

# Post-Roman Phase I at Yeavinger: A Re-consideration

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*RE-EXAMINATION of the affinities and dating of the post-Roman phase I buildings at Yeavinger, Northumberland, suggests that they might be attributed equally well to a 6th-century Anglo-Saxon as to a post-Roman British context. This would accord with other evidence for 6th- or early 7th-century Anglian communities in the Milfield Basin.*

In the report on his excavations at Yeavinger, Northumberland, Dr Brian Hope-Taylor assigns five buildings (A5–8; D6) to a pre-Anglian post-Roman phase I.<sup>1</sup> These play a significant role in his interpretation of the settlement's development. Firstly, they form a link in the chain of evidence for a continued interest in the site from the pre-Roman Iron Age. Secondly, as examples of indigenous traditions which contributed to the more elaborate 'Yeavinger style' of the later buildings, they are the chronological and technical starting point for the elaborate analysis of building style development upon which much of the archaeological phasing is based. They should also have a wider importance as rare examples of post-Roman British timber buildings, and the contrast between them and the scale of the Anglian-period *villa regia* eloquently and pointedly emphasizes the impact and nature of Anglian overlordship.

These buildings are identified as British primarily on the grounds of their date and their wider affinities.<sup>2</sup> Since the composition and publication of the Yeavinger report, however, it has become possible to draw upon a much wider range of evidence against which this interpretation might be tested. The discovery, investigation and publication of new sites (Fig. 1) has provided a considerable body of *comparanda* for the Yeavinger structures,<sup>3</sup> and has permitted a more precise definition of the contemporary settlement context in Northumbria against which Yeavinger must be viewed (Fig. 2).<sup>4</sup> There have also been further important studies of early medieval timber buildings.<sup>5</sup> Re-consideration of the affinities of the earliest excavated buildings at Yeavinger also prompts a re-appraisal of their suggested date which, as Hope-Taylor stressed, is the result of an heuristic approach to intractable data which might in fact generate several acceptable alternatives.<sup>6</sup>



FIG. 1

Location map of settlement sites discussed or used for comparison

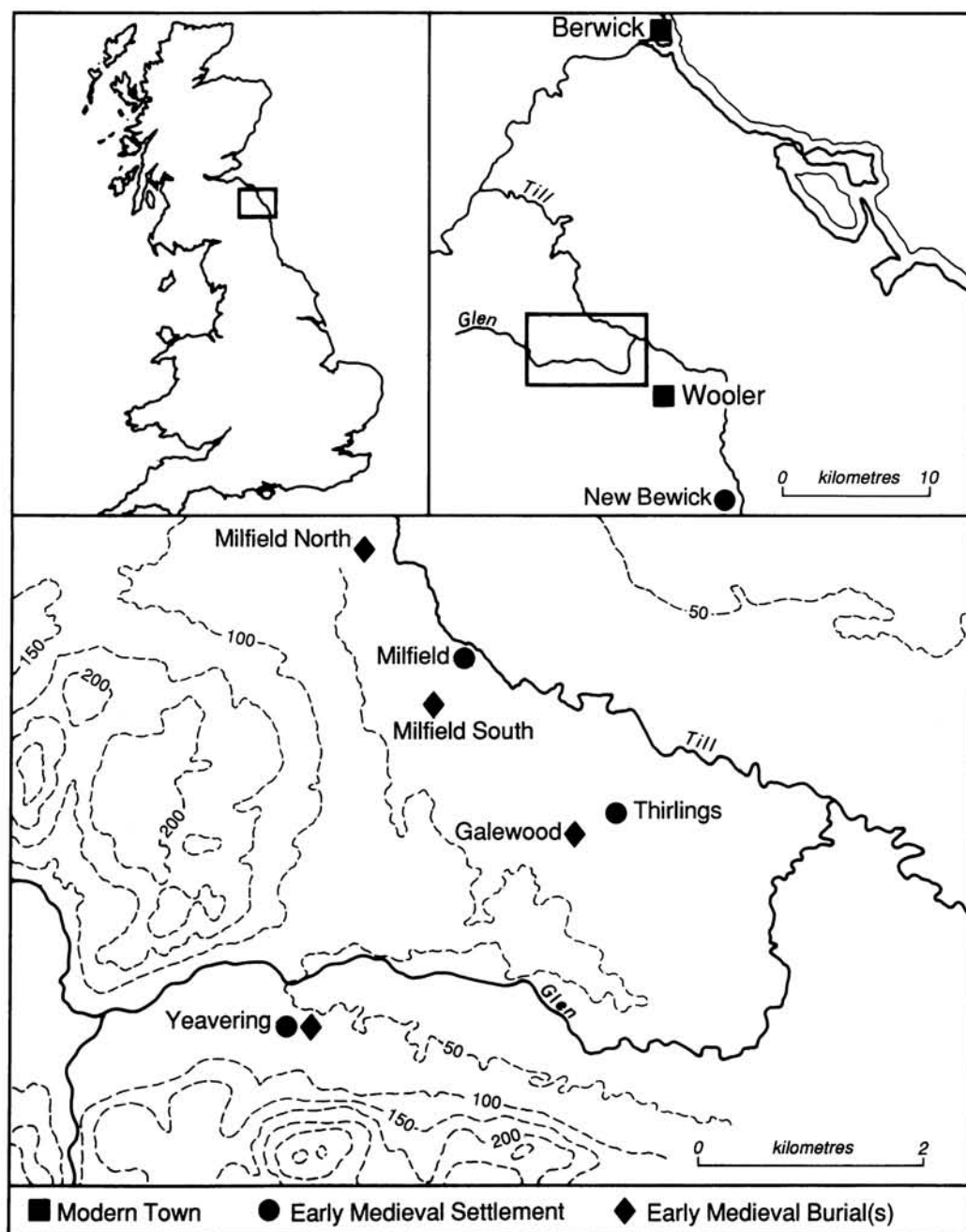


FIG. 2

Location map of Yeavinger and other early medieval sites in the Milfield Basin

## BUILDING CHARACTERISTICS AND AFFINITIES

All five buildings were constructed with earthfast foundations: A6–8 in separate post-holes, A5 and D6 in continuous trenches. No detailed structural traces survived for buildings A6–8, although the post-holes of A6 contained unburnt daub, but clear ghosts of upright timbers and traces of wall panels, almost certainly of wattle and daub, were preserved in the foundations of A5 and D6. All had been cut by the foundations of later buildings, but only A8 had been so extensively disturbed that its full ground-plan dimensions could not be recovered. The remainder were rectangular, 8–9 m long and with length:width ratios between 1.5:1 (A5) and 2:1 (A6); in all probability A8 would also have conformed to this pattern. Both A5 and D6 probably had opposed doors in the centre of the long walls and a door in each of the end walls, but later foundations had removed any direct evidence for the W. wall door of A5 and the N. wall door of D6. Entrances were not identified in the plans of A6–8. None of the buildings appears to have had internal partitions or major internal structural timbers. Post-holes along the S. wall of D6 may have held external supports.<sup>7</sup>

Hope-Taylor assigns the five buildings to his Style I, differentiating between Styles Ia and Ib (Types 1 and 2) according to foundation type: separate post-holes and continuous trenches respectively. A5 cuts A6 and A7, showing that continuous foundation trenches were a later development than foundations in separate post-holes. Style I is characterized by the use of a structural framework with wattle and daub wall panels, rather than the solid load-bearing walls of Styles II–IV.<sup>8</sup> This contrast, coupled with the differences in scale and ground-plan details, prompts the identification of a pre-Anglian (and therefore non-Anglo-Saxon) building tradition and the search for indigenous parallels.<sup>9</sup> Rectangular buildings, albeit with stone footings, are known from Roman-period and post-Roman native sites in Northumbria, and the lack of obvious parallels in timber to the Yeavinger structures from such contexts can be explained plausibly as an archaeological retrieval problem of lowland areas in northern England. The earlier phases of the Great Enclosure are cited as evidence for a long-standing indigenous tradition of building in timber, and a specific constructional parallel is drawn between the phase II palisade trench of the Great Enclosure and the foundation trenches of A5 and D6.<sup>10</sup> The almost exclusive occurrence of class 1a native pottery in these contexts is adduced in support of this link.<sup>11</sup>

None the less, however convincing the case for drawing this hard and fast distinction between Anglian-period and pre-Anglian native building traditions may appear when Yeavinger is considered in isolation, it is difficult to sustain when the site is seen in the wider context. From what little can be inferred about their structure, there seems to be very little that is unique, or even unusual, about A5–8 and D6. They are described as of ‘framed wattle and daub construction’,<sup>12</sup> but it seems unlikely that they were genuinely framed buildings. The irregular spacing of the uprights, which is evident in A5 and can be inferred from the plans of A6 and A7, would tell against the use of tie beams or other transverse timbers. It would also require the use of wall plates for the rafters to rest on, as would wattle and daub wall panels.<sup>13</sup> In this respect, and in their earthfast foundations, the buildings would appear to conform to the general structural model proposed by S. James,

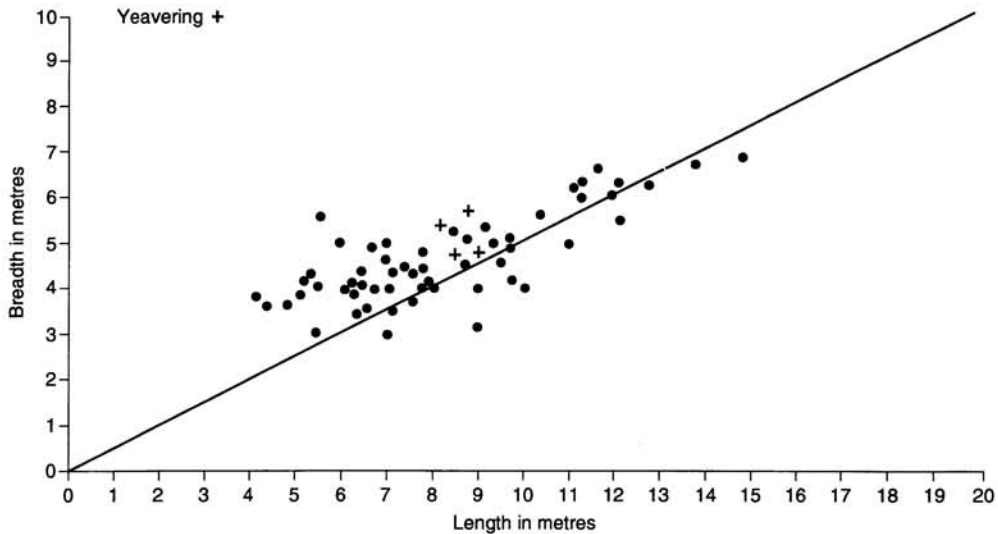


FIG. 3

Scattergram showing ground plan dimensions of Yeavinger A5-7 and D6 against those of 58 earthfast timber buildings from eight early medieval settlements: Bishopstone and Chalton (Hampshire); New Wintles Farm, Eynsham, and Barrow Hills, Radley (Oxfordshire); Thirlings (Northumberland); West Heslerton (N. Yorkshire); Spong Hill (Norfolk); West Stow (Suffolk)

A. Marshall and M. Millett,<sup>14</sup> and interpretation of the post-holes outside the south wall of D6 as belonging to external supporting timbers would further support the identification in this case. The dimensions and virtually all ground plan elements (the exception being doors in both end walls, a feature as yet unique to Yeavinger) can also be widely paralleled on 5th- to 7th-century settlement sites in England, and can be accommodated easily within the range of characteristics which define the early medieval building tradition already mentioned. Significantly, this tradition also encompasses many of the later buildings at Yeavinger.<sup>15</sup>

Although dwarfed by comparison with the major buildings of the *villa regia*, the phase I structures at Yeavinger cannot really be considered small. As a group they are very similar in size to the buildings known from contemporary lower-status settlements (Fig. 3), and Building A6 is in fact larger than most of the 'halls' at West Stow (Suffolk).<sup>16</sup> Difference in status rather than cultural tradition may therefore explain some differences in constructional technique as well as the contrast in scale between the phase I structures and later buildings at Yeavinger. It has been suggested that the unnecessarily wood-expensive techniques used in some of the later structures at Cowdery's Down were deliberately adopted for conspicuous consumption and display, and that the buildings were, in effect, prestige items.<sup>17</sup> This might also have been the case at Yeavinger. Equally, however, the heavier construction of the later buildings may have been necessitated to some extent by their greater size.

James, Marshall and Millett argue that the early medieval building tradition as they define it is a genuinely insular development embodying elements of both

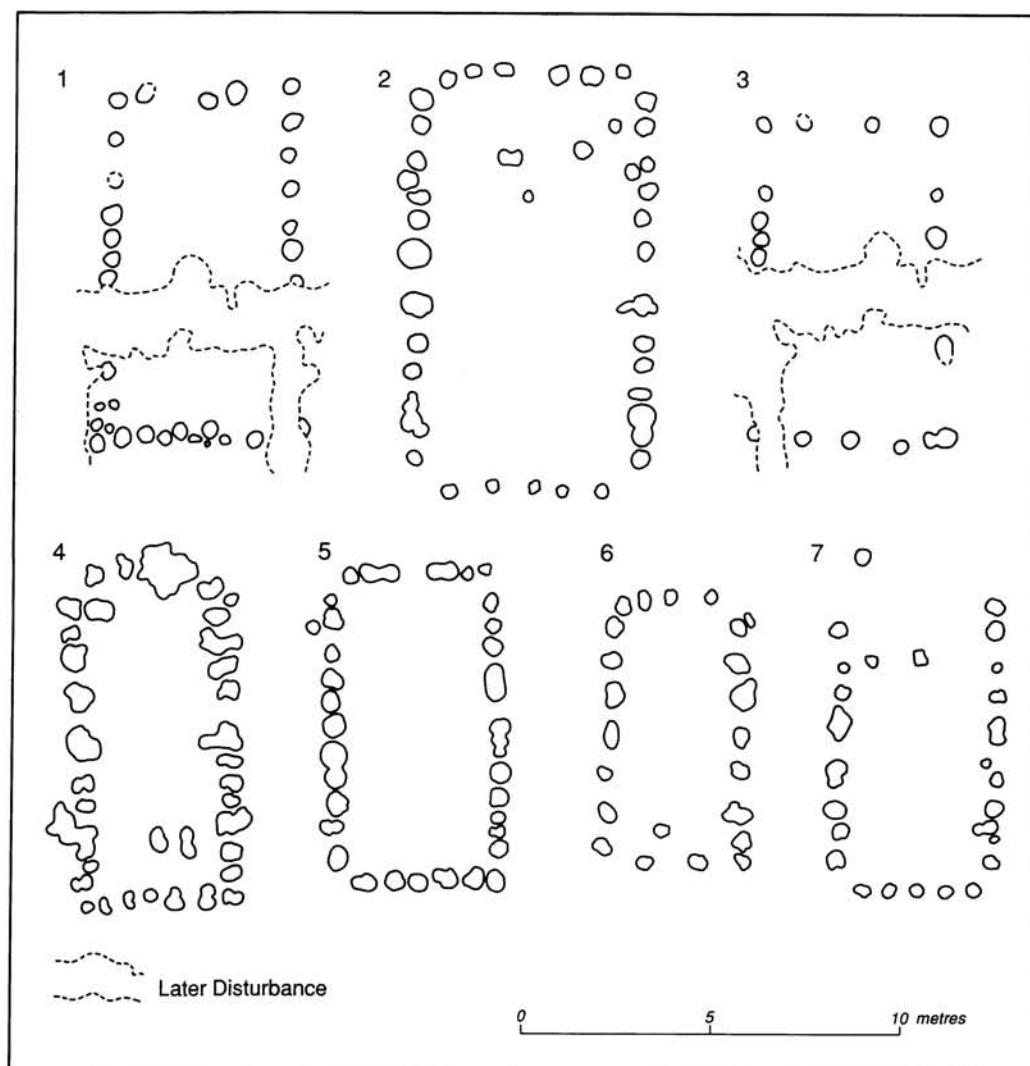


FIG. 4

Yeavinger buildings A6 and A7 and comparable structures from early medieval settlement sites in S. and E. England. 1: Yeavinger A6; 2: Mucking; 3: Yeavinger A7; 4: West Heslerton; 5: West Stow; 6: Barrow Hills, Radley; 7: Spong Hill

Romano-British and continental Germanic building traditions, and is not in itself culturally specific.<sup>18</sup> In this general sense at least the Yeavinger structures may therefore owe something to the native background. Nevertheless, the central opposed doors in the long walls of A5 and D6 would be defined as specifically Germanic contributions to the tradition.<sup>19</sup> Also, although no specifically Germanic elements can be identified in the incomplete ground plans of A6–8 these, stratigraphically the earliest structures, can be adequately paralleled on sites with characteristic

Anglo-Saxon material culture (Fig. 4). The constructional parallel drawn between A5 and D6 and the phase II palisade of the Great Enclosure rests simply on the common use of 'wide shallow trenches'<sup>20</sup> and may be regarded as only a superficial similarity. Moreover, the change in foundation type from separate post-holes to continuous trenches is also a feature of other 6th- to 7th-century settlements, notably Chalton<sup>21</sup> and Cowdery's Down<sup>22</sup> (Hampshire) and, possibly, West Stow<sup>23</sup> and Thirlings (Northumberland).<sup>24</sup> The detailed evidence for wall timbers at Cowdery's Down, Thirlings and West Heslerton (N. Yorkshire)<sup>25</sup> also shows that these different foundation types need not imply different techniques of construction, and sometimes, as at Hartlepool (Cleveland)<sup>26</sup> and Brandon (Suffolk),<sup>27</sup> both foundation types were used in the same building. It is clear that most elements of the phase I buildings at Yeavinger, and the same structural sequence, can be found fairly widely on early medieval settlements in S. and E. England as well as in Northumbria. There is, therefore, no reason to dismiss the possibility that they are Anglo-Saxon solely on the basis of ground plan, dimensions or construction.

#### DATING

A7-5 are successive structures forming a sequence whose *terminus post quem* is given by the abandonment of the pre-Roman and Roman Iron Age field system, and whose *terminus ante quem* is provided by the construction of building A2, whose foundations cut those of A5. A8 was apparently cut by palisade 3, associated with A2, but the relationship had been destroyed by the foundations of A4, which also cut those of A5. D6 is cut by D5, and is considered contemporary with A5 because of their similarity in size, plan and construction technique.<sup>28</sup> Abandonment of the field system is dated to c. A.D. 250,<sup>29</sup> and the construction of A2 to the period A.D. 585-605.<sup>30</sup> A span of 55-65 years is proposed for the sequence A7-5.<sup>31</sup> It must be stressed, however, that the chronology suggested for building phases I-III depends heavily on a dead-reckoning back from the fire horizon at the end of phase III, which is attributed to destruction by Penda and Cadwallon in A.D. 632-33,<sup>32</sup> and that the further back one counts from this *terminus ante quem* the more notional and unsatisfactory the chronology becomes.

There is no direct stratigraphic reason why building A2 should not be seen as a near or immediate successor to A5;<sup>33</sup> indeed, their superimposition and common alignment would seem to support this. Hope-Taylor's chronology would thus place A7-5 and, by extension, A8 and D6, firmly in the 6th century, generating a date-range of A.D. 520/40-585/605. However, he argues instead for a hiatus of at least half a century between the construction of A5 and that of A2, and that A5 had probably been abandoned and demolished for decades before A2 was built.<sup>34</sup> This case hinges on the suggested synchronicity between A5 and D6 and the phase II palisade of the Great Enclosure, and on the dating and character of buildings D1, D2a and D3.

If it is accepted that A5 and D6 are contemporary with the phase II palisade, a date in the second half of the 6th century for A5 would assign phases III and IV of the Great Enclosure to the later 6th and the first 30 years of the 7th century.



Hope-Taylor finds this an unacceptably compressed time-scale, preferring instead to date the beginning of the Great Enclosure phase II and, by association, A5 and D6, to the middle of the Great Enclosure's date-span; they are thus assigned to the period A.D. 450–550.<sup>35</sup> This date, however, has no independent validity. The earliest (A.D. 250) and latest (A.D. 500) possible dates for the construction of the earliest phase of the Great Enclosure, from which the median range of A.D. 450–550 is generated, are respectively notional and derived from counting-back from the destruction layer attributed to Cadwallon and Penda allowing 25 years for each structural phase of the Great Enclosure.<sup>36</sup> There is no reason to assume that the Great Enclosure was necessarily re-built or re-modelled at regular intervals, and so even if it is accepted that A5, D6 and the phase II palisade are broadly contemporary the later phases of the Great Enclosure could in principle be accommodated within the later 6th and earlier 7th century. However, the evidence that A5 and D6 need be contemporary with the phase II palisade is not compelling. As already noted, the constructional similarity may be superficial, and the occurrence of class 1a pottery in these contexts need not be conclusive. There is no guarantee that the distinction between classes 1a and 1b, which have near-identical fabrics, is chronological rather than between contemporary forms, and both probably represent a very long-lived tradition; class 1b pottery was in fact recovered from the foundations of most structures, including those of phases III and IV.<sup>37</sup> The possibility that much of the pottery from the foundation trenches was residual, and so may not provide a sound basis for dating the structures, must also be taken into account. With this link severed, the phase I building sequence and the structural phases of the Great Enclosure would be free to float independently, and a major objection to a later rather than an earlier date for the phase I buildings would vanish.

Such a dating, however, would make the phase I structures broadly contemporary with those assigned to phase II and so, if accepted, would call into question broader aspects of the suggested phasing of the site. Hope-Taylor identifies D1, D2a and D3 as the earliest Anglian-period buildings and dates them to the middle and second half of the 6th century, the suggested hiatus between the use of the phase I buildings and the construction of A2.<sup>38</sup> This cannot be corroborated stratigraphically, however. Phase II is purely a product of the periodization of building styles, and its integrity therefore rests upon two important assumptions. The first is that variations in plan and construction technique represent consecutive and chronologically-exclusive stages in the development of a single distinctive building style, and the second that these in turn correspond rigidly with specific episodes of activity on the site. The length of time thought necessary for the development of significant changes in building style also underlies the time-scale proposed for phase II.<sup>39</sup> These propositions are not unassailable. It seems unlikely that the range of attributes apparent in the Yeavering buildings was developed here wholly in isolation rather than as part of the repertoire of a wider regional or insular tradition within which some variation on a basic theme might be expected. It is clear from the detailed evidence for wall timbers at both Cowdery's Down and Thirlings that different techniques of construction might be employed on the same site in con-



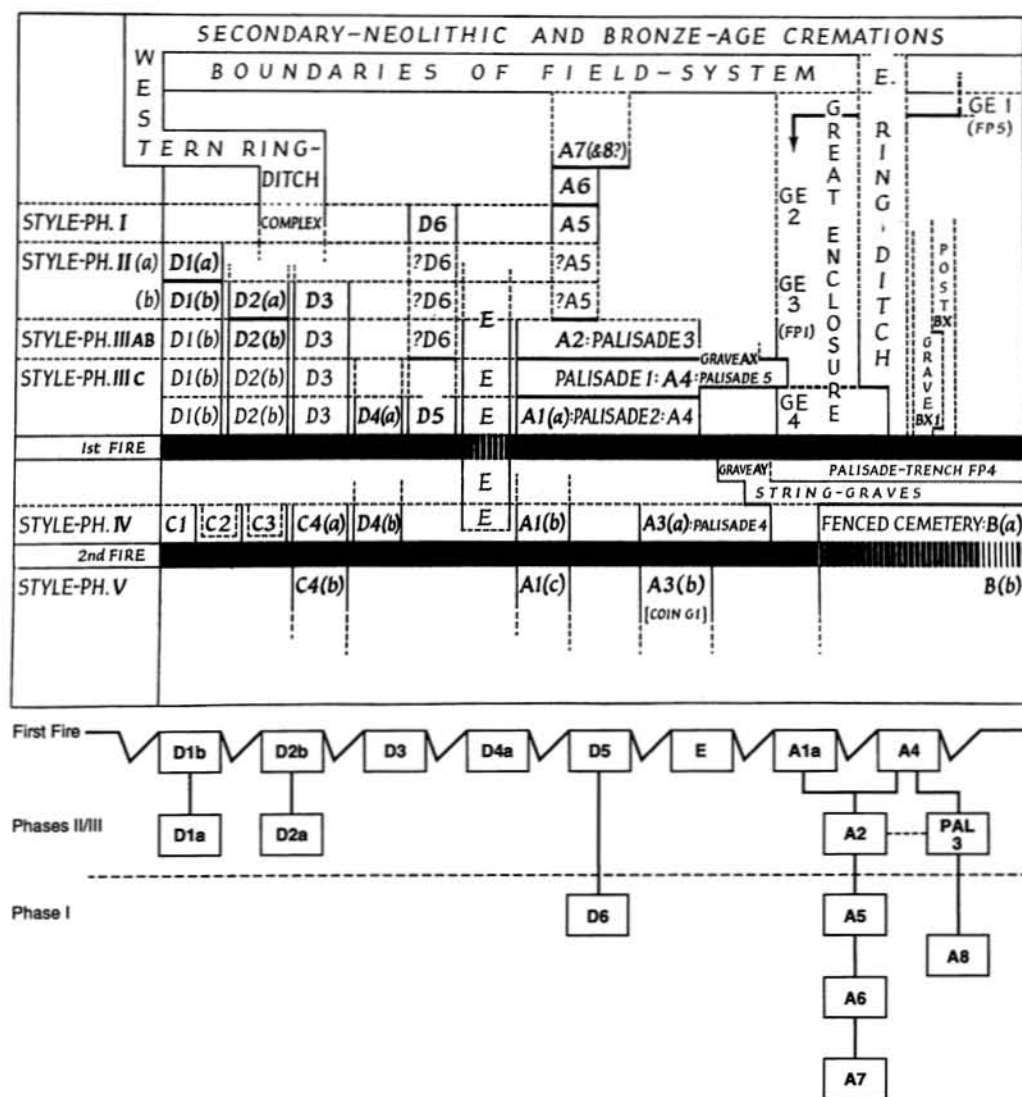


FIG. 5

Above: Brian Hope-Taylor's diagram of the main style phases and sequence of development at Yeavinger (reproduced by kind permission of H.B.M.C.E.). Below: Principal stratigraphic relationships between the excavated buildings of Hope-Taylor's phases I-III and suggested alternative phasing

temporaneous buildings which none the less belonged to a common tradition and shared the same general structural principles.<sup>40</sup> In the absence of stratigraphic evidence to the contrary there is no concrete reason why all the buildings in area D assigned to style phases II and III should not be accommodated within the same date-range as A2, A4 and A1a. In fact, given that D1-3, D4a and D5 were all destroyed by the same fire as A1a and A4,<sup>41</sup> and that none had been rebuilt or

replaced more than once, this shorter time-scale would give a more satisfactory stratigraphic synchronization of the structures in areas A and D than that suggested to accommodate a phase II (Fig. 5). The close super-imposition of D5 and D6, and A2 and A5, would also suggest that the earlier structures had not been long gone when the later were built.

#### DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

The possibility that the phase I structures might be Anglo-Saxon cannot be dismissed on grounds of construction, dimensions or plan. A coherent case can also be made for dating them to the middle and second half of the 6th century, not impossibly early for Anglian settlement in Bernicia, without questioning their suggested date-span, the recorded stratigraphy, the historical dating of the major archaeological horizons or the suggested date-brackets for the Anglian-period settlement as a whole. The possibility that there were other structures must also be noted. Post-holes in area A may hint at buildings whose plans have been too disturbed by later features for positive identification,<sup>42</sup> and both post-holes and other structural features in area D suggest buildings in addition to those identified and discussed.<sup>43</sup> Separate post-holes would not necessarily show as cropmarks, and so it is possible that there are buildings outside the areas excavated in addition to those known from cropmarks south of the road.<sup>44</sup>

Phase I might therefore be interpreted as a direct antecedent of the *villa regia* complex: a modest farming settlement which was transformed in the later 6th century by the establishment of the site as a major centre. Other lower-status settlements are known locally at Thirlings<sup>45</sup> and New Bewick,<sup>46</sup> and can be inferred from cropmarks adjacent to the complex of major buildings at Milfield;<sup>47</sup> it is possible that the establishment of the later royal vill at Milfield may also have involved some physical re-organization of an existing settlement.<sup>48</sup> This interpretation would also fit the sequence of burials excavated in area D.<sup>49</sup> Some or all of the inhumations within the western ring ditch might be linked with the putative phase I settlement, with the western cemetery, arguably representing both a re-organization of the site and an increase in its permanent population,<sup>50</sup> being established at the same time as the first major buildings in the late 6th or early 7th century. The inhumations in the western ring ditch are unlikely to represent a long period of burial, and would be consistent with a community of 14 or 15 adults burying over a couple of generations. This invites comparison with the small group of late 6th- to 7th-century inhumations in and around the henge at Milfield North and the later burials within the henge at Milfield South. Neither cemetery appears to have been particularly long-lived, and that at Milfield North may have been associated with a single farmstead.<sup>51</sup>

Grave goods from Milfield North and Galewood Farm, Ewart, provide clear evidence for the presence of Anglian communities in the Milfield Basin from the later 6th century, and possibly earlier.<sup>52</sup> The paired annular brooches from Galewood could support any date between the late 5th century and the end of the 6th,<sup>53</sup> and the

proximity of the burial to the settlement at Thirlings may suggest that the two were associated. The recognition of *Grubenhäuser* at New Bewick, Milfield and Thirlings also suggests that these are Anglian settlements, and the similarity between the scatters of *Grubenhäuser* cropmarks on the aerial photographs of these sites and those on the aerial photographs of subsequently-excavated Anglo-Saxon settlements such as Mucking (Essex),<sup>54</sup> New Wintles Farm, Eynsham,<sup>55</sup> and Barrow Hills, Radley<sup>56</sup> (Oxfordshire), further reinforces the probability. This is particularly important in the case of Thirlings, where there are some close similarities to the Yeavinger phase I structures.<sup>57</sup> The scarcity of characteristically Anglian material culture at Yeavinger and Thirlings might be explained as a function of the more general paucity of material from settlements of this period where *Grubenhäuser* or other large negative features are not present or have not been excavated.<sup>58</sup> In fact, given their presence at Thirlings, New Bewick and Milfield, it is the absence of *Grubenhäuser* at Yeavinger<sup>59</sup> which is perhaps the most telling single argument against the acceptance of phase I as an Anglian settlement, although the lack of grave goods from the western ring ditch burials would also be significant negative evidence if their association with the phase I buildings could be demonstrated.

Without more complete and sensitive evidence it would be futile to pursue the question of cultural affinity further; or, it might be argued, even this far.<sup>60</sup> In this case, however, it has served to raise wider issues. It is important to stress that the evidence so scrupulously presented by Hope-Taylor can bear an alternative to his preferred interpretation: that the earliest excavated buildings at Yeavinger are not British, but another element in the accumulating evidence for the existence of small Anglo-Saxon farming communities in the Milfield Basin from some time in the 6th century.<sup>61</sup>

Many of the arguments employed here are conjectural, and will remain so until tested against a refined archaeological settlement chronology and a more detailed understanding of the character and development of individual sites. Of Milfield, New Bewick and Thirlings only the latter has seen extensive excavation, and it is clear that the area investigated is only part of a more extensive complex of settlement features including the *Grubenhäuser* which might be expected to contain the bulk of any culturally or chronologically diagnostic material culture assemblage. The Milfield Basin has one of the densest concentrations of securely-identified early medieval settlements known anywhere in the country. There are contemporary or near-contemporary sites which appear to represent different levels of the settlement hierarchy, and some complementary cemetery evidence. The opportunity therefore exists to address archaeologically these questions of settlement development and settlement relationships on a local or sub-regional scale. A larger and more representative sample from both settlements and cemeteries is needed to define the regional archaeology more precisely and in greater depth, and to allow comparative study. Only then will it be possible to assess more rigorously the validity of an 'Anglo-British' archaeology of Bernicia, and its implications, and to apply broader generalizing approaches to the early medieval archaeology of the region as an alternative and complement to the historical and culture-historical perspectives which have predominated hitherto.

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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## NOTES

- <sup>1</sup> B. Hope-Taylor, *Yeavering: an Anglo-British centre of early Northumbria* (London, 1977), 154–57, 209–13, figs. 72, 74.
- <sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 209–13.
- <sup>3</sup> S. James, A. Marshall and M. Millett, 'An early medieval building tradition', *Archaeol. J.*, 141 (1984), 207–12.
- <sup>4</sup> L. Alcock, *Bede, Eddius and the forts of the north Britons* (Jarrow Lecture 1988); R. J. Cramp, 'Anglo-Saxon settlement', 263–97, in J. C. Chapman and H. C. Mytum (eds.), *Settlement in north Britain 1000 B.C.–A.D. 1000* (Oxford, British Archaeol. Rep. British Series 118, 1983); T. Gates and C. O'Brien, 'Cropmarks at Milfield and New Bewick and the recognition of *Grubenhäuser* in Northumberland', *Archaeol. Aeliana*, 16 (5th ser.) (1988), 1–9; C. O'Brien and R. Miket, 'The early medieval settlement of Thirlings, Northumberland', *Durham Archaeol. J.*, 7 (1991); J. K. St Joseph, 'Sprouston, Roxburghshire: an Anglo-Saxon settlement discovered by air reconnaissance', *Anglo-Saxon England*, 10 (1982), 191–99.
- <sup>5</sup> P. V. Addyman, 'The Anglo-Saxon house: a new review', *Anglo-Saxon England*, 1 (1972), 273–307; P. Dixon, 'How Saxon is the Saxon house', 275–88, in P. J. Drury (ed.), *Structural reconstruction* (Oxford, Brit. Archaeol. Rep. British Series 110, 1982). S. James *et al.*, *op. cit.* note 3; M. Millett and S. James, 'Excavations at Cowdery's Down, Basingstoke, Hampshire', *Archaeol. J.*, 140 (1983), 151–279.
- <sup>6</sup> Hope-Taylor, *op. cit.* in note 1, 212–13.
- <sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, 58–69, 117–18, figs. 17, 24, 41, 54, 58, 67.
- <sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, 150–51, fig. 71.
- <sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, 209–13.
- <sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, 158.
- <sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, 153, 170.
- <sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, 209.
- <sup>13</sup> Millett and James, *op. cit.* in note 5, 233.
- <sup>14</sup> James *et al.*, *op. cit.* in note 3.
- <sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*
- <sup>16</sup> The largest complete building plan excavated at West Stow was Building 2, at 9.75 m × 4.27 m. S. E. West, *West Stow: the Anglo-Saxon village* (East Anglian Archaeol. Rep. 24, 1985), 10–14, fig. 10.
- <sup>17</sup> Millett and James, *op. cit.* note 5, 247.
- <sup>18</sup> James *et al.*, *op. cit.* in note 3.
- <sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, 201.
- <sup>20</sup> Hope-Taylor, *op. cit.* in note 1, 153.
- <sup>21</sup> P. V. Addyman, D. Leigh and M. Hughes, 'Anglo-Saxon houses at Chalton, Hampshire', *Medieval Archaeol.*, 16 (1972), 22–24; P. V. Addyman and D. Leigh, 'The Anglo-Saxon village at Chalton, Hampshire: second interim report', *Medieval Archaeol.*, 17 (1973), 7–8.
- <sup>22</sup> Millett and James, *op. cit.* in note 5.
- <sup>23</sup> Building 7, argued to be the latest of the 'halls' excavated, appears to have had posts set in deeper hollows in a continuous trench. West, *op. cit.* in note 16, 12, 149–50, figs. 20, 300.
- <sup>24</sup> Both foundation types occur at Thirlings but there is neither direct stratigraphic evidence for their relative dates nor, unlike West Stow, artefact assemblages sufficiently diagnostic to support a phasing. It is possible, however, that the buildings set in separate post-holes, of which all but one are aligned N.–S., belong to an earlier phase than those constructed in continuous trenches, all of which are aligned E.–W. O'Brien and Miket, *op. cit.* in note 4.
- <sup>25</sup> D. Powlesland, 'Excavations at Heslerton, North Yorkshire, 1978–82', *Archaeol. J.*, 143 (1986), 163–67, fig. 72.
- <sup>26</sup> R. Daniels, 'The Anglo-Saxon monastery at Church Close, Hartlepool, Cleveland', *Archaeol. J.*, 145 (1988), 158–210.
- <sup>27</sup> R. D. Carr, A. Tester and P. Murphy, 'The Middle-Saxon settlement at Staunch Meadow, Brandon', *Antiquity*, 62 (1988), 371.
- <sup>28</sup> Hope-Taylor, *op. cit.* in note 1, 58–69, 117–18, 152–53, 203–13.
- <sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, 204, 211.
- <sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, 311–12.
- <sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*, 212.
- <sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, 277.
- <sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*, 151.
- <sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*, 150–51, 158, 310–13.

- <sup>35</sup> Ibid., 211–12.  
<sup>36</sup> Ibid., 204–09.  
<sup>37</sup> Ibid., 170–76.  
<sup>38</sup> Ibid., 150–58, 310–13.  
<sup>39</sup> Ibid., 310–13.  
<sup>40</sup> Millett and James, op. cit. in note 5; O'Brien and Miket, op. cit. in note 4.  
<sup>41</sup> Hope-Taylor, op. cit. in note 1, 45.  
<sup>42</sup> Ibid., 63, fig. 17.  
<sup>43</sup> Ibid., figs. 41–43, 53.  
<sup>44</sup> Ibid., 5.  
<sup>45</sup> O'Brien and Miket, op. cit. in note 4.  
<sup>46</sup> Gates and O'Brien, op. cit. in note 4.  
<sup>47</sup> Ibid.  
<sup>48</sup> C. J. Scull and A. F. Harding, 'Two early medieval cemeteries at Milfield, Northumberland', *Durham Archaeol. J.*, 6 (1990), 1–29.  
<sup>49</sup> Hope-Taylor, op. cit. in note 1, 108–16.  
<sup>50</sup> Ibid., 116.  
<sup>51</sup> Scull and Harding, op. cit. in note 48.  
<sup>52</sup> Ibid.; G. S. Keeney, 'Anglo-Saxon burials at Galewood, within Ewart, near Milfield', *Proc. Soc. Antiq. Newcastle*, 7 (4th ser.) (1935–36), 15–17.  
<sup>53</sup> These are now lost, but the description given by Keeney and the parallels cited are detailed and specific. Keeney, op. cit. in note 52; R. Miket, 'A re-statement of the evidence from Bernician Anglo-Saxon burials', 294, in P. Rahtz, T. Dickinson and L. Watts (eds.), *Anglo-Saxon cemeteries 1979* (Oxford, British Archaeol. Rep. British Series 82, 1980).  
<sup>54</sup> H. Hamerow, 'Anglo-Saxon settlement pottery and spatial development at Mucking, Essex', *Berichten van de Rijksdienst voor het Oudheidkundig Bodemonderzoek*, 37 (1987), 245–73; M. U and W. T. Jones, 'The cropmark sites at Mucking, Essex', 133–87, in R. Bruce-Mitford (ed.), *Recent archaeological excavations in Europe* (London, 1975); J. K. St Joseph, 'Air reconnaissance: recent results', *Antiquity*, 151 (1964), 217–18, Pl. XXXVII(b).  
<sup>55</sup> D. Benson and D. Miles, *The Upper Thames Valley: an archaeological survey of the river gravels* (Oxford, 1974), 50, Map 26; S. C. Hawkes and M. Gray, 'Preliminary note on the early Anglo-Saxon settlements at New Wintles Farm, Eynsham', *Oxoniensia*, 34 (1969), 1–4.  
<sup>56</sup> Benson and Miles, op. cit. in note 55, 87–90, figs. 15, 16; R. Bradley, R. A. Chambers and C. E. Halpin, *Barrow Hills, Radley, 1983–4 excavations: an interim report* (Oxford, 1984).  
<sup>57</sup> Immediate points of comparison between Yeavinger A5 and D6 and structures at Thirlings include the evidence for wall construction in Thirlings A and B, and the overall plan and dimensions of Thirlings P. O'Brien and Miket, op. cit. in note 4.  
<sup>58</sup> T. C. Champion, 'Strategies for sampling a Saxon settlement: a retrospective view of Chalton', 207–26, in J. F. Cherry, C. Gamble and S. Shennan (eds.), *Sampling in contemporary British archaeology* (Oxford, British Archaeol. Rep. British Series 50, 1978), 207–26; Millett and James op. cit. in note 5, 250–51; A. J. Schofield, 'Understanding early medieval pottery distributions: cautionary tales and the implications for future research', *Antiquity*, 240 (1989), 463.  
<sup>59</sup> Of the two structures described as *Grubenäuser*, D3 is clearly quite different in size and construction from any other example, and C1 also differs from most in that it lacks internal post-holes. Hope-Taylor, op. cit. in note 1, 88–91, 103–05, 239–41, figs. 47–48, 37.  
<sup>60</sup> cf. Millett and James, op. cit. in note 5, 206.  
<sup>61</sup> Cramp, op. cit. in note 4, 266; Scull and Harding, op. cit. in note 48.