt	23	8.70%
Chadlington	22	13.64%
Didcot Power Station	16	37.50%
Purton	13	27.27%
Lewknor	12	8.33%
Long Wittenham II	11	18.18%
Bishop's Court	10	10.00%
Bourton-on-the-Water	8	12.50%
North Leigh	8	37.50%
Kemble III	7	12.50%
Hogshaw Hill	4	25.00%
Adwell Cop	3	0.00%
Cokethorpe	3	66.67%
Ellesborough	3	33.33%
Upper Swell I	3	66.67%
Amey's Pit	2	50.00%
Broadwell	2	50.00%
Ducklington	2	50.00%
Kemble IB	2	100.00%
Lyneham Barrow	2	50.00%
Compton	1	100.00%
Frilford III	1	100.00%
Great Tew	1	0.00%
Harwell	1	100.00%
Kidlington	1	100.00%
Longcot	1	100.00%
Lowbury Hill	1	100.00%
New Wintles Farm	1	0.00%
Rollright	1	100.00%
Wanborough I	1	100.00%
West Hanney	1	100.00%
Wootton	1	100.00%

Table App.2.3: The total proportion of all burials, regardless of sex or age, that received gendered burial, AD630-675.

Appendix 3: The Settlements (including cropmark sites)

Site	Easting	Northing	6th Century Occupation	7th Century Occupation	L7 th / 8th Century Occupation	Recovery	Features	Distinct SFBs	Distinct Earthfast Buildings	Distinct Earthfast Buildings larger than 20m ²	Main References
A40 North Oxford Bypass	449200	211300	No	Possible	Possible	Modern Excavation, Unpublished, Grey Report Not Seen, Few Details Known	Ditches				Pastscape 1151133
Abingdon Causewayed Enclosure	451100	198300	Probable	Probable	No	Rescue Era Excavation, Partially Published	SFBs	2			Avery and Brown 1972; Leeds 1936, 21; Pastscape 237992; Oxon HER D2494, D8403, D2916
Abingdon, Audlett Drive	450548	197341	Probable	Possible	No	Modern Excavation, Fully Published	SFBs	3			Keewill 1992; Oxon HER 15649
Abingdon, Barrow Hills	451300	198200	Probable	Possible	No	Modern Excavation, Fully Published	SFBs and Earthfast Buildings	40	13	7	Chambers and McAdam 2007; Pastscape 237928; Oxon HER 13400.29
Abingdon, Barrow Hills	451300	198200	?	?	?	N/A	Cropmarks of SFBs				Benson and Miles 1974, Map 31, p57; Oxon HER 8403
Abingdon, Barton Court Farm	450942	197748	Probable	Probable	Probable	Modern Excavation, Fully Published	SFBs and Earthfast Buildings	7	8	4	Miles 1986; Pastscape 238005; Oxon HER D15269.04
Abingdon, Corporation Farm	449755	195760	Probable	Possible	No	Rescue Era Excavation, Largely Unpublished, No Grey Report, Few Details Known	SFBs	6			Anonymous 1973; Parrington and Henderson 1974; Pastscape 233982; Oxon HER D14278
Abingdon, Spring Road Cemetery	448750	197550	Probable	Possible	No	Modern Excavation, Fully Published	SFBs	2			Allen <i>et al.</i> 2008; Oxon HER 16203
Abingdon, St. Helen's Church	449000	197000	Probable	Possible	No	Rescue Era Excavation, Unpublished, Grey Report Not Seen, Few Details Known	SFBs	3			Rahtz 1976b, 408; Pastscape 1358703
Abingdon, The Vineyard	449900	197200	Probable	Possible	No	Modern Excavation, Partially Published, Grey Report Not Seen, Few Details Known	SFBs	2			Allen 1990a; 1990b; Oxon HER 12849.03
Ardley, Ashgrove Farm	453440	225550	No	Possible	Possible	Modern Excavation, Unpublished, Grey Report Available	Ditches				Taylor 2007; Oxon HER 26300
Ashbury, Shrivensham Road	425850	185750	No	Possible	Possible	Modern Excavation, Unpublished, Grey Report Available	Ditches				Hall 1998; Oxon HER 15834

Ashton Keynes, Cleveland Farm	406790	194550	Probable	Possible	No	Modern Excavation, Partially Published, Grey Report Not Seen	features'				Powell <i>et al.</i> 2008
Aston Barnford and Shifford	434100	202300	?	?	?	N/A	Cropmarks of SFBs				Benson and Miles 1974, Map 12, p39; Oxon HER 3195
Aston Barnford and Shifford	435400	203000	?	?	?	N/A	Cropmarks of SFBs				Benson and Miles 1974, Map 14, p41; Oxon HER 3197-8, 8623-6, 15100
Aston Barnford and Shifford	435800	202100	?	?	?	N/A	Cropmarks of SFBs				Benson and Miles 1974, Map 14, p41; Oxon HER 8172-3, 8627-9
Aston Barnford and Shifford	435800	203700	?	?	?	N/A	Cropmarks of SFBs				Benson and Miles 1974, Map 14, p41; Oxon HER 8174-6
Aston Barnford and Shifford	436500	202700	?	?	?	N/A	Cropmarks of SFBs				Benson and Miles 1974, Map 14, p41; Oxon HER 8655-66
Aston Clinton Bypass	489270	212600	Probable	Probable	No	Modern Excavation, Unpublished, Grey Report Not Seen, Few Details Known	Pits and Ditches				RPS Group 2005
Aylesbury, Croft Road	482490	213400	Probable	Possible	No	Modern Excavation, Unpublished, Grey Report Available	SFBs	1			Dalwood and Hawkins 1989; Bucks BCC ID 0559300000
Aylesbury, The Orchard	482389	213292	No	Possible	Probable	Modern Excavation, Fully Published	SFBs and Earthenfast Buildings	1	9	8	Ford <i>et al.</i> 2004; Bucks BCC ID 0610800000
Aylesbury, The Prebendal	481640	213945	No	No	Probable	Modern Excavation, Fully Published	Ditches				Farley 2012; Bucks BCC ID 0291802000
Aylesbury, Walton Court	482270	213190	Probable	Probable	Probable	Modern Excavation, Fully Published	SFBs and Earthenfast Buildings	5	2	2	Farley 1975; Bucks BCC ID 0009302000
Aylesbury, Walton Court Estate	481150	211870	Probable	Possible	No	Rescue Era Excavation, Fully Published	Unstratified Settlement Refuse				Farley <i>et al.</i> 1981; Bucks BCC ID 0216003000
Aylesbury, Walton Lodge (Phase 1)	482380	213250	Probable	Possible	No	Modern Excavation, Fully Published	SFBs	1			Dalwood <i>et al.</i> 1989; Bucks BCC ID 0549900000
Aylesbury, Walton Lodge (Phase 2)	482380	213250	No	No	Probable	Modern Excavation, Fully Published	Earthenfast Buildings		1	1	Dalwood <i>et al.</i> 1989; Bucks BCC ID 0549900000
Aylesbury, Walton Road Stores	482438	213339	Probable	Probable	Probable	Modern Excavation, Unpublished, No Grey Report, Few Details Known	SFBs and Earthenfast Buildings	6	2	2	Bucks BCC ID 0614500000
Bampton, Folly House	431510	203070	Probable	Possible	No	Modern Excavation, Fully Published	SFBs	1			Blair 1992
Barton, The Fox Inn	455000	207900	Probable	Possible	No	Early 20th Century Excavation, Poorly Recorded, Few Details Known	SFBs	1			Salzman 1939, 356, 371; Pastscape 338209; Oxford City HER 3802

Begbroke-Yarnton Pipeline	448159	212901	Probable	Possible	No	Modern Excavation, Unpublished, Grey Report Available	Pits					Hart 2002
Benson, South of the Church	461491	191596	Possible	Possible	No	19th or Early 20th Century Discovery, Poorly Recorded	Unstratified Settlement Refuse					Salzman 1939, 352
Benson, St. Helen's Avenue (Phase 1)	461590	191550	Probable	Probable	Possible	Modern Excavation, Fully Published	SFBs	3				Pine and Ford 2003; McBride 2016; Oxon HER 16138
Benson, St. Helen's Avenue (Phase 2)	461590	191550	No	Probable	Possible	Modern Excavation, Fully Published	Earthfast Buildings		1		1	Pine and Ford 2003; McBride 2016; Oxon HER 16138
Berinsfield, Mount Farm	457981	197023	Probable	Possible	No	Modern Excavation, Fully Published	Pits					Lambick 2010; Pastscape 237881; Oxon HER D15320
Bicester, Chapel Street	458541	222235	Probable	Possible	No	Modern Excavation, Fully Published	SFBs	3				Harding and Andrews 2002; Oxon HER 16137
Bicester, Church of the Immaculate Conception	458350	222370	Probable	Possible	No	Modern Excavation, Unpublished, Grey Report Available	Ditches					McNicol-Norbury 2010; Oxon HER 16254
Bicester, Whitelands Farm	457663	222056	Probable	Possible	No	Modern Excavation, Fully Published	Pits					Martin 2011
Bierton-with-Broughton	483530	216280	?	?	?	N/A	Cropmarks of SFBs					Bucks BCC ID 0239802002
Bierton, Church Farm	483515	215330	Probable	Possible	Possible	Modern Excavation, Unpublished, Grey Report Available, Post-Ex Never Finished	SFBs	2				Fenton 1996; Roseff 1996; Bucks BCC ID 0104700006
Bierton, Vicarage Garden	483650	215230	Probable	Possible	No	Rescue Era Excavation, Fully Published	Unstratified Settlement Refuse					Allen 1986; Bucks BCC ID 0610900000; Pastscape 344413
Bishop's Court (Phase 1)	457200	194300	Probable	Probable	Possible	Rescue Era Excavation, Partially Published	SFBs	1				May 1977, 57-9; Benson and Miles 1974a, 68; Oxon HER D8540
Bishop's Court (Phase 2)	457200	194300	No	Probable	Possible	Rescue Era Excavation, Partially Published	Earthfast Buildings		1		1	May 1977, 57-9; Benson and Miles 1974a, 68; Oxon HER D8540
Bishop's Court	457300	194300	?	?	?	N/A	Cropmarks of SFBs					Benson and Miles 1974, Map 36, p68; Oxon HER 4435, 8540-1
Bishop's Court Rectangle	457200	194400	Probable	Possible	No	Rescue Era Excavation, Fully Published	Pits					May 1977
Bishopstone, Harlstone House	424730	183730	Probable	Probable	Possible	Modern Excavation, Unpublished, Grey Report Available	SFBs	2				King and Bethell 2013; Wilts HER 64398
Bix	473300	185250	Possible	Possible	No	Modern Excavation, Unpublished, Grey Report Not Seen, Few Details Known	Settlement Evidence'					Pastscape 245241
Black Bourton, West of St. Mary's Church	428590	204210	Possible	Possible	Probable	Modern Excavation, Fully Published	SFBs and Earthfast Buildings	4	3		1	Gilbert 2008a; Oxon HER 17299

Bourton-on-the-Water, Bourton Bridge	416700	221000	Possible	Possible	Possible	Modern Excavation, Unpublished, Grey Report Not Seen, Few Details Known	Postholes, Pits, Gullies				Glos HER 19899
Bourton-on-the-Water, Bourton Business Park	417130	221927	No	Probable	No	Modern Excavation, Unpublished, Grey Report Available	SFBs	2			Stratford 2010; Glos HER 34819
Bourton-on-the-Water, Harman's Pit	417079	222025	Possible	Probable	No	Early 20th Century Excavation, Relatively Well Recorded and Published	SFBs	1			Dunning 1932; Glos HER 2621
Brightthampton, Malthouse	438330	203340	Possible	Possible	No	Excavation of Unknown Date, Unpublished, Grey Report Not Seen	Pits				Oxon HER 26171
Broad Blunsdon, Farmoor-Blunsdon Water Main	441640	190900	Probable	Possible	No	Modern Excavation, Unpublished, Grey Report Available	SFBs	1			Hart 2012
Cassington	444400	211100	?	?	?	N/A	Cropmarks of Earthen Buildings				Benson and Miles 1974, Map 27, p52; Oxon HER 4648, 8351-2
Cassington	445000	210000	?	?	?	N/A	Cropmarks of SFBs				Benson and Miles 1974, Map 27, p52; Oxon HER 1373-4, 3279, 3772, 3776-7, 3969
Cassington, Disused Gravel Pit	444500	211700	Possible	Possible	No	Rescue Era Excavation, Largely Unpublished, Grey Report Not Seen, Few Details Known	Unstratified Settlement Refuse				Benson and Brown 1966; Oxon HER D15053
Cassington, Great Enclosure	445028	209918	Possible	Possible	No	Early 20th Century Excavation, Partially Published	Unstratified Settlement Refuse				Case 1982; Oxon HER D15053
Cassington, Partridge Pit and Smith's Pit I	444816	210346	Probable	Possible	No	Early 20th Century Excavation, Poorly Recorded, Few Details Known	SFBs	1			Berisford 1973; Leeds 1940, 11; Oxon HER D15053
Cassington, Purwell Farm	444604	212209	Probable	Probable	No	Rescue Era Excavation, Unpublished, No Grey Report, Few Details Known	SFBs	19			Arthur and Jope 1963; Berisford 1973; Oxon HER D15095
Cassington, Smith's Pit II	445100	210100	Possible	Possible	No	Early 20th Century Excavation, Poorly Recorded, Few Details Known	Unstratified Settlement Refuse				Berisford 1973; Oxon HER D15053
Cassington, Tolley's Pit	445274	210291	Probable	Possible	No	Early 20th Century Excavation, Poorly Recorded, Few Details Known	SFBs	4			Berisford 1973; Leeds 1938a, 1940, 12; Salzman 1939, 357, 370; Pastscape 336742; Oxon HER D15058
Childrey, Parsonage Farm	436050	187600	Probable	Possible	No	Modern Excavation, Unpublished, Grey Report Available	Pits				Taylor 2000

Chiseldon, South Farm	419120	176810	Probable	Possible	No	Modern Excavation, Partially Published, Grey Report Not Seen	Unstratified Personal Accessories				Anonymous 1998; Wilts HER 15130
Cholsey, Bradford's Brook	459650	188625	Possible	Probable	No	Modern Excavation, Fully Published	Unstratified Personal Accessories				Cromarty <i>et al.</i> 2006
Churchill, Churchill Farm	428150	224200	No	Probable	No	Modern Excavation, Unpublished, Grey Report Available	SFBs	1			Hindmarch 2002
Cirencester, Old Tetbury Road	401944	201771	Probable	Possible	No	Modern Excavation, Unpublished, Grey Report Available	SFBs	1			Wright <i>et al.</i> 2014; Glos HER 47586
Cirencester, Siddington Road	403260	200440	Probable	Possible	No	Modern Excavation, Unpublished, Grey Report Available	Postholes and Pits				Hughes and Firth 2010; Glos HER 36359
Clanfield	427800	200600	?	?	?	N/A	Cropmarks of SFBs				Benson and Miles 1974, Map 7, p34; Oxon HER 1404-5
Cogges	436200	209300	?	?	?	N/A	Cropmarks of Earhfast Buildings				Pastscape 1175055; Oxon HER 5718
Cothill, Amey's Pit	446500	199600	Probable	Possible	No	Early 20th Century Excavation, Poorly Recorded, Few Details Known	Pits				Atkinson and Kirk 1949; Pastscape 233899; Oxon HER 2651
Cotswold Community	403250	196200	Possible	Probable	Probable	Modern Excavation, Fully Published	Earhfast Buildings		3	3	Powell <i>et al.</i> 2010; Glos HER 3121
Cresswell Field	446931	211340	No	Probable	Probable	Modern Excavation, Fully Published	SFBs and Earhfast Buildings	4	2	2	Hey <i>et al.</i> 2004
Cricklade, Proposed Biomass Power Project	411460	192560	Probable	Possible	No	Modern Excavation, Unpublished, Grey Report Available	Pits and Ditches				Wessex Archaeology 2000; Wilts HER 16910
Dean	433890	221310	Probable	Possible	No	Early 20th Century Excavation, Partially Published	SFBs	1			Leeds 1938c; Pastscape 334986
Didcot Power Station	450400	191990	Probable	Possible	No	Modern Excavation, Fully Published	SFBs	2			Boyle <i>et al.</i> 1995; Pastscape 238259; Oxon HER 16255
Didcot, Great Western Alternative	450150	190100	Probable	Possible	No	Modern Excavation, Unpublished, Grey Report Available	SFBs	1			Hart 2004
Dinton, Springfield Farm	476190	211380	No	No	Possible	Modern Excavation, Unpublished, Grey Report Not Seen, Few Details Known	Ditches				Bucks BCC ID 0474900000
Dorchester Abbey (Phase 1)	457917	194210	Possible	Probable	No	Modern Excavation, Fully Published	SFBs	1			Keevill 2003
Dorchester Abbey (Phase 2)	457917	194210	No	No	Probable	Modern Excavation, Fully Published	Earhfast Buildings		1	1	Keevill 2003

Dorchester, Allotments (Phase 1)	457740	194054	Probable	Probable	No	Rescue Era Excavation, Fully Published	SFBs	1			Frere 1962; 1984; Pastscape 238093; Oxon HER 1962
Dorchester, Allotments (Phase 2)	457740	194054	No	Probable	Probable	Rescue Era Excavation, Fully Published	Earthfast Buildings		1	1	Frere 1962; 1984; Pastscape 238093; Oxon HER 1962
Dorchester, Beech House (Phase 1)	457690	194317	Probable	No	No	Rescue Era Excavation, Fully Published	SFBs	2			Rowley and Brown 1981; Pastscape 238093; Oxon HER 12527
Dorchester, Beech House (Phase 2)	457690	194317	No	Probable	Probable	Rescue Era Excavation, Fully Published	Earthfast Buildings		6		Rowley and Brown 1981; Pastscape 238093; Oxon HER 12527
Dorchester, Castle Inn (Phase 1)	457843	193996	Probable	Possible	No	Rescue Era Excavation, Fully Published	SFBs	2			Bradley 1978; Pastscape 238093; Oxon HER 1930
Dorchester, Castle Inn (Phase 2)	457843	193996	No	No	Possible	Rescue Era Excavation, Fully Published	Earthfast Buildings		1	1	Bradley 1978; Pastscape 238093; Oxon HER 1930
Dorchester, Oxford University Excavations	457744	194104	Probable	Possible	No	Modern Excavation, Unpublished, Post-Ex In Progress	SFBs	1			Pers. Comm. Wendy Morrison
Drayton	448300	194200	?	?	?	N/A	Cropmarks of SFBs				Benson and Miles 1974, Map 33, p62; Oxon HER 8452-3
Drayton	448650	192950	?	?	?	N/A	Cropmarks of SFBs				Benson and Miles 1974, Map 33, p60; Pastscape 1059159; Oxon HER 8426-30
Drayton	448900	193500	?	?	?	N/A	Cropmarks of SFBs				Benson and Miles 1974, Map 33, p62; Oxon HER 8443-51
Drayton	448580	193430	?	?	?	N/A	Cropmarks of SFBs				Pastscape 1059139
Drayton	448220	193580	?	?	?	N/A	Cropmarks of SFBs				Pastscape 1059154
Drayton	448200	193380	?	?	?	N/A	Cropmarks of Earthfast Buildings				Pastscape 1059209
Drayton, Abingdon Reservoir	444500	194200	No	Possible	Possible	Modern Excavation, Unpublished, Grey Report Available	Ditches				Hearne 1999; Weaver 1998
Drayton, Cleve-Fyfield Water Main	447060	193430	Probable	Possible	No	Modern Excavation, Fully Published	SFBs	2			Hart <i>et al.</i> 2012
Drayton, High Street	448100	193500	Probable	Possible	No	Modern Excavation, Unpublished, Grey Report Available	Pits				Moore 2004b
Drayton, Manor Farm	447720	194290	No	Possible	Possible	Modern Excavation, Unpublished, Grey Report Available	Ditches				Hull 1999
Ducklington	436550	207050	?	?	?	N/A	Cropmarks of SFBs				Pastscape 767208

Eynsham	443075	209399	Possible	Possible	No	19th Century Discovery, Poorly Recorded, Few Details Known	Unstratified Settlement Refuse				Duncan et al. 1836, 124; Berisford 1973
Eynsham	442200	207900	?	?	?	N/A	Cropmarks of SFBs				Benson and Miles 1974, Map 20, p44; Oxon HER 8697-8702
Eynsham	442400	207900	?	?	?	N/A	Cropmarks of SFBs				Benson and Miles 1974, Map 20, p44; Oxon HER 8703
Eynsham	442600	208800	?	?	?	N/A	Cropmarks of SFBs				Benson and Miles 1974, Map 20, p44; Oxon HER 8716-20
Eynsham	442900	210500	?	?	?	N/A	Cropmarks of SFBs				Benson and Miles 1974, Map 26, p50; Pastscape 336804; Oxon HER 5151, 8348
Eynsham	442900	210900	?	?	?	N/A	Cropmarks of SFBs				Benson and Miles 1974, Map 26, p50; Oxon 5147-8, 5948-9
Eynsham Abbey (phase 1)	443300	209100	Probable	No	No	Modern Excavation, Fully Published	SFBs	5			Hardy <i>et al.</i> 2003; Pastscape 336425
Eynsham Abbey (phase 2)	443300	209100	No	No	Probable	Modern Excavation, Fully Published	Postholes				Hardy <i>et al.</i> 2003; Pastscape 336425
Eynsham, Hythe Croft	443600	209450	Probable	Possible	No	Rescue Era Excavation, Largely Unpublished, Grey Report Not Seen, Few Details Known	Pits				Anonymous 1976; Pastscape 917835
Eynsham, New Wintles Farm	442800	210900	Possible	Probable	Probable	Rescue Era Excavation, Largely Unpublished, No Grey Report, Few Details Known	SFBs and Earthenfast Buildings	19	4	4	Hawkes and Gray 1969; Berisford 1973; Pastscape 336789; Oxon HER 15056
Eynsham, Newland Street	443650	209800	Probable	Possible	No	Early 20th Century Excavation, Poorly Recorded, Few Details known	SFBs	2			Leeds 1938b; Pastscape 336424
Eynsham, The Shrubbery	443410	209210	Probable	Possible	No	Rescue Era Excavation, Unpublished, Grey Report Not Seen, Few Details Known	SFBs	1			Chambers 1976; Pastscape 917848; Oxon HER 9506
Eynsham, Wytham View	443400	210000	Probable	Possible	No	Rescue Era Excavation, Largely Unpublished, Grey Report Not Seen, Few Details Known	Pits				Webster and Cherry 1973c
Fairford, Cirencester Road	414560	200600	No	Probable	No	Modern Excavation, Unpublished, Grey Report Available	SFBs and Earthenfast Buildings	4	3		Basford 2013; Bain 2015; Glos HER 45955
Fairford, Coln House School	414950	200850	Possible	Possible	Possible	Modern Excavation, Partially Published, Grey Report Not Seen	Postholes, Pits and Ditches				Nichols 2000a; Glos HER 20521
Fairford, Community Centre	415190	201130	No	Possible	Possible	Modern Excavation, Fully Published	Ditches				Stratford 2012; Glos HER 22103

Fairford, Home Farm	414475	200876	Probable	Probable	No	Modern Excavation, Unpublished, Grey Report Available	SFBs	5				Craddock-Bennett 2016; Glos HER 40957
Fairford, Horcott Quarry	414320	198750	Probable	Probable	Probable	Modern Excavation, Fully Published	SFBs and Earthenfast Buildings	30	1		1	Hayden <i>et al.</i> 2017
Fairford, Horcott Road	414812	200616	Possible	Probable	No	Modern Excavation, Unpublished, Grey Report Available	SFBs	15				Bradley and Wilkins 2016
Fairford, Lady Lamb Farm	413300	200300	Probable	Possible	No	Modern Excavation, Unpublished, Grey Report Available	SFBs	2				Hey 2001; Glos HER 2505
Fairford, Pips Field	414590	200856	Probable	Possible	No	Modern Excavation, Unpublished, Grey Report Not Seen, Few Details Known	Pits					Glos HER 40957
Fawler	442970	210530	Possible	Possible	No	Unknown Site, Few Details Known	Pits					Pastscape 336804
Filkins, Swimming Pool	429500	203900	Probable	Possible	Possible	Rescue Era Excavation, Unpublished, Grey Report Not Seen, Few Details Known	Pits					Berisford 1973
Friford, Millet's Farm	443490	196540	Probable	Possible	No	Modern Excavation, Unpublished, Grey Report Available	SFBs	1				Cass and Ford 2008
Friford, Oxford University Excavations	444078	196208	Probable	Possible	No	Modern Excavation, Unpublished, Post-Ex In Progress	SFBs	1				Pers. Comm. Sheila Raven
Goring, Gatehampton Farm	460500	179700	Probable	Probable	No	Modern Excavation, Fully Published	SFBs	1				Allen 1995
Grafton and Radcot	426500	201100	?	?	?	N/A	Cropmarks of SFBs					Benson and Miles 1974, Map 4, p33; Oxon HER 1358, 3192
Hardwick-with-Yelford, Yelford	437224	205239	Probable	Possible	No	19th Century Discovery, Poorly Recorded, Few Details Known	SFBs	1				Stone 1859a; Leeds 1923b, 189-90; Pastscape 893792
Hardwick-with-Yelford	435000	204000	Possible	Possible	No	Unknown Site, Marked on Map, No Details Known	SFBs	1				Oxon HER 1615
Hardwick-with-Yelford	436300	205600	?	?	?	N/A	Cropmarks of SFBs					Benson and Miles 1974, Map 19, p42; Oxon HER 8678-92
Hardwick-with-Yelford	436400	205200	?	?	?	N/A	Cropmarks of SFBs					Benson and Miles 1974, Map 19, p42; Oxon HER 8208-9, 8675-7, 15145
Hardwick-with-Yelford	436800	205400	?	?	?	N/A	Cropmarks of SFBs					Benson and Miles 1974, Map 19, p42; Oxon HER 8693-6
Headington, New Reservoir	453500	206500	Possible	Possible	No	19th Century Discovery, Poorly Recorded, Few Details Known	Unstratified Settlement Refuse					Salzman 1939, 356

Highworth, North Leaze Farm	419180	195480	Probable	Possible	No	Rescue Era Excavation, Partially Published	Unstratified Settlement Refuse				Anonymous 1984; Wilts HER 16610
Highworth, The Willows	420650	192460	Probable	Probable	Probable	Rescue Era Excavation, Partially Published	SFBs	2			Anonymous 1983; Wilts HER 20335
Kempsford, Top Road	415440	197140	Probable	Possible	No	Modern Excavation, Unpublished, Grey Report Available	Unstratified Settlement Refuse				Porter 2012; Glos HER 26686
Kidlington	449000	214102	Possible	Possible	No	Unknown Site, Few Details Known	Unstratified Settlement Refuse				Berisford 1973
Kingston Bagpuize, Kingston Hill Farm	440850	199900	No	Possible	Possible	Rescue Era Excavation, Fully Published	Ditches				Parrington 1976; Pastscape 766251
Kirtlington, Gossway Fields	449850	219700	Probable	Probable	No	Modern Excavation, Unpublished, Grey Report Available	SFBs	3			Gilbert 2008b
Lambourn, Bourne House Stables	432800	178900	No	Possible	Possible	Modern Excavation, Partially Published, Grey Report Not Seen	Ditches				Michaelis 2001; Berks HER 16105
Lambourn, Red Lion Hotel	432686	178925	Probable	Possible	No	Modern Excavation, Partially Published, Grey Report Not Seen	Pits				Michaelis 2001; Berks HER 15758
Langford	421400	202700	?	?	?	N/A	Cropmarks of SFBs				Benson and Miles 1974, Map 1, p27; PRN 3120
Latton Quarry	408250	195710	Possible	Probable	Probable	Modern Excavation, Unpublished, Grey Report Available	Earthfast Buildings		1	1	Pine 2009; Wilts HER Event 7036
Latton, Street Farm	408680	195600	Probable	Possible	No	Modern Excavation, Partially Published, Grey Report Not Seen	Pits				Mudd <i>et al.</i> 1999; Bateman 1997; Johnson 1990; Wilts HER 9457
Lechlade	421300	199900	?	?	?	N/A	Cropmarks of SFBs				Benson and Miles 1974, Map 2, p27; PRN 2575-80
Lechlade	423800	198500	?	?	?	N/A	Cropmarks of Earthfast Buildings				Benson and Miles 1974, Map 3, p28; PRN 1409
Lechlade, Butler's Court	420650	199850	No	Possible	Possible	Rescue Era Excavation, Unpublished, Full Grey Report Not Seen, Few Details Known	Ditches				Powell 1992; Glos HER 19961
Lechlade, Kent Place	421320	199680	No	Possible	Possible	Modern Excavation, Fully Published	Ditches				Kenyon and Collard 2004; Glos HER 20737
Lechlade, Sherborne House	421227	199776	Possible	Probable	Probable	Modern Excavation, Fully Published	SFBs and Earthfast Buildings	6	3	3	Bateman <i>et al.</i> 2003; Glos HER 32431
Letcombe Regis, St. Andrew's Church	437970	186340	No	Possible	Possible	Modern Excavation, Fully Published	Ditches				Gilbert 2011

Liddington, Rickfield House	420630	181170	No	Possible	Possible	Modern Excavation, Unpublished, Grey Report Available	Ditches				O'Seaneachain 2010; Wilts HER Event 7503
Littlemore, Oxford Academy	454240	202890	Probable	Possible	No	Modern Excavation, Fully Published	SFBs	1			Mudd <i>et al.</i> 2013
Littlemore, Oxford Science Park	453900	202100	Probable	No	No	Modern Excavation, Fully Published	SFBs	11			Moore 2001; Pastscape 1333072
Littleworth	430860	196870	?	?	?	N/A	Cropmarks of SFBs				Pastscape 1058526
Loddington Hill, Clevee-Fyfield Water Main	456600	185100	Possible	Possible	No	Modern Excavation, Fully Published	Postholes				Hart <i>et al.</i> 2012
Long Wittenham	454900	193500	?	?	?	N/A	Cropmarks of SFBs				Benson and Miles 1974, Map 35, p66; Oxon HER 8518-22
Long Wittenham Great Hall Complex	455088	193794	No	Probable	Possible	Modern Excavation, Unpublished, Post-Ex In Progress	Earthfast Buildings		1	1	McBride Forthcoming
Long Wittenham, Didcot Road	454681	193604	No	No	Possible	Modern Excavation, Unpublished, Grey Report Available	Ditches				Sims and Thacker 2015
Long Wittenham, Neptune Wood	455152	193655	No	Probable	No	Modern Excavation, Fully Published	Pits				Allen <i>et al.</i> 2010
Lower Heyford	448600	224900	Possible	Possible	No	Unknown Site, Few Details Known	Unstratified Settlement Refuse				Berisford 1973
Lower Slaughtier, Copehill Road	416500	222470	No	Possible	Probable	Modern Excavation, Fully Published	Ditches				Kenyon and Watts 2006; Glos HER 16910
Marston Farm, The Hub	419700	186500	Probable	Possible	No	Modern Excavation, Unpublished, Grey Report Available	Pits and Ditches				Taylor 2014; Wilts HER Event 7862
Medbourne, M4 Construction	420260	180740	Probable	Possible	No	Rescue Era Excavation, Unpublished, Grey Report Not Seen, Few Details Known	SFBs	1			Wilts HER 20196
Merton, Home Farm	458971	219155	Probable	No	No	Unknown Site, Few Details Known	Ditches				Riccoboni 2013; Oxon HER 27985
Merton, Manor House Nursing Home	457880	217940	Probable	Possible	No	Modern Excavation, Unpublished, Grey Report Available	Pits				Moore 2004a; Oxon HER 16821
Middle Aston	447500	227000	Possible	Possible	No	Unknown Site, Few Details Known	Unstratified Settlement Refuse				Salzman 1939, 356; Pastscape 336835
Milton	448756	192400	Possible	Possible	No	Unknown Site, Few Details Known	Unstratified Settlement Refuse				Berisford 1973

Milton Common, Camp Corner	464500	203700	No	Possible	Possible	Rescue Era Excavation, Fully Published	Ditches				Gray 1973a; Pastscape 340841
Milton Park	449600	192130	Probable	Possible	Possible	Modern Excavation, Unpublished, Grey Report Available	Postholes and Pits				Cotswold Archaeology 2000
Milton, Cannon Development	448900	192400	No	Possible	Possible	Modern Excavation, Unpublished, Grey Report Available	Ditches				Oxford Archaeology 1990; Oxon HER 15826
Milton, Chestnuts School Lane	448762	192277	Possible	Possible	No	Modern Excavation, Unpublished, Grey Report Not Seen, Few Details Known	Postholes				Beyond the Tribal Hidge dataset, provided by Sue Harrington
North Stoke	460700	185800	Probable	Possible	Possible	Rescue Era Excavation, Partially Published	Postholes and Pits				Ford and Hazell 1989; 1990
Oxford, 6-7 High Street	451400	206200	No	No	Probable	Modern Excavation, Unpublished, Grey Report Available	Pits				Gruszczynski and Boothroyd 2012
Pitstone	493850	215080	Probable	Probable	No	Modern Excavation, Fully Published	SFBs	6			Phillips 2005; Bucks BCC ID 0677900000
RAF Fairford	415321	197373	No	Possible	Possible	Modern Excavation, Fully Published	Ditches				Hoad 2006; Glos HER 44447
Reading Abbey Church	472020	173608	Possible	Possible	Possible	Rescue Era Excavation, Unpublished, Full Grey Report Not Seen, Few Details Known	Unstratified Personal Accessories				Berks HER 3902
Reading, Forbury Square	471805	173472	No	Probable	Probable	Modern Excavation, Unpublished, Grey Report Not Seen, Few Details Known	Postholes and Pits				Berks HER 15662
Rycotem, Aylesbury-Chalgrove Gas Pipeline	466090	204950	Probable	Probable	Probable	Modern Excavation, Fully Published	SFBs	2			Ford <i>et al.</i> 2004
Shakenoak	437400	213800	No	Possible	Probable	Rescue Era Excavation, Fully Published	Ditches				Brodrigg <i>et al.</i> 2005; Pastscape 334742; Oxon HER 1500
Shipton-on-Cherwell, Bunker's Hill Quarry	447500	217500	Possible	Possible	No	Unknown Site, Few Details Known	Unstratified Settlement Refuse				Salzman 1939, 356; Berisford 1973
South Leigh	439300	206800	?	?	?	N/A	Cropmarks of SFBs				Benson and Miles 1974, Map 20, p42; Oxon HER 8212-3
South Stoke	460470	185480	?	?	?	N/A	Cropmarks of SFBs				Pastscape 1201167
Southrop, Manor Farm Barns	420150	203400	Probable	Possible	No	Modern Excavation, Fully Published	Pits				Nichols 2000b; Glos HER 43274
Standlake	438100	203300	?	?	?	N/A	Cropmarks of SFBs				Benson and Miles 1974, Map 21, p46; Oxon HER 8238
Standlake Down I	438700	204400	Probable	Possible	No	Early 20th Century Excavation, Poorly Recorded, Few Details Known	SFBs	1			Salzman 1939, 363; Oxon HER 1614

Standlake Down II	439200	204500	Probable	Possible	No	19th Century Discovery, Poorly Recorded, Few Details Known	SFBs	1			Stone 1859a
Stanford-in-the-Vale, Rising Main Replacement	434479	193184	Possible	Possible	Possible	Modern Excavation, Unpublished, Grey Report Available	Pits				Bennett 2009
Stanton Harcourt	440300	205500	Probable	Possible	No	19th Century Discovery, Poorly Recorded, Few Details Known	SFBs	12			Stone 1859a; Leeds and Bradford 1942b; Leeds 1923b; Oxon HER D1684
Stanton Harcourt	440300	205400	?	?	?	N/A	Cropmarks of SFBs				Benson and Miles 1974, Map 21, p48; Oxon HER 8281-6
Stanton Harcourt	441300	205100	?	?	?	N/A	Cropmarks of SFBs				Benson and Miles 1974, Map 23, p50; Pastscape 1011692, 1011693; Oxon HER 1645, 1658, 8325
Stanton Harcourt	441600	207100	?	?	?	N/A	Cropmarks of SFBs				Benson and Miles 1974, Map 20, p42; Oxon HER 3748, 8220-1
Stanton Harcourt, Beard Mill	440300	205500	?	?	?	N/A	Cropmarks of SFBs				Benson and Miles 1974, Map 21, p48; Pastscape 1011869; Oxon HER 1684
Stanton Harcourt, Gravely Guy	440300	205300	Probable	No	No	Modern Excavation, Fully Published	SFBs	1			Lambrick and Allen 2004; Oxon HER 15032.02
Stow-on-the-Wold, Griffin Close	420150	225800	No	Probable	No	Modern Excavation, Unpublished, Grey Report Available	SFBs	3			Barber 2013; Pastscape 1476077; Glos HER 40151
Sutton Courtenay	449700	192300	?	?	?	N/A	Cropmarks of SFBs				Benson and Miles 1974, Map 33, p62; Oxon HER 7743 8464-5
Sutton Courtenay	448700	193600	?	?	?	N/A	Cropmarks of Earfast Buildings				Benson and Miles 1974, Map 33, p62; Oxon HER 8431-8442
Sutton Courtenay Associated Settlement	448733	193671	Probable	Probable	Possible	Early 20th Century Excavation, Relatively Well Recorded and Published	SFBs and Earfast Buildings	33	2	2	Leeds 1923b; 1927; 1947; Brennan and Hamerow 2015; Pastscape 234114; Oxon HER PD2427
Sutton Courtenay Great Hall Complex	448690	193630	No	Probable	Possible	Modern Excavation, Fully Published	Earfast Buildings		3	3	Brennan and Hamerow 2015; Hamerow <i>et al.</i> 2007; Pastscape 234114; Oxon HER PD2427
Sutton Courtenay, 2 Abingdon Road	450950	194450	No	Possible	Probable	Modern Excavation, Unpublished, Grey Report Available	Ditches				Mundin and McNicoll-Norbury 2009
Sutton Courtenay, North Cursus	448959	194587	Possible	Possible	Possible	Modern Excavation, Fully Published	SFBs and Earfast Buildings	3	2	2	Barclay <i>et al.</i> 2003
Sutton Courtenay, Peewit Farm	448949	194054	Possible	Possible	Possible	Modern Excavation, Unpublished, Grey Report Available	Postholes				Porter 2013

Sutton Courtenay/Milton	449300	192300	?	?	?	N/A	Cropmarks of SFBs				Benson and Miles 1974, Map 33, p62; Oxon HER 8462-3
Sutton Green	441640	206380	?	?	?	N/A	Cropmarks of SFBs				Pastscape 1011731
Swindon, Lloyds Bank	415840	183760	Probable	Possible	No	Rescue Era Excavation, Unpublished, Grey Report Not Seen, Few Details Known	SFBs	1			Wilts HER 16266
Swindon, Market Square Old Town	415930	183660	Probable	Possible	No	Rescue Era Excavation, Unpublished, Full Grey Report Not Seen, Few Details Known	SFBs and Earthenfast Buildings	3	1	1	Canham 1975; Wilts HER 16265
Swindon, The Hermitage	415910	183730	Probable	Possible	No	Modern Excavation, Unpublished, Grey Report Not Seen, Few Details Known	SFBs	1			Chandler 1993; Wilts HER 16267
The Beeches, Marlborough Road	417340	182830	Probable	Possible	No	Modern Excavation, Unpublished, Grey Report Not Seen, Few Details Known	SFBs	1			Philips 2006; Wilts HER 16274
Upper Up, Orchard House	404350	196920	Probable	Possible	No	Modern Excavation, Unpublished, Grey Report Available	Unstratified Settlement Refuse				Webster 2007; Glos HER 29827
Wallingford Rowing Club	460900	188000	Probable	No	No	Modern Excavation, Unpublished, Grey Report Available	SFBs	1			Oxford Archaeology 1998; Oxon HER 16939
Wantage, Crab Hill	440356	188884	No	Possible	Possible	Modern Excavation, Unpublished, Grey Report Available	Ditches				Brett 2013
Wantage, Limbrough Road	439862	188176	No	Possible	Possible	Modern Excavation, Unpublished, Grey Report Available	Ditches				Hutcheson 1997
Wantage, Mill Street	439580	188140	No	Possible	Possible	Modern Excavation, Fully Published	Ditches				Holbrook and Thomas 1996; Pastscape 1128531
Wantage, St. Mary's School	439925	187590	Possible	Possible	Probable	Modern Excavation, Partially Published, Grey Report Not Seen	Postholes and Ditches				Lewis 2016; Beyond the Tribal Hidage records that John Moore Heritage Services also carried out work on this site, but I have not located this report
Warborough	459000	194500	?	?	?	N/A	Cropmarks of SFBs				Benson and Miles 1974, Map 36, p69; Oxon HER 3422, 8553-6
Waterperry, Waterperry House	462980	206290	Probable	Possible	No	Modern Excavation, Fully Published	Pits and Ditches				Weaver and Hall 2000
Weston-on-the-Green, Beecroft Yard	453250	218700	No	Possible	Possible	Modern Excavation, Fully Published	Ditches				Taylor and Ford 1999
Wigginton	439050	234500	?	?	?	N/A	Cropmarks of Earthenfast Buildings				Oxon HER 16176

Wolvercote	448947	209698	Possible	Possible	No	Unknown Site, Few Details Known	Unstratified Settlement Refuse				Salzman 1939, 356
Woodstock, Charbury-Arncoft Gas Pipeline	444580	218870	Probable	Possible	No	Rescue Era Excavation, Fully Published	SFBs	1			Chambers 1978, 43; Pastscape 336682
Woolstone	429373	187816	Possible	Possible	No	Unknown Site, Few Details Known	Unstratified Settlement Refuse				Berisford 1973
Wootton, Hordley	444500	218700	Probable	Possible	No	Rescue Era Excavation, Largely Unpublished, No Grey Report, Few Details Known	SFBs	1			Webster and Cherry 1973d; Oxon HER 5548
Worton	445900	211380	?	?	?	N/A	Cropmarks of SFBs				Pastscape 912252; Hey et al 2004
Worton (Phase 1)	445943	211254	Probable	Probable	No	Modern Excavation, Fully Published	SFBs	3			Hey <i>et al.</i> 2004; Oxon HER 16042
Worton (Phase 2)	445943	211254	No	No	Probable	Modern Excavation, Fully Published	Earthfast Buildings		1	1	Hey <i>et al.</i> 2004; Oxon HER 16042
Wroughton, Marlborough Road	415030	180560	Probable	Possible	Possible	Modern Excavation, Unpublished, Grey Report Available	'features'				Michael's 2015; Wilts HER Event 7925
Wytham	440060	188030	Possible	Possible	No	Unknown Site, Few Details Known	Unstratified Settlement Refuse				Berisford 1973
Yarnton (Phase 1)	447417	211279	Probable	Probable	No	Modern Excavation, Fully Published	SFBs and Earhfast Buildings	5	1		Hey <i>et al.</i> 2004; Pastscape 1066559
Yarnton (Phase 2)	447417	211279	No	No	Probable	Modern Excavation, Fully Published	SFBs and Earhfast Buildings	4	8	4	Hey <i>et al.</i> 2004; Pastscape 1066559

Bibliography

Primary Sources

Anglo-Saxon Chronicle (ASC)

Swanton, Michael (trans.). 1996. *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*.

Bede, Historia Ecclesiastica (HE)

Colgrave, Bertram and Roger Mynors (trans.). 1969. *Bede's Ecclesiastical History of the English People*.

Bede, letter to Archbishop Egbert

Sherley-Price, Leo (trans.). 1990. *Ecclesiastical History of the English People, with Bede's letter to Egbert and Cuthbert's letter on the death of Bede*.

Beowulf

Swanton, Michael (trans.). 1997. *Beowulf*.

Laws of Hlothere and Eadric

Whitelock, Dorothy (ed.). 1996. *English Historical Documents, c. 500-1042*. 2nd Edition.

Laws of Ine

Whitelock, Dorothy (ed.). 1996. *English Historical Documents, c. 500-1042*. 2nd Edition.

Vita Wilfrithi

Colgrave, Bertrum (trans.). 2007. *The Life of Bishop Wilfrid by Eddius Stephanus*. 3rd issue.

Secondary Sources

Addyman, Peter. 1972. 'The Anglo-Saxon house: a new review' *Anglo-Saxon England* 1: 273-307.

Addyman, Peter and David Leigh. 1973. 'The Anglo-Saxon village at Chalton, Hampshire: second interim report'. *Medieval Archaeology* 17: 1-25.

Addyman, Peter, David Leigh and Michael Hughes. 1972. 'The Anglo-Saxon houses at Chalton, Hampshire'. *Medieval Archaeology* 16: 13-33.

Ainslie, Roger. 2012. Sunningwell, Oxfordshire. Unpublished Archaeological Report.

Akerman, John Younge. 1857a. 'An account of researches in Anglo-Saxon cemeteries at Filkins, and at Broughton Poggs in Oxfordshire'. *Archaeologia* 37: 140-6.

Akerman, John Younge. 1857b. 'Report of researches in a cemetery of the Anglo-Saxon period at Brighthampton, co. Oxford'. *Archaeologia* 37: 391-8.

Akerman, John Younge. 1859. 'J. Y. Akerman, Esq. Secretary, by permission of the President and Fellows of St John's College, Oxford, exhibited a remarkably fine collection of Anglo-Saxon relics, obtained by him from the ancient cemetery at Brighthampton'. *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of London* 1st series 4: 231-2.

- Akerman, John Younge. 1860. 'Report on researches in an Anglo-Saxon cemetery at Long Wittenham, Berkshire, in 1859'. *Archaeologia* 38: 327-52.
- Akerman, John Younge. 1861. 'Report on further researches in an Anglo-Saxon burial ground at Long Wittenham, Berkshire, in the summer of 1860'. *Archaeologia* 39: 135-42.
- Akerman, John Younge. 1862. 'An account of further researches in an Anglo-Saxon burial place in the parish of Long Wittenham'. *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of London* 2nd series 2: 133-5.
- Alcock, Leslie. 1981. 'Quantity or quality: the Anglian graves of Bernicia' in V. Evison (ed.), *Angles, Saxons, and Jutes*. 168-183.
- Alcock, Leslie. 1987. *Economy, Society and Warfare Among the Britons and Saxons*.
- Alcock, Leslie. 1988a. *Bede, Eddius and the Forts of the North Britons*. Jarrow Lecture.
- Alcock, Leslie. 1988b. 'The activities of potentates in Celtic Britain, AD 500-800: a positivist approach' in S. Driscoll and M. Niekke (ed.), *Power and Politics in early Medieval Britain and Ireland*. 22-46.
- Alcock, Leslie. 1995. *Cadbury Castle, Somerset: the Early Medieval Archaeology*.
- Alcock, Leslie. 2003. *Kings and Warriors, Craftsmen and Priests in Northern Britain AD 550-850*.
- Alcock, Nat and David Walsh. 1993. 'Architecture at Cowdery's Down: a reconsideration'. *The Archaeological Journal* 150: 403-9.
- Allen, David. 1986. 'Excavations in Bierton, 1979: a Late Iron Age 'Belgic' settlement and evidence for a Roman villa and a Twelfth to Eighteenth Century manorial complex'. *Records of Buckinghamshire* 28: 1-120.
- Allen, Tim. 1990a. 'Abingdon'. *Current Archaeology* 121: 24-6.
- Allen, Tim. 1990b. 'Abingdon Vineyard redevelopment'. *South Midlands Archaeology* 20: 73-8.
- Allen, Tim. 1995. *Lithics and Landscape: archaeological discoveries on the Thames Water pipeline at Gatehampton Farm, Goring, Oxfordshire 1985-92*.
- Allen, Tim, Kate Cramp, Hugo Lamdin-Whymark, and Leo Webley. 2010. *Castle Hill and its Landscape; Archaeological Investigations at the Wittenhams, Oxfordshire*. Oxford Archaeology.
- Allen, Tim, Zena Kamash and Chris Hayden. 2008. *Saved from the Grave: Neolithic to Saxon discoveries at Spring Road Municipal Cemetery, Abingdon, Oxfordshire, 1990-2000*.
- Anonymous. 1939. 'Notes and news: 7. Wallingford (The Pavilion), Berks.'. *Oxoniensia* 4: 196.
- Anonymous. 1973. 'Abingdon, Corporation Farm (A)'. *South Midlands Archaeology* 3: 40-1.
- Anonymous. 1976. 'Eynsham, Tanners Lane, off Queen Street'. *South Midlands Archaeology* 6: 73.
- Anonymous. 1983. 'Highworth'. *The Wiltshire Archaeological and Natural History Magazine* 77: 161.
- Anonymous. 1984. 'Wiltshire Archaeological Register for 1983, 83. Highworth'. *The Wiltshire Archaeological and Natural History Magazine* 79: 257.
- Anonymous. 1998. 'Excavation and Fieldwork in Wiltshire 1996, Draycott Foliat: South Farm'. *The Wiltshire Archaeological and Natural History Magazine* 91: 155.

- Arnold, Chris. 1980. 'Wealth and social structure: a matter of life and death' in P. Rahtz, T. Dickinson and L. Watts (ed.), *Anglo-Saxon Cemeteries 1979: The fourth Anglo-Saxon Symposium at Oxford*. 81-142.
- Arthur, Brian and Edward Jope. 1963. 'Early Saxon pottery kilns at Purwell Farm, Cassington, Oxfordshire'. *Medieval Archaeology* 6-7: 1-14.
- Atkinson, Donald. 1916. *The Romano-British Site on Lowbury Hill in Berkshire*.
- Atkinson, Richard and Joan Kirk. 1949. 'Notes and news: 1. Cothill, Berks.'. *Oxoniensia* 14: 75.
- Atkinson, Richard and P.M.M. Crouch. 1945. 'Notes and news: 1. Blewbury, Berks.'. *Oxoniensia* 10: 92.
- Austin, David and Julian Thomas. 1990. 'The "proper study" of medieval archaeology: a case study' in D. Austin and L. Alcock (ed.), *From the Baltic to the Black Sea: studies in medieval archaeology*. 43-76.
- Austin, Matthew. 2017. *Anglo-Saxon 'Great Hall Complexes': elite residences and landscapes of power in early England, c. AD 550-700*. Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis: University of Reading.
- Avery, Michael and David Brown. 1972. 'Saxon features at Abingdon'. *Oxoniensia* 37: 66-81.
- Axboe, Morten. 1999. 'Towards the kingdom of Denmark'. *Anglo-Saxon Studies in Archaeology and History* 10: 109-18.
- Bain, Kate. 2015. Land south of Cirencester Road, Fairford, Gloucestershire. Unpublished Archaeological Report. Headland Archaeology.
- Baker, John and Stuart Brookes. 2013. 'Monumentalising the political landscape: a special class of Anglo-Saxon assembly site'. *The Antiquaries Journal* 93: 147-62.
- Baker, John and Stuart Brookes. 2015. 'Identifying outdoor assembly sites in early medieval England'. *Journal of Field Archaeology* 40(1): 3-21.
- Banham, Debby and Rosamond Faith. 2014. *Anglo-Saxon Farms and Farming*.
- Barber, Alistair. 2013. Griffin Close, Stow-on-the-Wold, Gloucestershire. Unpublished Archaeological Report. Cotswold Archaeology.
- Barclay, Alistair, Leigh Allen and Leslie Collett. 2003. *Lines in the Landscape: cursus monuments in the Upper Thames Valley, excavations at the Drayton and Lechlade Cursuses*.
- Barclay, Gordon, Kenneth Brophy and Gavin MacGregor. 2002. 'Claish, Stirling: an early Neolithic structure in its context'. *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquities of Scotland* 132: 65-137.
- Barker, Philip, Roger White, Kate Pretty, Heather Blind and Mike Corbishley. 1997. *The Baths Basilica Wroxeter, excavations 1966-90*.
- Barnwell, Paul. 2005. 'Anglian Yeaving: a continental perspective' in P. Frodsham and C. O'Brien (ed.), *Yeaving: People, Power, Place*. 174-84.
- Barnwell, Paul and Marco Mostert (ed.). 2003. *Political Assemblies in the Earlier Middle Ages*.
- Bartlett, Alister. 1978. Geophysics from Milfield (AML Rep No 2463) Ancient Monuments Laboratory Reports. Unpublished archaeological report. Ancient Monuments Laboratory Geophysics Section.
- Bartlett, Alister. 2006. Report on Archaeogeophysical Surveys for the Northmoor Trust Heritage Landscape Project 2002-6. Unpublished Archaeological Report. Bartlett-Clark Consultancy.

- Bashford, Robin. 2013. Land south of Cirencester Road, Fairford, Gloucestershire. Unpublished Archaeological Report. Oxford Archaeology.
- Bassett, Stephen. 1989. 'In search of the origins of Anglo-Saxon kingdoms' in S. Bassett (ed.), *The Origins of Anglo-Saxon Kingdoms*. 1-27.
- Bately, Janet. 1978. 'The compilation of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, 60BC to AD890: vocabulary as evidence'. *Proceedings of the British Academy* 64: 93-129.
- Bateman, Clifford. 1997. Settlement West of Latton, Latton, Wiltshire. Unpublished Archaeological Report. Cotswold Archaeology.
- Bateman, Clifford, Dawn Enright and Niall Oakey. 2000. Prehistoric and Anglo-Saxon Settlements to the rear of Sherborne House, Lechlade, Gloucestershire. Unpublished Archaeological Report. Cotswold Archaeology.
- Bateman, Clifford, Dawn Enright and Niall Oakey. 2003. 'Prehistoric and Anglo-Saxon Settlements to the rear of Sherborne House, Lechlade: excavations in 1997'. *Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society* 121: 23-96.
- Bayliss, Alex, Robert Hedges, Robert Otlet, Roy Switsur and Jill Walker. 2012. *Radiocarbon dates: from samples funded by English Heritage between 1981 and 1988*.
- Bazelmans, Jos. 1999. *By Weapons Made Worthy: lords, retainers, and their relationship in Beowulf*.
- Bennett, Jonathan. 2009. Stanford in the Vale Rising Main Replacement, Stanford in the Vale, Oxfordshire. Unpublished Archaeological Report. Cotswold Archaeology.
- Benson, Don and David Brown. 1966. 'Notes and news: Cassington, Oxon.' *Oxoniensia* 31: 152.
- Benson, Don and David Miles. 1974a. *The Upper Thames Valley: an archaeological survey of the river gravels*. Oxfordshire Archaeological Unit.
- Benson, Don and David Miles. 1974b. 'Cropmarks near the Sutton Courtenay Saxon site' *Antiquity* 48: 223-6.
- Berisford, Freda. 1973. *The early Anglo-Saxon settlement sites in the Upper Thames Basin, with special reference to the area around Cassington and Eynsham*. Unpublished B.Litt. Thesis: University of Oxford.
- Bettess, Fred. 1991. 'The Anglo-Saxon foot: a computerized assessment' *Medieval Archaeology* 35: 44-50.
- Biddick, Kathleen. 1984. 'Field edge, forest edge: early medieval social change and resource allocation' in K. Biddick (ed.), *Archaeological Approaches to Medieval Europe*. 105-18.
- Biddle, Martin and Birthe Kjøbye-Biddle. 2012. 'Repton' in *The Wiley-Blackwell Encyclopedia of Anglo-Saxon England*. 401-3.
- Blair, John. 1989. 'Frithuwold's kingdom and the origins of Surrey' in S. Bassett (ed.), *The Origins of Anglo-Saxon Kingdoms*. 97-107.
- Blair, John. 1992. 'The Bampton Research Project: interim report, 1989-92'. *South Midlands Archaeology* 22: 55-9.
- Blair, John. 1994. *Anglo-Saxon Oxfordshire*.
- Blair, John. 1995. 'Anglo-Saxon pagan shrines and their prototypes' *Anglo-Saxon Studies in Archaeology and History* 8: 1-28.

- Blair, John. 1996. 'Palace or minsters? Northampton and Cheddar reconsidered'. *Anglo-Saxon England* 25: 97-121.
- Blair, John. 1998. 'Bampton: an Anglo-Saxon Minster'. *Current Archaeology* 14: 124-30.
- Blair, John. 2005. *The Church in Anglo-Saxon Society*.
- Blair, John. 2011. 'Overview: the archaeology of religion' in H. Hamerow, D. Hinton, S. Crawford (ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of Anglo-Saxon Archaeology*. 727-41.
- Blair, John. 2013a. 'The British culture of Anglo-Saxon settlement' H. M. Chadwick Memorial Lecture 24.
- Blair, John. 2013b. 'Holy beams: Anglo-Saxon cult sites and the place-name element *Beam*' in M. Bintley and M. Shapland (ed.), *Trees and Timber in the Anglo-Saxon World*. 186-210.
- Blair, John. 2013c. 'Grid-planning in Anglo-Saxon settlements: the short perch and the four-perch module'. *Anglo-Saxon Studies in Archaeology and History* 18: 18-61.
- Blair, John. 2015. 'Great hall complexes and minsters in seventh-century England' paper presented at Early Medieval Monasticism in the North Sea Zone. Canterbury, April 24 2015.
- Blair, John. 2018. *Building Anglo-Saxon England*.
- Blanton, Richard, Gary Feinman, Stephen Kowalewski and Peter Peregrine. 1996. 'A dual processual theory for the evolution of Mesoamerican civilization'. *Current Anthropology* 36: 1-14.
- Bleir, Suzanne. 2006. 'Vernacular architecture' in C. Tilley, W. Keane, S. Kuechler, M. Rowlands and P. Spyer (ed.), *Handbook of Material Culture*. 203-53.
- Blinkhorn, Paul. 1999. 'Of cabbages and kings: production, trade, and consumption in Middle-Saxon England' in M. Anderton (ed.), *Anglo-Saxon Trading Centres: beyond the emporia*. 4-23.
- Blinkhorn, Paul. 2001. 'Pottery' in D. Poore and D. Wilkinson, *Beaumont Palace and the White Friars: excavations at the Sackler Library, Beaumont Street, Oxford*.
- Boddington, Andy. 1990. 'Modes of burial, settlement, and worship: the Final Phase reviewed' in E. Southworth (ed.), *Anglo-Saxon Cemeteries: a reappraisal: proceedings of a conference held at Liverpool Museum, 1986*. 177-99.
- Booth, Paul. 2004. 'Quantifying status: some pottery data from the Upper Thames Valley'. *Journal of Roman Pottery Studies* 11: 39-52.
- Booth, Paul, Jeremy Evans and Jonathan Hillier. 2001. *Excavations in the extramural settlement of Roman Alchester, Oxfordshire, 1991*. Oxford Archaeology.
- Booth, Paul, Anne Dodd, Mark Robinson and Alex Smith. 2007. *The Thames through time: the archaeology of the gravel terraces of the Upper and Middle Thames: the early historical period, AD 1-1000*. Oxford Archaeology.
- Boston, Ceri. 2004. '2 Stephen's Road, Headington'. *South Midlands Archaeology* 34: 70.
- Bourdieu, Pierre. 1973. 'The Berber House' in M. Douglas (ed.), *Rules and Meanings*. 98-110.
- Bourdieu, Pierre. 1977. *Outline of a Theory of Practice*.
- Boyd, Robert and Peter Richerson. 1988. 'The evolution of reciprocity in sizable groups'. *Journal of Theoretical Biology* 132: 337-56.
- Boyle, Angela, Anne Dodd, David Miles and Andrew Mudd. 1995. *Two Oxfordshire Anglo-Saxon cemeteries: Berinsfield and Didcot*.

- Boyle, Angela, David Jennings, Jane Timby and Anne Dodd. 1998. *The Anglo-Saxon Cemetery at Butler's Field, Lechlade, Gloucestershire: The Prehistoric and Roman activity and grave catalog*. Volume 1.
- Boyle, Angela, David Jennings, Jane Timby and Anne Dodd. 2011. *The Anglo-Saxon Cemetery at Butler's Field, Lechlade, Gloucestershire: The Anglo-Saxon grave goods, specialist reports, phasing and discussion*. Volume 2.
- Bradford, J.C.P. and R.G. Goodchild. 1939. 'Excavations at Frilford, Berks., 1937-8'. *Oxoniensia* 4: 1-70.
- Bradley, Richard. 1978. 'Rescue Excavation in Dorchester-on-Thames 1972'. *Oxoniensia* 43: 17-39.
- Bradley, Richard. 1987. 'Time regained: the creation of continuity'. *The Journal of the British Archaeological Association* 140: 1-17.
- Bradley, Richard and James Wilkins. 2016. Archaeological Evaluation at land off Horcott Road, Fairford, Gloucestershire. Unpublished Archaeological Report. Worcestershire Archaeology.
- Breeze, Andrew. 2001. 'The name of Maelmin, near Yeavinger'. *Archaeologia Aeliana* 29: 31-2.
- Brenan, Jane. 1985. 'Assessing social status in the Anglo-Saxon cemetery at Sleaford'. *Institute of Archaeology Bulletin* 22: 125-31.
- Brenan, Jane. 1991. *Hanging Bowls and their Contexts: an archaeological survey of their socio-economic significance from the fifth to seventh centuries A.D.*
- Brenan, Jane. 1997. *Social Status Analysis*.
- Brennan, Naomi and Helena Hamerow. 2015. 'An Anglo-Saxon great hall complex at Sutton Courtenay/Drayton, Oxfordshire: a royal centre of early Wessex?'. *The Archaeological Journal* 172(2): 325-350.
- Brett, Mark. 2013. Land at Crab Hill: Phase 2, Wantage, Oxfordshire. Unpublished Archaeological Report. Cotswold Archaeology.
- Broadley, Rose. 2017. 'Preliminary observations on the Anglo-Saxon glass from Lyminge' in G. Thomas and A. Knox (ed.), *Early Medieval Monasticism in the North Sea Zone*. ASSAH 20. 117-26.
- Brodribb, Arthur, Anthony Hands and David Walker. 2005. *The Roman Villa at Shakenoak Farm, Oxfordshire: excavations 1960-1976*.
- Brown, David. 1967. 'The Anglo-Saxon cemetery at Harwell, grave 7'. *Oxoniensia* 32: 73-4.
- Brown, David. 1973. 'The Site of Stephen Stone's Saxon Cemetery at Standlake'. *Oxoniensia* 38: 233-8.
- Brown, Marilyn. 1983. 'New evidence for Anglian settlement in East Lothian [timber halls at Whitekirk]'. *Scottish Archaeological Review* 2: 156-63.
- Brown, Paula. 1972. *The Chimbu: a study of change in the New Guinea Highlands*.
- Bruce-Mitford, Rupert. 2005. *The Corpus of Late Celtic Hanging-Bowls*.
- Brush, Karen. 1993. *Adorning the Dead: the Social Significance of Early Anglo-Saxon Funerary Dress in England (Fifth to Seventh Centuries AD)*. Unpublished Ph.D. thesis: University of Cambridge.
- Camden, William. 1637. *Britannia*.

- Campbell, James. 1979. *Bede's Reges and Principes*.
- Campbell, James. 1986. 'Bede's words for places' in J. Campbell, *Essays in Anglo-Saxon History*. 99-119.
- Campbell, James. 2007. 'Some considerations on religion in early England' in M. Henig and T. Smith (ed.), *Collectanea Antiqua: Essays in Memory of Sonia Chadwick Hawkes*. 67-73.
- Canham, Roy. 1975. The Excavation at Market Square, High Street, Old Town. Unpublished Archaeological Report. Swindon Archaeological Society.
- Carstens, Lydia. 2014. 'Powerful space: the Iron-Age hall and its development during the Viking Age' in M. Eriksen, U. Pedersen, B. Rundberget, I. Axelsen and H. Berg (ed.), *Viking Worlds: things, spaces and movement*. 12-27.
- Carver, Martin. 2000. 'Burial as poetry: the context of treasure in early medieval graves' in E. Tyler (ed.), *Treasure in the Medieval West*. 25-48.
- Carver, Martin. 2005. *Sutton Hoo: a Seventh-Century princely burial ground and its context*.
- Carver, Martin. 2010. 'Agency, intellect and the archaeological agenda' in M. Carver, A. Sanmark and S. Semple (ed.), *Signals of Belief in Early England*. 1-20.
- Case, Humphrey. 1958a. 'Notes and news: Cassington, Oxon.'. *Oxoniensia* 23: 130.
- Case, Humphrey. 1958b. 'Notes and news: Dorchester, Oxon.'. *Oxoniensia* 23:131.
- Case, Humphrey. 1982. 'Cassington, 1950-2: Late Neolithic pits and the big enclosure' in H. Case and A. Whittle (ed.), *Settlement Patterns in the Oxford Region: excavations at the Abingdon causewayed enclosure and other sites*. 118-51.
- Cass, Simon and Steve Ford. 2008. Millets Farm, Frilford, Oxfordshire. Unpublished Archaeological Report. Thames Valley Archaeological Services.
- Chambers, Richard. 1976a. 'The cemetery site at Beacon Hill, near Lewknor, Oxon. 1972 (M40 Site 12): an inventory of the inhumations and a re-appraisal'. *Oxoniensia* 41: 77-85.
- Chambers, Richard. 1976b. 'Notes: Eynsham, Oxon, 1975'. *Oxoniensia* 41: 355-6.
- Chambers, Richard. 1978. 'The archaeology of the Charlbury to Arncott gas pipeline, Oxon, 1972'. *Oxoniensia* 43: 40-7.
- Chambers, Richard. 1983. 'Dorchester: 9 Rotten Row'. *South Midlands Archaeology* 13: 126-7.
- Chambers, Richard and Ellen McAdam. 2007. *Excavations at Barrow Hills, Radley, Oxfordshire. vol 2. The Romano British Cemetery and Anglo Saxon settlement*.
- Champion, Tim. 1977. 'Chalton'. *Current Archaeology* 59: 364-9.
- Chandler, Christopher. 1993. The Hermitage, Old Town, Swindon, April 1993. Unpublished Archaeological Report. Fresden Archaeological Services.
- Charles-Edwards, Thomas. 1989. 'Early Medieval kingship in the British Isles' in S. Bassett (ed.), *The Origins of Anglo-Saxon Kingdoms*.
- Chester-Kadwell, Mary. 2009. *Early Anglo-Saxon communities in the landscape of Norfolk*.
- Claessen, Henri. 2010. 'Pacific: Polynesia' in *The Routledge Encyclopedia of Social and Cultural Anthropology*.
- Clark, John and Michael Blake. 1994. 'The Power of Prestige: Competitive Generosity and the Emergence of Rank Societies in Lowland Mesoamerica' in E. Brumfiel and J. Fox (ed.), *Factional Competition and Political Development in the New World*. 17-30.

- Clayton, N. 1973. 'Eynsham, Oxon'. *South Midlands Archaeology* 3: 20.
- Clutterbuck, James. 1848. 'Discovery of a Saxon interment at Long Wittenham'. *The Archaeological Journal* 5: 291-4.
- Clutterbuck, James. 1863. 'Letter communicated to J. Y. Akerman the discovery of a Saxon cemetery at Arne Hill near Lockinge, Berks'. *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of London* 2nd series 2: 320-1.
- Collins, A.E.P. 1953. 'Excavations on Blewburton Hill, 1948 and 1949'. *The Berkshire Archaeological Journal* 53: 21-64.
- Collins, A.E.P. and F.J. Collins. 1959. 'Excavations on Blewburton Hill, 1953'. *The Berkshire Archaeological Journal* 57: 52-73.
- Conder, Edward. 1895. 'Edward Conder, junior, Esq., communicated the following account of the exploration of Lyneham Barrow, Oxon'. *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of London* 2nd series 15: 404-10.
- Cook, Jean. 2004. *Early Anglo-Saxon Buckets: a corpus of copper alloy and iron bound, stave-built buckets*.
- Cotswold Archaeology. 1998. Land at Sherborne House, Lechlade, Gloucestershire. Unpublished Archaeological Report. Cotswold Archaeology.
- Cotswold Archaeology. 2000. Land to the North of Milton Park, Milton, near Didcot, Oxfordshire. Unpublished Archaeological Report. Cotswold Archaeology.
- Crabtree, Pamela. 2010. 'Agricultural innovation and socio-economic change in early medieval Europe: evidence from Britain and France'. *World Archaeology* 42: 122-36.
- Craddock-Bennett, Luke. 2016. Land at Home Farm, Fairford, Gloucestershire. Unpublished Archaeological Report. Headland Archaeology.
- Cramp, Rosemary. 1957. 'Beowulf and archaeology'. *Medieval Archaeology* 1: 57-77.
- Cramp, Rosemary. 1983. 'Anglo-Saxon Settlement' in *Settlement in Northern Britain 1000BC – 1000AD*. 263-97.
- Crawford, Sally. 1989. 'The Anglo-Saxon cemetery at Chimney, Oxfordshire'. *Oxoniensia* 54: 45-56.
- Crewe, Vicky. 2009. 'The appropriation of prehistoric monuments in early to middle Anglo-Saxon settlements'. *Medieval Settlement Research Group Annual Report* 23: 1-8.
- Crewe, Vicky. 2010. *The Reuse of Prehistoric Monuments in Early to Middle Anglo-Saxon Settlements of the English Midlands*. Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis: University of Sheffield.
- Cromarty, Anne Marie, Alistair Barclay, George Lambrick and Mark Robinson. 2006. *Late Bronze Age Ritual and Habitation on a Thames Eyot at Whitecross Farm, Wallingford: the archaeology of the Wallingford Bypass, 1986-92*.
- Dalwood, Hal and Alison Hawkins. 1989. Excavations in Walton, Aylesbury, 1987: Late Iron Age, Roman, Saxon and Medieval occupation in Croft Road, and at the Police Houses, Walton Street. Unpublished Archaeological Report. Buckinghamshire County Museum Archaeological Service.
- Dalwood, Hal, John Dillon, Jane Evans and Alison Hawkins. 1989. 'Excavations in Walton, Aylesbury, 1985-1986'. *Records of Buckinghamshire* 31: 137-225.

- David, Andrew. 1983. *Report on the Geophysical Survey at Cowage Farm, Foxley, Wilts.* Ancient Monuments Laboratory Report Series.
- David, Andrew. 1994. 'The role of geophysical survey in early medieval archaeology'. *Anglo-Saxon Studies in Archaeology and History* 7: 1-26.
- Dawkins. 1864. 'Mr. Dawkins then described the burial-ground which he had discovered in the railway cutting at Yarnton'. *Proceedings of the Oxford Architectural and Historical Society* 1: 110-116.
- De Jong, Mayke and Frans Theuws. 2001. 'Topographies of power: some conclusions' in M. Jong and F. Theuws (ed.), *Topographies of Power in the Early Middle Ages*. 533-45.
- Dickinson, Tania. 1973. 'Excavations at Standlake Downs in 1954: The Anglo-Saxon Graves'. *Oxoniensia* 38: 239-57.
- Dickinson, Tania. 1974. *Cuddesdon and Dorchester-on-Thames, Oxfordshire: two early Saxon princely sites in Wessex*.
- Dickinson, Tania. 1976 I. *Anglo-Saxon Burial Sites of the Upper Thames Region, and Their Bearing on the History of Wessex, circa 400-700*. Part I: the text. Unpublished Ph.D. thesis: University of Oxford.
- Dickinson, Tania. 1976 II. *Anglo-Saxon Burial Sites of the Upper Thames Region, and Their Bearing on the History of Wessex, circa 400-700*. Part II: the grave catalogue. Unpublished Ph.D. thesis: University of Oxford.
- Dickinson, Tania. 1976 III. *Anglo-Saxon Burial Sites of the Upper Thames Region, and Their Bearing on the History of Wessex, circa 400-700*. Part III: the figures. Unpublished Ph.D. thesis: University of Oxford.
- Dickinson, Tania. 1993. 'Early Saxon Saucer Brooches: a preliminary overview'. *Anglo-Saxon Studies in Archaeology and History* 6: 11-44.
- Dickinson, Tania. 2002. 'Review article: what's new in early medieval burial archaeology'. *Early Medieval Europe* 11(1): 71-87.
- Dickinson, Tania. 2011. 'Overview: mortuary ritual' in H. Hamerow, D. Hinton and S. Crawford (ed.), *Oxford Handbook of Anglo-Saxon Archaeology*. 221-237.
- Dickinson, Tania and George Speake. 1992. 'The seventh century cremation burial in Asthall barrow, Oxfordshire: a reassessment' in M. Carver (ed.), *The Age of Sutton Hoo: the seventh century in north-western Europe*. 95-127.
- Dickinson, Tania and Heinrich Härke. 1992. *Early Anglo-Saxon Shields*.
- Dixon, Philip. 1982. 'How Saxon is the Saxon house' in P. Drury (ed.), *Structural Reconstruction*. 275-88.
- Down, Alec and Martin Welch. 1990. *Chichester Excavations: Apple Down & The Mardens*.
- Drennan, Robert, Christian Peterson and Jake Fox. 2012. 'Degrees and kinds of inequality' in T. Price and G. Feinman (ed.), *Pathways to Power: new perspectives on the emergence of social inequality*. 45-76.
- Dumville, David. 1985. 'The West Saxon genealogical regnal list and the chronology of early Wessex'. *Peritia* 4: 21-66.

- Duncan, Philip, Samuel Collingwood, Thomas Jewitt, W.A. Delamotte, John La Keux and Frederick Mackenzie. 1836. *A Catalogue of the Ashmolean Museum: descriptive of the zoological specimens, antiquities, coins, and miscellaneous curiosities*.
- Dunning, Gerald. 1932. 'Bronze Age settlements and a Saxon hut near Bourton-on-the-Water'. *The Antiquaries Journal* 12: 279-93.
- Eagles, Bruce. 1994. *Medieval Landscapes of Wessex*.
- Edward, James. 1989. 'The origins of barbarian kingdoms: the continental evidence' in S. Bassett (ed.), *The Origins of Anglo-Saxon Kingdoms*. 40-52.
- Eliade, Mircea. 1962. *The Forge and the Crucible*.
- Evison, Vera. 1963. 'Sugar-loaf shield bosses'. *The Antiquaries Journal* 43: 38-96.
- Evison, Vera. 1987. *Dover: the Buckland Anglo-Saxon Cemetery*.
- Fabech, Charlotte. 1994. 'Reading society from the cultural landscape: south Scandinavia between sacral and political power' in P. Nielsen, K. Randsborg and K. Thrane (ed.), *The Archaeology of Gudme and Lundeborg*. 169-83.
- Fairweather, Alan and Ian Ralston. 1993. 'The Neolithic timber hall at Balbridie, Grampian Region, Scotland: the building, the date, the plant macrofossils'. *Antiquity* 67: 313-323.
- Faith, Rosamond. 1997. *The English Peasantry and the Growth of Lordship*.
- Faith, Rosamond. 1999a. 'Estate Management' in *The Wiley Blackwell Encyclopaedia of Anglo-Saxon England*. 180-1.
- Faith, Rosamond. 1999b. 'Feorm' in *The Wiley Blackwell Encyclopaedia of Anglo-Saxon England*. 186-7.
- Faith, Rosamond. 1999c. 'Manors and Manorial Lordship' in *The Wiley Blackwell Encyclopaedia of Anglo-Saxon England*. 305-6.
- Faith, Rosamond. 2008. 'Forms of Dominance and the Early Medieval Landscape'. *Medieval Settlement Research* 23: 9-13.
- Faith, Rosamond. 2009. 'Forces and relations of production in Early Medieval England'. *Journal of Agrarian Change* 9(1): 23-41.
- Farley, Michael. 1975. 'Saxon and Medieval Walton, Aylesbury: excavations 1973-4'. *Records of Buckinghamshire* 20: 153-291.
- Farley, Michael. 2012. *Iron Age Ritual: a hillfort and evidence for a minster at Aylesbury, Buckinghamshire*.
- Farley, Michael, Daphne Nash and Robert White. 1981. 'A Late Iron Age and Roman site at Walton Court, Aylesbury'. *Records of Buckinghamshire* 23: 51-75.
- Feinman, Gary. 2012. 'A dual-processual perspective on the power and inequality in the contemporary United States: framing political economy for the present and the past' in T. Price and G. Feinman (ed.), *Pathways to Power: new perspectives on the emergence of social inequality*. 255-88.
- Fenton, Penny. 1996. An interim statement on the archaeological excavations at church farm, Bierton, Aylesbury, Buckinghamshire. Unpublished Archaeological Report. Tempus Reparatum.

- Fern, Christopher. 2015. *Before Sutton Hoo: the prehistoric remains and early Anglo-Saxon cemetery at Tranmer House, Bromeswell, Suffolk*. East Anglian Archaeology 155.
- Fernie, Eric. 1985. 'Anglo-Saxon lengths: the Northern system, the perch and the foot'. *The Archaeological Journal* 142: 246.
- Fernie, Eric. 1991. 'Anglo-Saxon lengths and the evidence of the buildings'. *Medieval Archaeology* 35: 1-5.
- Flannery, Kent and Joyce Marcus. 2012. *The Creation of Inequality: how our prehistoric ancestors set the stage for monarchy, slavery and empire*.
- Ford, Steve and Annette Hazell. 1989. 'Prehistoric, Roman and Anglo-Saxon settlement patterns at North Stoke, Oxfordshire'. *Oxoniensia* 54: 7-23.
- Ford, Steve and Annette Hazell. 1990. 'Trial trenching of a Saxon pottery scatter at North Stoke, South Oxfordshire, 1988'. *Oxoniensia* 55: 169-71.
- Ford, Steve, Isca Howell and Kate Taylor. 2004. *The Archaeology of the Aylesbury-Chalgrove Gas Pipeline and The Orchard, Walton Road, Aylesbury*.
- Frere, Sheppard. 1962. 'Excavations at Dorchester on Thames, 1962'. *The Archaeological Journal* 119: 114-49.
- Frere, Sheppard. 1984. 'Excavations at Dorchester on Thames, 1963'. *The Archaeological Journal* 141: 91-174.
- Friedman, Jonathon. 1979. *Structure and Contradiction: the evolution of 'Asiatic' Social Formations*.
- Frodsham, Paul. 1999. 'Forgetting Gefrin: elements of the past in the past at Yeavinger' in P. Frodsham, P. Topping and D. Cowley (ed.), *We Were Always Chasing Time. papers presented to Keith Blood*. *Northern Archaeology* 17, 18: 191-205.
- Frodsham, Paul. 2005. 'The Stronghold of its own native past, some thoughts on the past in the past at Yeavinger' in P. Frodsham and C. O'Brien (ed.), *Yeavinger: People, Power, Place*. 13-64.
- Fulford, Michael and Steven Rippon. 1994. 'Lowbury Hill, Oxon: a re-assessment of the probably Romano-Celtic temple and the Anglo-Saxon barrow'. *The Archaeological Journal* 151: 158-211.
- Gates, Tim and Colm O'Brien. 1988. 'Cropmarks at Milfield and New Bewick and the recognition of Grubenhauser in Northumberland'. *Archaeologia Aeliana* 16: 1-10.
- Gates, Tim. 2005. 'Yeavinger and Air Photography: discovery and interpretation' in P. Frodsham and C. O'Brien (ed.), *Yeavinger: People, Power, Place*. 65-83.
- Geake, Helen. 1997. *The Use of Grave-Goods in Conversion-Period England, c. 600-850*.
- Gelling, Margaret. 1973. *The Place-Names of Berkshire*.
- Gethin, Bryn. 2007. Transcription of 2007 aerial photographs of Hatton Rock. Unpublished.
- Giddens, Anthony. 1984. *The Constitution of Society: Outline of the Theory of Structuration*.
- Gilbert, David. 2005. An Archaeological Evaluation at Gossway Fields, Kirtlington, Oxfordshire. Unpublished Archaeological Report. John Moore Heritage Services.
- Gilbert, David. 2008a. 'Excavation's west of St Mary's Church, Black Bourton, Oxfordshire: early, middle and late Anglo-Saxon activity'. *Oxoniensia* 73: 147-60.

- Gilbert, David. 2008b. An archaeological Excavation at Land North of Gossway Fields, Kirtlington, Oxfordshire. Unpublished Archaeological Report. John Moore Heritage Services.
- Gilbert, David. 2011. 'Excavations south St. Andrew's Church, Letcombe Regis: prehistoric, Roman, Anglo-Saxon, and Saxo-Norman Activity'. *Oxoniensia* 76: 241-58.
- Gluckman, Max. 1965. *The Ideas in Barotse Jurisprudence*.
- Gracie, Henry and Eddie Price. 1979. 'Frocester Court Roman villa, second report 1968-77: the courtyard'. *Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society* 97: 9-64.
- Gray, Margaret. 1973a. 'A Romano-British site at Camp Corner, Milton Common'. *Oxoniensia* 38: 1-5.
- Gray, Margaret. 1973b. 'New Wintles, Eynsham, Oxon'. *South Midlands Archaeology* 3: 18-20.
- Gray, Margaret. 1974. 'The Saxon settlement at New Wintles, Eynsham, Oxfordshire' in T. Rowley (ed.), *Anglo-Saxon Settlement and Landscape*. 51-5.
- Green, Chris, Chris Gosden, Anwen Cooper, Tyler Franconi, Letty ten Harkel, Zena Kamash and Andrew Lowerre. 2017. 'Understanding the spatial patterning of English Archaeology: modelling mass data, 1500BC to AD1086'. *The Archaeological Journal* 174(1): 244-80.
- Grimes, William. 1960. *Excavations on Defence Sites, 1939-1945: mainly Neolithic-Bronze Age*. Vol 2. 113-28.
- Gruszczynski, Jacek and John Boothroyd. 2012. 6-7 High Street, Oxford. Unpublished Archaeological Report. Oxford Archaeology.
- Hadley, Dawn. 2000. *The Northern Danelaw*.
- Hagen, Ann. 2006. *Anglo-Saxon Food and Drink: production, processing, distribution and consumption*.
- Håkansson, N. Thomas. 2017. 'Inequality and the return to structure in anthropology'. *Reviews in Anthropology* 46: 106-24.
- Hall, Melanie. 1998. 'The Archaeology of the Ashbury to Bishopstone Pipeline, South Oxfordshire/Wiltshire, 1993'. *Oxoniensia* 63: 199-220.
- Hamerow, Helena. 1992. 'Settlement on the gravels in the Anglo-Saxon period' in M. Fulford and E. Nichols (ed.), *Developing Landscapes of Lowland Britain: the archaeology of the British gravels, a review*. 39-46.
- Hamerow, Helena. 1993a. *Excavations at Mucking 2: the Anglo-Saxon settlement*.
- Hamerow, Helena. 1993b. 'An Anglo-Saxon cemetery near West Hendred, Oxon.'. *Anglo-Saxon Studies in Archaeology and History* 6: 113-23.
- Hamerow, Helena. 1999a. 'Anglo-Saxon timber buildings: the continental connection' in H. Sarfatij, W. Verwers and P. Woltering (ed.), *In Discussion with the Past: archaeological studies presented to W A van Es*. 119-28.
- Hamerow, Helena. 1999b. 'Anglo-Saxon Oxfordshire, 400-700'. *Oxoniensia* 64: 23-38.
- Hamerow, Helena. 2002. *Early Medieval Settlements: The Archaeology of Rural Communities in Northwest Europe, AD 400-900*.
- Hamerow, Helena. 2010. 'Herrenhöfe in Anglo-Saxon England'. *Settlement and Coastal Research in the Southern North Sea Region* 33. 275-83.
- Hamerow, Helena. 2012. *Rural Settlements and Society in Anglo-Saxon England*.

- Hamerow, Helena. 2016. 'Furnished female burial in seventh-century England: gender and sacral authority in the Conversion Period'. *Early Medieval Europe* 24(4): 423-447.
- Hamerow, Helena. 2017. 'The circulation of garnets in the North Sea Zone, ca. 400-700' in A. Hilgner, S. Greiff and D. Quast (ed.), *Gemstones in the First Millennium AD: mines, trade, workshops and symbolism*.
- Hamerow, Helena. Forthcoming. 'A conversion-period burial in an ancient landscape: a high-status female grave near the Rollright Stones, Oxfordshire/Warwickshire'.
- Hamerow, Helena and Susan Westlake. 2013. 'Saxons before the burh: the early Anglo-Saxon cemetery at Wallingford' in N. Christie and O. Creighton (ed.), *Transforming Townscapes, from Burh to Borough: the archaeology of Wallingford, AD 800-1400*. 57-63.
- Hamerow, Helena, Anni Byard, Esther Cameron, Andreas Düring, Paula Levick, Nicholas Marquez-Grant and Andrew Shortland. 2015. 'A high-status Seventh-Century female burial from West Hanney, Oxfordshire'. *The Antiquaries Journal* 95: 1-28.
- Hamerow, Helena, Chris Ferguson and John Naylor. 2013. 'The origins of Wessex pilot project'. *Oxoniensia* 78: 49-70.
- Hamerow, Helena, Chris Hayden, and Gill Hey. 2007. 'Anglo-Saxon and earlier settlement near Drayton Road, Sutton Courtenay, Berkshire'. *The Archaeological Journal* 164: 109-96.
- Hampton, John. 1981. 'The evidence of air photography: elementary comparative studies applied to sites at Mount Down, Hants. and near Malmesbury, Wilts'. *Antiquity* 61: 316-21.
- Hann, Chris. 2010a. 'Class' in *The Routledge Encyclopedia of Social and Cultural Anthropology*.
- Hann, Chris. 2010b. 'Land Tenure' in *The Routledge Encyclopedia of Social and Cultural Anthropology*.
- Hannaford, Hugh and Andy Wigley. 2010. Brief for a programme of archaeological work on land at Frogmore Hall, Atcham, Shrewsbury. Unpublished Archaeological Report.
- Hansen, Thomas. 2010. 'Sovereignty' in *The Routledge Encyclopedia of Social and Cultural Anthropology*.
- Harden, Donald. 1940a. 'Notes and news: 11. Wallingford, Berks.'. *Oxoniensia* 5: 164.
- Harden, Donald. 1940b. 'Notes and news: 9. Cassington, Oxon.'. *Oxoniensia* 5: 163.
- Harden, Donald and R.C. Treweeks. 1945. 'Excavations at Stanton Harcourt, Oxon., 1940, II'. *Oxoniensia* 10: 16-41.
- Harding, Anthony. 1981. 'Excavations in the Prehistoric Ritual Complex near Milfield, Northumberland'. *Proceedings of the Prehistoric Society* 47: 87-135.
- Harding, Dennis. 1967. 'Blewburton'. *Current Archaeology* 1: 83-5.
- Harding, Dennis. 1976. 'Blewburton Hill, Berkshire: re-excavation and reappraisal' in D. Harding (ed.), *Hillforts: later prehistoric earthworks in Britain and Ireland*. 133-46.
- Harding, Phil and Phil Andrews. 2002. 'Anglo-Saxon and Medieval settlement at Chapel Street, Bicester: excavations 1999-2000'. *Oxoniensia* 67: 141-79.
- Hardy, Alan, Anne Dodd and Graham Keevill. 2003. *Aelfric's Abbey: excavations at Eynsham Abbey, Oxfordshire, 1989-1992*.
- Hardy, Alan, Bethan Charles and Robert Williams. 2007. *Death and Taxes: the archaeology of a Middle Saxon Estate Centre at Higham Ferrers, Northamptonshire*.

- Härke, Heinrich. 1989. 'Early Saxon weapon burials: frequencies, distributions and weapon combinations' in S. Hawkes (ed.), *Weapons and Warfare in Anglo-Saxon England*. 46-61.
- Härke, Heinrich. 1990. 'Warrior graves? the background of the Anglo-Saxon weapon burial rite'. *Past and Present* 126: 22-43.
- Härke, Heinrich. 1992. 'Changing symbols in a changing society: the Anglo-Saxon weapon burial rite in the seventh century' in M. Carver (ed.), *The Age of Sutton Hoo*. 149-65.
- Härke, Heinrich. 1997. 'Early Anglo-Saxon social structure' in J. Hines (ed.), *The Anglo-Saxons from the Migration Period to the Eight Century: an ethnographic perspective*. 125-70.
- Härke, Heinrich. 2000. 'The circulation of weapons in Anglo-Saxon society' in F. Theuws and J. Nelson (ed.), *Rituals of Power from Late Antiquity to the Early Middle Ages*. 377-99.
- Härke, Heinrich. 2001. 'Cemeteries as places of power' in M. Jong and F. Theuws (ed.), *Topographies of Power in the Early Middle Ages*. 9-30.
- Härke, Heinrich. 2007. 'Ethnicity, 'race' and migration in mortuary archaeology: an attempt at a short answer'. *Anglo-Saxon Studies in Archaeology and History* 14: 12-18.
- Harrington, Sue and Martin Welch. 2014. *The Early Anglo-Saxon Kingdoms of Southern Britain, AD 450-650: beneath the Tribal Hidage*.
- Harris, Oliver and Craig Cipolla. 2017. *Archaeological Theory in the New Millennium: introducing current perspectives*.
- Harrison, Kenneth. 1976. *The Framework of Anglo-Saxon History to A.D. 900*.
- Harrison, Simon. 1990. *Stealing People's Names: history and politics in a Sepik River cosmology*.
- Hart, Jonathon, Ed McSloy and Mary Alexander. 2012. 'The archaeology of the Cleeve to Fyfield water main, South Oxfordshire: excavations in 2006-7'. *Oxoniensia* 77: 199-266.
- Hart, Jonathon. 2002. Begbroke to Yarnton Mains Replacement, Oxfordshire. Unpublished Archaeological Report. Cotswold Archaeology.
- Hart, Jonathon. 2004. Great Western alternative, Didcot, Oxfordshire. Unpublished Archaeological Report. Cotswold Archaeology.
- Hart, Jonathon. 2012. Farmoor or Blunsdon Water Main, Oxfordshire and Swindon. Unpublished Archaeological Report. Cotswold Archaeology.
- Harvey, Linzi and David Gilbert. 2006. An Archaeological Watching Brief of the Land South of Lammas Eyot, High Street, Long Wittenham, Oxfordshire. Unpublished Archaeological Report. John Moore Heritage Services.
- Hawkes, Sonia. 1973. 'The dating and social significance of the burials in the Polhill cemetery' in B. Philp (ed.), *Excavations in West Kent 1960-1970*.
- Hawkes, Sonia. 1986. 'The early Anglo-Saxon period' in G. Briggs, J. Cook and T. Rowley (ed.), *The Archaeology of the Oxford Region*. 64-108.
- Hawkes, Sonia and Margaret Gray. 1969. 'Preliminary note on the early Anglo-Saxon settlement at New Wintles Farm, Eynsham'. *Oxoniensia* 34: 1-4.
- Hayden, Brian. 1995. 'Pathways to Power: principles for creating socioeconomic inequalities' in T. Price and G. Feinman (ed.), *Foundations of Social Inequality*. 15-86.
- Hayden, Brian. 2014. *The Power of Feasts: from prehistory to the present*.

- Hayden, Brian and Suzanne Villeneuve. 2012. 'Who benefits from complexity? A view from Futuna' in T. Price and G. Feinman (ed.), *Pathways to Power: new perspectives on the emergence of social inequality*. 95-145.
- Hayden, Brian and Rob Gargett. 1990. 'Big Man, Big Heart? A Mesoamerican View of the Emergence of Complex Society'. *Ancient Mesoamerica* 1(1): 3-20.
- Hayden, Chris, Robert Early, Edward Biddulph, Paul Booth, Anne Dodd, Alex Smith, Granville Laws and Ken Walsh. 2017. *Horcott Quarry, Fairford and Arkell's Land, Kempsford: prehistoric Roman and Anglo-Saxon settlement and burial in the Upper Thames Valley in Gloucestershire*.
- Hearne, Carrie. 1999. Abingdon reservoir proposal: archaeological evaluation (1992-1999). Unpublished Archaeological Report. Wessex Archaeology.
- Hedeager, Lotte. 1978a. 'A quantitative analysis of Roman imports in Europe north of the Limes and the question of Roman-Germanic Exchange' in K. Kristiansen and C. Paludan-Müller (ed.), *New Directions in Scandinavian Archaeology*. 191-216.
- Hedeager, Lotte. 1978b. 'Processes towards state formation in Early Iron Age Denmark' in K. Kristiansen and C. Paludan-Müller (ed.), *New Directions in Scandinavian Archaeology*. 217-23.
- Hedeager, Lotte. 1992. *Iron Age Societies: from Tribe to State in Northern Europe, 500 BC to AD 700*.
- Hedeager, Lotte. 1999. 'Myth and art: a passport to political authority in Scandinavia during the Migration Period'. *Anglo-Saxon Studies in Archaeology and History* 10: 151-6.
- Hedeager, Lotte. 2001. 'Asgard reconstructed? Gudme – a "central place" in the North' in M. Jong and F. Theuws (ed.), *Topographies of Power in the Early Middle Ages*. 467-507.
- Hedeager, Lotte. 2002. 'Scandinavian "central places" in a cosmological setting' in B. Hårdh and L. Larsson (ed.), *Central Places in the Migration and Merovingian Periods*. 3-18.
- Herschend, Frands. 1993. 'The origin of the hall in southern Scandinavia'. *TOR* 25:175-200.
- Herschend, Frands. 1998. *The Idea of the Good in Late Iron Age Society*.
- Herschend, Frands. 2009. *The Early Iron Age in South Scandinavia: social order in settlement and landscape*.
- Hewitt, William. 1843, January 21. 'to the Editor of the Reading Mercury'. *Reading Mercury*.
- Hewitt, William. 1843, January 28. 'to the Editor of the Reading Mercury'. *Reading Mercury*.
- Hewitt, William. 1844. *History and Antiquities of the Compton Hundred, Berks*.
- Hey, Gill. 2001. Lady Lamb Farm, Fairford, Gloucestershire and Wiltshire: a review of the archaeological evaluation. Unpublished Archaeological Report. Oxford Archaeology.
- Hey, Gill, Leigh Allen, Alistair Barclay and Leslie Collett. 2004. *Yarnton: Saxon and Medieval settlement and landscape*.
- Hill, John. 1995. *The Cultural World in Beowulf*.
- Hills, Catherine and Sam Lucy. 2013. *Spong Hill, Part IX: chronology and synthesis*.
- Hills, Catherine and Tamsin O'Connell. 2009. 'New light on the Anglo-Saxon succession: two cemeteries and their dates'. *Antiquity* 83(322): 1096-1108.
- Hinchliffe, John. 1986. 'An early medieval settlement at Cowage Farm, Foxley, near Malmesbury'. *The Archaeological Journal* 143: 240-59.

- Hinchliffe, John. 1998. Fieldwalking in Long Wittenham: 13 September 1998. Unpublished Archaeological Report.
- Hindmarch, Erlend. 2002. Churchill Farm, Kingham Road, Churchill, Oxfordshire. Unpublished Archaeological Report. Thames Valley Archaeological Services.
- Hines, John and Alex Bayliss. 2013. *Anglo-Saxon Graves and Grave Goods of the 6th and 7th Centuries AD: a chronological framework*.
- Hines, John. 1997a. *A New Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Great Square-Headed Brooches*.
- Hines, John. 1997b. 'Religion: the limits of knowledge' in J. Hines (ed.), *The Anglo-Saxons from the Migration Period to the Eighth Century: an ethnographic perspective*. 375-410.
- Hinton, David. 1973. 'Anglo-Saxon burials at Postcombe, Lewknor'. *Oxoniensia* 38: 120-3.
- Hinton, David. 2000. *A Smith in Lindsey: the Anglo-Saxon grave at Tattershall Thorpe, Lincolnshire*.
- Hinton, David. 2003. 'Anglo-Saxon smiths and myths' in D. Scragg (ed.), *Textual and Material Culture in Anglo-Saxon England, Thomas Nothcote Toller and the Toller memorial lectures*. 261-83.
- Hinton, David. 2011. 'Weland's work: metals and metalsmiths' in M. Hyer and G. Owen-Crocker (ed.), *The Material Culture of Daily Living in the Anglo-Saxon World*. 185-200.
- Hirst, Susan. 1985. *An Anglo-Saxon Inhumation Cemetery at Sewerby, East Yorkshire*.
- Hirst, Susan and Philip Rahtz. 1973. 'Hatton Rock 1970'. *Transactions of the Birmingham and Warwickshire Archaeological Society* 85: 161-77.
- Hoad, Stewart. 2006. 'R.A.F. Fairford: archaeological evaluation and excavations conducted between 1999 and 2001'. *Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society* 124: 37-54.
- Hodges, Richard. 1982. *Dark Age Economics: the origins of towns and trade AD 600-1000*.
- Hodson, Roy and Paul Tyers. 1988. 'Data analysis for archaeologists: the Institute of Archaeology packages' in S. Rahtz (ed.), *Computer and Quantitative Methods in Archaeology 1988*. 28-41.
- Høilund Nielsen, Karen. 1999. 'Style II and the Anglo-Saxon elite'. *Anglo-Saxon Studies in Archaeology and History* 10: 185-202.
- Holbrook, Neil and Alan Thomas. 1996. 'The Roman and Early Anglo-Saxon settlement at Wantage, Oxfordshire: excavations at Mill Street, 1993-4'. *Oxoniensia* 61: 109-79.
- Hope-Taylor, Brian. 1957. 'Northumberland: Old Yeavering'. *Medieval Archaeology* 1: 148-9.
- Hope-Taylor, Brian. 1966. 'Doon Hill, Dunbar, East Lothian'. *Medieval Archaeology* 10: 175-6.
- Hope-Taylor, Brian. 1977. *Yeavering: an Anglo-British centre of early Northumbria*.
- Hope-Taylor, Brian. 1980. 'Balbridie ... and Doon Hill'. *Current Archaeology* 72: 18-19.
- Huggins, Peter. 1981. 'Yeavering measurements: an alternative view'. *Medieval Archaeology* 25: 150-3.
- Hughes, Simon and Emma Firth. 2010. Land at Siddington Road, Cirencester, Gloucestershire. Unpublished Archaeological Report. AC Archaeology.
- Hull, Graham. 1999. Manor Farm, Drayton, Oxfordshire. Unpublished Archaeological Report. Thames Valley Archaeological Services.

- Hume, Kathryn. 1974. 'The concept of the hall in Old English poetry'. *Anglo-Saxon England* 3: 51-62.
- Hutcheson, Andrew. 1997. Limbrough Road Development, Wantage, Oxfordshire. Unpublished Archaeological Report. Oxford Archaeology.
- James, Simon, Anne Marshall and Martin Millett. 1984. 'An early medieval building tradition'. *The Archaeological Journal* 141: 182-215.
- Jenkins, Robert. 1885. 'On some Antiquaries discovered in his neighbourhood'. *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of London* 10: 206.
- Johnson, Benjamin and Clive Waddington. 2008. 'Prehistoric and Dark Age Settlement in Cheviot Quarry, Milfield Basin, Northumberland'. *The Archaeological Journal* 165: 107-264.
- Johnson, Casper. 1990. A419 Latton Bypass. Unpublished Archaeological Report. Cotswold Archaeological Trust.
- Johnson, Matthew. 1993. *Housing Culture: traditional architecture in an English landscape*.
- Johnson, Matthew. 2002. *Behind the Castle Gate: from Medieval to Renaissance*.
- Jones, Emma and Philip Wise. 1997. 'Long Itchington, Newfield Cottages (SP 397 671)'. *West Midlands Archaeology* 40: 82-3.
- Jones, Emma and Philip Wise. 1998a. 'Long Itchington, Newfield Cottages (SP 397 671)'. *Medieval Archaeology* 42: 152.
- Jones, Emma and Philip Wise. 1998b. 'Long Itchington, Newfield Cottages (SP 397 671)'. *Britannia* 29: 397.
- Joep, Edward. 1952-3. 'Notes and news: Eynsham, Oxon'. *Oxoniensia* 17-18: 216-7, 224.
- Jordan, David, David Haddon-Reece and Alex Bayliss. 1994. *Radiocarbon Dates: from samples funded by English Heritage and dated before 1981*.
- Jørgensen, Lars. 2011. 'Gudme-Lundeborg on Funen as a model for northern Europe?' in O. Grimm and A. Pesch (ed.), *The Gudme/Gudhem Phenomenon*. 77-89.
- Keevill, Graham. 1992. 'An Anglo-Saxon site at Audlett Drive, Abingdon, Oxfordshire'. *Oxoniensia* 57: 55-79.
- Keevill, Graham. 2003. 'Archaeological investigations in 2001 at the abbey church of St. Peter and St. Paul, Dorchester-on-Thames, Oxfordshire'. *Oxoniensia* 68: 313-62.
- Kelly, Susan. 2000. *Charters of Abingdon Abbey*.
- Kelly, Susan. 2006. 'Lyminge minster and its early charters' in S. Keynes and A. Smyth (ed.), *Anglo-Saxons, Studies Presented to Cyril Hart*.
- Kenyon, David and Mark Collard. 2004. 'Anglo-Saxon and Medieval Remains at Kent Place, Sherborne Street, Lechlade: excavations in 2000'. *Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society* 122: 117-26.
- Kenyon, David and Martin Watts. 2006. 'An Anglo-Saxon enclosure at Copsehill Road, Lower Slaughter: excavations in 1999'. *Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society* 124: 73-109.
- King, Diana and Phil Bethell. 2013. Harlestone House, Bishopstone, Wiltshire: Archaeological Excavation. Unpublished Archaeological Report. Foundations Archaeology.

- King, Roy, Alistair Barber and Jane Timby. 1996. 'Excavations at West Lane, Kemble: an Iron Age, Roman and Saxon burial site and a medieval building'. *Transactions of the Bristol Gloucestershire Archaeological Society* 114: 15-54.
- Kingsolver, Ann. 2010. 'Power' in *The Routledge Encyclopedia of Social and Cultural Anthropology*.
- Kirby, Magnus. 2012. 'Lockerbie Academy: Neolithic and Early Historic timber halls, a Bronze Age cemetery, an undated enclosure and a post-medieval corn-drying kiln in south-west Scotland'. *Scottish Archaeological Internet Report* 46.
- Kirk, Joan and Humphrey Case. 1950. 'Notes and news: 1. Cassington, Oxon.'. *Oxoniensia* 15: 104-6.
- Kirk, Joan and Humphrey Case. 1951. 'Notes and news: Cassington, Oxon.'. *Oxoniensia* 16: 79.
- Kirk, Joan and Kenneth Marshall. 1956. 'A Saxon cemetery near the village of Harwell, Berkshire'. *Oxoniensia* 21: 22-34.
- Knowles, David and J.K.S. St. Joseph. 1952. *Monastic Sites from the Air*.
- Knox, Alexandra. 2014. Lyminge Blog. <<http://blogs.reading.ac.uk/lyminge/>>
- Kurtz, Donald. 2001. *Political Anthropology: Paradigms and Power*.
- Lambrick, George. 2010. *Neolithic to Saxon Social and Environmental Change at Mount Farm Berinsfield, Dorchester-on-Thames*.
- Lambrick, George and Tim Allen. 2004. *Gravelly Guy, Stanton Harcourt: the development of a prehistoric and Romano-British community*.
- Lamdin-Whymark, Hugh and Tim Allen. 2006. *The Wider Landscape Project, Long and Little Wittenham, Oxfordshire. Field-walking report and publication synopsis*. Oxford Archaeology.
- Lavelle, Ryan. 2013. 'Ine 70.1 and royal provision in Anglo-Saxon Wessex' in G. Owen-Crocker and B. Schneider (ed.), *Kingship, Legislation and Power in Anglo-Saxon England*. 259-73.
- Leach, Edmund. 1954. *Political Systems of Highland Burma*.
- Leeds, Edward Thurlow. 1923a. *An Anglo-Saxon Cremation-Burial of the Seventh Century in Asthall Barrow, Oxfordshire*.
- Leeds, Edward Thurlow. 1923b. 'A Saxon village near Sutton Courtenay, Berkshire'. *Archaeologia* 73: 147-92.
- Leeds, Edward Thurlow. 1927. 'A Saxon village near Sutton Courtenay, Berkshire; second report'. *Archaeologia* 76: 59-80.
- Leeds, Edward Thurlow. 1936. 'The invaders: life and death' in E. Leeds, *Early Anglo-Saxon Art and Archaeology*. 20-40.
- Leeds, Edward Thurlow. 1938a. 'News and notes: 8. Cassington, Oxon.'. *Oxoniensia* 3: 164-5.
- Leeds, Edward Thurlow. 1938b. 'Notes and news: 13. Eynsham (Newland Street), Oxon.'. *Oxoniensia* 3: 167.
- Leeds, Edward Thurlow. 1938c. 'Notes and news: 14. Dean, Oxon.'. *Oxoniensia* 3: 168.
- Leeds, Edward Thurlow. 1940a. 'New discoveries of Neolithic Pottery in Oxfordshire'. *Oxoniensia* 5: 1-12.
- Leeds, Edward Thurlow. 1940b. 'Two Saxon cemeteries in North Oxfordshire'. *Oxoniensia* 5: 21-30.

- Leeds, Edward Thurlow. 1947. 'A Saxon village at Sutton Courtenay, Berkshire; third report'. *Archaeologia* 92: 79-93.
- Leeds, Edward Thurlow and Donald Harden. 1936. *The Anglo-Saxon Cemetery at Abingdon, Berkshire*.
- Leeds, Edward Thurlow and John Bradford. 1942a. 'Notes and news: Abingdon, Berks. (Saxton Road)'. *Oxoniensia* 7: 102-3.
- Leeds, Edward Thurlow and John Bradford. 1942b. 'Notes and news: Stanton Harcourt, Oxon.'. *Oxoniensia* 7: 104.
- Leeds, Edward Thurlow and Marjorie Riley. 1942. 'Two Early Saxon cemeteries at Cassington, Oxon.'. *Oxoniensia* 7: 61-70.
- Leeds, Edward Thurlow and Richard Atkinson. 1943-4a. 'Notes and news: 7. Cassington, Oxon.'. *Oxoniensia* 8-9: 193-6.
- Leeds, Edward Thurlow and Richard Atkinson. 1943-4b. 'Notes and news: 22. Sutton Courtenay, Berks.'. *Oxoniensia* 8-9: 201-2.
- Lewis, James. 2016. *Bronze Age, Saxon and Medieval Evidence from Wantage, Oxfordshire: Excavations at St Mary's and St Gabriel's Schools*.
- Lindstrom, Lamont. 2010. 'Big Man' in *The Routledge Encyclopedia of Social and Cultural Anthropology*.
- Lounsbury, Carl. 2010. 'Architecture and Cultural History' in D. Hicks and M. Beaudry (ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of Material Culture Studies*. 484-501.
- Loveluck, Chris. 2007. *Rural Settlement, Lifestyles and Social change in the later first millennium AD. Anglo-Saxon Flixborough in its wider context*. Excavations at Flixborough, Volume 4.
- Lowe, Jennifer. 2003. 6 Chapel Lane, Benson, Oxfordshire. Unpublished Archaeological Report. Thames Valley Archaeological Services.
- Lucy, Sam. 1998. *The Early Anglo-Saxon Cemeteries of East Yorkshire: an Analysis and Reinterpretation*.
- Lucy, Sam. 2000. *The Anglo-Saxon Way of Death: burial rites in early England*.
- Lucy, Sam. 2002. 'Burial practice in early medieval eastern England: constructing local identities, deconstructing ethnicity' in S. Lucy and A. Reynolds (ed.), *Burial in Early Medieval England and Wales*. 72-87.
- Lucy, Sam. 2005. 'Early medieval burial at Yeavering: a retrospective' in P. Frodsham and C. O'Brien (ed.), *Yeavering: People, Power, Place*. 127-44.
- Lucy, Sam. 2011. 'Gender and gender roles' in H Hamerow, D. Hinton and S. Crawford (ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of Anglo-Saxon Archaeology*. 688-703.
- Lucy, Sam and Andrew Reynolds (ed.). 2002. *Burial in Early Medieval England and Wales*.
- MacGregor, Arthur and Ellen Bolick. 1993. *A Summary Catalogue of the Anglo-Saxon Collections: non-ferrous metals*.
- Malim, Tim and John Hines. 1998. *The Anglo-Saxon Cemetery at Edix Hill (Barrington A), Cambridgeshire: excavations 1989-1991*.
- Marshall, Anne and Garry Marshall. 1991. 'A survey and analysis of the buildings of early and middle Anglo-Saxon England'. *Medieval Archaeology* 35: 29-43.

- Marshall, Anne and Garry Marshall. 1993. 'Differentiation, change and continuity in Anglo-Saxon buildings'. *The Archaeological Journal* 150: 366-402.
- Martin, Jon. 2011. 'Prehistoric, Romano-British, and Anglo-Saxon activity at Whitelands Farm, Bicester'. *Oxoniensia* 76: 173-240.
- Martin, Louise. 2004. 'Sutton Courtenay, Oxfordshire, report on geophysical surveys, October 2001-March 2003'. English Heritage: Centre for Archaeology Report 73/2004.
- Mauss, Marcel. 1965. *The Gift: forms and functions of exchange in archaic societies*.
- May, Jeffrey. 1977. 'Romano-British and Saxon sites near Dorchester-on-Thames, Oxfordshire'. *Oxoniensia* 42: 42-79.
- McBride, Adam. 2016. 'An Early Anglo-Saxon great hall at Benson? An alternative interpretation of the excavated evidence'. *Oxoniensia* 81: 19-26.
- McBride, Adam. Forthcoming. 'The Long Wittenham Great Hall Site Project'.
- McKerracher, Mark. 2014. *Agricultural Development in Mid Saxon England*. Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis: University of Oxford.
- McNicoll-Norbury, James. 2010. New Parish Rooms, Church of the Immaculate Conception, The Causeway, Bicester, Oxfordshire. Unpublished Archaeological Report. Thames Valley Archaeological Services.
- Meaney, Audrey. 1981. *Anglo-Saxon Amulets and Curing Stones*.
- Metcalf, David. 1984. 'Twenty-five notes on sceatta finds' in D. Hill and D. Metcalf (ed.), *Sceattas in England and on the Continent*. 193-205.
- Michaels, Tracy. 2001. 'Bourne House stables, Lambourn'. CBA Wessex News April 2001: 18-9.
- Michaels, Tracy. 2015. Land at Marlborough Road, Wroughton, Wiltshire. Unpublished Archaeological Reports. Foundations Archaeology.
- Miket, Roger. 1980. 'A restatement of evidence from Bernician Anglo-Saxon burials' in P. Rahtz, T. Dickinson and L. Watts (ed.), *Anglo-Saxon Cemeteries, 1979*. 289-305.
- Miket, Roger. 2013. 'Understanding British/Anglo-Saxon continuity at Gefrin: Brian Hope-Taylor's excavations on Yeavinger Bell'. *Archaeologica Aeliana* 42: 133-60.
- Miles, David. 1984. *Archaeology at Barton Court Farm, Abingdon, Oxon: an investigation of Late Neolithic, Iron Age, Romano-British, and Saxon settlements*.
- Miles, David. 1986. *Archaeology at Barton Court Farm, Abingdon, Oxon: an investigation of Late Neolithic, Iron Age, Romano-British, and Saxon settlements*.
- Mileson, Stephen and Stuart Brookes. 2014. 'A multi-phase Anglo-Saxon site in Ewelme'. *Oxoniensia* 79: 1-30.
- Millett, Martin and Simon James. 1983. 'Excavations at Cowdery's Down, Basingstoke, Hampshire, 1978-81'. *The Archaeological Journal* 140: 151-279.
- Minter, Faye, Jude Plouviez and Chris Scull. 2014. 'Rendlesham rediscovered'. *British Archaeology* 137: 50-55.
- Minter, Faye, Jude Plouviez and Chris Scull. 2016. Rendlesham Survey 2008-2014: Methodological Review. Unpublished Archaeological Report.
- Minter, Faye, Jude Plouviez and Chris Scull. 2016. *Rendlesham Survey 2008-2014 Assessment Report*. Historic England Project Reference 6471.

- <<https://content.historicengland.org.uk/images-books/publications/rendlesham-survey-2008-2014-assessment-report/6471-rlm-survey-assessment-report.pdf/>>.
- Moore, John. 2001. 'Excavations at Oxford Science Park, Littlemore, Oxford'. *Oxoniensia* 66: 163-219.
- Moore, John. 2004a. An Archaeological Evaluation at Manor House Nursing Home, Merton, Oxfordshire. Unpublished Archaeological Report. John Moore Heritage Services.
- Moore, John. 2004b. An Archaeological Watching Brief for High Street, Drayton, Oxfordshire, Sewer Pipe. Unpublished Archaeological Report. John Moore Heritage Services.
- Moreland, John. 2000. 'The significance of production in Eighth-Century England' in I. Hansen and C. Wickham (ed.), *The Long Eighth Century: production, distribution and demand*. 69-104.
- Morris, Ian. 2009. 'Cultural complexity' in B. Cunliffe, C. Gosden and R. Joyce (ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of Archaeology*. 519-54.
- Morris, Richard. 1985. 'The church in the countryside: two lines of inquiry' in D. Hooke (ed.), *Medieval Villages*. 47-60.
- Morris, Richard. 1989. *Churches in the Landscape*.
- Mudd, Andrew, Mark Brett and Mary Alexander. 2013. 'Anglo-Saxon and Prehistoric remains at Oxford Academy, Littlemore, Oxford: excavations in 2009'. *Oxoniensia* 78: 175-88.
- Mudd, Andrew, Robert Williams and Alan Lupton. 1999. *Excavations Alongside Roman Ermin Street, Gloucestershire and Wiltshire: the archaeology of the A419/A417 Swindon to Gloucester road scheme*.
- Mundin, Andrew and James McNicoll-Norbury. 2009. 2 Abingdon Road, Sutton Courtenay, Oxfordshire. Unpublished Archaeological Report. Thames Valley Archaeological Services.
- Murray, Hilary, J. Charles Murray and Shannon Fraser. 2009. *Tale of the Unknown Unknowns: a Mesolithic pit alignment and a Neolithic timber hall at Warren Field, Crathes, Aberdeenshire*.
- Näsman, Ulf. 1999. 'The ethnogenesis of the Danes and the making of a Danish kingdom'. *Anglo-Saxon Studies in Archaeology and History* 10: 1-10.
- Nichols, Paul. 2000a. 'Fairford, Coln House School'. *Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society* 118: 223.
- Nichols, Paul. 2000b. 'Southrop, manor farm barns'. *Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society* 118: 231.
- O'Brien, Colm. 2002. 'The Early Medieval shires of Yeavinger, Bamburgh and Breamish'. *Archaeologia Aeliana* 30: 53-73.
- O'Brien, Colm. 2005a. 'Gefrin: Organization, Abandonment, Aftermath' in P. Frodsham and C. O'Brien (ed.), *Yeavinger: People, Power & Place*. 189-92.
- O'Brien, Colm. 2005b. 'The Great Enclosure' in P. Frodsham and C. O'Brien (ed.), *Yeavinger: People, Power, Place*. 145-52.
- O'Brien, Colm. 2011. 'Yeavinger and Bernician kingship' in D. Petts and S. Turner (ed.), *Early Medieval Northumbria: kingdoms and communities, AD 450-1100*. 207-20.
- O'Brien, Colm and Roger Miket. 1991. 'The early medieval settlement of Thirlings, Northumberland'. *Durham Archaeological Journal* 7: 57-91.

- O'Seaneachain, Diamuid. 2010. Rickfield House, Church Road, Liddington, Wiltshire. Unpublished Archaeological Report. Cotswold Archaeological Trust.
- Oxford Archaeology. 1990. Milton: Cannon Development. Unpublished Archaeological Report. Oxford Archaeology.
- Oxford Archaeology. 1998. Wallingford Rowing Club, Mongewell, Oxfordshire. Unpublished Archaeological Report. Oxford Archaeology.
- Pader, Ellen-Jane. 1980. 'Material symbolism and social relations in mortuary studies' in P. Rahtz, T. Dickinson and L. Watts (ed.), *Anglo-Saxon Cemeteries 1979*. 143-159.
- Pader, Ellen-Jane. 1982. *Symbolism, Social Relations and the Interpretation of Mortuary Remains*.
- Pantos, Alik. 2002. *Assembly-Places in the Anglo-Saxon Period: aspects of form and location*. Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis: University of Oxford.
- Pantos, Alik. 2004. 'The location and form of Anglo-Saxon assembly-places: some "moot points"' in A. Pantos and S. Semple (ed.), *Assembly Places and Practices in Medieval Europe*. 155-180.
- Pantos, Alik and Sarah Semple (ed.). 2004. *Assembly Places and Practices in Medieval Europe*.
- Parfitt, Keith. 2002. Report on Evaluation Trenching at Lyminge Anglo-Saxon Cemetery. Unpublished archaeological report, Dover Archaeological Group.
- Parrington, Michael. 1976. 'Roman finds and animal bones from Kingston Hill Farm, Kingston Bagpuize, Oxon.'. *Oxoniensia* 41: 65-9.
- Parrington, Michael and Ron Henderson. 1974. 'Sutton Courtenay Peep O'Day Lane (12)'. *South Midlands Archaeology* 4: 10.
- Penn, Kenneth and Birte Bruggmann. 2007. *Aspects of Anglo-Saxon Inhumation Burial: Morning Thorpe, Spong Hill, Bergh Apton, and Westgarth Gardens*. EAA 119.
- Peregrine, Peter. 1991. 'Some political aspects of craft specialization'. *World Archaeology* 23(1): 1-11.
- Perry, David. 2000. *Castle Park, Dunbar: two thousand years of a fortified headland*.
- Pestell, Tim. 2004. *Landscapes of Monastic Foundation: the establishment of religious houses in East Anglia c.650-1200*.
- Pestell, Tim. 2011. 'Markets, *emporia*, *wics* and 'productive sites': pre-Viking trade centres in Anglo-Saxon England' in H. Hamerow, D. Hinton and S. Crawford (ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of Anglo-Saxon Archaeology*. 556-79.
- Phillips, Bernard. 2006. Land at The Beeches 364 Marlborough Road, Swindon. Unpublished Archaeological Report.
- Phillips, Mark. 2005. 'Excavation of an Early Saxon settlement at Pitstone'. *Records of Buckinghamshire* 45: 1-32.
- Phillips. 1859. 'Discoveries at Brighthampton, Oxon.'. *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of London* 1st series 4: 70-71.
- Philp, Brian. 2003. *The Discovery and Excavation of Anglo-Saxon Dover*.
- Philp, Brian. 2014. 'Site 16. A major Anglo-Saxon site at Eynsford, Kent' in B. Philp, *Discoveries and Excavations across Kent, 1970-2014*. 118-36.
- Piketty, Thomas. 2014. *Capital in the Twenty-First Century*.

- Pine, Jo. 2009. Latton Quarry, Latton, Wiltshire. Unpublished Archaeological Report. Thames Valley Archaeological Services.
- Pine, Jo and Steve Ford. 2003. 'Excavations of Neolithic, Late Bronze Age, Early Iron Age and Early Saxon Features at St. Helen's Avenue, Benson, Oxfordshire'. *Oxoniensia* 68: 131-178.
- Pohl, Walter. 2001. 'The Regia and the Hring – barbarian places of power' in M. Jong and F. Theuws (ed.), *Topographies of Power in the Early Middle Ages*. 439-66.
- Pollington, Stephen. 2011. 'The Mead-Hall community'. *Journal of Medieval History* 37: 19-33.
- Porter, Susan. 2012. Land at Top Road, Kempsford, Gloucestershire. Unpublished Archaeological Report. Thames Valley Archaeological Services.
- Porter, Susan. 2013. Peewit Farm, Drayton Road, Sutton Courtenay, Oxfordshire. Unpublished Archaeological Report. Thames Valley Archaeological Services.
- Powell, Andrew. 1992. Kennet Valley Foul Sewer Improvement Stage 1: Archaeological Assessment. Unpublished Archaeological Report. Wessex Archaeology.
- Powell, Andrew, Grave Perpetua Jones and Lorraine Mephram. 2008. 'An Iron Age and Romano-British settlement at Cleveland Farm, Ashton Keynes, Wiltshire'. *The Wiltshire Archaeological and Natural History Magazine* 101: 18-50.
- Powell, Kelly, Alex Smith and Granville Laws. 2010. *Evolution of a farming community in the Upper Thames Valley: excavation of prehistoric, Roman and post-Roman landscape at Cotswold Community, Gloucestershire and Wiltshire*.
- Powlesland, Dominic. 1997. 'Early Anglo-Saxon settlements, structures, form and layout' in J. Hines (ed.), *The Anglo-Saxons from the Migration Period to the Eighth Century, an Ethnographic Perspective*. 101-24.
- Powlesland, Dominic. 1999. 'The Anglo-Saxon settlement at West Heslerton, North Yorkshire' in J. Hawkes and S. Mills (ed.), *Northumbria's Golden Age*. 55-65.
- Price, T. Douglas and Gary Feinman. 2012. 'Social inequality and the evolution of human social organization' in T. Price and G. Feinman (ed.), *Pathways to Power: new perspectives on the emergence of social inequality*. 1-14.
- Privat, Karen, Tasmin O'Connell and Mike Richards. 2002. 'Stable isotope analysis of human and faunal remains from the Anglo-Saxon cemetery at Berinsfield, Oxfordshire: dietary and social implications'. *Journal of Archaeological Science* 29: 779-90.
- Radford, David. 2011. Oxford, 10 Stephen Road, Headington. Unpublished Archaeological Report. Oxford Archaeology.
- Radford, Raleigh. 1951. 'Report on the excavations at Castle Dore'. *Journal of the Royal Institute of Cornwall* (New Series) 1: 1-119.
- Rahtz, Philip. 1970. 'A possible Saxon palace near Stratford-upon-Avon'. *Antiquity* 44(174): 137-43.
- Rahtz, Philip. 1975. 'Atcham timber halls'. *CBA Archaeology Group 8: West Midlands Research Committees Reports* 18: 58-60.
- Rahtz, Philip. 1976a. 'Atcham timber halls'. *CBA Archaeology Group 8: West Midlands Research Committees Reports* 19: 53-4.
- Rahtz, Philip. 1976b. 'Gazetteer of Anglo-Saxon domestic settlement sites' in D. Wilson (ed.), *The Archaeology of Anglo-Saxon England*. 405-52.

- Rahtz, Philip. 1980. 'Review of *Yeavinger: an Anglo-British Centre of Early Northumbria*'. *Medieval Archaeology* 24: 265-70.
- Ralston, Ian. 1982. 'A timber hall at Balbridie Farm: the Neolithic settlement of North-East Scotland'. *Aberdeen University Review* 49: 239-49.
- Ralston, Ian and Nicholas Reynolds. 1981. *Excavations at Balbridie Farm, Kincardine and Deeside District (NO 733 959)*.
- Ravn, Mads. 2003. *Death, Ritual and Germanic Social Structure (c. AD 200-600)*.
- RCAHMS and The Gefrin Trust. 2007. *Handlist of Site Finds & their Records*.
- RCAHMS archive. Doon Hill. <<http://canmore.rcahms.gov.uk/en/site/57668/details/doon+hill/>>.
- RCAHMS. 1997. *Eastern Dumfriesshire: an archaeological landscape*.
- Renfrew, Colin. 1974. 'Beyond a Subsistence Economy: The Evolution of Social Organization in Prehistoric Europe'. *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research: Supplementary Studies* 20: 69-95.
- Renfrew, Colin. 1986. 'Introduction: peer polity interaction and socio-political change' in C. Renfrew and J. Cherry (ed.), *Peer Polity Interaction and Socio-Political Change*. 1-18.
- Reynolds, Andrew. 2003. 'Boundaries and settlements in later Sixth to Eleventh-Century England'. *Anglo-Saxon Studies in Archaeology and History* 12: 98-136.
- Reynolds, Andrew. 2009. *Anglo-Saxon Deviant Burial Customs*.
- Reynolds, Nicholas. 1980a. 'Dark Age timber halls and the background to excavation at Balbridie'. *Scotland Archaeological Forum* 10: 41-60.
- Reynolds, Nicholas. 1980b. 'Balbridie'. *Current Archaeology* 6(11): 326-8.
- Riccoboni, Paul. 2012. Archaeological Evaluation on land north of Home Farm, Merton, Oxfordshire. Unpublished Archaeological Report. John Moore Heritage Services.
- Richards, Julian. 1987. *The Significant of Form and Decoration of Anglo-Saxon Cremation Urns*.
- Richards, Julian, John Naylor and Caroline Holas-Clark. 2009. 'Anglo-Saxon Landscape and Economy: using portable antiquities to study Anglo-Saxon and Viking Age England'. *Internet Archaeology* 25. <http://intarch.ac.uk/journal/issue25/richards_toc.html>.
- Richardson, Peter, Robert Boyd and Joseph Henrich. 2003. 'The cultural evolution of human cooperation' in P. Hammerstein (ed.), *The Genetic and Cultural Evolution of Cooperation*. 357-88.
- Rollason, David. 2009. 'Protection and the Mead-Hall' in T. Lambert and D. Rollason (ed.), *Peace and Protection in the Middle Ages*. 19-35.
- Roseff, Rebecca. 1996. Church Farm, Bierton, Buckinghamshire. Unpublished Archaeological Report. Buckinghamshire County Museum Archaeological Service.
- Roseveare, Anne. 2011. Saxon Halls, Upton Magna, Shropshire: Geophysical Survey Report. Unpublished Archaeological Report. Archaeophysica.
- Rowlands, Michael and Christopher Tilley. 2006. 'Monuments and memorials' in C. Tilley, W. Keane, S. Kuechler, M. Rowlands and P. Spyer (ed.), *Handbook of Material Culture*. 500-15.
- Rowley, Trevor and Lisa Brown. 1981. 'Excavations at Beech House Hotel, Dorchester-on-Thames 1972'. *Oxoniensia* 46: 1-55.

- Royce, David. 1882-3. 'Upper Swell Barrows'. *Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society* 7: 74-5.
- RPS group. 2005. Archaeological Investigations for the A41 Aston Clinton Bypass, Buckinghamshire: analysis of excavations at the Woodlands Roundabout, Lower Icknield Way and Tring Hill sites including watching brief results. Unpublished Archaeological Report. RPS Group.
- Sahlins, Marshall. 1963. 'Poor Man, Rich Man, Big-Man, Chief: Political Types in Melanesia and Polynesia'. *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 5(3): 285-303.
- Salzman, Louis (ed.). 1939. *The Victoria History of the Country of Oxford: volume 1*.
- Sanmark, Alexandra and Sarah Semple. 2008. 'Places of assembly: new discoveries in Sweden and England'. *Fornvännen* 103: 245-59.
- Sawyer, Peter. 1968. *Anglo-Saxon Charters: an annotated list and bibliography*.
- Sawyer, Peter. 1983. 'The royal tun in pre-Conquest England' in P. Wormald (ed.), *Ideal and Reality in Frankish and Anglo-Saxon Society*. 273-99.
- Scull, Chris. 1990. 'Scales and Weights in Early Anglo-Saxon England'. *The Archaeological Journal* 147: 183-215.
- Scull, Chris. 1991. 'Post-Roman Phase I at Yeavinger: a reconsideration'. *Medieval Archaeology* 35: 51-63.
- Scull, Chris. 1992. 'Excavation and survey at Watchfield, Oxfordshire, 1983-92'. *The Archaeological Journal* 149: 124-281.
- Scull, Chris. 1993. 'Archaeology, early Anglo-Saxon society and the origins of Anglo-Saxon kingdoms'. *Anglo-Saxon Studies in Archaeology and History* 6: 65-82.
- Scull, Chris. 1999. 'Social archaeology and Anglo-Saxon kingdom origins'. *Anglo-Saxon Studies in Archaeology and History* 10: 17-24.
- Scull, Chris. 2011. 'Social Transactions, Gift Exchange, and Power in the Archaeology of the Fifth to Seventh Centuries' in H. Hamerow, D. Hinton and S. Crawford (ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of Anglo-Saxon Archaeology*. 848-861.
- Scull, Chris. 2012. *Lyminge 2010: Assessment of Material Culture Assemblages (Copper-Alloy, Bone/Antler and Vessel Glass) from SFBs 1, 2, and 3*.
- Scull, Chris and Anthony Harding. 1990. 'Two early medieval cemeteries at Milfield, Northumberland'. *Durham Archaeological Journal* 6: 1-29.
- Scull, Chris, Faye Minter and Judith Plouviez. 2016. 'Social and economic complexity in early medieval England: a central place complex of the East Anglian kingdom at Rendlesham, Suffolk'. *Antiquity* 90 (354): 1594-1612.
- Semple, Sarah. 2003. 'Burials and political boundaries in the Avebury region, north Wiltshire'. *Anglo-Saxon Studies in Archaeology and History* 12: 72-91.
- Semple, Sarah. 2004. 'Locations of assembly in Early Anglo-Saxon England' in A. Pantos and S. Semple (ed.), *Assembly Places and Practices in Medieval Europe*. 135-54.
- Semple, Sarah. 2007. 'Defining the OE hearg: a preliminary archaeological and topographic examination of hearg place names and their hinterlands'. *Early Medieval Europe* 15(4): 364-85.
- Semple, Sarah. 2010. 'In the open air' in M. Carver, A. Sanmark and S. Semple (ed.), *Signals of Belief in Early England*. 21-48.

- Semple, Sarah. 2011. 'Sacred spaces and places in pre-Christian and conversion period Anglo-Saxon England' in H. Hamerow, D. Hinton and S. Crawford (ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of Anglo-Saxon Archaeology*. 742-63.
- Semple, Sarah. 2013. *Perceptions of the Prehistoric in Anglo-Saxon England: religion, ritual, and rulership in the landscape*.
- Semple, Sarah and Howard Williams (ed.). 2007. *Early Medieval Mortuary Practices*. ASSAH 14.
- Shephard, John. 1979. 'The social identity of the individual in isolated barrows and barrow cemeteries in Anglo-Saxon England' in B. Burnham and J. Kingsbury (ed.), *Space Hierarchy and Society: Interdisciplinary studies in social area analysis*. 47-79.
- Sherlock, Stephen and Martin Welch. 1992. *An Anglo-Saxon Cemetery at Norton, Cleveland*.
- Simmonds, Andrew, Hugo Anderson-Whymark and Andrew Norton. 2011. 'Excavations at Tubney Wood quarry, Oxfordshire, 2001-9'. *Oxoniensia* 76: 105-72.
- Sims, Mike and Gerry Thacker. 2015. Land off Didcot Road, Long Wittenham, Oxfordshire. Unpublished Archaeological Report. Oxford Archaeology.
- Smith, Ian. 1981. 'Sprouston (Sprouston p), survey: crop mark timber building; promontory fort'. *Discovery and Excavation in Scotland* 1981: 4.
- Smith, Ian. 1982. 'Sprouston (Sprouston p), survey'. *Discovery and Excavation in Scotland* 1982: 3.
- Smith, Ian. 1983. 'Brito-Roman and Anglo-Saxon: the unification of the Borders' in P. Clack and J. Ivy (ed.), *The Borders*. 9-48.
- Smith, Ian. 1984. 'Patterns of settlement and land use of the late Anglian period in the Tweed Basin' in M. Faull (ed.), *Studies in Late Anglo-Saxon Settlement*. 177-96.
- Smith, Ian. 1992. 'Sprouston, Roxburghshire: an early Anglian centre of the eastern Tweed Basin'. *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries Scotland* 121: 261-94.
- Smith, Kevin. 2004. 'Patterns in time and the tempo of change: a North Atlantic perspective on the evolution of complex societies' in J. Mathieu and R. Scott (ed.), *Exploring the Role of Analytical Change in Archaeological Interpretation*. 83-99.
- Sofield, Clifford. 2012. *Placed Deposits in Early and Middle Anglo-Saxon Rural Settlements*. Unpublished Ph.D. thesis: University of Oxford.
- Sofield, Clifford. 2015. 'Living with the dead: human burials in Anglo-Saxon settlement contexts'. *The Archaeological Journal* 172(2): 351-88.
- Sofield, Clifford. In Press. 'Shaping buildings and identities in fifth- to ninth-century England' in H. Bailey, K. Kinsella and D. Thomas (ed.), *Architectural Representation in Early Medieval England c.650-1350*. Leeds Studies in English.
- Sparey-Green, Christopher. 1987. *Excavations at Poundbury, Dorchester, Dorset, 1966-1982: 1: The Settlement*.
- Spencer, Jonathan. 2010a. 'Kingship' in *The Routledge Encyclopedia of Social and Cultural Anthropology*.
- Spencer, Jonathan. 2010b. 'Marxism and anthropology' in *The Routledge Encyclopedia of Social and Cultural Anthropology*.
- St. Joseph, J.K.S. 1975. 'Air reconnaissance: recent results'. *Antiquity* 69: 293-95.

- St. Joseph, J.K.S. 1982 'Sprouston, Roxburghshire: an Anglo-Saxon settlement discovered by air reconnaissance'. *Anglo-Saxon England* 10: 191-9.
- Stenton, Frank. 1926. 'The foundations of English History' in D. Stenton (ed.), *Preparatory to Anglo-Saxon England*. 106-15.
- Stevens, Joseph. 1894. 'The discovery of a Saxon burial-place near Reading'. *Journal of the British Archaeological Association* 50: 150-7.
- Stone, Stephen. 1859a. 'Account of certain (supposed) British and Saxon remains recently discovered at Standlake, in the County of Oxford'. *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of London* 1st series 4: 91-100.
- Stone, Stephen. 1859b. 'Stephen Stone, Esq. F.S.A. exhibited a small Saxon bucket and a pair of saucer-shaped fibulae, and other relics discovered recently at Brighthampton, in Oxfordshire'. *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of London* 1st series 4: 329.
- Stoodley, Nick. 1999. *The Spindle and the Spear: a critical enquiry into the construction and meaning of gender in the early Anglo-Saxon burial rite*.
- Stoodley, Nick. 2011. 'Childhood to old age' in H. Hamerow, D. Hinton and S Crawford (ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of Anglo-Saxon Archaeology*. 642-66.
- Stratford, Edmund. 2010. An Archaeological Evaluation on Land to the north of Bourton Business Park, Bourton-on-the-Water, Gloucestershire. Unpublished Archaeological Report. Gloucestershire County Council Archaeology Service.
- Stratford, Edmund. 2012. 'Excavations at Fairford Community Centre, Fairford, Gloucestershire, 2007'. *Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society* 130: 115-27.
- Strathern, Andrew. 1971. *The Rope of Moka: Big-Men and ceremonial exchange in Mount Hagen, New Guinea*.
- Sundqvist, Olof. 2011. 'Gudme on Funen: a central sanctuary with cosmic symbolism?' in O. Grimm and A. Pesch (ed.), *The Gudme/Gudhem Phenomenon*. 63-76.
- Taylor, Andy. 2007. Ashgrove Farm, Ardley. Unpublished Archaeological Report. Thames Valley Archaeological Services.
- Taylor, Andy. 2014. The Hub, Marston Farm, Stratton St Margaret, Swindon, Wiltshire. Unpublished Archaeological Report. Thames Valley Archaeological Services.
- Taylor, Kate. 2000. Parsonage Farm, Sparsholt Road, Childrey, Oxfordshire. Unpublished Archaeological Report. Thames Valley Archaeological Services.
- Taylor, Kate and Steve Ford. 1999. 'Medieval Features at Beecroft Yard, Church Road, Weston-on-the-Green, Oxfordshire'. *Oxoniensia* 64: 245-53.
- Tester, Andrew, Sue Anderson, Ian Riddler and Robert Carr. 2014. *Staunch Meadow, Brandon, Suffolk: A high status Middle Saxon settlement on the fen edge*. EAA 151.
- The Archaeological Practice. 1998. Kimmerston Road End, Milfield, Northumberland. Archaeological Evaluation. Unpublished Archaeological Report. The Archaeological Practice.
- The Archaeological Practice. 1999. Kimerston Road End, Milfield. Archaeological Evaluation. Unpublished Archaeological Report. The Archaeological Practice.
- The Archaeological Practice. 2000. 'Milfield, Kimmerston road end'. *Medieval Archaeology* 44: 299.

- The English Landscape and Identities Project. 'Portal to the Past'. *ESRI*. March 14, 2017. <http://englaid.arch.ox.ac.uk/>
- Thomas, Gabor. 2005. *Lyminge: An Archaeological Research Agenda for the Pre-Viking Minster and its Associated Settlement*.
- Thomas, Gabor. 2008. *Lyminge Interim Report 2008*. University of Reading. <<http://www.lymingearchaeology.org/publications/>>
- Thomas, Gabor. 2009. *Lyminge Interim Report 2009*. University of Reading. <<http://www.lymingearchaeology.org/publications/>>
- Thomas, Gabor. 2010. *Lyminge Interim Report 2010*. University of Reading. <<http://www.lymingearchaeology.org/publications/>>
- Thomas, Gabor. 2013. 'Life before the minster: the social dynamics of monastic foundation at Anglo-Saxon Lyminge, Kent'. *The Antiquaries Journal* 93: 109-145.
- Thomas, Gabor. 2015. 'Places of power and the making of Anglo-Saxon kingdoms: new archaeological perspectives from Lyminge, Kent', paper presented at Medieval Economic and Social History Seminar Series. Oxford, June 17 2015.
- Thomas, Gabor. 2017. 'Monasteries and places of power in pre-Viking England: trajectories, relationships and interactions' in G. Thomas and A. Knox (ed.), *Early Medieval Monasticism in the North Sea Zone*. ASSAH 20.
- Thomas, Gabor and Alexandra Knox. 2013. *Lyminge Interim Report 2012*. University of Reading. <<http://www.lymingearchaeology.org/publications/>>
- Thomas, Gabor and Alexandra Knox. 2014. *Lyminge Interim Report 2013*. University of Reading. <<http://www.lymingearchaeology.org/publications/>>
- Thomas, Gabor and Alexandra Knox. 2015. *Lyminge Interim Report 2014*. University of Reading. <<http://www.lymingearchaeology.org/publications/>>
- Thomas, Gabor and Daniel Bray. 2010. *Lyminge Evaluation Report 2010*. University of Reading. <<http://www.lymingearchaeology.org/publications/>>
- Thomas, Gabor and Peter Marshall. 2011. *Scientific Dating incorporating results of high-precision radiocarbon dating by the Universities Research and Reactor Centre, East Kilbride, and chronological modelling by Dr. Peter Marshall*.
- Thomas, Philip. 2010. 'House' in *The Routledge Encyclopedia of Social and Cultural Anthropology*.
- Thompson, Michael. 1995. *The Medieval Hall: the basis of secular domestic life, 600-1600AD*.
- Thurston, Tina. 2006. 'The barren and the fertile: central and local intensification strategies across variable landscapes' in J. Marcus and C. Stanish (ed.), *Agricultural Strategies*. 131-61.
- Thurston, Tina. 2012. 'Bitter arrows and generous gifts: what was a 'king' in the European Iron Age?' in T. Price and G. Feinman (ed.), *Pathways to Power: new perspectives on the emergence of social inequality*. 193-254.
- Tinniswood, Alison and Anthony Harding. 1991. 'Anglo-Saxon occupation and industrial features in the henge monument at Yeavering, Northumberland'. *Durham Archaeological Journal* 7: 93-108.
- Tipper, Jess. 2004. *The Grubenhaus in Anglo-Saxon England: an analysis and interpretation of the evidence from a most distinctive building type*.

- Townley, Simon. Forthcoming. 'Benson, including Preston Crowmarsh, Fifield, Roke, and Rokemarsh' in *VCH Oxfordshire XVIII*.
- Ulmschneider, Katharina. 2011. 'Settlement Hierarchy' in H. Hamerow, D. Hinton and S. Crawford (ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of Anglo-Saxon Archaeology*. 156-71.
- Upex, Stephen. 2002. The excavations at a Migration Period Site at Polebrook, Northamptonshire. Vol. 1. Unpublished Archaeological Report.
- Upex, Stephen. 2003. The excavations at a Migration Period Site at Polebrook, Northamptonshire. Vol. 2. Unpublished Archaeological Report.
- Upex, Stephen. 2004. The excavations at a Migration Period Site at Polebrook, Northamptonshire. Vol. 3. Unpublished Archaeological Report.
- Upex, Stephen. 2005. The excavations at a Migration Period Site at Polebrook, Northamptonshire. Vol. 4. Unpublished Archaeological Report.
- Urbanczyk, Przemyslaw. 2003. 'The politics of conversion in North Central Europe' in M. Carver (ed.), *The Cross Goes North*. 15-27.
- Van Bakel, Martin, Renée Hagesteijn and Piet van de Velde. 1986. *Private Politics: a multi-disciplinary approach to 'Big-Man' systems*.
- Walker, Harold. 1956. 'Bede and the Gewissae: the political evolution of the Heptarchy and its nomenclature'. *Cambridge Historical Journal* 12: 174-86.
- Walker, Jenny. 2010. 'In the hall' in M. Carver, A. Sanmark and S. Semple (ed.), *Signals of Belief in Early England*. 82-102.
- Walker, Jenny. 2011. 'The recursive structuring of space: socio-political and religious performance in the hall' in D. Petts and S. Turner (ed.), *Early Medieval Northumbria: kingdoms and communities, AD 450-1100*. 221-40.
- Ware, Carolyn. 2005. 'The social use of space at Gefrin' in P. Frodsham and C. O'Brien (ed.), *Yeaving: People, Power, Place*.
- Warhurst, Alan. 1955. 'The Jutish cemetery at Lyminge'. *Archaeologia Cantiana* 69: 1-40.
- Weale, Andrew. 2010. Land at Littleworth Road, Benson, Oxfordshire. Unpublished Archaeological Report. Thames Valley Archaeological Services.
- Weaver, Steven. 1998. Abingdon Reservoir Proposal 1997 93/91. An Archaeological Evaluation of Site 126 (North). Unpublished Archaeological Report. Thames Valley Archaeological Services.
- Weaver, Steven and Graham Hall. 2000. 'Saxon, Medieval and Post-Medieval deposits at Waterperry House, Waterperry, near Wheatley, Oxfordshire'. *Oxoniensia* 65: 333-43.
- Webster and Hobley 1964 'Aerial reconnaissance over the Warwickshire Avon'. *The Archaeological Journal* 121: 17-8.
- Webster, Jonathan. 2007. Land Adjacent to Orchard House, Upper Ups, South Cerney, Gloucestershire. Unpublished Archaeological Report. Cotswold Archaeology.
- Webster, Leslie and John Cherry. 1973a. 'Oxfordshire: Adwell, Adwell Cop'. *Medieval Archaeology* 17: 148.
- Webster, Leslie and John Cherry. 1973b. 'Oxfordshire: Eynsham'. *Medieval Archaeology* 17: 148.

- Webster, Leslie and John Cherry. 1973c. 'Oxfordshire: Eynsham, Wytham View'. *Medieval Archaeology* 17: 148.
- Webster, Leslie and John Cherry. 1973d. 'Oxfordshire: Wootton, Hordley'. *Medieval Archaeology* 17: 148.
- Welch, Martin. 1983. *Early Anglo-Saxon Sussex*.
- Welch, Martin. 1984. 'The dating and significance of the inlaid buckle loop from Yeavinger, Northumberland'. *Anglo-Saxon Studies in Archaeology and History* 3: 77-8.
- Welch, Martin. 1992. *English Heritage Book of Anglo-Saxon England*.
- Welch, Martin. 2007. 'Anglo-Saxon Kent to AD 800' in J. Williams (ed.), *The Archaeology of Kent to AD 800*. 187-248
- Wessex Archaeology. 2000. Proposed Biomass Power Project, Cricklade, North Wiltshire. Unpublished Archaeological Report. Wessex Archaeology
- Wessex Archaeology. 2010. Sutton Courtenay, Oxfordshire: Archaeological Excavation and Assessment of Results. Unpublished Archaeological Report. Wessex Archaeology.
- West, Stanley. 1985. *West Stow: the Anglo-Saxon village*.
- White, Roger. 2017. *Excavations at Frogmore Hall, Atcham, Shropshire in June 2017. An Interim Report*.
- White, Roger and Philip Barker. 1998. *Wroxeter: life and death of a Roman city*
- Wickham, Chris. 2001. 'Topographies of power: introduction' in M. Jong and F. Theuws (ed.), *Topographies of Power in the Early Middle Ages*. 1-8.
- Wickham, Chris. 2005. *Framing the Early Middle Ages: Europe and the Mediterranean 400-800*.
- Wilkinson, David. 1988. 'Two Anglo-Saxon graves at Kemble'. *Transactions of the Bristol Gloucestershire Archaeological Society* 106: 198-201.
- Williams, Howard. 1997. 'Ancient landscapes of the dead: the reuse of Prehistoric and Roman monuments as Early Anglo-Saxon burial sites'. *Medieval Archaeology* 41: 1-32.
- Williams, Howard. 1998. 'Monuments and the past in early Anglo-Saxon England'. *World Archaeology* 30: 90-108.
- Williams, Howard. 1999. 'Placing the Dead' in M. Rundkvist (ed.), *Grave Matters: eight studies of first millennium AD burials in Crimea, England and southern Scandinavia*. 57-86.
- Williams, Howard. 2001. 'Death, memory and time: a consideration of the mortuary practices at Sutton Hoo' in C. Humphrey and W. Ormrod (ed.), *Time in the Medieval World*. 35-71.
- Williams, Howard. 2002. 'Cemeteries as central places – place and identity in Migration Period Eastern England' in B. Hårdh and L. Larsson (ed.), *Central Places in the Migration and Merovingian Periods, papers from the 52nd Sachsensymposium*. 341-62.
- Williams, Howard. 2004. 'Assembling the dead' in A. Pantos and S. Semple (ed.), *Assembly Places and Practices in Medieval Europe*. 109-34.
- Williams, Howard. 2006. *Death and Memory in Early Medieval Britain*.
- Williams, Howard. 2007. 'Introduction: themes in the archaeology of Early Medieval death and burial'. *Anglo-Saxon Studies in Archaeology and History* 14: 1-11.
- Williams, John, Michael Shaw, Varian Denham and Archibald Marion. 1985. *Middle Saxon Palaces at Northampton*.

- Williamson, Tom. 2008. *Sutton Hoo and its Landscape: the context of monuments*.
- Wilmott, Tony. 1997. *Birdoswald: Excavations of a Roman Fort on Hadrian's Wall and its Successor Settlements: 1987–92*. English Heritage Archaeological Report 14.
- Wilson, David and John Hurst. 1960. 'Oxfordshire: Cassington'. *Medieval Archaeology* 4: 136.
- Wilson, P.R. 1980. 'Snowford Bridge Roman site (Long Intchington)'. *Transactions of the Birmingham and Warwickshire Archaeological Society* 90: 80-2.
- Wintle, William. 2004. *Fog on the Barrow Downs - Locating the Cross Barrows*. Unpublished.
- Witkin, Annsofie. 2003. 2 Stephen's Road Headington. Unpublished Archaeological Report. Oxford Archaeology.
- Yorke, Barbara. 1989. 'The Jutes of Hampshire and Wight and the origins of Wessex' in S. Bassett (ed.), *The Origins of Anglo-Saxon Kingdoms*. 84-96.
- Yorke, Barbara. 1990. *Kings and Kingdoms of Early Anglo-Saxon England*.
- Yorke, Barbara. 1995. *Wessex in the Early Middle Ages*.
- Yorke, Barbara. 2010. 'The representation of early West Saxon history in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle' in A. Jorgensen (ed.), *Reading the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle: Language, Literature, History*. 141-59.
- Yorke, Barbara. 2013. 'The burial of kings in Anglo-Saxon England' in G. Owen-Crocker and B. Schneider (ed.), *Kingship, Legislation and Power in Anglo-Saxon England*. 237-57.