

Settlement, Economy, and the 'Productive' Site: Middle Anglo-Saxon Lincolnshire A.D. 650–780

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THE surge in metal-detecting over the last twenty years, although highly controversial and problematic in its nature, has led to an unprecedented explosion of new material for the Middle Saxon Period. A first assessment of these finds in Lincolnshire illustrates not only the outstanding value of this new material for the closer understanding of the Middle Saxon economy and trade, but also enables a wide range of previously unknown 'productive'¹ sites to be identified. Although increasingly noted from other areas, mainly along the eastern and southern coasts of Britain, the nature of these sites is still little understood. Set into the context of the natural landscape, settlement, and wealth, this study identifies common characteristics and functions of 'productive' sites, and explores their economic role in Middle Saxon Lincolnshire. Incorporating evidence from hitherto neglected Continental written sources, theories are developed as to the nature and development of 'productive' sites, and their origins and evolution, which, it is argued, will probably have to be sought in the context of the ultimate success of Christianity and the structuring influence of the evolving church.

SETTLEMENT STUDIES AND THE LANDSCAPE (Figs. 1–2)

Lincolnshire suffers from some of the common problems associated with Middle Saxon settlement archaeology. Although fortunate in having some highly visible pottery, which has aided the identification of settlement sites by the East Midlands Anglo-Saxon Pottery Project (see Fig. 3),² the county distinctly lacks large scale and fully excavated sites. For the Middle Saxon period the most important settlement sequences are found at Flixborough, Riby Cross Roads, and perhaps Goltho, although the latter site is now believed to be of 10th-century date,

¹ For a detailed history and definition of this contentious term, see *infra*.

² Such as Ipswich, Continental, but also many local wares. For a preliminary assessment see A. Vince and J. Young, 'East Midlands Anglo-Saxon pottery project', *Lincoln Archaeol.*, 3 (1990–1), 38–9.

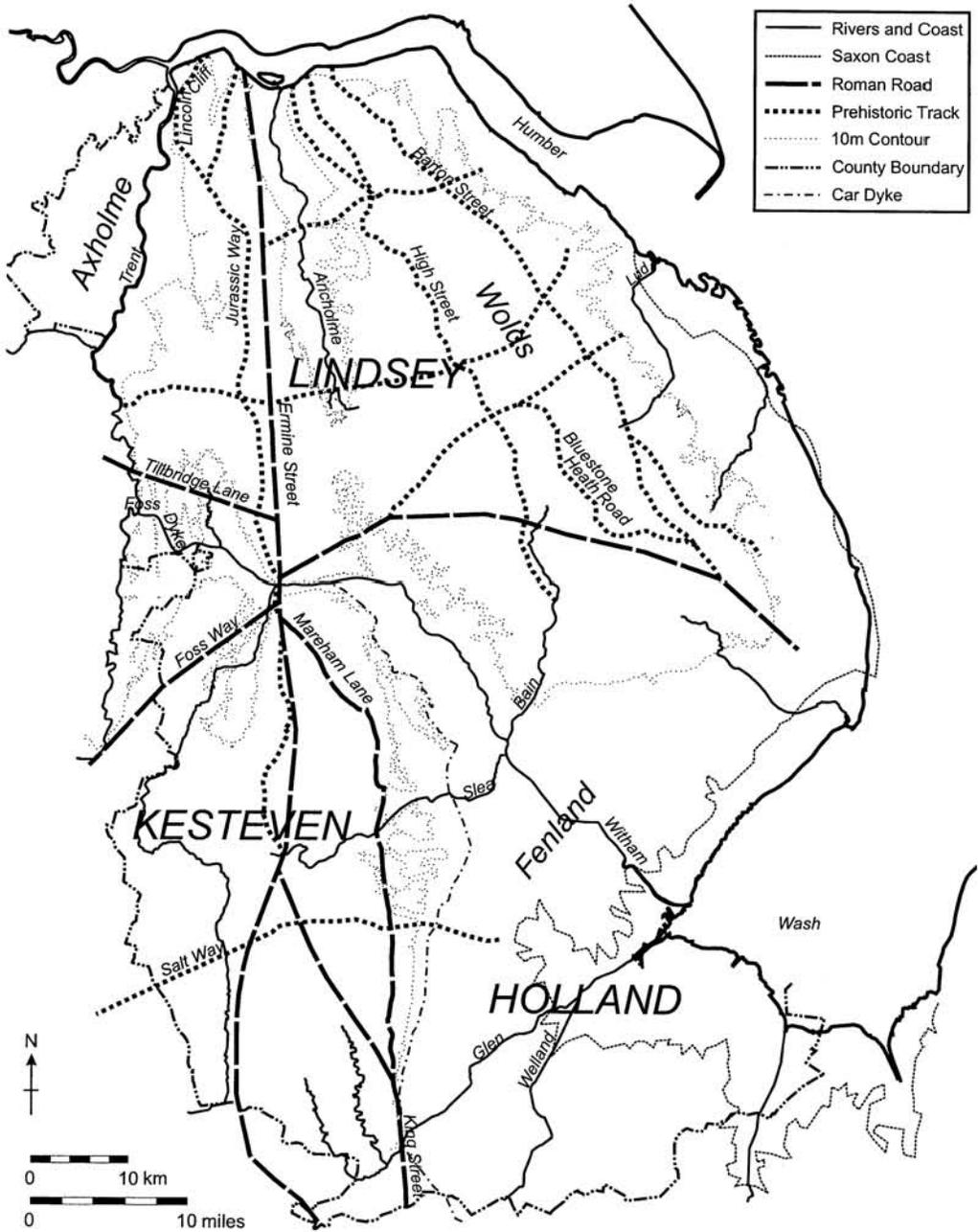


FIG. 1

Topography: the pre-1974 county of Lincolnshire showing coastlines, rivers, major routes, and the 10-m contour line.

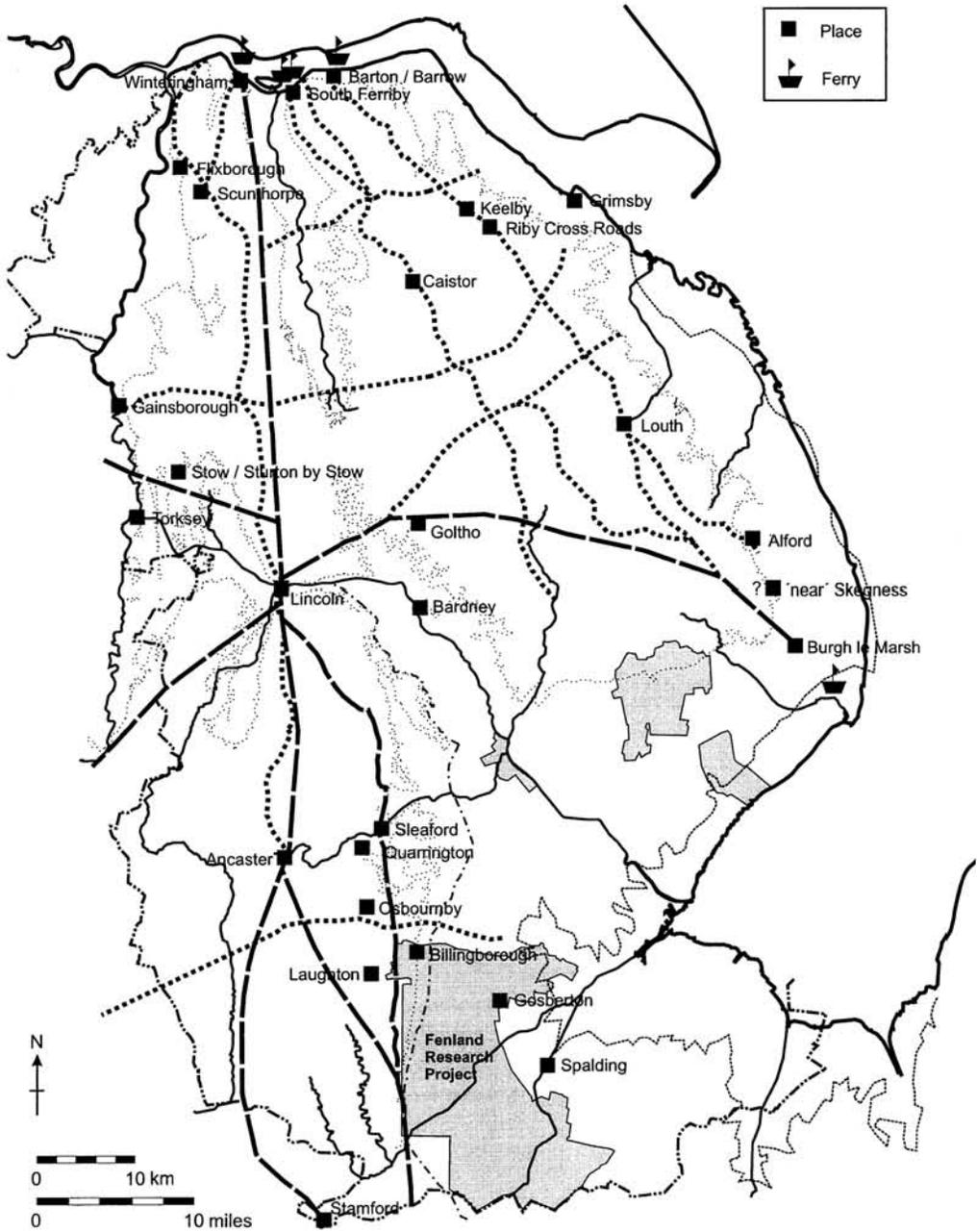


FIG. 2

Middle Anglo-Saxon places mentioned in the text, the Fenland Project, and *Domesday Book* ferries.

making it too late for this context.³ Neither is the evidence from Riby straightforward. Only partially excavated, and without any building- or floor-plans recovered, the nature of the settlement remains complicated, not least because there is a possibility of many unpublished metal-detected coins and other metalwork from the site.⁴ As a result of this lack of fully excavated sites, important questions about settlement layout and size, as well as changes in building style, function, or status cannot or can only partly be answered. In addition, the county has produced a significant number of finds made at a relatively early date in the 19th and 20th centuries. These include pottery, in the beginning often mistaken as Iron-age, and metalwork, often of high status. Examples include well-known objects such as the Witham pins, silver bowl and sword, mostly chance finds, often with next to nothing known about their contexts.⁵ But perhaps the most important problem, as Everson has pointed out for Early Saxon settlements, is that 'we have no sample area [similar for example to Chalton in Hampshire: author] encompassing any of these sites within which the contemporary settlement pattern has been sought and might be felt to be reasonably well understood'.⁶ Much of the problem of settlement studies in Lincolnshire therefore results from a lack of settlement archaeology, which has been, and still is, mainly due to the nature of the discoveries. Finds have been made while quarrying, building roads, or in the case of Riby Cross Roads the building of pipelines, which often tend to avoid settlements.⁷ These deficiencies have focused recent settlement debate on two places: the fenland, and Flixborough.

As the only consistently surveyed area, the importance of the Fenland Project becomes immediately apparent from the concentration of identified sites in figure 3.⁸ Here detailed fieldwalking showed that settlements would not only have been located on the higher ground of the fen-edge, on or above the 10-m contour line, but also revealed the hitherto completely unknown presence of settlements in the silt fens further to the east. These settlements appear to have been separated by a belt of freshwater fen and the Car Dyke, most likely a Roman drainage ditch. Fieldwalking and partial excavation of some of these sites has pointed to possible differences in settlement patterns between the two areas. The paucity of Middle

³ Alan Vince, pers. comm. For Flixborough, the most up-to-date account is still found in C. Loveluck, 'A high-status Anglo-Saxon settlement at Flixborough, Lincolnshire', *Antiquity*, 72 (1998), 146–61. For a forthcoming update see id., 'Wealth, waste and conspicuous consumption: Flixborough and its importance for Middle and Late Saxon rural settlement studies' in H. Hamerow and A. MacGregor (eds.), *Essays on Early Medieval British Art and Archaeology in Honour of Professor Rosemary Cramp*. Also id., 'Uncovering an Anglo-Saxon "royal" manor', *Brit. Archaeol.*, 28 (1997), 8–9; K. Leahy, 'The Middle Saxon site at Flixborough, North Lincolnshire', 87–94 in J. Hawkes and S. Mills (eds.), *Northumbria's Golden Age* (Stroud, 1999). For Riby, K. Steedman, 'Excavations of a Saxon site at Riby Cross Roads, Lincolnshire', *Archaeol. J.*, 151 (1994), 212–306. For Goltho, G. Beresford, *Goltho: The Development of an Early Medieval Manor* (London, 1987); J. Blair, 'Palaces or minsters?: Northampton and Cheddar reconsidered', *Anglo-Saxon England*, 25 (1996), n. 60 on p. 115 referring to R. Higham and P. Barker, *Timber Castles* (London, 1992), 56.

⁴ Kevin Leahy, pers. comm.

⁵ D. M. Wilson, *Anglo-Saxon Ornamental Metalwork 700–1100 in the British Museum* (London, 1964), 33–5, 132–4; R. Bruce-Mitford, 'Late Celtic hanging-bowls in Lincolnshire and South Humberside', 45–70 in A. Vince (ed.), *Pre-Viking Lindsey* (Lincoln, 1993), at p. 59 and pl. ix.

⁶ P. Everson, 'Pre-Viking settlement in Lindsey', 91–100 in Vince (ed.), op. cit. in note 5, at p. 93.

⁷ Naomi Field, pers. comm.

⁸ P. Hayes and T. W. Lane, *Fenland Project 5: Lincolnshire Survey, The South-West Fens* (East Anglian Archaeol., 55, Sleaford, 1992); T. Lane, *Fenland Project 8: Lincolnshire Survey, The Northern Fen Edge* (East Anglian Archaeol., 66, Sleaford, 1993).

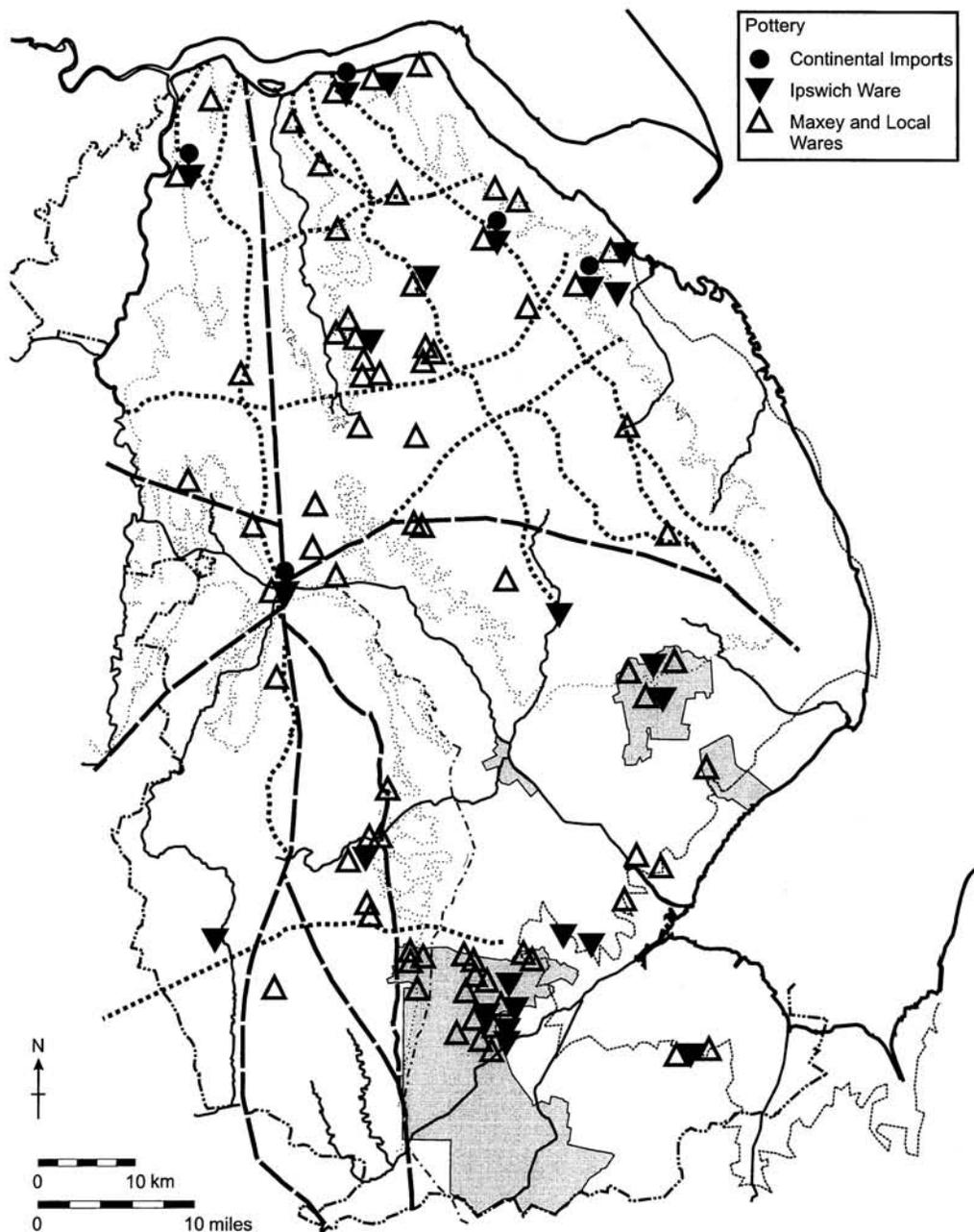


FIG. 3
A selection of Middle Saxon pottery from Lincolnshire.

Saxon sherds on the more western sites may suggest settlement nucleation from an early, perhaps 7th- to 8th-century date on later village sites such as Billingborough. In contrast, the eastern sites produced evidence for dispersed settlement, often on roddons — slightly elevated features which are the remains of former creeks. Pottery finds suggest that nucleation would have taken place at a later date, perhaps in the 9th century on sites such as Spalding.⁹ Interesting in this respect may be the record by the possibly 7th-century Tribal Hidage of two early groups of people in the area, the *Spaldas*, their name preserved in Spalding, and the *Bilmigas* or perhaps *Billingas*, as in Billingborough, both assessed at 600 hides.¹⁰ Although their exact identification remains problematic,¹¹ the evidence may go some way towards explaining differences between the two areas, also visible in their artefact assemblage.

As the most extensively, although not completely, excavated Middle Saxon settlement in Lincolnshire, Flixborough has naturally provided the other focus of recent settlement debate. Although still in the process of being written up, preliminary publications by Ben Whitwell, Chris Loveluck and Kevin Leahy have already pointed to the outstanding importance of this settlement, which produced a promising sequence of buildings and associated deposits.¹² Final judgement of the site will have to await publication, but a preliminary survey has suggested the existence of a carefully laid out high-status settlement, including a building with burials, and evidence for industrial activities, such as metalworking and large-scale textile production. An outstanding number of finds included, amongst other things, large quantities of coins, pins, styli, and a relatively large amount of imported pottery, as well as rarer finds sometimes of very high quality. While there can be no doubt about Flixborough's far-reaching connections and close involvement in both the local economy and inter-regional and long-distance trade and exchange, the nature of the site is at present much less clear. Period-by-period phasing and reassessment of the structures and finds has sparked a new debate on the nature of this site throughout its history. While John Blair prefers a monastic/ecclesiastical function, Chris Loveluck has put forward arguments for an aristocratic/secular high-status site, as well as for changes in the nature of the settlement.¹³ This discussion forms part of a much wider current debate on the identification and role of high-status settlements in the Middle Saxon period, fuelled by the recent re-interpretation of the palaces at Northampton (Northants) and Cheddar (Somerset), as early minster sites.¹⁴ This is not the place to review the complicated evidence for

⁹ P. Hayes, 'Roman to Saxon in the South Lincolnshire fens', *Antiquity*, 62 (1988), 321–6.

¹⁰ Probably for tribute purposes: W. Davies and H. Vierck, 'The contexts of Tribal Hidage: social aggregates and settlement patterns', *Frühmittelalterliche Stud.* 8 (1974), 223–93; D. N. Dumville, 'The Tribal Hidage: an introduction to its texts and their history', 225–30 in S. Bassett (ed.), *The Origins of Anglo-Saxon Kingdoms* (Leicester, 1989); S. Keynes, 'England, 700–900', 21–5 in R. McKitterick (ed.), *The New Cambridge Medieval History II c.700–c.900* (Cambridge, 1995).

¹¹ P. Sawyer, *Anglo-Saxon Lincolnshire* (Lincoln, 1998), 46–9, Appendix 2.

¹² Loveluck 1998, op. cit. in note 3 with further references; Leahy, op. cit. in note 3.

¹³ J. Blair, 'Churches in the early English landscape: social and cultural contexts', 6–18 in J. Blair and C. Pyrah (eds.), *Church Archaeology — Research Directions for the Future* (York, 1996), on p. 9. Chris Loveluck draws attention to changes in the character of Flixborough, from a 'high-status vill centre which became a monastery, prior to a further transformation back to a secular estate centre or nascent manor': 1998, op. cit. in note 3, 159; id. 1997, op. cit. in note 3, 8; also id. forthcoming, op. cit. in note 3.

¹⁴ Blair, op. cit. in note 3, 97–121.

the 'royal' or 'ecclesiastical' nature of high-status sites. However, as will be shown, the following closer assessment of economically important sites in Lincolnshire may well provide some important contributions to this debate.

Although vital to the question of economic exchange in Middle Saxon Lincolnshire, the evidence from Flixborough cannot be seen in isolation. Indeed, to construct any broader interpretative framework for understanding different settlement-types and their involvement in the local economy, trade and exchange in Lincolnshire we need to look at a whole new range of evidence, which is now overwhelmingly provided by metal-detector finds.¹⁵ Although problematic in their nature and interpretation, careful analysis of these finds and their origins in Lincolnshire has pointed to their general reliability.¹⁶ Just how important these finds are for any interpretation of Middle Saxon Lincolnshire can be seen from a comparison of conventionally recovered finds and the metal-detected material. Here the conventional metalwork (Fig. 4) appears to closely follow important lines of communications, such as the Rivers Witham and Humber, providing the two major E.-W. routes. Single finds are dotted along smaller rivers, such as the Bain or Slea, and along prehistoric tracks and Roman routes, particularly in the north of the county. Looking at the distribution of metal-detector finds (Fig. 5), this topographical pattern becomes strongly enhanced.¹⁷ The importance of both the Humber and the Witham are reinforced, while the Trent appears as a major local and inter-regional N.-S. route. At the same time, concentrations of finds can now be seen to closely follow the major prehistoric routes on the two N.-S. ridges: the Jurassic Way on top of the limestone escarpment (also known as the Lincoln Cliff) traversing the whole county from north to south, and High Street and Barton Street, following the high ground on either side of the chalklands of the Wolds. Other areas reveal previously unknown activity. These include the eastern side of the marshy Ancholme valley, the cluster of finds around the final stretch and to the east of the Roman road to Burgh-le-Marsh, a focus along the Roman Tillbridge Lane, and, in the southern parts of the county, concentrations along Mareham Lane and the edge of the fenland. But perhaps the most interesting aspect to arise from this distribution is an apparently clear concentration of both metal-detected and conventionally recovered metalwork in the north of Lincolnshire, within what

¹⁵ An outstanding collection of metal-detector finds has been recorded by Kevin Leahy (Scunthorpe Database), while metal-detected coins are currently being compiled by Mark Blackburn and Sean Miller. There is now a pressing need for detailed research on the range and combination of metalwork and other find-types recovered from these places.

¹⁶ The arguments for this are manifold and complicated and rest on the long-standing relationships between the finders and Kevin Leahy, as well as the plausibility of the overall distribution of the finds, which are discussed, together with the multiple problems of utilizing metal-detected finds and a methodology for their assessment, in K. Ulmschneider, *Markets, Minsters, and Metal-Detectors: The Archaeology of Middle Saxon Lincolnshire and Hampshire Compared*, forthcoming (BAR Brit. Ser., Oxford), ch. 1.

¹⁷ With most findspots only known by parish provenance, the site has always been set at the centre/church of the eponymous town/village of the parish. In view of the small extent of most parishes in Lincolnshire these minor inaccuracies are unlikely to alter the general trend of distribution.

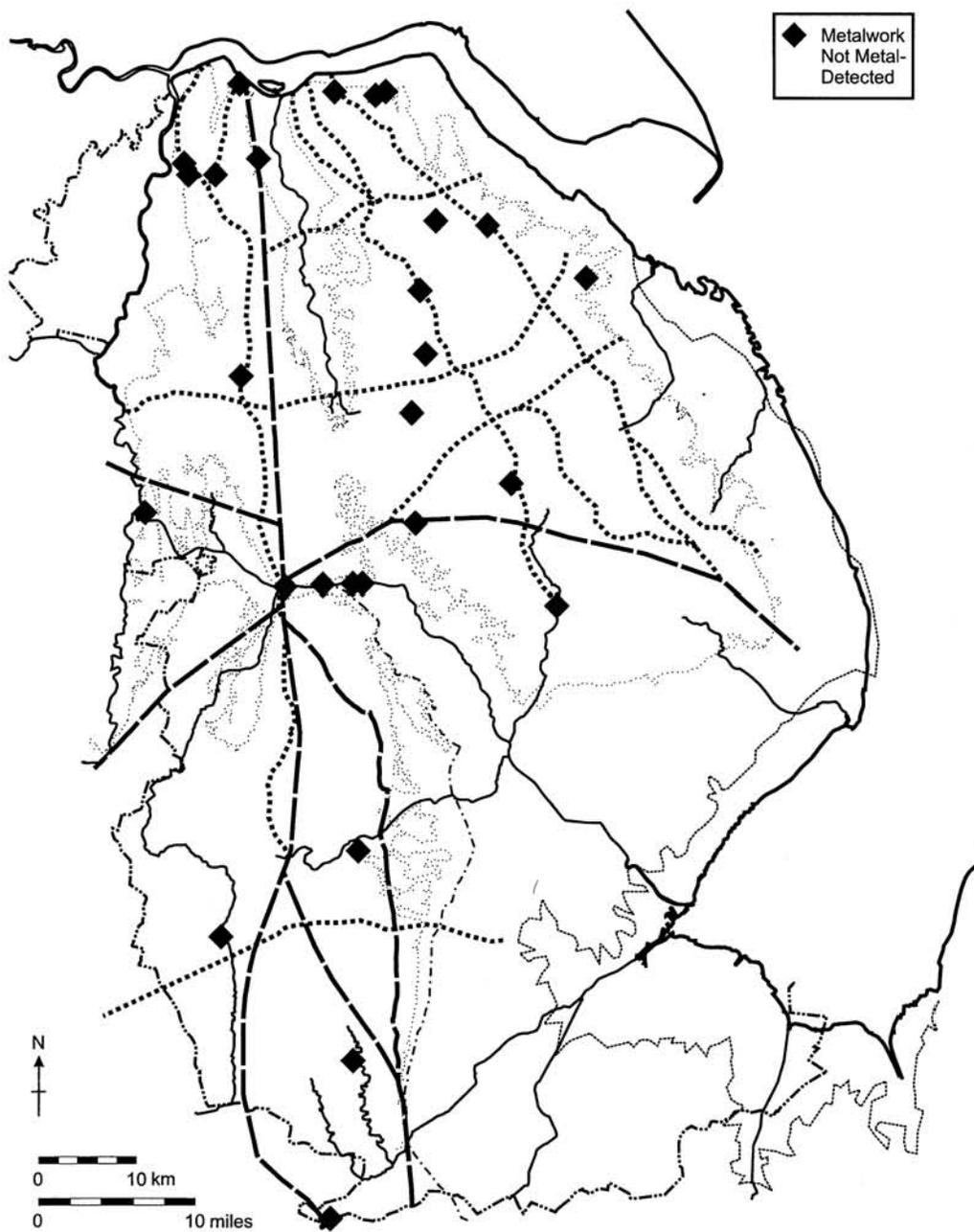


FIG. 4

Middle Anglo-Saxon metalwork from Lincolnshire, not metal-detected.

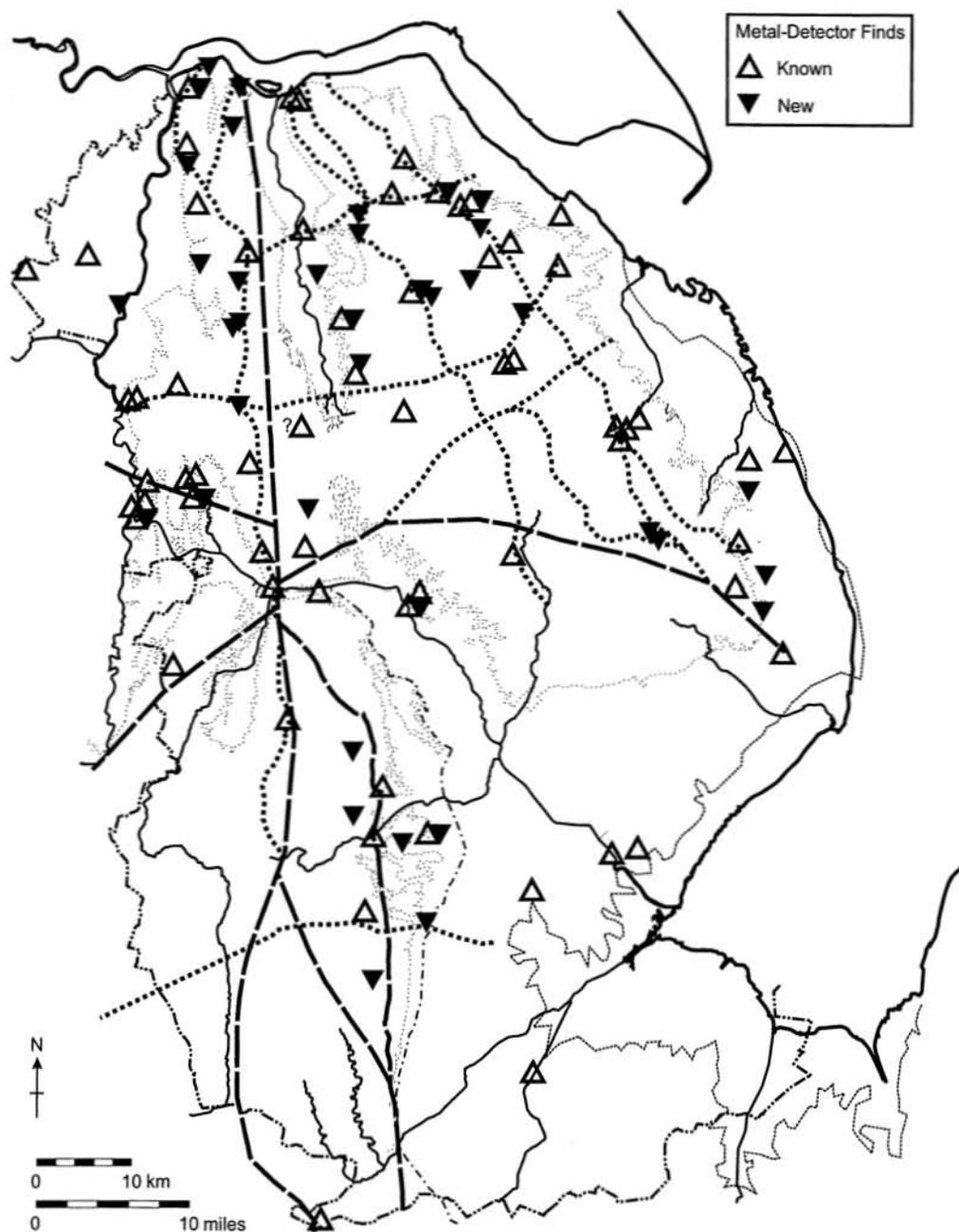


FIG. 5

Middle Anglo-Saxon metal-detector finds from Lincolnshire. The filled triangles indicate new sites and finds recorded by Kevin Leahy (Scunthorpe Database) and not otherwise known from the literature.

would probably have been the former kingdom of Lindsey, and a curious absence of finds (despite metal-detecting) from the fenland areas in the south-east.¹⁸

An extremely important corpus of metal-detector finds compiled over a number of years by Leahy has not only permitted the identification of new findspots (indicated by the filled triangles in figure 5), but also provides important evidence for finds other than coins, such as pins, strap-ends, and other metalwork.¹⁹ Similar so-called 'productive' sites have also increasingly been noticed in other areas of England, most notably along the eastern and southern coasts and the Thames valley.²⁰ However, both the term 'productive' site and the phenomenon it describes have recently come under strong attack from archaeologists, who perceive it as meaningless and have called for its abandonment.²¹ Part of the problem stems from a lack of definition of the term 'productive' or 'prolific' site, which was first introduced by numismatists during the 1980s when a surge of metal-detecting activity and recording led to the recognition of a new type of site, mainly prolific in coin finds.²² Following finds from places like 'Sancton' (Yorkshire), 'near Royston' (Hertfordshire) and Barham (Suffolk), the meaning of the term also came loosely to include other forms of metalwork, although these rarely received much attention.²³ In more recent years use of the term has been broadened further to include excavated (rather than just metal-detected) sites rich in coin and metalwork finds, such as Flixborough.²⁴ Clearly the term 'productive' site is both misleading and biased from an archaeological standpoint, since sites can be productive in many find categories other than coins and metalwork. Moreover, confusion may also arise between a site 'productive' now and one that was producing (or productive of) artefacts then, perhaps better called a production site. Nevertheless,

¹⁸ The reality of this dichotomy, which cannot be solely attributed to biases in the sample or intensity of metal-detecting activity, is discussed in detail in Ulmschneider, *op. cit.* in note 16, ch. 2. For recent debates about the status of early Lindsey and details of further literature see B. Yorke, 'Lindsey: the lost kingdom found?', 141–50 in Vince (ed.), *op. cit.* in note 5; K. Leahy, 'The formation of the Anglo-Saxon kingdom of Lindsey', *Anglo-Saxon Stud. Archaeol. Hist.*, 10 (1999), 127–33.

¹⁹ A provisional overview and discussion of the material in this corpus, which awaits publication by Kevin Leahy, is presented in Ulmschneider, *op. cit.* in note 16, ch. 2.

²⁰ Such 'productive' sites were the subject of a conference in 1990, from which an anticipated publication unfortunately has not appeared. For eastern England see notes 21–4. For southern England see, amongst others, Ulmschneider, *op. cit.* in note 16, ch. 3 (Hampshire) and *id.*, 'History, archaeology, and the Isle of Wight in the Middle Saxon period', *Medieval Archaeol.*, 43 (1999), 19–44. For the Thames, J. Blair, 'The minsters of the Thames', 5–28 in J. Blair and B. Golding (eds.), *The Cloister and the World: Essays in Medieval History in Honour of Barbara Harvey* (Oxford 1996).

²¹ J. Richards, 'What's so special about 'productive sites': Middle Saxon settlements in Northumbria', *Anglo-Saxon Stud. Archaeol. Hist.*, 10 (1999), 71–80, on p. 79.

²² J. Booth, 'Seattas in Northumbria', 71–111 in D. Hill and D. M. Metcalf (eds.), *Seattas in England and on the Continent* (BAR Brit. Ser. 128, Oxford, 1984), at p. 80; M. A. S. Blackburn and M. J. Bonser, 'Single finds of Anglo-Saxon and Norman coins — 3', *Brit. Numis. J.*, 56 (1986), 64–101, esp. 65–9 (for Royston) and on 64, 65 and 80 (for prolific sites); D. A. Hinton, 'Coins and commercial centres in Anglo-Saxon England', 11–26 in M. A. S. Blackburn (ed.), *Anglo-Saxon Monetary History* (Leicester, 1986), at p. 12.

²³ For 'Sancton', J. Booth and I. Blowers, 'Finds of sceattas and stycas from Sancton', *Numism. Chronicle*, 143 (1983), 139–45; K. Leahy, 'Middle Anglo-Saxon metalwork from South Newbald and the 'Productive Site' phenomenon in Yorkshire', and J. Booth, 'Northumbrian coinage and the productive site at South Newbald ('Sancton')' in H. Geake and J. Kenny (eds.), *Early Deira: Archaeological Studies of the East Riding in Yorkshire in the Fourth to Ninth Centuries AD*, forthcoming. For 'Royston', Blackburn and Bonser, *op. cit.* in note 22. For Barham, Suffolk SMR BRH 016 and BRH 108; P. Andrews, 'Middle Saxon Norfolk: evidence for settlement, 650–850', *The Annual*, 1992, 13–28.

²⁴ M. Bonser, 'Fifteen years of coin finds from productive sites', *Yorkshire Numismatist*, 3 (1997), 39–45; Ulmschneider, *op. cit.* in note 16.

the term does usefully describe a large number of particularly metal-detected sites with common characteristics (discussed below), many of which would otherwise be very difficult to classify. While a new, archaeologically more accurate term would be highly welcome, the category of 'productive' sites, as will be seen, is not meaningless, and therefore should not just be abandoned.²⁵ In the following discussion the term 'productive' site is used in the sense understood by numismatists and incorporates all places, whether excavated or metal-detected, that have produced large quantities of coin and metalwork finds. In order to distinguish these sites, it has been proposed to loosely group them into coin and metalwork 'productive' categories, such as 'very productive', 'medium and/or lesser productive', and finally largely 'non-productive' sites (although it must again be stressed that particularly the latter sites may be highly productive in other archaeological remains).²⁶

So what were these 'productive' sites and what was their role in the economy of Middle Saxon Lincolnshire? The evidence discussed here is in three parts. In the first part, certain common characteristics of these sites are suggested, while the second focuses more closely on their functions and economic role. Finally, the third part explores the possible nature of 'productive' sites and their origin and evolution.

SOME CHARACTERISTICS OF 'PRODUCTIVE' SITES IN LINCOLNSHIRE (Fig. 6)²⁷

A glance at figure 6 allows some common characteristics of these 'productive' sites to be recognized. First, and perhaps most notable, is their inland location, situated along the most important routes and lines of communication, such as the Rivers Humber, Trent and Witham, and prehistoric and Roman routes, especially Barton Street, High Street and the route along the Lincoln Cliff.²⁸ Secondly, almost all sites have produced large numbers of 8th- and 9th-century coins, in most cases the only means of dating these places.²⁹ Here the largest centre is Flixborough currently with 69 coins, comprising 29 sceattas of early to mid-8th-century date, twelve pennies of the later 8th to 10th centuries, and 28 brass stycas mainly of mid-9th-century date from Northumbria.³⁰ However, an even more 'productive' site now appears to have been uncovered in the southern parts of the county. At present known only as 'South Lincolnshire', this site has already produced over 90

²⁵ *Contra* Richards, *op. cit.* in note 21, on p. 79.

²⁶ For a more detailed discussion of the background to these categories see Ulmschneider, *op. cit.* in note 16, esp. ch. 4.

²⁷ Due to the sheer quantity of archaeological finds and sites in Lincolnshire, the following evidence has to be cut to a bare minimum. A detailed discussion is, however, provided in Ulmschneider, *op. cit.* in note 16, esp. chs. 2 and 4-6.

²⁸ Smaller routes have been suggested by A. S. B. Owen, 'Roads and Romans in south-east Lindsey: the place-name evidence', 254-68 in A. R. Rumble and A. D. Mills (eds.), *Names, Places, and People: An Onomastic Miscellany in Memory of J. M. Dodgson* (Stamford, 1997).

²⁹ Information based on a collection of coin finds is brought together in Ulmschneider, *op. cit.* in note 16, Appendix 1; M. A. S. Blackburn, 'Coin finds and coin circulation in Lindsey c.600-900', 80-90 in Vince (ed.), *op. cit.* in note 5; Sawyer, *op. cit.* in note 11, 253-61, Appendix 9.

³⁰ Loveluck, *pers. comm.*; Marion Archibald, untitled work in preparation; *id.*, 'Coin assessment report', 181-8 in *Flixborough Middle Saxon Settlement, Excavations 1988-91: Integrated Assessment Report Draft 3, May 1994* (Humberside Archaeology Unit, 1994); Blackburn, *op. cit.* in note 29.

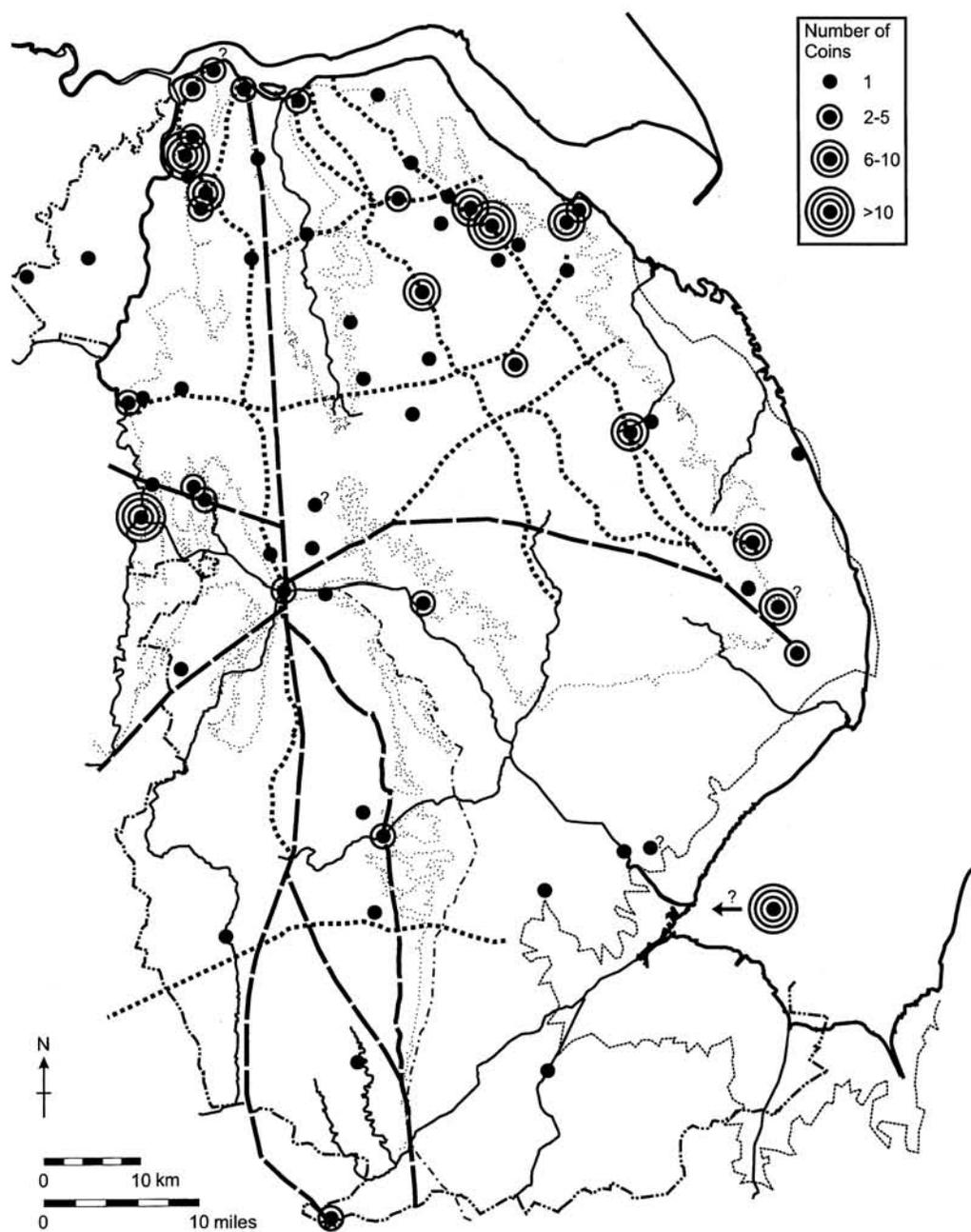


FIG. 6

Middle Anglo-Saxon single coin finds from Lincolnshire (A.D. 650-780), excluding hoards, Alfredian pennies, and nine imprecisely located finds, at least six of which stem from the north of the county. The location of the major 'productive' site (bottom right) known only as 'South Lincolnshire' remains undisclosed.

coins, including an outstanding number of early Merovingian gold tremisses and Continental and English sceattas.³¹ Other 'very productive' places include Torksey with up to 27 coins (including five sceattas, five pennies, and seventeen stycas), and possibly Riby with up to 28 coins (including a sceatt), although, as mentioned above, the latter case is problematic. Smaller centres producing between six and ten Middle Saxon coins seem to cluster in the Wolds, for example at Caistor, 'near Keelby', 'near Grimsby', in the area of Louth,³² from a field at Alford, and perhaps 'near Skegness',³³ while another site, so far producing only sceattas, has been recorded in the area of the limestone escarpment near Scunthorpe.³⁴

A third characteristic of these 'productive' sites is that they invariably seem to produce large amounts of other non-ferrous metalwork. These include amongst other things pins, strap-ends and hooked tags, large quantities of which have been found at Flixborough, with smaller numbers again at Torksey, Riby, and Caistor.³⁵ Fourthly, high-quality and unusual metalwork often appears to be another indicator of 'productive' sites. Examples include the inscribed silver finger-ring and lead plaque from Flixborough, which also produced a very rare example of a silver stylus, or the golden plaque from Brandon (Suffolk).³⁶ Finally, although rarely recorded by metal-detectorists and so far little researched, excavated or fieldwalked 'productive' sites tend to show a presence of ferrous metalwork, as well as occasional evidence for industries and production on these sites. At Flixborough metalworking, carpentry and leatherworking tools, together with the evidence for smelting and smithing, suggest the presence of artisans, and similar suggestions have been made for Cottam (Yorkshire).³⁷

While most of these 'productive' sites therefore share common characteristics, it would be wrong to think that we are dealing with a homogeneous group. Evidence from a small number of excavated or field-walked places in Yorkshire, Suffolk and Norfolk has suggested significant differences in the material assemblages of these sites, such as the presence or absence of large amounts of Ipswich ware, vessel glass or Continental pottery, which cannot simply be explained by differential preservation or only partial recovery.³⁸ Therefore, despite the wealth

³¹ Bonser, *op. cit.* in note 24, 41–2; Sean Miller, *pers. comm.*

³² However, not all of the Louth finds stem from the same site, although one of the locations, which is known but confidential, later became a medieval market. Both the finds from Caistor, and at least some of the ones from 'near Keelby', are known to stem from the parish, while the site 'near Grimsby' is known but confidential at present: Kevin Leahy, *pers. comm.*; Mark Blackburn, *pers. comm.*

³³ This site, which reputedly has been producing large amounts of coins and metalwork, is known but confidential at present: Kevin Leahy, *pers. comm.*

³⁴ Early Medieval Coins (EMC) Internet Database of Mark Blackburn and Sean Miller at the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, at www.fitzmuseum.cam.ac.uk/emc.

³⁵ Information largely based on metalwork finds collected by Kevin Leahy, and brought together in Ulmschneider, *op. cit.* in note 16, Appendix 1; Loveluck 1998, *op. cit.* in note 3; Steedman, *op. cit.* in note 3.

³⁶ L. Webster and J. Backhouse (eds.), *The Making of England, Anglo-Saxon Art and Culture AD 600–900* (London, 1991), 82–3, 95; R. D. Carr et al., 'The Middle Saxon settlement at Staunth Meadow, Brandon', *Antiquity*, 62 (1988), 371–7.

³⁷ D. Haldenby, 'An Anglian site on the Yorkshire Wolds', *Yorks. Archaeol. J.*, 62 (1990), 51–63; *id.*, 'An Anglian site on the Yorkshire Wolds — continued', *Yorks. Archaeol. J.*, 64 (1992), 25–39; *id.*, 'Further Saxon finds from the Yorkshire Wolds', *Yorks. Archaeol. J.*, 66 (1994), 51–6, on p. 51; J. Richards, 'Cottam evaluation', *Yorks. Archaeol. J.*, 66 (1994), 57–8; *id.*, *op. cit.* in note 21.

³⁸ Above, notes 23 and 37.

of artefacts from 'productive' sites, it remains very difficult to pinpoint their exact functions.

However, a few suggestions can be made from the above evidence. In general, the large amount of coinage recovered, only second to those of the great Middle Saxon emporia or *wics*, strongly suggests the active involvement of these 'productive' sites in some form of commerce.³⁹ This also seems to be underlined by the strong element of foreign coin from these sites, with perhaps nearly half of the Flixborough sceattas, and an even larger number from the 'South Lincolnshire' site, originating from the Continent.⁴⁰ At the same time, although regional preferences can sometimes be observed, the wide variety of local and foreign issues found at the 'productive' sites suggests a relatively free movement of coinage to and probably from these places of trade and exchange. The economic role of the 'productive' sites seems also strengthened by their proximity to important land and water routes, while their siting primarily further inland may be a reflection of their function as more localized centres of commerce, such as markets and fairs, not primarily geared towards overseas trade like the more coastal *wics*.⁴¹

POSSIBLE FUNCTIONS OF 'PRODUCTIVE' SITES

What then are the functions and roles that these sites may have performed? As only a few 'productive' sites have been excavated so far, very little is known about their layout and structures, although some information about their function may be derived from an assessment of their surrounding landscape and resources. Here a focus must again be placed on the high-status settlement at Flixborough. A first assessment of the topography, buildings, and industries has suggested that it was a multifunctional site, almost certainly exercising successful local control and exploitation of resources. Industrial activities included large-scale and perhaps specialized textile production, requiring wool and flax which could have been provided by sheep farming on the well-suited limestone of the Lincoln Cliff.⁴² Surplus production or dues may have also provided other resources, such as cattle for meat or, as suggested by the tools, leather.⁴³ The presence of deer and pigs may point to some woodland in the wider area, probably on the adjacent clays, which may also have provided fuel and timber for woodwork. Carpentry tools and finds

³⁹ However, not all coins must necessarily reflect trade. For other mechanisms of commodity movement such as gift-exchange, reciprocity or redistribution see for example C. Doherty, 'Exchange and trade in Early Medieval Ireland', *J. Royal Soc. Antiq. Ireland*, 110 (1980), 67–89; T. M. Charles-Edwards, 'The distinction between land and moveable wealth in Anglo-Saxon England', 180–7 in P. H. Sawyer (ed.), *Medieval Settlement: Continuity and Change* (London, 1976); J. Campbell, 'The sale of land and the economics of power in Early England: problems and possibilities', *Haskins Soc. J.*, 1 (1989), 23–37, esp. 34–7.

⁴⁰ While perhaps up to a third were recognized at Barham: for references see note 23.

⁴¹ A comparison between *wics* and 'productive' sites seems to suggest potentially major differences between these places, including for example a higher number of coins recovered from *wics* and the large quantity but perhaps lower quality (run of the mill) metalwork, the presence of large concentrations and variations in imported pottery, and the apparent absence of certain find types such as exceptional high-status metalwork, or styli at those sites. These are discussed in more detail in Ulmschneider, op. cit. in note 16, ch. 6.

⁴² P. Walton Rogers, 'Industrial processes: textile working assessment report', 71–84 in *Flixborough Middle Saxon Settlement, Excavations 1988–91: Integrated Assessment Report Draft 2, May 1994* (Humberside Archaeology Unit, 1994).

⁴³ C. Loveluck, pers. comm.; P. Ottaway, 'Leather working tools assessment report', 117–22 in *Flixborough Report Draft 2*, op. cit. in note 42.

of iron clench-bolts may, amongst other uses, attest to the building of ships, which, apart from shipping goods, could also account for a marine element within the fish assemblage.⁴⁴ Another resource that may have been exploited were the rich deposits of nearby Frodingham ironstone,⁴⁵ and both iron smelting and smithing are attested at the settlement. With therefore both resources and primary/secondary production close at hand, it is not difficult to see this site involved in trade and exchange. But Flixborough also appears to have served other functions. The settlement may well have controlled an important landing-place on the Trent, and the large amounts of Continental sceattas, imported Continental pottery, lava querns and vessel glass, and the outstanding amount of Ipswich ware, strongly attest to inter-regional (and international) contacts along the east coast and with East Anglia. As already indicated above, a possible 'ecclesiastical' function is still debated, although Loveluck has conceded the possibility that, at least at some point during the Middle Saxon period, between the end of the 8th and the mid-9th centuries, the settlement may have been 'monastic'.⁴⁶

Although not on the same scale as Flixborough, two other 'very productive' sites, at Torksey and possibly at Riby, again appear to have been multifunctional. Torksey certainly served as an important guarding point for entry into Lindsey, and indeed was used as a winter camp by the great Viking army in 872–3.⁴⁷ Excavations at Riby Cross Roads revealed a possible high-status settlement with rare Continental pottery and metalwork, and evidence for industries such as iron and lead working, and cloth production.⁴⁸ Again exploitation of land, resources, and perhaps most importantly location, can be assumed for these sites. Torksey may have profited primarily from its strategic position, guarding entry to the Roman Foss Dyke and therefore to Lincoln. The Dyke at the same time possibly served as an important E.–W. trade and shipping route within Lincolnshire.⁴⁹ Goods could be exchanged at the border, or shipped in both directions along the Trent and further afield, a custom possibly also reflected by recent finds of fragments of 8th- to 9th-century Islamic dirhams, and, at a slightly later date, Viking coin weights.⁵⁰ Similar practices are recorded in *Domesday Book*. At that date toll was levied on entering and leaving Torksey, and navigation as far as York is attested.⁵¹ Other 'productive' sites, such as Riby, 'near Skegness', or 'near Keelby', apart from crop growing and animal husbandry, may have exploited the excellent meadows and pastures of the Wolds, marshlands and fens for wool production.⁵²

⁴⁴ K. Leahy, 'The Flixborough hoard', *Current Archaeol.*, 141 (1994–5), 352; Loveluck 1998, op. cit. in note 3, 155–6 also includes evidence for dolphin and whale bones; *Flixborough Report Draft 3*, op. cit. in note 30, 189–201.

⁴⁵ This was still being mined at the beginning of the 20th century, when an Early Saxon cemetery was destroyed at Bagmoor, Burton upon Stather: K. Leahy, 'The Anglo-Saxon settlement of Lindsey', 29–44 in Vince (ed.), op. cit. in note 5, at p. 39.

⁴⁶ C. Loveluck, pers. comm. For the difficulties of identifying ecclesiastical sites solely from archaeological remains see Ulmschneider, op. cit. in note 16, ch. 5.

⁴⁷ *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, ed. and trans. G. N. Garmonsway (London, 1972), s.a. 873 [872].

⁴⁸ Steedman, op. cit. in note 3, pp. 247–9 for a Merovingian vessel, and p. 264 for a caterpillar brooch.

⁴⁹ A coin of Offa was found 'in the Foss Dyke': Blackburn, op. cit. in note 29, 89.

⁵⁰ Kevin Leahy, pers. comm.

⁵¹ *Domesday Book: Lincolnshire*, P. Morgan and C. Thorn (eds.), (Chichester, 1986), 337a (T1).

⁵² H. C. Darby, *The Domesday Geography of Eastern England* (Cambridge, 1952), 60–4, fig. 13 on p. 63, for concentrations of meadow, heavily exploited particularly during the Middle Ages; at Riby there may also be evidence for specialized rearing of cattle: Steedman, op. cit. in note 3, esp. 295–6.

By the 11th century wool had developed into one of the foremost industries in Lincolnshire, with centres at Lincoln, Stamford, and to a lesser extent Louth in the Wolds.⁵³

Apart from these relatively few coin-rich sites, a large number of 'medium' and 'lesser productive' places have also been noticed in Lincolnshire, with yields of up to ten coins.⁵⁴ According to their function these sites can be classified into two groups. The first comprises places that from either their place-names, written sources or archaeological evidence betray an early ecclesiastical function and may have acted as foci for markets and fairs. These include sites such as the formerly united Stow and Sturton by Stow, Bardney, the area of Louth, and the Roman walled town of Caistor.⁵⁵ For most of these sites, apart from parish locations, the exact findspots of the coins are unfortunately unknown, and therefore may not have been directly associated with the churches. Indeed metal-detecting is much more likely to take place outside built-up towns such as Caistor. This, however, does not necessarily have to weaken the suggested association between church and market. Here, important comparative evidence is provided by the probable monastic sites at Caistor-by-Norwich and Burgh Castle (Norfolk),⁵⁶ where market or exchange sites, signified by concentrations of (often Continental) coins, have been found to lie away from the main settlement areas, outside the Roman walled town and fort.⁵⁷ Similar arrangements of markets located at the gates of monasteries, or outside the inner ecclesiastical precincts, have also been suggested at Whithorn (Galloway), and, more tentatively, at Whitby (Yorkshire).⁵⁸ As with the 'very productive' sites in Lincolnshire, these ecclesiastical and market places again were very well connected, and may have served multiple purposes. Caistor in Lincolnshire overlooked the valley of the Ancholme, and toll was taken there at Domesday, while Louth provided an early bridging point. Like other sites along the Wolds, both places may again have been involved in the production of wool. It appears that with much of the Lincolnshire coast surrounded by marshes, Barton

⁵³ Discussed in detail by G. Platts, *Land and People in Medieval Lincolnshire* (Lincoln, 1985), 126–8.

⁵⁴ An apparent gap has been noted between sites producing ten or less, and twenty or more coins: discussed further in Ulmschneider, *op. cit.* in note 16, ch. 4.

⁵⁵ The latter two have also produced rare Merovingian gold coins: see below, n. 124. Also D. Stocker, 'The early church in Lincolnshire', 112–13 in Vince (ed.), *op. cit.* in note 5. For a recent re-interpretation of early Louth see A. E. B. Owen, 'Louth before Domesday', *Lincs. Hist. Archaeol.*, 32 (1997), 60–4.

⁵⁶ This was the likely site of the early monastery of *Cnobheresburgh*: Bede, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, ed. and trans. B. Colgrave and R. A. B. Mynors, *Bede's Ecclesiastical History of the English People* (Oxford, 1969), III.19.

⁵⁷ Andrews, *op. cit.* in note 23, 21–3, on p. 22.

⁵⁸ Although at present it remains difficult to define markets clearly from the archaeological record, the large concentration of coinage found on these sites, and their location close to important lines of communication, strongly suggest such an interpretation. For Whithorn see P. Hill, *Whithorn and St Ninian: The Excavation of a Monastic Town 1984–91* (Stroud, 1997), esp. 35–8, 352–5; E. Pirie, 'The early medieval coins', *ibid.* 332–6. More finds may be expected from the unexcavated port and harbour of Whithorn: *ibid.* 5–6. For a discussion of the site within its wider context see J. R. Maddicott, 'Two frontier states: Northumbria and Wessex c.650–750', 25–45 in J. R. Maddicott and D. M. Palliser (eds.), *The Medieval State: Essays Presented to James Campbell* (London, 2000). For the complicated evidence from Whitby see R. J. Cramp, 'Monastic sites', 201–52 in D. M. Wilson (ed.), *The Archaeology of Anglo-Saxon England* (Cambridge, 1976), 228 and fig. 5.7 on pp. 224–5 for a very large number of coins found in Sections 34–9, possibly separated from the main church site by a path or highly tentative *vallum monasterii*, and not in an area associated with burial: *id.*, 'Analysis of the finds register and location plan of Whitby Abbey', *ibid.* 453–7, on pp. 455 and 457. While other explanations may be put forward for this distribution pattern, the outstanding number of 150 coins from Whitby strongly suggests some commercial function for the site. See Leahy, *op. cit.* in note 23, for a comparison of the suggested ecclesiastical and market site at Newbald with Whitby.

Street in particular gained importance as a major route of trade, as may be suggested by the frequent finds of Frisian sceattas of Series E along its course. Bardney, located close to the Witham, overlooked another important route of access into Lincoln and Lindsey, as would Stow have done, situated along Tillbridge Lane.⁵⁹

No ecclesiastical function can at present be observed for the second group of 'medium' and 'lesser productive' sites. These places seem to incorporate a wide range of market and exchange sites, such as South Ferriby and Winteringham on the Humber, although the former is now beginning to produce increasing amounts of finds.⁶⁰ These sites probably served multiple functions, including as fording points and important ferry crossings (Fig. 2). At Domesday two ferries are mentioned for South Ferriby, one crossing the Humber to North Ferriby, the other probably the wide floodplain of the Ancholme to Winteringham, which also possessed a ferry.⁶¹ Both places also guarded important lines of entry into Lindsey, like the Ancholme, Ermine Street, the Jurassic Way and High Street, while another ferry was recorded for Barton, an important entry point into Barton Street and the Wolds.⁶² As can be seen from the 10-m contour line (Fig. 6), only three areas of higher ground reach the Humber, and all appear to have been followed by early routes. The specific location of places like Winteringham, South Ferriby and Barton/Barrow on this higher ground may therefore have provided not only a guard to these inland routes, but also have permitted a full view of movements along the Humber border with Northumbria, which had been fiercely contested only a few decades earlier in the 'great battle' of the Trent in 679.⁶³ But whatever their multiple functions, boundary places like South Ferriby or Barton/Barrow (the latter also an important early ecclesiastical site) must have always provided excellent points for trade or exchange. This seems to be corroborated by rare Frankish imports and a set of scales and weights from the Castledyke South cemetery at Barton.⁶⁴ Situated close to the Wolds, both Barton and South Ferriby could easily have been supplied with goods such as wool, hides or the 'bread, fishes, skins, and very many other things' recorded in *Domesday Book* on which no toll had formerly been levied.⁶⁵

Trade and exchange would have also taken place at other prominent points in the landscape, not all of which can be identified here. Wherever people assembled, as at hundred courts, wapentake meeting places or royal vill, an opportunity for exchange would arise.⁶⁶ The account of Danish invaders mistaken for merchants by a king's reeve and invited to a royal vill speaks for itself.⁶⁷ Some places of this

⁵⁹ At Domesday the latter also possessed ironworks, *Domesday*, op. cit. in note 51, 344a (7.1), 360d (30.29).

⁶⁰ Kevin Leahy, pers. comm.

⁶¹ *Domesday*, op. cit. in note 51, 354b (23.1), 354c (24.14) for South Ferriby, 354c (24.12) for Winteringham; B. Eagles, 'Lindsey', 202–12 in Bassett (ed.), op. cit. in note 10, at p. 205.

⁶² *Domesday*, op. cit. in note 51, 354c (24.12–14).

⁶³ Bede, op. cit. in note 56, IV.21.

⁶⁴ G. Drinkall and M. Foreman (eds.), *The Anglo-Saxon Cemetery at Castledyke South, Barton-on-Humber* (Sheffield, 1998), esp. p. 291 for scales and weights, p. 295 for a Frankish hanging-bowl, and p. 311 for a Frankish jug; C. Scull, 'Scales and weights in Early Anglo-Saxon England', *Archaeol. J.*, 147 (1990), 183–215.

⁶⁵ *Domesday*, op. cit. in note 51, 355d (CN1).

⁶⁶ B. Yorke, *Wessex in the Middle Ages* (London, 1995), 125 for prominent meeting places.

⁶⁷ A. Campbell (ed.), *The Chronicle of Æthelweard* (London, 1962), 26–7.

second category of 'productive' sites may eventually turn out to have had early churches, but more importantly their range of finds and their important location within the landscape, similar to the ecclesiastical sites, strongly suggests active involvement in marketing and trade.

A similar system, although at present much less pronounced, appears to have existed in South Lincolnshire. Here, apart from the single extremely 'productive' site identified only as 'South Lincolnshire',⁶⁸ 'medium' and 'lesser productive' sites can perhaps best be observed skirting around the fenland. These seem to include settlements on or close to the fen edge, like Sleaford, Quarrington or Osbournby, and others mainly following the 10-m contour line. Partial excavations at the latter two have produced evidence of occasional timber buildings, cloth production and metalworking.⁶⁹ However, Continental imports and high-status finds from some of these fen-edge sites, such as a Carolingian strap-end from Loughton parish or a silver ring from a site further to the north, as well as the increasing number of coins from Sleaford, suggest places of higher importance, while at the same time probably serving as a reflection of the economic wealth of the fenlands.⁷⁰

Produce and trade in local foodstuffs and commodities appears to have been another important factor in the success of 'productive' sites, and at Domesday concentrations of fisheries could be found along the Witham, Bain, the Isle of Axholme and in the fenland.⁷¹ Salt was extracted from earliest times along the Lincolnshire coast and fens,⁷² and brought inland along local routes such as Salter's Way,⁷³ while limestone quarried around Ancaster has been found in late 8th- and 9th-century ecclesiastical contexts in South Lincolnshire.⁷⁴

Compared to the apparent wealth of some fen-edge sites, metalwork or coins at present appear to be almost completely absent from sites within the fenland, despite the metal-detecting carried out during the Fenland Survey.⁷⁵ Attention has already been drawn to differences in settlement pattern and nucleation between these two areas, and such differences can also be observed in their finds assemblage. Figure 3 shows that whereas Maxey and other Middle Saxon wares have been found throughout the Fenland Survey area, Ipswich ware at present seems to be restricted to the coastal group, and a similar observation can be made for querns, suggesting some connections of these sites with coastal trading networks.⁷⁶ These

⁶⁸ Bonser, *op. cit.* in note 24.

⁶⁹ F. Coupland, *Interim Summary of Results of Excavations on Land North of Town Road, Quarrington, Lincolnshire* (Sleaford, 1994); C. Mahany, 'A Saxon site at Osbournby', *South Lincs. Archaeol.*, 1 (1977), 26–7.

⁷⁰ Ulmschneider, *op. cit.* in note 16, chs. 2 and 4.

⁷¹ A. J. White, 'Medieval fisheries in the Witham and its tributaries', *Lincs. Hist. Archaeol.*, 19 (1984), 29–35; Platts, *op. cit.* in note 53, 125–6.

⁷² K. W. De Brisay and K. A. Evans (eds.), *Salt, the Study of an Ancient Industry* (Colchester, 1975); Darby, *op. cit.* in note 52, fig. 16 on p. 71.

⁷³ For other potential routes see Owen, *op. cit.* in note 28, fig. 18 on p. 257. The names were first recorded long after the 11th century: Salterford (Nottinghamshire), twelve miles from Newark, is named in *Domesday Book*, suggesting that Lincolnshire salt was distributed inland long before the Conquest: Sawyer, *op. cit.* in note 11, 21.

⁷⁴ In a mid-9th-century context at Edenham, H. M. Taylor and J. Taylor, 'The Anglo-Saxon church at Edenham, Lincolnshire', *J. Brit. Archaeol. Assoc.*, 26 (1963), 6–10, and in a late 8th- or early 9th-century context at South Kyme: Stocker, *op. cit.* in note 55, 112–13; P. L. Everson and D. Stocker, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture V, Lincolnshire* (Oxford, 1999), 248–51.

⁷⁵ For example T. Lane, 'The fenland project in Lincolnshire: recent evaluations', *Fenland Research*, 1993 (1994), 40–2, on p. 40.

⁷⁶ Ulmschneider, *op. cit.* in note 16, ch. 4; P. Blinkhorn, *The Ipswich Ware Project* (London, forthcoming).

'non-productive' places are perhaps most likely to represent scattered hamlets or farmsteads at the bottom of the settlement hierarchy. Described in Felix's 8th-century *Life of St Guthlac* as 'full of marshes, foul running streams, and islands', the fenland nevertheless would have been of some economic importance in supporting sites such as Gosberton 22.⁷⁷ Here partial excavations revealed ditches, pits, and the remains of a building, while plant remains suggested the cultivation of crops. Perhaps the most notable feature of this and other fen sites, however, is the presence of large amounts of animal bone. Sometimes exhibiting butchery marks, these bones perhaps point to organized slaughtering, while gullies with ashy fills may have been connected with salt-extraction for the preservation of meat or hides.⁷⁸ Could some of these sites, with their very small amounts of pottery, have been seasonal in character and used only for the summer rearing and pasturing of stock, as has been suggested for some fenland sites in Norfolk?⁷⁹ Apart from animal stock, the natural resources of the fenland also included wildfowl, thatch, oysters and mussels from the sea, as well as fish, and it may have been these, or similar goods, that would have been exchanged for the querns or other products arriving with the Ipswich ware. The suggestion of seasonal occupation may also help to explain another problem: the so far almost complete absence of metalwork from the sites surveyed and metal-detected by the Fenland Project. If many of these sites were indeed seasonal farmsteads, mainly involved in animal husbandry, an absence of metalwork might not be too surprising, particularly when viewed against the background of the apparently more widespread absence of such finds which has already been noted for South Lincolnshire.⁸⁰

In summary, a few observations may be made from the above survey. First, a variety of new types of sites for trade and exchange can now be seen to have emerged alongside the large emporia during the Middle Saxon period — the 'productive' sites. Not mentioned in written sources, a closer assessment of the finds from these sites has begun to suggest the existence of some form of settlement hierarchy not only between *wics* and 'productive' sites, but possibly also between 'very productive', 'medium' and/or 'lesser productive', and finally 'non-productive' sites.⁸¹ Secondly, a closer assessment of the locations, structures and finds from these 'productive' sites in Lincolnshire has indicated their strong involvement in the local economy, as well as their other potential functions such as guarding stations for important routes of access. Much of the wealth of these sites appears to have been derived from intensive and successful exploitation of their location and surrounding landscape. Here access to, and possibly control of, resources would have played an important role, alongside good local and inter-regional communications, and in some cases the strategic positioning of the site. Thirdly, a survey of the

⁷⁷ *Felix's Life of St Guthlac*, ed. and trans. B. Colgrave (Cambridge, 1956), ch. 24. *Heritage Lincs. Second Ann. Rep.*, (1992), 24–5; id. *Third Ann. Rep.*, (1993), 30–1; Hayes and Lane, op. cit. in note 8, 59, fig. 32 on p. 61.

⁷⁸ For the preservation of hides with salt see S. Bennett and N. Bennett (eds.), *A Historical Atlas of Lincolnshire* (Hull, 1993), esp. 26–9.

⁷⁹ R. J. Silvester, *Fenland Project 3, Norfolk Survey: Marshland and Nar Valley* (East Anglian Archaeol., 45, Norfolk, 1988), 158.

⁸⁰ Further explored in Ulmschneider, op. cit. in note 16, ch. 2.

⁸¹ Ulmschneider, op. cit. in note 16, ch. 4.

rare excavated sites has begun to point to the involvement of some 'productive' sites in secondary production, as well as the presence of skilled labour.⁸²

GENERAL THEORIES ON THE POSSIBLE NATURE AND DEVELOPMENT OF 'PRODUCTIVE' SITES

So what was the possible nature of these sites, and what about their origin and evolution in the landscape? The preceding survey of 'productive' sites in Lincolnshire has already hinted at some involvement of the church, which needs to be explored in a more general historical context. Indicators of the importance of the church in the economy are now mounting from a variety of sources. One hint may be provided by the evidence for exploitation and control of local resources, which points to land playing an important part in the economy. It can be shown that in Middle Saxon times the church had started to evolve as a great owner of land, thanks to large and continuous grants from kings. In Lindsey, an estate of 50 hides, for example, was given to St Chad for the endowment of a monastery *aet Bearuwe* in 669.⁸³ Such an estate would certainly have had the capacity to produce surpluses to be sold or exchanged at markets or fairs. At the same time, the church was clearly involved in secondary production, as the evidence for workshops and industrial production at sites like Whitby (Yorkshire) or Hartlepool (Co. Durham) suggests.⁸⁴ Skilled workers such as glaziers are recorded for Monkwearmouth/Jarrow (Co. Durham), while smiths would have manufactured liturgical vessels and crafted other artefacts, including the jewellery, glass, or objects decorated with precious stones which adorned churches like the one described by Æthelwulf in *De Abbatibus*.⁸⁵ Churches also provided stable focal points. As seen from the numerous later laws against Sunday trade and prohibiting markets and fairs in churchyards, churches' services and feast days would have provided good opportunities for trade and exchange, as well as regularly attracting large crowds of people.⁸⁶ These may also have included foreigners or pilgrims, the latter numerous enough on the Continent to prompt the exemption of basic foodstuffs like bread, meat or wine from the prohibitions on Sunday trading.⁸⁷ Storage space and safety may have been other important aspects of ecclesiastical sites, and some Irish monasteries seem to have functioned as repositories for grain and all sorts of secular wealth.⁸⁸

⁸² At Flixborough industries included large-scale textile production, metalworking, leather working and carpentry, and similar industries have been observed at Brandon (Suffolk).

⁸³ Bede, op. cit. in note 56, IV.3, 16.

⁸⁴ C. Peers, et al., 'The Saxon monastery at Whitby', *Archaeologia*, 89 (1943), 27–88; R. Daniels, 'The Anglo-Saxon monastery at Church Close, Hartlepool, Cleveland', *Archaeol. J.*, 145 (1988), 158–210.

⁸⁵ Æthelwulf, *De Abbatibus*, ed. A. Campbell (Oxford, 1967), 6, 7, 20, A.D. 803/21; C. R. Dodwell, *Anglo-Saxon Art: A New Perspective* (Ithaca, 1982); a smith is mentioned in Bede, op. cit. in note 56, V.14.

⁸⁶ P. H. Sawyer, 'Fairs and markets in early medieval England', 153–68 in N. Skyum-Nielsen and N. Lund (eds.), *Danish Medieval History: New Currents* (Copenhagen, 1981); id., 'Early fairs and markets in England and Scandinavia', 59–77 in B. L. Anderson and A. J. H. Latham (eds.), *The Market in History* (London, 1986).

⁸⁷ P. Johaneck, 'Der fränkische Handel der Karolingerzeit im Spiegel der Schriftquellen', 7–68 in K. Düwel et al. (eds.), *Untersuchungen zu Handel und Verkehr der Vor- und Frühgeschichtlichen Zeit in Mittel- und Nordeuropa Teil IV: Der Handel der Karolinger- und Wikingerzeit* (Göttingen, 1987), esp. nn. 190–2 on p. 43.

⁸⁸ H. Mytum, *The Origins of Early Christian Ireland* (London, 1992), 195–6. For an example at Kildare in the mid-7th century, see Doherty, op. cit. in note 39, 72.

In addition, the church was able to offer the protection of the local saint, in a similar way as royal protection was offered by law to merchants and traders.⁸⁹

That the relationship between ecclesiastical places and the sites of markets and fairs in Lincolnshire was successful may be suggested from later sources such as *Domesday Book*, where five of the seven markets recorded in Lincolnshire — Partney, Louth, Barton on Humber, Kirton in Lindsey and Threkingham — had ‘significant [early] religious associations’.⁹⁰ In the case of Threkingham, the market may be identified with an important fair on the feast day of St Ætheldreda, held in medieval and probably also much earlier times at Stow Green, the likely site of her late 7th-century monastery.⁹¹ In addition, up to the 12th century, ‘most [Lincolnshire] markets’ still ‘seem to have been held on a Sunday’,⁹² while in the 13th and 14th century some of the larger or twice yearly fairs, such as Kirton in Lindsey, Spalding, Crowland, Barton, Partney or South Kyme, were ‘promoted by influential families or religious houses’.⁹³ Wool appears to have been one, if not the major, export of the time and surviving contracts, such as the one between the Italian merchant Pegoletti and thirty-four Lincolnshire monastic houses (and three others) for the supply of 570 sacks (over 92 tons) of wool, illustrates the strong involvement of religious houses and lands in both production and trade.⁹⁴

Perhaps some of the success of ecclesiastical sites, visible in the scale and continuity of grants of land, may be explained by the church not being perceived as a competitor or immediate threat to the power of kings, at least initially.⁹⁵ Without military force, the church relied on the king to provide wealth, security and peace, and in return would have granted heavenly sanctions, salvation and prestige.⁹⁶ But the emergent church also caused fundamental changes, not only in religious beliefs, but also in more practical aspects of life, such as the introduction of bookland for the provisioning of the community.⁹⁷ For self-sufficiency, constant agricultural work and management of local resources was needed. This included provisioning with foodstuffs, clothes or remedies, which would have had a strong influence on the local economy. At the same time the building of churches, particularly if modelled on Continental counterparts of stone with windows of glass, required a workforce as well as considerable expertise, which sometimes, like

⁸⁹ For example as attested by the *Law of St Cuthbert* or laws of kings such as Ine, Sawyer 1986, op. cit. in note 86, 64, with details. For other ‘protected’ places in and around religious sites also see W. Davies, ‘“Protected space” in Britain and Ireland in the Middle Ages’, 1–19 in B. E. Crawford (ed.), *Scotland in Dark Age Britain* (Aberdeen, 1996).

⁹⁰ Only the market at Bolingbroke was recorded as new: Sawyer 1986, op. cit. in note 86, 65. See also Sawyer, op. cit. in note 11, 174–8.

⁹¹ D. Roffe, ‘The seventh century monastery of Stow Green, Lincolnshire’, *Lincs. Hist. Archaeol.*, 21 (1986), 31–3; A. White, *Stow Green Fair*, Lincoln Museum Information Sheet 2 (Lincoln, 1979). It has also been suggested that the place-name element *stōw* may indicate a market: Sawyer 1986, op. cit. in note 86, 66; M. Gelling, ‘Some meanings of stow’, 187–96, in S. M. Pearce (ed.), *The Early Church in Western Britain and Ireland* (BAR Brit. Ser. 102, Oxford, 1982), at pp. 191 and 193–4.

⁹² Platts, op. cit. in note 53, 139, fig. 47 on p. 136.

⁹³ *Ibid.*, 143–4, fig. 50 on p. 142.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, 147; D. Owen, *Church and Society in Medieval Lincolnshire* (Lincoln, 1981), 66.

⁹⁵ R. Hodges, *Dark Age Economics: The Origins of Towns and Trade AD 600–1000* (London, 1982), 191, argues for a later ‘struggle to gain superiority over the church’, as suggested by the diminishing amount of *wergild* to be paid for ecclesiastics in comparison to the king in the laws of Alfred.

⁹⁶ P. Wormald, ‘The age of Bede and Æthelbald’, 70–100, in J. Campbell (ed.), *The Anglo-Saxons* (London, 1982), esp. 97–9.

⁹⁷ E. John, *Land Tenure in Early England* (Leicester, 1960).

the glaziers of Monkwearmouth/Jarrow, had to be imported directly from the Continent.⁹⁸ Apart from building and subsistence, the liturgy also created new demands for rare goods, for example wine and oil, but also vestments and liturgical vessels.⁹⁹ The church therefore had a clear need for imports of luxury goods, but most of its other essential needs, as for example building stone, lead for roofing, or skins for parchment, would have been met by inter-regional trade, commodity movement of renders or gifts,¹⁰⁰ or through local exploitation of nearby resources, and, very importantly, the presence of skilled craftsmen and industries. It was these artisans who would have made possible not only the secondary production of luxury goods for the church, but also the manufacture of higher status utilitarian goods. Like the cloaks mentioned in Charlemagne's famous letter to Offa, or perhaps the textiles from Flixborough, these could then be more widely exported.¹⁰¹

Finally, indications that the church would have played an important and perhaps preferential role in trade may also be deduced from contemporary written sources. Here Susan Kelly has drawn attention to a collection of about ten charters, dating from the 8th century, which refer to 'remissions of toll on ships owned by ecclesiastics and religious communities'.¹⁰² Apart from these toll exemptions on trade ships, other charters also suggest that religious communities held land near, or even within, the *wics*. In 672–4 Chertsey Abbey (Surrey), for example, was granted land 'by the port of London, where ships put in'.¹⁰³ In 857 the *Ceolmundinghaga* estate was purchased by the bishop of Worcester *in vico Lundonie*, together with the right to free use of 'the scale and weights and measures as is customary in the port'.¹⁰⁴

While strong similarities in their nature can therefore be observed between 'productive' and ecclesiastical sites, it might nevertheless be argued that much of the above evidence and arguments could also apply to royal sites, which are unfortunately less well recorded in written sources. Here potentially very important insights can be provided by the almost totally ignored comparative textual evidence from the Continent. There a preferential treatment of the church has also been suggested, based on a much more sophisticated, though essentially similar,

⁹⁸ C. Plummer (ed.), *Historia Abbatum, Venerabilis Baedae Opera Historica*, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1896), I.5 and 6; Bede, op. cit. in note 56, V.21. For a Continental example see A. Bauch (ed.), 'Das Leben des Hl. Wynnebald', *Quellen zur Geschichte der Diözese Eichstätt Band 1, Biographien der Gründungszeit* (Eichstätt, 1984), on p. 153; also L. E. von Padberg, *Mission und Christianisierung: Formen und Folgen bei Angelsachsen und Franken im 6. und 8. Jahrhundert* (Stuttgart, 1995), 288–99.

⁹⁹ S. Foot, Anglo-Saxon Minsters A.D. 597–c. 900 (unpubl. Ph.D. thesis, Cambridge University, 1990), 218–19.

¹⁰⁰ C. Loveluck, 'Acculturation, migration, and exchange: the formation of an Anglo-Saxon society in the English Peak District, 400–700 A.D.', 84–98 in J. Bintliff and H. Hamerow (eds.), *Europe Between Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages* (BAR Int. Ser. 617, Oxford, 1995), esp. 90–1.

¹⁰¹ D. Whitelock (ed.), *English Historical Documents I, c.500–1042* (London, 1979), no. 197 on pp. 848–9.

¹⁰² S. Kelly, 'Trading privileges from eighth-century England', *Early Medieval Europe*, 1.1 (1992), 3–28, on pp. 3–4.

¹⁰³ P. H. Sawyer, *Anglo-Saxon Charters: An Annotated List and Bibliography* (London, 1968), no. 1165; M. Biddle, 'A city in transition: 400–800', 25 in M. D. Lobel (ed.), *The City of London: From Prehistoric Times to c.1520. The British Atlas of Historic Towns Vol. III* (Oxford, 1989).

¹⁰⁴ Biddle, op. cit. in note 103, 29; for an alternative location, Kelly, op. cit. in note 102, 12.

system.¹⁰⁵ As in Anglo-Saxon England, during the Merovingian and Carolingian periods toll exemptions were granted on the transport of goods, on certain ports or areas, or on ships and carts.¹⁰⁶ In addition, Continental sources record the granting to churches of toll proceeds from markets and toll stations. Similarities also appear to have existed in the landholding practices of religious communities. On the Continent, scattered parts of large ecclesiastical estates can be found close to or at important shipping places, ports or rivers, and similar evidence is provided by the bishop of Worcester's holding in London, or at Whithorn and Lindisfarne.¹⁰⁷ Such grants and exemptions, as the Continental sources suggest, were not at random, and would probably have been made in order to allow acquisition of important items, such as wine or salt for better self-sufficiency of religious communities. But at the same time the constant need for goods, the wide spread of land-holdings — establishing important networks of communications — and the exemptions from tolls, favoured the church's involvement in trade and profit. It has been argued by Kelly that the reasons behind the grants of toll exemption for churches may have been very different in Anglo-Saxon England, and that the brevity of grants may indicate an 'aberration'.¹⁰⁸ However, with much of her argument based on negative evidence,¹⁰⁹ and the existence of strong similarities between the two areas, it seems much more likely that Continental practices would have served as an important example and were probably adopted. That the Frankish toll system was well known in Anglo-Saxon England is also suggested by the incident recorded in Charlemagne's letter to Offa, which describes Anglo-Saxon traders disguising as pilgrims on the Continent in order to avoid toll.¹¹⁰

It therefore appears that with their wide communication, information, and transportation networks, toll exemptions, and in some cases artisan production, Continental and English churches would have enjoyed an advantageous trade situation for a certain amount of goods in certain specified areas. These networks may also have included or been improved by the close connections of bishops, abbots and abbesses with kings and royal palaces. Although early market grants to churches have not survived in England, the strong association between many of the markets recorded in *Domesday Book* and formerly important religious sites has frequently been noted. Many other markets and fairs probably came into existence and vanished without ever being recorded, depending on local needs, landholding,

¹⁰⁵ For slight variations in detail, Kelly, *op. cit.* in note 102, 22–6. Here comparative archaeological evidence is still badly needed. See for example articles on German sites such as Soest, Höxter, Minden, Münster, Osnabrück and Balhorn in C. Stiegemann and M. Wemhoff (eds.), *799 Kunst und Kultur der Karolingerzeit: Karl der Große und Papst Leo III. in Paderborn* (Mainz, 1999), 365–405; P. Demolon, H. Galinié, and F. Verhaeghe (eds.), *Archéologie des villes dans le Nord-Ouest de l'Europe (VIIe–XIIIe siècle)* (Douai, 1994); H. B. Clarke and A. Simms (eds.), *The Comparative History of Urban Origins in Non-Roman Europe* (BAR Int. Ser. 255, Oxford, 1985).

¹⁰⁶ Johaneck, *op. cit.* in note 87, 44–55.

¹⁰⁷ Hill, *op. cit.* in note 58, 5 for the bishop possessing a large farm on the landward side of the Isle of Whithorn bay and harbour in the 9th/10th centuries. For the holdings and vills of the see of Lindisfarne see I. M. Smith, 'Patterns of settlement and land use in the Late Anglian period in the Tweed Basin', 178–81, in M. L. Faull (ed.), *Studies in Late Anglo-Saxon Settlement* (Oxford, 1984), esp. fig. 2 on p. 179.

¹⁰⁸ Kelly, *op. cit.* in note 102, 25.

¹⁰⁹ Sawyer 1981, *op. cit.* in note 86, 157 for a lack of charters for Lincoln and Hamwic.

¹¹⁰ Whitelock, *op. cit.* in note 101, no. 197 on pp. 848–9. Similarly, direct contacts existed between monasteries, as well as over ecclesiastical and royal delegates: Johaneck, *op. cit.* in note 87, 52–3, n. 252 on p. 53.

changes of trade networks, or political reasons.¹¹¹ This lack of early written sources also obviates any recognition of the diversity of markets and fairs, their networks, hierarchy, and mobility, all of which are more clearly attested on the Continent.¹¹² However, the newly evolving archaeological evidence for 'productive' sites and their differences may now point to just such a variety.

Furthermore, on the Continent it has been shown that the *villa*-markets of monastic houses only rarely exhibited central-place functions, and would not always have evolved into central places.¹¹³ Could the 'productive' sites then represent the remains of vanished markets and fairs connected with church sites?¹¹⁴ As has been shown, the churches' needs and role would certainly seem to fit well with the picture presented on 'productive' sites, in terms of location, communication, and involvement in trade. However, this is not to argue that all 'productive' sites would necessarily have had ecclesiastical origins, since, in addition to the *wics*, kings would have had similar resources and networks,¹¹⁵ although perhaps not similar incentives. But the church may nevertheless have inadvertently been at an advantage, since, in contrast to the fluctuating royal villas, it may have created more stable, populous and long-lasting foci in the landscape, many of which in England and on the Continent provided the nucleus of later towns.¹¹⁶ Similarly, the church's toll exemptions and other trade privileges may have also put it at an advantage against any other possible secular competitor (although this may partly be a chance of survival).¹¹⁷

The suggestion that a large number of the 'productive' sites could have been church-related may finally also go some way towards explaining why 'productive' sites appear to have evolved at this particular point in time.¹¹⁸ The introduction and success of Christianity brought far-reaching changes, not only in terms of new religious beliefs, but also in practical areas such as landholding, and through an influx of new ideas and rites. With its novel concepts of kingship, and politically exploitable tools such as baptismal sponsorship, the church provided support to kings in terms of legitimization and sanctification of their rule.¹¹⁹ Such support and authorization would have been particularly important at a time when kingdoms

¹¹¹ As also later recognized in the laws of Æthelstan and Edward the Elder: Sawyer 1981, op. cit. in note 86, 160.

¹¹² Johaneck, op. cit. in note 87, 25.

¹¹³ W. Schlesinger, 'Der Markt als Frühform der deutschen Stadt', 262–93 in H. Jankuhn, et al. (eds.), *Vor- und Frühformen der Europäischen Stadt im Mittelalter* (Göttingen, 1973); T. Endemann, *Markturkunde und Markt in Frankreich und Burgund vom 9. bis 11. Jahrhundert* (Konstanz, 1964), at p. 269; Johaneck, op. cit. in note 87, 54–5.

¹¹⁴ For important evidence from Newbald see Leahy, op. cit. in note 23.

¹¹⁵ At Paderborn, around 776, an important *aula regalis* and church existed side by side, although the *aula* appears to have been used only intermittently: S. Gai, 'Die Pfalz Karls des Großen in Paderborn: Ihre Entwicklung von 777 bis zum Ende des 10. Jahrhunderts', 183–96 in Stiegemann and Wemhoff (eds.), op. cit. in note 105, on pp. 185 and 195–6.

¹¹⁶ Blair, op. cit. in note 13, esp. 9–10, a view recently echoed on the Continent by H. Steuer, 'Handel und Wirtschaft in der Karolingerzeit', 406–16, in Stiegemann and Wemhoff (eds.), op. cit. in note 105, on p. 414, who draws attention to the important role of monasteries (as population and economic centres) in the development of later towns.

¹¹⁷ In contrast to monastic records, no secular archive has survived in England before the 11th century.

¹¹⁸ However, there may be a visibility problem for earlier periods, as not much coinage appears to have been circulating in Lincolnshire before c. 700: Blackburn, op. cit. in note 29, 83.

¹¹⁹ Discussed for example by A. Angenendt, 'The conversion of the Anglo-Saxons considered against the background of the Early Medieval mission', *Settimane di Studio del Centro Italiano di Studi sull'Alto Medioevo*, 32.2 1984 (1986), 747–81; J. Campbell, *Essays in Anglo-Saxon History* (London, 1986), 49–84.

were being consolidated, and kings struggled for power and political survival.¹²⁰ But in return, the church introduced its own novel needs, which would have created new localized demands for land and resources, and for luxury items and expertise. As important centres of landholding, production and consumption, the religious houses would have introduced themselves as a new and strong element in the Middle Saxon economy both locally, inter-regionally, and in some cases perhaps internationally.¹²¹ It is probably in the context of the ultimate success of Christianity, the new ecclesiastical impetus in the local economy, and the sudden wider demand for surplus and luxury goods, that one has to seek the origins of the inland 'productive' site.

CONCLUSIONS AND OUTLOOK

In conclusion, while the debate on the nature of 'productive' sites cannot be fully resolved at present, this survey, based on the evidence from Lincolnshire, has provided a first characterization of these sites, and proposed new methods for their assessment. Without denying the probable importance of other sites, such as royal villas, ancient meeting-places, moots or crossings, in providing possible economic foci, it has nevertheless been argued that it was the church with its Continental/Roman background and connections that initiated a strong new impetus in, and structure to, the local economy.¹²² Here important new evidence has been supplied by recent metal-detector finds. These, it has been argued, are extremely valuable not only for gaining insights into the Middle Saxon economy, but also as a means of detecting potential differences in settlement hierarchy and in the overall distribution of wealth. The latter is particularly well illustrated in Lincolnshire, where a real dichotomy in wealth appears to have existed between what would have been the former kingdom of Lindsey and the areas of Kesteven and Holland to the south; and perhaps a lesser one between the fen-edge and fenland in South Lincolnshire.¹²³

Other interesting aspects have been mentioned only in passing and will need further exploration. For example, the discovery of the 'South Lincolnshire' and other 'productive' sites, once fully recorded and investigated, may help to shed more light on questions such as the introduction of coinage into the region, the existence of an early minting place for Lincolnshire, and the presence or absence of a *wic*. Potential differences between the northern and southern parts of Lincolnshire are now also suggested by certain artefact types, such as, to mention only a few, the focus of Continental pottery in the north of the county (Fig. 3), the marked absence of Northumbrian stycas from Kesteven and Holland, and (apart

¹²⁰ See also R. Hodges and J. Moreland, 'Power and exchange in Middle Saxon England', 79–95 in S. T. Driscoll and M. R. Nieké (eds.), *Power and Politics in Early Medieval Britain and Ireland* (Edinburgh, 1988), esp. 92–4.

¹²¹ See also D. A. Hinton, *Archaeology, Economy and Society: England from the Fifth to the Fifteenth Century* (London, 1990), 27–41.

¹²² For estates see D. Hadley, 'Multiple estates and the origins of the manorial structure of the northern Danelaw', *J. Historical Geogr.*, 22.1 (1996), 3–15, on p. 8.

¹²³ The reality of this dichotomy is discussed in detail in Ulmschneider, *op. cit.* in note 16, ch. 2.

from the 'South Lincolnshire' site) the almost exclusive concentration of rare Anglo-Saxon, Merovingian and Carolingian gold coins on sites in Lindsey.¹²⁴

Whatever the complicated political, economic, social or topographical reasons for these differential distributions, however, the finds serve to underline one important point: the outstanding wealth of Middle Saxon Lindsey. The sheer quantity and quality of the coins and other metalwork recovered already by the early 1990s led Mark Blackburn to conclude that 'Lindsey was one of the wealthiest regions of England in the 8th and 9th centuries'.¹²⁵

What were the origins and reasons for this wealth? Here some hints may be provided by the spatial distribution of the 'productive' sites, which seem to cluster in three broad areas: along the Trent, the Humber, and Barton Street. While the concentration of sites along Barton Street would seem to point to intensive exploitation of the rich natural resources of the Wolds, particularly for livestock farming and wool production, the places along the Trent and the Humber may have profited primarily from their boundary location, and, probably even more importantly, their close connection to one of the most important shipping and trade routes into, and out of, the East Midlands and Yorkshire. This importance of the Humber as a major inter-regional and international trade route was already apparent in the 7th century or earlier, when rare Frankish imports arrived at Castledyke, Barton, probably 'directly across the North Sea' rather than via Kent.¹²⁶ It is also during the 7th century, that the written sources indicate repeated battles between Mercia and Northumbria over Lindsey.¹²⁷

It therefore appears that Lindsey may have been wealthy from a comparatively early date. While the evolution and background of this wealth have only begun to be explored, it is likely that its causes will be manifold, and may have to be sought in a combination of rich natural resources, important geographic and strategic location, and, most important of all, access to long established coastal and overseas trade routes. These factors would certainly provide some context for the repeated conquests and re-conquests of Lindsey in the 7th century by Northumbria and Mercia, only resolved in the battle of the Trent in 679, when Mercia finally gained control of Lindsey, and thereby important access to the east-coast trade networks.

Finally, open questions also surround the 'demise' of the 'productive' sites, very few of which, at present, seem to show any activity beyond the mid-9th century. Again, reasons are likely to have been manifold, and any closer assessment will also have to take into account that these sites ultimately represent 'failed' ones. But perhaps most importantly, with large differences becoming apparent between the places collected under the heading 'productive' sites, there is a pressing need

¹²⁴ D. M. Metcalf, 'The monetary economy of ninth-century England south of the Humber', 167-97, in M. A. S. Blackburn and D. N. Dumville (eds.), *Kings, Currency, and Alliances, History and Coinage of Southern England in the Ninth Century* (Woodbridge, 1998), esp. fig. 5 on p. 178. For pottery see D. Williams and A. Vince, 'The characterisation and interpretation of Early to Middle Saxon granitic tempered pottery in England', *Medieval Archaeol.*, 41 (1997), 214-20. Gold coins have now been found at places such as Caistor, 'near Lincoln', Louth, between Gainsborough and Lincoln, and at Burton by Lincoln.

¹²⁵ Blackburn, *op. cit.* in note 29, 83.

¹²⁶ Leahy in Drinkall and Foreman, *op. cit.* in note 64, 362.

¹²⁷ These occurred throughout most of the 7th century and are summed up by Foot, 'The kingdom of Lindsey', 128-40, in Vince (ed.), *op. cit.* in note 5, at pp. 133-5.

now for better recording and monitoring of these sites, their range of finds, potential structures, and, wherever possible, their destruction through ploughing.¹²⁸ In many cases only excavation may ultimately provide further answers about their nature, multiple functions and roles. In the meantime the focus of research must be broadened to include not only the largely neglected written sources, but also comparative archaeological evidence from the Continent, which, as Barbara Yorke has also stressed in her recent Ford Lecture, may serve as a much closer model than hitherto anticipated.¹²⁹

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¹²⁸ As suggested, many of these places may have been connected with former church sites, which should be looked at more closely, although the spatial relationship between market and church may not always have been very close.

¹²⁹ B. Yorke, 'Anglo-Saxon Nunneries', Ford Lecture, University of Oxford, 1998. For further research see, for example, the articles on German sites in Stiegemann and Wemhoff (eds.), *op. cit.* in note 105; Demolon, Galinié and Verhaeghe (eds.), *op. cit.* in note 105; and Clarke and Simms (eds.), *op. cit.* in note 105.

