

Early Medieval 'Rural Centres' and West Norfolk: A Growing Picture of Diversity, Complexity and Changing Lifestyles

Gareth Davies

To cite this article: Gareth Davies (2010) Early Medieval 'Rural Centres' and West Norfolk: A Growing Picture of Diversity, Complexity and Changing Lifestyles, *Medieval Archaeology*, 54:1, 89-122, DOI: [10.1179/174581710X12790370815733](https://doi.org/10.1179/174581710X12790370815733)

To link to this article: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1179/174581710X12790370815733>



Published online: 18 Jul 2013.



Submit your article to this journal [↗](#)



Article views: 160



View related articles [↗](#)



Citing articles: 4 View citing articles [↗](#)

Early Medieval ‘Rural Centres’ and West Norfolk: A Growing Picture of Diversity, Complexity and Changing Lifestyles

By GARETH DAVIES¹

THE EMPLOYMENT OF an integrated survey methodology consisting of overlaid plotting of metal-detected finds, geophysics, fieldwalking and limited trial excavation to a number of sites across a single region, in this case W Norfolk, England, can provide important further insights into the nature of rural centres labelled as ‘productive sites’. The detailed results are first set within a wider research framework by introducing some key points concerning developments in the investigation and interpretation of metal-detected sites in the UK and the early medieval settlement archaeology of Norfolk. In particular, this research can contribute, albeit speculatively, to the wider debates about the diversity, complexity and changing lifestyles of early medieval elite groups involved in trade and exchange in rural areas.

In 1982 Richard Hodges published *Dark Age Economics*.² The thesis provided a seminal, anthropologically influenced, model for the formation of states and settlement hierarchies in early medieval North Sea Europe. Central to Hodges’ model were royal elites, who monopolised trade and exchange in luxury goods, such as imported pottery, glass, gold and silver artefacts, in order to enable royal patronage, which was ‘very much the language of power’.³ Royal desires were realised at emergent gateway settlements, labelled *emporia*, which contained easily taxable communities engaged in specialised manufacture of craft products and the exchange of these items and local raw materials for luxury goods.⁴ These central places, many of which would eventually develop into towns, flourished from the late 7th century until the early 9th century, when Viking control of trade routes resulted in fundamental changes to the maritime-oriented settlement landscape around the North Sea.⁵

However, *Dark Age Economics* placed less emphasis on the way in which the settlements and their residents in the rural hinterlands functioned.⁶ To a certain extent this was because of a lack of available data. Subsequently, excavation and survey have discovered a variety of undocumented rural settlements in receipt

¹ Department of Archaeology, University of Nottingham, University Park, Nottingham NG7 2RD, England, UK. acxgjd@nottingham.ac.uk

² Hodges 1982.

³ Palmer 2003, 48–60. See also Hodges and Whitehouse 1989, and Astill 1985, 215–31.

⁴ Hodges 1982, 197.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 151–61.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 131–6.

of traded goods or engaged in manufacture — activities previously regarded as almost exclusive to the *emporia* — in many regions across North Sea Europe.⁷ These ‘rural centres’, as they have been labelled, emerge by the 8th century, often in coastal zones or close to important communication routes, and appear to co-exist economically with the *emporia*.⁸ Their discovery means that it is no longer tenable to portray the early medieval rural landscape as ‘... a series of active cores, surrounded by conservative, autarkic [self-sufficient] peripheries’.⁹ At these sites (many of which were also engaged in some form of production) material culture relating to trade and exchange can be used to interpret social identities potentially indicative of a diverse range of administrative elites.¹⁰

Yet, because the excavation of early medieval rural settlements is a costly, time-consuming and rare procedure (increasingly undertaken only in advance of development), projects remain unevenly distributed in the landscape, and the interpretation of excavated rural centres remains contentious because individual case-studies cannot be quantified against a representative range of evidence from contemporary settlement hierarchies.¹¹ To overcome these problems, archaeologists must engage with emerging datasets generated from surface finds collection, as this new data is widely (and perhaps more representatively) distributed across the rural landscape.

Importantly for the potential recovery of the full rural settlement hierarchy, archaeological investigations in regions, including W Norfolk, England (the focus of the second half of this paper), have begun to reveal surface finds data consisting of notable scatters of pottery and, in particular, metalwork suggestive of ‘rural centres’. This new data could potentially be utilised to address fundamental questions concerning the variability and character of both regional rural settlement hierarchies and individual sites. Yet, on a national scale, there are a number of issues to overcome before we can successfully replace the paradigm of trade and exchange controlled by select, documented elites with new models that allow for the complex role that rural settlements — populated by dynamic, multi-tiered, social elites — played within wider social and economic change.¹²

⁷ McCormick 2001.

⁸ As labelled by, for example, by Hamerow (2002, 156).

⁹ Moreland 2000. Something now also acknowledged by Hodges (2006, 63–71).

¹⁰ Occasionally corroborated by contemporary documents, see Loveluck 2007a, 150–90.

¹¹ For example, at Wicken Bonhunt, Essex, an inland centre perhaps engaged in specialised pork production and in receipt of imported French ceramics associated with the wine trade, interpreted as a centre under royal patronage during its middle Anglo-Saxon occupation (Wade 1980, 96–102). At Brandon, Suffolk, a ‘high-status’ fen-edge island settlement initially interpreted as a ‘monastic community’, which included an industrial zone, and was in receipt of imported Tating Ware pottery from northern France and glass (Carr et al 1988, 371–7). Brandon has been labelled monastic on the evidence of topographical situation and selected material culture, including styli and a religious gold plaque, alone (Blair 2005, 209–11). This approach, which neglects other material classes from these sites, such as faunal remains and ceramic evidence, has been criticised for simply describing a settlement at a ‘snapshot in time’ (Loveluck 2001, 120–1).

¹² Although scholars of Carolingian Europe, utilising contemporary documents, already propose new models of early medieval social organisation, for example, regional economies where some rural producers might be required to render a proportion of their specialist products to a variety of different elite groups (both secular and ecclesiastical), while other social groups, such as merchants and traders, would sell products in alienable exchange for goods or for coinage, albeit subject to ‘royal’ tolls (Verhulst 2002, 87–8). Producers living in marginal landscapes, such as coastal zones, may have existed on the edges of elite jurisdiction and taken to specialist production of wool, textiles and salt for alienable exchange (Loveluck and Tys 2006, 142).

RURAL CENTRES: 'PRODUCTIVE' SITES

In the UK since the 1980s there has been a growing public use of metal-detectors. This has led to the discovery of a huge number of isolated findspots of sceatta coins and a smaller number of outstanding surface-find assemblages (including both coins and other non-ferrous metalwork) in rural areas. If we accept that coins of this date represent coin-using individuals engaged in some form of economic transaction,¹³ then this new data clearly demonstrates that there were numerous places in the landscape, other than the *emporia*, where individuals were actively participating in international or regional trade and exchange.¹⁴ The outstanding sites, which date to the late 7th century onwards, are often labelled collectively as 'productive' sites; a term initially given by numismatists to indicate sites where prolific finds had been made.¹⁵ However, many scholars are unhappy with the use of the label 'productive' site as it groups together a number of sites that really only share a common method of discovery (ie metal-detecting). It is suspected that there is actually a huge range of distinctive site-types hidden beneath this label.¹⁶ For example, even without further investigation, a distinction exists between surface-find 'productive' sites rich in coinage and those rich in their overall metalwork assemblage.¹⁷

In contrast, other scholars have chosen to emphasise the common characteristics of 'productive sites'. Ulmschneider, for example, suggested that collectively they represent central places engaged in local, inter-regional or international trade; in this model we might therefore expect a 'productive site' to have a market or fair component (whether temporary or permanent). Yet, within this framework, Ulmschneider was also cautious to note the potential for 'productive sites' to be serving as multi-functional places. For example, a number of smaller 'productive' sites were interpreted as also potentially representing the location of centres of ecclesiastical authority, such as early minsters.¹⁸ The presence of later medieval churches near many 'productive' sites perhaps reinforces this idea.¹⁹ However, Naylor's work on coin finds from 'productive' sites in Yorkshire, where coinage seems to come under much greater royal control (but remains in abundant use) following Eadberth's (737–58) reforms,²⁰ reminds us of the potential for variety within the mechanisms of control over exchange, and therefore the potential for coinage at 'productive' sites to be representative of a variety of site identities. Similarly, the recent study by Hutcheson for Norfolk, which regarded coin finds within widely distributed 'productive' land-units as related to the payment of taxation, might also indicate a variety of elite identities.²¹

¹³ Mode of transaction is of course a much-debated subject, eg Naylor 2004, 5. See section on *The Coin Assemblages* in this paper for more discussion.

¹⁴ Pestell forthcoming. Although at this level of recovery, the evidence for specialised manufacture is vastly reduced.

¹⁵ Ulmschneider 2000a, 53–79 has defined 'productive sites' simply as places, whether excavated or metal-detected, that produce large quantities of coin and metalwork finds.

¹⁶ Because of this, Richards (1999, 71–80), for example, has requested that the term be discarded.

¹⁷ Pestell forthcoming.

¹⁸ Ulmschneider 2000b, 104–5.

¹⁹ Pestell forthcoming.

²⁰ Naylor 2007, 41–61 (esp p 59).

²¹ Hutcheson 2006, 79–84.

Although these studies have shown the way forward at the level of extensive regional analysis, because most ‘productive sites’ are represented by unsystematically collected assemblages of surface finds, there has been infrequent opportunity to explore their full material culture profiles, including material classes such as imported pottery or craft products, in addition to coinage and metalwork indicative of trade/exchange.²² As a result, it has been impossible to see, in a comparative way, just *how* exceptional the circulation of material culture at ‘productive sites’ is within wider regional settlement hierarchies.²³ This has made it difficult to develop better terminologies for describing individual types of settlement within any given rural hierarchy.²⁴

TOWARDS A METHODOLOGY: PRODUCTIVE SITES AND SETTLEMENT MORPHOLOGIES

Most fundamentally, though, and central to the second part of this paper, there have been even fewer opportunities to explore ‘productive’ sites on a more intensive basis. On the rare occasion where this has occurred, for example, at Cottam in Yorkshire (a site abundant in 8th- and 9th-century metalwork), the excavator suggested that the surface-find ‘productive’ site was actually more representative of a ‘normal’ buried middle Anglo-Saxon settlement in the region. Richards suggested that the most exceptional thing about Cottam was that it had been extensively ploughed, placing large amounts of detectable metal in the ploughsoil. He also initially argued that large quantities of 9th-century coinage at Cottam were more apparent than real, simply following a regional pattern of circulation but now allows that Cottam B operated as a trading focus within a royal estate.²⁵

Cottam clearly demonstrates that surface finds of metalwork and pottery at a ‘productive’ site reflect the location of areas of intensively bounded, buried settlement that geophysical survey and excavation can capture and investigate. This is important because the appearance of boundary features at early medieval settlements may represent the ‘imposition and growth of new forms of social relationship’.²⁶ Andrew Reynolds has identified a number of distinct types of rural settlement for later Anglo-Saxon England, some of which might represent contrasting modes of elite identity. He distinguished, for example, sub-circular *de novo* enclosed settlements and planned sites based on rectilinear units from ‘standard’ rural settlements based on more organic enclosures perhaps initially defined by droveways (eg Riby Crossroads, Lincolnshire).²⁷ All three of these site-types emerge from the later 6th century onward. Between the 9th and 12th

²² This is historically due to poor reporting of metal finds by amateurs because of a climate of suspicion between archaeologists and metal-detectorists fostered by the amount of illegal metal-detecting that has taken place in the UK. See, for example, Richards and Naylor 2009.

²³ Although note the attempts of Ulmschneider 2000b and Palmer 2003, 48–60.

²⁴ The debate concerns the appropriateness of uncritically using labels derived from documented sites in later historical periods, such as ‘monastery’, ‘manor’, ‘village’ or ‘market’ for undocumented excavated settlements, see Whyman 2002, 92–4, and Carver 1989, 141–58.

²⁵ Richards 2003, 71–80, 166.

²⁶ For example, boundaries enclosing individual buildings and interpreted as demarcating secular elite foci at Chalton and Cowdery’s Down (Hampshire). See Saunders 2000, 216–17.

²⁷ Reynolds 2003. For Riby Crossroads, see Steedman 1994, 212–306.

centuries more regular morphologies reflect secular manorial sites, village-type plots and bounded cemeteries, signifying the emergence of new elite identities. However, on a cautionary note, common settlement morphologies can be interpreted as representing contrasting modes of elite identity. For example, sub-circular enclosed sites at Bampton (Oxfordshire), Goltho (Lincolnshire) and Bramford (Suffolk) are interpreted respectively as an ecclesiastical 'minster' enclosure, a later secular manorial site and, tentatively, the enclosed settlement of a freeman, while rectilinear settlements at Wicken Bonhunt (Essex) and North Elmham (Norfolk) have been linked respectively to settlements under both royal or ecclesiastical patronage.²⁸

It is therefore apparent that combining a study of both settlement morphologies and full material culture profiles is necessary if we are to best interpret rural centres labelled as 'productive'. Where there has been the opportunity to excavate well-stratified sequences at undocumented rural centres, and combine the observation of distinct settlement morphologies with an analysis of artefact discard patterns (including the full range of portable material culture, animal remains and environmental residues), it has been demonstrated that it is possible to identify morphological/material culture profiles relating to distinct rural elite identities, for example, at Flixborough, North Lincolnshire.²⁹

Perhaps most importantly, combining observations of settlement morphologies and material culture profiles at the superimposed sequence at Flixborough also enabled *transformations* within rural elites to be narrated at a single settlement focus. The excavator argued that Flixborough changed dynamically in character from a high-status secular centre of the 7th–8th centuries, to a small monastic site in the 9th century, and back to a secular site by the 10th century.³⁰ Similarly, in Norfolk, excavations at North Elmham between 1967 and 1971 revealed a settlement interpreted as a rural centre associated with an ecclesiastical focus and in receipt of traded goods with an occupation sequence spanning the 8th to 11th centuries. The settlement, originally a planned layout defined by large linear ditches and a property boundary, was replanned at least twice during its existence, with a cemetery introduced in the 11th century. Portable material culture from the site included imported middle Anglo-Saxon ceramics and coins, and animal remains showing a predominance of sheep over cattle; this revealed something of the economic identity of the settlement, although clear transformations in those identities are not as clear as at Flixborough.³¹

Although the opportunity to utilise a stratigraphic sequence of Flixborough quality is extremely rare in a rural context, the excavations at Cottam showed that the northern focus, Cottam B, shifts in location during the 10th century, with an 'Anglian' enclosure being replaced by an 'Anglo-Scandinavian' one; this morphological shift was also reflected to an extent by the distribution of surface finds of pottery and metalwork from the site.³² This demonstrates that it might be possible, even on plough-truncated sites subjected to survey and limited

²⁸ Bampton: Blair 1998, 124–30. Goltho: Beresford 1987. Bramford: Reynolds 1999, 144 and Loveluck 2009; North Elmham: Wade-Martins 1980, 96–102.

²⁹ Loveluck 1998, 146–61.

³⁰ Loveluck 2007a; 2007b, 89.

³¹ Wade-Martins 1980.

³² Richards, 2003, 160–1; Haldenby and Richards 2009, 309–14.

excavations, to reveal something of the changing character of rural elite identities. Indeed, where other mid–late Anglo-Saxon sites have been sample-excavated in Norfolk, for example Middle Harling and Redcastle Furze (Thetford), dynamic settlement sequences and occasional material culture evidence for trade/exchange have been revealed dating from the late 6th–7th centuries onwards.³³ With these possibilities in mind, the remainder of this article now presents selected results from recent integrated survey undertaken at five W Norfolk sites.

THE WEST NORFOLK SURVEY

SETTLEMENT AND ECONOMY IN EARLY MEDIEVAL W NORFOLK

In Norfolk, East Anglia, geographical conditions favourable to dense historic settlement have combined with modern-day arable production (where deep ploughing produces abundant surface finds) a strong tradition of systematic field survey and amateur reporting of surface artefact finds. This has resulted in an exceptional surface-find dataset relating to early medieval rural settlement.³⁴ This evidence provides a rare opportunity to progress the existing debates about the diversity and changing social identities of early medieval rural elites. Nowhere is this opportunity more apparent than in W Norfolk. A sub-region of diverse landscape zones, W Norfolk contains extensive easily tillable land at the base of a N/S-aligned chalk escarpment. This landscape is sandwiched between low-lying fenland to the west and clay uplands in the east and is bisected by navigable rivers that run west from a central eastern watershed to the region's western and northern coasts.

W Norfolk, as with much of East Anglia, is particularly fortuitous in that its Anglo-Saxon and Anglo-Scandinavian population utilised highly diagnostic material culture; pottery, coinage (including at times continental coinage) and metalwork.³⁵ This material can be used to identify potential settlements, but also to interpret many aspects of trade and exchange (if not production) that took place at these sites. Middle Anglo-Saxon Ipswich Ware, for example, produced exclusively at the Suffolk *emporia* between c 720 to 850, is abundant in W Norfolk and was apparently used at almost every rural site.³⁶ The production and distribution of this pottery has been interpreted in a number of ways. Keith Wade suggested that its production was controlled under royal patronage; more recently Hutcheson argues that its distribution in W Norfolk might represent a form of elite taxation or 'food-rent' on lower-order rural settlements by

³³ Andrews 1995; Rogerson 1995. Intriguingly, dynamic settlement sequences have also been observed at sites where excavation has revealed little in the way of material culture suggestive of status, for example, the Fenland Survey sites (Crowson et al 2005) and Downham Market, Norfolk (Percival and Trimble, 2008, 293–336). At these sites, awkward questions must be confronted concerning the potential complexity of materially impoverished sites, especially, and how this might affect the accurate definition and interpretation of the early medieval rural settlement hierarchy as these sites are much less visible during surface survey.

³⁴ Produced by both fieldwalking and metal-detecting, the potential and limitations of which were noted in Norfolk as early as 1984: Gregory and Rogerson 1984, 179–84.

³⁵ For the purposes of this article the Anglo-Saxon period is defined as 450–1066 (divided into early Anglo-Saxon, 450–650, middle Anglo-Saxon, 650–850 and late-Saxon, 850–1066). These are used to denote periods of time and no cultural or ethnic interpretation is intended in their use. Within this the Anglo-Scandinavian period is defined historically as the later 9th century to AD 1066.

³⁶ Rogerson 2005, 32–3.

multi-tiered secular and ecclesiastical rural elites.³⁷ Clearly, then, finds of Ipswich Ware at sites might represent a number of contrasting identities (both individual and collective). Similar investigations can be made of other categories of material culture, for example, coinage (discussed in more detail below).

Increasing exploration of W Norfolk's settlement patterns by systematic field surveys (such as the Fenland survey) as well as amateur survey, has revealed artefact scatters indicative of nucleated rural settlements in most environmental zones from the middle Anglo-Saxon period onwards. This data starts to bridge the gap between the poorly defined sub-region on the margins of the 7th-century kingdom of East Anglia with the detailed picture painted by Domesday Book (1086), where a complex late-Saxon system of tenurial organisation, including a large number of freemen, indicates that we should perhaps expect a high degree of settlement variability from an early date.³⁸ In particular, as W Norfolk did not experience centralisation until the foundation of Kings Lynn in the late 11th century, an important theme to explore concerns the potential for the functions of an absent urban focus to be spread around the landscape from an early date.³⁹

A number of pottery-rich but otherwise materially unexceptional sites, identified by the Fenland Survey, appear in the marshland area of the W Norfolk Fens during the middle Anglo-Saxon period. Helena Hamerow interprets these as 'lower-order' sites involved in specialist meat and salt production.⁴⁰ The common functional profiles and the regular spacing of the sites may also point to firm control of these fen-edge settlements from above, possibly by nearby estate centres under royal control.⁴¹ Surface collection suggests that some of these 'lower-order' fen-edge sites might also have been involved in trade, exchange and conspicuous consumption.⁴² For example, Norfolk's middle Anglo-Saxon imports of N French Blackware ceramics are almost exclusively distributed along the NW Norfolk coast; the only other findspot is Norwich.⁴³ This might indicate a distinctive sub-regional attitude towards material culture perceived further inland as 'luxuries', a coastal phenomenon now noted in other parts of Europe.⁴⁴

Within coastal W Norfolk, six sites have previously been defined as 'productive sites'.⁴⁵ I selected four of these for further investigation on the basis that they offered a satisfactory geographical distribution across the various landscape zones. **Wormegay** is located on a former island on the fen-edge, while **Congham** is located on mixed soils further inland at the base of the chalk escarpment. In contrast, **Burnham** is located at the base of a chalk ridge adjacent to the mouth of the River Burn on the northern coast, and **Rudham** is further inland on the boundary of Norfolk's central watershed and at the source of the east-draining River Wensum.

³⁷ For the earlier argument see Wade 1988, 93–100. For the recent argument, see Hutcheson 2006, 71–104.

³⁸ Campbell 1986, 215–62.

³⁹ Something raised by Rogerson 2003, 110–21 and more recently explored in Hutcheson 2006, 71–104.

⁴⁰ Hamerow 2002, 150.

⁴¹ Rogerson 2005, 32–3.

⁴² See, for example, Crowson et al 2005, 147–70.

⁴³ Unpublished data from Davies, forthcoming a. The nature of the middle Anglo-Saxon settlement focus at the later urban focus of Norwich is debated, see Ayers 2003, 11–34.

⁴⁴ Loveluck and Tys 2006, 140–69.

⁴⁵ Rogerson 2003.

In looking for comparative sites, I ignored the important fen-edge ‘productive’ site at Bawsey for further investigation — arguably the main precursor to the later urban focus at Kings Lynn — because it is currently under investigation.⁴⁶ My final case study is an unlabelled and undocumented (pre-Conquest) settlement at **Sedgeford**. Although not abundant in surface finds, it might still represent some form of estate centre,⁴⁷ and ongoing research excavations allowed the spatial and chronological imprecision of stratigraphically insecure artefact scatters and interpreted geophysical anomalies to be overcome by undertaking follow-up trial trenching.⁴⁸ Sedgeford is located slightly inland on the N-facing slope of the Heacham River. Fig 1 shows the location of the five case-study sites in W Norfolk.

METHODOLOGY

For purposes of analysis, I employed a comprehensive approach to the metal-detected data, which includes individually plotting all unique located findspots of metalwork/coinage from the case-study sites.⁴⁹ A strategy of

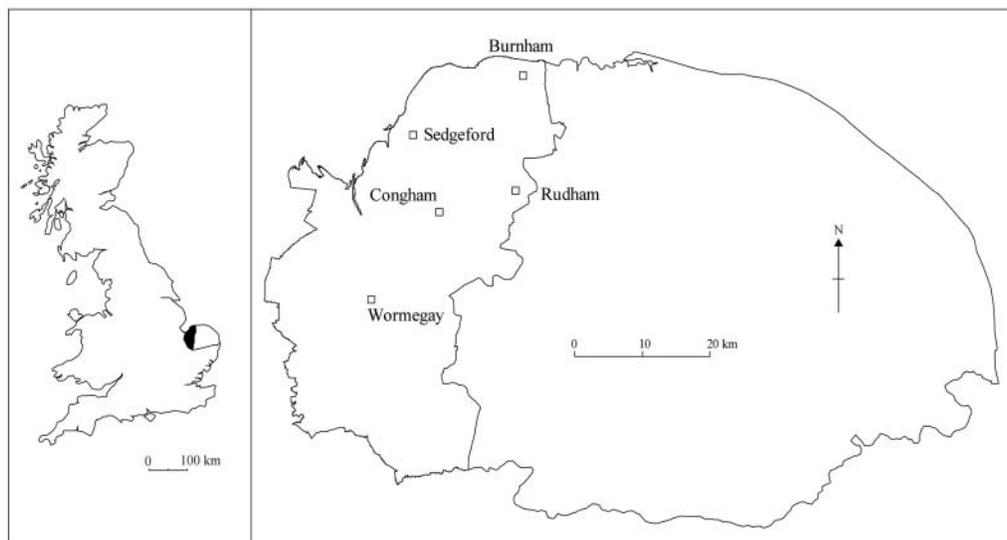


FIG 1

Location of the W Norfolk case study within Norfolk.

⁴⁶ Pestell forthcoming; pers comm.

⁴⁷ Cabot et al 2004.

⁴⁸ Five trenches were excavated totalling 195 sq m, targeting identified anomalies (see Davies forthcoming b). My aspiration is that this research-led evaluation exercise, revealing as it does very good evidence for changes to both settlement morphology and material culture profiles over time, might provide a model for future integrated surveys at other early medieval rural sites.

⁴⁹ The dataset consisted of 506 unique plotted findspots of metalwork/coinage (with up to five artefacts from a single find spot) within the date range of AD 411–1066. This comprised approximately 70% of total known metal finds within the date range of AD 411–1066 from the sites, and is therefore considered fairly representative of the total finds population, although resolution varied greatly (for example, c 85% of finds at Congham were located, while at Wormegay only c 50% of finds were located). Metal finds dated to AD 1066–1150, not included in the analysis, would have added a further 10 findspots. The recorded findspots were used first to observe overall patterns within the metal finds group and then, most importantly, to map and interpret intra-site patterns of finds loss.

targeted and superimposed geophysics and fieldwalking based on standardised and comparable collection units followed this. I then combined observed site morphologies with analysis of the various recovered material classes, including metalwork, pottery and animal bone.⁵⁰ This integrated analysis highlighted the complexity of the rural settlement hierarchy and its development between the 7th and 12th centuries, and raised a number of important research themes, which provide the basis for the following thematic analyses.

However, prior to undertaking detailed spatial analysis of metalwork findspots, the located metalwork and coins from the case-study sites was also analysed as a whole, as has been more common in previous investigations of 'productive' sites. As the goal of this article is highlighting the interpretative possibilities of integrated survey, the metalwork assemblages are not considered in detail here, however, some important observations can briefly be made.

THE METALWORK ASSEMBLAGES

THE COIN ASSEMBLAGES

If we accept that coin-using individuals were engaged in some form of transaction, then coin finds can potentially inform us about the wider rhythms of Anglo-Saxon economy and society. Mode of transaction is, of course, a much-debated subject. In the archaeology of early medieval economies, identifying the basis of economic transactions can be summed up as a debate between formalists and substantivists.⁵¹ Formalists, such as Metcalf,⁵² have argued for a fully fledged money economy in Anglo-Saxon England, assuming similar forces of supply and demand to the modern, capitalist world. In contrast, following Polyani, substantivists such as Grierson (and later Hodges) argue for a highly controlled early medieval society unengaged in a money economy that we cannot easily understand from modern frames of reference.⁵³ For middle Anglo-Saxon W Norfolk, Hutcheson, took a substantivist position and suggested that the many finds of sceatta coins finds related to the payment of taxation.⁵⁴

Analysis of total coin loss during the Anglo-Saxon period in Norfolk (Fig 2) seems to suggest important transformations within coin use occurring over time, although this need not contradict Hutcheson's conclusions.⁵⁵ Differing patterns

⁵⁰ An investigation of changing settlement morphologies was achieved by undertaking 22.5 hectares of geophysical survey (magnetometry at 0.5 m interval readings, consisting of 5 ha at Congham, 5 ha at Burnham, 5 ha at Sedgeford, 4.5 ha at Rudham and 3 ha at Wormegay). The geophysical survey did not aim for blanket coverage, but instead targeted major boundary features around key finds/fieldwalking concentrations, and always attempted to investigate beyond at least one 'edge' of each site as judged from the artefact scatters. An investigation of full 'material culture profiles' was achieved by 15 ha of targeted fieldwalking (12 ha undertaken by the author (Congham 4 ha, Burnham 3 ha, Sedgeford 5 ha), plus 3 ha of sherd-by-sherd surface collection by Andrew Rogerson at Wormegay (see Andrews 1992, 21). Surface collection was based on intensive 10 × 10 m collection units, with the aim of plotting diverse finds groups, such as bone and shell, in addition to ceramics. Located finds relating to production or other specialist activities (for example, metalworking waste) previously recorded by the NHER were also plotted when present.

⁵¹ Naylor 2004, 5.

⁵² Metcalf 1965.

⁵³ Grierson 1963, 114–15; Hodges 1982; Polanyi et al 1957.

⁵⁴ Hutcheson 2006, 79–84.

⁵⁵ Fig 2 is adapted from Naylor's important study of coin use in middle Anglo-Saxon Yorkshire (Naylor 2007, 41–61), with the addition of coin groups 10–15 (indicating 30-year periods) for the late-Saxon period. East Anglian-minted Series R Sceattas are divided equally among Naylor's groups 3 and 4 as their production spans the two periods equally.

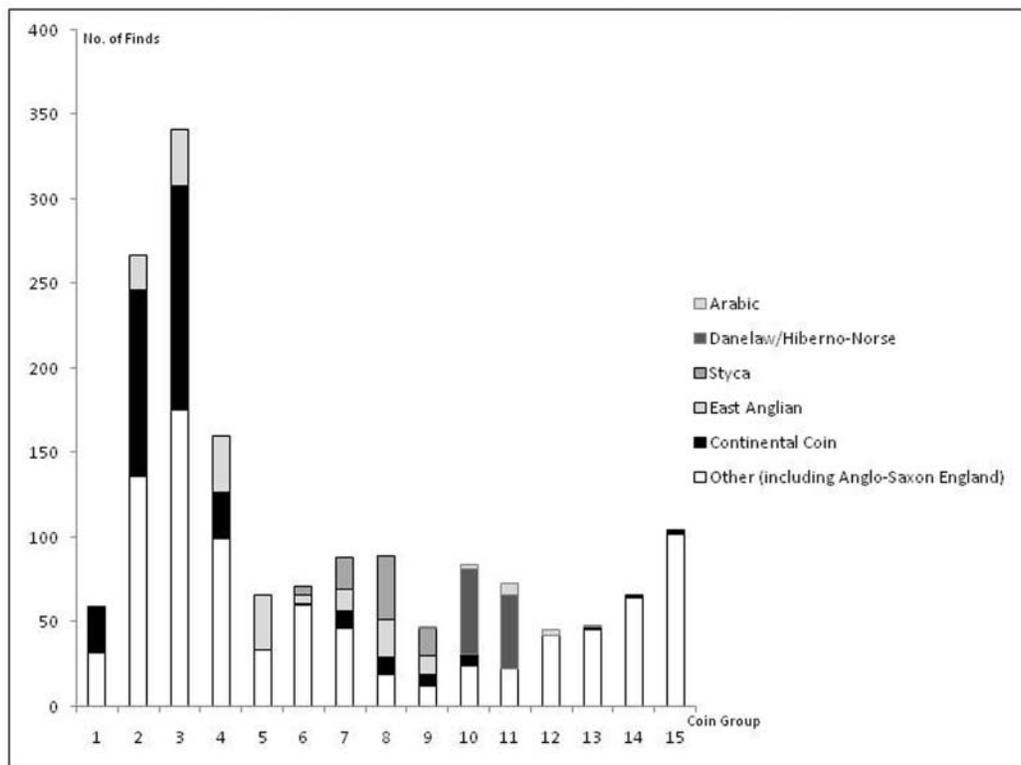


FIG 2

Total Anglo-Saxon period coin finds in Norfolk by date group (see Fig 3).

of coin loss potentially suggest a number of modes of coin circulation or even co-existing modes of circulation.⁵⁶ For example, although an explosion in coin loss from c 680 might signify a transformation of coin use from socially embedded exchange (gift exchange or taxation) to a money economy (the Metcalf model), reduced quantities of coinage in circulation during the years immediately after AD 740 (accompanied by a reduction in continental coin and an increase in local minting) could signify a further transformation from a predominantly money economy back to socially embedded exchange.⁵⁷ Furthermore, transformation in both coin use and exchange networks are indicated by the vastly reduced amount of coinage in circulation during the period c 760–870, accompanied by new sources for the coin, such as Northumbria (the *styca* coinage) or Carolingian Europe. Further changes occur during the period c 870–930, where coin use is largely restricted to Danelaw-minted issues prior to the emergence of the more abundant coinage of late Anglo-Saxon England.

⁵⁶ As suggested by Verhulst 2002, 87–8.

⁵⁷ This coincides with Naylor's Phase 3 of coin circulation in Yorkshire, characterised by greater royal control (Naylor 2007, 59).

This is a time traditionally characterised by 'a status silver economy enjoyed by warrior leaders', but might equally be interpreted as a dual monetary/gift-exchange economy within the context of Scandinavian-controlled sea routes (which might account for the arrival of Arabic coinage in Norfolk).⁵⁸

Fluctuations in the use of coinage at individual settlements, such as the five case study sites (Fig 3), can also be compared and contrasted to coin use in the wider region. For example, while coin loss at all the sites corroborates the coin-use boom of c 680–740, all the sites feature variation to the basic model: Congham, for example, has earlier continental coin loss, while Rudham has a high proportion of continental coin loss between c 680–740. Perhaps the most interesting phase of coin use is indicated by negative evidence during the period c 760–870. Coin loss is absent at all the 'productive' sites, with the exception of Carolingian Deniers of Louis the Pious at Wormegay and Burnham. Yet, with the exception of Wormegay, all the sites have clear late-Saxon phases of coin loss indicating a continued (albeit potentially transformed) presence at the sites. No Northumbrian styca's came from any of the case-study sites, despite the increased circulation of these coins throughout Norfolk during the period c 790–870. Might this indicate a deliberate choice of exchange contacts between c 760 and 870 for the W Norfolk 'productive' sites and therefore distinct site identities? What might this say about the nature of controlling elites?⁵⁹ However, on a cautionary note, it is possible that the absence of coinage between c 760–870 is a bias of surface recovery. Sedgeford, the only part-excavated site, is relatively well represented by coinage during this period.

COMBINED METALWORK AND COIN LOSS

Yet, as Fig 4 and Tab 1 show, when coin loss at the five case-study sites is viewed alongside another category of artefact within the full material culture profile, namely metalwork,⁶⁰ new patterns are visible, although it is presently impossible to know how significant the relative quantities of metalwork and coinage findspots recovered from the sites are (Tab 1).⁶¹

⁵⁸ Metcalf 2007, 1–12.

⁵⁹ A notion potentially supported by the distribution of imported pottery in W Norfolk, discussed above.

⁶⁰ This includes functional objects as well as items of personal ornamentation, albeit placed within the far less refined chronological brackets of early, middle and late Anglo-Saxon. Splitting metal objects into 'personal metalwork' and 'functional metal objects' is a highly crude and somewhat subjective way of analysing different functions relating to consumption. Here personal metalwork is any artefact (ferrous or non-ferrous) that could be worn as personal adornment (eg brooches, pins, strap fittings, belt buckles, etc), while functional metal objects include weights, tokens, styli, ingots, etc. Clearly, a number of different functions can be represented within each group. For example, people could wear 'personal metalwork' and lose it at a habitation or a market/fair focus. The crucial difference defining 'functional metalwork' is that it is more likely to represent the carrying out of activities and not only the activity of consumption represented by the lost artefact. These activities may directly affect wider spheres of social interaction. For example, exchange of goods, assessing the relative value of other materials (weights) or record keeping (styli). The implication is that these artefacts, while not forgetting important considerations of discard patterns and site formation processes, must represent a degree of social control or social organisation occurring where we find them.

⁶¹ It might, for example, be argued that a high number of findspots simply indicates conscientious reporting of metal-detected finds, as opposed to concentrated finds loss in the past (as at Congham). Whereas a low number of finds might simply reflect poor reporting of finds or a lack of intense coverage by metal-detecting, as opposed to low finds loss in the past (as at Wormegay or Sedgeford). Chester-Kadwell 2009, 80–90, explores this in greater detail.

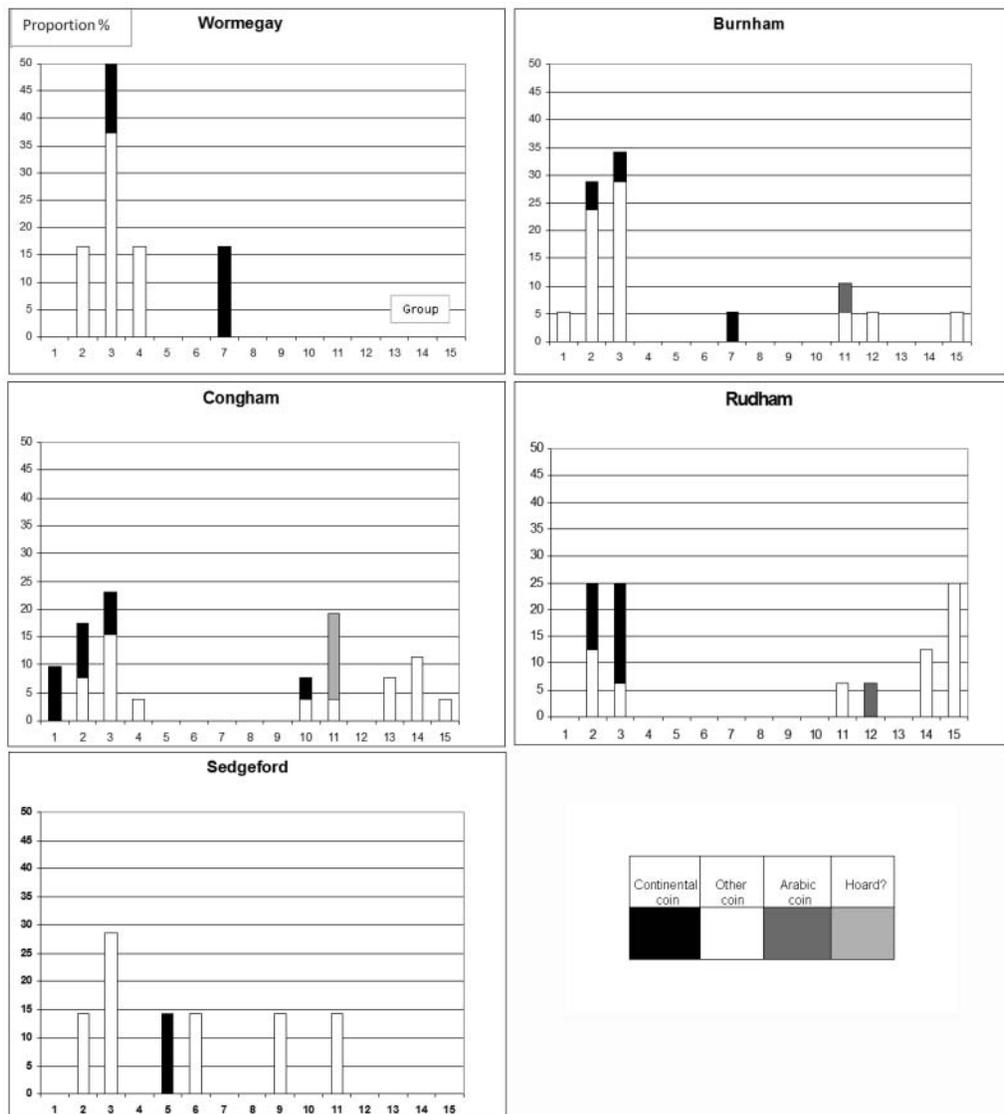


FIG 3

Graph showing proportions of coinage (percentage) by date group for the five case-study sites. Coin group dates (adapted after Naylor 2007, new groups in italics): **1** pre-680; **2** c 680-710; **3** c 710-40; **4** c 740-60; **5** c 760-90; **6** c 790-810; **7** 810-40; **8** c 840-55; **9** 855-70; **10** 870-900; **11** 900-30; **12** 930-60; **13** 960-90; **14** 990-1020; **15** 1020-50.

Metalwork/coin loss at both Rudham and Sedgford remains remarkably stable between the middle and late Anglo-Saxon periods, (although the small number of finds identified at Sedgford perhaps reduces the significance of the observed pattern). In contrast, metalwork loss, as was the case with coinage, drops significantly from the middle to late Anglo-Saxon periods at Burnham and Wormegay (at Wormegay coin loss ceases altogether). The apparent decline in

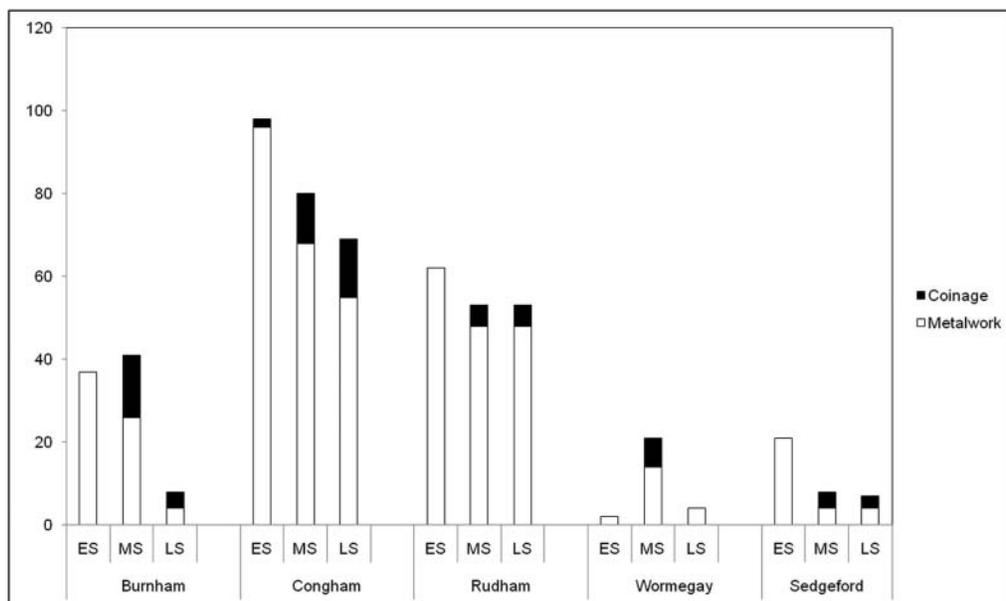


FIG 4

Graph showing total number of recorded findspots of metalwork and coinage by period from the five case study sites (see Tab 1 for listed quantities). (For all the following figures, ES, MS and LS refer to early Anglo-Saxon (AD 450–650), middle Anglo-Saxon (AD 650–850) and late Anglo-Saxon (AD 850–1066) respectively).

TABLE 1
TOTAL NUMBER OF RECORDED FINDSPOTS OF METALWORK AND COINAGE BY PERIOD AT THE CASE-STUDY SITES, WITH TOTAL COIN FINDS BY PERIOD GIVEN IN BRACKETS

Site	Early Anglo-Saxon	Middle Anglo-Saxon	Late Anglo-Saxon	Total
Burnham	37 (0)	26 (15)	18 (4)	81
Congham	96 (2)	68 (12)	55 (14)	219
Wormegay	2 (0)	14 (6)	4 (0)	18
Rudham	62 (0)	48 (5)	48 (5)	158
Sedgeford	21 (0)	4 (4)	4 (3)	29

finds loss at Burnham is perhaps a product of the reduced quantities of coin/metalwork in national circulation during the 10th century.⁶² At Congham a third pattern is visible, namely a small decrease in late Anglo-Saxon metalwork loss, but a small *increase* in coin loss, perhaps indicating a strong presence of coin-using individuals during this phase. However, the dangers inherent in using data of this nature to interpret settlement identities are highlighted by the fact that 4/14 of Congham's late-Saxon coins are a group of Danelaw-East Anglian issue St Edmund pennies (dated 895–918), located in close spatial proximity at

⁶² For example, as observed at Bawsey (Blackburn 2003, 20–36, esp fig 3.4).

a probable southern settlement focus and are almost certainly indicative of a ploughed-out coin hoard.

Of further interest, as we move onto perspectives gained from the integrated surveys, the sites at Burnham, Congham and Rudham also have a high proportion of findspots indicating finds loss of early Anglo-Saxon metalwork (finds loss being particularly intense in the 7th century at Congham/Burnham). All three assemblages are heavily biased towards personal metalwork (in particular brooches) and are most probably indicative of ploughed-out cemeteries.⁶³ Sedgford also has an early Anglo-Saxon cemetery, but this is located a kilometre to the west of the middle-late Anglo-Saxon finds-loss focus, and harder to consider as directly related (again revealing the limitations of this graph-based approach for interpreting settlement character). The impressive quantities of a diverse range of metalwork seem to signify the 'productive' sites at Burnham, Congham, Rudham as locations that were already important established nodes in the landscape prior to the 7th century. The strong cemetery signatures might also indicate the close proximity of early settlement foci.⁶⁴ A strong Romano-British presence, including the presence of potential villa-style settlements at Congham and Rudham, is also noted at all three sites.⁶⁵

PERSPECTIVES FROM INTEGRATED SURVEY RESULTS

PERMANENCE OF SETTLEMENT: WHAT DOES SURFACE MATERIAL CULTURE REPRESENT?

Early Anglo-Saxon metal finds alone are clearly insufficient evidence for the presence of 7th-century 'proto-manorial centres', comprising an estate landscape consisting of tenants and lords, as postulated by Carver.⁶⁶ However, at Congham, when a detailed spatial element was introduced to site analysis over the northern half of a bifocal, elongated N/S-aligned artefact scatter (and hereafter labelled Congham North), areas of early Anglo-Saxon metal finds were shown to be not significantly different to areas of middle-late Anglo-Saxon metal finds (Fig 5). The early Anglo-Saxon metalwork scatter at Congham North, combined with the presence of a strong early Anglo-Saxon pottery scatter (which extends further north than the middle-late Anglo-Saxon surface signatures) and two coins (Merovingian gold *tremisses* minted in Burgundy, AD 524–32 and Dorestad, 6th century), makes it possible, despite the cemetery related metalwork, to imagine the presence by the 7th century of a settlement involved in exchange activities. This supposes a shift in functional zones between the early and middle Anglo-Saxon settlements rather than a shift of settlement location. Powlesland made a similar interpretation at West Heslerton (Yorkshire).⁶⁷

⁶³ Chester-Kadwell's study notes that abundant finds of brooches found during metal-detecting can signify the presence of buried inhumation cemeteries (Chester-Kadwell 2009, 74, figs 6.9 a/b), in particular detecting biases finds of cruciform brooches (ibid 78, fig 6.12).

⁶⁴ As indicated in Penn's gazetteer in Penn et al 2007.

⁶⁵ Chester-Kadwell 2009, 160 also suggests that this might indicate an early origin for 'productive sites' such as Burnham. For a discussion of the nature of Romano-British settlement in W Norfolk, see Gregory 1982, 351–76.

⁶⁶ Carver 1989, 141–58.

⁶⁷ Powlesland 1997, 101–17.

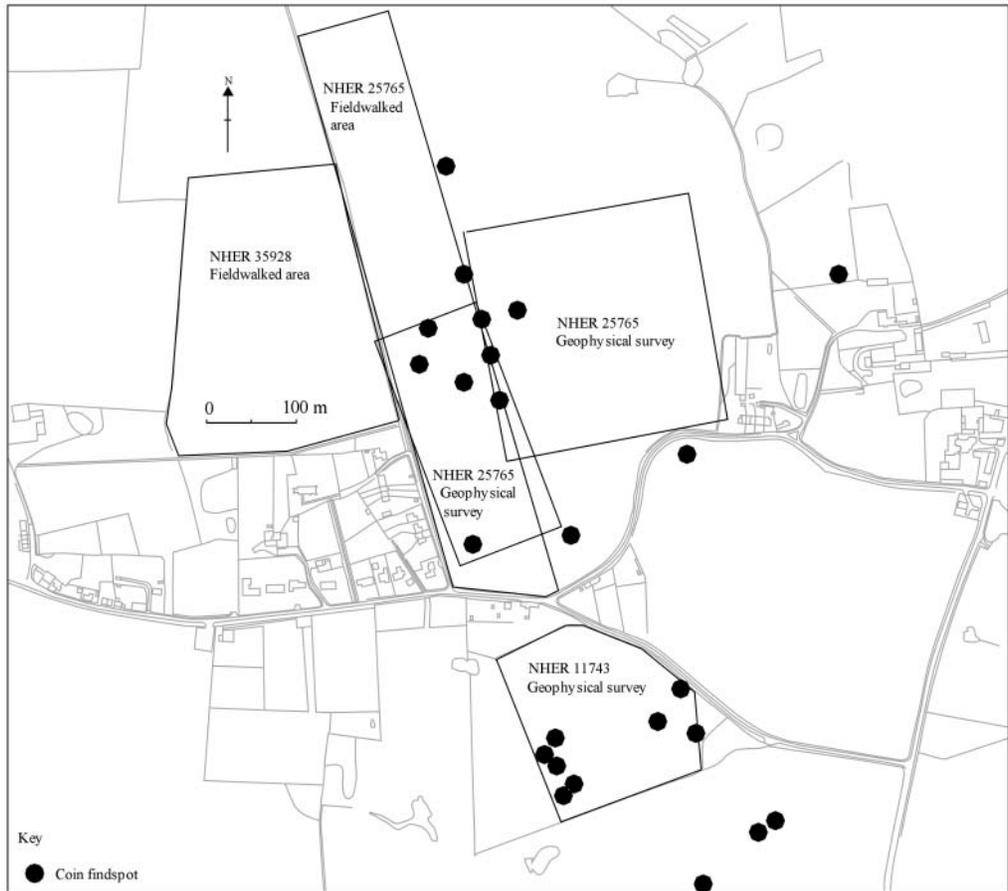


FIG 5

Congham overall location, showing areas of fieldwork at 'Congham North' (NHER 25765 and NHER 35928) and overall finds of Anglo-Saxon period coinage. © Crown Copyright/database right 2010. An Ordnance Survey/ EDINA supplied service.

Moreover, at all the fieldwalked sites, metalwork scatters are directly associated with concentrated pottery scatters (Figs 6, 9, 10, 12). At Congham North (Fig 5) and Burnham (Fig 10), metalwork scatters were additionally associated with undated scatters of animal bone/oyster shell,⁶⁸ while at Wormegay, the SW extent of the metalwork scatter abuts a concentration of undated human bone.

At all the investigated sites, concentrated metalwork and pottery scatters were further associated with intense areas of geophysical anomalies. The identified anomalies at Wormegay and Burnham, presumably indicative of buried enclosure ditches, strongly suggest at least two contrasting phases of land use (Figs 9 and 10), although a Roman date is possible for apparently earlier

⁶⁸ Not depicted in this article, but note Fig 12 for the correlation of ceramics, coins and oyster shell at the known settlement at Sedgford.

features. The anomalies identified at every single site imply at least a degree of boundary superimposition and alteration over time. Only at Rudham do the anomalies not convincingly equate to a coherent area of settlement enclosures (Fig 8).

It is therefore justifiable to suggest that, where concentrated pottery scatters, metalwork scatters and geophysical anomalies correlate, a permanent habitation focus, and not just a seasonal market or fair existed. This interpretation is reinforced at the four 'productive sites' investigated, where coinage is only ever a lesser component of the overall metalwork assemblage compared to personal and functional metalwork more indicative of standard settlement debris (Fig 4). However, simply characterising a site as a permanent settlement, as offered for Congham above, is too simplistic. In addition to recognising that contrasting site chronologies offer an important window into site character — with Burnham, Congham and Rudham established as at least burial centres by the early Anglo-Saxon period, and Sedgeford and Wormegay as middle Anglo-Saxon pioneer sites with quite different late Anglo-Saxon developments — we also need to use the detailed site analyses to explore exactly *what* this combination of features might represent.

SITE TAPHONOMY AND FUNCTIONAL ZONES

A closer consideration of combined artefact scatters and geophysical anomalies demonstrates huge variations in zones of material culture discard both between and within sites. Between sites, for example, Burnham South has a strong middle Anglo-Saxon pottery signature, a weak metalwork signature and a coherent, single-phase, backdrop of geophysical anomalies (Fig 10), whereas Congham North has a strong middle Anglo-Saxon pottery signature, a strong metalwork signature and an intense, potentially multi-phase, backdrop of geophysical anomalies (Fig 6). These differences might indicate settlement zones with contrasting middle Anglo-Saxon functions. Yet, to qualify the significance of site-to-site material signature comparison, we must infer, intra-site, the combination of both past activities and post-depositional transformations that led to the creation of the surface artefact scatters.⁶⁹

At Congham North (Fig 6), for example, a strong concentration of late-Saxon Thetford Ware pottery was located directly north of E/W-aligned anomalies interpreted as boundaries that might enclose a now-shrunken area of existing settlement, incorporating a church, to the west and south. In this case, the dense pottery scatter might represent primary refuse dumped into boundary ditches and then brought to the surface by the plough. This phenomenon has been postulated for a number of early medieval settlement sites and suggests that the dense late Anglo-Saxon pottery scatter at Congham represents not a habitation focus, but the boundary between an 'on-site' habitation zone, and an 'off-site' zone to the north.⁷⁰ This potential off-site zone is characterised by moderate late Anglo-Saxon pottery finds, potentially present because refuse was incorporated into the ploughsoil assemblage as a component of manure, a

⁶⁹ Haselgrove et al 1985, 10–11; Schiffer 1987, 8.

⁷⁰ For pottery at early medieval settlement sites, see Schofield 1989; for on site and off site, see Bintliff and Snodgrass 1988.

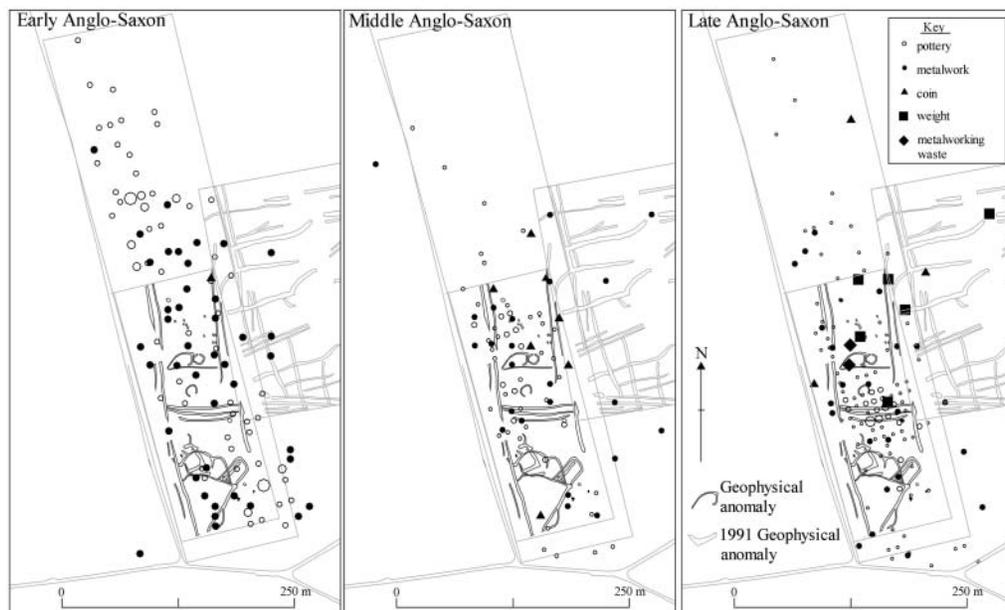


FIG 6

Surveyed areas at Congham North (including English Heritage Geophysical survey anomalies, 1991), showing interpreted geophysical anomalies, and surface finds (pottery, metalwork, coin, and undated evidence of production) by period.

phenomenon also noted at Witton, NE Norfolk.⁷¹ This northern zone also contains geophysical anomalies indicative of N/S-aligned droveway ditches. The potential on-site habitation zone at the southern extent of Congham North contains geophysical anomalies indicative of multiple phases of small enclosures, but little associated ceramic material, a pattern even more visible in the middle Anglo-Saxon finds loss. This phenomenon, where an artefact scatter reveals areas of refuse deposition but an adjacent settlement is manifest as a blank collection unit, has been noted at other sites, for example, Maxey, Lincolnshire.⁷²

Having made the above judgements about functional zones at Congham North, we are confronted with a corresponding pattern of middle and late Anglo-Saxon metal loss indicating, especially in the middle Anglo-Saxon period, that an area of dense metalwork and coin loss in the northern zone might represent an activity zone adjacent to the main settlement enclosure. This allows the possibility of metal loss relating to a market/fair focus located immediately beyond the habitation area of a settlement. The further evidence of undated lead weights, used in transactions, might support this argument (Fig 6). A similar scenario might be the case at West Rudham 1 (Fig 7), where the most intense area of middle Anglo-Saxon metal loss might relate most closely to a N/S-aligned route-way, as opposed to a coherent identified settlement enclosure.

⁷¹ For manure scatters, see Lambrick 1977, 36. For Witton, see Lawson 1983.

⁷² Schofield 1991, 4.

Furthermore, whereas at late-Saxon Congham North, pottery finds concentrate around the E/W-aligned settlement boundaries, the middle Anglo-Saxon Ipswich Ware has a much wider, less dense distribution, corresponding with the aforementioned widespread distribution of abundant coin and metal finds (Fig 6). This might indicate that pot loss related to the circuit of activities that produced the metalwork/coin scatter. If we therefore imagine a middle Anglo-Saxon market zone with use-related loss of Ipswich Ware, we might also imagine Ipswich Ware containers being accidentally broken or discarded in this zone during exchange, for instance the payment of rent or tax or trade. This supposes a transaction in commodities contained in Ipswich Ware vessels such as food, honey or, perhaps most likely, salt, or alternatively transactions involving the pottery itself.⁷³ Deciding upon the mode of transaction and what this implies about the nature of middle-late Anglo-Saxon elite control at Congham North is, however, another question altogether.

Finally, the northern zone at Congham North is also the location of finds relating to production-related activities, for example, metalworking waste (Fig 6), raising the possibility of a multi-functional zone of economic transaction/specialist production, or a focus that changes in character over time. However, this material is undated and, as a Roman date is also possible, this observation remains conjectural.⁷⁴ Datable production-related activities were notoriously hard to evidence during the surface surveys.

POLYFOCAL SITES

The Congham North case study demonstrated the possibility that rural centres previously labelled 'productive sites' might actually comprise complex multi-functional settlements, with a market or fair as one component of this arrangement. Furthermore, it is possible that changes to functional zones within the settlement occur over time. However, due to the fact that settlement at Congham remains, overall, spatially stable, probably from the 7th century onwards, the analytical potential of the resulting, superimposed, surface artefact signatures is somewhat reduced.

At Rudham, however, plotting of all located metal finds demonstrates that this is a bifocal site, with two clear middle-late Anglo-Saxon finds loss foci, one in the parish of West Rudham and another in the parish of East Rudham 1.4 km to the east (Fig 7). The area of finds loss at West Rudham, certainly in the middle Anglo-Saxon period, might itself be dividable into two discrete foci (labelled WR1 and WR2 in Fig 7). All finds loss foci appear to have some form of relationship with earlier abundant early Anglo-Saxon finds loss relating to ploughed-out cemetery evidence (note the present location of the churches and the cropmark of a buried Norman church at East Rudham (ER) on Fig 7).⁷⁵ Andrew Rogerson suggests that a fuller knowledge of the Roman road network in the area might explain the original positioning of these apparently permanent settlements.⁷⁶

⁷³ See Hutcheson 2006, 79–84 for rent or tax. For trade, see Blinkhorn 1999. Observations on Ipswich Ware used for salt containers are Blinkhorn pers comm.

⁷⁴ Andrews 1992, 21.

⁷⁵ Williamson 1993, 14–19.

⁷⁶ Rogerson 2003, 116.

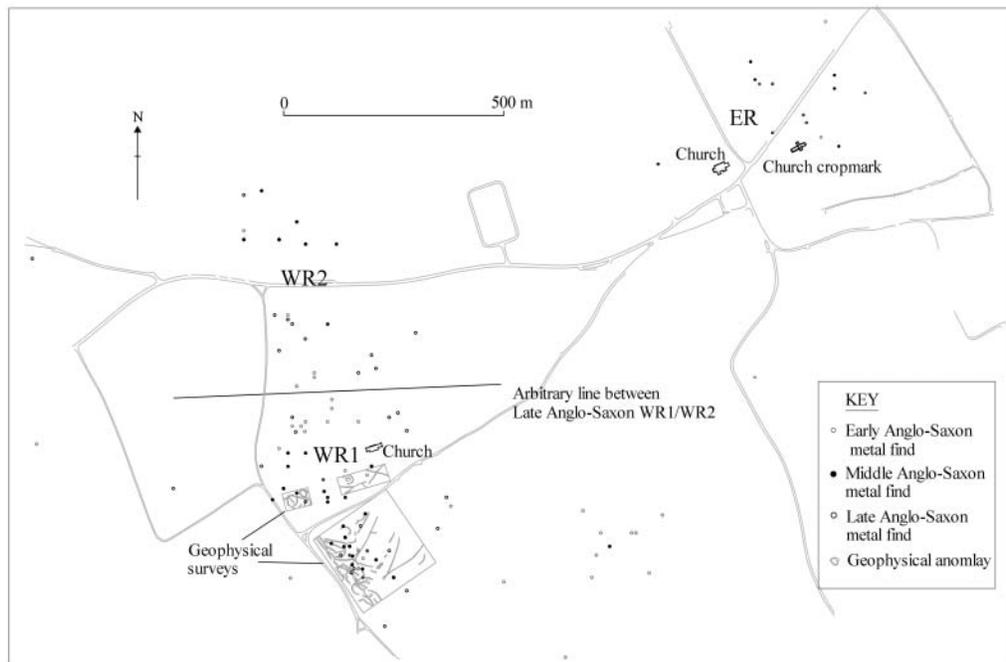


FIG 7

Early, middle and late Anglo-Saxon metal loss at Rudham, showing church locations and interpreted geophysical survey areas.

The polyfocal nature of the West/East Rudham site is of significance in itself, demonstrating that settlements potentially possessing inhabitants using coinage might be located almost adjacent to one another, presumably exploiting the same resources and perhaps economic niches. The presence of surface pottery and geophysical anomalies at West Rudham suggest that the site was certainly a permanent settlement although the geophysical surveys did not recover prominent enclosures. In contrast to Congham, analysis of the metalwork assemblages offers the opportunity to compare the profiles of settlement foci that, although also apparently permanent, are certainly spatially discrete in the middle Anglo-Saxon period.

A central question must be were all three activity foci multi-functional or are specialised functions spread around the landscape, and, if the sites were multi-functional, what was the relationship between the settlement foci? As Fig 8 shows, the profiles of metalwork loss, although of varying quantities, are similar in the early Anglo-Saxon period with most material relating to items of personal metalwork and functional objects (such as shield mounts) that might all relate to cemetery evidence.⁷⁷ In contrast, the middle Anglo-Saxon metal-loss patterns, although far from conclusive, suggest contrasting activity foci. In West Rudham, middle Anglo-Saxon coin loss is restricted to West Rudham 1, perhaps

⁷⁷ See Chester-Kadwell 2009, 62–90.

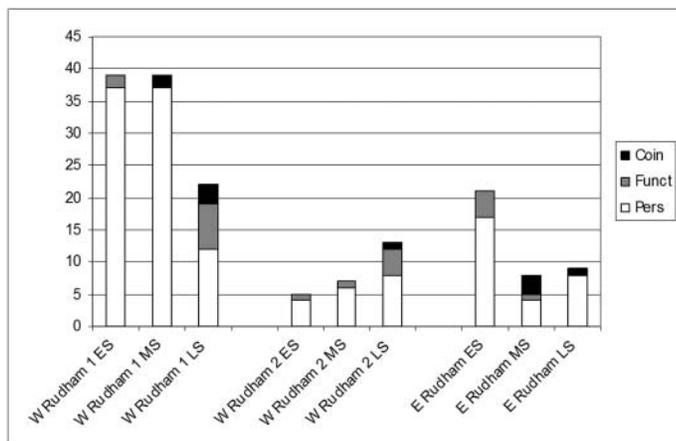


FIG 8
Number of coin, functional (funct) and personal metalwork finds (pers) at suggested Rudham activity foci by period.

suggesting market functions were located at this settlement focus (as opposed to West Rudham 2), while East Rudham has a good proportion of coin loss and little functional metalwork, perhaps suggesting a more specialised site. In contrast, by the late Anglo-Saxon period the two putative West Rudham foci have similar profiles of metalwork loss characterised by a full multi-functional range of coinage, personal and functional metalwork with horse equipment becoming lost for the first time.

If quantities of finds loss can be considered in any way meaningful, it might be argued that, as the focus at West Rudham 2 rose in prominence by the late-Saxon period, West Rudham 1 experienced decline (although coin loss remained stable). We might imagine a separate middle Anglo-Saxon market/settlement (WR1) and a settlement (WR2) being replaced by a late Anglo-Saxon multi-functional and competing set-up, with a degree of market activity at both foci. Williamson postulates such a phenomenon of manorial centre and outlying estates (the Domesday *berewicks*) as early as the 9th century.⁷⁸ In contrast, East Rudham perhaps always existed as a tightly controlled high-status settlement focus, as the heavy Anglo-Norman ecclesiastical presence of St Mary's Priory, founded in about 1140 may imply. East Rudham might not have had the requirement or capacity to acquire and maintain such a multi-functional landscape presence (evidenced by the relative lack of functional metal objects), as it was not in direct economic competition with the West Rudham settlements. The presence of decorative Scandinavian metalwork (two 11th-century Borre-style brooches at East Rudham, and an Anglo-Scandinavian sword pommel at West Rudham 1), and a Carolingian strap distributor dating to the second half of the 9th century (West Rudham 2), might tentatively suggest the emergence of new late Anglo-Saxon/Anglo-Scandinavian elite identities at the Rudhams. By the time of the compilation of Domesday Book, East and West Rudham are treated as one settlement, with a number of 'outliers', including settlements at Bagthorpe, Houghton and Barmer, which reinforces the idea of a complex early focus of some importance.

⁷⁸ Williamson 1993, 73–104.

SETTLEMENT BOUNDARIES, FUNCTIONAL ZONES AND INTERPRETING ELITE TRANSFORMATIONS

The above discussion of Rudham raises the debate over the nature of elite control in the landscape between the 7th and the 11th centuries, and hints at the capacity for change over time. Unfortunately, successfully interpreting social transformations is at present a distant goal at Rudham, where different forms of intensive survey would be required over an area of up to 300 ha. However, at the more discrete fen-edge island site at Wormegay, the resolution of fieldwork was much better, consisting of sherd-by-sherd fieldwalking, combined with the geophysical survey. This offered an ideal opportunity to explore the dynamics (from metal finds alone) of this apparently short-lived site (Tab 1, Figs 3 and 4) and to review the relationship between identified boundaries and pottery scatters (Fig 9).⁷⁹

At Wormegay, a similar close association of middle Anglo-Saxon metalwork/coinage and Ipswich Ware to that discussed at Congham North was also

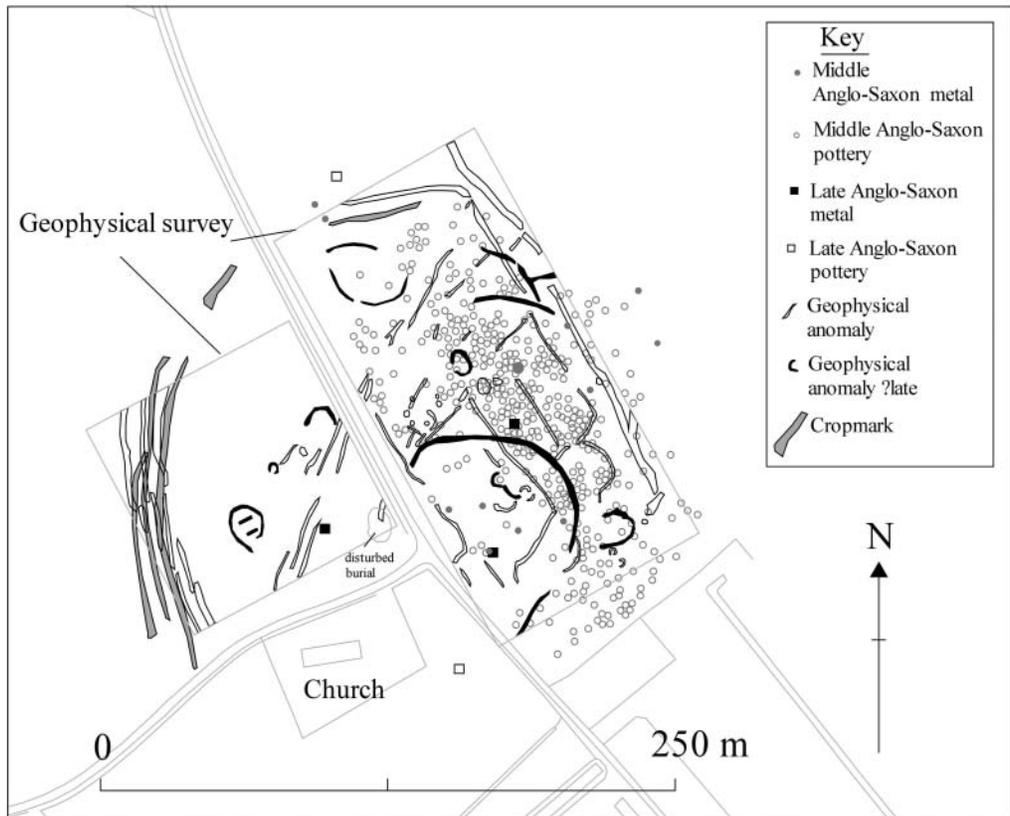


FIG 9

Surveyed areas at Wormegay showing interpreted geophysical anomalies and surface finds (pottery, metalwork, coin, and undated evidence of production) by period.

⁷⁹ Earlier fieldwalking only published in Andrews 1992, 21.

apparent (Fig 9). The predominantly middle Anglo-Saxon metalwork assemblage, including six sceattas (dating between 700–50), a denier of Louis the Pious (814–40), and two styli, shared the same location as the most intense area of Ipswich Ware loss. The crispness of the Ipswich Ware scatter ending, as it does, at a NNW–SSE aligned boundary identified at the eastern extent of the geophysical survey, certainly indicates that Ipswich Ware loss at Wormegay is no ‘manuring scatter’; it is showing use-related loss. The western extent of this intense scatter is also wonderfully defined by a smaller NNW–SSE boundary indicative of an internal space division within a planned rectilinear unit. West of this internal boundary are some ploughed-out scatters of human remains. The combined geophysics and observations of cropmarks at the west of the site suggests that the total site covered a sub-rectangular area of just under 3 ha, including the now-isolated church. Also identified during the geophysical survey was a NE/SW-aligned ditched anomaly, possibly a routeway of Roman date across the fens, as postulated by Smallwood.⁸⁰

The above observations make it possible to imagine Wormegay as, if not a site of primary exchange, perhaps a contact centre between different strata of society: a provisioned elite and the producers. Whether these elite exerted control in the form of tax over the producers is a further interpretative leap, although the site’s control of an established routeway might suggest that certain parties were required to pay tolls to pass to or from the fen-edge. Previous discussions of Wormegay have cited the short-lived sequence and topography of the site as evidence of monastic use, and this seems plausible.⁸¹ Perhaps a change in the control of the fen routeway or the ability to police the provisioning of the settlement ultimately led to its apparent abandonment.

The most important finding of the integrated survey, however, was the recovery of a short-lived, later 9th century, and potentially greatly transformed, phase of settlement activity. This was largely invisible from observation of the metalwork assemblage alone but additional fieldwalking in dense woods immediately east of the church recovered a few sherds of Thetford Ware and the geophysical survey revealed a series of probably later sub-circular ditched boundaries. The main sub-circular boundary, covering an Ipswich Ware-free area towards the church, is morphologically comparable to settlement boundaries identified at Goltho or Brampton, and interpreted as representing early manorial enclosures or perhaps even the settlement of a freeman.⁸² These findings provide an interesting context for the 9th-century metal finds at Wormegay, including a debased Borre-style Anglo-Scandinavian brooch and two oval (tortoise) brooch fragments within an area of human bone indicative of a Scandinavian-style burial, and an undated gold ingot, all of which were recovered close to the potential late settlement enclosure.

A potential context for changes observed at Wormegay is a change in the elite identity. Instead of middle Anglo-Saxon abandonment, it may also represent a site that was annexed and ‘shared out’, as the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* put it, by Guthrum’s Viking army after the creation of the Danelaw in 878, but then

⁸⁰ Smallwood 1997, 12–22.

⁸¹ Rogerson 2003, 121.

⁸² Loveluck 2009.

did not survive Edward the Elder's reconquest of East Anglia in 918 when settlement moved beyond the western extent of Wormegay island.⁸³ In this context, the apparent lack of access to or consumption of Thetford-type Wares at Wormegay is especially interesting; perhaps indicating that certain sites were not integrated into the production and consumption network of this particular commodity. This interpretative sketch for Wormegay may push the available evidence too far but it does show us that settlement transformations were possible even at short-lived sites.

The integrated survey at the longer-lived site at Burnham also suggests an important transformation, in this case in the 10th century. Its location on the N Norfolk coast is ideal for taking advantage of important trade routes, within a blind harbour on the Goose Beck, an E/W tributary of the N/S-aligned River Burn (see Fig 10). As such, it is not surprising that Burnham is the best W Norfolk candidate for the site of a landing place and beach trading site during the middle Anglo-Saxon period, as evidenced by a concentrated zone of coin and metalwork loss abutting a possible Anglo-Saxon waterfront area suggested by auger survey data.⁸⁴ However, the main area of middle Anglo-Saxon metal finds loss north of the Goose Beck is only part of a larger settlement sequence including a later polyfocal settlement evidenced by the complex parochial and ecclesiastical arrangements of the present settlement of Burnham Market, which is immediately west of the main Anglo-Saxon site, and outlying middle-late Anglo-Saxon finds (Fig 10).⁸⁵ A strong and expansive early Anglo-Saxon metalwork presence (not depicted on Fig 10) might relate to a series of prehistoric barrows identified by aerial survey and the recent geophysics south of Goose Beck.

Focusing on both the middle and late Anglo-Saxon evidence north and south of the Goose Beck raises issues of both settlement complexity and transformation over time. If the metal artefact finds-loss profiles are plotted (Fig 11), vastly different signatures are noticeable. North of Goose Beck, the abundant middle Anglo-Saxon metal finds, with a heavy coinage presence but almost no functional objects, falls off to only a few late-Saxon metal finds but with multiple functions represented (as at late-Saxon West Rudham). However, this is only a partial picture, as the surface finds overlie a complex rectilinear arrangement of geophysical anomalies of at least two distinct phases. The earlier phase of geophysical anomalies suggests a field system adhering to a co-axial Roman arrangement but the later features seem to reference existing lines in the landscape, including a major E/W anomaly that aligns with the main road through present-day Burnham Market, and are likely to be Anglo-Saxon. Under the present cultivation regime, fieldwalking was not possible north of Goose Beck, where Ipswich Ware previously comes from. Once again, this implies a permanent settlement from the 7th century onwards, perhaps with major replanning at some point during its history.

South of Goose Beck, however, something very different can be seen. Geophysical anomalies and possible Anglo-Saxon features indicative of only

⁸³ Margeson 1997, 6.

⁸⁴ Godwin 2003.

⁸⁵ Pestell 2003, 122–37.

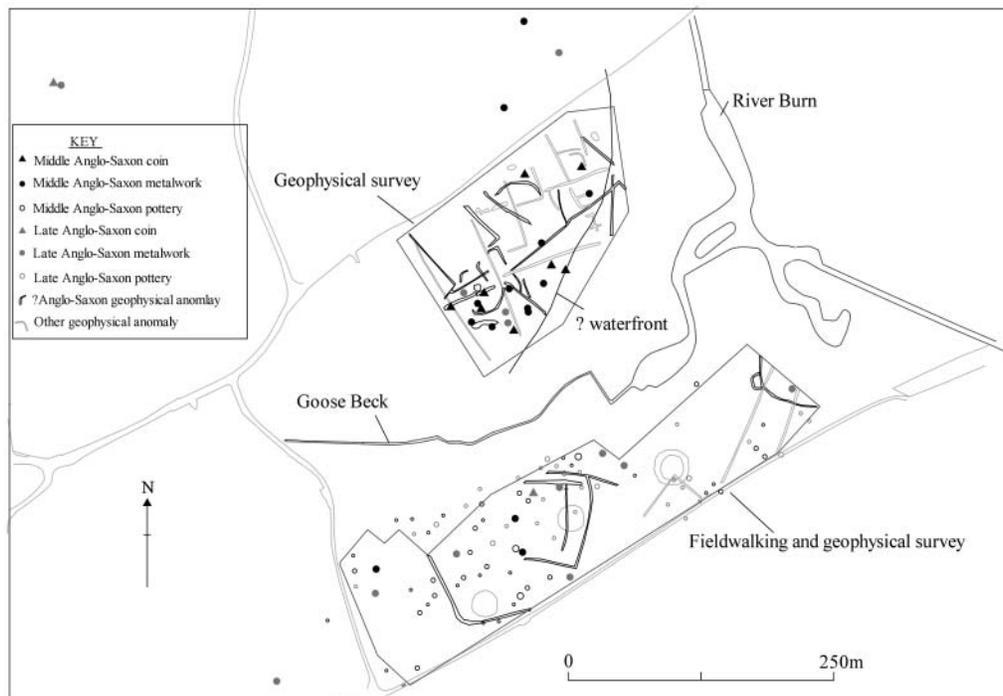


FIG 10

Surveyed areas at Burnham, showing interpreted geophysical anomalies, and early and middle Anglo-Saxon surface finds (pottery, metalwork, coin and undated evidence of production) by period.

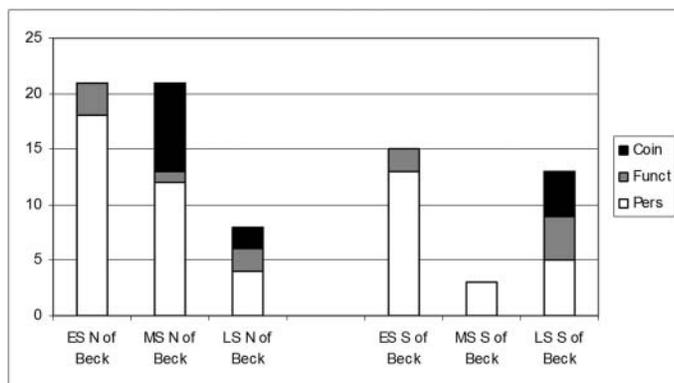


FIG 11

Number of coin, functional and personal metalwork finds at suggested Burnham activity foci by period.

one major enclosure and a contemporaneous droveway offer little evidence of replanning. Middle Anglo-Saxon metal finds were extremely infrequent south of Goose Beck, consisting of two pins and an ansate brooch (Fig 11). Fieldwalking, however, revealed a dense scatter of Ipswich Ware and hand-built early–middle Anglo-Saxon pottery, corresponding with an area of dark soil and shell around the area of the enclosure identified by the geophysical survey and extending further to the west (Fig 10). In contrast, late Anglo-Saxon metal finds were abundant, multi-functional and almost exclusively diagnostic to the 10th century

(including two openwork strap ends, two Viking disc brooches (one Jellinge style), a trefoil brooch, a Viking Borre-style brooch, a Borre-derived-style brooch and an Arab dirham, that may have arrived via Scandinavian controlled North Sea-trade networks). Late-Saxon pottery, however, was less abundant than middle Anglo-Saxon pottery (although it did include regionally imported Lincolnshire Shelly Wares), with a distinct waterfront concentration. In this case then, it is alteration in the artefactual signatures that evidences change rather more than the observed geophysical anomalies. Later medieval finds were virtually absent, implying settlement had shifted west to Burnham Market by the 11th century.

Interpretation of the complex settlement at Burnham is not easy, but it is possible that the geophysical anomalies north of Goose Beck represent a planned settlement similar to Wicken Bonhunt (Essex) or Cottenham (Cambridgeshire).⁸⁶ Wicken Bonhunt was considered a high-status secular site and, in this context, the royal vill of *Bruna* attested to in the 12th century might be a candidate for the Burnham North settlement remains.⁸⁷ A key question, however, is how the strong middle Anglo-Saxon metalwork signature relates to these features. Is this trade/exchange within the context of elite control from the outset, or does it instead reflect an unregulated site of exchange that quickly acquired a controlling focus? Leaving aside the possibility that Burnham North failed to develop into a larger settlement because of environmental changes, like the river channel silting up, grants of land from a royal elite to ecclesiastical interests may have deflected development to other areas, such as the district around St Clement's Church, Burnham Overy. The later parishes seem to reflect this.

Whatever happened north of Goose Beck, by the late Anglo-Saxon period, and in the 10th century, there is a strong case that a 'normal' area of settlement south of Goose Beck transformed into a focus of trade/exchange that was most likely under Scandinavian control or influence. Whether this activity focus was then in direct competition with Burnham North is uncertain, a scenario is imaginable where an insecure Anglo-Saxon figurehead granted a waterfront to a new Anglo-Scandinavian elite. Whatever the case, this endeavour appears relatively short-lived and probably ended by the 12th century, perhaps when urban foci started to dominate trade networks.

SEDFORD EVALUATION EXERCISE

The above observations at Burnham, while demonstrating that important middle-late Anglo-Saxon transformations certainly occurred, also demonstrate the frustrations associated with the limits of inference from geophysics and surface survey. In particular, evidence relating to specialist production (such as industrial waste) or animal exploitation patterns are extremely hard to date or phase from surface assemblages, so this remains an underdeveloped research theme in the case studies above. At Sedgeford, however, the opportunity arose to carry out trial-trench evaluation to supplement the field-survey data.

Excavations in the 1950s and 1996–2007 (at NHER 1609/1605, see Fig 12) revealed peripheral zones of a *de novo* middle Anglo-Saxon nucleated settlement

⁸⁶ Mortimer 2000; Wade 1980.

⁸⁷ Pestell 2003, 128.

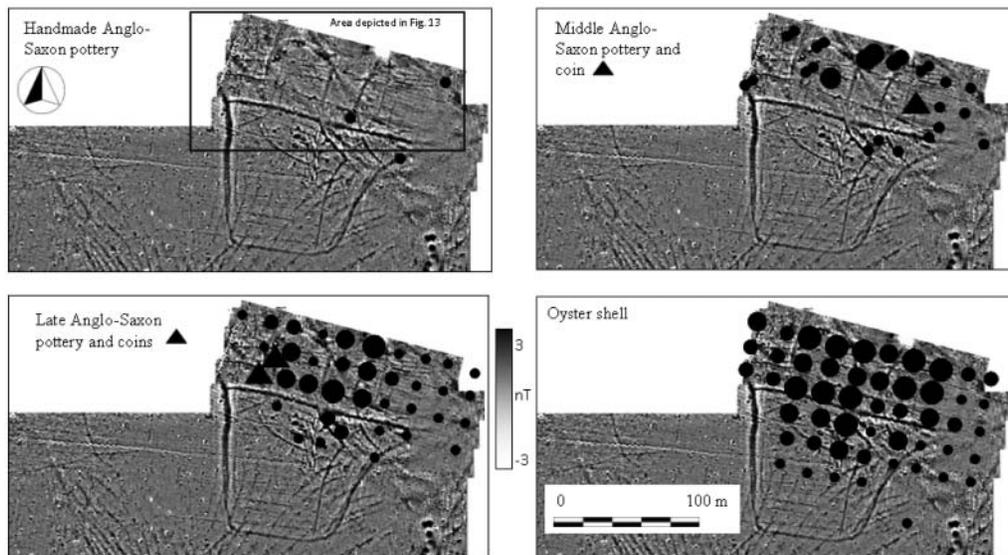


FIG 12

Raw geophysical results from Sedgeford overlain with fieldwalking finds by period.

focus on the southern valley slope of the River Heacham, consisting of apparently planned, bounded areas of settlement plots adjacent to a Christian cemetery (the cemetery lies within the boundary of NHER 1609, Fig 12). Radiocarbon dates suggest that the cemetery perhaps commenced in the early 8th century and, to date, over 300 burials have been recovered.⁸⁸ Ipswich Ware and Thetford-type Ware suggest a late-Saxon date for ditches truncating burials. Clearly some sort of middle-late Anglo-Saxon estate focus is indicated and the potential for an ecclesiastical elite represented by the highly planned cemetery is surely the key to future interpretation and investigation of this site. Tantalising finds indicative of status include middle Anglo-Saxon vessel glass and two styli.

In contrast to the 'productive sites', systematic survey of the attendant settlement located on arable land south of the settlement/cemetery focus at Sedgeford (see NHER 1079, Fig 12), produced very little coinage and metalwork (although proportionally late Anglo-Saxon material is well represented, including a penny of Burgred of Mercia (852–74) and a Viking issue St Edmund memorial penny (c 895–910), see Figs 3 and 4). This might indicate, in the currently observed areas, that a significant focus of trade/exchange was not present. However, fieldwalking produced excellent results demonstrating a stable settlement of the middle-late Anglo-Saxon period that failed or moved by the end of the 11th century (see Fig 12). Geophysical survey revealed the presumed southern extent of the middle-late Anglo-Saxon settlement, defined by a large stock enclosure apparently from the outset, with, to the north, more intense co-axial plots aligned along a linear E/W boundary and reminiscent of the settlement at North Elmham.⁸⁹ The geophysical survey shows the presence

⁸⁸ Davies et al 2007, 232–73.

⁸⁹ Wade-Martins 1980.

of later ditched N/S-aligned droveways that cut through the original stock enclosure, suggesting a major late replanning of the site.

Trial-trench evaluation of the geophysical anomalies identified at the northern extent of the attendant settlement focus (Fig 13), revealed a dynamic sequence of ditch digging, consisting of at least three distinct phases attributed to the middle Anglo-Saxon period, the mid-late 9th century (mixed Ipswich Ware/Thetford Ware contexts, with a high percentage of the former) and late Anglo-Saxon period (see Fig 13). Discarded middle Anglo-Saxon material culture included evidence for a degree of craft/production activities (loom weight), conspicuous consumption (decorated vessel glass) and personal ornament (hooked tag, pin), while an oven dated to the mid-late 9th century evidences industrial activity. Iron artefacts with a functional feel dominated the late Anglo-Saxon material culture, although the finds also included 10th-century iron buckles and 10th–11th-century horse equipment. On this evidence, a multi-functional settlement with a small elite presence is arguable for all phases.

However, most importantly, analysis of an assemblage of almost 10,000 fragments of animal bone suggests a slight shift in the agricultural economy and resource exploitation, from mainly sheep in the middle Anglo-Saxon period to

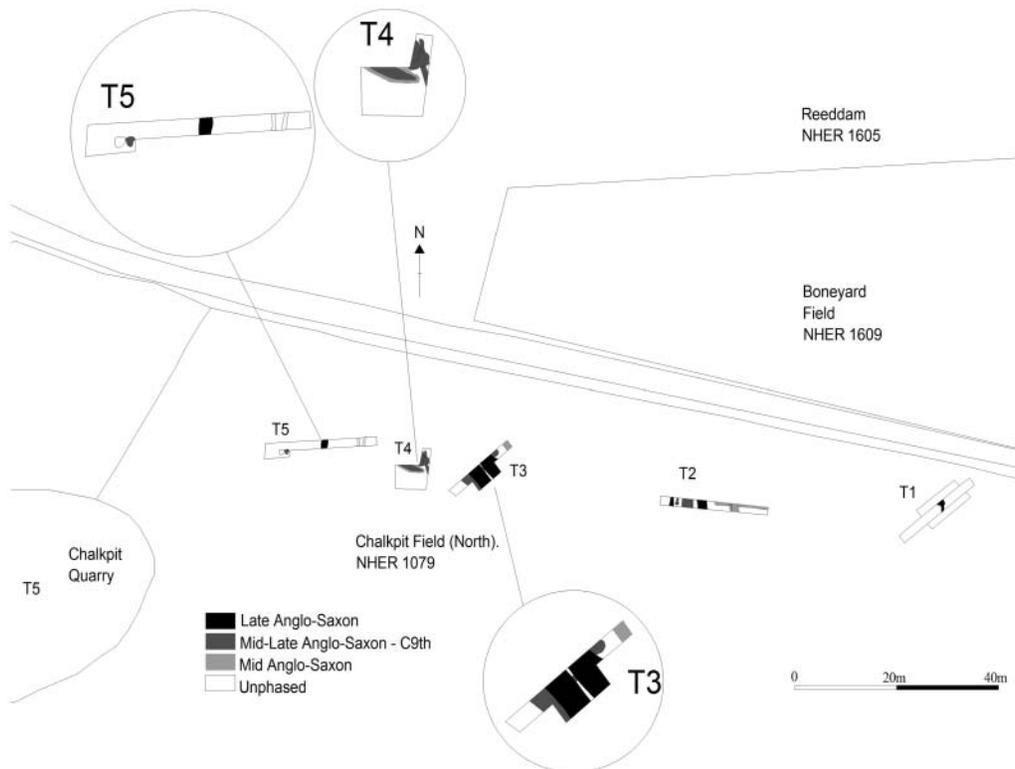


FIG 13

Trial trench results at Sedgeford. The cemetery is located within NHER 1609.

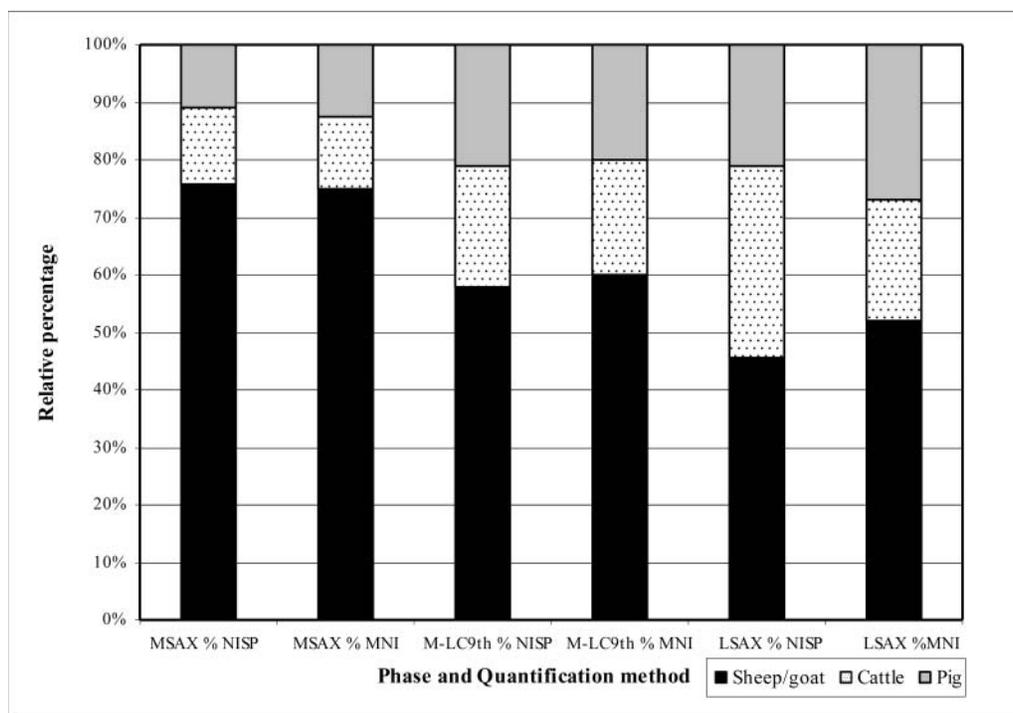


FIG 14

Frequencies of main domesticates at Sedgeford by phase and quantification method (NISP: Number of identified specimens, MNI: Minimum number of individuals).

cattle in the late Anglo-Saxon period (see Fig 14).⁹⁰ This reflects a transition from a settlement involved in wool production (as further evidenced by a high proportion of older sheep not killed for their meat) to a consumer settlement (as reflected by consumption of a good proportion of the cattle). At the same time there is a drop in the number of domestic birds and an increase in wild species (such as Roe deer).

I suggest this reflects a wider change in the settlement character of Sedgeford: from a putative middle Anglo-Saxon ecclesiastical centre to a late Anglo-Saxon secular centre. For example, domestic birds were consumed in abundance at monastic sites under Benedictine rule, while wild species are increasingly attached to secular status as manifest through hunting, as further evidenced by the presence of horse harness equipment in late Anglo-Saxon features.⁹¹ The transformation in the settlement character at Sedgeford might eventually help to explain the abandonment by the 11th century of both its settlement and cemetery focus in favour of the settlement focus north of the River Heacham at West Hall.⁹² At the very least, this exercise has demonstrated

⁹⁰ Poole forthcoming.

⁹¹ Harvey 2006, 215–27. Although caution must be exercised here: many middle Anglo-Saxon monasteries were living by a number of different rules in addition to the Benedictine, and we cannot assume uniform dietary restrictions (see Pestell 2004, 22).

⁹² Cox and Hoggett forthcoming.

that, even at undocumented sites with sparse surface metal scatters, systematic survey followed by trial excavation can add a degree of precision in terms of establishing sequence and time depth, allowing us to interpret better transformations at rural centres.

CONCLUSIONS: TOWARDS A NEW MODEL OF DIVERSITY, COMPLEXITY AND CHANGING LIFESTYLES

Although this survey of 'rural centres' including those labelled 'productive sites' could never be described as complete, it has been systematic in the way that it has approached the 'history' of both settlement morphologies and material culture profiles at the five selected sites. Its key findings have a huge effect on the interpretation of these W Norfolk sites.

Initially, consideration of the metal-detected assemblages as a whole demonstrated that behind the label 'productive site' were a number of different finds-loss signatures, evidencing sites that experienced contrasting economic fortunes. Additional fieldwalking and geophysical survey overcame the problems of only using this data, including the imprecision of existing surface artefact scatters.

However, accepting the biases of the existing datasets, some key observations can still be made on the transformation of social identities (particularly of rural elites) and on how this might be discerned through the material culture. For example, in the early Anglo-Saxon period settlements are hard to find from the surface evidence alone but evidence, such as the early coinage and associated potential settlement signature indicated at Congham, suggests that sites that develop into middle Anglo-Saxon estate centres might have had early 7th-century (or even earlier) origins. This supports increasing, Europe-wide, conclusions concerning the early emergence of rural centres.⁹³

In the middle and late Anglo-Saxon periods, various types of site emerge and develop in very different ways to form the Anglo-Norman landscape. At Rudham, there are two or even three settlement foci, with indications that the fortunes of the competing manorial centres were intertwined. At Wormegay, the short-lived settlement sequence betrays its complexity, with a monastic site transformed into a late 9th-century, possibly Scandinavian-controlled, manorial centre. Whereas Burnham, a middle Anglo-Saxon site of primary exchange that does not exist for long out of manorial control, experiences notable transformations in the 10th century, perhaps also as the result of having a Scandinavian elite. Understanding the interplay of both 'free' and 'controlled' trade/exchange at these sites is an important future research goal.

Interpretation from surface-survey data alone may push the reasonable limits of inference. Even so, follow-up trial trenching at Sedgeford has shown that, even at undocumented sites, survey followed by trial excavation can add precision to surface observations, allowing us to interpret transformations at rural centres. In the case of Sedgeford, the biological profile suggests that the site changes from a putative middle Anglo-Saxon ecclesiastical centre to a late

⁹³ Loveluck 2009.

Anglo-Saxon secular centre. However, this transformation might have taken place gradually over the 9th and 10th centuries. Perhaps on further reading of Bede's *Ecclesiastical History*, where 'ecclesiastical and secular elites were different sides of the same coin', we should accept the transitory nature of elites and not always expect a clear distinction between them in the material world.⁹⁴

In short, all the evidence across the various landscape zones of W Norfolk point to a complex picture of settlement, where rural centres emerge early and where elite transformations are the norm over time. This picture of rural settlement diversity provides a frame of reference for a study of some of the key issues in W Norfolk, a sub-region that remained unurbanised until the 12th century, despite having an above-average population in the late-Saxon period.⁹⁵ For example, the nature of control at the site at Bawsey, which might have experienced similar 10th-century transformations to the sites discussed above but which ultimately declines in the 12th century, could be further explored, as could similar issues at the fen-edge sites proposed as being engaged in specialist production.

What can be said, finally, is that this work shows that metal-detector datasets, if treated in the correct manner, are fantastically useful for interpreting changing social identities. Especially in Norfolk where traditional indicators, such as imported ceramics, are not abundant, any indicators of long-distance trade and exchange should be welcome for their analytical potential.⁹⁶ With future further systematic and integrated surveys, we should not be surprised to see this picture of diversity, complexity and changing lifestyles further refined for rural settlement in W Norfolk and repeated in many other regions of Europe.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I extend thanks to Paul Blinkhorn, Dr Chris Loveluck, Dr John Naylor, Dr Tim Pestell, Dr Andrew Rogerson and Dr Katharina Ulmschneider for their extensive and constructive comments on earlier drafts of this article. Any inaccuracies that remain are, of course, my own. Thanks also go to Sophie and Jane Cabot who helped edit some earlier drafts of this article, and to Rebecca Reynolds and Dr Lloyd Laing who helped with proofing. I wrote the article while in receipt of a University of Nottingham, School of Humanities PhD grant and thank this institution for enabling my research. A number of people kindly helped make the fieldwork possible, in particular Dave and Angie Hibbett (Grid 9 Geophysics) who worked tirelessly at Sedgford, Burnham and Congham (South). University of Nottingham students facilitated the Burnham and Congham fieldwalking, and members of the Sedgford Historical and Archaeological Research Project team undertook fieldwalking there.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- | | |
|--|--|
| <p>Andrews, P 1992, 'Middle Saxon Norfolk: evidence for settlement, 650–850', <i>Annuaire Bull Norfolk Archaeol Hist Res Grp</i>, 13–28.</p> | <p>Andrews, P 1995, <i>Excavations at Redcastle Furze, Thetford, 1988–9</i>, <i>E Anglian Archaeol</i> 72.</p> |
|--|--|

⁹⁴ Loveluck 2007a, 164.

⁹⁵ Williamson and Skipper, 1993.

⁹⁶ Blinkhorn 1999, 10–11.

- Ayers, B 2003, *Norwich 'A Fine City'*, Stroud: Tempus.
- Astill, G 1985, 'Archaeology, economics, and early medieval Europe', *Oxford J Archaeol* **4**, 215–31.
- Beresford, G 1987, *Goltho: the Development of an Early Medieval Manor, c850–1150*, London: Historic Buildings and Monuments Commission for England.
- Bintliff, J and Snodgrass, A 1988, 'Off-site pottery distributions: a regional and interregional perspective', *Current Anthropology* **29**, 506–13.
- Blackburn, M 2003, "'Productive" sites and the pattern of coin loss in England, 600–1180', in Pestell and Ulmschneider (eds), 20–36.
- Blair, J 1998, 'Bampton: an Anglo-Saxon minster', *Current Archaeol* **160**, 124–30.
- Blair, J 2005, *The Church in Anglo-Saxon Society*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Blinkhorn, P 1999, 'Of cabbages and kings: production, trade, and consumption in middle-Saxon England', in M Anderton (ed), *Anglo-Saxon Trading Centres: Beyond the Emporia*, Glasgow: Cruithne Press, 4–23.
- Cabot, S, Davies, G and Hoggett, R 2004, 'Sedgeford: excavations of an 8th century rural settlement in Norfolk', in J Hines, A Lane and M Redknap (eds), *Land, Sea and Home: Proceedings of a Conference on Viking Period Settlement*, Soc Medieval Archaeol Monogr Ser, 313–24.
- Campbell, B 1986, 'The complexity of manorial structure in medieval Norfolk: a case study', *Norfolk Archaeol* **39**, 215–62.
- Carr, R D, Tester, A and Murphy, P 1988, 'The middle Saxon settlement at Staunch Meadow, Brandon', *Antiquity* **62**, 371–7.
- Carver, M O H 1989, 'Kingship and material culture in early Anglo-Saxon East Anglia', in S Bassett (ed), *The Origins of Anglo-Saxon Kingdoms*, Leicester: Leicester University Press, 141–58.
- Chester-Kadwell, M 2009, *Early Anglo-Saxon Communities in the Landscape of Norfolk: Cemeteries and Metal-Detector Finds in Context*, Brit Archaeol Rep Brit Ser **481**.
- Cox, A and Hoggett, R forthcoming, West Hall, Sedgeford: a medieval manor complex in context.
- Crowson, A, Lane, T, Penn, K, et al 2005, *Anglo-Saxon Settlement on the Siltland of Eastern England*, Lincolnshire Archaeol Heritage Rep Ser **7**.
- Davies, G forthcoming a, The changing social identities of the coastal settlements of west Norfolk, AD 450–1086: a trade and exchange perspective (unpubl PhD thesis, University of Nottingham).
- Davies, G forthcoming b, Rural settlements and social change: an archaeological survey and evaluation of the middle-late Anglo-Saxon settlement at Chalkpit Field, Sedgeford, northwest Norfolk.
- Davies, G, Faulkner, N and Hatton, M 2007, 'Sedgeford Historical and Archaeological Research Project interim report 2005–7', *Norfolk Archaeol* **45**, 232–73.
- Godwin, M 2003, A palaeoenvironmental study of a possible Anglo-Saxon emporium at Burnham Market, Norfolk (unpubl interim report for Norfolk Landscape Archaeology).
- Gregory, T 1982, 'Romano-British settlement in West Norfolk and on the Norfolk Fen edge', in D Miles (ed), *The Romano-British Countryside Studies in Rural Settlement and Economy*, Brit Archaeol Rep Brit Ser **103**, 351–76.
- Gregory T and Rogerson, A 1984, 'Metal-detecting in archaeological excavation', *Antiquity* **58**, 179–84.
- Grierson, P 1963, 'Mint output at the time of Offa', *Numismatic Circular* **71**.
- Haldenby, D and Richards, J D 2009, 'Settlement shift at Cottam, East Riding of Yorkshire, and the chronology of Anglo-Saxon copper-alloy pins', *Medieval Archaeol* **53**, 309–15.
- Hamerow, H 2002, *Early Medieval Settlements. The Archaeology of Rural Communities in North West Europe 400–900*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Harvey, B F 2006, 'Monastic pittance in the Middle Ages', in C M Woolgar, D Serjeantson and T Waldron (eds), *Food in Medieval England. Diet and Nutrition*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 215–27.
- Haselgrove, C, Millet, M and Smith, I 1985, *Archaeology from the Ploughsoil: Studies in the Collection of Field Survey Data*, Sheffield: Department of Archaeology and Prehistory, University of Sheffield.
- Hodges, R 1982, *Dark Age Economics*, Bristol: Duckworth.
- Hodges, R 2006, 'Dark Age Economics revisited', in R Hodges, *Goodbye to the Vikings: Re-reading Early Medieval Archaeology*, London: Duckworth and Co Ltd, 63–71.
- Hodges, R and Whitehouse, D 1989, *Mohammed, Charlemagne and the Origins of Europe* (2nd impression), London: Duckworth and Co Ltd.

- Hutcheson, A R J 2006, 'The origins of King's Lynn? Control of wealth on the Wash prior to the Norman Conquest', *Medieval Archaeol* **50**, 71–104.
- Lambrick, G 1977, *Archaeology and Agriculture*, Oxford Archaeological Unit Survey **4**.
- Lawson, A J 1983, *The Archaeology of Witton, Near North Walsham, Norfolk*, E Anglian Archaeol **18**.
- Loveluck, C P 1998, 'A high status Anglo-Saxon settlement at Flixborough, Lincolnshire', *Antiquity* **72**, 146–61.
- Loveluck, C P 2001, 'Wealth, waste and conspicuous consumption. Flixborough and its importance for middle and late Saxon rural settlement studies', in H F Hamerow and A McGregor (eds), *Image and Power in the Archaeology of Early Medieval Britain*, Oxford: Oxbow, 79–130.
- Loveluck, C P 2007a, 'Caedmons world: secular and monastic lifestyles and estate organization in northern England, AD 650–900', in A J Frantzen and J Hines (eds), *Caedmon's Hymn and Material Culture in the World of Bede*, Medieval European Stud **10**, 150–90.
- Loveluck, C P 2007b, *Rural Settlement, Lifestyles and Social Change in the Later First Millennium AD. Excavations at Flixborough 1*, Oxford: Oxbow.
- Loveluck, C P 2009, 'The dynamics of elite lifestyles in the "rural world", AD 600–1150: archaeological perspectives from north west Europe', in F Bougard, R Le Jan and R McKitterick (eds), *La culture du haut moyen age, une question d'elites*, Leiden: Brepols, 139–70.
- Loveluck, C P and Tys, D 2006, 'Coastal societies, exchange and identity along the Channel and southern North Sea shores of Europe, AD 600–1000', *J Maritime Archaeol* **1**:2, 140–69.
- Margeson, S 1997, *The Vikings in Norfolk*, Norfolk: Norfolk Museums Service.
- McCormick, M 2001, *Origins of the European Economy*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Metcalf, D M 2007, 'Regions around the North Sea with monetised economy in the pre-Viking and Viking Ages', in J G Campbell and G Williams (eds), *Silver Economy in the Viking Age*, Walnut Creek, California: Left Coast Press, 1–12.
- Metcalf, M 1965, 'How large was the Anglo-Saxon currency?', *Econ Hist Rev* **18**, 475–82.
- Moreland, J 2000, 'The significance of production in eighth-century England', in I L Hansen and C Wickham (eds), *The Long Eighth Century*, Netherlands: Koninklijke Brill NV, **69**.
- Mortimer, R 2000, 'Village development and ceramic sequence: the middle to late Saxon village at Lordship Lane, Cottenham, Cambridgeshire', *Proc Cambridge Antiq Soc* **89**, 5–33.
- Naylor, J 2004, *An Archaeology of Trade in Middle Saxon England*, Brit Archaeol Rep Brit Ser **376**.
- Naylor, J 2007, 'The circulation of early-medieval European coinage: a case study from Yorkshire', *Medieval Archaeol* **51**, 41–61.
- Palmer, B 2003, 'The hinterlands of three southern English *emporia*: some common themes', in Pestell and Ulmschneider (eds), 48–60.
- Penn, K and Brugmann, B with Hoilund Nielsen, K 2007, *Aspects of Anglo-Saxon Inhumation Burial: Morning Thorpe, Spong Hill, Bergh Apton and Westgarth Gardens*, E Anglian Archaeol Monogr **119**.
- Percival, J and Trimble, G 2008, 'Excavations at Crow Hall Park, London Road, Downham Market, 1999–2000', *Norfolk Archaeol* **45**, 293–336.
- Pestell, T 2003, 'The afterlife of "productive" sites in East Anglia', in Pestell and Ulmschneider (eds), 122–37.
- Pestell, T 2004, *Landscapes of Monastic Foundation. The Establishment of Religious Houses in East Anglia c.650–1200*, Woodbridge: Boydell Press.
- Pestell, T forthcoming, 'Markets, *emporia*, *wics* and 'productive' sites: pre-Viking trade centres in Anglo-Saxon England'.
- Pestell, T and Ulmschneider, K (eds) 2003, *Markets in Early Medieval Europe: Trading and 'Productive Sites', 650–850*, Macclesfield: Windgather.
- Polanyi, K, Arensberg, C M and Pearson, H W (eds) 1957, *Trade and Market in the Early Empires*, Illinois: The Free Press.
- Poole, K forthcoming, 'The animal bones', in G Davies forthcoming b.
- Powlesland, D 1997, 'Early Anglo-Saxon settlements: structures, form and layout', in J Hines, *The Anglo-Saxons from the Migration Period to the Eighth Century — An Ethnographic Perspective*, vol 2, Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 101–17.
- Reynolds, A 1999, *Later Anglo-Saxon England Life and Landscape*, Stroud: Tempus.

- Reynolds, A 2003, *Boundaries and Settlements in Later Sixth to Eleventh-century England*, Anglo-Saxon Stud Archaeol Hist **12**.
- Richards, J D 1999, 'What's so special about "productive sites?" Middle Saxon settlements in Northumbria', in T Dickinson and D Griffiths (eds), *The Making of Kingdoms*, Anglo-Saxon Stud Archaeol Hist **10**, 71–80.
- Richards, J D 2003, 'The Anglian and Anglo-Scandinavian Sites at Cottam, Yorkshire', in Pestell and Ulmschneider (eds), 155–67.
- Richards J D and Naylor J 2009, 'The real value of buried treasure. VASLE: the Vasle and Anglo-Saxon Landscape and Economy Project', in S Thomas and P G Stone (eds), *Metal Detecting and Archaeology*, Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 167–79.
- Rogerson, A 1995, *A Late Neolithic, Saxon and Medieval Site at Middle Harling, Norfolk*, E Anglian Archaeol Ser **74**.
- Rogerson, A 2003, 'Six middle Anglo-Saxon sites in West Norfolk', in Pestell and Ulmschneider (eds), 110–21.
- Rogerson, A 2005, 'Middle Saxon Norfolk', in T Ashwin and A Davison (eds), *An Historical Atlas of Norfolk*, 2nd edn, Norwich: Norfolk Museums Service, 32–3.
- Saunders, T 2000, 'Class, space and "feudal" identities in early medieval England', in W O Frazer and A Tyrrell (eds), *Social Identity in Early Medieval Britain*, London and New York: Leicester University Press, 209–32.
- Schiffer, M 1987, *Formation Processes of the Archaeological Record*, New Mexico Press.
- Schofield, A J 1989, 'Understanding early medieval pottery distributions: cautionary tales and their implications for further research', *Antiquity* **63**, 460–70.
- Schofield, A J (ed) 1991, *Interpreting Artefact Scatters: Contributions to Ploughzone Archaeology*, Oxbow Monograph **4**.
- Smallwood, J 1997, 'The Roman Villa at Grimston', *Annu Bull Norfolk Archaeol Hist Res Grp*, 12–22.
- Steedman, K 1994, 'Excavation of a Saxon site at Riby Cross Roads, Lincolnshire', *Archaeol J* **151**, 212–306.
- Ulmschneider, K 2000a, 'Settlement, economy, and the "productive" site: middle Anglo-Saxon Lincolnshire AD 650–780', *Medieval Archaeol* **44**, 53–79.
- Ulmschneider, K 2000b, *Markets, Minsters and Metal-Detectors. The Archaeology of Middle Saxon Lincolnshire and Hampshire Compared*, Brit Archaeol Rep Brit Ser **307**.
- Verhulst, A 2002, *The Carolingian Economy*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Wade, K 1980, 'A settlement site at Bonhunt Farm, Wicken Bonhunt, Essex', in D G Buckley (ed), *Archaeology in Essex to AD 1500*, Counc Brit Archaeol Res Rep **34**, 96–102.
- Wade, K 1988, 'Ipswich', in R Hodges and B Hobley (eds), *The Rebirth of Towns in the West AD 700–1050*, Counc Brit Archaeol Res Rep **68**, 93–100.
- Wade-Martins, P 1980, 'Excavations at North Elmham Park 1967–72', *E Anglian Archaeol* **9**.
- Whyman, M 2002, 'Emporia and early medieval settlement types', in D Perring (ed), *Town and Country in England: Frameworks for Archaeological Research*, York: Counc Brit Archaeol, 92–103.
- Williamson, T 1993, *The Origins of Norfolk*, Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press.
- Williamson, T and Skipper, K 1993, 'Late Saxon population densities', in P Wade-Martins (ed), *An Historical Atlas of Norfolk*, 1st edn, Norwich: Norfolk Museums Service.

Résumé

Les « centres ruraux » du haut Moyen Âge dans l'ouest du comté de Norfolk : un tableau toujours plus riche de diversité, de complexité et de modes de vie en évolution par Gareth Davies

L'utilisation d'une méthodologie d'étude intégrée, avec superposition des grilles de relevé des trouvailles au détecteur de métaux, étude géophysique, prospection de surface et fouille-test limitée sur plusieurs sites d'une même région (ici l'ouest du comté de Norfolk, en Angleterre), peut apporter d'importantes nouvelles informations sur la nature des centres ruraux qualifiés de « sites productifs ». Les résultats détaillés sont tout d'abord replacés dans un cadre de recherche plus vaste en faisant la synthèse des développements de l'investigation et de

l'interprétation de sites passés au détecteur de métaux au Royaume-Uni et de l'archéologie des habitats du haut Moyen Âge dans le comté de Norfolk. Cette étude peut notamment apporter une contribution théorique aux débats plus vastes sur la diversité, la complexité et l'évolution des modes de vie au sein de l'élite du haut Moyen Âge participant au commerce et aux échanges dans les milieux ruraux.

Zusammenfassung

Frühmittelalterliche “Ländliche Zentren” und West Norfolk: Ein wachsendes Bild von Vielfalt, Komplexität und Veränderung im Lebensstil von Gareth Davies

Die Verwendung einer integrierten Vermessungsmethode, bei der graphische Darstellungen von Metalldetektorenfunden, Geophysik, Feldbegehung und begrenzte Probeausgrabungen für eine Reihe von über eine einzelne Region, in diesem Fall West Norfolk in England, verteilten Orten überlagert werden, kann zu wichtigen vertieften Erkenntnissen über die Natur von ländlichen Zentren führen, die man mit der Bezeichnung “produktive Orte” kennzeichnet. Die detaillierten Ergebnisse werden zunächst in einen weiteren Forschungskontext gestellt, indem einige wichtige Punkte bezüglich der Entwicklungen bei der Untersuchung und Interpretation von mit Metalldetektoren untersuchten Orten im Vereinigten Königreich und zur Archäologie der frühmittelalterlichen Siedlungen in Norfolk eingebracht werden. Insbesondere kann diese Forschung, wenn auch nur spekulativ, zur breiteren Debatte über die Vielfalt, Komplexität und Veränderungen im Lebensstil frühmittelalterlicher Eliten beitragen, die in ländlichen Gebieten mit Handel und Austausch befasst waren.

Riassunto

‘Centri rurali’ altomedievali e Norfolk occidentale: un quadro sempre più ampio della diversità, complessità e trasformazione degli stili di vita di Gareth Davies

L'impiego di una metodologia integrata consistente nel mappare, sovrapponendoli, i ritrovamenti effettuati con metal detector, i dati geofisici, i risultati della ricognizione field walking e degli scavi esplorativi di limitate porzioni eseguiti in diversi siti di tutta una particolare regione, in questo caso il Norfolk occidentale (Inghilterra), può fornire ulteriori importanti chiarimenti sulla natura di quei centri rurali che vengono definiti ‘siti produttivi’. I risultati particolareggiati vengono innanzitutto inquadrati in un più ampio schema di ricerca introducendo alcuni punti chiave sugli sviluppi nel campo delle indagini e dell'interpretazione dei siti rilevati con metal detector nel Regno Unito e l'archeologia degli insediamenti altomedievali nel Norfolk. In particolare questa ricerca può contribuire, sia pure in modo speculativo, ai più ampi dibattiti sulla diversità, complessità e trasformazione degli stili di vita di gruppi elitari altomedievali che si occupavano di commerci e scambi nelle zone rurali.