47th Sachsensymposium

The Making of Kingdoms

York
22nd - 26th September, 1996

The 47th Sachsensymposium

**An International Conference on the theme 'The Making of Kingdoms'
held at the King's Manor, University of York, and the Yorkshire Museum,
York, 22nd - 26th September, 1996**

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Department of Archaeology,University of York
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York Visitor and Conference Bureau

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Front Cover: Post-Crondall pale-gold tremissis (or thrymsa) of 'Carausius' type, probably from eastern Kent; obverse redrawn by Helen Geake.

Programme

Saturday 21st September

4.30 - 6.00:   Registration: Dept of Archaeology, King's Manor (room G61).

Sunday 22nd September

10.00 - 17.30:   Registration: Dept. of Archaeology, King's Manor (room G61).

13.30/14.00:   Tour of Roman and Anglian York (Group A leaves St George's Carpark, Fishergate at 13.30; Groups B and C Department of Archaeology, King's Manor at 13.45 & 14.00 respectively)

16.00:   Tea: Dept. of Archaeology, King's Manor

17.30:   The Tempest Anderson Hall, Yorkshire Museum
Welcome from the Yorkshire Museum

Introduction to the Coppergate helmet:
Jim Spriggs: 'Discovery and conservation'
Dominic Tweddle: 'Archaeological Interpretation'
Questions and comments

Reception in St Mary's Abbey Gallery. The Roman and Medieval galleries will be open for viewing.

19.30:   Evening free

Monday 23rd September

8.30 - 18.00:   Registration: Dept. of Archaeology, King's Manor (room G61).

9.00:   Lectures: Tempest Anderson Hall, Yorkshire Museum

Tania Dickinson: 'Welcome'
Martin Carver: 'The making of kingdoms: introduction to the theme'

9.30:   Chris Scull: 'Is this state formation? Archaeology and Anglo-Saxon kingdom-origins'

10.00:   Kerstin Lidén: 'The archaeology of rank, by means of diet, gender and kinship'

10.30:   Coffee (King's Manor, G60)

11.00:	Morten Axboe: 'Danish kings and dendrochronology '
11.30:	Charlotte Fabech: 'Organising the landscape. A matter of production, power and religion'
12.00:	Jytte Ringtved: 'The geography of power. South Scandinavia before the Danish Kingdom'
12.30:	Lunch
14.00:	Ulf Näsman: 'The ethnogenesis of the Danes and the making of a Danish kingdom'
14.30:	Anne Nørgård Jørgensen: 'Reflections on the military and naval development of the early Danish state'
15.00:	Marianne Schaumann-Lönqvist: 'The West-Finnish warriors and the early Svea kingship'
15.30:	Tea (King's Manor, G 60)
16.00:	Ulf Viking: 'The Vittene Treasure - evidence for a Roman Iron Age cult-centre in south-western Sweden?'
16.15:	Nick Higham: '*Imperium* in early Britain: rhetoric and reality in the writings of Gildas and Bede'
16.45:	Barbara Yorke: 'The origins of Anglo-Saxon kingdoms: the contribution of written sources'
17.15:	Julian Richards: 'What's so special about "productive sites"? MiddleAnglo-Saxon settlement types in Northumbria'
18.00 - 21.00:	Reception and excursions in York, courtesy of the York Archaeological Trust:-
18.00	Group A (surnames A - F + H) to Barley Hall (BH), Coffee Yard, off Stonegate, for medieval 'plate' supper; Group B (surnames G + K - R) to Jorvik Viking Centre, Coppergate (JVC); Group C (surnames S - Y) to Archaeological Resource Centre (ARC), St Saviour's Church, St Saviourgate
19.00	Group A to JVC; Group B to ARC; Group C to BH
20.00	Group A to ARC; Group B to BH; Group C to JVC

N.B. The success of the evening requires that groups move from venue to venue on time, and that group numbers are even! Please do not switch group unless you can find someone to swap with.

Tuesday 24th September

| 9.00am - 18.00pm: | All-day excursion to Anglo-Saxon settlements and churches to the north and north-east of York |

Wednesday 25th September

Lectures:	Tempest Anderson Hall, Yorkshire Museum
9.00:	Mark Whyman: 'Romano-Saxon pottery, class identity and the origin of kingdoms in fifth-century Yorkshire'
9.30:	Lucas Quensel-von Kalben: 'Continuity and change in Early Anglo-Saxon England - some preliminary results of an inter-regional cemetery analysis'
10.00:	Nick Stoodley: 'Burial rites, gender and the creation of kingdoms: the evidence from 7th century England'
10.30:	Coffee (King's Manor, G60)
11.00:	Helen Geake: 'Invisible kingdoms: the use of grave-goods in 7th-century England'
11.30:	Karen Høilund Nielsen: 'Style II and the Anglo-Saxon élite (late 6th - 7th centuries)'
12.00:	Bente Magnus: 'Old kingdoms and new? Late Style I and Style II in middle and north Sweden'
12.30:	Jan Peder Lamm: 'A unique gold bracteate from Uppland'
12.45:	Lunch
14.00:	Margrethe Watt: 'Kings or Gods? The iconographic evidence of Scandinavian gold foil figures ("guldgubber")'
14.30:	Frands Herschend: 'The kingship in the hall'
15.00:	Lotte Hedeager: 'Myth and Art: a passport to political authority in Early Medieval kingdoms
15.30:	Tea (King's Manor, G60)
16.00:	Alan Vince: 'Studying the making of kingdoms through ceramics'
16.30:	Peter Addyman: 'Eboracum to Eoforwic: from provincial capital to royal city'
17.00:	Kevin Leahy: 'The formation of the Anglo-Saxon kingdom of Lindsey'
17.30:	Meeting of the co-ordinating committee of the Arbeitsgemeinschaft für Sachsenforschung (Department of Archaeology, King's Manor, K157)
19.30:	Reception hosted by Centre for Medieval Studies: Huntingdon Room, King's Manor
20.00:	Dinner: The Refectory, King's Manor
22.-23.00:	Cash bar: Huntingdon Room, King's Manor

Thursday 26th September

Lectures: Tempest Anderson Hall, Yorkshire Museum

9.00:   John Hines: 'The Cambridgeshire Region in Anglo-Saxon social and political history'

9.30:   Tim Malim: 'The cemetery at Edix Hole, Barrington, Cambridgeshire, and its contemporary landscape'

10.00:   Cathy Haith: 'Buckland Anglo-Saxon cemetery, Dover, Kent'

10.30:   Coffee (King's Manor, G60)

11.00:   Sue Hirst and Dido Clark: 'Mucking Cemetery II, Essex'

11.30:   Danny Gerrets and Anthonie Heidinga: 'The Frisian achievement'

12.00:   W.J.H. Verwers: 'The development of Dorestad'

12.30:   'The making of kingdoms': concluding general discussion

13.00   End of symposium and departure

Poster-sessions

Department of Archaeology, King's Manor, Room KG60

The chronology of the gold bracteates (Morten Axboe)

Archive of Anglo-Saxon pottery stamps (Diana Briscoe)

Punchmarks on Anglo-Saxon metalwork from East Anglia (Catherine Mortimer)

Between Scheldt and Weser. Frisia in Northwest European perspective (Danny Gerrets and Anthonie Heidinga)

Ship blockages in the Danish territory (Anne Nørgård Jørgensen)

Barrington Edix Hill cemetery and the landscape of the Cambridgeshire Dykes (Tim Malim)

Sutton Hoo (Martin Carver)

St Gregory's Minster, Kirkdale: inscription on lead (Philip Rahtz)

Recent work (York Archaeological Trust)

Monday, 23rd September only, in KG62

The Anglo-Saxon site at West Heslerton, N. Yorks: demonstration of computerised analysis (James Lyall on behalf of the West Heslerton Parish Project)

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Is this state formation? Archaeology and Anglo-Saxon kingdom origins

Summary

The existence of kings and kingdoms in Anglo-Saxon England is attested in written sources of the 7th century and later, but there is little or no reliable written evidence relating to the 5th- and 6th-century societies from which the Middle Saxon kingdoms emerged. The question of kingdom origins therefore has to be studied across the interface between the historical period of the 7th century and later and the pre- or proto-history of the 5th and 6th centuries, for which the primary source is archaeology.

This paper is concerned aspects of society and economy which may have contributed to the development of hierarchical political structures and the formation of local or regional political aggregations in the 5th and 6th centuries, and so which may have governed the development and consolidation of the Middle Saxon kingdoms. It aims to examine the material evidence for social and economic dynamics against generalizing models of state formation and more specific models which have been proposed to explain the development of the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms, and to draw some comparisons between the patterns of development apparent in 5th- and 6th-century England and those identified elsewhere in north-west Europe.

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THE ARCHAEOLOGY OF RANK, BY MEANS OF DIET, GENDER AND KINSHIP

Identifying the sex of individuals from prehistoric cemeteries is crucial for a subsequent analysis of the social and biological structure, e.g. rank, of ancient societies. When sex is determined, males and females can be compared with regard to nutritional status, diet, physical stress, life expectancy, and maternal status. Further, diet is a well known indicator of rank and has as such been used in archaeological studies. Kinship is also of utmost interest when discussing problems concerning the making of kingdoms in order to discriminate between inherited and acquired rank.

The problem of sex identification of non-complete skeletons, very young individuals, and cremated bones can now be overcome by the use of molecular sex identification. X and Y chromosome specific sequences, based on the amelogenin sequence, are used for molecular sex identification.

Different access to different food sources such as protein, or specific crops, e.g. maize, is traced in the skeletal remains of humans. Stable isotope and trace element analyses on bone provide information on the major food sources in the diet.

Kinship within a cemetery is possible to study by the use of parts of the inherited genome, so called Short Tandem Repeats (STR markers) or by the use of maternally inherited hypervariable sequences.

Rank can thus be studied by the use of chemical and biological analyses of skeletal remains and information obtained on whether it was based on gender, kinship or other social factors. The study of rank by the use of these methods are being applied within the "SIV-project" (Svealand in the Vendel and and Viking Periods: Settlement, Society and Power) and results from the project will be presented.

Danish Kings and Dendrochronology

Morten Axboe

In the later years dendrochronology has provided
unusually exact dates for Iron and Viking Age finds and
features, especially large defence works. Together with the
written sources, the weapon deposits, the settlements with
specially rich finds, and the inferences on social
stratification which have been drawn from graves and hoards,
they testify to the social and political developments which
resulted in the Danish kingdom as we meet it in the Viking
Age.

Abstract

Organising the landscape.

A matter of production, power, and religion.

Charlotte Fabech, University of Aarhus, Dept. of Archaeology

Recently, finds and investigations in South Scandinavia of new sites with preserved occupation layers and plenty of metal small finds have caused an increasing interest in the question of central places during the first millennium A.D. Individual sites like Helgö in Lake Mälaren, Gudme/Lundeborg on Fyn, or Sorte Muld on Bornholm play central rôles in the discussion. Gold, silver, precious objects, and imports occur in such profusion on these sites that they appear to be something quite extraordinary in the archaeological record. The question is however, whether this is a true picture or whether our impression suffers from source-critical weaknesses.

We know that Migration period gold finds like bracteates, foil figures, continental objects, etc. are to be found on sites attached to the contemporary aristocracy. Thus these finds can give us an outline of the landscape of power during the Migration period, in the same way as churches, manors, and royal estates reveal the high medieval geography of power; rich graves, runestones, and silver hoards show similar phenomena in the Viking Age.

We now realise that we behind extraordinary gold finds, etc. can expect settlements of central significance, and during the last years a number of such sites have been partially excavated. So now we know that the "central places" have had various functions, and that they are placed on different levels in the hierarchy of Iron Age society. But we must also realise that we still have a long way to go before a general understanding of the variation and structure of central places, whether internally or externally, is attained.

To reach an understanding of the central places we need the cultural landscape as a backdrop. The most important tools in our analysis are time, space, and a cross-disciplinary approach.

In my paper I will present examples from Denmark and south Sweden in order to elucidate how we when combining archaeological, geographical, historical, and onomastic sources can identify various aristocratic settings and how we can describe the organisation and ideal behind them.

Abstract

The geography of power
South Scandianvia before the Danish Kingdom

Jytte Ringtved, University of Aarhus, Dept. of Archaeology

The paper discusses possible political units in Denmark before the unification (late Roman and Migration Period). Various scenarios have been suggested lately, ranging from strong tendencies to unification and centralization of the power versus a dispersed political structure involving many small units, autonomous or paying tribute to the more influential ones. Which sources can elucidate this theme and what do they tell us?

A classification and ranking of settlements is the first important step in analyzing the political geography of the Later Iron Age. The next step may be to look for regional explanations of the differentiation of settlements in the various types of landscape. Finally, it is important to display the development of the regions and the changing power relations in a wider geographical and political perspective.

The high-ranking settlements must be understood as reflections of elite milieus. The most important factor for the placing of these settlements in the landscape seems to be communication. Junctions of main waterways and landroutes are key points in the landscape. The reconstruktion of the communication routes of the period rests on features in the natural landscape such as watersheds and -crossings combined with cultural geographical zones and settlement concentrations (bygder).

Local and regional variations exist in material culture and settlement structure. Some are obivously due to the fact, that the archipelago of South Scandinavia is a zone of contact for influences from among others the North Sea-region and the Baltic. Others seem to reflect more fundamental differences in the identity of the folk-groups and the social and political structure. This is the neccesary background on which the manifestations of power must be understood and the matter of dominion and hegemony discussed.

Abstract

The ethnogenesis of the Danes and the making of a Danish kingdom

Ulf Näsman, University of Aarhus, Dept. of Archaeology

In Scandinavia the periods from the Roman Iron Age to the Viking Age are prehistoric, in fact prehistory lingered on till the thirteenth century. But Scandinavian archaeologists often forget or ignore the fact that the first millennium A.D. is a historical period in central and southern Europe, and unfortunately, the Scandinavian development is too often evaluated in isolation from Europe. The material culture studied by archaeology demonstrates that interaction with continental as well as insular powers continuously influenced the social development of Scandinavia. Thus an historical approach to Scandinavian late prehistory is necessary, and a European perspective must be applied.

Outside the Roman Empire the first to fifth centuries A.D. were a period of reaction against and adaptation to the Mediterranean civilisation. Historically, this implies that the perspective of the Germanic-Roman interaction has to be used also when viewing the development in Denmark during the "Roman Iron Age". The Migration period of Scandinavia cannot be understood without paying regard to the strong impact of Byzantium and the Germanic-Roman successor kingdoms. The social transformations among continental and insular Germanic societies that were influenced by the successor kingdoms were certainly paralleled in Scandinavia.

The headline "The Germanic attempts at organisation" used by Le Goff to characterise the Frankish realm can without difficulty be applied to a description of the Merovingian period and the Viking Age of Scandinavia. South Scandinavia was linked to France and Germany, as well as to England, and the Danish development was certainly part of a common west European trajectory.

The traditional views that Scandinavia entered the west European socio-political scene only at the very end of the Viking Age, that the Christianisation was a decisive historical turning-point, that the pagans were unable of organisation and that a state formation in Scandinavia therefore is unthinkable before, seem all to be erroneous. The Christianisation was only the last step of a long unstable winding staircase leading to the Scandinavian Middle Ages. In my opinion, the main contribution the Scandinavians made to "the formation of Christian Europe" was not the Conversion but their commercial and political activities during the preceding centuries.

Unfortunately, the ethnogenesis of the Danes is beyond the reach of study, but a rough hypothesis may be formulated. Events outside the South Scandinavian scene were of fundamental importance for the possibility of this Danish *gens* to grow in power in the Late Roman and Migration periods. The Danes could already during the Merovingian period usurp power over the important channels of communication between Scandinavia proper and the Continent. On the basis of this key position, a kingdom was created. Its survival was by no means a matter of course. In continued efforts to secure the Danish position against the attacks of the neighbours, capable kings established the borders of high medieval Denmark in the course of the Viking Age.

Reflections on the military and naval development of the early Danish state.
Anne Nørgård Jørgensen
National Museum, Denmark

Comprehensive archaeological material in the form of off-shore defence works -- constructions of stakes, stones, box caissons, sunken ships, etc.) in the mouths of fjords and bays -- is available for cultural analysis of the military organisation of the Iron Age, Viking Age, and early Middle Ages Denmark. In this paper I have chosen to place emphasis on an analytical presentation of off-shore defence works in general in Denmark; the focus of the subject then takes a turn towards the interpretation-possibilities related to the earliest barrage-structures in the first millennium AD.
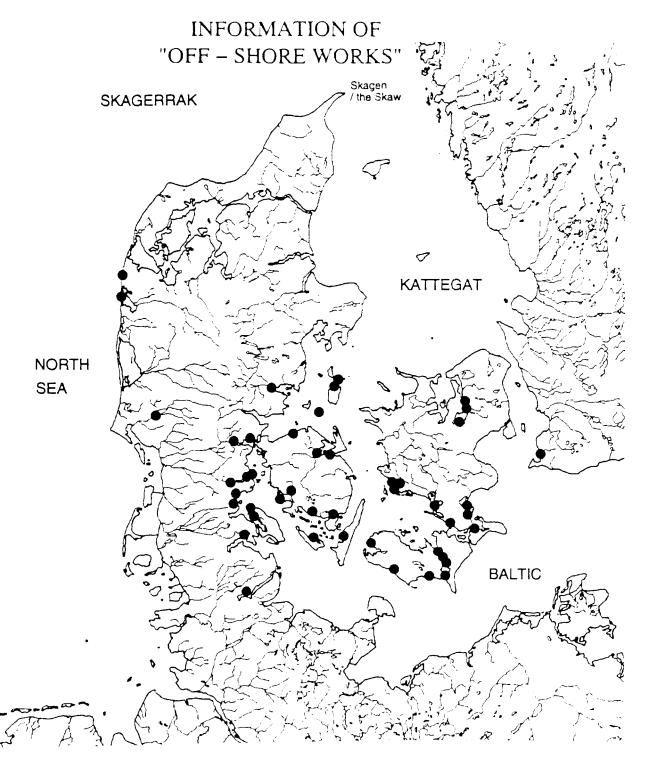
Seen from the perspective of defence, Danish territory, with a coastline over 7,400 km in length, is particularly vulnerable to overseas attack. The coastline, with innumerable inlets, also offers opportunities for the strategically well-planned placing of important centres inside a sheltered fjord-area protected by one or more off-shore works. Another reason for off-shore defence-works may have been for the control of sailing in and out of Danish waters, which must have played an important role for local people and persons of authority at any time.

The relatively large scale of the country's territorial waters has also had the effect that throughout virtually the whole of the known part of the country's military history there has been special emphasis on the sea-going part of military organisation. And in some periods this was probably well put to the test, even though we do not have direct evidence as to the underlying organisational system.

It is obvious that the building of off-shore defence works can have various causes, and that these defence works came into being in response to different needs -- those of the local population or of the nobles, or by royal order. In some cases they consist of obstructions of access to natural harbours, and in certain of these cases there is a congruence with written information about naval bases. In other cases it is a matter of protection of royal property or the land of a local potentate. Finally, there is a congruence between off-shore defence works and historical information about attacks in vulnerable areas of the Danish kingdom in the 12th century.

The connection between, on the one hand, the level of military organisation, and, on the other, the sea defence "situation" is of great significance if we are to explore new aspects of the history of Denmark during the process of development from tribally-based military organisation, through early royal power, to the institutionalisation of military organisation

which took place in historic time. The question is: can one find support in the off-shore
defence works, and by that route gain an impression of at which periods the country was the
object of particularly major threats from overseas, or when the local fleet could have been an
instrument of royal power in Danish history.

The Danish off-shore defence works, as already mentioned, have a broad dating
frame, stretching back to the time before the birth of Christ and on to the Middle Ages, and
in this contribution I intend to describe the cultural-historical and military-historical context
in which the off-shore defence works occur in the period from the Late Roman Iron Age up
to the time of establishment of the earliest Danish navy, around the year 700.

INFORMATION OF
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The Vittene Treasure - Evidence for a Roman Iron Age Cult-centre in south-western Sweden?

In the summer of 1995 a gold torc was found by a man while mowing the lawn in the garden. This was to be the startingpoint of a series of more or less remarkable events leading to the discovery of the third largest Iron Age treasure ever to be found in Sweden. The find, consisting of four gold torcs and an armring, has become known as the"Vittene Treasure" after the name of the farm on which it was found.

The archaeological trial excavation that was carried out on the site, revealed rich prehistoric deposits. During the excavation another torc was found in the settlement area. After a metal detector survey on the site the find increased to the final four gold torcs and an armring. The rings, that have been dated to 100 BC - 200 A D, had been submitted to ritual destruction such as burning and bending before being deposited within the settlement site.

The settlement is located in a agrarian landscape with a historical continuity from the neolithic period to the high tech farming community of today.

During the first centuries A D Western Scandinavia can be characterized by economic expansion and social stratification. An expanding import of jewellery, roman luxury goods and the existence of weaponfinds in graves, indicates the formation of an elite during this period. In this setting the rise of political/ritual centres was made possible.

The settlement site has been preliminary dated to 100 BC - 200 AD. The accumulation of wealth as indicated by the treasure could indicate that the establishment and function of the site should be connected to the mentioned processes of centralizing, while the destruction of the torcs point towards ritual practice.

The Vittene Archaeological Project have during 1996 been formed by the local county museum, The Museum of National Antiquities, Stockholm and the Department of Archaeology, University of Gothenburg.
The project will primarily focus on further archaeological excavation of the site in order to gain more information about its dating and function within the processes of centralization during the Iron Age.

Imperium in early Britain: rhetoric and reality in the writings of Gildas and Bede

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Neither Gildas nor Bede set out to describe the political structures of their own communities, but each wrote from a specific, current political perspective. That of Bede is the more transparent and it is often possible to trace the impact of his perspective on the past about which, in his Historia, he was ostensibly addressing. Gildas, in contrast, wrote a far more obviously polemical work. It is equally anchored in his own current perspective but poses much greater problems today for those wishing to reconstruct the political systems of his own generation, with nothing more to go on than his writing.

To Gildas, first, therefore: when attempting to reconstruct the fall of Britain, he envisaged Roman imperial rule via governors giving way with Magnus Maximus to a single, pan-British authority which he adjudged a tyranny, which then descended via unnamed and unworthy successors to the anonymous figure whom we know as Vortigern. Again, he is an antithetical figure within the text, but Gildas portrayed him as another pan-British figure up to the point where he met with his councillors and devised a plan to protect the 'homeland' – which involved employing Saxon mercenaries. He was, however, the last British figure whom Gildas treated as if ruler of all of what had been Roman Britain. By contrast, the idealised Ambrosius Aurelianus, who resisted the Saxon rebels, was leader of only a fragment of the Britons and was accorded no official title, and the tyrants of the present were clearly more localised figures. This text does, therefore, offer a cut-off for the political unity of sub-Roman Britain, which coincides with what Professor Thompson long-since dubbed 'the war of the Saxon federates'.

In his own times, Gildas portrayed parts of western Britain as ruled by five kings whose moral shortcomings were such that he termed them tyrants and railed against them. They were not, however, portrayed as entirely equal, although Gildas certainly acknowledged their individual moral responsibility. Rather, Maglocunus, the 'dragon of the isle' was given very different treatment to that of the other four such that implies that he was their senior in status, although how this difference manifested itself in practice is difficult to know. This implies that some sort of 'overkingship' existed in Wales and the south west peninsula when Gildas was writing.

Nor was this all. There are very slight hints of an unequal political relationship between Maglocunus and some still greater military leader: Maglocunus was, for example, only 'greater than many in power' and 'almost the most powerful dux in Britain'. The identity of the more powerful figure implicit in the text is not established, but association of the British tyrants with a 'devil-father' figure in three different passages elsewhere may imply that Gildas had a Saxon leader in mind, since he characterised Vortigern's mercenaries as barbarians, animals, heathen and devils during his description of their rebellion and

ravaging of Britain.

However hesitant our understanding of Gildas's <u>De Excidio</u>, therefore, there is evidence within it which implies that the society with which he was familiar had some sort of hierarchical and interactive vision of kingship, certainly within western, British Britain, but perhaps also in a wider context. Patronage of churchmen was clearly an integral part of that kingship at all levels.

Bede's treatment of <u>imperium</u> is far easier to grasp. Looking back to a distant Roman rule of Britain, he envisaged a situation in which the Britons were ruled by their own kings, perhaps even in an insular hierarchy, but under the broad umbrella of the <u>imperium</u> of the Roman emperors and the Roman people. In this respect, his treatment of the imperial past depended heavily on his perception of the present and the ladder of royal authority with which he was himself familiar, and offers valuable insights to those same perceptions. Bede's treatment of various later English 'overkings' was sufficiently detailed to allow us to at least sketch out the main factors which underpinned their power, and even the ways in which these changed through time.

Perhaps the most important single factor was a significant military victory. Many great 'overkings', such as Raedwald or Oswald, seem to have become dominant immediately after achieving a spectacular victory over a prestigious opponent. Such presumably led their contemporaries to view them as particularly god-favoured, and the more improbable the win the greater the impact. In consequence, other kings seem to have sought their protection. When every king did this - as occurred according to Bede following Edwin's great victory over the West Saxons in 626 - then the resulting 'overkingship' was universal. It was certainly not only the people who had been defeated who recognised the superiority of an 'overking' - and Edwin's control over the see of Canterbury provides a good example in support of this point.

Several kings clearly established substantial military reputations by repeated victories: the obvious examples were AEthelfrith of the Bernicians and Penda of the Mercians. But war was not the only method used by even non-Christian kings to sustain high status. AEthelfrith's apparent responsibility for the development of a royal palace, meeting place and cult centre at Yeavering looks very much like an initiative designed to enhance his own imperial pretensions - and the timber theatre is very suggestive of royal ceremonial. Additionally, AEthelfrith was one of many kings who used marriage as a political tool. His usurpation of the Deiran kingship <u>c</u>. 604 was legitimised by marriage to a princess of the local royal house, whose dynastic interest then passed to his own sons, Oswald and Oswiu, both of whom eventually became kings of the Deiri.

Not all early 'overkings' are, however, known to have had a military reputation based on victory. The principal exception is AEthelberht of Kent, whom Bede does not credit with any sort of warlike activity. Rather, his 'overkingship' seems to have

depended primarily on ties of kinship with neighbouring peoples -
including the Franks and East Saxons - so his capacity to raise
a significant force at need.   It seems pertinent to contrast the
'hard' characteristics of AEthelfrith's more warlike regime in
the north with the 'soft' style of his southern contemporary,
AEthelberht of Kent.

It is also worth noting that it was the regime which was
apparently short on military cuedos which offered the more
fertile ground for Christian missionaries. AEthelberht's entire
reign seems to have been in partnership with courtier bishops -
first the Frankish Liudhard and then the Italians, Augustine,
Laurence and Iustus.   AEthelberht's willingness to accept
baptism in the mid-590s was probably very largely a diplomatic
ploy to realign himself with the increasingly dominant
Merovingian court of Childibert and his sons. Having done so,
however, he discovered that the hierarchical organisation of the
Christian clerisy, its monotheism, its regularisation of ritual
and its vision of authority offered considerable political
opportunity to enhance his own status and perhaps even expand his
hegemony still further.   The baptism of Raedwald of the East
Angles at Canterbury looks very much like an exercise in the
reinforcement of his 'overkingship' vis-a-vis a powerful, mature
and peripheral, subordinate king.   Augustine's dealings with the
British clergy are likely to have been perceived by the king
himself as   opening the door to the expansion of his own
superiority over British kings.

In the north, a generation later, both Edwin and then Oswiu used
Christian cult as part of a package of strategies designed to
enhance their own political positions.   The baptismal sites
associated with Edwin and his development of York as a new cult
centre at the heart of his own regime reveal much about his
activities as king and the geography of his power.   Edwin's
export of Christianity to the East Angles, in particular, was
a clear indication of his concern to dominate that dynasty, and
his correspondence with the papacy as the king responsible for
both Canterbury and York reflects his determination to impose
himself on the Christian clerisy of both the southern and
northern synods.   Bede, of course, viewed Edwin's keen support
of missionary activity as spiritually motivated but that is most
unlikely to have been the whole story.   This is not to suggest
that Edwin was a cynical manipulator of Christian priests.
Rather, both he and they recognised the potential for mutual
benefit offered by their co-operation and advanced the natural
sylloge between royal and episcopal objectives.   The end result
was Christian kingship among the English, with the greater
'overkingships' of the north and Midlands developing into
Northumbrian and Southumbrian realms which mirrored the two
synods and metropolitans which Gregory had envisaged in 601, but
which only became permanently established after Bede's death.

The Origins of Anglo-Saxon Kingdoms: The Contribution of Written Sources

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Kings and kingdoms are one of the more accessible topics for historians of Middle Saxon England, but frustratingly for us the first Anglo-Saxon kings and the formation of the earliest kingdoms occurred before the keeping of records became commonplace in Anglo-Saxon England. Earlier attempts to fit archaeological evidence into a framework of documents purporting to depict what occurred in the fifth and sixth centuries have led many archaeologists to question the value and reliability of all written texts for the early Anglo-Saxon period, but in fact they still have a considerable potential if properly understood and used judiciously.

1. The traditional accounts of the arrival of Hengist and Horsa, Cerdic and Cynric et al. have rightly been discredited as narratives of what occurred in the fifth and sixth centuries. They are oral myths adapted several centuries later to fit an annal format: it is unlikely that any accurate dates have come down to us from the pre-Christian centuries. But even these sources may throw us the occasional nugget e.g. tradition of Port and his two sons in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle may represent foundation myth of a dynasty in southern Hampshire (identified by Bede as a Jutish province) that has gone otherwise unrecorded.

2. Although there are no contemporary Anglo-Saxon sources for the fifth and sixth centuries, there are contemporary writings from other societies in northern Europe. Gildas is important not only for the Anglo-Saxon adventus and the existence of British kingdoms, but for what he implies (as Nick Higham has shown) about Anglo-Saxon communities at the time he wrote. Also important are Frankish writers like Gregory of Tours. They may not give much detail about Britain, but they do show us 'Saxons' behaving like the Vikings of the fifth and sixth centuries, raiding the Channel throughout this period, establishing colonies and bases within Francia, icluding on the channel coast, and on occasion 'lending' their armies to assist Frankish leaders and factions.

3. Anglo-Saxon sources for the seventh and eighth centuries may help us to understand what occurred earlier and the political situation that we can reconstruct for the early seventh century must presumably have been the result of events in the sixth century. But how far can historians be sure that they know what the political map of the early seventh century was when our dominant source (Bede) wrote in the early eighth century? There is a danger that material from the seventh and eighth centuries will be used selectively to support specific hypotheses. For instance, Steve Bassett's popular model of the 'football league' analogy for competing kingdoms has been used too simplistically. Although there is a certain truth in big kingdoms growing by 'knocking out' the smaller, the history of Anglo-Saxon kingdoms in the seventh and eighth centuries was not one of simple linear growth. Subkingdoms were not always the result of one kingdom taking over another (e.g. Deira becoming a subkingdom of Bernicia), but often seem to be the creation of dynastic politics (e.g. a need to share rule with other relatives). It is important to distinguish subkingdoms which could be extremely shortlived and individualistic (e.g. Wulfhere's creation of a subkingdom in Surrey and adjoining areas for his kinsman Frithuwold in

670s) from _regiones_ - administrative subdivisions of kingdoms which might be temporarily combined together to form subkingdoms, but were generally longer-lasting and of potentially greater antiquity.

4. One of the myths about seventh- and eighth-century written records is that they support the idea of large numbers of small kingdoms in Anglo-Saxon England in the early seventh century. There were more royal houses in the seventh than in the eighth century, but not necessarily many more. It is certainly not proven that every _regio_ had a king; no -_ingas_ unit, however large, can be shown to have had its own ruler. Bede's terminology, which as James Campbell has shown was very precise, does not support such an interpretation. Bede believed that kings controlled areas equivalent in size to later counties and shires (or one could say Roman _civitates_) and which consisted of several _regiones_. The larger -_ingas_ groups and other _regiones_ when we get to see them in documented contexts appear primarily as administrative units on which tribute and other payments might be levied, which might pass between royal houses in the negociations that ended wars, and which might become the _parochiae_ of early minsters.

5. One of the best known 'facts' we are given for the fifth and sixth centuries which has still to be accounted for adequately, is Bede's famous tripartite division of the settlers into Angles, Saxons and Jutes. One might suspect that this depended on little more than deduction from the names of kingdoms in currency in the eighth century were it not that archaeological and dialect evidence appears to provide support for the significance of the threefold division. It can be seen as well in the names of _regiones_: those in Jutish areas have suffix -_ware_: Saxon areas favour use of -_ingas_; Anglian areas include some -_ingas_, but also -_saetan_ compounds and simple nouns derived from names of rivers or other topographical features (e.g. Gyrwe). No one seems to believe these days that the threefold division is simply the result of Angles, Saxons and Jutes moving from their homelands to colonise discrete areas of Britain; rather the groupings took shape within this country and appear to be examples of 'mixed race' groups (including British) assuming new identities. Did these have a political dimension? This can be argued most convincingly (partly because of the written evidence) for the Jutes characterised (in Kent and I of W) by Frankish connections which may be linked with the fact that the two Jutish districts are situated in the two areas of southern England with the shortest channel crossings and with 'Saxon' colonies on the facing Frankish shores. Was there some essentially different 'political' experience between Anglian and Saxon areas in the sixth century which had been obscured by the time written records began?

Major questions about the origins of Anglo-Saxon kingdoms remain and, in particular, how to distinguish the origins of kingdoms from the history of settlement. Unlike the Anglo-Saxons we do not have to see the history of the royal houses as the embodiment of the history of their provinces. But we still remain uncertain whether kingdoms grew naturally out of the earliest colonies or were the unnatural creations of roving warleaders who imposed themselves upon settled communities. There is not necessarily going to be one model to serve all, and the origins of Anglo-Saxon kingdoms may have been more diverse than we often care to think.

What's so special about "productive sites"?
Middle Anglo-Saxon Settlement Types in Northumbria

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Archaeologists have recently invented a phenomenon of what have been christened "productive sites", where metal detector users have discovered large numbers of Anglo-Saxon coins and artefacts. In a recent paper on the productive site at South Newbald Kevin Leahy has demonstrated that there is considerable variation in the numbers and classes of artefacts recovered from sites within the "productive site" grouping, and has suggested that the term masks several types of site. It is my aim in this paper to try to illuminate further the character of productive sites and, by examination of two excavated sites in the Yorkshire Wolds which I shall argue can be said to be "productive", to demonstrate that excavated and metal-detected sites are part of a continuum that may help us reconstruct a settlement hierarchy for the early medieval kingdom of Northumbria.

The first site described is that at Cottam, where excavation of a "productive site" by the University of York has revealed a farmstead of the 8th to 10th centuries. From excavation it is possible to define the extent and development of the settlement at Cottam, and to reveal building plans. The evaluation has also revealed that occupation was of a domestic nature and persisted for some considerable time, albeit with localised shifts. This was not just a periodic market site, as has been suggested for some productive sites in East Anglia.

The second site is the Middle Saxon settlement at the South Manor site at Wharram Percy, excavated by Paul Stamper and Bob Croft between 1981-1990, and shortly to be published by York University. Wharram Percy is better known for Beresford and Hurst's examination of the Deserted Medieval Village, and is not normally thought of as a "productive site". The South Manor site plays a critical role in any discussion of the nature of Middle Saxon occupation at Wharram Percy, and of its development into the post-Conquest village. Of all the Middle Saxon sites it is the only one which was still occupied in the post-Conquest period, and furthermore, as the site of one of the two manor houses, it clearly had a special status in the later 11th and 12th centuries.

Productive sites have been assumed to be particularly rich in coins and metalwork. If rather than take the absolute number of finds we base comparison on the relative density we find that Wharram Percy is also a "productive site" with the average density of finds within the range of those for South Newbald and Cottam. In comparison with the possible monastic sites at Flixborough and the known Middle Saxon monastery at Whitby, however, both Wharram and the productive sites fair rather poorly, having significantly lower densities of each of the chosen artefact types. The densities are also lower than for the excavation of the urban wic at Fishergate in York. This paper will endeavour to reach some conclusions about the respective roles of these sites from their artefactual assemblages. It will also aim to provide a framework for the Sachsensymposium visit to the excavations at Cottam.

Mark Whyman

Romano-Saxon pottery, class identity and the origin of kingdoms in fifth century Yorkshire

Abstract

'Romano-Saxon' pottery was first identified as a distinct ceramic category by J.N.L. Myres in 1956. Similarities in the form and decorative characteristics of this wheel-thrown ware to those of hand-made Anglo-Saxon cremation urns led Myres to suggest that they had been manufactured by Romano-British potters to cater for 'Germanic' taste in the later fourth and early fifth centuries. This assertion, apparently supported by the markedly eastern distribution of the material within southern Britain, implied the co-existence of Romano-British and Anglo-Saxon communities, and conformed with Myres' ideas on the nature and chronology of the late- and post-Roman settlement of Britain from continental Europe.

Subsequent critiques, notably by John Gillam in 1979 and William Roberts in 1982, have overturned Myres' conclusions. 'Romano-Saxon' pottery has been seen to form part of the late Romano-British repertoire, in production from as early as the third century AD on kiln sites producing widely recognised and purely Roman types. Regional groupings have been identified, a wide range of different fabrics recorded, and the role of glass and metal vessels as prototypes for the form and decoration of 'Romano-Saxon' pots noted. Their use as any kind of indicator of 'continuity' between Roman Britain and Anglo-Saxon England has subsequently been discarded, and recent overviews refer to the material largely to
dismiss it, viewing its identification as being of strictly historiographical interest.

Although the arguments against Myres' original interpretation are overwhelming, the marginalisation of 'Romano-Saxon' pottery in the discussion of late Roman/early Saxon transition should be questioned. Decorative and formal resemblances to hand-made Anglo-Saxon cremation urns are undeniable; at the same time, important characteristics of 'Romano-Saxon' vessels can be seen as direct developments from indigenous wares of the second, third and fourth centuries AD, which themselves employ first- and second-century imports - notably samian - as prototypes.

This paper aims briefly to view 'Romano-Saxon' pottery as a development of the mainstream Romano-British repertoire, including and emphasising familiar decorative schemes and motifs. The occurrence of these vessels in late Roman funerary contexts is discussed, using York as a case study, and the circumstances and significance of their adoption considered. It will be concluded that they form part of an archaeological picture of late Roman Britain which should not be seen in terms of the opposition (or fusion) of 'Roman' and 'Saxon' culture, but which is nevertheless significant to the understanding of the development of kingdoms in the region in the fifth century and beyond.

[handwritten note:] Late C4/C5: fragmented local production and distribution in Yorks. Divergention from regional production and distribution.

Abstract

Burial rites, gender and the creation of kingdoms: the evidence from 7th century England

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The fact that the grave good custom goes out of fashion in the seventh century is no mystery, what is at issue are the reasons for this rapid and widely felt change to the early Anglo-Saxon burial ritual. The influence of a Christian religion, and the increasing social stratification within society that saw the restriction of wealth into a small number of elite burials, have both been held responsible. This paper is concerned mainly with an analysis of the flat-grave 'transition' cemeteries which, unlike the barrow cemeteries, have seen little consideration of their sex and age structures. What are the effects of this developing social stratification within the flat-grave cemeteries, and what do these effects signify for the newly emerging kingdoms? This paper will argue that these sites do not simply reflect an accompanied to an unaccompanied method of burial, but by considering their patterns of gender symbolism hold the key to a fuller understanding of the societal changes that accompanied the emerging kingdoms in the seventh century.

The region studied is Wessex, but reference will be made to other contemporary sites in England to enable the drawing of comparisons. A distinguishing feature of the sixth century was the very visible symbolism of both sexes through the use of weapons in male graves and jewellery in female graves. It will be demonstrated that while this was still practised, although for a much smaller proportion of the burials, the gender of the deceased was now articulated in a more subtle manner. In addition to the artefactual evidence, research focuses on other aspects of grave construction (orientation, size, associated structures and deposition), some of which, unlike in the previous century, now demonstrate patterns of gender-association. However, the general picture is of a decreasing importance in the signalling of the deceased's sex.

At the same time as these changes were taking place the phenomenon of burial within a barrow appears. These often lavishly furnished, and elaborately constructed monuments, stand out in stark contrast to the greater uniformity now evidenced in flat-grave cemeteries. In addition to the messages they convey about increasing social stratification they also have an association with males.

These seventh century burial grounds not only reflect the movement in society from localised pre-state communities to complex societies where there was no longer a need to maintain gender structures. Instead of being seen as passively fitting into a linear process of furnished to unfurnished cemeteries, it will be suggested that they are actively reflecting the stresses and social upheavals which accompanied the emergence of kingdoms. The consideration of gender relations within these seventh century sites has allowed us to place them into the wider view of a society undergoing profound change.

Invisible kingdoms: the use of grave-goods in seventh-century England

Helen Geake, University of York

It has long been noted that 7th- and early 8th-century grave-goods exhibit a new and surprising uniformity across England, just when we know from historical sources that there was conflict and competition between emerging kingdoms. The historical evidence of competing kingdoms seems too strong to allow us to interpret this pattern as evidence for the emergence of a uniform 'English' identity. Rather, it should be seen as evidence for neighbouring kingdoms finding a common solution to a common problem: how to achieve and maintain the power to legislate, to judge and to tax, in the only former Roman province to have become completely Germanised.

The evidence from the grave-goods suggests that the solution found was to appeal to the Anglo-Saxons' concept of the Roman heritage of Britain. The objects from 7th- and early 8th-century field cemeteries are in many cases remarkably different from the Germanic-style objects of the preceding two centuries. The new grave-goods show classical and archaic tendencies, both in their individual forms and in the way they are combined within the grave. In addition, other 'created continuities' are visible within field cemeteries of the period; two notable examples are the re-use of prehistoric earthworks as foci, and the siting within cemeteries of structures which may be derived from Roman temples.

Only a certain section of the population can have been buried in these furnished field cemeteries, however. We know both from archaeological and historical sources that many people - including kings and other members of the élite - were buried in or around churches, and of course this eventually became the dominant rite. The relationship between those burying beside the church and away from it is explored, including the role of the Roman church in fostering kingdom-formation through the creation of Roman continuities.

The relevance of 7th- and early 8th-century grave-good usage for wider theories of kingdom-formation is explored. If, just at the time when our kingdoms emerge into the light of history, they become archaeologically invisible, what does this signify for the study of prehistoric periods?

Abstract
Style II and the Anglo-Saxon Élite (late 6th-7th CE)

Karen Hoilund Nielsen

A characteristic for the period from the middle of the 6th to the 8th centuries is the very special type of decoration: animals, often closely intertwined, in realistic, but stylised versions. Salin's Style II appeared in more areas in Europe sooner or later in the above mentioned period. It is often linked to special political situations and to myths of origin and migration, which are common especially as a result of the large migrations of the previous centuries. Also in Anglo-Saxon England this style appeared, and it is the analyses of the style of this area that will be presented here.

The analyses are part of a larger project, where Animal Art Style II is analysed throughout Europe. In this paper the areas Kent and Anglian England will be in focus. Both areas are known for their Scandinavian contacts; for Kent materialised in extravagant brooches and gold bracteates from the late 5th and early 6th centuries; for East Anglia especially Sutton Hoo has attracted attention. For both areas artefacts with Style II are analysed on basis of stylistic elements. This has resulted in a chronological basis and shown that the style and the use of the style is different in the two areas. Furthermore, these areas are analysed on basis of historical and literary sources. A comparison of the two different approaches shows interesting connexions. From the analysis of Anglian England it appeared that the finds belonged to different groups. The earliest comprises objects from the middle of the 6th century or shortly after, most likely having an origin in Denmark. Later groups, primarily from the 7th century, show partly the same style as known from the remaining parts of England, partly a development of the style under strong influence from South Scandinavian Style II. This is followed by a further development based on the same principles that characterises the South Scandinavian Style II, but with its own special touch, and which also characterises the Northumbrian illuminated gospels.

Pedigrees and analyses of the Beowulf poem together indicate a connexion between the royal house of East Anglia and the Danish Scyldings. It is assumed that there is a connexion between the strong South Scandinavian influence on the animal style of Anglian England and the Danish dynastic connexions or at least a myth of an existence of such. Both point to an origin of the ruling royal family of the 7th-early 8th centuries in Denmark. Seemingly, it has been of importance for the élite of East Anglia to claim and perhaps have a Danish origin, firstly in shape of actual material culture (Animal Style II), which forms the foundation of the later local style, later the myth is kept alive orally and literally; myths that were well-known and which background is generally known amongst the élite of East Anglia.

For Kent the situation is different. The analysed version of the Animal style appears later in Kent than in East Anglia, i.e. not until late in the 6th century. It often appears on artefacts of types well-known in the Frankish Empire and on gold bracteates. The style gradually looses its character as the animals, originally being quadrupeds, looses their extremities and end up as interlaced ribbons with animal heads. The Frankish-type artefacts on which the style appear are also in the Frankish area decorated with animal heads and ribbons. The hypothesis is thus that the style and the artefact-type most likely have come together from the Continent and that the style from this artefact type also spread to other local artefact types. Style II was at this time rather popular on the Continent and in difference to the material from Anglian England, more stylistic traits points back to the Continent than to East Anglia and South Scandinavia. Historically seen this is also the time where there are many contacts between the people of Kent and the Franks. This is expressed for example in the marriages between members of the royal families of the mentioned areas around and shortly after 600. It is thus not impossible that these contacts also have resulted in exchange of material culture and fashions.

Abstract.

OLD KINGDOMS AND NEW? LATE STYLE I AND EARLY STYLE II in Scandinavia.
The monuments and objects from the Migration period in Scandinavia are numerous and of an imaginative kind. Deserted settlements, hillforts, war booty sacrifices, gold hoards coupled with written, contemporaneous material from the Continent have led to interpretations that centre around the crisis-axiom. Recent research has, however, rendered a more varied picture of a period when the North germanic tribal societies take an important step towards the formation of states.

In my paper I have chosen a semiotic approach to special finds from the Scandinavian peninsula containing objects of high artistic value decorated in Style I and early Style II. My general assumption is that the ornamental as well as formal "code" of the objects carried meanings that were understood by all members of the agrarian societies in Scandinavia as they were related to common myths and rituals.

The period in question covers about a century, from the end of the fifth to the end of the sixth century AD and my study is based on relief brooches, sheath mounts, swords, and gold collars, their ornamental motives and their spatial distribution. My idea is that the decorative art of this time of transition may be interpreted as a sort of "royal propaganda" for leading landowning families who traced their descent from one of the main Germanic deities and during a couple of generations were competing for extensive and stable political power. The result of the strife for power is i.a. indicated by monuments like the mounds of old Uppsala and the change of ornamental style .

Bente Magnus

Kings or gods?

A find of 2345 tiny gold foil figures ("guldgubber") of
Merovingian Age found within a settlement site complex at
Sorte Muld on the Baltic island of Bornholm forms the basis of
a systematic analysis of the pictorial content of this unique
Scandinavian group of finds.

The study of combinations of features such as posture,
ceremonial dress, "gesture language" and the presence and
frequency of occurrence of certain types of attributes or
symbols reveals a distinct pattern comparable to that of the
slightly older gold bracteates.

The possibility of identifying named figures (kings, gods
priests etc.) or interpreting some of the "messages" obviously
contained in the pictures, may provide a new insight into the
relationship between "god" and "king" in a Scandinavian pre-
Viking community.

<div style="text-align: right">Margrethe Watt</div>

The Kingship in The Hall

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In historical times the King executed essential parts of his kingship in his hall. When there, he was both at home, perhaps at one of several, and in the centre of his realm. We may say that the hall was a social room in which the King ruled. We still approve of decision-making in this kind of room where private and public mingle. Take a modern 'King' like the President of the USA: he fights the Senate, a public room for decision making, and that is fair enough since no one expects him to let the Senate rule. He makes most of his decisions in his hall, The White House, and speaks to us now and then from its centre, The Oval Room. That is OK as long as he surrounds himself with good advisers representing the nation, which is the point of the hall. We, at least the 'we' of media, are, however, afraid that his bedroom, due to the influence of one Hillary, may become the actual social room of power and decision. And that 'we' do not like while the room is too private. Power as it is should be suspended between the private and the public.

If we can trace the origin of the hall and some of its characteristics we may also be able to say something about the mentality of the kingship, and since the hall is a significant in the earliest Northwest European texts there may be a point in knowing what it looked like from a material point of view.

Some years ago I put up a set of criteria which a hall should meet, at least in part, namely:

1) They belong to big farms;
2) Originally they consisted of one room with a minimum of posts;
3) They are singled out by their position on the farm;
4) Their hearths are neither used for cooking nor do they facilitate a handicraft;
5) The artefacts found in the houses differ from those found in the dwelling part of the main house on the farm.

Having identified a number of halls on the basis of these criteria, I have found that some topics lend themselves to investigations of material as well as literary texts, namely: hall and family; the hall as an interface between the private and the public; the smashed hall and the retinue; hall architecture; hall and settlement structure; all and cosmology.

In this paper I shall focus upon the lay-out of the hall-farm and the hall itself and go on to discuss the forms of talk or, more precisely, the production formats of talk in the hall in order to encompass the interplay between hall, kingship and texts. There are four major productions formats which may be labelled:

1) the court-room format;
2) the church format;
3) public entertainment
and 4) the private drama.

Kings do not use the third format and altough they are much involved in the fourth, they seldom take part in it as a speaker. The second format is the one in which they speak, and their talk is description and decision. For that reason they may also have something to say in the third production format.

Abstract

Lotte Hedeager

MYTH AND ART: a passport to political authority in Early Medieval kingdoms.

In this paper I want to demonstrate how the pagan Nordic origin myth and the Scandinavian animal style was used as an active instrument in the creation of a political mentality among the Germanic warrior peoples during the formation of the Early Medieval kingdoms.

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STUDYING THE MAKING OF KINGDOMS THROUGH CERAMICS

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The study of Anglo-Saxon archaeology makes considerable use of evidence from the study of pottery. Undoubtedly the major contribution is that by Noel Myres who dominated the discipline for a greater part of the 20th century. For Myres, the main explanation for ceramic similarity, both from one part of Anglo-Saxon England to another and on either side of the North Sea, was folk movement. In my paper I will review the current state of understanding of Anglo-Saxon ceramics and consider whether the development of pottery typology or technology might have a political dimension and, if so, whether we can actually gain insights into the process of political agglomeration through the study of pottery.

Kevin Leahy - The Kingdom of Lindsey

The Kingdom of Lindsey lay on the east coast of England to the south of the Humber Estuary. It was never important and, for all of its recorded history was under the domination of its more powerful neighbours, Northumbria to the north and, to the south, Mercia.

The kingdom's coastal location made it vulnerable to incursions from the continent and there is evidence that the Roman administration took unusual steps to ensure its security. Fortifications constructed at Horncastle and, possibly, Caistor appear to be inland extensions of the Saxon Shore Fort system and a concentration, in Lincolnshire, of late Roman belt fittings of continental derivation might suggest the presence of Foederati in the area.

Stray finds suggest a Germanic presence in Lindsey during the late fourth century but large-scale settlement does not appear to have started before the mid-fifth century. This was marked by the establishment of five large cremation cemeteries which are equi-spaced through Lindsey. It is notable that, unlike other ex-Roman cities, there is no early Anglo-Saxon cemetery near Lincoln. This could be due to a residual authority in Lincoln remaining in control during the settlement period.

Two of Lindsey's cremation cemeteries have been extensively excavated. At Cleatham 1017 cremations were found and at Elsham 625. The presence of two large cemeteries 15 km apart offers an opportunity to examine the relationship between these sites and, potentially, folk groupings during the settlement period.

The later fifth century saw an increasing use of inhumation burial. The cremation cemeteries were supplemented and later replaced by a large number of small inhumation cemeteries in what must be seen as a move from regional to local burial, which again may represent changes in organisational struction of Lindsey.

Demographic estimates indicate that, however generously the numbers of burials found in the cemeteries are interpreted they cannot have represented the whole population of Lindsey during the early Anglo-Saxon period. The majority of the population do not appear in the burial record. As these people are likely to have been the descendants of the indigenous Roman-British population the discovery, in Lindsey, of sixth century British metalwork is of some interest.

KAL/SLF/kallinds

The Cambridgeshire Region in Anglo-Saxon Social and Political History

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Following the history of the development of the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms and the 10th-century unification of the kingdom of England, it becomes increasingly clear that the Cambridge region was of only marginal importance. In the early Anglo-Saxon period, however, and particularly during the 6th century, this area has long appeared to have been a centre in the development and distribution of numerous and distinctive artefact-types, and has thus quite validly been identified as a centre of considerable social and cultural importance. This paper will review in detail the artefactual evidence for there having been a centre of influence in Cambridgeshire in the early Anglo-Saxon period, demonstrating how strong that evidence is, and discussing the problems of explaining or interpreting it in social, economic and/or ideological-symbolic terms.

This evidence will then be correlated with the evidence produced by the Barrington project and other work (e.g. the Cambridgeshire Dykes project) recently undertaken by Cambridgeshire Archaeology concerning the pattern and development of settlement, with particular regard to the Roman-period infrastructure, and various aspects of social organization, in the 5th to 7th centuries. With reference to the strongly analogous case of Surrey, the issue of change in the location, scope and structures of social and politicalpower from the Migration Period into the period of Mercian hegemony and the possible establishment of the sub-kingdoms of the Middle Angles and Middle Saxons will then be discussed.

The cemetery at Edix Hill, Barrington, Cambridgeshire, and its contemporary landscape

Tim Malim

During the 19th century and earlier part of this century South Cambridgeshire became a focus for Anglo-Saxon studies because of the high incidence of pagan cemeteries discovered during "development" and agricultural activities. Their investigation by "gentlemen from Cambridge" and the subsequent campaign of research into the linear earthworks of the area, the Cambridgeshire Dykes, formed the basis for much interpretation and discussion of the nature and regional development of Anglo-Saxon settlement. E.T.Leeds illustrated the importance of communications through the region provided by the west-east running Icknield Way and the north-south routes of the Roman roads which linked South Cambridgeshire with the Thames and the Midlands, and he saw cultural homogeneity displayed within this wide area through a postulated production centre for small-long brooches centred on the Cambridge region. Cyril Fox's rationalization of 19th century discoveries identified discrete cultural groupings within some of the cemeteries, such as the Chapel Hill group which included Haslingfield and two cemeteries at Barrington, and his strategic investigations into the Cambridgeshire Dykes established their post-Roman date. Tom Lethbridge continued these studies by further work on the Dykes, and through excavations of several cemeteries including 7th century examples at Burwell and Shudy Camps.

Recent work has allowed fuller investigation of Edix Hill, Barrington A, where approximately half of the cemetery has been excavated. 149 individuals were skeletally identified found within 113 graves; of these 18 contained multiple inhumations and 28 appear to have been coffined. The cemetery appears to cover the 6th and early 7th centuries and we estimate that it served a population of around 50 people, a community that was generally healthy but displayed endemic arthritis associated with manual work and a number of incidence of diseases such as leprosy, cancers and tuberculosis. Healed weapon wounds were also evident on some of the men. Although grave-goods did not indicate a particularly rich community, they suggested one that was largely egalitarian and reasonably wealthy ----- the apparent normality of the Edix Hill assemblages is therefore of importance as it perhaps represents a "typical" Anglo-Saxon community. Cultural affinities looked west and east with artefacts typical of both Saxon and Anglian heartlands being present. A possible divergence in status in 7th century graves included two rare bed-burials (one within a barrow) and other more richly furnished graves.

Recent work has also concentrated on excavations through each of the Cambridgeshire Dykes with the aim of establishing absolute dating and contemporary environment. The results of these show that at least one (Fleam Dyke) was constructed in the 5th century with major rebuilds during the 6th, and that by association the others were of similar function and period. Combined with place-name evidence and the dearth of early Anglo-Saxon remains within Hertfordshire or northern Essex it has been possible to postulate a frontier zone represented by the Icknield Way and controlled by the Dykes. To the north of this zone evidence from cemeteries and some early settlement indicate Anglo-Saxon colonization of South Cambridgeshire starting with 5th century burials around existing Roman centres (Cambridge and Great Chesterford) and rapid expansion in the 6th century along the river valleys, with further cemeteries being added at the peripheries in the 7th century. British continuity in the region is suggested south of the Icknield Way (Hertfordshire and Essex) and within an enclave largely coincident with the hills of west Cambridgeshire where evidence for the Anglo-Saxons is scant.

Buckland Anglo-Saxon Cemetery, Dover.

In the summer of 1994, excavations by Canterbury Archaeological Trust at Long Hill, Buckland, on the outskirts of Dover in Kent, revealed 244 Anglo-Saxon burials, which appear to be a further portion of the cemetery excavated by Professor Vera Evison in the 1950's, and published by her in 1967. The material has been acquired by the British Museum where it is currently being conserved.

The graves were aligned NW-SE, about one fifth had traces of a bier or coffin, and some were lined with flint packing. Two graves were enclosed by ring-ditches. Three graves contained a contemporary double burial; a further 11 graves had two burials laid one above the other, there was also a triple grave of similar form. Bone preservation was variable; two sword injuries were recorded, and also a case of primary bone cancer.

Sixty-nine percent of the burials contained grave-goods, and a number were richly furnished, containing items of gold and silver, and an unusually high number of status-related items such a vessel glass. Preliminary assessment of the material indicates that it belongs to the core chronological horizon of the original cemetery, i.e. late 5th - 6th century, but lacks the later 7th century material found by Evison.

There were 7 sword graves including Grave 301 which also contained an inlaid spearhead, and Grave 437, which has yielded the first recorded example of an iron fauchard, (a rare Merovingian weapon type), in an Anglo-Saxon context. A third sword grave contained a copper alloy balance and set of weights.

A total of 75 brooches was found; of these at least half are of Continental origin. There are three gold bracteates, and a gold-plated imperial tremisssis dating to the first half of the 6th century. Well over 2000 beads were recovered. The richest female grave, Grave 391B, contained a wooden bucket, gold vittae, a rock-crystal ball in a silver sling, a pair of silver, garnet-inlaid rosette brooches, and three miniature square-heads, as well as a remounted Late Roman rock crystal intaglio depicting Omphale. Another rich female grave contained an iron weaving batten and three glass vessels.

The finds clearly reflect a community where several elite families controlled considerable wealth and resources, whilst the many exotic pieces of both Scandinavian and Frankish origin confirm both the political and economic pre-eminence of Kent during the 6th century.

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MUCKING CEMETERY II

Sue Hirst and Dido Clark

Mucking Cemetery II is a complete Anglo-Saxon cemetery of 274 inhumations and c. 450 cremations, with adjacent Anglo-Saxon settlement, and a second incomplete contemporary cemetery (Cemetery I) nearby. The earliest graves can be dated to the second quarter of the fifth century and the latest to the seventh century. The absence of objects associated with 'final phase' cemeteries, despite the fact that there is evidence from the second half of the seventh and from the eighth century from the settlement, suggests the possibility of another, later, Anglo-Saxon cemetery at Mucking, outside the excavated area.

With its combination of Late Roman military belt equipment and Quoit Brooch Style metalwork, Mucking has often been seen as a classic example of the settlement of a small number of Germanic mercenaries and their families, recruited by a British ruler, and here settled in a strategic position overlooking the Thames estuary, to assist in the defence of London. Preparation of the full publication of the two cemeteries now enables us to see this hypothesis about the origins of Mucking in the context of the development of the cemeteries as a whole.

Cemetery II began with a small nucleus of early graves and adjacent cremations at the eastern end of a large east-west rectangular plot of land, bounded to the north and south by the apparently still visible ditches/banks of two late Roman agricultural enclosures. By the second half of the fifth century, groups of graves and cremations were already spreading over the whole area of the cemetery, with infilling around these groups throughout the sixth and into the seventh centuries: a polycentric development with no clear chronological zoning. The distribution of age and sex, for both inhumations and cremations, suggests that location of burials was related to household/family groups, and the distribution of artefacts implies that these groups contained similar ranges of high to low status individuals.

Analysis of the cremations shows that they are coterminous with the inhumations both spatially and chronologically: they comprise the same mixed sex/age groupings, and they include broadly the same range and numbers of object types, as the inhumations. There are, however, some differences which cannot all be accounted for by the greater destructiveness of, and incomplete retrieval after, cremation. There is a virtual absence of weapons amongst the cremations, which may suggest difference of status or culture from the inhuming population. In addition the cremations contain significant numbers of artefacts associated with grooming (razors, combs etc), which are absent in the inhumations, and also a greater proportion of accessory vessels (including small burnt pottery vessels and a large number of glass and copper alloy vessels) than the inhumations: these differences may reflect the particular religious beliefs associated with the cremation rite.

The cremation pots themselves do not seem to have been made specifically for the purpose, the majority also being represented in the settlement. Analysis of the pottery fabrics suggests that all the pots were locally made: this is corroborated by the range of stamp motifs present, with parallels within a fairly local Thames estuary cultural area. The presence of a number of zoomorphic bossed pots, otherwise known from a few sites in the area of the lower Thames, and the apparently local fabrics, may suggest a workshop or potter(s) producing these pots in the Mucking area in the late fifth/ early sixth century

Study of the inhumation grave goods shows not only the small group of graves from the early fifth century but a much wider range of artefacts datable to the second half of the fifth century, suggesting an increase in the population in this period. A small number of fifth-century graves contain artefact assemblages which may have more in common with late Roman, than Germanic, graves, possibly suggesting the assimilation of members of the local populace. The presence of high status, high quality artefacts is more apparent among the fifth- than among the sixth-century graves, where there seems to be a relatively low incidence of sixth-century imported material. This may suggest that Mucking was a settlement of greater importance in the fifth century than later

Finally it can be said that the general cultural affinities of the site do not appear, as previously suggested, to be predominately Kentish, but to show more diffused Saxon, Anglian and Kentish links with areas all around the Lower Thames.

The Frisian Achievement

Danny Gerrets & Anthonie Heidinga

In the course of the first millennium remarkable changes took place within the peripheral societies that inhabited the marshy coastal zones of the Netherlands and Northern Germany, a region which was called *Frisia*. After centuries of isolation and cultural backwardness the Frisians emerged in the Early Middle Ages as the most prominent middlemen in the exchange between the Frankish continent, on the one hand, and Anglo-Saxon England and Scandinavia, on the other. This Frisian trade, which is historically traced from the Upper Rhine in the south to York and Birka in the west and north, and of which Dorestad became the centre in the 8th and 9th centuries, has been dealt with by many archaeologists and historians like Jankuhn, Van Es, Hodges, Ellmers, Niermeyer and Lebecq. Less attention, however, was focused on the background of this remarkable achievement, thus the special geographical, economical, socio-political and mental conditions in Frisia itself, and its position between the emerging early states in West and North Europe. For example, the success of the Frisian trade is - not without reason - attributed to external factors, in the first place the economical and political expansion of the Frankish, i.e. Austrasian, elite towards the North Sea. In this view the only merit of the Frisians seems to have been that they lived at the right place and were capable sailormen, a tool so to speak. However, on the eve of this economic boom political centralization also took place in Frisia. Historically this Frisian kingship is established in the last quarter of the 7th century. There are numismatic indications that Frisain coinage already existed in the late 6th century. Besides, no other region in West Europe has produced so many coin finds from the 6th-7th century as the Frisian *terp* area, suggesting the existence of a monetary society. No other region north of the Frankish empire has provided such amounts of imported Frankish pottery and glass. In the 7th century a Frisian style of jewellery developed, which shows Anglo-Saxon as well as Scandinavian influences. So there are reasons enough to focus archaeologically on this presumed early state.

Between 1991 and 1993 the archaeological institutes of the universities of Amsterdam and Groningen started a largescale excavation of a *terp* near the present village of Wijnaldum (Province of Friesland). *Terpen* are those artificial dwelling mounds typical of the northern coastal plain of the Netherlands and Germany. In the 1950's the footplate of a disc-on-bow fibula was found here, which showed many similarities with jewellery from Sutton Hoo. During the last decade additional pieces of this fibula have been found together with many other metal finds suggesting that this site could have been a political centre during the Early Middle Ages. The largescale excavation was placed explicitly in the historical perspective of the development of the Frisian Kingdom.

Occupation at Wijnaldum-Tjitsma started about 175 AD and lasted until 900/950 AD. We became convinced after analysis of the results, that the occupation broke off around 300 AD. A study of the indigenous pottery from the region revealed that the occupation of most other terps in the *terp* region had already ended before 300 AD. New immigrants arrived around 425 AD. The layout of the settlement changed together with house-construction. This was reason for us to look again at the drawings of the terp-excavation at Ezinge and the unpublished terp-excavation at Tritsum. At both sites a similar development as at Wijnaldum-Tjitsma could be observed.

In 1996 a project was initiated by the universities of Groningen and Amsterdam, and by the ROB, called *Between Scheldt and Weser. Frisia in Northwest European Perspective* to provide this early medieval Frisia with a face, in other words to reactivate old research from the perspective of new questions and to direct new research to the blank areas in this picture. One of the main questions is how the separate parts of what is called Frisia interacted and on what level. More specifically: did the Frisian kingship really exist in Frisia as a whole, or are we dealing with a farmers-republic, as many authors think? We have to know where political and economic power emerged: in the *terp* region, the Rhine estuary or in the Dorestad region, and if political power and trade-activities were connected anyway. An important new perspective is the realization that we are dealing with a maritime society and, in general terms, with a maritime cultural landscape.

It has been suggested that the roots of the Frisian achievement have to be looked for in the Frisian *terp* region. As already stated, the excavation at Wijnaldum-Tjitsma produced the evidence for a break in settlement history between the late 3rd and early 5th century and for the fact that the new settlers of the 5th century came from the eastern North Sea region. This fact could explain the remarkable change in the role of Frisia in a Northwest European perspective. Other political conditions and networks were created. No wonder that a strong relationship with England existed for centuries after this "adventus Anglorum et Jutorum".

In this paper we deal with general aspects of the project: questions and suggestions, and with the recent research that took place at Wijnaldum in the Frisian *terp* region: one of the central places in the high days of the Frisian kings.