

## 5: People and Power in the Landscape

### 5.1: Introduction

The last chapter sought to reconcile the disparity between charter appurtenance clauses, which suggested that the Merovingian elite had a proprietorial attitude to land, and archaeology, which indicated that farming remained a largely domestic pursuit into the seventh century. Through an examination of terminology in documents across the target areas, and through consideration of the provisions for inheritance and the exchange of property through marriage, it argued that what differentiated Britain and Gaul was a desire and attempt on the part of the Gallic elite to extend their control over people and land, at the expense of broader kin-based systems and peasant proprietors. This chapter proposes to further investigate this idea by examining the existence and absence of settlement boundaries, and by considering the fate of Roman villas, the archetypal estate centre of their age. Settlement boundaries have been seen as potential indicators of both social and tenurial status, and this chapter will seek to test the viability of this proposition, with the aim of determining whether free, peasant proprietors holding family land can be detected in the landscape. Villas appear to have offered the potential for an established centre of power and exploitation, so this chapter will ask why there were so few instances of elite appropriation of these sites, and whether this gives any hint of their relationship with the land.

The enclosure of space as an act with social significance is an acknowledged phenomenon, but the parameters of this social element, and its distinction from the practical applications of boundaries, are less clear. For example, the appearance of hillforts in the Iron Age demonstrates the presence of people who could command considerable resources of

labour and materials. However, whether this command was exercised through a form of social consensus or purely by coercion is another matter. Nor is it clear whether the various sizes of more vernacular enclosed settlements stood in a hierarchical relationship to the unenclosed, or whether other factors were at work.<sup>1</sup> Hingley believed that the majority of Iron Age farmsteads were enclosed, but that in some cases the enclosure may not have been discovered, or may have left no archaeological trace. He also argued that the social significance of such a boundary might depend upon its degree of definition, and that this association was perpetuated into the Roman period.<sup>2</sup> Some enclosures around Roman villas certainly appear to have served a primarily social function, by separating the working *pars rustica* from the more gentrified *pars urbana*, or by framing architectural features such as the formal garden added to villa at Frocester in the fourth century.<sup>3</sup> In either case, the point appears to be to emphasise the status of the owner by removing them from the world of work. However, enclosures on villa sites may also have served agricultural functions, for example, containing stock during husbandry operations, and Hingley believed they performed the same function as those on non-villa sites of delineating the homestead of a family or extended family.<sup>4</sup> The exact point at which a boundary might pass from a practical line of containment to a symbolic statement is therefore difficult to determine, and may have been dependent on local conditions.

Other functions might also apply. Hillfort ramparts were certainly defensible, and in Gaul and other parts of the Late Roman world, there is some evidence that more thought was given to the defensibility of villa enclosures. The account by Sidonius Apollinaris of his friend's

---

<sup>1</sup> Barry Cunliffe, *Iron Age Communities in Britain*, 3<sup>rd</sup> edn. (London: Routledge, 1991), pp. 213-226; 312-329.

<sup>2</sup> Richard Hingley, *Rural Settlement in Roman Britain* (London: Seaby, 1989), pp. 55-59.

<sup>3</sup> Martin Millett, "'By small things revealed". Rural settlement and society', in *The Oxford Handbook of Roman Britain*, ed. by Millett, Revell, and Moore, pp. 699-719 (pp. 706-707).

<sup>4</sup> Hingley, *Rural Settlement in Roman Britain*, p. 64.

fortified villa called Burgus is probably the most famous example, although Halsall noted that such structures might have been rare since Gregory of Tours does not refer to them.<sup>5</sup> Percival, however, pointed out that the ground plans of fortified villas near Trier and in Pannonia supported the description of Burgus.<sup>6</sup> In Ireland, too, it has been suggested that the appearance of raths and cashels from the sixth century may have been related to an increasing sense of insecurity, created by political upheaval or outbreaks of disease.<sup>7</sup>

What Iron Age hillforts, large villa compounds, and potential fortifications all have in common is the expenditure of resources, and, in this way, they can be read as a signal of wealth and social power. This is also the case with the fortified hilltop sites of the early Middle Ages, which occur mainly in a British or Gallo-Roman cultural context. Such sites have been envisaged with a range of functions, from temporary refuges, to administrative centres, to seats of familial power. While generally considered to be the settlements of an elite, therefore, that elite might be represented by a bishop, a powerful local family, or a regional overlord.<sup>8</sup>

By contrast, few sites in northern Gaul or in an Anglo-Saxon context show early evidence of perimeter boundaries. As noted in Chapter Three, Peytremann described three types of settlement in early Merovingian northern Gaul: dispersed, loosely grouped, and

---

<sup>5</sup> MGH Auct. Ant. Sidonius Apollinaris, *Carmina*, XXII in *Epistolae et Carmina*, MGH Auctores Antiquissimi 8, ed. by Christian Luetjohann (Berlin, 1887); Guy Halsall, *Warfare and Society in the Barbarian West, 450-900* (London: Routledge, 2003), p. 216.

<sup>6</sup> John Percival, *The Roman Villa. An Historical Introduction* (London: Batsford, 1976; reprinted by Book Club Associates, 1981), pp. 174-176.

<sup>7</sup> Aidan O'Sullivan and Finbar McCormick, 'Early Medieval Ireland: investigating social, economic and settlement change, AD 400-1100', in *Stories of Ireland's Past. Knowledge Gained from NRA Roads Archaeology*, ed. by Michael Stanley, Rónán Swan, and Aidan O'Sullivan (Dublin: Transport Infrastructure Ireland, 2017), pp. 101-132 (pp. 110-111).

<sup>8</sup> Luc Bourgeois, 'Les résidences des élites et les fortifications du haut Moyen Âge en France et en Belgique', p. 124; Neil Christie and Hajnalka Herold, 'Introduction', in *Fortified Settlements in Early Medieval Europe. Defended Communities of the 8th-10th Centuries*, ed. by Neil Christie and Hajnalka Herold, (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2016), pp. xix-xxviii (pp. xxi-xxiii).

nucleated.<sup>9</sup> Of these, the first sometimes occupied former Roman sites in what she described as an opportunistic manner, and may therefore have perpetuated some former boundary lines, if only for practical reasons. The second sometimes had ditched enclosures or were open, and the third are only poorly attested.<sup>10</sup> Hamerow noted a scarcity of settlement boundaries in north-west Europe,<sup>11</sup> while the earliest settlements in the Anglo-Saxon areas of Britain were open and showed almost no variation in material wealth.<sup>12</sup> Consequently, the absence of boundaries has been connected with a lack of social differentiation, but the association is not clear-cut, since some of the settlements in continental north-western Europe which lacked perimeter enclosures had other evidence of social distinction.<sup>13</sup> As described in Chapter Three, boundaries around and within vernacular sites proliferated from the seventh century onwards, as increases in arable production affected available pasture. This process has been linked to the growth of lordship and monastic expansion.<sup>14</sup> While this chapter is focussed on the use of boundaries prior to this change, and so concentrates on sites which predate this seventh century watershed, it will consider the degree to which it may have been effected by lordly intervention.

While there is certainly a crossover between the broader social significance of boundaries and land tenure, the latter is far more elusive. It is one thing to identify the expenditure of resources at a site as marking out wealth and therefore power, it is another to specify the terms on which that land may have been held. Nonetheless, some attempts

---

<sup>9</sup> Chapter Three, p. 95.

<sup>10</sup> Peytremann, 'Rural Life and Work in Northern Gaul During the Early Middle Ages', pp. 695-696.

<sup>11</sup> Hamerow, *Early Medieval Settlements*, p. 53.

<sup>12</sup> Katharina Ulmschneider, 'Settlement hierarchy' in *The Oxford Handbook of Anglo-Saxon Archaeology*, ed. by Hamerow, Hinton, and Crawford, pp. 156-171 (pp. 157-160); Loveluck, *Northwest Europe in the Early Middle Ages*, p. 108; Wickham, *Framing*, p. 340.

<sup>13</sup> Hamerow, *Rural Settlements and Society*, p. 70; Katharina Ulmschneider, 'Settlement hierarchy', pp. 157-168; Blair, *Building Anglo-Saxon England*, p. 141; Hamerow, *Early Medieval Settlements*, p. 53.

<sup>14</sup> See Chapter Three, p. 97.

have been made to equate the presence or absence of boundaries with tenurial status. For example the perimeter boundaries of Irish ringforts have been seen as an indicator of free or proprietorial status. Some 45 thousand of these earthen or stone-walled constructions (sometimes distinguished using the anglicised terms raths and cashels) have been identified, although many only survive as crop marks.<sup>15</sup> It is generally agreed that the majority were farmsteads, and that the size of the enclosure and walls showed gradations of status. It has been suggested that the larger, occasionally multivallate examples, were constructed by elite landholders calling on the labour services of base clients, while smaller, familial ringforts provide evidence for the physical labour of slaves and the poorest rural class.<sup>16</sup> However, while Mytum argued that ringforts were the homesteads of the free, with the unfree living in unenclosed settlements, recent research has stressed the familial nature of the ringfort enclosure.<sup>17</sup> This interpretation does suggest a role for the physical boundary in a society defined by kin associations and family-held land.

Not only do similar settlement types occur in Wales and southwest Britain, but attempts have also been made to apply this distinction of tenure. Thomas suggested that the Cornish rounds may have been the dwellings of 'substantial' farmers, while unenclosed settlements were inhabited by peasants.<sup>18</sup> Hogg rejected a tenurial view of stone enclosures

---

<sup>15</sup> Nancy Edwards, *The Archaeology of Early Medieval Ireland* (London: Routledge, 1999), pp. 11-15.

<sup>16</sup> Michelle Comber, 'The Irish Cashel: Enclosed Settlement, Fortified Settlement or Settled Fortification? With evidence from Ongoing Excavations at Caherconnell, Co. Clare, Western Ireland', in *Fortified Settlements in Early Medieval Europe*, ed. by Christie and Herold, pp. 3-13 (p. 5); Charles-Edwards, *Early Christian Ireland*, p. 149; Harold Mytum, *The Origins of Early Christian Ireland* (London: Routledge, 1992), p. 131; O'Sullivan and McCormick, 'Early Medieval Ireland: investigating social, economic and settlement change', pp. 116.

<sup>17</sup> Mytum, *Origins of Early Christian Ireland*, pp. 155-157; O'Sullivan and McCormick, 'Early Medieval Ireland: investigating social, economic and settlement change', pp. 116-117; Aidan O'Sullivan and Triona Nicholl, 'Early medieval settlement enclosures in Ireland: dwellings, daily life and social identity', *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*, 111C (2010), 59-90 (pp. 63-67).

<sup>18</sup> Charles Thomas, 'The character and origins of Roman Dumnonia', in *Rural Settlement in Roman Britain*, CBA Research Report 7, ed. by Charles Thomas (London: Council for British Archaeology, 1966), pp. 74-98 (pp. 88-91).

in northwest Wales, suggesting they were a product of population plantation in the Roman period.<sup>19</sup> However, Stevens did make a tenurial connection. He took the legal definitions of *tir cyfrif* ('reckoned' land) and *tir gwelyog* ('hereditary' land), as defined by Jones, and attempted to link the bound tenants of the former to unenclosed, nucleated settlements, and the free peasants of the latter to enclosed, dispersed settlements.<sup>20</sup> He went on to extend this across Britain, arguing that the relative scarcity of rich Roman villas in some areas (Kent, for instance) was due to *tir gwelyog* prevailing there.<sup>21</sup> The possible survival of customary law through the Roman occupations of Britain and Gaul, and the relationships which may have existed between this and Roman law, will be discussed further in Chapter Six.<sup>22</sup> However, perhaps the strongest objections to Stevens' theory lie in questions which have arisen about the status of terms such as *tir gwelyog*. Rather than being a clearly defined form of tenure with an early provenance, Lewis argued that this use of *gwely* stemmed from a fourteenth century corruption, pointing out that it occurred only ten times in the Laws of Hywel Dda and each time with the literal meaning 'bed'.<sup>23</sup> While this need not utterly undermine Stevens' theory, it does raise questions about the presence of such clear tenurial expressions in the extant manuscripts of the Welsh laws.

The presence or absence of boundary enclosures has not been interpreted in such a polar way for sites in Gaul. Loveluck, for example, found similarities between the sites of Sarry and Chessy in northern France, and Montours and La Chapelle-Saint-Aubern on the

---

<sup>19</sup> A. H. A. Hogg, 'Native settlement in Wales', in *Rural Settlement in Roman Britain*, ed. by Charles Thomas, pp. 28-36 (pp. 28-29; 31-36).

<sup>20</sup> For Jones' definitions see: Glanville R. Jones, 'Post-Roman Wales', in *The Agrarian History of England and Wales, Vol. I, II*, ed. by Finberg, pp. 283-382 (pp. 322-335).

<sup>21</sup> C. E. Stevens, 'The social and economic aspects of rural settlement', in *Rural Settlement in Roman Britain*, ed. by Charles Thomas, pp. 108-128 (pp. 111; 125).

<sup>22</sup> Chapter Six, pp. 349-353.

<sup>23</sup> Timothy Lewis, 'Revisions in Economic History: XV. The Tribal System in Wales', *The Economic History Review*, New Series, 6, 3 (1954), 297-304.

French-Breton border. The latter three had enclosures around their buildings, and had been interpreted as the settlements of free farmers, while Sarry was not enclosed and was interpreted as an estate centre by its excavator. Loveluck drew attention to the similarity of burial on all four sites, suggesting that it represented family interments rather than a centre which drew burial from a broader community.<sup>24</sup> This might indicate that the presence or absence of boundaries needs to be placed into a broader context if any potential significance is to be deciphered.

If settlement boundaries were used to express power and possession, then it is logical to ask why villas, which might appear to be ready-made power centres, were not more frequently exploited. Although many attempts have been made to find continuity between the Roman and post-Roman occupation of villas, none have met with universal acceptance, and there is, moreover, a geographical disjunct between the fate of such sites in Britain and northern Gaul and those in southern Gaul.<sup>25</sup> The issue of potential continuity is also difficult to address, since both the definition and history of villas are complex. The term encompasses a range of ideas and structures, many of which experienced profound changes in character during the Roman period. There is disagreement, for example, about whether a villa should be defined by its rural character or social status. Collingwood, while acknowledging the definition of villas as the opulent country houses of the rich, insisted that the term could be used of any farm with a Romanised building.<sup>26</sup> For Rivet, it was the villa's role as estate centre

---

<sup>24</sup> Loveluck, *Northwest Europe in the Early Middle Ages*, pp. 37-45.

<sup>25</sup> Martin Millet, *The Romanization of Britain* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), pp. 223-224; Elisabeth Zadora-Rio, 'Early Medieval villages and estate centres in France (c.300 -1100)', in *The Archaeology of Early Medieval Villages in Europe*, ed. by Juan Antonio Quirós Castillo (Bilbao: Documentos de Arqueología e Historia, 2009), pp. 77-98 (pp. 83-84).

<sup>26</sup> I. G. Collingwood and Ian Richmond, *The Archaeology of Roman Britain*, rev. edn. (London: Methuen, 1969), p. 133.

which was pivotal.<sup>27</sup> Gerrard argued that villas could not be seen purely in economic terms, while Millett believed the villa's role in the display of status was definitive, and that the proliferation of 'cottage types' in fourth century Britain constituted a dilution of the model.<sup>28</sup> This growth of cottage villas was not the only fourth-century change. Petts identified a trend of what he called 'simplification': mosaics were buried, and hearths were cut through floors; there was an increased tendency to accommodate domestic and agricultural or industrial activities within the same buildings.<sup>29</sup> These changes prompted suggestions that elite owners must have moved out, but Lewit argued that the occupiers remained the same, abandoning classical norms, as power shifted from the civil to the ecclesiastical sphere.<sup>30</sup>

Lewitt's attempt to equate the rural changes of Late Antiquity to those occurring in an urban context has been challenged. Bowes and Gutteridge argued that it did not take into account the distinction which Romans made between rural and urban life, a distinction which might itself have evolved.<sup>31</sup> However, Lewitt's picture does seem to be consistent with changes from public to private space, such as the fourth-century introduction of shops into the fora of some towns, or the fourth- to fifth-century introduction of craft activity into some public buildings, which may have happened through the conscious direction of elites.<sup>32</sup> Some caution is still necessary: as Baldini Lippolis showed, such changes in the Late Roman empire

---

<sup>27</sup> A. L. F. Rivet, *Town and Country in Roman Britain*, 2<sup>nd</sup> edn. (London: Hutchinson, 1964), p.104.

<sup>28</sup> Gerrard, *The Ruin of Roman Britain*, p. 133; Millett, *The Romanization of Britain*, pp. 195-197; 186.

<sup>29</sup> D. Petts, 'Elite settlements in the Roman and sub-Roman period', *TRAC 96: Proceedings of the Sixth Annual Theoretical Roman Archaeology Conference*, ed. by Karen Meadows, Chris Lemke, and Jo Heron (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 1997), pp. 101-112 (pp. 102-104); see also A. S. Esmonde Cleary, *The Ending of Roman Britain* (London: Batsford, 1989; reprinted by Routledge, 2000), p. 134.

<sup>30</sup> T. Lewit, "'Vanishing villas": what happened to elite rural habitation in the West in the 5th-6th c?' *Journal of Roman Archaeology*, 16 (2003), 260-274 (pp. 263-268).

<sup>31</sup> Kim Bowes and Adam Gutteridge, 'Rethinking the later Roman landscape', *Journal of Roman Archaeology*, 18 (2005), 405-413 (p. 406).

<sup>32</sup> Luke Lavan, 'Fora and agorai in Mediterranean cities during the 4<sup>th</sup> and 5<sup>th</sup> C. AD', in *Social and Political Life in Late Antiquity*, *Late Antique Archaeology*, 3.1, ed. by William Bowden, Adam Gutteridge, and Carlos Machado (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2006), pp. 195-249 (pp. 224-230); G. P. Brogiolo, 'The control of public space and the transformation of an early medieval town: a re-examination of the case of Brescia', in *Social and Political Life in Late Antiquity*, ed. by Bowden, Gutteridge, and Machado, pp. 251-283 (p 279).

could result from an ongoing dialogue between the authorities and city residents. While elites might be allowed greater largesse than others, the whole process could be thrown off-balance by dramatic events such as an earthquake, as happened at Ephesus in the sixth century.<sup>33</sup> It may be, therefore, that no one explanation applies to all shifts in the use of social space, whether urban or rural, and that some local contextualisation is required.

The picture of villas is, therefore, already complicated before the further changes of the fifth century are considered. For many villas, this was the point at which they appear to have been abandoned, although occupation did not always move far away, and may not have meant the disintegration of the estate as a unified holding.<sup>34</sup> However, if this is so, then there are legitimate questions about the form such estates might have taken. Wickham argued that the implications of barbarian laws, with their provisions for the agricultural problems of small farmers, and the lack of archaeological evidence for extreme concentrations of wealth did not support the existence of estates on the Roman model. He believed that the relationship between those who worked the land and those who took from them was better represented by a tributary system.<sup>35</sup> It is, of course, possible that the outlines of at least some Roman estates were preserved as areas from which a single lord derived tribute. This would, however, in turn prompt the question of why villas themselves were not preserved as the symbol of control over that area and the centre to which tribute was rendered. This does seem to have been the case in southern Gaul. A number of sites have been found which preserve the focus on the villa site, even after periods of abandonment. The succeeding

---

<sup>33</sup> Isabella Baldini Lippolis, 'Private Space In Late Antique Cities: Laws And Building Procedures', in *Housing in Late Antiquity. From Palaces to Shops*, Late Antique Archaeology, Vol. 3, 2, ed. by Luke Lavan, Lale Özgenel, and Alexander Sarantis (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2007), pp. 197-237.

<sup>34</sup> Tamara Lewit, *Agricultural Production in the Roman Economy, AD 200-400*, BAR Series 568 (Oxford: Tempus, 1991), pp. 41-43; Esmonde Cleary, *Ending of Roman Britain*, p. 158.

<sup>35</sup> Wickham, *Framing*, pp. 319-321.

buildings often had a simpler construction than their Roman forebears, but were still significant structures, such as the 430m<sup>2</sup> Ensemble 1 at l'Albenc. Architecturally, some of these buildings seem to have been similar to the structures at Larina described in Chapter 2, and existed in a similar Merovingian context, with finds of metalware such as belt buckles.<sup>36</sup> However, unlike the villa sites further north, they do seem to have preserved the estate centre. Even Larina preserved the working focus of the postulated villa with which it may have been associated, suggesting some preservation of estate boundaries could also have occurred.<sup>37</sup> Section 5.3 will return to this question in the context of the northern and British villas. First of all, this chapter will return to the issue of boundaries, suggesting some definitions and establishing some parameters for the analysis.

## 5.2: Boundaries

It is possible to conceive of, and to attempt to categorise, boundaries in different ways. Reynolds, for example, suggested a division into ritualistic, high status, and farming.<sup>38</sup> Other categorisations focus on aspects of function and chronology (see following sections). However, all such attempts are impositions for the purpose of description and analysis, and often reflect the position of the categoriser (Reynolds, for instance, was thinking specifically of boundaries on Anglo-Saxon sites). The principal distinction used here is that between perimeter and internal boundaries. Field boundaries, where they have no direct link to the

---

<sup>36</sup> Zadora-Rio, 'Early Medieval villages and estate centres in France', pp. 83-84; Faure-Boucharlat, 'Poncin, le Châtelarde', pp. 118-235; De Klijn, Faure-Boucharlat, Feugère et Lalaï, 'L'Albenc, Le Bivan', pp. 463-465.

<sup>37</sup> Porte, *Larina et son territoire*, p. 98.

<sup>38</sup> Reynolds, 'Boundaries and Settlements in later Sixth to Eleventh-Century England', in *Boundaries in Early Medieval Britain, Anglo-Saxon Studies in Archaeology and History* 12, ed. by Griffiths, Reynolds, and Semple, pp. 98-13 (p. 105).

settlement, will not be considered. This is a broad view, but it avoids a classification which might prejudge function, and it allows an overview of the geographical areas considered here, and of a considerable time span. Where Chapter Three examined only sixth- to seventh-century settlement, this chapter will also consider boundary systems which emerged or were perpetuated through the fifth and sixth centuries.

Settlement boundaries might consist of ditches and banks, with or without a palisade or hedge, fencelines, and walls. As with buildings, the choice of material could depend on local topography. Upland areas are more likely to use stone, as evidenced by the miles of drystone walls which crisscross northern Britain; lowland areas with little available stone are more likely to use earth or wood. It is tempting to read differences in the method of construction as degrees in statements of power, and it is true that a wall made of dressed and mortared stone implies a greater level of resources and wealth than a drystone wall. However, each structure needs to be placed in its local context: in different settings, similar statements may take different forms. Other aspects of construction, such as recutting or regularity, may also give signals. Where ditches are frequently recut, it might imply that the need for the boundary persisted over time, where large ditches have a pronounced degree of regularity (of profile, depth, and width) along their length, it may be a clue to the presence of some overarching organising force. Whether that force is collaborative or directorial is a different matter. Conversely, ditched circuits which show considerable variation might be the piecemeal work of various individuals or family groups. An excellent example of the strength of this signal is the early ditch complex at Druce Farm, Dorset. Here a highly regular rectilinear ditch system lends support to other suggestions of a Roman military origin to this site.<sup>39</sup>

---

<sup>39</sup> Lillian Ladle, *The Rise and Decline of Druce Farm Roman Villa (60-650 CE). Excavations 2012-2018*, BAR British Series 676, Archaeology of Roman Britain Vol. 8 (Oxford: BAR Publishing, 2022), pp. 25-32; 407.

In reality, the division between perimeter and internal boundaries is not as clear as might first appear. For a number of reasons (limits to the extent of the excavation, for example) it is not always certain if a given boundary forms an internal or external barrier. For this reason, boundaries will be considered in three sections: perimeter, internal, and indeterminate. Available data on boundaries is recorded in these three categories in the tables below. It was not possible, however, to access detailed data, plans, or sections for all sites which reported boundaries. Therefore, only those sites where some form of detail was available, in the form of data or illustrations, are included in the tables. Indeterminate boundaries will be considered first, in order that the later categories can be placed within the context of the problems surrounding their interpretation.

#### 5.2.1: Indeterminate boundaries

The problems affecting the interpretation of boundaries can be divided into two main areas, although there is considerable crossover. Firstly, since few excavations are able to expose the full extent of a settlement, it may be unknown whether habitation continued beyond any given boundary. Consequently, it is impossible to say whether that boundary is internal or external. Secondly, there can be problems understanding the relationship between features on the site, or between those features and the broader area. This often hinges on a lack of dating material which makes it impossible to establish any sequence or relationship between stretches of boundary, or between boundaries and other structures. Indeterminate boundaries from sites in Britain and France analysed here are listed in Tables 25 and 26 (below). The rest of this section will consider some examples of the problems they illustrate.

Site	Feature	Date	Boundary Type	Length (m)	Depth/height (m)	Width (m)	Profile	Description
<b>Godmanchester</b>	F2003/F2007	Early Saxon	Ditch		0.7-0.9	2.6 max		Formed enclosure 1.
Godmanchester	F2295, 2381, F2575, 2585, F2683, F2706	Early Saxon	Ditch	11.84 – 49.34	0.15 – 0.62	0.39 – 1.95	V	Formed enclosure 2, c. 125 x 70m.
Godmanchester	F2443	Early Saxon>	Ditch					Possibly closed N entrance of enc. 2.
Godmanchester	F2673, 2675, F2683	Early Saxon>	Ditch					Possibly assoc. with entrance to enclosure 2.
Godmanchester	F2575, 2585, F2706, 2347, F2343	Early Saxon>	Ditch					Defined possible trackway.
<b>Coston Hall</b>	1305	C5-9 Ph.3i	Ditch					Enclosure c. 40 x 25m or internal divisions of Phase 3ii-iv.
Coston Hall	1555-9	„	Ditch		c.0.1			
Coston Hall	1557/1558	?	Ditch					Possibly internal divisions of above. Not proven to be contemporary.
Coston Hall	1280	C5-9 Ph.3ii	Ditch	36.5	0.55	1.35-1.5	Concave sides, flat base	Rectilinear enclosure. Replaced that above.
Coston Hall	1297	„	Ditch		0.5	2.5-3.5		
Coston Hall	1298	„	Ditch	c. 48.0				
Coston Hall	1018	„	Ditch	10.5+				
Coston Hall	1281	Ph. 3iii	Ditch					Replacements for 1280, 1297 and possibly 1018.
Coston Hall	1298	„	Ditch					
Coston Hall	1012	„	Ditch					
<b>Maxey</b>	A	Mid-Saxon	Ditch		0.6	1.2	U	Possible boundary which may have had a bank.
Maxey	B	„	Ditch		0.3	–	V	Possible sub-division.
Maxey	C	? Not dated.	Ditch					Possibly completed boundary.
<b>Pin Brook</b>	275	C6 (recut)	Ditch		2-3.0	4.2	V	Formed enclosure.
Pin Brook	2001/2003	C5-7	Ditch					Possible sub-division of enclosure.
<b>Hen Gastell</b>	072	?	Ditch	c. 10m	c.2.2	c.2.2	Irreg. U	Quarried into ledge on rock slope.
Hen Gastell	070	?	Ditch					Quarried into base of slope.
Hen Gastell	005	?	Bank	13m	0.7	2.5		South of ditch 070.
<b>Catholme</b>	D1 -D58		Ditch		> 0-0.9	0.6-1.4	Flattened curve to V	Ditch group sections showing great variety.
<b>Peasedown St John</b>	Ditch D	C7-8/9	Ditch		0.15-0.5	0.5-0.65		Formed enclosure c. 18m in diameter.

Table 25: Indeterminate boundaries on sites in Britain.

Site	Feature	Date	Boundary Type	Length (m)	Depth (m)	Width (m)	Profile	Description
Vieuxville-Beaurade	F26, F29, F23, F24, F25	'Merovingian'	Ditch		0.3 max	0.7 max		Formed enclosure with two entrances c. 1.5m wide.
Vieuxville-Beaurade	F15, F16	'Merovingian'	Ditch		0.2	0.5		Parallel ditches which joined F11
Vieuxville-Beaurade	F11	'Merovingian'	Ditch	6.0	0.3	2.5	Flat base	
Biéville-Beuville	Unnamed	C7	Ditch/ palisade					Not established if this was external boundary.
Athies	158	'Merovingian'	Ditch					Separated interior zone.
Dassargues	Wall	C6?	Wall			2.0		Undressed limestone blocks in irregular courses with clay mortar formed enclosure c. 500m <sup>2</sup> . 4m wide entrance in S wall.

Table 26: Indeterminate boundaries on sites in France.

Problems created by the limits of the excavation are demonstrated at Catholme, and Biéville-Beuville. At Catholme (Fig. 29, below), lengths of ditch appeared to demarcate a central area, served by a trackway, lying within a group of other small enclosures. This, and two concentrations of metalworking slag in the 'central area' seemed to suggest the presence of zoning at a potentially early date (possibly sixth century).<sup>40</sup> However, Hamerow argued that the boundaries were more likely to relate to stock control around family farmsteads and cautioned against reading the inner enclosure as a central area, since the full extent of the settlement was not known.<sup>41</sup> Similarly, although it appeared that a prehistoric ditch continued in use as the settlement boundary, this cannot be said for certain for the same reason. Catholme also provides examples of difficulties caused by dating, which led to some uncertainty about the sequence of enclosures. Hines sought to address this with new radiocarbon dating, which suggested that enclosure VII (the 'central area') was indeed

<sup>40</sup> Losco-Bradley and Kinsley, *Catholme*, p. 29, although see comments from K. Brown that, if long-term, smithing was not intensive, pp. 113-115.

<sup>41</sup> Helena Hamerow, 'Catholme: The development and context of the settlement', in Losco-Bradley and Kinsley, *Catholme*, pp. 123-129 (pp. 126-127).

relatively early and dated to the mid sixth century. This was followed by enclosures IV, VIII, and IX, which may have been replacement structures in the seventh to ninth centuries.<sup>42</sup> In an analysis which preceded this re-dating, Hamerow placed the Catholme enclosures within the mid-Saxon boundary proliferation, describing them as ‘enclosed, ancestral properties’.<sup>43</sup> Hines’ earlier dating might underline the ancestral quality of that property. Indeed, it leaves open an interpretation of a family property subsequently subdivided between inheriting sons.

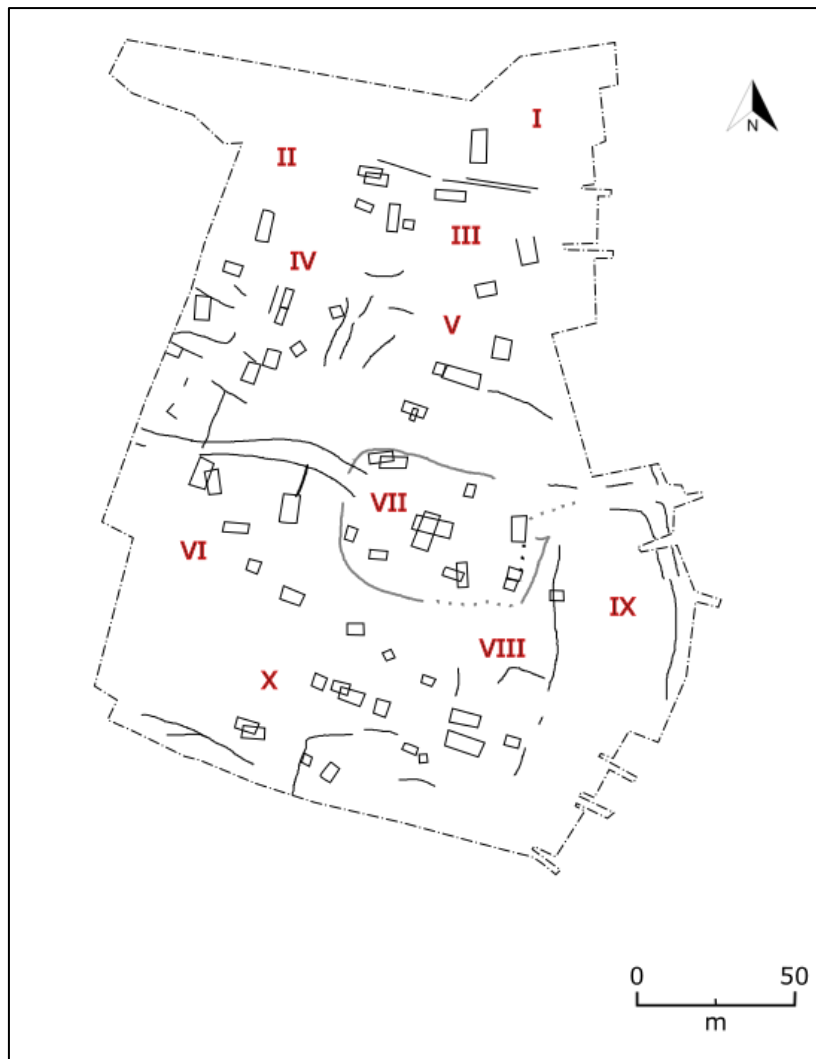


Fig. 28: At Catholme the limits of the excavation make it unclear whether enclosure VII is a ‘central area’. After Losco-Bradley and Kinsley.

<sup>42</sup> John Hines, ‘The Anglo-Saxon settlement at Catholme, Staffordshire: a re-assessment of the chronological evidence and possible re-interpretation’, in *Anglo-Saxon Studies in Archaeology and History*, 21, ed. by Helena Hamerow (Oxford: Oxford University School of Archaeology, 2018), pp. 47-59 (pp. 56-57).

<sup>43</sup> Hamerow, *Rural Settlements and Society*, p. 91.

In the seventh-century phase at Biéville-Beuville (Fig. 30, below), it was not clear whether the palisaded ditch formed an inner or outer boundary since the excavation could not explore further. The presence of an SFB beyond the ditch and of Building 7 on the ditch line may suggest it was internal, but this could not be confirmed.<sup>44</sup> Again, the distinction might affect how the settlement is seen. The complex of dwellings and storage buildings at Biéville-Beuville seems compellingly like an estate centre (and was read as such by the excavators), but if the settlement extended beyond the boundary, this could subtly change its character, potentially making it more like the *Herrenhof* at Feddersen Wierde.<sup>45</sup>

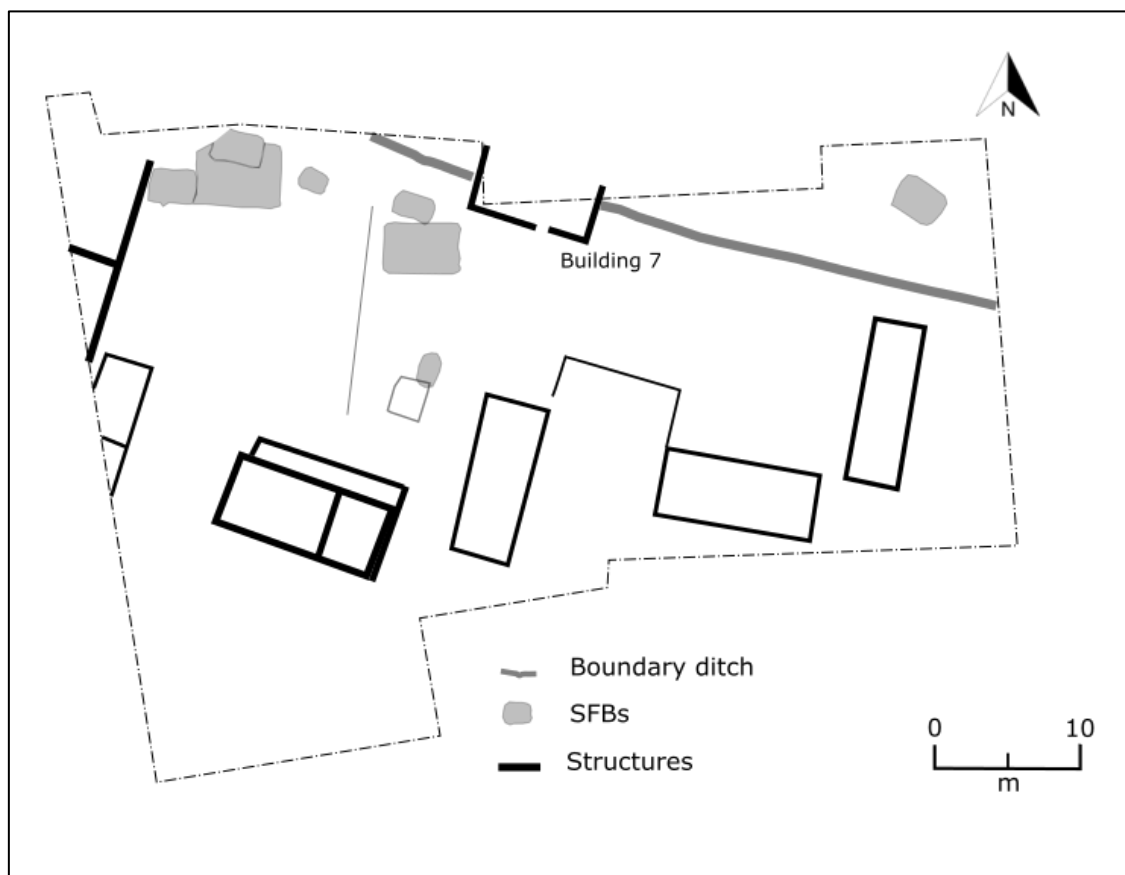


Fig. 29: At Biéville-Beuville the status of the boundary ditch is unclear, given the placing of Building 7 and the SFB beyond it. After Hincker.

<sup>44</sup> Hincker, 'Un habitat aristocratique en Neustrie', pp. 177; 187.

<sup>45</sup> Hamerow, *Early Medieval Settlements*, pp. 90-91.

The extent of the excavation was also an issue at Athies, but in addition there was a question about the relationship between features (Fig. 31, below). Ditch 158 appeared to delimit an enclosure, but the southern half of this passed beyond the excavation limits. Since some structures, including a number of hearths, lay beyond this boundary, it was not clear whether it should be interpreted as a perimeter to the habitation zone, or as a zoning ditch within a larger area.<sup>46</sup> Problems of association at Godmanchester (Fig. 31), were connected with dating. Gibson and Murray placed the substantial ditches of enclosure 1, interpreted as a stock pen, in the early-Saxon period. They believed it was related to a possible drove way, itself aligned with an earlier Roman field system, although this track was later blocked by an SFB.<sup>47</sup> They argued that Enclosure 2, with shallower ditches, was domestic and slightly later. However, Reynolds preferred an eighth-century date for the enclosures, on the basis that some Ipswich ware had been found. The question, then, is whether the site belongs with the acknowledged increase in settlement boundaries post-seventh century, or whether it represents a genuinely earlier instance, possibly influenced by Roman field boundaries. The preponderance of pottery did allow an earlier date (913 sherds, 95.8% of the assemblage was dated C5-7) and there are other possible instances of such influence, such as West Heselerton.<sup>48</sup> The possibility of Roman and prehistoric ditch systems influencing early medieval enclosures was also acknowledged by Blair.<sup>49</sup>

---

<sup>46</sup> Harnay, 'Le site du "Chemin de Croix"', pp. 37-54.

<sup>47</sup> Gibson, with Murray, 'An Anglo-Saxon Settlement at Godmanchester, Cambridgeshire', in *Boundaries in Early Medieval Britain, Anglo-Saxon Studies in Archaeology and History 12*, ed. by Griffiths, Reynolds, and Semple, pp. 137-217. For a different interpretation of Godmanchester see McKerracher, *Farming Transformed*, pp. 40-42 and Figs. 28, 33, and 34. This would place the site in the 'internal boundary' category here.

<sup>48</sup> Powlesland, 'Early Anglo-Saxon settlements, structures, form and layout', in *The Anglo-Saxons from the Migration Period to the Eighth Century: An Ethnographic Perspective*, ed. by Hines, pp. 101-117; Dominic Powlesland, 'The Anglo-Saxon settlement at West Heselerton, North Yorkshire', in *Northumbria's Golden Age*, ed. by Jane Hawkes and Susan Mills (Stroud: Sutton Publishing, 1999), pp. 55-65 (pp. 55-61). For a different perspective on such influence: John Blair, Stephen Rippon, and Christopher Smart, *Planning in the Early Medieval Landscape* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2020), p. 22.

<sup>49</sup> Blair, *Building Anglo-Saxon England*, p. 151.

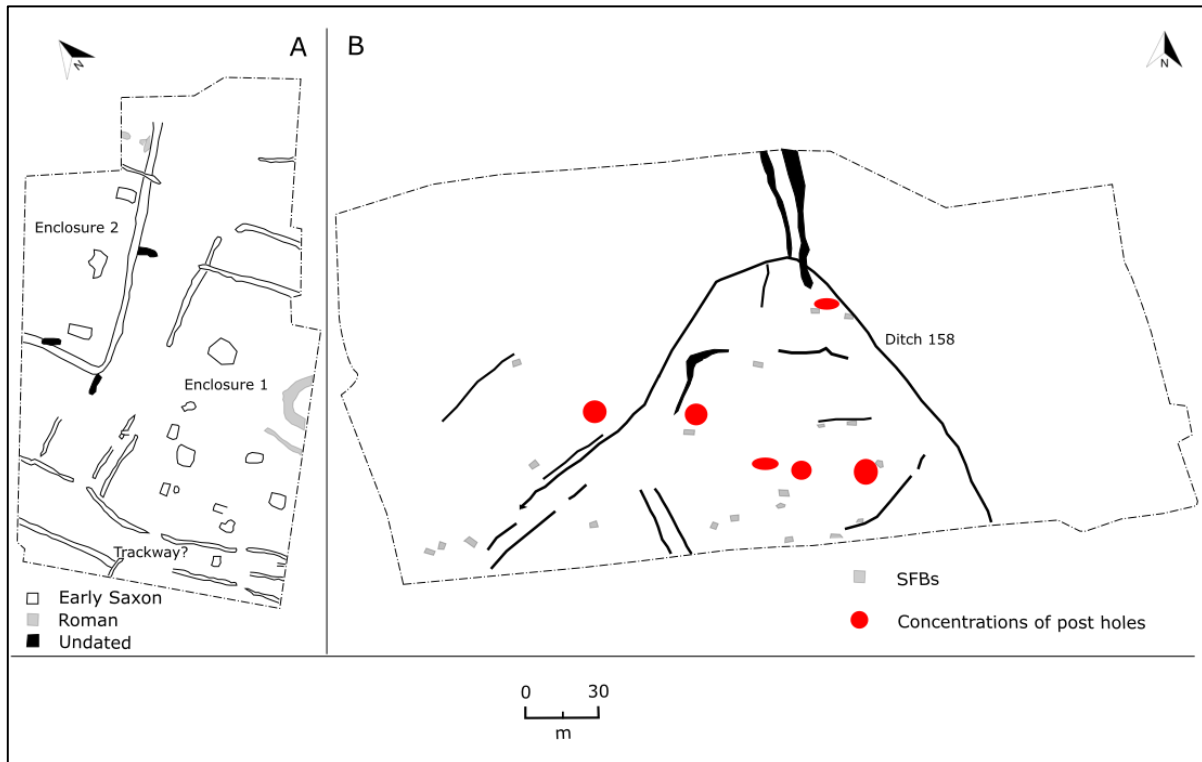


Fig 30: The dating of the enclosures at Godmanchester (A, after Gibson and Murray) has been disputed, making it unclear whether it has an association with surrounding field systems. At Athies (B, after Harnay), the status of ditch 158 was unclear.

At times, doubts about association are based on a simple lack of features, leaving it virtually impossible to give a meaningful interpretation of boundary structures. This was the case at Vieuxville-Beaurade, where ditch systems delimiting two enclosures existed without any accompanying structures being found. The excavators believed that the site was domestic, given the amount and nature of the pottery found, but whether the ditches enclosed a homestead, zoned areas within a larger settlement, or were for stock control, is impossible to say.<sup>50</sup> Pin Brook, near Exeter, was similarly enigmatic. Two early medieval ditches appeared to sub-divide an Iron Age ditch which may have been recut around the sixth century. To the east of these ditches was an area containing eight grain dryers with some

<sup>50</sup> Gilles Leroux, Françoise Le Boulanger, and Stéphanie Blanchet, 'Les occupations anciennes des rives de la Vilaine à Vieuxville-Beaurade (Rennes, Ille-et-Vilaine) de la Préhistoire à la fin du Moyen-Age', *Revue archéologique de l'ouest*, 15 (1998), 173-199.

possible post-built structures; to the west were 97 burials which could not be securely dated, but were thought to be later medieval.<sup>51</sup> It is unclear whether the recut Iron Age ditch was a perimeter boundary, what the relationship was between the two ditch sets, and what their role was within the site.

These sites show that it is often difficult to be categorical about the nature and function of boundary features. Several of the features discussed in the Sections below show similar issues, and it is sometimes a subjective judgement to conclude that a given boundary performed a specific function. There is, therefore, a considerable margin of error which must be borne in mind. For this same reason, it is difficult to compare boundaries across different sites, and even more difficult to do so in any systematic way.

#### 5.2.2: Perimeter boundaries

A perimeter boundary is defined here as one which fully enclosed, or effectively fully enclosed, its settlement. This includes short runs of boundary which served to close gaps between isolating natural features (for instance, the rampart across the Neck leading to Tintagel island). Also included are some examples where the excavators were confident that exposed boundary features represented part of a circuit. Perimeter boundaries on sites from Britain and Gaul are shown in Tables 27 and 28 (below). However, analysis of these features based purely on the table data is difficult. For example, the walls of Château Julien, Château-sur-Salins, or La Malène (Fig. 32, below) are clearly different from the earthen banks of Dinas Powys (also Fig. 32) or the drystone wall of Dinas Emrys (Plan C, Fig. 33, below). Yet they are

---

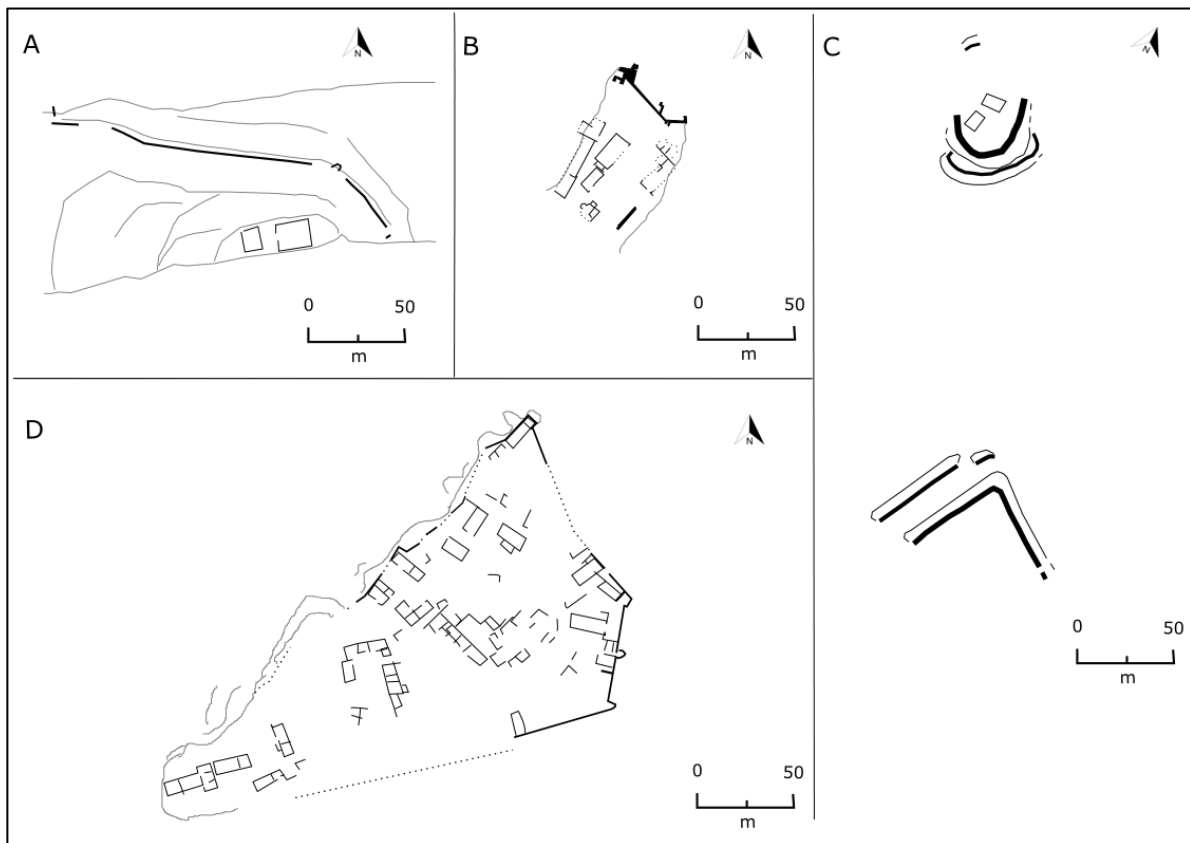
<sup>51</sup> Garland, 'Prehistoric settlement and burial, early Medieval crop processing and a possible early Medieval cemetery' pp. 103-145.

Group	Site & Category	Feature	Date	Boundary Type	Length (m)	Depth/height (m)	Width (m)	Profile	Description
P1	Tintagel	Great Ditch	Post-Roman	Ditch and bank		5.0+	3.5 -10	Flat V	Rampart blocking neck to mainland post-Roman in origin. Elaborated in later middle ages.
P1	Birdoswald (Cat. 1)	Fort Ditch	C5>	Ditch					Ditch recut in Late Roman period. Gateway refurbished as wooden structure in post-Roman.
P1	Dinas Powys (Cat. 1)	Bank 2c	c. 475	Ditch and bank					Series of earthen banks with ditches. Resequenced by Campbell.
P1	Dinas Powys	Bank A	c. 475	Bank					Eastern boundary.
P1	Dinas Powys	Bank 1	C6-7	Bank					Southern boundary.
P1	Dinas Powys	Bank B	C6-7	Bank					Western boundary.
P1	Dinas Powys	Bank 3	C7	Bank					
P1	Dinas Emrys	Rampart	Post-Roman	Wall			0.9-3.4		Stone core mixed with earth, faced with larger stones. Dating not certain. Enclosed area of 10,000m <sup>2</sup> .
P1	South Cadbury (Cat. 1)	Rampart E	C5>	Bank, palisade					Iron Age rampart refurbished c. 470. Timber palisade on top.
P3	Poundbury	E475, E573, E616, E553	Post-Roman VA	Ditch		c.0.15		U	Northern boundary of enclosure.
P3	Poundbury	D165, C146, C286, G1138	VA	Ditch		c.0.15		U	Eastern boundary of enclosure.
P3	Poundbury	E339, E442, E375, E67, E842	Early Saxon VB	Ditch		0.41 max	0.76 max	U	Northern boundary of enclosure, c. 0.73ha.
P3	Poundbury	F1041/2	VB	Ditch					Eastern boundary.
P3	Poundbury	D266	VB	Ditch					Southern boundary.
P3	Poundbury	B24	VB	Ditch					Western boundary.
P3	Trethurgy		C5-6	Wall Ditch			c.4m 3-5m		
P3	Graeanog	Wall	C6>	Wall					Dry stone wall.

Table 27: Perimeter boundaries on British sites.

Group	Site & Category	Feature	Date	Boundary Type	Length (m)	Depth (m)	Width (m)	Profile	Description
P1	Château-Julien	Wall	C4-8	Wall					Masonry wall, possibly with towers.
P1	Château-sur-Salins (Cat. 1)	Rampart	C7>	Wall	190m		1.1-1.35		Wall of mortared irregular limestone blocks. Entrance at either end; semi-circular wall tower.
P1	Larina (Cat. 1)	Rampart	C5>	Bank	950m				Refurbished Iron Age rampart with added guard house.
P1	La Couronne (Cat. 1)	Wall	C4>	Wall					Late Antique stone wall apparently extant in early Middle Ages.
P1	Embonne (Cat. 2)	Wall	C6?	Wall			2.0		Enclosed c. 2.5ha.
P1	La Malène (Cat. 1)	Wall	C5>	Wall					Stone-built, mortared wall with gate house/ tower.
P1	Le Roc de Pampe-lune	Wall	C5-6	Wall			> 1.0		
P2	Aoste (Cat. 3)	F2001	C5-7	Ditch	74m	0.07-0.62	0.80-1.40	U to flat base	Ditches forming enclosure around church.
P2	Aoste	F2002		Ditch	25m	0.18	0.50	Basin-shaped	
P2	Aoste	F2003		Ditch	85m	0.10-0.40	0.50-0.78	Basin to V	
P2	Aoste	Ensemble 2001		Ditch lengths	3.8-16m	0.07-0.31	0.33-0.52	Basin to U	
P2	Aoste	Ensemble 2009		Ditch lengths	1.1-23m	0.05-0.19	0.32-0.94	Basin to V	
P3	Tigery, Essonne	4422	365-845	Ditch, bank, palisade	100m+	0.5-0.65		Flat V	Described southern limit of Merovingian settlement.
P3	Tigery	3056	„	Ditch					Ran parallel to 3155.
P3	Tigery	3055	„	Ditch					Continued line of 4422 along trackway.
P3	Tigery	3155	C6-12	Ditch					If contemporaneous with 4422, would continue its line to the north.
P3	Tigery	3181	„	Ditch					Parallel to 3155.

Table 28: Perimeter boundaries on French sites.



*Fig. 31: A: Château-sur-Salins, after Gandel; B: La Malène, after Schneider and Clement; C: Dinas Powys, after Alcock and Campbell; D: Le Roc de Pampelune, after Schneider. Excavated walls and ramparts are shown with - bold black lines, hypothesised walls with dotted lines, contours with fine lines.*

more alike than, say, Dinas Powys is to Poundbury (see Fig. 38, p. 301). It is a correspondence in the siting of the boundary and in the broader characteristics of the sites which produce this comparison, and therefore these other features cannot be overlooked. At the same time, there may be, as will be seen, a difference between somewhere like La Malène and Le Roc de Pampelune (Fig. 32) which is belied by the similarity of their boundaries and siting. As a result of these complications, the sites in Tables 27 and 28 were placed in three groups, where inclusion was dependent partly on the nature of the boundary and partly on more general information. The first of these groups is P1 (see Tables), which might be called 'prestige' sites,

and which includes the archetypal 'fortified' hilltop sites. It also includes several of the sites which appeared in Chapter Three's Category One, based on building sizes.<sup>52</sup>

It seems clear that the perimeter boundaries on these sites gave a strong signal. This signal was associated with two interconnected things: the ability to harness considerable resources in labour and materials, and the ability to control a dominant and potentially defensible site. The most obvious expression of the first of these is found on those sites where the boundary features were created *de novo* in their early medieval occupation. It is not always possible to date the inception of such features, but this appears to be the case for the ramparts at Tintagel and Dinas Powys (as rephased by Campbell), and for the walls at Château-sur-Salins, La Couronne, and La Malene.<sup>53</sup> South Cadbury re-used an earlier rampart system, but reworked it to such an extent that a similar expenditure of resources is visible. A timber framework was used to re-form the rampart, and an impressive timber gateway was added (see Fig. 33 and 34). The very size of the undertaking suggests significant command of labour and material: Alcock noted that it would have been possible to fortify a smaller area of the hilltop.<sup>54</sup> To a lesser degree, this is also true of Larina (Plan A, Fig. 33), where re-used Roman stone was employed in strengthening the prehistoric bank and a guardhouse was added near the entranceway.<sup>55</sup>

---

<sup>52</sup> See Chapter Three, pp. 119-121.

<sup>53</sup> Charles Thomas, *Tintagel, Arthur and Archaeology* (London: Batsford, 1993), pp. 58-59; Campbell, *Continental and Mediterranean Imports to Atlantic Britain and Ireland, AD400-800*, pp. 96-98; Gandel and Billoin, 'L'établissement fortifié de hauteur alto-médiéval de Château-sur-Salins', pp. 261-272; Martinez, Chabert, Chevalier, Faure, and Liégard, 'L'église paléochrétienne de l'établissement fortifié de hauteur de La Couronne', 1-36; Schneider and Clement, 'Le Castellum de La Malène', pp. 317-328.

<sup>54</sup> Leslie Alcock, *Arthur's Britain: History and Archaeology AD 367-634* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1971), pp. 220-225.

<sup>55</sup> Porte, *Larina et son territoire*, pp. 34-37.

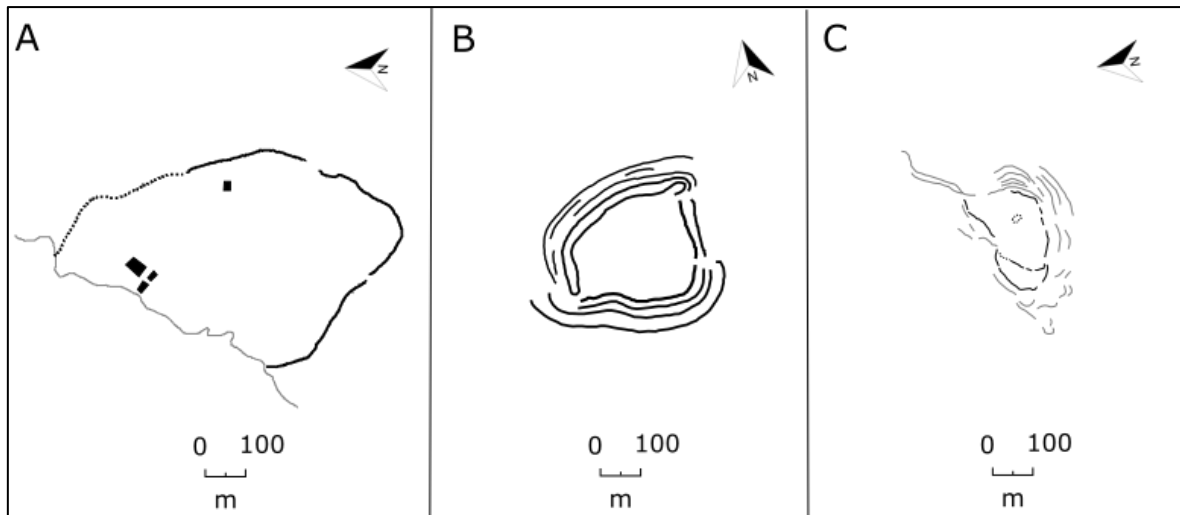


Fig. 32: Perimeter boundary works at A: Larina, after Porte; B: South Cadbury, after Alcock; C: Dinas Emrys, after Savory.

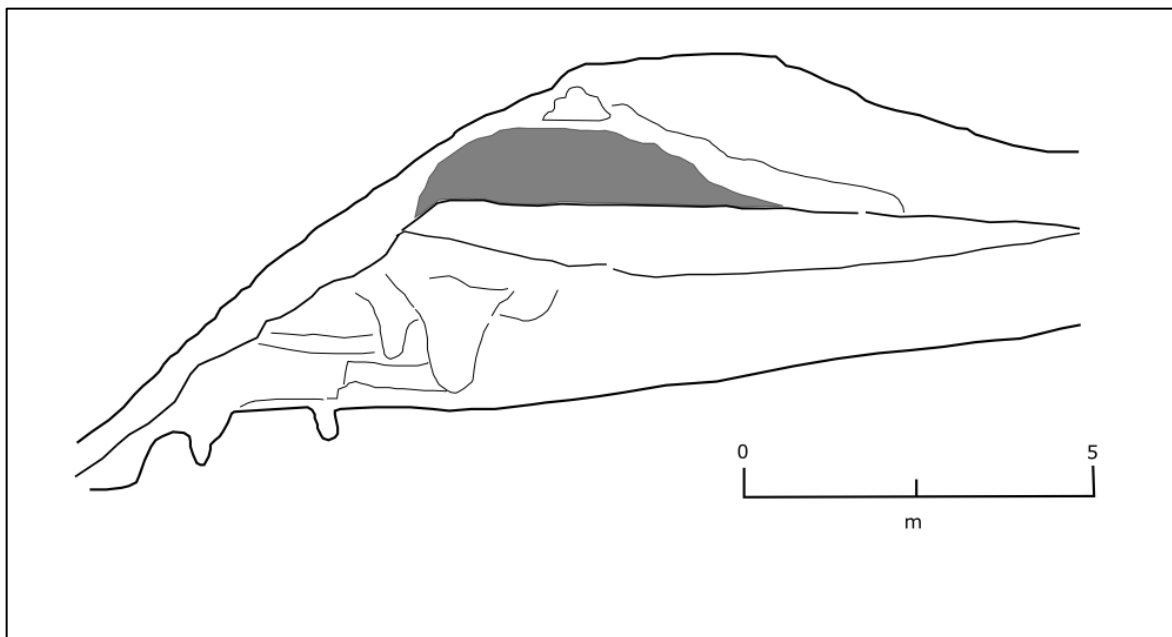


Fig. 33: Simplified section through the rampart at South Cadbury. The dark grey area represents the early medieval refurbishment. After Alcock.

Seaman suggested that the multiple earthworks at Dinas Powys may have been the product of client labour, as detailed in Irish law and believed to lie behind the creation of multi-vallate raths (see further below). He further argued that the strengthening of reciprocal client-patron bonds was more important than the resulting bank, and that it was the need for

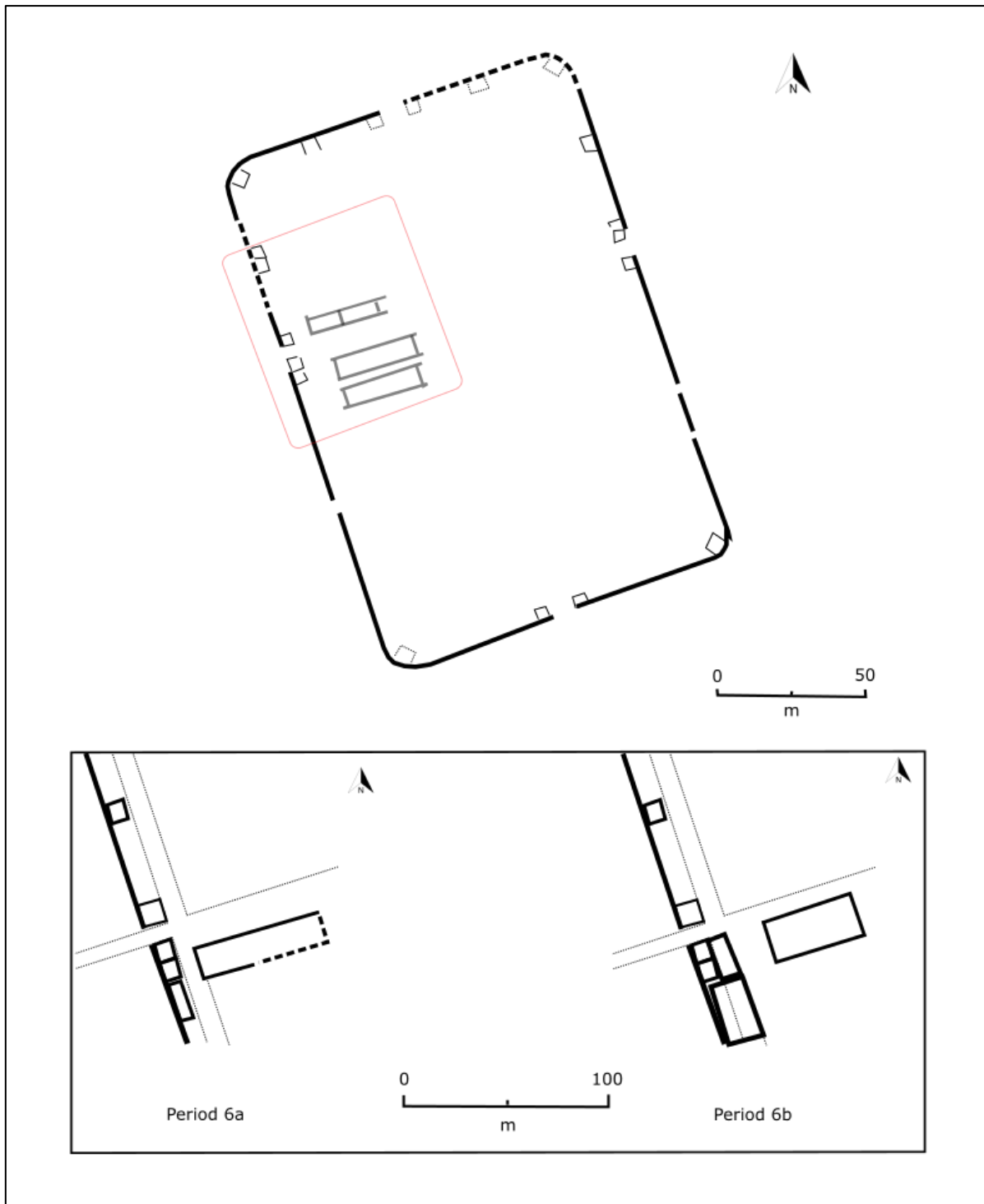
this social reinforcement which produced an upsurge in rampart creation.<sup>56</sup> This view has much to commend it, since one of the signals such boundaries would send to potential aggressors would be that of a united community. In a different social context, it is possible to imagine that the symbolic value of mortared walls of dressed stones was that of continuing, organised power of the type exercised by the Roman state. It may have been such a signal that the occupiers of La Couronne hoped to send when they ordered the construction of their walls in the face of Visigothic expansion in Aquitaine.<sup>57</sup> The extent to which these sites relied upon such signals, and the extent to which they were truly defensible, will be discussed further below.

Question marks remain over the dating of several boundaries in group P1. The drystone walls at Dinas Emrys may be early medieval or later, while those at Château-Julien and Embonne may have been Late Antique constructions which persisted. In these cases, and at Larina and Birdoswald, the ability to take or hold such a focal point in the landscape may have been enough to send the desired message, although the context of those messages varies. Larina, as discussed in Chapter Three, has one of the strongest claims of any site examined here for being an agricultural centre, whereas the community at Birdoswald (Fig. 35 below), possibly the descendants of former *limitanei*, may have been supported by food renders. Here, the site of a Roman fort with stone-built walls was perpetuated on a prominent position above the River Irthing. Within this circuit, a sequence of probable halls were occupied from the late fourth to sixth century (and possibly later). At first, this involved reusing one of two Roman military granaries, but when this fell into disrepair, it was replaced

---

<sup>56</sup> Andrew Seaman, 'Dinas Powys in Context: Settlement and Society in Post-Roman Wales', *Studia Celtica*, XLVII (2013), 1-23 (p. 11).

<sup>57</sup> Martinez, Chabert, Chevalier, Faure, and Liégard, 'L'église paléochrétienne de l'établissement fortifié de hauteur de La Couronne', p. 31.



*Fig 34: Birdoswald. The gateway and area of occupation is shown in the red box on the main plan. Early medieval phases are inset: 6a is the reused granary, 6b the timber hall. After Wilmott.*

by a sequence of timber framed buildings, culminating in a hall of some 198m<sup>2</sup> which faced onto the road from the fort's gateway. However defensible the walls were at this point, the boundary was clearly a powerful symbol, possibly reinforced in some areas by an earthen

bank and by some form of work at the gateway's outer face, indicated by post holes. Wilmot believed that the fort's occupants used Roman military trappings and prestige either to support a local chief or to assume local power in their own right, hence continuing to receive a tribute in kind from the surrounding population.<sup>58</sup>

Both Château-Julien and Embonne are harder to characterise due to a lack of detailed information. The former may have been a settlement of some size and prestige given the possibility of a hypocaust, the presence of a church, and the deduced height of the walls.<sup>59</sup> The latter is something of an outlier, given that the largest sixth-century structure was built beyond the perimeter wall. Bermond, Pomarèdes, and Rascalou believed the Antique site may have been a specialist craft centre; if so, the wall here may have had a different function, more akin to zoning, which continued into the early Middle Ages.<sup>60</sup>

In general, however, there is some doubt as to the serious defensive intentions behind such structures. In their overview of fortified sites across Europe in the eighth to tenth centuries, Christie and Herold identified some with a genuine military function, which they defined by state endorsement, such as that shown for the site of L'Esquersa, Catalonia, in the *Annales Regni Francorum* from the reign of Louis the Pious.<sup>61</sup> Others were more familial symbols of power, possibly created in emulation of the Carolingian state.<sup>62</sup> Loveluck

---

<sup>58</sup> Wilmott, *Birdoswald*, pp. 203-231; 194; 408-409.

<sup>59</sup> David Billoin and Cédric Cramatte, 'Le castrum de l'Antiquité tardive et du haut Moyen Âge de Mandeure et l'établissement fortifié de hauteur de Château-Julien (Doubs)', *Gallia*, 74,1 (2017), 273-287.

<sup>60</sup> Iouri Bermond and Hervé Pomarèdes, 'Agde (Hérault): Embonne', *Archéologie du Midi médiévale*, 32 (2014), 40-44; Iouri Bermond, Hervé Pomarèdes, and Pierre Rascalou, 'Évolution des centres de production et poles de peuplement dans la vallée de l'Hérault. Les exemples d'Embonne (Agde) et Peyre Plantade (Clermont-l'Hérault)', *Revue archéologique de Narbonnaise*, 35 (2002), 241-258.

<sup>61</sup> Christie and Herold, 'Introduction', in *Fortified Settlements in Early Medieval Europe*, ed. by Christie and Herold, pp. xxii-xxiii; Imma Ollich-Castanyer, Montserrat Rocafiguera-Espona, and Maria Ocaña-Subirana, 'The Southern Carolingian Frontier in Marca Hispanica along the River Ter: Roda Civitas and the Archaeological Site of L'Esquerda (Catalonia)', in *Fortified Settlements in Early Medieval Europe*, ed. by Christie and Herold, pp. 205-217 (p. 211).

<sup>62</sup> Christie and Herold, 'Introduction', in *Fortified Settlements in Early Medieval Europe*, ed. by Christie and Herold, pp. xxi-xxiii.

distinguished between these, which he saw primarily as expressions of social distinction, and the broader signals of royal authority embodied in the fortifications of the late ninth century onwards.<sup>63</sup> In both cases, however, the symbolic nature of the boundary might outweigh its truly defensive nature. Loveluck noted that Charles the Bald's fortifications at Saint-Denis could have been simply overcome,<sup>64</sup> while Gandel and Billoin observed that the mortared wall barring access to the plateau at Château-sur-Salins fell short of the cliff edge and could have been easily circumvented by men on foot (Plan A, Fig. 32). It was, they suggested, purely ostentatious.<sup>65</sup> However, this is to imagine these sites in the context of siege warfare, which is not thought to have been general military practice at the time. Halsall identified a general disinterest in fortifications and an underdeveloped approach to siege tactics. He noted instances of hillforts having been burnt during conflict, but stated that it was not clear if this happened after a pitched battle outside the walls. In general, the stronghold appears to have been a place to muster people and livestock, and which could be used to draw enemies to a preferred field of battle.<sup>66</sup> Savoury believed that the cistern on the hilltop at Dinas Emrys was built to water stock which might be gathered there for protection.<sup>67</sup> If this was so, however, it seems that the perceived danger never materialised or quickly passed, since the cistern was allowed to silt up and was soon overgrown by hazel trees.<sup>68</sup> It may have been the sense of threat which was important in the creation of some fortified sites, and that they were never intended to do more than give temporary shelter, as is thought to be the case with the raths

---

<sup>63</sup> Loveluck, *Northwest Europe in the Early Middle Ages*, pp. 215-221.

<sup>64</sup> Loveluck, *Northwest Europe in the Early Middle Ages*, p. 119.

<sup>65</sup> Gandel and Billoin, 'L'établissement fortifié de hauteur alto-médiéval de Château-sur-Salins', p. 261.

<sup>66</sup> Alcock, *Arthur's Britain*, p. 345; Halsall, *Warfare and Society in the Barbarian West*, pp. 218; 223; 221.

<sup>67</sup> H. Savoury, 'Excavations at Dinas Emrys, Beddgelert (Caern.), 1954-56, *Archaeologia Cambrensis*, 109 (1960), 13-77 (pp. 21-23; 51).

<sup>68</sup> Brian Seddon, 'Report on the organic deposits in the pool at Dinas Emrys', in Savoury, 'Excavations at Dinas Emrys' pp. 72-77.

and cashels of Ireland.<sup>69</sup> Beyond this, their importance appears to lie in the signal of power, whether couched in Roman or sub-Roman terms. This signal may have served to reassure the local community that the resident lord (and receiver of their food renders) was capable of protecting them; to aggressors it was a warning that the fight would not be worth the risk.<sup>70</sup>

It may not always be possible, however, to draw a simple parallel between the size and nature of the boundary and the nature of the centre it encircles. The boundary wall at Le Roc de Pampelune (Fig. 32, plan D) compares in extent with those of the prestigious P1 sites. The site was home to stone-built dwellings demarcated by size and number of rooms into three groups (around 70m<sup>2</sup>, 61m<sup>2</sup>, and 39-45m<sup>2</sup>). It also had a church with baptistry, and showed evidence of access to imported goods, in the form of African amphorae fragments. However, the widespread evidence of metalworking led Schneider to suggest that this could have been a specialist craft site, possibly under ecclesiastical control.<sup>71</sup> If so, then power which was reflected in the stone walls may not have been one which was resident on site.

While some walled sites were not elite residences, it is also the case that not all elite residences were walled. Sites from eastern Britain are notably absent from the P1 group, and some possible elite sites from western Britain are also missing. Imported pottery and glass found at Longbury Bank, Dyfed, suggested elite connections, but no attempt appears to have been made to fortify it even though it sat on a limestone promontory between two valleys.<sup>72</sup>

---

<sup>69</sup> Charles-Edwards, *Early Christian Ireland*, p. 149.

<sup>70</sup> Gerrard stresses their symbolic value: *The Ruin of Roman Britain*, p. 171.

<sup>71</sup> Laurent Schneider, 'Le château avant le château ou le défi réel du temps long (IV<sup>e</sup>-XI<sup>e</sup> siècles): quelques repères en guise d'introduction', *Patrimoines du Sud* (online) 10 (2019), 1-23; Laurent Schneider. 'Dynamique de peuplement et forme de l'habitat en Occitanie méditerranéenne durant en haut Moyen Âge', in *L'habitat rural du haut Moyen Âge en France (Ve-Xe siècle) : dynamiques du peuplement, formes, fonctions et statuts des établissements* ed. by J. Fernandez, L. Schneider, and J. Soulat (Lattes -Montpellier: Association Française d'Archéologie Mérovingienne, 2015). pp.13-40; Gaspard Pagès, Laurent Schneider, and Philippe Fluzin, 'Le travail du fer dans l'établissement perché tardo-antique du Roc de Pampelune (Argelliers, Hérault) : l'apport des analyses métallographiques', *Archeosciences, Revue d'Archéométrie*, 29 (2005), 107-116.

<sup>72</sup> Ewan Campbell and Alan Lane, 'Excavations at Longbury Bank, Dyfed, and Early Medieval Settlement in South Wales', *Medieval Archaeology*, 37 (1993), 15-77 (p. 28).

Similarly, some of the Gallic *civitas* capitals continued to be used as episcopal sees, although the Late Antique fortifications of towns were often not maintained.<sup>73</sup> The continued importance of Wroxeter as a local power centre suggests that Romanesque power was a multifaceted concept, even if ultimately underpinned by the use of, or threat of, force.<sup>74</sup>

Perimeter boundaries might also express spiritual rather than temporal power; encountered here in Aoste, the only site to be placed in the P2 group of religious sites (although La Couronne might be said to bridge P1 and P2). A church was built here in the fifth century, on what was possibly a virgin site (Fig. 36, below). This church, made of wood on stone foundations, was enclosed by successive ditches forming a series of D-shaped enclosures. Although this was not the boundary of the whole site (the settlement extended beyond this, accompanied by a larger ditch system), this perimeter does appear to have marked the religious heart of the site, and therefore formed a type of perimeter, in a pattern observed elsewhere. In Ireland, the ideal of a monastic enclosure seems to have been a series of concentric rings, although in practice topography may have meant that these were rarely perfect circles.<sup>75</sup> Similar sub-circular boundaries were also often used to delimit cemeteries and small chapels in western and northern Britain, on sites which, Thomas suggested, may have begun as hermitages.<sup>76</sup> The excavators interpreted the site at Aoste as monastic, with wooden cells for the monks surrounding the church. At the same time, the relatively small number of burials for the life of the site (29), and the inclusion of children, led to them believe

---

<sup>73</sup> Bourgeois, 'The fate of small towns, hilltop settlements, and elite residences in Merovingian-period Gaul', in *The Oxford Handbook of the Merovingian World*, ed. by Effros and Moreira, pp. 611-640 (p. 613); Bourgeois, 'Les residences des élites et les fortifications du haut Moyen Âge', pp. 120-121.

<sup>74</sup> Philip Barker, Roger White, Kate Pretty, Heather Bird, and Mike Corbishley, *The Baths Basilica Wroxeter, Excavations 1966-1990*, English Heritage Archaeological Report 8 (London: English Heritage, 1997), pp. 129-138; 235-236; Roger White and Philip Barker, *Wroxeter. Life and Death of a Roman City* (Stroud: Tempus, 1998; revised edn. 2002), pp. 125-126; Gerrard, *The Ruin of Roman Britain*, pp. 249-262.

<sup>75</sup> Blair, *The Church in Anglo-Saxon Society*, pp. 197-198; Charles Thomas, *The Early Christian Archaeology of North Britain* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1971), pp. 27-47.

<sup>76</sup> Thomas, *The Early Christian Archaeology of North Britain*, pp. 81-85.

that these may have been members of an elite family connected to the church's foundation.<sup>77</sup> This, coupled with the occurrence of granaries both inside and outside the church enclosure, might suggest an estate church, possibly served by a small monastic community including, if not founded upon, members of the controlling family. A similar D-shaped enclosure surrounded the church and burial ground at the settlement of Saleux, Les

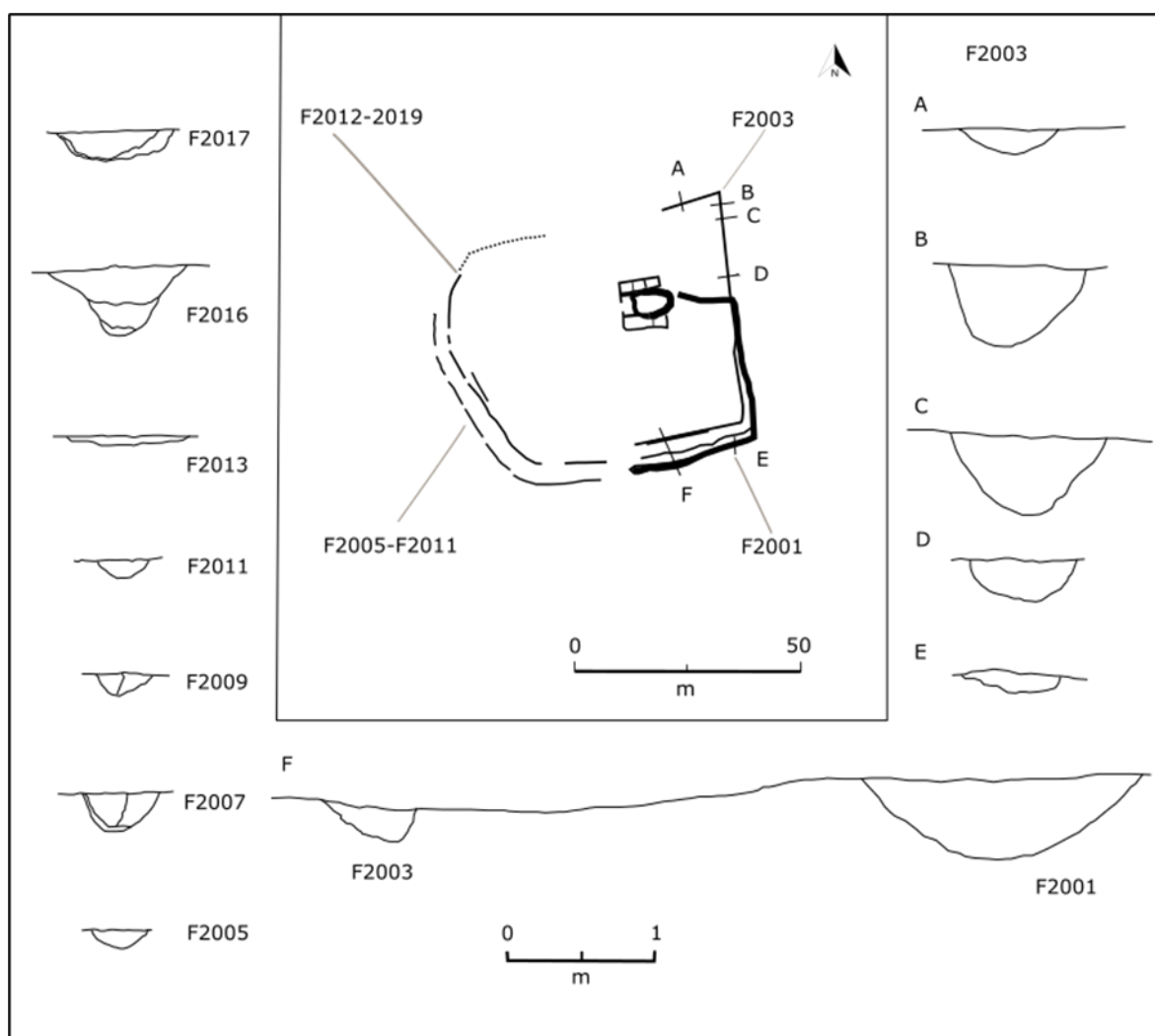


Fig. 35: The enclosure around the church at Aoste. The irregularity and apparent shallowness of some of the ditch profiles might suggest that their importance lay in delimiting a spiritual boundary. After Ancel and Tourgon.

<sup>77</sup> Marie-Josée Ancel and Damien Tourgon, 'Département de l'Isère (38). Aoste "Les Communaux – ZAC PIDA", Rapport d'Opération d'Archéologie Préventive Vol. 1, Texts (Ministère de la culture et de la communication; Préfecture de la région Auvergne-Rhône-Alpes; Direction Régionale des Affaires Culturelles; Service Régional de l'Archéologie; Archeodunum; Communauté de communes Les Vallons du Guiers: Chaponnay, April 2017), pp. 209-215.

Coutures, in the Somme. Here, it was clear that the religious centre was part of a larger whole, itself divided into separate ditched enclosures.<sup>78</sup> The crossover between early monastic and lay sites, especially those served by churches, makes it difficult to be categorical about status, but Aoste's claim to some form of monastic identity is strong, especially given the detail on the division of its church enclosure.<sup>79</sup>

The enclosure ditches at Aoste are variable in both size and depth, although some of this variation, and the relative shallowness of some ditch-remains, might have been due to erosion.<sup>80</sup> It may be, however, that part of the function of the monastic boundary was symbolic, and relied upon spiritual power rather than material reality for its significance. Lauwers noted that the Rule of Benedict specified that the monastery should be enclosed, but gave no details of this enclosure.<sup>81</sup> Hedstrom and Dey described how many monasteries re-used boundaries from earlier structures, or mirrored prevailing lay architecture, as may have been the case in Ireland with monasteries and raths.<sup>82</sup> This may also have been true of Iona, where a simple ditch and bank to the west was contrasted to a more regular, stone-faced bank to the south. Hillforts and Roman camps were also repurposed in this way.<sup>83</sup> In other cases, however, the boundary may have been more substantial: Blair recorded how

---

<sup>78</sup> Claude Lorren and Patrick Périn, 'Images de la Gaule rurale au VI<sup>e</sup> siècle' in *Grégoire de Tours et l'espace gaulois. Actes du congrès international (Tours, 3-5 novembre 1994)*, *Revue archéologique du centre de la France*, Supplement 13 (Tours: Fédération pour l'édition de la Revue archéologique du Centre de la France, 1997), pp. 93-109 (p. 102).

<sup>79</sup> Ancel and Tourgon, 'Aoste "Les Communaux"', pp. 202-203.

<sup>80</sup> Ancel and Tourgon, 'Aoste "Les Communaux"', pp. 65-73.

<sup>81</sup> Michel Lauwers, transl. by Matthew Mattingly, 'Constructing Monastic Space in the Early and Central Medieval West (Fifth to Twelfth Century)', in *The Cambridge History of Medieval Monasticism in the Latin West*, ed. by A. I. Beach and I. Cochelin (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2020), pp. 317-339 (pp. 321).

<sup>82</sup> D. L. B. Hedstrom and H. Dey, 'The Archaeology of the Earliest Monasteries' in *The Cambridge History of Medieval Monasticism in the Latin West*, ed. by Beach and Cochelin, pp. 73-96 (pp. 90-91).

<sup>83</sup> Thomas, *The Early Christian Archaeology of North Britain*, pp. 29-38.

some minster sites in what is now England did have substantial ditches, and even slighter perimeters may have been reinforced with hedges.<sup>84</sup>

The sites examined in groups P1 and P2 appear to use perimeter boundaries as signals of power, be that temporal or spiritual, and whether the signalling power was resident on site or not. However, it is possible that this statement was just part of broader social semiotics behind such boundaries. This idea has perhaps been most thoroughly explored in Ireland. As noted earlier, Irish ringforts have been interpreted as the dwellings of the free population. Stout explored a correspondence between the grades of society as expressed in Irish law and the grades of ringfort as determined by size. Where the laws gave an indication of the size of 'stockade' expected for a king, he found this correlated with archaeological evidence for the largest ringforts, and that the size of rampart expected from client labour was a close match to those on the ground. From this, he extrapolated that the smallest ringforts may have been the dwellings of small, free farmers.<sup>85</sup> However, ideas that the unfree lived in unenclosed settlements are now being questioned. O'Sullivan and McCormick argued that, while there was some evidence for the poorest rural inhabitants living on unenclosed sites, there were also suggestions that these were only temporarily, perhaps seasonally, inhabited. Instead, they maintained that the majority of people would have lived inside the ringfort enclosures, the unfree alongside their masters.<sup>86</sup> Stout also believed that unfree peasants would have lived near the lands of those for whom they laboured. However, he also argued that the very lowest grades of the free may have built raths, even though the land on which they stood was rented.<sup>87</sup> Whether those who rented land would have been permitted to build enclosures

---

<sup>84</sup> Blair, *The Church in Anglo-Saxon Society*, p. 198.

<sup>85</sup> Matthew Stout, *The Irish Ringfort* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 1997; paperback, 2000), pp. 110-114.

<sup>86</sup> O'Sullivan and McCormick, 'Early Medieval Ireland: investigating social, economic and settlement change', pp. 121; 116.

<sup>87</sup> Stout, *The Irish Ringfort*, pp. 117; 114.

upon that land is a difficult question, and it does not sit well with Charles-Edwards' belief that the ringfort marked an area over which its inhabitants had exclusive legal rights.<sup>88</sup> Whether tenants had the right to erect such a boundary might depend on how those boundaries are viewed. If, as suggested above, perimeter boundary were statements of power and control, then a landlord might be reluctant to see them erected on a tenant's land. This would suggest that only those who held the land in question could raise such a perimeter. If the boundary was seen as a practical part of day-to-day husbandry, then a landlord would presumably have no greater objection than they would to any stock pen or drainage ditch. In spite of their often practical character, the enclosures of raths and cashels are generally seen as something more than this. O'Sullivan and Nicholl saw them as defining the extended family, including its dependents and slaves, and echoing the broader definition of the *túath*, or territorial unit.<sup>89</sup> These ideas will be considered in relation to the group of P3 sites in Tables 28 and 29, which are more vernacular in character.

Of the sites in P3, two, Trethurgy and Graeanog (Fig. 37, below), are close to the model of the Irish ringfort. Trethurgy is a classic example of a Cornish round, a form which may have had a longer existence than the ringforts, since they are considered to have had an Iron-Age origin. Quinell thought that their continuation into the early medieval period had been underestimated.<sup>90</sup> She traced the evolution of Trethurgy over centuries of use, as structures were assembled and disassembled within the boundary wall. By the fifth century, habitation was thought to have been its lowest, with more space given over to working areas. A 12kg tin ingot found in a midden was thought to date to this period. Quinell envisaged the

---

<sup>88</sup> Charles-Edwards, *Early Christian Ireland*, p. 149.

<sup>89</sup> O'Sullivan and Nicholl, 'Early medieval settlement enclosures in Ireland' p. 66.

<sup>90</sup> Henrietta Quinell, *Trethurgy. Excavations at Trethurgy Round, St Sustell: Community and Status in Roman and Post-Roman Cornwall* (Truro: Cornwall County Council, 2004), p. 239.

Trethurgy of this phase taking its place in a hierarchy of settlement, with elite sites such as Tintagel at the top of a chain of production, redistributing profits in the form of imported goods (amphorae, Late Roman 1, 2, and 3 pottery, PRS, and E ware were all found on site in relatively small quantities). Below Trethurgy, she suggested, were the unenclosed homesteads of lower social grades.<sup>91</sup>

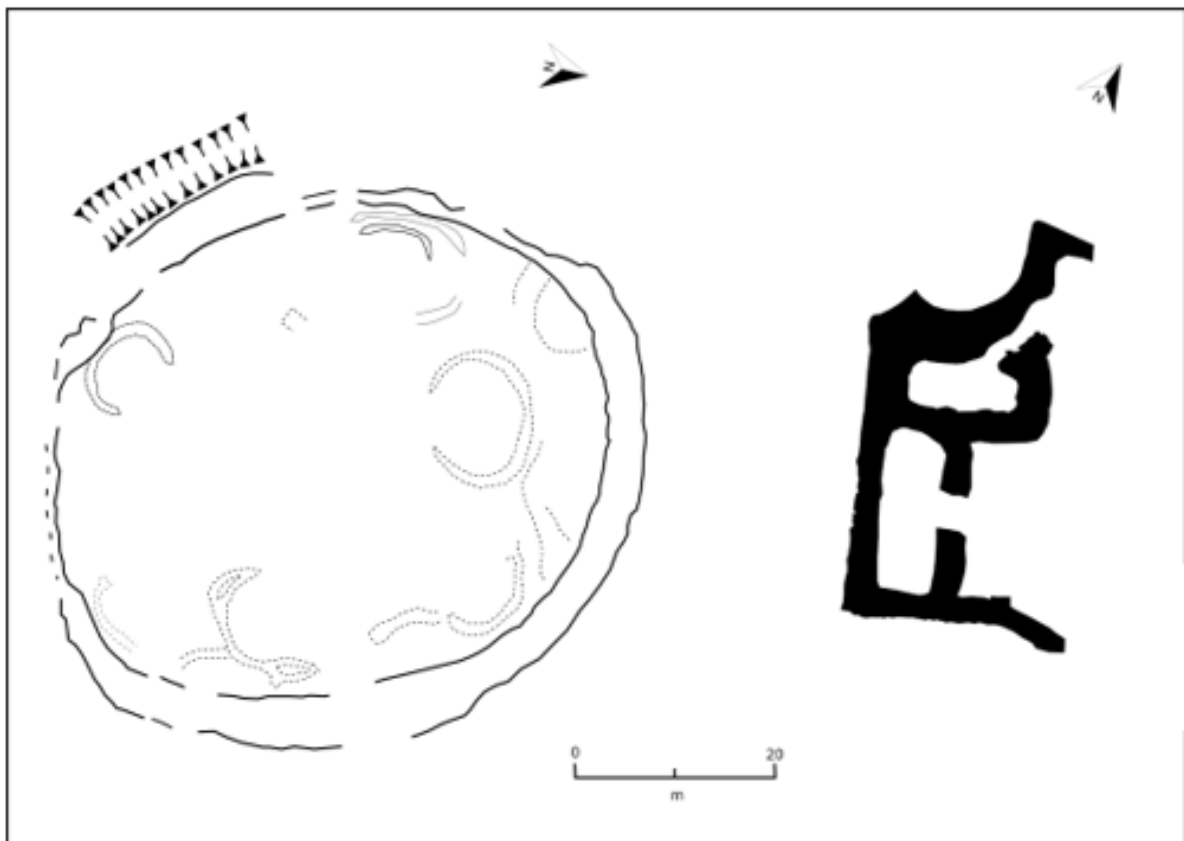


Fig. 36: Possible models of vernacular perimeter boundaries in western Britain, Trethurgy (left, after Quinnell), Cornwall, and Graeanog, North Wales (after Kelly).

It is possible that Graeanog, too, formed part of such a chain. This site, which began as two roundhouses, appears to have had an intermittent life through the Iron Age and Roman period. It was enclosed during its Roman phase with a wall almost 2m thick. The dating of its early medieval phase is not secure. Archaeomagnetic dating of a hearth stone gave a

<sup>91</sup> Quinnell, *Trethurgy*, p. 241.

range from the sixth to ninth centuries, but Kelly preferred the latter end of this. The issue was not resolved by radiocarbon dates on charcoal from the grain dryer, however, which gave both fourth and tenth century dates.<sup>92</sup> In spite of this, the presence of a possibly early medieval grain dryer might give a clue to Graeanog's status. Comeau and Burrow's proposition that dryers were located at assembly sites, or at those controlled by royal bondsmen, might suggest a service status for Graeanog: a settlement with some standing of its own, but also a link in the provisioning chain between peasants and the elite.<sup>93</sup> It should also be noted that the site sits in an area of other hut groups (with two separate incarnations of the Cefn Graeanog group). Whether this could be read as long-term continuity, or simply the perpetuation of a successful model is difficult to say.

Even if such a status could be accepted for Trethurgy and (dating issues aside) for Graeanog, what is missing from this equation is the evidence for the unenclosed homesteads which stood below them in the hierarchy. In itself, this is not surprising. Given the ephemeral nature of early medieval buildings, sites without walls or ditches will be harder to trace, while continued occupation at earlier sites may be missed. As Lewitt observed, the relative dearth of pottery, the frequently handmade nature of that which was produced, and the tendency to conserve objects from earlier periods, all make early medieval occupation difficult to perceive.<sup>94</sup> Nonetheless, unless the picture is completed by further evidence, suggestions about the status of sites such as Trethurgy must remain hypothetical, and their implications for the meaning of boundaries speculative.

---

<sup>92</sup> Kelly, 'The Excavation of an Enclosed Homestead at Graeanog', in Fasham, Kelly, Mason and White, *The Graeanog Ridge: The Evolution of a Farming Landscape and its Settlements in North-West Wales*, pp. 114-158.

<sup>93</sup> Comeau and Burrow, 'Corn-drying kilns in Wales', p. 115.

<sup>94</sup> Lewitt, *Agricultural Production in the Roman Economy*, pp. 38-39.

It is, of course, partly the similarity of form between these sites and Irish ringforts which prompts the broader comparison. This is not entirely unreasonable: there were similarities between Irish and Welsh society, as explored in Chapter Four, and it is conceivable that Cornish society shared some of the same features. It has even been suggested that the ringfort form was an export from Western Britain to Ireland.<sup>95</sup> However, there are other similarities between these areas than social organisation. The topography of each meant a prevalence of boundaries of stone and turf were likely to predominate. A heavily pastoral economy may have meant a similar need to corral stock to protect them from predators and casual thieves. As was shown with prestige sites above, similar signals can be sent in different contexts, so, equally, messages in similar contexts may have subtle differences which are belied by a shared form.

If this picture is complicated, it becomes more so as the survey begins to move eastwards across Britain. There are, notably, no sites with perimeter boundaries from the areas where Anglo-Saxon culture was first established. This is consistent with the standard model for unenclosed early Anglo-Saxon settlement. Poundbury, however, shows possible perimeter boundaries from the period in which it may have begun to assimilate Anglo-Saxon culture in the form of nine iron knives typologically similar to those found in early to mid-Saxon contexts.<sup>96</sup> This is not to suggest that there was a change in the ethnic composition of the population at this point (an idea effectively rejected by the excavators), but that it may indicate the leading edge of an early wave of acculturation along the lines suggested by Blair.<sup>97</sup> Poundbury is a complex site which has been re-interpreted since its original excavation, but which remains enigmatic. A system of rectilinear enclosures developed there during the

---

<sup>95</sup> Edwards, *The Archaeology of Early Medieval Ireland*, p. 18

<sup>96</sup> Sparey-Green, *Excavations at Poundbury*, p. 98.

<sup>97</sup> Blair, *Building Anglo-Saxon England*, pp. 24-40.

Roman period, partly in association with a growing cemetery, although there may also have been a drove-way at the northern edge.<sup>98</sup> Superseding this in the first post-Roman phase (VA, fifth century), but on a similar alignment, was a curvilinear system, part of which may have formed a perimeter around the settlement. In the second post-Roman phase (VB, sixth to seventh century), this was replaced by another ditch describing a curvilinear enclosure on a different alignment. This was associated with individual enclosures around cell-like dwellings (see Fig. 38, below).<sup>99</sup>

Sparey-Green originally believed that the Roman settlement may have represented a largely pastoral farm, possibly serving nearby Dorchester. Sheep or goats were the predominant livestock, although the late Roman period saw a spike in both cattle and pig numbers. Charred grains were found in an oven, but these were insignificant compared to the quantities found in a series of post-Roman grain dryers, when arable appears to have become more important. At the same time, however, there was an increase in the slaughter of young cattle, pigs, and sheep which Buckland-Wright thought could have represented an urban demand.<sup>100</sup> The nature of this 'urban' demand is worth considering. Continued occupation of the hillfort above Poundbury was suspected, but could not be proven, and Sparey-Green thought it possible that the settlement was an 'adjunct' of this potentially larger community.<sup>101</sup> Another possibility is Dorchester itself, where some hints of post-Roman

---

<sup>98</sup> Sparey-Green, *Excavations at Poundbury*, pp. 65-66.

<sup>99</sup> Sparey-Green, *Excavations at Poundbury*, p. 90; C. J. Sparey-Green, 'Living amongst the dead: from Roman cemetery to post-Roman monastic settlement at Poundbury', in *Debating Late Antiquity in Britain AD 300-700*, ed. by R. Collins and J. Gerrard, BAR 365 (Oxford: BAR Publishing, 2004), pp. 103-111 (p. 108). Petts did not accept the presence of an enclosure: Petts, 'Elite Settlements', pp. 105-106.

<sup>100</sup> Sparey-Green, *Excavations at Poundbury*, pp. 68-69; Christopher Sparey-Green, 'Poundbury, Dorset: Settlement and economy in Late and post-Roman Dorchester', in *External Contacts and the Economy of Late and Post-Roman Britain*, ed. by K. R. Dark (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1996), pp. 121-152 (p. 137); J.C. Buckland-Wright 'The Animal Bones', in Sparey-Green, *Excavations at Poundbury*, p. 129.

<sup>101</sup> Sparey-Green, *Excavations at Poundbury*, p. 69; Sparey-Green, 'Poundbury, Dorset', p. 142.

activity have been found.<sup>102</sup> If, like Wroxeter, Dorchester became a seat of immediate post-Roman power in the area, then Poundbury may have been a service centre which produced and/or processed food-renders from the surrounding population. This is consistent with the pattern of 'poly-focal' settlement, occupying various niches on a hierarchical scale, identified by Loveluck.<sup>103</sup> Sparey-Green later re-interpreted the site as a monastic enclosure.<sup>104</sup> This is an intriguing, if unproven, hypothesis, but it does not rule out an association between the site and an unknown elite centre. Pairings of elite and monastic sites have been suggested elsewhere, such as that between Dinas Powys and Llandough.<sup>105</sup>

In defence of Sparey-Green's proposition, it is worth noting that the Poundbury ditches were relatively shallow, although they may have been accompanied by a bank.<sup>106</sup> Both this and the cell-type structures of the final post-Roman phase are reminiscent of those seen at Aoste. It is also notable that, in spite of its position in the shadow of the hillfort, Poundbury itself does not appear to have been particularly prosperous at any stage, a fact which Sparey-Green contrasted to its relative concentration of agricultural processing.<sup>107</sup> The occupation of the former cemetery site is also intriguing, since it not only violates Roman social norms but goes beyond the level of familial burial associated with some other settlements.<sup>108</sup> Since ignorance of the cemetery's presence seems unlikely (some of the mausolea were used for storage), it may be that the occupation of this space represented an assumption of spiritual control which would be consistent with Sparey-Green's monastic hypothesis. It is also

---

<sup>102</sup> A possible post-built building at the County Hall site may be post-Roman: Bruce Eagles, *From Roman Civitas to Anglo-Saxon Shire* (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2018), pp. 31-32; Sparey-Green, 'Poundbury, Dorset', pp. 143-144.

<sup>103</sup> Loveluck, *Northwest Europe in the Early Middle Ages*, pp. 149-150.

<sup>104</sup> Sparey-Green, 'Living amongst the dead' pp. 103-111.

<sup>105</sup> Neil Holbrook and Alan Thomas, 'An Early-medieval Monastic Cemetery at Llandough, Glamorgan: Excavations in 1994', *Medieval Archaeology*, 49 (2005), 1-92 (p. 87).

<sup>106</sup> Sparey-Green, *Excavations at Poundbury*, p. 90; Sparey-Green, 'Poundbury, Dorset', p. 127.

<sup>107</sup> Sparey-Green, 'Poundbury, Dorset', p. 136.

<sup>108</sup> Loveluck, *Northwest Europe in the Early Middle Ages*, pp. 43-44.

reminiscent of Irish sites which combined settlement, cemeteries, and production facilities, which, it has been suggested, might represent meeting places.<sup>109</sup>

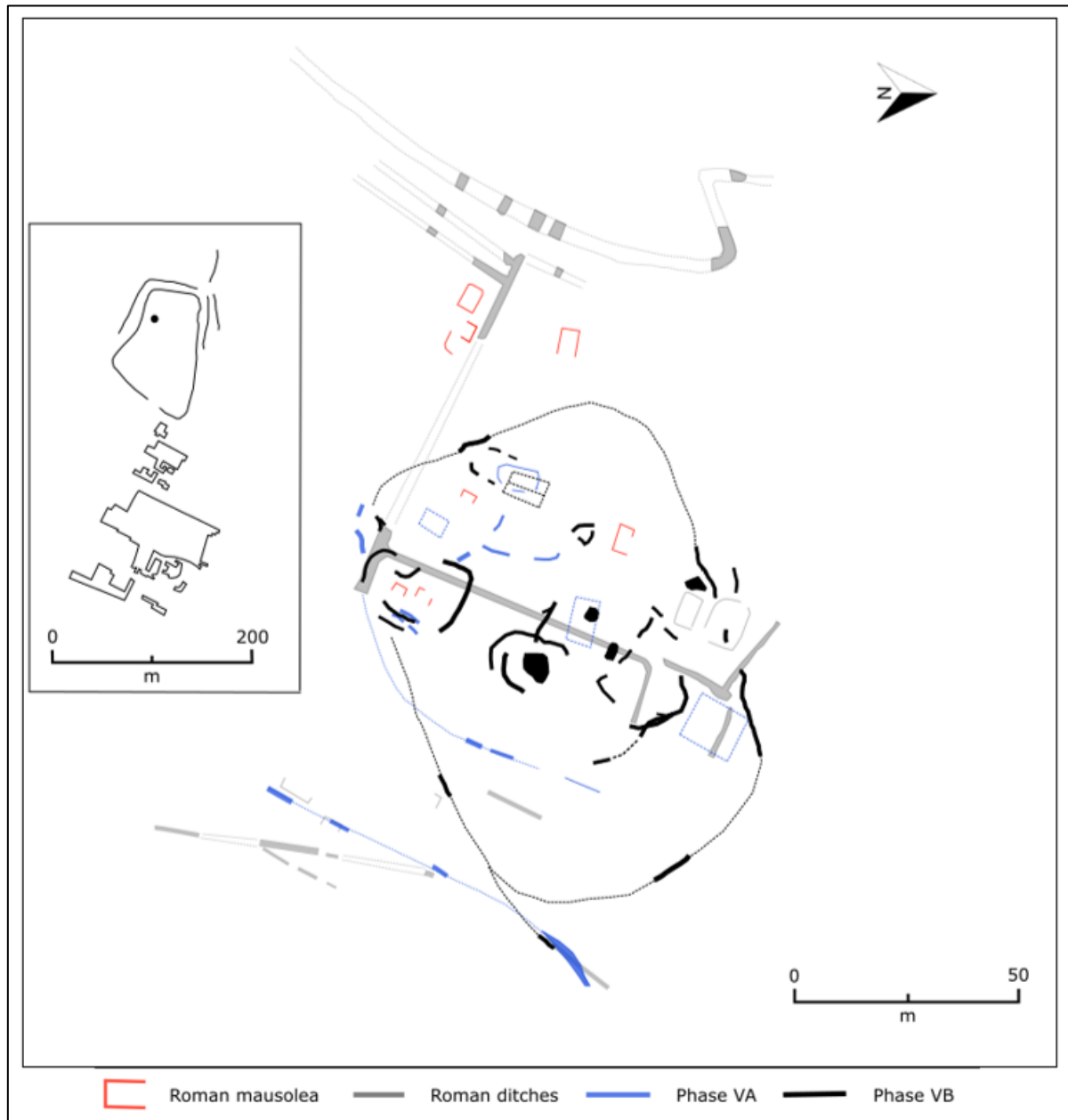


Fig. 37: Successive phases at Poundbury. The curvilinear ditch at the top of the main plan is the Roman aqueduct. Inset is the relationship of the excavated areas to the hillfort. After Sparey-Green.

<sup>109</sup> O'Sullivan and McCormick, 'Early medieval Ireland', p. 105.

The final perimeter boundary to be considered here, that at Tigery, 'Fossés Neufs', Essone, also suggests that such centres could occupy varying places in the hierarchy. Here, on the *pars rustica* of a Roman villa site, a small settlement was established in the early Merovingian period (Fig. 39, below). Initially, this may have represented no more than a couple of post-built structures, with a ditched track leading to the site, all possibly enclosed by a palisaded ditch. The western section of this ditch could not be exactly dated, but it appeared to respect the trackway, and would have formed a circuit with the southern section. The eastern continuation was suggested by the discovery of small ditch sections. The eastern continuation was suggested by the discovery of small ditch sections.

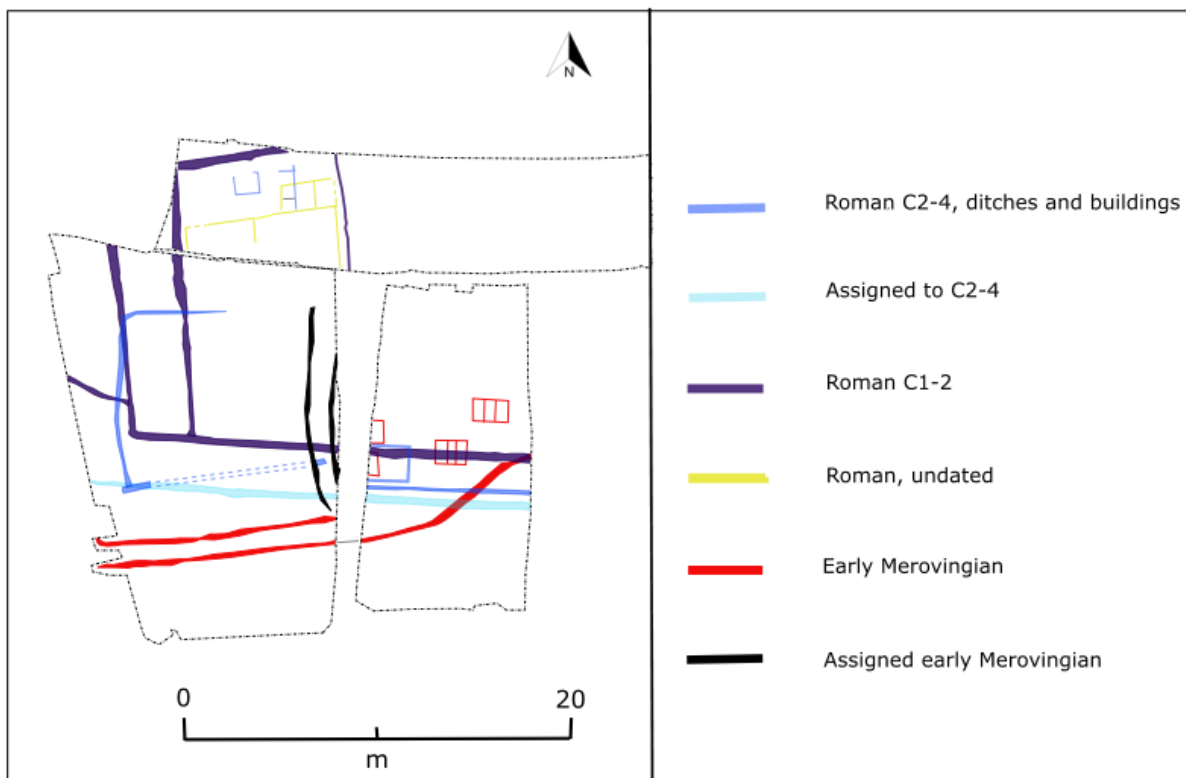


Fig. 38: At Tigery, Fossés Neufs a Merovingian settlement took over the *pars rustica* of the earlier villa. After Desrayaud, Alligri, Lefèvre, Le Goff, Lorquet, and Warmé.

There seems to have been little exceptional about this settlement. The pottery consisted of unremarkable mineral tempered wares, largely cooking pots, and there were no high-status finds. The faunal assemblage suggested that patterns of consumption changed

little between the Roman and early medieval phases. In the Carolingian period, the settlement grew, spilling beyond its ditched boundary and featuring a number of ovens. The Merovingian ditches were not spectacular, and even with the palisade would have been closer to Poundbury than to the ramparts and walls examined earlier.<sup>110</sup> Even so, this perimeter may have made a statement, given the context in which it was placed. This settlement effectively took over the agricultural centre of the former villa. By doing so, it may have sent a strong message to the people living around it. The creation of a perimeter boundary here implies a desire to continue to control the former estate centre. The ability to enclose part of that former centre implies that that control could not be locally contested. Therefore, although this site appears to belong in a different category to the large structures raised on former villa sites in southern Gaul, it may have made a strong a statement in its locale. The broader of fate of such villa sites in northern Gaul and in Britain will be examined further in Section 5.3.

### 5.2.3: Internal boundaries

The proliferation of boundary features on sites from the seventh century onwards has already been referred to.<sup>111</sup> This proliferation occurred in both eastern Britain and northern Gaul, and Blair has implied that the floruit of the Irish ringforts should be included in this event.<sup>112</sup> These internal features could be broadly divided between paddock and driveway systems (defined by Hamerow in an Anglo-Saxon context as rectilinear systems), and

---

<sup>110</sup> Gilles Desrayaud, Aurélia Alligri, Annie Lefèvre, Céline Le Goff, Philippe Lorquet, and Nicolas Warmé, 'Île de France, Essonne, Tigery. ZAC des Fossés Neufs – Rue du Parc des Vergers (Extension BMW). Villa gallo-romaine et hameau médiéval des "Fossés Neufs" (2<sup>nd</sup>e moitié 1<sup>er</sup> s. av.-XII<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C.).' [Rapport de recherche] *Institut National de Recherches Archéologiques Préventives* (2017).

<sup>111</sup> Chapter Three, pp. 94-97.

<sup>112</sup> Blair, *Building Anglo-Saxon England*, p. 151.

household enclosures.<sup>113</sup> In some cases, such rectilinear systems were new creations of this period (for example, Lordship Lane, Cambridgeshire), in others, enclosures were added to earlier settlements (for example, West Stow). The emergence of household enclosures, and an increase in the zoning of activities on sites, has been read as an exercise in deliberate planning, and both this, and the agricultural changes associated with rectilinear systems, have been seen as a result of lordly interference. Blair suggested that a monastic influence lay behind such changes, partly because of the need for increased arable supplies to feed a growing non-productive population of monks, and partly because of the implied technology behind examples of grid-planned systems.<sup>114</sup> Others have cautioned against an assumption that all such change must be imposed, or that specific agricultural changes were dictated to peasants.<sup>115</sup> Although this process of enclosure falls at the very end of the period under consideration here, these are obviously pertinent questions to this thesis. Consequently, it is on this aspect, rather than the practical elements of function, that this section will concentrate.

Internal boundaries are divided here between ditched and fenced enclosures. The following analysis will be primarily focussed on ditched boundaries, since limitations of space prohibit a full discussion of fenced boundaries, and a short synopsis must suffice. However, fencelines found on target sites are shown in Table 29 below. It is necessary to note potential crossovers between the two types. While household enclosures generally featured fencelines (for example, Chalton, Cowdery's Down, Yeavinger), and most paddock-style enclosures used ditches, the fencelines at Yarnton may have been associated with activity in the ditched

---

<sup>113</sup> Hamerow, *Rural Settlements and Society*, p. 73.

<sup>114</sup> Blair, *Building Anglo-Saxon England*, pp. 131-136; 148-156; See also Reynolds, 'Boundaries and Settlements', p. 131 and Blair, Rippon and Smart, *Planning in the Early Medieval Landscape*.

<sup>115</sup> Hamerow, *Rural Settlements and Society*, pp. 91-94; Rosamond Faith, 'Forces and Relations of Production in Early Medieval England', *Journal of Agrarian Change*, 9, 1 (January 2009), 23-41 (pp. 33-35).

enclosures (and are included in Table 30 with those ditches). The ‘household’ enclosure of Structure A at Cowage Farm was ditched, which might be connected to its possible function

Site	Feature	Date	Boundary Type	Length (m)	Depth/height (m)	Width (m)	Description
Chalton	B4/A4	C7	Fence line				23 x 17m enclosure attached to B1 (possibly which survived as A4 attached to A1)
Chalton	AZ4	C7	Fence line				Later phase enclosure.
Cowdery's Down	Fence A/B	C6-7	Fence line				25mx25m enclosure (i) running from W side of structure. Similar enclosure (ii) ran from northern line of this (ii).
Cowdery's Down	Fence C	C7	Fence line				Replacement for above.
Yeaving	Palisade 1/2	C7	Fence line				Associated with A2.
Yeaving	Palisade 1/2	C7	Fence line				Linked A2 and A4
Lanton Quarry	FL1, FL2	'Early Medieval'	Fence line				2 rows of post holes meeting at right angle, running past NE corner of PBB1.
Yarnton Salvage Area	2733	Ph. 2	Fence line	14-22			Roughly same alignment as 2548 and 2567 (Table 30). Possible association with SFB.
Yarnton Site 23	5075	Ph. 2	Fence line				7 post holes running diagonally across enclosure 3045.
Yarnton Site 23	5064	Ph. 2	Fence line				Possible boundary between structure B3959 and edge of enclosure.
Yarnton Site 23	5074	Ph. 2	Fence line				7 or 8 post holes spaced c. 2m apart. May have been continuation of 5064, c. 58m long.
Yarnton Site 23	5070	Ph. 2	Fence line				2 parallel lines of post holes which broke line of 5074, possibly leading to trackway.
Radley	–		Fence line				Line of post holes associated with S2, 4 and 6, which may have enclosed them.
Radley	–		Fence line				Double line of post holes associated with S17 and 19, possibly connected with stock husbandry.
Sutton Courtenay	Fence line	C6-7	Fence line				Line of post holes running from NW corner of Building 500.
Cowage Farm	Structure B	C7?	Fence line				Line of post holes associated with structure.
Catholme	F2, F17, F12, F16, F19 (F23, F27, F28, F38)		Fence lines				Stretches of fence line.
<b>France</b>							
Ostheim	Unnamed	C7	Fence line				Post holes suggested palisaded enclosures associated with structures.

Table 29: Internal fence line boundaries on sites in Britain and France.

as a church. Interpretation of fenced enclosures has varied. Reynolds saw the enclosures at Cowdery's Down and Cowage Farm as ritualistic, noting the alignment of building and enclosure entrances, which may have delineated processional routes.<sup>116</sup> However, while the

<sup>116</sup> Reynolds, 'Boundaries and Settlements', p. 105.

fenced enclosures at Chalton resemble those at Cowdery's Down (see Fig. 40, below), the excavators believed these groupings constituted individual farms.<sup>117</sup> At Radley, the putative fenceline to the north of building PBS1 was seen as a possible stock enclosure.<sup>118</sup> It may be that such structures had a dual function, an interpretation consistent with Hope-Taylor's view of the Great Enclosure at Yeavinger (Fig. 40, A). He believed that while a stock control function was the most obvious explanation, it could not be divorced from the ritual activity taking place on the rest of the site.<sup>119</sup>

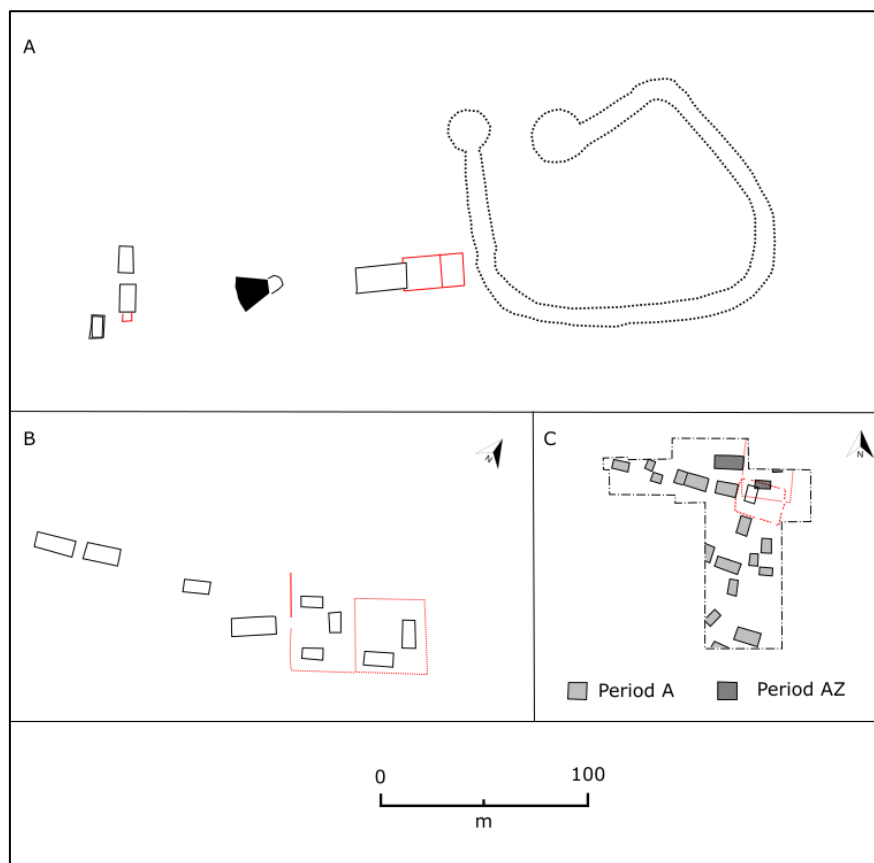


Fig. 39: Fenced enclosures (in red) associated with buildings at A: Yeavinger, with the great enclosure to the right and the 'theatre' structure in black, after Hope-Taylor; B: Cowdery's Down, after Millet and James; C: Chalton, after Addyman and Leigh.

<sup>117</sup> Addyman and Leigh, 'The Anglo-Saxon Village at Chalton, Hampshire: Second Interim Report', p. 19.

<sup>118</sup> Chambers and McAdam, *Excavations at Barrow Hills*, p. 307.

<sup>119</sup> Brian Hope-Taylor, *Yeavinger: An Anglo-British Centre of Early Northumbria* (London: H.M.S.O., 1977), p. 280.

Internal ditched boundaries are shown in Tables 30 and 31 (below). It is immediately apparent that there is a considerable discrepancy between the numbers for Britain and France, and it may be that this is largely a product of this study's focus on an earlier period: more French sites with internal boundaries appear to have been new creations of the eighth century onwards. For the same reason, many classic examples from Britain (such as the aforementioned Lordship Lane) are not included. Whether this reflects a greater continuity of sixth century sites in Britain is a question which cannot be addressed here. It is possible that a shift to new sites occurred earlier in France than Britain, although this is far from clear, and may be contradicted by other evidence.<sup>120</sup> This merits further research.

While most of the sites in Table 30 fall comfortably into the categories described by Hamerow, the focus in this study on sites with a pre-seventh-century inception tends to foreground the potential influence of pre-existing boundary systems. However, the effects of this are sometimes minimal, as at Brandon Road, Norfolk, where the fifth-century settlement may have avoided still visible Late Roman ditches, but was not ordered by them.<sup>121</sup> The influence may have been greater on other sites, notably West Heslerton (not included in Table 31 due to a lack of detailed information), where the pre-existing Roman ladder-settlement seems to have lent structure to its earliest medieval incarnation.<sup>122</sup> Therefore, while pre-medieval activity is important, and perhaps underexplored, it does not detract from the fact that there was clearly a surge in boundary creation from the seventh century onwards.

---

<sup>120</sup> For example, some arable changes may be slightly later: see Schroeder, 'The "Cerealization" of Continental North-West Europe, c. 800-1200' in *New Perspectives on the Medieval Agricultural Revolution*, ed. by McKerracher and Hamerow, pp. 199-210.

<sup>121</sup> Rob Atkins and Aileen Connor, *Farmers and Ironsmiths: Prehistoric, Roman and Anglo-Saxon Settlement beside Brandon Road, Thetford, Norfolk*, East Anglian Archaeology Report No. 134 (Bar Hill: Oxford Archaeology East, 2010), p. 110.

<sup>122</sup> Dominic Powlesland, 'Early Anglo-Saxon settlements, structures, form and layout', pp. 112-124; Blair, Rippon, and Smart, *Planning in the Early Medieval Landscape*, p. 22.

Site	Feature	Date	Boundary Type	Length	Depth (D)/ Height (H)	Width (W)	Profile	Description
<b>Water Eaton</b>	1000		Ditch	31.0	0.35	1.0		Delimited enclosure 1
Water Eaton	1001		Ditch	57.0	0.25-0.35	0.84-1.0		Delimited enclosure 2
<b>Yarnton Salvage Area</b>	2533, 2549, 2657, 2670, 2640, 2639	Ph. 1 Early Saxon?	Ditch					Shallow and difficult to define. Dating not secure.
"	2584	Ph. 2	Ditch	46		0.25-1.1	U	Bounded northern edge of Salvage Area site.
"	2549	Ph. 2	Ditch	30+				May have formed enclosure with 2584.
"	2548	Ph. 2	Ditch					Running parallel with 2549.
"	2567	Ph. 2	Ditch					
"	2571, 2572, 2575	Ph. 2?	Ditch		0.1	0.35-0.65	U	
<b>Yarnton Site 23</b>	3045	Ph. 2 Mid-Saxon	Ditch		c. 0.5 – 0.8 max	0.8-1.4	U	Formed enclosure, initially 858m <sup>2</sup> later reduced to 784m <sup>2</sup> .
Yarnton Site 23	3572	Ph. 2	Ditch	c. 74	0.22-0.38	0.64-1.38	U	Ran parallel to less well-preserved ditch 3893, possibly defining trackway.
Yarnton Site 23	5064	Ph. 2	Fence line					Possible boundary between structure B3959 and edge of enclosure.
Yarnton Site 23	3139	Ph. 2	Ditch		c. 0.5	c. 0.9	U	Formed enclosure c. 2,600m <sup>2</sup> with 4m wide entrance to north.
Yarnton Site 23	3142	Ph. 2	Ditch	14			U	Formed smaller enclosure within 3139, c. 42 x 25m, Not proven to be contemporaneous.
Yarnton Site 23	3649	Ph. 2	Ditch		0.5-0.84	1.7	U	May have formed perimeter boundary to Phase 2 site.
<b>Sherborne House</b>	J, K, L, M	C5-8	Ditch		c. 0.05			K, L, & M: poss. plot boundaries. J & K poss. Trackway.
Sherborne House	N, P, R	C5-8	Ditch					Cut trackway J-K.
Sherborne House	1409	C5-8	Ditch		1.1	c.1.8	Flat base	Possible sub-rectangular enclosure.
Sherborne House	1408	C5-8	Ditch		1.3	c.1.8	V	
Sherborne House	850	C5-8	Ditch		0.8		Flat base	
<b>Brandon Road, Thetford</b>	2240/2285	Late Roman – C5	Ditch	c.50.0	0.30-0.50	2.0		Delimited enclosure c. 45m x 43m, open on north side towards river. Recut at least once.
Brandon Road	2247/2248/2251	Late Roman – C5	Ditch		0.23-1.04	0.85-2.5		Delimited 18m wide enclosure within area of 2240/2285.
Brandon Road	2201/2202/2231/2225/22216	Early C8	Ditch					Apparent field ditches.
Brandon Road	2205 recut as 2203/2204	C8	Ditch	130.0	0.58-1.4	1.5-2.2		Delimited U-shaped enclosure c. 80m x 70m.
<b>Staunch Meadow</b>	6846	Ph. 1.1	Ditch		0.6	1.5-2.2		Formed enclosure 90 x 30m. 3.5m wide entrance to south.
Staunch Meadow	6848	Ph. 1.1	Ditch		0.6	c.2.0		
Staunch Meadow	0403	Ph. 1.1	Ditch		0.21	1.4		Possibly part of three-sided enclosure to Building 8125.
Staunch Meadow	0430	Ph. 1.1	Ditch					May have been replacement for 0403.
Staunch Meadow	6849	Ph. 1.2	Ditch		0.5	2.0	Flat base	Created new enclosure to east of site.
Staunch Meadow	6854	Ph. 1.2	Ditch					
Staunch Meadow	3658, 4806, 4811, 4509	Ph. 1.2	Ditch					Possible sub-division of above.
<b>West Stow</b>	Multiple features	C7>	Ditch		0.60-0.76		U-shaped	Fills of light brown sand. Many contained Ipswich ware.
<b>Monk Sherborne</b>	F115/F212		Ditch		0.42-0.69	0.8-1.1		Delimited enclosure 1, cutting Roman Building 1.
Monk Sherborne	F208		Ditch		0.33	0.87		Delimited 2 <sup>nd</sup> enclosure NE of enclosure 1.
<b>Yeavinger</b>	Great Enclosure	C6	Bank					
Yeavinger	Eastern Ring Ditch	C6	Ditch					
<b>Cowage Farm</b>	Structure A	C7?	Ditch					Formed 35 x 27m enclosure around Structure A.

Table 30: Internal boundaries on British sites. All measurements in metres.

Site	Feature	Date	Boundary Type	Length	Depth (D)	Width (W)	Profile	Description
Warmeriville		C5>	Ditch					Ditch complex thought to be related to zoning and drainage.
Mericroirt	Ditch 13, 34, 35		Ditch	c. 23	0.08-0.23	0.36-0.84	U	Curvilinear stretch of sections.
Mericroirt	Ditch 11		Ditch	c. 19	0.05-0.25	0.0-2.0	U	Curvilinear stretch recut over 3 phases.
Foujouin	F212, F1277		Ditch					Ditches bordering trackway to east and west.
Foujouin	Ditches bordering central trackway		Ditch	10-73	0.03-0.58	0.37-1.85	Rounded, U or V	Homogenous fill
Foujouin	Plot ditches, 13 stretches		Ditch		0.12-0.35	0.47-0.92	Mostly U	Suggested that irregularity argued against them being drainage ditches.

Table 31: Internal boundaries on French sites.

Questions about the decision-making process involved in this boundary creation are difficult to answer from archaeological evidence. As Table 30 shows, variation between sites can be considerable, and often this depends on the state of preservation. Even if the degree of regularity in a ditch system suggests that it was created as a single block, this does not necessarily demonstrate that coercion or external organisation was involved: a military interpretation of the Druce Farm ditches rested on other contextual factors, not simply upon their regularity.<sup>123</sup> In the case of household enclosures, their relative regularity of size over time has been seen as an element of deliberate organisation.<sup>124</sup> Again, however, it is not clear what lay behind this. The size of Irish ringforts, for example, appears to have been prescribed by law, but this does not remove agency from their creators, nor mean that the land they enclosed was not their own.<sup>125</sup> The situation is also complicated because boundaries themselves may not be the direct expression of lordship. If, as is generally believed, the proliferation of boundaries resulted from agricultural change, it is that change which may be

<sup>123</sup> Ladle, *The Rise and Decline of Druce Farm*, p. 32.

<sup>124</sup> Hamerow, *Rural Settlements and Society in Anglo-Saxon England*, p. 91.

<sup>125</sup> Stout, *Irish Ringforts*, pp. 110-114.

the result of lordly demand, and the boundaries might be no more than a way of facilitating the meeting of those demands.

To explore these issues, two contrasting sites were chosen: West Stow, Suffolk, and Foujouin, Indre-et-Loire. The settlement at West Stow began life in the fifth century, and consisted of a series of halls (seven were identified, but there were thousands of post holes) which shifted slowly across the site, accompanied by SFBs (69 in total) and pits. In the seventh century, a series of ditched boundaries was laid out, which were then frequently recut.<sup>126</sup> Foujouin dated from the late sixth or early seventh century and comprised a series of buildings in ditched plots laid out alongside a roadway, accompanied by possible granaries.<sup>127</sup>

One method of examining the society of settlements is through the identification of household clusters, as outlined by Flannery.<sup>128</sup> This is a difficult approach on early medieval sites, as it can be difficult to establish the contemporaneity or otherwise of structures, and evidence of material culture is often meagre. However, at West Stow, West deduced associations between the SFBs and the post-built structures in order to use dating evidence from the SFBs to phase the site. If West's associations are accepted, it allows the creation of putative household clusters. These are plotted in Fig. 41 (below), first for the fifth to sixth century (Plan A) and then for the sixth to seventh (Plan B). It should be noted that these are not absolute divisions, and that not all potential structures on the site were identifiable or dateable, so change should be seen as progressive rather than falling into two distinct periods. The division does, however, allow two extremes of the site's morphology to be compared.

---

<sup>126</sup> West, *West Stow, Volume 1*.

<sup>127</sup> Vincent Hirn, Matthieu Gaultier, Céline Aunay, Chloé Génies, Claire Gerbaud, Philippe Husi, and Florian Sarreste, 'Un habitat du haut Moyen Âge à "Foujouin" (vernou-sur-Brenne, Indre-et-Loire)', *Revue archéologique du Centre de la France*, 56 (2017), 1-60.

<sup>128</sup> Kent V. Flannery, ed., *The Early Mesoamerican Village* (London; New York: Academic Press, 1976).

It appears that this morphology underwent a considerable change, from a row settlement at its inception, to a cluster of homesteads both united and divided by the new ditch system. If, however, these groupings could be accepted as household clusters, then one thing which did not change was an unequal division of social space. Hall 1 could not be securely phased, so that will be set aside. Hall 2 appears to have a much greater share of space than Hall 3, with Hall 6 falling somewhere in between. Moreover, if West's deductions about the settlement's evolution are correct, then this division was roughly maintained, with Hall 7 replacing Hall 2, Hall 5 replacing Hall 3, and Hall 4 replacing Hall 6. It is therefore possible that the changes which induced the inhabitants to redesign their settlement did not fundamentally alter social relations between them. The new morphology of the settlement seems to have been dictated by the ditch system and by the practical needs which provoked it, rather than by social change. While this does not provide evidence for or against lordly interference, it does show that there is nothing innate in the changes which the inhabitants could not have wrought independently.

Some caution needs to be exercised here. Tipper's re-analysis of the West Stow SFB fills used the wear on pot sherds to conclude that the lower fills were not occupation layers, but had been deposited from exposed surface middens. By collating sherds from the same pot, Tipper believed these midden deposits may have been transported as much as 200m before dumping.<sup>129</sup> This would give a different picture of social space, with a much higher degree of communality. However, it would still be the case that the use of space remained the same before and after the restructuring. There are also questions over whether SFBs were assigned to a particular household during their lifetime, but became a communal rubbish pit

---

<sup>129</sup> Tipper, *Grübenhaus in Anglo-Saxon England*, pp. 147-159.

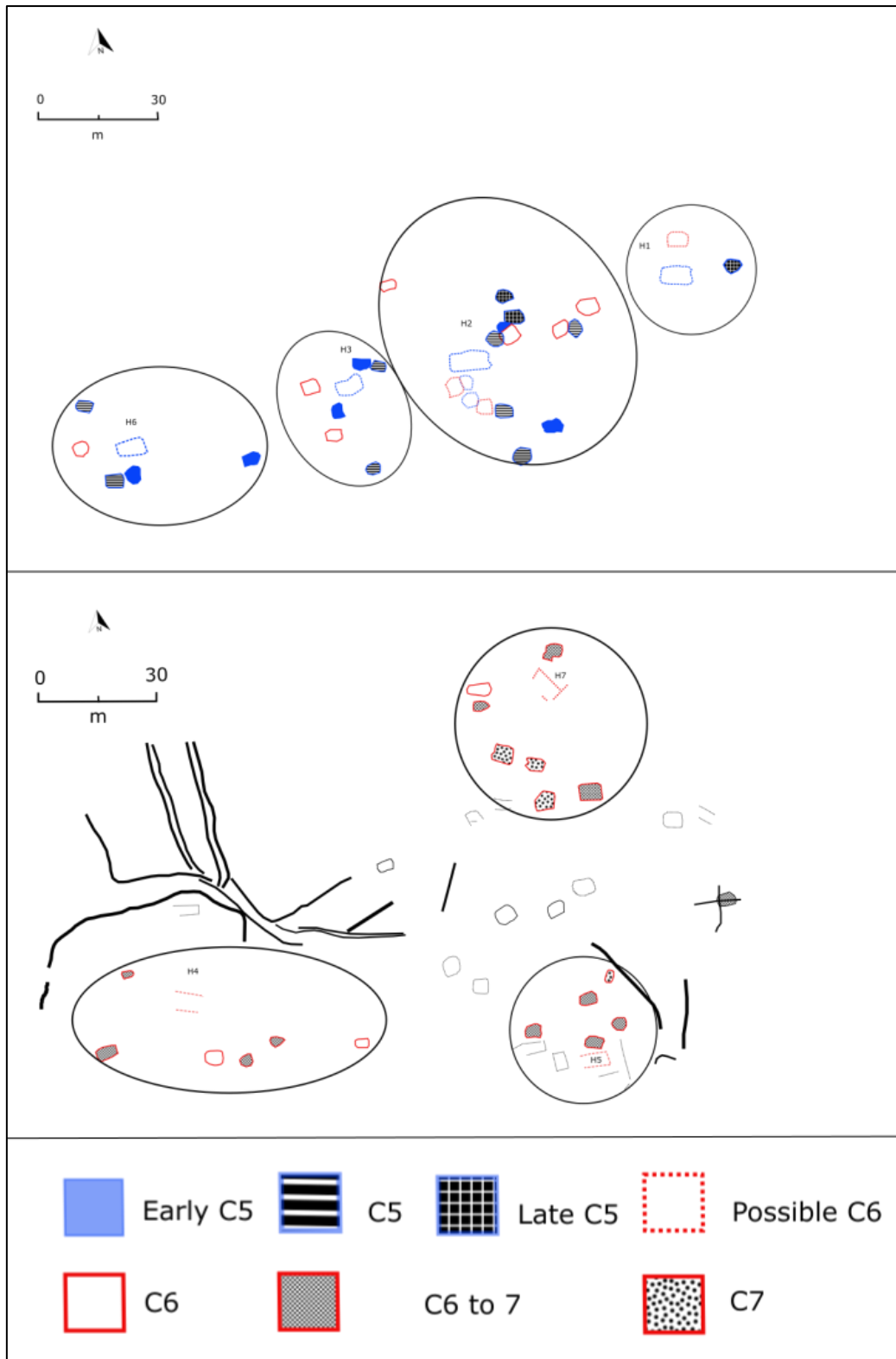


Fig. 40: Possible household clusters at West Stow, based on West's associations between SFBs and halls. After West.

when they were backfilled. Advantages to rapid backfilling (the removal of a hazard and rain trap) may even have made this a desirable situation.

There are no SFBs at Foujouin with which to perform a similar exercise. However, the excavators noted that the apparent plots around structures were of an almost uniform size. When these are planned along with the occurrence of silos, and concentrations of pot, animal bone, and metalworking waste, putative household clusters can be observed (Fig. 42, below).<sup>130</sup> This suggests that there was a degree of specialisation among the homesteads, since there were discrete concentrations of metalworking debris and animal bone. The metalworking debris at Foujouin showed two main locations: a central area which appeared to have been used for heavy duty smithing, and a northern area which was associated with more lightweight work such as the repair of metal objects.<sup>131</sup> Notably, the central area was not clearly in direct association with a dwelling.

An attempt to further explore the regularity of the site was made by imposing the kind of grid used by Blair, Rippon, and Smart in their analysis of early medieval planning. Fig. 43 shows a grid of 5.7m squares imposed over the site plan. This aligns with the plot boundaries and is close to the 'long perch' (5.5m) they described.<sup>132</sup> This suggests that there was more to the plots than a consistency in area, and that they were deliberately laid out, with even some of the structures (for example, Buildings 4 and 5) purposefully placed within them.

Therefore, although both settlements demonstrate that household space existed from their inception, and that communal space and working was part of settlement life, there are

---

<sup>130</sup> Hirn, Gaultier, Aunay, Génies, Gerbaud, Husi, and Sarreste, 'Un habitat du haut Moyen Âge à "Foujouin"', pp. 16; 12 and 30.

<sup>131</sup> Hirn, Gaultier, Aunay, Génies, Gerbaud, Husi, and Sarreste, 'Un habitat du haut Moyen Âge à "Foujouin"', pp. 25-26.

<sup>132</sup> Blair, Rippon and Smart, *Planning in the Early Medieval Landscape*, pp. 10; 94-99.

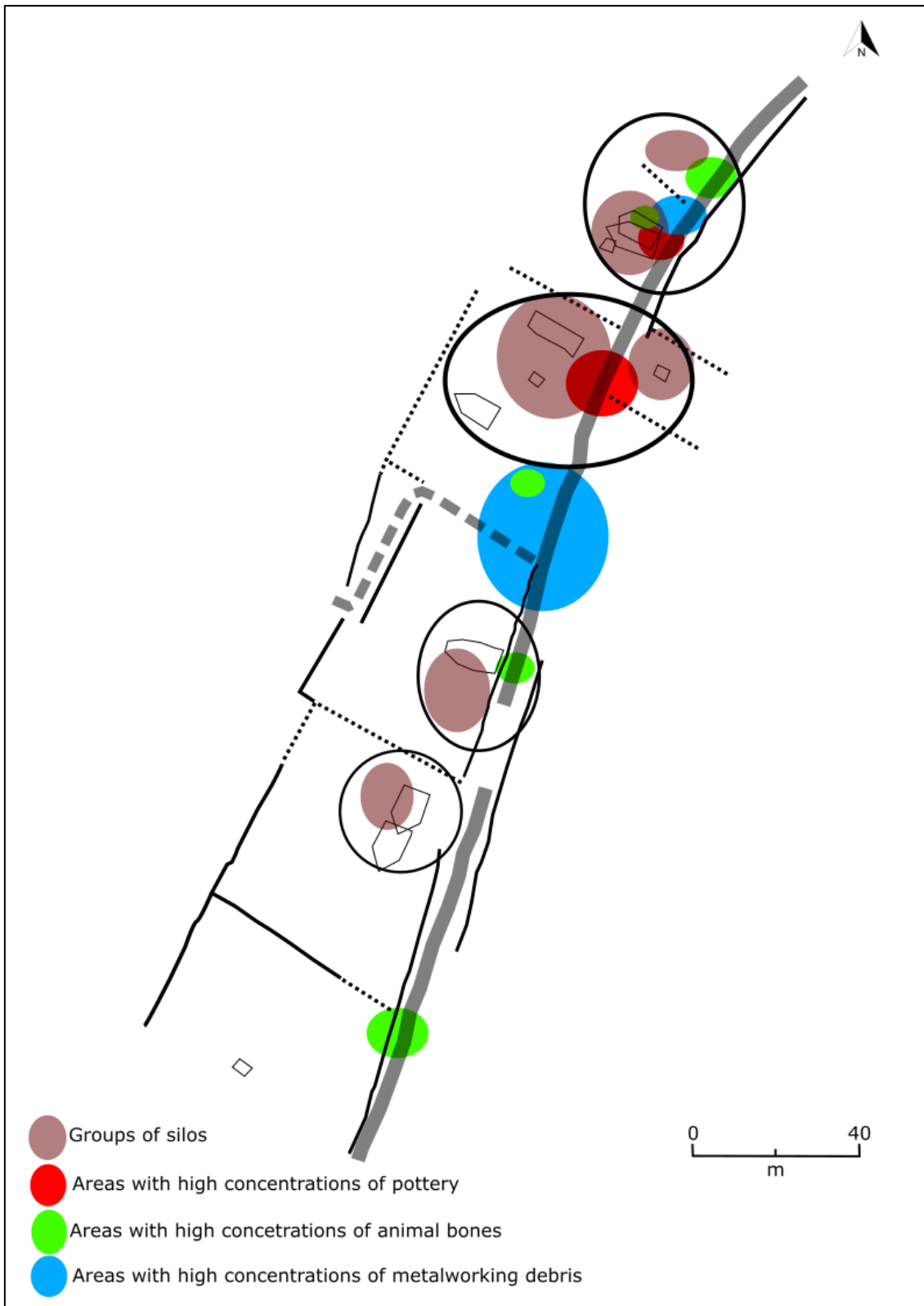


Fig. 41: Possible household clusters plotted with concentrations of finds at Foujouin. Some of the areas included could be interpreted as communal. After Hirn, Gaultier, Aunay, Génies, Gerbaud, Husi, and Sarreste.

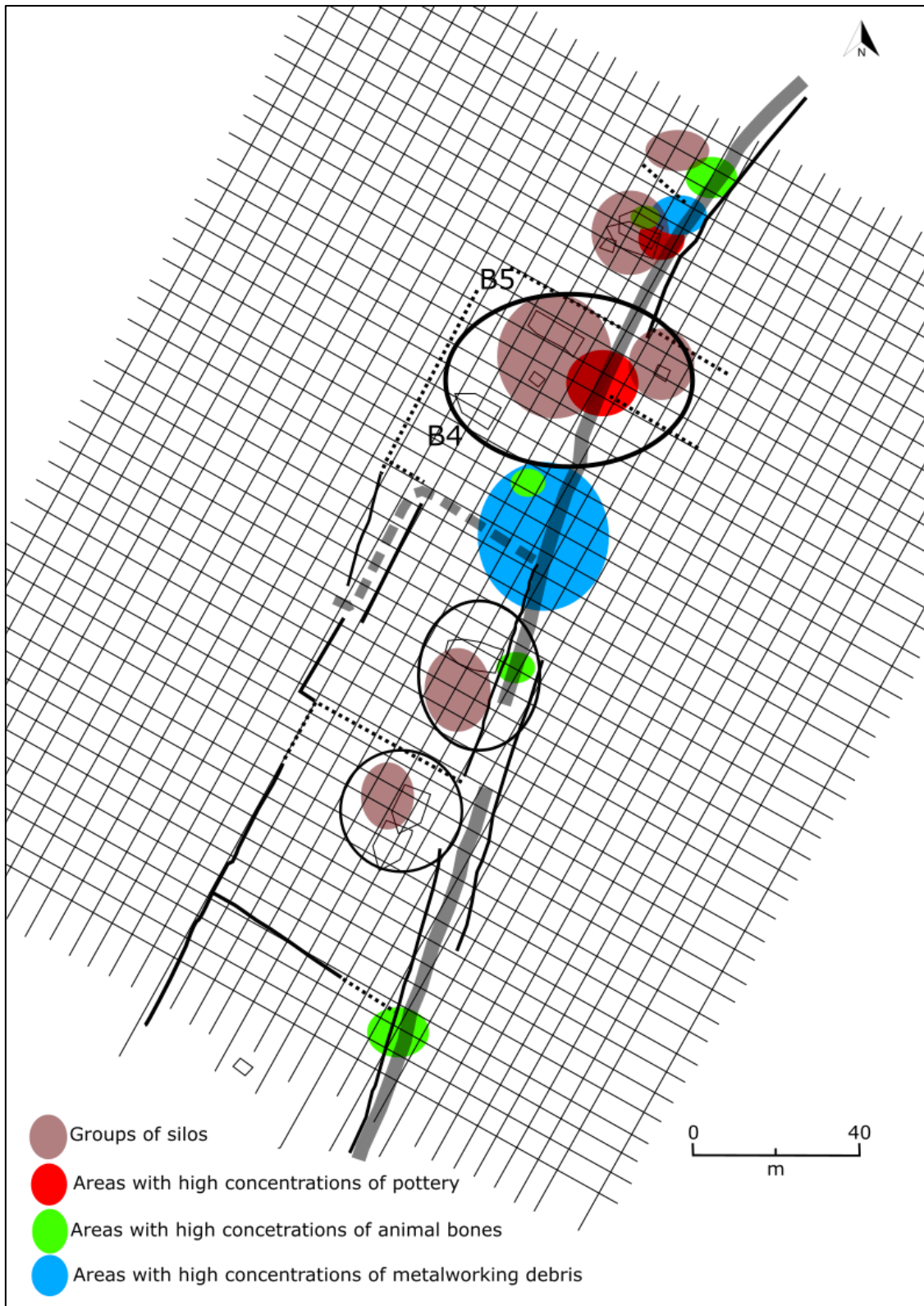


Fig. 42: A regular grid approximating the 'long perch' suggests the site at Foujouxin was deliberately planned.  
 After Hirn, Gaultier, Aunay, Génies, Gerbaud, Husi, and Sarreste.

substantial differences. West Stow, which began life before the changes of the seventh century, appears to have undergone an organic development, shaped by the changing needs of agricultural production. This may have occurred because of changes to the social model into which the site was incorporated, in essence, a change in the nature, or an increase in the amount of food renders, but the response to that change may have been entirely in the hands of the residents. The household clusters seen in the later phase show development from those of the fifth century, not a rupture. The similarity of morphology with other seventh-century sites may then be a product of similar need, rather than deliberate planning. It would, then, be entirely possible that the occupants of West Stow still owned their own land, but re-ordered their settlement to meet changing demands.

By contrast, Foujouin has the appearance of deliberate planning, at least at the level of plot designation. Occupants may have been free to order these plots how they pleased, since there was considerable variability in their layout, but their basic allotment may have been governed by external forces.<sup>133</sup> Two other factors are consistent with this. Firstly, while it appeared that animals were slaughtered on site, the carcasses were then transported elsewhere to be processed.<sup>134</sup> This is obviously beyond purely domestic production, but could imply that the site was part of a structured chain in a render system or that it supplied a more controlling estate centre. Secondly, the settlement's layout along a road suggests that it existed in a secure countryside. More than any other open settlement, the existence of this road would have left the site open to raiding, particularly since grain and animal carcasses were being stored there. Convenience of transport therefore seems to have been placed above security. Taken together, these two factors suggest that the site was part of a

---

<sup>133</sup> Hirn, Gaultier, Aunay, Génies, Gerbaud, Husi, and Sarreste, 'Un habitat du haut Moyen Âge', p. 56.

<sup>134</sup> Hirn, Gaultier, Aunay, Génies, Gerbaud, Husi, and Sarreste, 'Un habitat du haut Moyen Âge', p. 57.

controlled and organised countryside. While this is consistent with the implantation of a site under external direction, and consequently with the creation of peasant tenancies, it cannot definitively prove that the inhabitants had no claim upon the land.

Of course, none of this is proven. In neither case are the designations of household clusters secure, and Blair, Rippon, and Smart's grid-planning hypothesis remains controversial, with critics willing to accept the concept of builders planning their work, but reluctant to accept the assertion of purposeful classicisation or the broader context of control.<sup>135</sup> Ultimately, in the absence of documentary confirmation, the exact relation of such settlements to their larger area and surrounding power structures must remain a matter of interpretation. What the preceding analysis does show is that there is no innate reason to suppose that every reaction to the changes of the seventh century was brought about by lordly power. It is possible that peasant landowners continued to order their own lives and their own responses to changing lordly demand.

#### 5.2.4: Conclusion

This section has considered settlement boundaries through the distinction between perimeter and internal barriers. In doing so, it has encountered some of the difficulties frequently seen on archaeological sites with defining features this way. The difficulty in determining the edge of settlement means caution is needed in interpreting any given feature as a perimeter boundary, but where such a determination is possible, such boundaries often appear to carry social meaning. This is most clear in the elaborate walls and ramparts of sites

---

<sup>135</sup> See, for example, Duncan Wright 'Planning in the Early Medieval Landscape', *Landscapes*, 21, 1 (2020), 93-94 and C. Goodson, John Blair, Stephen Rippon, and Christopher Smart, 'Planning in the Early Medieval Landscape', *Speculum*, 97.2 (2022), 478-479.

which, through other evidence, attest an elite occupation. Here, it is clear that the perimeter was part of a statement of power and control. And yet, this form of lordship does not necessarily imply ownership. Indeed, it is repeatedly found in the contexts of different forms of power such as tributary lordship, ecclesiastical or other spiritual supremacy, or bureaucratic oversight.

There are some hints that perimeter boundaries might also have meaning in a more vernacular context. However, this might be limited to certain cultural communities, and even here the complexities of its possible meaning are not clear. The raths and cashels of Ireland do appear to have carried symbolic meaning for the people of the time, as perhaps did Cornish rounds and Welsh enclosed settlements. Continuing research in Ireland has tended to confirm a familial association for such enclosures, but the same opportunity for excavation has not occurred in Wales. Whether or not this takes place, and notwithstanding their emerging social character, it seems unlikely to ever be able to confidently derive tenurial status from them.

The picture is even less clear beyond the heartlands of these cultural areas. Whether the boundary at Poundbury was a product of stock control or monastic demarcation, the settlement seems to have occupied a more particular niche than a family farm, even if it was run by a familial group. Although evidence for a parent settlement in the hillfort or in Dorchester is currently lacking, Poundbury strongly suggests the presence of such a centre somewhere in the vicinity. The intriguing mix of settlement, burial, and agricultural processing, reminiscent of new discoveries in Ireland, opens the door not just to cross-cultural comparisons, but also to possible definitions of function. If the Irish examples could be identified as assembly and meeting sites, a similar purpose might be ascribed to examples in Britain; Pin Brook is another possible, but unconfirmed, example. This might also be consistent with the occurrence of grain dryers at meeting places in Wales, and might suggest

that, if such structures did exist in eastern Britain at this period, they too should be sought there and not within settlements.

If this must remain highly speculative, more of a consensus has emerged over internal boundaries which appear in the seventh century. However, while the arguments for agricultural change are convincing and increasingly well-informed, the manner in which this connects with lordship should be treated with caution. As the study of West Stow and Foujouin showed, internal boundaries leave room for different interpretations. The organic boundaries of West Stow may have resulted from changing demands on local agriculture by a non-resident elite, but this could as easily have been through changes to tribute rendered to non-owning lords as instructions from controlling landlords. While none of these possibilities exists in isolation from the outside world, indeed they are informed and dependent upon it, this does not mean that the people of West Stow were not in control of their own land and of how they responded to external stimuli. Foujouin bears all the hallmarks of lordly organisation. But it is not beyond the capacity of peasant farmers to measure and allot land. In fact, the measurement of land is frequently required in agriculture. Once again, therefore, the possibility of local organisation in response to changing external circumstances cannot be ruled out.

This raises a question of perspective. At the moment, lordly control is often interpreted as direct interference in peasant lives. This may have been the case, and it may be that as individual studies burgeon, such a conclusion becomes inescapable. But the indirect effects of changing lordly demand may have been just as important, even if it were left to the peasants themselves to determine how to meet those demands. This may sound like hair-splitting, but it has an implication for tenure and ownership. The first view suggests that the elite wanted and were taking direct control of the land; the second that they were concerned

primarily with power over people. Chapter Four suggested that the evidence from Gaul better supported the second of these, but that this was not apparent in Britain. These issues will be considered further in Chapter Six. This question, however, impinges upon another archaeological issue: the fate of Roman villas. This will be examined in Section 5.3.

### 5.3: Villas and estate centres

As discussed in Section 5.1, there are some disagreements about how the term ‘villa’ should be defined. This section will use a broad definition closer to Collingwood’s designation as a farm with a Romanised building, and will consider villas as the centre of their agricultural holding, whether that holding was a family farm or an estate which formed part of a larger elite portfolio. That said, it is perhaps necessary to consider what is meant by ‘estate centre’ for the Roman period. The Romans certainly appear to have had a clear idea of this. Columella and Vitruvius both gave detailed descriptions of what buildings were required, what size they should be, and how they should best be arranged for the benefit of stock and crops.<sup>136</sup> This may have been a somewhat idealistic view, since, for example, Columella’s costings for vine production have been shown to be unreliable.<sup>137</sup> Nonetheless, an estate centre can be interpreted as the place to which harvested crops were taken for processing and storage, where livestock were taken for husbandry and probably slaughter, at which tools were held, and where at least some workers lived. The home of the owner or of their deputy can normally have been expected to have been nearby. For owners directly involved in farming, this would have been a necessity; for those who might be called ‘gentlemen farmers’, were

---

<sup>136</sup> Vitruvius, *On Architecture*, Vol. II, ed. and transl. by Frank Granger, Loeb Classical Library (London: William Heinemann, 1952), pp. 39-45; Columella, *Res Rustica*, Vol. 1, pp. 66-67.

<sup>137</sup> Percival, *The Roman Villa*, pp. 147-148.

less reliant on the villa's agricultural income, and probably constituted Columella's readership, it would have been part of the social statement.<sup>138</sup>

Some of these centres saw a transformation in the third or fourth century. This tended to happen earlier in Gaul, where the third century saw something of a crisis in villa life, while fourth-century villas in Britain became increasingly opulent before hitting a 'decline' in the last quarter of that century.<sup>139</sup> Whenever this happened, it was most frequently the classical elite trappings which were affected, rather than their agricultural status. So, while mosaic floors were sacrificed, grain dryers were built in villa rooms: agriculture was not abandoned, it came closer to home. Esmonde Cleary believed the villa estate itself continued to function.<sup>140</sup> However, the majority of such centres experienced some degree of abandonment at the end the Roman period, with varied fates thereafter. Some show simple and often short-lived habitation with SFBs and post hole buildings, some became the focus for burials, some disappeared.

This section will examine these two stages in the history of a small sample of villas from Britain and northern Gaul. Examples from southern Gaul, where more continuity seems likely in the role of the estate centre, are not included.<sup>141</sup> This section will compare the relative fates of studied villas to consider whether there were any generalised similarities or differences between these two areas, and it will ask why the potential opportunity to seize an almost readymade estate centre was not taken. Of more than 40 sites surveyed for this study which had a fifth-century phase, 20 were villa sites. However, evidence for the later occupation of such sites is often sparse, such as the two SFBs found at the site of the villa at

---

<sup>138</sup> Percival, *The Roman Villa*, pp. 118-119.

<sup>139</sup> Esmonde Cleary, *Ending of Roman Britain*, pp. 134; Millet, *Romanization of Britain*, pp. 186-188.

<sup>140</sup> Esmonde Cleary, *Ending of Roman Britain*, pp. 134, 158.

<sup>141</sup> See Chapter Three, pp. 105-110 for discussion of some of these sites.

La Fajolle, Carcassonne, Aude.<sup>142</sup> Only eight former villa sites provided enough information to consider both their pre- and post-fifth-century lives, and of those eight, Rivenhall, in Essex, was rejected because of difficulties with its evidence.<sup>143</sup> Another, Fossés Neufs, Essonne, has already been considered in Section 5.2.2 and attention will therefore focus on the remaining six: Moissy-Cramayel, Val-de-Reuil, and Mercin-et-Vaux in Gaul, and Barton Court Farm, Monk Sherborne, and Barnsley Park in Britain. The next section will present short case studies of these villas in the third to fourth and fourth to fifth centuries. In these, the plans have combined Lewit's palimpsest approach, layering changes in plans to study how occupation changed, with a simplified version of Dodd's function-based approach.<sup>144</sup> Code letters in different colours are used to identify changing function over time. The key to these code letters is given in each plan. The main features of each site will be briefly described, and Section 5.3.2 will then discuss how these might be interpreted. Since this is not a large sample, it is in no way definitive (if any sample ever could be), but it does illustrate some of the main themes and issues, and the different trajectories which such sites could take.

### 5.3.1: Case Studies

#### i) 'Le Quinconce', Mercin-et-Vaux

A villa (Fig. 44, below) was founded here in the first century, after which its footprint remained largely unchanged, although a house thought to be for a *villicus* was added to the

---

<sup>142</sup> Maxime Guillaume and Guilhem Sanchez, 'Carcassonne (Aude): La Fajolle', *Archéologie de Midi médiévale*, 32 (2014), 25-28.

<sup>143</sup> W. J. Rodwell and K. A. Rodwell, *Rivenhall: Investigations of a Villa, Church, and Village, 1950-1977*, CBA Research Report 55, Chelmsford Archaeological Trust Report No. 4 (London: CBA, 1985); Martin Millett 'The Question of Continuity: Rivenhall Reviewed', *Archaeological Journal*, 144, 1 (1987), 434-438.

<sup>144</sup> Lewit, 'Vanishing villas', pp. 260-274; J. Dodd, 'Assessing Late Antique Villa Transformation at Individual Sites: Towards a Spatial Approach', *Theoretical Roman Archaeology Journal*, 4 (1): 3 (2021), pp. 1-28.

*pars rustica* later in the first century. Buildings were refurbished several times, notably after a fire in the second century, and again in the third. By the late third century, there was a decline in the quantity of coins and pottery found, and areas of the villa had possibly been abandoned. In the fourth century, a cellar (number 27 on Fig. 44) was dug on a different alignment to the villa, and it was thought that demolition of the villa buildings began. By the end of that period, the cellar itself seems to have been abandoned.<sup>145</sup> Clear evidence of changes of function are lacking here, although the excavators felt that the nature of occupation had changed, and that continued occupation up to the end of the fourth century was only partial.

The Quéréls argued that the site's fifth-century occupation showed 'a new structure, founded on a different division of land'.<sup>146</sup> This consisted of SFBs, pits, silos, possible raised granaries, and some buildings with stone foundations, arranged within fencelines and ditches. While it is true that the alignment of these features differed from that of the villa structure, they were not entirely divorced from it, with the possible unit of structures surrounding SFB 2 (see Fig. 44) leading off from the former house of the *villicus*. What is more, some of the ditches to the east maintained a similar alignment to the division between the villa's *pars rustica* and *pars urbana*. Therefore, in spite of a considerable apparent disjunct between the villa and post-villa phases, the possibility of at least some passive influence should be allowed.

---

<sup>145</sup> Pascal Quérel and Carole Quérel, with contributions from Marie-Laure Berdeaux-Lebrazidec and Dominic Roussel, 'Mercin-et-Vaux, le *Quinconce*: villa gallo-romaine et occupation du Haut Moyen Âge', *Archéologie de la Picardie et du Nord de la France (Revue du Nord)*, 84, 348 (2002), 91-114.

<sup>146</sup> Quérel and Quérel, 'Mercin-et-Vaux, le *Quinconce*', p. 102.

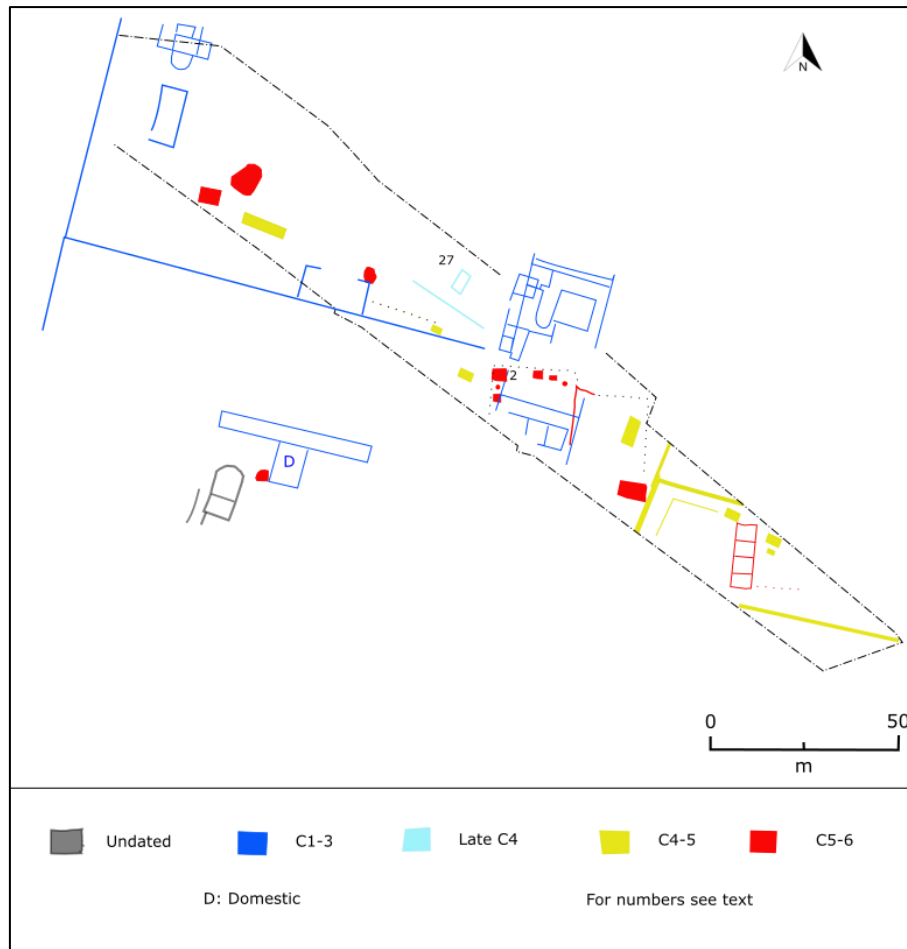


Fig. 43: Phases and functions of the villa at Mercin-et-Vaux. After Quérel and Quérel.

## ii) 'Chanteloup', Moissy-Cramayel

At this site, more data is available for the nature of change. This was a large villa (Fig. 45, below) covering some 2.5 hectares, probably built in the first century. Again, it seems to have experienced decline, and possibly a period of abandonment in the third to fourth centuries. Renewed occupation later in the fourth took the form of a minting workshop, created in a cellar of the main building.

Fourth- to fifth-century change was less stark than at Mercin-et-Vaux. A number of wooden post-hole buildings were constructed, one of them within the footprint of the former

villa, and a series of 121 grain drying ovens were created in the former *pars urbana*.<sup>147</sup> Occupation then spread northwards, but Merovingian remains were too vestigial to give a clear picture. In part, this was due to the Carolingian settlement, which spread densely across the former villa site.

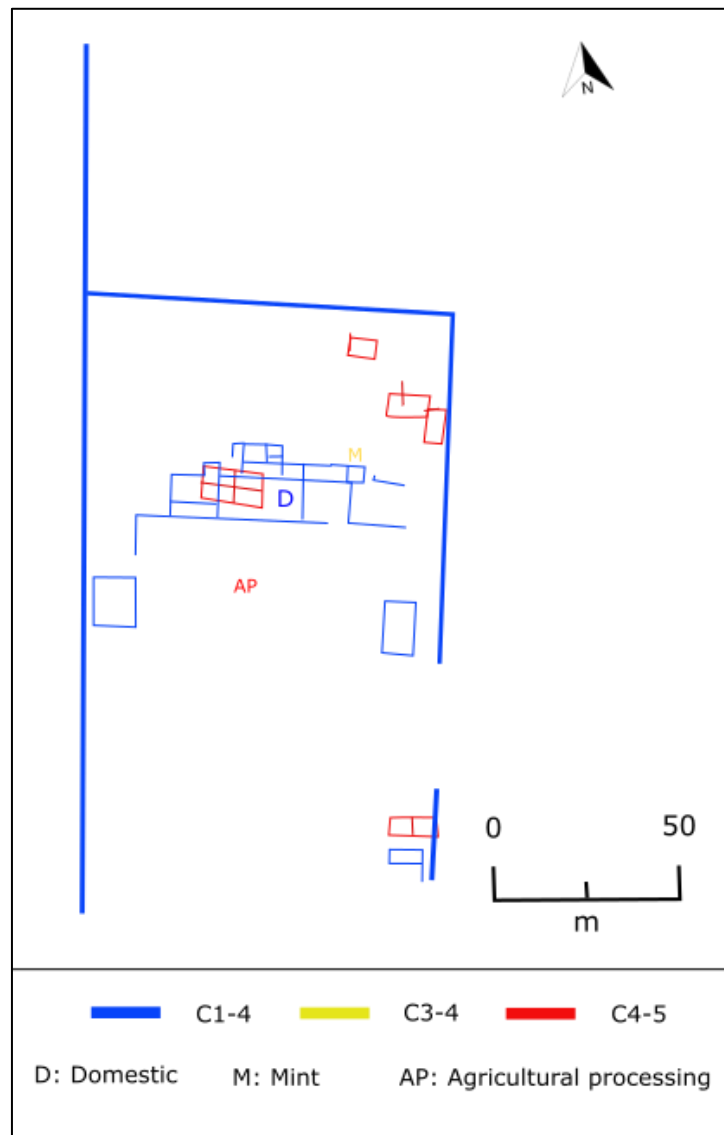


Fig. 44: Phases and functions of the villa at Moissy-Cramayel. After Desrayaud and Warmé

<sup>147</sup> Gilles Desrayaud and Nicolas Warmé, 'Concentrations du foyers du Bas-Empire de la villa Gallo-Romaine de "Chanteloup" (Moissy-Cramayel, Seine et Marne): un témoignage du séchage des céréales', paper given at *Rurland 2017. Les campagnes du nord et de l'est de la Gaule à la fin de l'Antiquité (IIIe – Ve siècles)*, Michel Reddé, April 2017, Paris, France.

## iii) 'Le Chemin aux Errants', Val-de-Reuil

The villa here developed on the site of a series of Iron Age enclosures, and encompassed some 1,650m<sup>2</sup> by the second century. It consisted of a corridor house, with one heated room, and colonnaded corridors leading to symmetrical small lodges, the northern one of which was also heated (Fig. 46, below). To the west was a bath house and a number of other buildings whose function could not be established, while a canal took water from the nearby River Eure, feeding what may have been a fishpond. South of the villa enclosure, was a barn or storage structure of 244m<sup>2</sup>, with foundations capable of supporting an upper storey. Further south still, was a more lightly built structure of 1,100m<sup>2</sup> which may have been connected with livestock, given the high traces of phosphorous found. The excavators thought it may have been a stable, particularly given a greater incidence of horse bones than might normally be expected for this period. The occupants also ate fish, oysters, and young pig, and appeared to have enjoyed an elite lifestyle.<sup>148</sup> There were signs of abandonment in the third century, and some buildings may have been demolished around this time. Occupation became visible again from the first half of the fourth century. The southern half of the villa seems to have been domestic, but grain dryers were built in one northern room of the main building and in the northern lodge. A number of SFBs were built, mainly beyond the southern boundary wall. Once more, however, any apparent decline in domestic living standards was not borne out by other factors: the presence of three crossbow brooches and

---

<sup>148</sup> Yves-Marie Adrian, Dagmar Lukas, Nicolas Roudié, Frédérique Jimenez, and Aminte Thomann, 'Val-de-Reuil, "Le Chemin aux Errants" (Eure): l'habitat antique et le hameau du haut Moyen Âge de la zone C', in *Journées Archéologiques de Normandie*, Rouen, 30 Septembre – 1 Octobre 2016, ed. by Jean-Paul Ollivier (Mont-Saint-Aignan: Presses universitaires du Rouen et du Havre, 2018), pp. 127-144 (pp. 129-134).

military-style belt fittings led the excavators to suggest that the occupants were still part of an elite.<sup>149</sup>

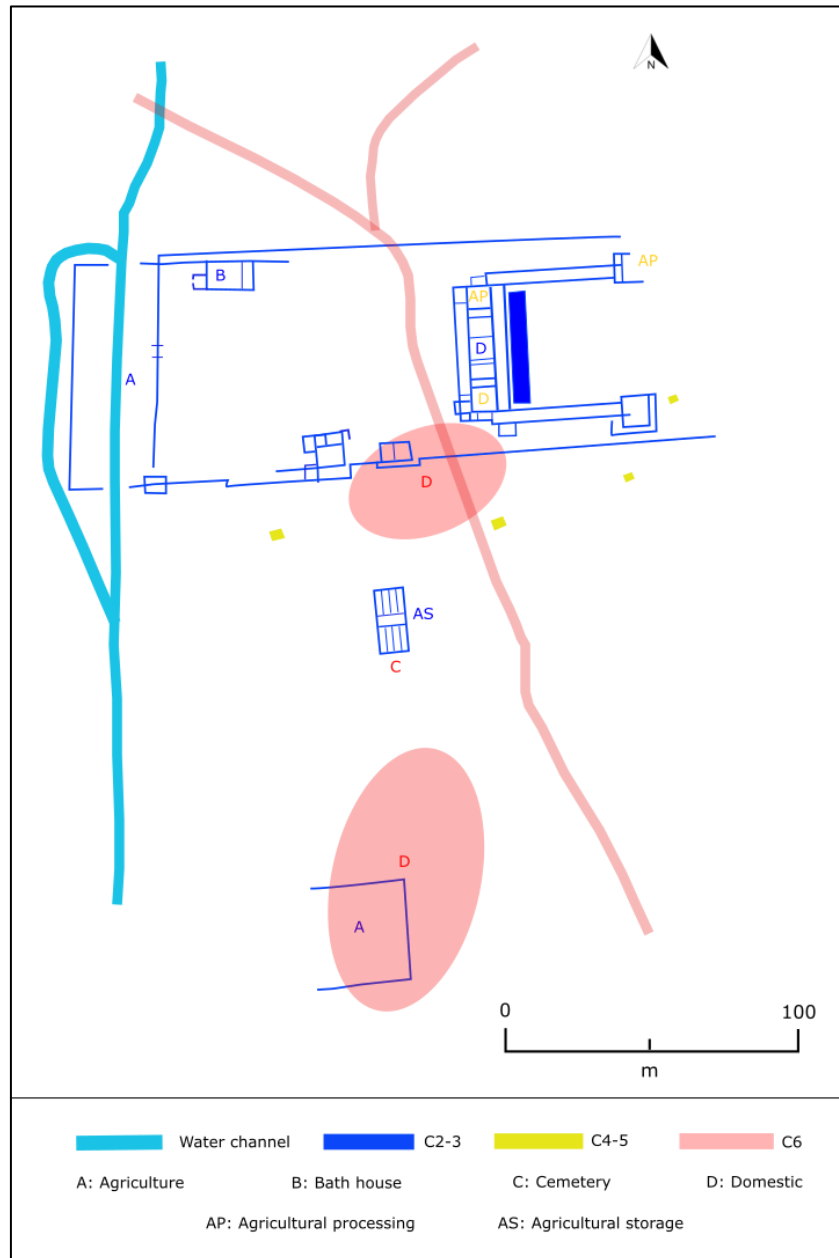


Fig. 45: Phases and functions of the villa at Val-de-Reuil. After Adrian, Lukas, Roudié, Jimenez, and Thomann.

A break in the ceramic record in the fourth century was interpreted as the end of that phase of occupation. The fifth-century settlement seemed to be associated with a track which

<sup>149</sup> Adrian, Lukas, Roudié, Jimenez, and Thomann, 'Val-de-Reuil, "Le Chemin aux Errants"', pp. 134-136.

cut through the villa grounds. This could not be independently dated, and may therefore have been in existence earlier. However, the new settlement straddled this track, firstly to the west of the old villa, before moving to the southwest and the old stable site. Occupation continued into the eighth century, drifting gradually eastwards. The former barn became the focus of a cemetery from which the remains of 274 people were excavated. Their skeletons showed a working population with a high rate of infant mortality, poor dental health, and tuberculosis. Among them, however, were a group of male burials whose bones showed signs of equestrian activity, and possibly violence. They had lived longer than many of their neighbours, and were buried with a greater number of grave goods. Relatively little evidence of agricultural processing was found beyond what may have been a few storage silos, although granaries did appear in the Carolingian period.<sup>150</sup>

#### iv) Barton Court Farm

A series of Iron Age and early Roman ditched enclosures were replaced around the third century by a corridor house with seven or eight rooms (with a cellar possibly added later), and a waterhole and T-shaped grain dryer (Fig. 47, below). Slightly later, another phase of ditched enclosures was laid out, cutting the waterhole and grain dryer. The villa enclosure consisted of regular V-shaped ditches, about 0.9m deep, which were left open and slowly eroded and silted up. Miles suggested there may have been a small bank on the inside, but there was no certain evidence for this. In this phase, a second grain dryer was built, sheltered by an ephemeral wooden structure, which may have been used for malting, and two new

---

<sup>150</sup> Adrian, Lukas, Roudié, Jimenez, and Thomann, 'Val-de-Reuil, "Le Chemin aux Errants"', pp. 134-140.

wells were dug. Slightly later, a two-room structure was built to the east of the farmhouse, with an oven in one room, and the second room possibly used for domestic occupation. This may have survived for some time after the villa building itself became derelict, since a hoard of up to 89 coins (it was not clear if all coins found here belonged to the hoard) was found here, 44 of which were dated 388-395. The villa itself appears to have been robbed of stone in the late fourth century, and, by the early fifth, the enclosure ditches had silted up.

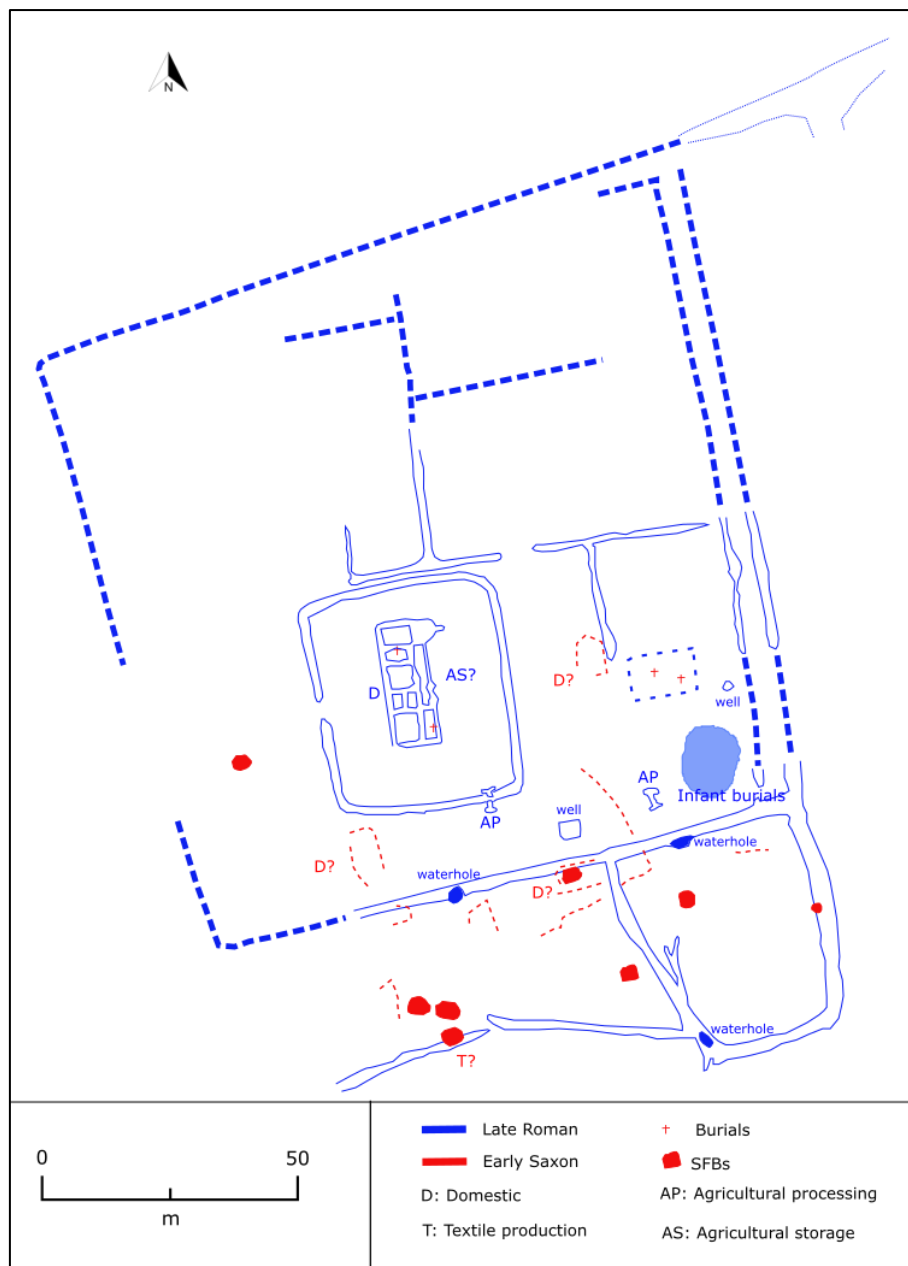


Fig. 46: Phases and functions of the villa at Barton Court Farm. After Miles.

In the fifth century, a new enclosure system was created to the south, and seven SFBs and eight post-built buildings were laid out, in sequence, with some of these structures and their fencelines cutting the silted-up villa ditch.<sup>151</sup> This occupation continued for some time, with two burials being interred within the footprint of the old villa in the sixth century. This persistence was in spite of the creation of the new settlement at nearby Barrow Hills, Radley, where the adult inhabitants of the villa are thought to have been buried. This settlement is believed to have involved the same community, partly because of proximity, but also because the same pottery stamps were used on both sites.<sup>152</sup>

#### v) Monk Sherborne

The villa here appears to have been similarly modest. Although not directly dated, the appearance of Roman structures was attributed to the third century on the basis of pottery found in pits. The two clearest structures were a winged corridor house, refurbished at some point with a hypocaust in the northern wing, and an aisled building which contained a grain dryer (Fig. 48, below). The third, sunken structure was too poorly preserved to be identified, and it was not certain that it was associated with the other two. There were relatively few fine pottery wares, and the consumption of sheep and cattle did not suggest animals eaten at an early age. Teague believed it was a farm which enjoyed a level of Romanised comfort rather than luxury.<sup>153</sup> The ceramic record, recovered entirely from pits and the grain dryer,

---

<sup>151</sup> David Miles, *Archaeology at Barton Court Farm, Abingdon, Oxon: An investigation of late Neolithic, Iron Age, Romano-British and Saxon settlements*, Oxford Archaeological Unit Report 3, CBA Research Report 50 (Oxford: Oxford Archaeological Unit/CBA, 1986).

<sup>152</sup> Miles, *Archaeology at Barton Court Farm*, p. 49; Chambers and McAdam, *Excavations at Barrow Hills, Radley*, p. 66.

<sup>153</sup> Teague, 'Manor Farm, Monk Sherborne, Hampshire: Archaeological Investigations in 1996', pp. 64-135.

ended in the fourth century. Consequently, it could not be determined whether the site was entirely abandoned at the end of this phase, or whether occupation continued centred on the aisled building. No direct connection was found with Saxon occupation, which could only be dated to the sixth century.

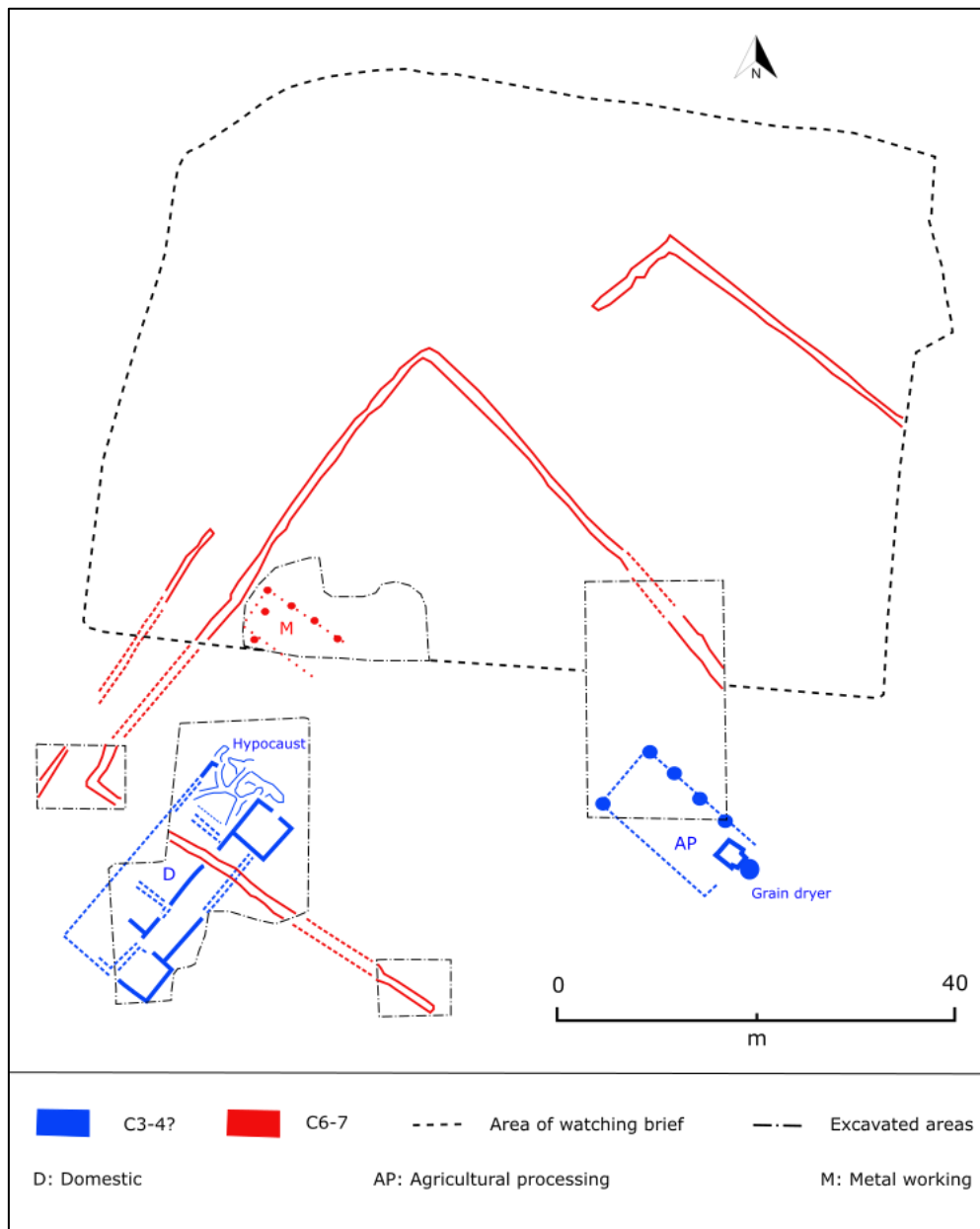


Fig. 47: Phases and functions of the villa at Monk Sherborne. After Teague.

This occupation, in the form of a post-hole building, was dated from the finds of a wire-inlaid buckle and belt fitting. The building lay within an enclosure ditch which respected

the alignment of the villa, and it may even have used the courtyard wall in its construction. The find of the two belt fittings, and a hoard of iron, in the top layers of a Roman pit, coupled with on-situ burning and quantities of slag suggested that it could have been a metalworking site, although the quantities were far from conclusive. Teague cautiously proposed that it could have been a specialist offshoot of the putative elite site at Cowdery's Down, just 4km away.<sup>154</sup>

#### vi) Barnsley Park

If the two sites above appear to illustrate the rise of the cottage villas to which Millett referred, the trajectory at Barnsley Park is more unusual (Fig. 49, below). In the second to third centuries, a timber-built house sat in the centre of an enclosure system housing two wooden service structures, one of them possibly used for metal working. The enclosure system and the ancillary buildings were reworked in the late third or early fourth century, and a little later a new wooden house was built, replacing its predecessor.<sup>155</sup> Then, around the mid-fourth century, the site saw drastic changes. A stone-built bath block was added to the wooden house, which was itself soon replaced by a masonry corridor house. The outbuildings were developed further, with a large barn-type structure in the southern yard, thought to have contained a grain dryer. A west wing to the villa followed, two rooms of which were heated by a hypocaust, while a hypocaust was also inserted into a room in the original villa block. This was short-lived, and by the late fourth century the new wing had been demolished

---

<sup>154</sup> Teague, 'Manor Farm, Monk Sherborne', pp. 125; 130-131.

<sup>155</sup> Graham Webster, 'The excavation of a Romano-British rural establishment at Barnsley Park, Gloucestershire, 1961-1979, Part I, c. AD 140-360', *Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucester Archaeological Society*, 99 (1982), 21-77.

and the villa turned over to agricultural use. The doorway was widened, and a ramp built to admit carts, with wheel ruts found in the stone flooring. Yet the bath house remained in use,

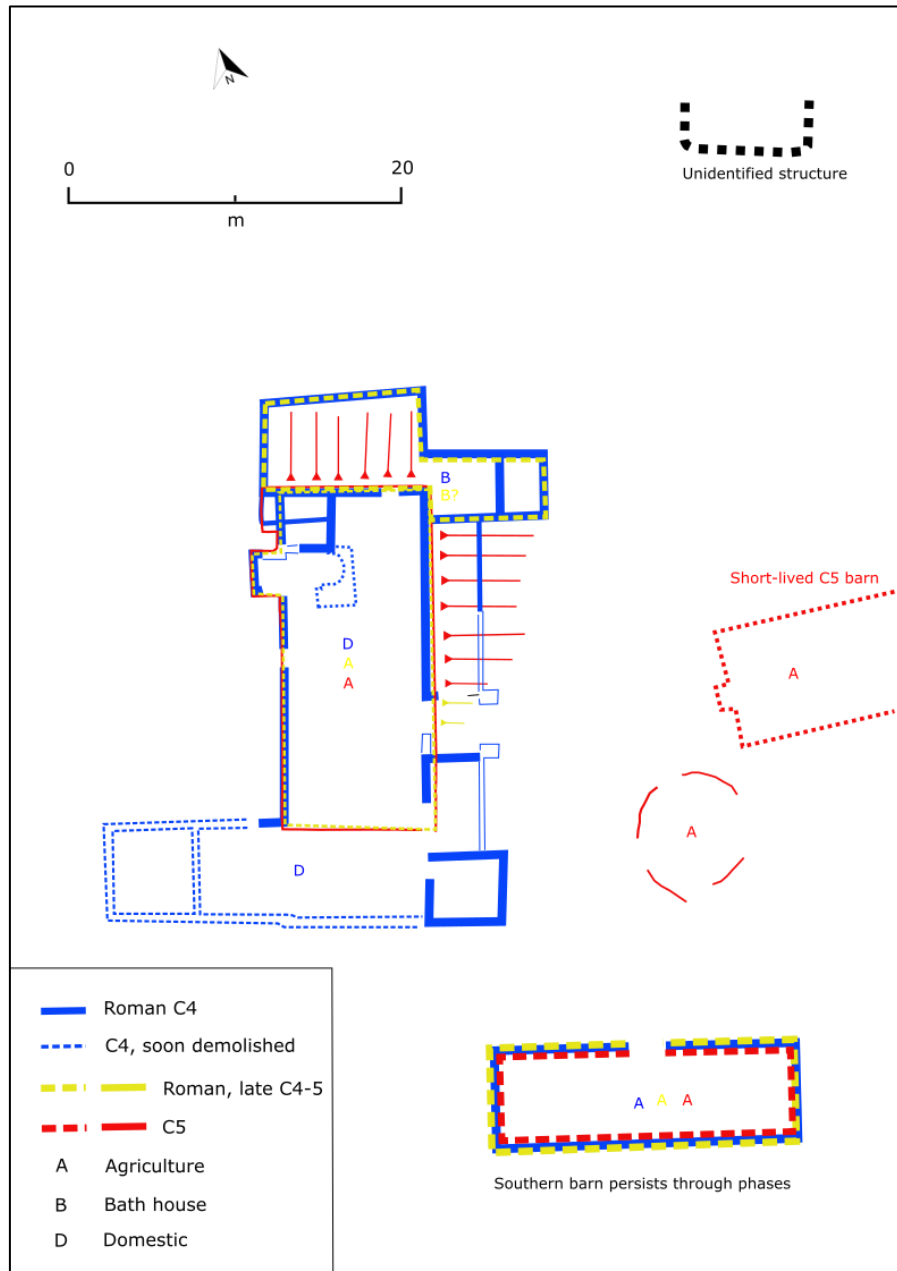


Fig. 48: Phases and functions of the villa at Barnsley Park. The continued use of structures is shown by overlaying solid and dotted lines. Dotted lines alone are short short-lived structures. After Webster.

and Webster believed farm workers were living on site. Agricultural activity certainly continued, with new drystone buildings in the northern yard, and a second barn-style building erected sometime in the fifth century in the central space. Shortly after, the remains of the

villa were levelled, and it became nothing more than a raised hard-standing platform, apparently used for carts given the ramps built at the eastern and northern sides.<sup>156</sup> Webster believed the dramatic changes of the fourth century were linked to the revolt of Magnentius, and that the farm may have been one seized by Constantius II to punish supporters of the usurper. The new constructions, he suggested, may have been to house a bailiff or manager, who supervised intensive stock rearing, possibly for nearby markets in Corinium. He also believed that the site's return to agricultural use had 'the appearance of large-scale planning'.<sup>157</sup>

In the fifth century, with the villa reduced to a stone platform, the barn building to the south continued in use. The remaining drystone structures were demolished. A track cut across the site from south-west to north-east, respecting the position of a stone building in the extreme corner of the excavation area about which little was known. Too all intents and purposes, the villa and its population had gone.

### 5.3.2: Discussion

One observation which emerges from even such a small sample is that Late and post-Roman villas could take very different trajectories, and that there is a danger of over-generalisation.<sup>158</sup> The recent confirmation of a fifth-century mosaic installed in the villa at

---

<sup>156</sup> Graham Webster and Lance Smith, 'The excavation of a Romano-British rural establishment at Barnsley Park, Gloucestershire, 1961-1979, Part II c. AD 360-400+', *Trans. Bristol and Gloucester Archaeological Society*, 100 (1982), 65-189.

<sup>157</sup> Webster, 'Barnsley Park, Part II', p. 68.

<sup>158</sup> A point also made by Alexandra Chavarría Arnau, 'The Fate of Late-Roman Villas in Southern Gaul between the sixth and seventh centuries', in *The Oxford Handbook of the Merovingian World*, ed. by Effros and Moreira, pp. 641-656 (p. 641).

Chedworth only serves to underline those dangers.<sup>159</sup> It may be that highly localised conditions were responsible for some of these differences, and only detailed area studies, beyond the scope of what is possible here, could illuminate this. The second observation which needs to be made in advance of any discussion, is the need to know the goal of the analysis. Interpretations often focus on the presence or absence of 'continuity', but the nature of this continuity is not always defined. As Van Ossel pointed out, the term can mean different things, from the continued presence of human beings in a given place, to the continued possession and control of land by the same individuals, to the continued functional role of a site, even if this occurred under new masters.<sup>160</sup> For this reason, Van Ossel suggested that it would be better to discuss 'continuities', but, even so, it is still necessary to define which 'continuity' is being discussed at any moment. All of the aforementioned continuities proposed by Van Ossel are important questions for the post-Roman period. While intrinsically inter-related, however, they are not necessarily inter-dependent. That is to say, that a positive or negative answer in one does not automatically imply a corresponding positive or negative answer in another. The following paragraphs will consider these 'continuities' in relation to the case study sites.

i) The continued presence of human beings on the site

This point needs to be further refined in order to specify whether what is being discussed is unbroken occupation, or the intermittent use of the site. If it were the latter, then it would probably be necessary to define how great a gap of absence constituted

---

<sup>159</sup> 'Confirming a 5<sup>th</sup>-century mosaic at Chedworth Roman villa', *Current Archaeology*, 410 (May, 2024), p. 10.

<sup>160</sup> Van Ossel, 'Etablissement ruraux', p. 79.

abandonment: many archaeological sites are discovered when new developments take place on land which has not been inhabited for hundreds or thousands of years; no one would call this continuity of occupation. It is also necessary to acknowledge that judgements of continued occupation often rest on interpretation rather than fact. Lewit and Van Ossel have both made the point that care needs to be taken over judging breaks in population purely by breaks in the ceramic record, given the often near aceramic nature of fifth-century occupation in some areas.<sup>161</sup> In analysing periods when pottery continued to circulate in changing forms, it can reasonably be used to date those contexts, since a break in the sequence can be assumed to show abandonment. However, the dearth of pottery production in the fifth century means that new pots were not always available.<sup>162</sup> In these circumstances, there is no way of knowing how long people might have curated pots before they were finally damaged beyond use and disposed of. The end of a circulating currency causes similar problems. Often, then, the best that can be said is that there is no certain evidence for continuing occupation.

On these terms, there are some grounds for advancing continued occupation of some of the case study sites, even if that occupation was sometimes drastically reduced or saw brief phases of abandonment. At the most cautious assessment, this may have been the case at Moissy-Cramayel, where there seems to have been a relatively small gap between the late fourth-century mint and the fifth-century wooden buildings. The evidence is stronger at Barton Court Farm. While continuity could not be proven, neither could a definitive break,

---

<sup>161</sup> Lewit, *Agricultural Production in the Roman Economy*, pp. 37-39; Van Ossel, 'Etablissement ruraux', p. 79; echoed by Esmonde Cleary, *Ending of Roman Britain*, p. 134.

<sup>162</sup> Although it is possible that some wares continued to be produced for longer than once thought, but are consistently given a Roman context: James Gerrard, 'How late is late? Pottery and the fifth century in southwest Britain', in *Debating Late Antiquity in Britain AD 300-700*, ed. by R. Collins and J. Gerrard, BAR 365 (Oxford: BAR Publishing, 2004), pp. 65-75 (pp. 68-71).

and Miles envisaged a 'butt-joint' scenario where Saxon occupation followed hard on the heels of Romano-British, but was not necessarily related. Barnsley Park is an interesting case here, and raises more problems with the issue of looking for continuity of occupation. While the villa ceased to be inhabited, the site was still in use as an agricultural yard, and may even have been home to some farm workers in the fourth century. The agricultural activity continued into the fifth. Therefore, even if no human being was living there, the site seems to have an unbroken record of human activity into the fifth century. This is, then, an instance of crossover between occupation and function, and could be considered a form of continuity.

ii) The continued possession and control of land by the same individuals

This question evolves naturally from point one, but is even more difficult, if not impossible to prove.<sup>163</sup> None of the sites considered here provide evidence which demonstrates this one way or another, and any answer relies on interpretation. The prevailing consensus was once that no self-respecting villa owner would have buried their mosaic floors or violated them with hearths. However, this view is now questioned.<sup>164</sup> Lewit, in particular, has situated the changes to villas among changes taking place in towns, and involving a shift from the civic euergetism of earlier centuries to an expression of wealth which centred on the Church.<sup>165</sup> This was accompanied by changes in personal ornament and dress, as the military evolved a 'barbarianised' style, involving crossbow brooches and belt sets, which permeated

---

<sup>163</sup> Millet, *Romanization of Britain*, pp. 223-224.

<sup>164</sup> Dodds gives a good overview of the traditional viewpoint. Both he and Lewit argue against it: Dodds, 'Assessing Late Antique Villa Transformation at Individual Sites', pp. 2-3 ; Lewit, 'Vanishing villas', especially pp. 260-264.

<sup>165</sup> Lewit, 'Vanishing villas', pp. 264-267.

the ranks of the civil service.<sup>166</sup> The widespread adoption of this style could be compared to the modern widespread adoption of sportswear: it sent a signal which did not necessarily correlate with reality. It does, however, suggest a genuine shift in the elite's self-image, in which *otium* and civic life gave way, to some degree, to a more pragmatic ideal.<sup>167</sup>

The introduction of the minting workshop at Moissy-Cramayel is consistent with Lewit's view, since, in spite of the introduction of industry to the domestic environment, Desrayaud and Warmé argued that its presence indicated someone of local importance.<sup>168</sup> Similarly, the crossbow brooches found at Val-de-Reuil suggest that the occupants who installed grain dryers in the villa's rooms were powerful people, possibly with military or civil service connections. This does not, of course, mean that they were related to earlier owners of the villas, simply that they were a similar class of people expressing their wealth and power in a different way. There is even the possibility, although no proof, of some continuity into the fifth century phase at Moissy-Cramayel, since that power seems to have been perpetuated in the level of agricultural processing. This is not the case at Val-de-Reuil, where the sixth century population seems to have led a life of hardship, and agricultural processing was presumably taking place on a domestic level. Only the evidence for continued activity with horses raises the possibility of some continuity of function, but this need not imply that it was the same people. It is, however, one indicator that this community may not have been self-sufficient peasants, but that they were part of a broader system of agricultural production and exchange, albeit one that was very different from the Roman.

---

<sup>166</sup> Guy Halsall, *Barbarian Migrations and the Roman West*, pp. 101-110; Ellen Swift, *The End of the Western Roman Empire. An Archaeological Assessment* (Stroud: The History Press, 2010), pp. 42-52; Gerrard, *Ruin of Roman Britain*, pp. 145-155.

<sup>167</sup> This should not be overstated: there is evidence of continuing luxury on some sites in southern Gaul. See Chavarría Arnau, 'The Fate of Late-Roman Villas in Southern Gaul', pp. 648-649.

<sup>168</sup> Desrayaud and Nicolas Warmé, 'Concentrations du foyers du Bas-Empire', p. 10.

There is no evidence that the fifth-century population at Barton Court Farm had any connection to the Romano-British one. However, it should be pointed out that the assumption of a definitive break between the two is founded on the *tabula rasa* theory which descends from the writings of Gildas. Given the evidential problems for this period, there is no categorical evidence that any area of the British countryside was emptied of its Romano-British population, to be replaced by a wholly new set of Saxon inhabitants. Indeed, the evidence is slowly building that, in spite of considerable genetic changes, this was not the case.<sup>169</sup> Therefore, in the absence of positive evidence, it is simply impossible to reach a judgement. There are, however, two factors which might suggest the possibility of continuity of local population at Barnsley Park. Firstly, the site of the old bath house was robbed of its tiles in the fifth century. Since these had been buried in the stone platform and would have been invisible, Webster noted that there must have been people who remembered that it had existed.<sup>170</sup> Secondly, a circular pen was either created or rebuilt in the central yard at this time. This bears strong similarities to the circular pens which characterised the site in its earlier phases, and it seems possible that this was a local form.

### iii) The continued functional role of the site

It is for continuity of function, regardless of the identity of inhabitants or owners, that the strongest arguments may be made. The fifth-century developments at Moissy-Cramayel

---

<sup>169</sup> Gretzinger, Sayer, Justeau, et al., 'The Anglo-Saxon migration and the formation of the early English gene pool', *Nature*, 610, (2022), 112–119; Joscha Gretzinger and Stephan Schiffels, 'Transformations in early medieval England', *Current Archaeology*, 392 (November 2022), 26-31; Duncan Sayer, 'Grave affairs. What can ancient DNA tell us about early Anglo-Saxon cemeteries', *CA* 392, 32-37; Joanna Story, 'Revisiting the Adventus Saxonum, again', *CA* 392, 50-54.

<sup>170</sup> Webster, 'Barnsley Park, Part II', p. 103.

do not represent a rupture with the villa's life, since industrial activity had already been introduced into its heart. Rather, it seems that the site continued to hold importance as an agricultural processing centre, although whether this was as an endpoint or as a link in a productive chain is less clear. The decision to place a building within the villa's footprint does seem to send a signal that the control once exercised by the villa owners over the surrounding land had not ended. By staking a claim to the one-time estate centre, the builders were staking a claim to at least part of that estate.<sup>171</sup> However, the evidence does not show whether these builders were the elite recipients of food themselves or deputies whose role was to oversee processing and pass on the finished product.

A similar situation could be envisaged for Barton Court Farm, although perhaps on a more modest scale. It is true that the level or nature of agricultural activity seems to have changed: no grain dryer was being used, for instance. However, both the continued occupation at the farm and the move to Barrow Hills present a similar statement to the timber building in the footprint of Moissy-Cramayel. By occupying the Roman-period burial site, and by inhabiting and placing burials in the villa site, the inhabitants were asserting a claim to the land. This suggests the site continued to have a function as central point, which was gradually subsumed by Barrow Hills. Neither Barton Court Farm, nor Barrow Hills, qualify as elite sites, but they do seem to represent independent farming communities, possibly family based, who may have owed tribute to those further up the social scale (the great hall at Sutton Courtenay was about 5km away, for instance), but who were not directed by them. In contrast, the community at Barnsley Park seem to have lost their independence at an early date, and the decisions which both created and destroyed the villa appear to have been taken by an

---

<sup>171</sup> As was argued for Fossés Neufs, Tigery, see this chapter, pp. 300-301.

external power. In these circumstances, though, there was some continuity of function, since the barn which continued in use through the fifth century represents a substantial agricultural building.

Other cases are less clear. Both Mercin-et-Vaux and Val-de-Reuil continued to have lives as agricultural settlements. Unlike Barnsley Park, however, there was a considerable rupture between their status as local power centres in the Roman period and their status as humble settlements in the post-Roman. The focus, the centre to which they owed tributary payment, seems to have been elsewhere. There is also the potential for a relationship with an elite site at Monk Sherborne. Although there is a possibility that activity continued around the aisled building after the fourth century, there is no discernible link with its sixth century phase. The similar alignment of the later enclosure to the villa could have been merely a product of using vestigial remains of the villa compound in the later structure. It is the possibility of a link to Cowdery's Down which is intriguing. If Monk Sherborne was a specialist offshoot of that site, then it would be consistent with other possible pairings of elite and specialist sites, for example with that suggested for Yeavinger and Lanton Quarry, or, admittedly on a different scale, with the proposed episcopal connection at Le Roc de Pampelune.<sup>172</sup> However, it should be noted that not even the level of metalworking activity was securely proven, consequently such a link must remain speculative.

The overall sense derived from these case studies is, therefore, that some villas continued to be focal centres through the third and fourth centuries, in spite of radical changes which were wrought in their domestic environment. However, this does not appear

---

<sup>172</sup> Stafford, 'Excavation at Lanton Quarry, Northumberland'.

to have continued beyond the fifth century, when, in all of the cases considered here, there was some form of displacement. This is most evident at the more elite sites. Smaller farms, such as Barton Court, might have continued little affected by the collapse of Roman rule, except in losing their access to markets. There is no archaeological evidence which gives a reason why the community at Barton Court Farm would have decamped and left the land their family had occupied. At elite sites, however, there is a strong suggestion that power shifted to some other site in the fifth century. Even the preponderance of processing evidence at Moissy-Cramayel does not prove that power was centred here. Indeed, there may be reasons for suggesting that it was not.

The post-Roman elite did not measure their status by the extent of their landholdings and the agricultural returns they gave. In the absence of the developed and long-distance Roman markets in agricultural produce, it is unlikely that this would have been possible.<sup>173</sup> Instead, they measured their status in personal ornament, in number of retainers, and in proximity to kings.<sup>174</sup> They saw themselves as warriors, divorced from agricultural labour; the end receivers of agricultural tribute. This may have been an affectation for all but the highest, and the sixth-century settlement at Larina probably gives a truer view of the life of the lesser elite (although even here the workforce appears to have been kept out of view). Nonetheless, this suggests there was no attraction for the elite in holding processing centres, and, since that is what many villas had become, they chose to live elsewhere. In common with the rest of the countryside, those villas then resolved back into domestic production and became the kind of settlements seen at Mercin-et-Vaux and Val-de-Reuil. It may be, therefore, that villa

---

<sup>173</sup> Esmonde Cleary believed the collapse of markets led to an inability to maintain villas: *Ending of Roman Britain*, p. 158.

<sup>174</sup> Patrick Porte, *Domaine ruraux et forteresses de hauteur de l'Antiquité au Moyen Âge, Larina, Volume II*, (Biarritz; Paris: Atlantica-Séguier, 2011), p. 41-42.

sites were abandoned because they did not meet the needs of the post-Roman elite. They had no value as symbols of power, and the productive capacity which had once been one of their defining features not only quickly declined, but was in any case an unattractive symbol of peasant life which new elites were keen to eschew.

#### 5.4: Conclusion

Following the conclusions of Chapter Four that the Merovingian elite were seeking to extend their control over people, this chapter has sought evidence in the landscape to support or challenge this view. It examined settlement boundaries for indications of lordly or tenurial status, and it considered why the opportunity to develop pre-existing estate centres rarely seems to have been taken. From the analysis of perimeter boundaries, it concluded that they did have social meaning. This may seem so obvious as not to be worth stating, but the layers of meaning which inhabit such boundaries are so familiar and yet so complex that they often pass unnoticed. In the modern world, whether a house is divided from the street by, say, a picket fence or privet hedge sends signals full of anthropological potential. Our distance from the Late Antique and early medieval worlds makes such signals harder to read, especially in a vernacular context, where the practical and symbolic are difficult to distinguish. Indeed, given the inter-penetration of ritual and everyday life at that time, it may be that they cannot be distinguished.

It is clear that perimeter boundaries were used on some sites with elite connections as part of a package of status and display. However, not all elite sites employed this signal. Moreover, the message could be modulated, either to indicate control by a non-resident power, as was possibly the case at Le Roc de Pampelune, or to indicate spiritual lordship. In

both cases, the boundary must have conveyed a measure of protection, warning would-be trespassers that they would answer to a higher power. In a vernacular setting, perimeter boundaries may well have had a function as tools of stock control. Notwithstanding this, the Irish ringforts do suggest that the establishment of a boundary was related not only to social status, but that it had a particular familial significance. It is possible that this was replicated in Wales and southwest Britain. However, the picture is not clear enough to give firm conclusions about tenorial status, although there is some reason to believe that these would have been the homes of the free. The circumstances of these habitations, especially in Britain, are currently too unclear to generalise from these examples across a wider area. More needs to be known about the details of social organisation and agricultural practice before that would be tenable. It is, therefore, not possible to say whether the presence or absence of perimeter boundaries indicated owners or tenants.

Most of the evidence considered here for internal boundaries is consistent with current theories about the development of such structures from the seventh century onwards. However, this in itself reveals the problem with their interpretation. Too little is known about the social use of space on sites in any of the target areas before the seventh century to categorically state that those changes were due to lordly direction. This remains the most convincing theory, but its wholesale adoption as a 'truth' should be avoided. In particular, it is necessary to attempt to distinguish between changes resulting from lordly direction and those resulting from lordly demand. That is to say, changes dictated by the elite, and changes produced because the elite demanded more produce from peasants. This is important, because in the first the elite exercised direct control over people; in the second, they increased the tributary demand, but the peasants determined how to fill that demand. There is no doubt that the former finally came to predominate, but the question of when this

happened remains open. In general, it seems clear from this short survey that more information is needed about the use of social space in a rural context in both the Late Antique and early medieval periods. The function of aisled buildings on villa sites, for instance, remains a matter of debate. This demonstrates how difficult the gathering of such information may be for the post-Roman age, when the evidence is more vestigial.

More positively, it is possible to say that the evidence considered here is consistent with the demise of a centralised and market-oriented society and the move to a world of local elites, small-scale hierarchies, and tribute or tax-in-kind. It is within this world that the ramparts and walls of the elite settlements in southern Gaul and western Britain made their mark. This change in the manner of elite expression in the landscape seems to have continued a trend begun during the latter years of Roman rule. The changes wrought upon villas may, as Gerrard suggested, in part have been related to a feeling among the rural elite that they could no longer rely on the acquiescence of their peasants.<sup>175</sup> Without the bulwark of the Roman state and army, they were forced to rely upon their own retinues and so brought precious stores and important activities closer to home. This was accompanied by changes in dress and display which partook of a kind of military chic. Post-Roman elites perpetuated this in their personal display, but they seem to have consolidated their grip upon the peasantry to the point where they did not need to guard agricultural stores. Therefore, aspiring to the warrior ideals of a heroic culture, they distanced themselves from the agricultural world, and from the villas which had increasingly become working farms. Again, this was not universal, and while few villas may have survived as elite centres, more became foci of religious practice.

---

<sup>175</sup> Gerrard, *Ruin of Roman Britain*, pp. 255-257.

This chapter, as with Chapter Three, has found little indication of a difference between Britain and Gaul based on archaeological evidence. Similar experiences may have taken place at slightly different times, and geographical differences may have sometimes affected the form individual features assumed. However, across the regions, the changes in post-Roman organisation seem to have followed a comparable pattern. Even the greater survival of Roman culture in southern Gaul, and the continued existence of towns and taxation do not appreciably disturb this picture: pre-seventh century agricultural practice was comparable; elites expressed their status in similar ways. This might suggest that the taxation system of the Merovingian kings was ultimately closer to tribute, or that it was a system which could be interpreted and presented as either tax or tribute depending on the collecting authority (for example, urban bishop or warrior warlord).

There is, therefore, no sign in the landscape of the differences found in documentary culture. One possible response to this conclusion could be to abandon the interpretation of the documentary record given in previous chapters. Yet, the differences between the documentary cultures are strong and demand some form of explanation. Another possible response, therefore, is that this shows that change in Merovingian Gaul was first expressed in documents, and later in the landscape. In Britain, it was first expressed in the landscape. In both cases, these landscape expressions become visible around the seventh century. This is consistent with the existence in Gaul of a documentary culture which was extinguished in Britain.<sup>176</sup> From this, one might also conclude that a documentary culture allowed and fostered an earlier expression of lordship, and that documents were one means the elite used in order to achieve control. The next chapter will discuss this idea further, by placing the

---

<sup>176</sup> See Chapter Six, pp. 362-368, for further discussion of this.

evidence from this thesis in the context of some of the main theories of land tenure. It will reprise the issue of taxation, mentioned above, and the role of the surviving civil state in Gaul. And it will consider the role of the Church, often seen as the enabling force behind the expansion of lordly control in Britain, and ask whether it is possible to distinguish between the Merovingian elite, state, and clergy.

## 6: Discussion and Conclusion

### 6.1: Introduction

Chapter One set out a series of themes which were to be explored by the specific research questions of subsequent chapters. These concerned the ways in which elites may have held land in the immediate post-Roman period, and the similarities and differences between the geographical areas covered here. It asked how the tenure of peasant proprietors co-existed alongside that of the elite, and how it was affected as elite tenure changed. In discussing Britain, that chapter chose as its starting point the theory of 'superiority': that kings granted elites the right to take material goods from an area of land in return for their continued military support. In discussing Gaul, it proposed a similar system co-existing alongside continuing Roman ownership, with tax and tribute being possibly indistinguishable. This was because, although the two terms might conjure different images of overarching regimes, it was suggested that where such payments were made in kind, it would have made little difference to those at the bottom of the social pyramid.

An analysis of the appurtenance clauses in Merovingian charters in Chapter Two suggested that there was, by the seventh century, a clear sense of family land among the elite, and a desire that the land over which they held power should be a perpetual possession of that family, which they attempted to effect through the medium of the Church. This desire was reflected in a concern about people and buildings in appurtenance lists which seemed to be consistent with an enumeration of family wealth and power. The seeds of this were cautiously detected in the few reliable sixth-century texts. No such indication was found in the Anglo-Saxon charters. Chapter Three aimed at testing this suggestion against the reality

on the ground by looking at settlement archaeology. It noted the difficulty of doing this, given the broadly accepted agricultural intensification from the mid-seventh century onwards, but nonetheless found that there was little distinction between Britain and Gaul before signs of that intensification filtered through. Northern Gaul was not home to estate centres where the structures of agricultural processing and storage were clustered together around the home of the lord. Even in southern Gaul, sites with considerable storage capacity, for example La Malène, did not necessarily seem to be centres of processing. In both Gaul and Britain, most agricultural processing seemed to have been taking place at a domestic level. There were some signs that activity was slightly greater on certain service sites which may have stood in an intermediate position between the homesteads of the peasants and the residences of a higher elite, who otherwise eschewed contact with the day-to-day agricultural reality.

Given the dichotomy between the proprietorial appurtenance clauses and the aloofness of elite settlement, Chapter Four proposed that Merovingian elites may have exercised control over people rather than directly over the agricultural product. It explored this by examining the relationships between people suggested by a case study of the testament of Ermentrude, and by a comparison of the language used in charters and laws. This concluded that elites may have manipulated terminology in order to create uncertainty over tenurial status as a way of creating opportunities to turn land which owed them tribute, but which they did not own, into a direct possession. It was suggested that the adoption in the charters of a different terminological palette to that of the laws, was designed to focus more on tenure than freedom or unfreedom, and that the group labelled *accolae* may therefore have been, or have originated as, peasant proprietors. It then sought to use a comparison of inheritance and marriage customs from Gaul and Britain to compare these

areas, and assess the degree to which landholding was a familial concern. Although this may have been inconclusive, there were suggestions of a greater degree of individual right in Gaul than in Wales, with the Anglo-Saxon areas of Britain remaining indeterminate. Only the slightest similarity in the treatment of property through marriage suggested an alignment between these areas and the customs in Wales. Ultimately, this was not enough to be decisive.

In an attempt to further explore peasant and elite tenure, Chapter Five looked for clues in the existence of settlement boundaries. This found that these structures are complex, and their interpretation highly dependent on context. So, while circuits of ramparts and stone walls give clear signals of power and claims of lordship, the social and tenorial implications of other, lesser boundaries are not readily readable, indeed, such boundaries may be difficult to distinguish from those with a purely practical function. In considering estate centres, however, Chapter Five posited that the abandonment of Roman villas was consistent with an elite who wished to distance themselves from agricultural activity, identifying themselves instead as a warrior class.

The settlement archaeology of the fifth to seventh centuries was, therefore, broadly consistent with the idea of 'extensive lordship': with an elite who exercised a right to draw material goods from the rural population, but who presented themselves as belonging to a military rather than agrarian class. It was noted that the reality of this projection may have varied depending on the exact stature of the individual concerned and, possibly, upon other factors in their local area. On current evidence, some sites in southern Gaul, such as Larina, l'Albenc, and Poncin, do seem to have married some degree of lordly control with agricultural production. It was also noted, however, that the picture of agricultural distance found on elite sites in Britain may have relied on a certain sleight of hand, since recent work near Yeavinger

suggests there may have been production facilities beyond the main elite structures: a situation more clearly represented at Rendlesham. Day-to-day activity may therefore have been hidden but closer, and more controlled, than we think.

This concluding chapter will discuss the significance of these findings for the themes outlined in Chapter One, beginning with the nature of elite landholding and the possible influence of Roman law on perceptions of 'ownership'. Section 6.3 will examine the relationship between elites and the Church, and their use of the written word, and Section 6.4 will review the evidence for their impact upon peasant proprietors. Finally, the Conclusion in Section 6.5 will revisit the various limitations upon the evidence studied here and consider what further research is suggested by these findings.

## 6.2: Elite land tenure

As Chapter One discussed, multiple forms of landholding are envisaged for the Merovingian elite. At some point, royal grants may have morphed into, or been absorbed into, family land, although it is not possible to accurately identify the moment of conversion.<sup>177</sup> It is also recognised that the 'barbarian' warrior elite holding land through royal favour coexisted alongside a residual Roman elite whose legal tenure seems to have been recognised by the Merovingian state. Such categorisations, however, may have increasingly depended on self-identification rather than ethnic origin, with suggestions that people were able to move from one group to another.<sup>178</sup> Chapter Two found evidence for the process by which elites sought to transmogrify their disparate holdings into a single familial estate. The

---

<sup>177</sup> See Chapter One, pp. 8-10.

<sup>178</sup> James, *The Franks*, pp. 7-9.

earliest indications of this are in the royal charters, whose first reliable examples show a listing of tenants and buildings (*mancipiis* and *domibus*) which already suggests that elites were acutely aware of their power over land and people.<sup>179</sup> They may have been content to collect renders in kind, but they understood the source of those renders, even if, at that point, they showed no desire, or were not able, to commercialise the agricultural product. By the seventh century, in the Île-de-France, the *accolae* had been added into the mix, and Chapter Four suggested this could be read as an attempt to extend control over tenants to include tribute-paying peasant proprietors, or other forms of lesser dependants.<sup>180</sup> In the testament of Ermentrude, the shifts from extreme specificity on the status of named freed slaves to the apparently studied vagueness with which more outlying people were described suggests that this was a conscious process.<sup>181</sup> Elites did not begin to include *accolae* because they had forgotten the nature of their tenures, they included them because they had an active desire to fully possess their land.

This desire to build family possessions was also detectable in some of the laws. In general, the law codes show how a multiplicity of means could be employed in order to convey land to the next generation. Where custom worked, people seem to have been content to employ it, but they were not afraid to circumvent it if required, as the father's repudiation of Salic custom in Marculf II.12 demonstrates.<sup>182</sup> There are also hints in the Burgundian and Visigothic codes of a nascent desire for unigeniture, while provisions to combat this suggest a society facing change and unsure of its proper direction. It is perhaps

---

<sup>179</sup> Chapter Two, pp. 44-51.

<sup>180</sup> Chapter Four, pp. 215-217.

<sup>181</sup> Chapter Four, pp. 218-228.

<sup>182</sup> Chapter Four, pp. 234-235; MGH Formulae, Marculf, II.12.

partly for this reason that such emerging elite dynasties appear to have remained extremely fragile.<sup>183</sup>

All of these elements, however, appear to have been geographically sensitive, and the evidence indicates that similar developments did not happen in lockstep across Gaul. This is suggested by the less frequent pairing of *mancipia/accolae* in the more widely distributed private charters, and is itself consistent with the work of other authors.<sup>184</sup> It is not surprising that the Île-de-France seems to have led the way. This was a royal heartland, home to Clovis' favoured lodge at Clichy, and would have been a primary target for consolidation.<sup>185</sup> The royal partnership with Saint-Denis can only have fostered this, while the royal example would have been available to local elites who already partook in both the religious and administrative life of the court.<sup>186</sup>

Multiple forms of tenure are less often envisaged for elites in Anglian and Saxon areas of Britain, although this is largely due to an absence of evidence. Dopsch, relying primarily on Ine's laws, was confident in the existence of private property, and the possibility of family land is now acknowledged, but with an admission that its parameters can probably never be known.<sup>187</sup> The dismantling of the *tabula rasa* theory devolved from Gildas certainly opens the way for elite family land, as it does for the continued possession of land by Romano-British estate owners. This is likely to have been a different continuity to that described for Merovingian Gaul. Gerrard has given a convincing description of how such continued

---

<sup>183</sup> Fox, *Power and Religion in Merovingian Gaul*, pp. 54-56; see also Hummer's account of the Rodoins in *Politics and Power in Early Medieval Europe*, pp. 65-75.

<sup>184</sup> Chapter Two, pp. 69-70; 74; 76-83; Wickham, *Framing*, pp. 280; Devroey, *Puissants et misérables*, p. 277; Sato, 'Remarques sur les exploitations rurales', pp. 32-34.

<sup>185</sup> Wickham, *Framing*, pp. 398-406.

<sup>186</sup> Chapter Four, p. 195; Ganz and Goffart, 'Charters Earlier than 800 from French Collections', pp. 917-918.

<sup>187</sup> Alfons Dopsch, 'Agrarian institutions of the Germanic kingdoms from the fifth to the ninth century', in *The Cambridge Economic History of Europe, I. The Agrarian Life of the Middle Ages*, 2<sup>nd</sup> edn., ed. by M. M. Postan (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1966), pp.180-204 (p. 193); Wickham; Blair.

possession may have come about, with villa owners abandoning a life of leisured aristocracy to become the leaders of fighting men (*bucellarii*).<sup>188</sup> Not all of them would have succeeded. Faulkner suggested that many would have fallen to peasant uprisings, and while his vision might be a little over-generalised, this is certainly conceivable as a local outcome.<sup>189</sup> Elsewhere, some estates may have been consolidated while others were broken up. New power figures may have emerged, some of whom became powerful enough to demand tribute and loyalty from lesser lords. It is perhaps in this way that the 'family land' of these lesser lords became subject to royal confirmation. Archaeological evidence can be interpreted this way, as Chapter Five showed. Villas may have passed through the centralisation of processing stage described by Gerrard only to be abandoned as elites became more established and more confident.<sup>190</sup>

However, these ideas of family land and forms of continuity are interpretations, and unequivocal evidence is lacking. Wales, with its clearer statements of family tenures, might offer clarification, but this is also difficult, not least because of the lateness of the legal sources.<sup>191</sup> The laws of Hywel Dda, examined in Chapter Four, do give a framework for the customary tenure of family land, although it is not clear how thoroughly this permeated the social spectrum.<sup>192</sup> It is possible to speculate that it was this framework, or something very like it, which once functioned across the whole of Britain, and, given the numerical predominance of the Romano-British in the population, and the posited inheritance of small

---

<sup>188</sup> Gerrard, *The Ruin of Roman Britain*, pp. 258-259.

<sup>189</sup> Neil Faulkner, *The Decline and Fall of Roman Britain* (Stroud: Tempus Publishing, 2000), pp. 176-178.

<sup>190</sup> Chapter Five, pp. 343-344.

<sup>191</sup> Chapter Four, pp. 240-246.

<sup>192</sup> Chapter Four, pp. 242-244; Davies, *Wales in the Early Middle Ages*, pp. 60-67.

political units from post-Roman Britain, that it continued to do so into the earliest Middle Ages.<sup>193</sup>

After acknowledging the shadowy concept of family land, we are left with the 'superiority' system in which elites collected tribute, or, in the case of Gaul, tax. It is worth considering more fully how distinguishable these were. Wickham differentiated between tax-based states, such as Rome, where the revenue systems rendered rulers largely independent of the aristocracy, and 'land-based' states, where the rulers were dependent on an elite supported by profits from the land.<sup>194</sup> It is the latter description which best seems to fit both Merovingian Gaul and the polities in Britain. There are apparent differences between these two areas, though, since local tax gatherers in Gaul appear to have used written records to facilitate the collection, and may have passed at least some of what they gleaned to the king.<sup>195</sup> However, the evidence for this rests on a passage in Gregory of Tours describing how Chilperic ordered taxes to be paid to him. Gregory's comment, '*Quod ita impletum fuisse cognovimus*', suggests that he found this unusual and, by implication, unfair, as does the opinion attributed to Bishop Charterius that he had fallen 'from heaven to hell' when he passed from Guntram to Chilperic's jurisdiction.<sup>196</sup>

Goffart preferred a slightly different model of tax collection, which he traced to the Roman empire of the fourth century. He argued that Roman taxation had become a two-tier system in which the state passed responsibility for the lower tier of tax-raising from peasants to local landlords, and sought only to gather revenue from the upper tier. Local collection therefore became the responsibility of these landlords, with the added advantage that they

---

<sup>193</sup> Wickham, *Framing*, pp. 325-326.

<sup>194</sup> Wickham, *Framing*, pp. 57-59.

<sup>195</sup> Wickham, *Framing*, p. 107.

<sup>196</sup> Gregory of Tours, LH, VI. 22

kept this revenue if granted a tax immunity. It was this system which Goffart believed was perpetuated under Merovingian kings, with local officials raising money from lenders or merchants to pay off the state, leaving them free to profit from local taxation. However, as more people gained immunity (Franks were already exempt), the upper tier withered, leaving only local payments.<sup>197</sup> Wickham concurred in the way in which this transmuted tax into tribute and rent, although he noted that beyond Frankish areas it left the elite poorer than in the Roman age.<sup>198</sup>

Nonetheless, there seems to have been an administrative element to taxation in Gaul for which no equivalent is recorded for tribute in Britain. Gregory of Tours described how the citizens of Limoges burnt the '*libris discriptionem*' and were only prevented from killing Mark the tax collector by the intercession of Bishop Ferreolus.<sup>199</sup> Wickham also argued that the late seventh-century records from St-Martin of Tours originated in tax accounts, but that, once again, these revenues were morphing into rent as the church gained an increasing number of immunities.<sup>200</sup> Goffart distinguished between such administrative accounts and the later polyptychs, and he identified a switching point between the two in active re-organisations of land, such as that suggested by Flodoard's record of Bishop Sonnatius of Rheims (c.613 – c.630) re-defining the duties of church tenants.<sup>201</sup> Roberts suggested that this might represent an almost continual period of episcopal management, from the seventh to the tenth centuries.<sup>202</sup> If so, and if this is set alongside the evidence for written records suggested by the testament of Ermentrude, then it gives a picture of Gaul in which records were potentially

---

<sup>197</sup> Goffart, *Rome's Fall and After*, pp. 218-225.

<sup>198</sup> Wickham, *Framing*, p. 110; 533-534.

<sup>199</sup> Gregory of Tours, LH, V. 28.

<sup>200</sup> Wickham, *Framing*, p. 109.

<sup>201</sup> Walter Goffart, *Rome's Fall and After*, p. 205.

<sup>202</sup> Edward Roberts, *Flodoard of Rheims and the Writing of History in the Tenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019; paperback, 2021), pp. 105-107.

used almost continually from the Roman period for some form of estate management, even if the nature or degree of that management changed. This seems to be starkly different to Britain. However, it is necessary to exercise caution. As Wickham noted, collecting either tax or rent could be difficult,<sup>203</sup> and some form of record-keeping would aid this process. Since such records could be kept on tally sticks, the absence of documentation is not decisive. Charles-Edwards has also proposed that some notion of taxation persisted in Britain into the fifth century, on the basis of Gildas' description of supplies being delivered to the barbarians in a *foederati* system.<sup>204</sup> Equally, however, this could have referred to a tribute system, but simply couched it in Roman terminology. Given the lack of any unifying administration, any tax system would have had to have been on a highly localised basis.

Wickham saw administrative systems as forming the crucial difference between tribute and tax, since in order to qualify as 'tax', he believed that payments had to be based on assessments of relative wealth.<sup>205</sup> However, this must have depended partly on where an individual stood in the tax pyramid. Even if it is assumed that such assessments were fair, it is not at all clear that their existence would have been apparent to those on the bottom tier, especially if Goffart's view of late Roman taxation is accepted. At the same time, there is evidence in the Welsh charters and Ine's laws that tribute was not purely arbitrary.<sup>206</sup> Set amounts appear to have been levied on given areas. How this was divided between individuals may then have been left to the people of that area. This is not so different from a Roman landowner deciding how to spread the tax burden between resident *coloni*. Wickham

---

<sup>203</sup> Wickham, *Framing*, p. 66.

<sup>204</sup> Charles-Edwards, *Wales and the Britons*, pp. 316-317; Gildas, *De Excidio Britanniae*, in *Chronica Minora Saec. IV, V, VI, VII*, ed. by Theodore Mommsen, *Monumenta Germaniae Historica* (Berlin: 1898), 23.5.

<sup>205</sup> Wickham, *Framing*, p. 70.

<sup>206</sup> Chapter Three, p. 126; Attenborough, *Laws of the Earliest English Kings*, Ine, 70.1; Charles-Edwards, *Wales and the Britons*, pp. 274-282.

argued that tribute depended on force of arms,<sup>207</sup> but so too can tax. There is also the suggestion that tribute may have formed part of a social contract, such as would be used to justify later taxation. Faith has argued that, at least in its early form, the Anglo-Saxon tribute system included innate ideas of reciprocity.<sup>208</sup> It may not be possible, therefore, to distinguish between the two systems on this basis, and much may have depended on local conditions. At their worst, both systems could have involved armed men demanding a share of a peasant's crops. Whether they called this tax, tribute, or extortion probably made little difference to those forced to surrender their produce.

Whatever it is called today, and however it was perceived by the people of the time, the archaeological evidence reviewed in Chapter Three suggested that elites were supported by handovers of at least semi-processed foodstuffs, either in the form of ground grain or ready-baked bread.<sup>209</sup> The degree to which the food was preprepared may have depended on distance and practicality. Measures of ale and bread, such as those in the Welsh documents, may have been feasible when the lord was close at hand or itinerating, and this would explain the prevalence of domestic processing. However, these goods may have had to have been processed from transported raw materials where the home of the lord was fixed, and distances were greater. It is also possible that renders of meat were delivered on the hoof and then butchered at closer service sites. A possible service site can be seen at Athies, providing for the nearby royal villa where Radegund was kept in the sixth century.<sup>210</sup> Service sites may also be detectable in western Britain, at Pin Brook and Graeanog, and

---

<sup>207</sup> Wickham, *Framing*, p.70.

<sup>208</sup> Faith, *The Moral Economy of the Countryside*, pp. 49-57.

<sup>209</sup> Charles-Edwards, *Wales and the Britons*, p. 280.

<sup>210</sup> Chapter Three, p. 175; Harnay, 'Le site du "Chemin de Croix"'; Peter Brown, *The Rise of Western Christendom: Triumph and Diversity, AD 200-1000*, (Somerset: John Wiley & Sons, 2013), p. 229; Venantius Fortunatus, *Vita Sancti Radegundis*, 2.

evidence which is only now emerging may reveal them in more Anglo-Saxon areas,<sup>211</sup> where service or assembly sites may have formed the venue for itinerating kings to pitch camp, as Blair pictured them doing slightly later at favourite hunting sites.<sup>212</sup> This overview is consistent with current prevailing archaeological and historical theories, and suggests that some of these service sites may have been the precursors to estate centres with resident elites from the seventh century, which showed some similar characteristics.<sup>213</sup> However, this study suggests that the Merovingian elite's desire to establish family estates preceded the agricultural revolution of the later seventh century, while in Britain, a similar desire either followed or was contemporaneous with it. One possible explanation for this is the greater survival of Roman ideas of land ownership. The next section will consider this.

#### 6.2.1: The influence of Roman land tenure

It is easy to imagine that the sensibilities of barbarian elites in Merovingian Gaul were influenced by Roman ideas of *dominium* and *possessio*. Not only might they have had Roman neighbours who had retained their land and whose legalised tenure was effectively recognised by the Merovingian state, but they would also have been aware of Roman law. Chapter Four discussed the degrees to which barbarian law codes were influenced by and modelled upon Roman traditions. This influence has long been acknowledged in the round, but is now increasingly seen in specific elements, even those which were once perceived as

---

<sup>211</sup> Chapter Five, p. 277 & pp. 293-295; Garland, 'Prehistoric settlement and burial, early Medieval crop processing and a possible early Medieval cemetery along the Clyst valley: investigations south of the Pin Brook, Broadclyst, near Exeter'; Kelly, 'The Excavation of an Enclosed Homestead at Graeanog'; Semple, 'Back to Adgefrin. Recent findings from the Yeavinger Environs Project'.

<sup>212</sup> Blair, *Building Anglo-Saxon England*, p. 105.

<sup>213</sup> Loveluck, *Northwest Europe in the Early Middle Ages*, pp. 124-128.

typically 'barbarian', such as composition.<sup>214</sup> Roman exemplars were certainly readily available. The Theodosian Code, promulgated in 438, has been recognised as an influence on the *Lex Romana Burgundionum*, and was known in Merovingian Gaul, as Gregory of Tours' account of Andarchius the slave, who knew both Virgil and the Code, makes clear.<sup>215</sup> Even the Justinianic Code was known in Rome, since it was temporarily absorbed into the eastern empire during the sixth century, and may have exercised an influence through canon law.<sup>216</sup> An abbreviated collection called the *Epitome Iuliani* was in circulation, possibly from as early as the sixth century, and was certainly known in Gaul by the eighth. This may have had particular importance, since it contained law concerning the inalienability of Church land which post-dated the Theodosian Code.<sup>217</sup>

However, Roman law may not have been the only framework available. Before the *constitutio Antoniniana* of 212, when this law applied only to Rome's citizens, provincials were divided into groups of different legal status. Although all were subject to the jurisdiction of the governor, their exact relationship with him varied, and where disputes arose among people of the same status, they were often free to use local law.<sup>218</sup> It is not clear that this situation changed significantly after Caracalla's decree, since it is now thought that local law continued to be permitted, albeit expressed in more Romanised terms.<sup>219</sup> In Egypt, which

---

<sup>214</sup> See Chapter Four, p. 230.

<sup>215</sup> Wood, 'Disputes in late fifth- and sixth-century Gaul: some problems', p. 10; Gregory of Tours, LH, 4.46.

<sup>216</sup> Although the form such an influence might have taken is not always clear, see R. H. Helmholz, 'Canon law and Roman law', in *The Cambridge Companion to Roman Law*, ed. by Johnston, pp. 396-422 (pp. 404-407).

<sup>217</sup> Stefan Esders and Steffen Patzold 'From Justinian to Louis the Pious: inalienability of church property and the sovereignty of a ruler in the ninth century' in *Religious Franks. Religion and power in the Frankish Kingdoms: Studies in honour of Mayke de Jong*, ed. by Rob Meens, Dorine van Espelo, Bram van den Hoven van Genderen, Janneke Raaijmakers, Irene van Renswoude and Carine van Rhijn (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2016), pp 386-408 (pp. 391-395).

<sup>218</sup> John Richardson, 'Roman law in the provinces', *The Cambridge Companion To Roman Law*, ed. by Johnston, pp. 45-58 (pp. 50-52).

<sup>219</sup> Jean-Michel Carrié, 'Developments in provincial and local administration', in *The Cambridge Ancient History, Vol. 12: The Crisis of Empire, AD 193-337*, 2nd edn, ed. by A. Bowman, A. Cameron, and P. Garnsey (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), pp. 269-312 (pp. 274-275).

provides some of the most complete evidence in the form of contracts and records of disputes on papyri, legal practice seems to have been largely unaffected by the changes of 212. Yiftach argued that the records show that people would appeal to any ruling, Roman or otherwise, which would support their case, while Roman officials would consult experts on local practice where necessary.<sup>220</sup> Nor was this a one-way process. Roman judgements could modify local law, and people appear to have been keen to obtain such rulings, judging from the number of petitions put forward.<sup>221</sup>

While it is possible to question the degree to which Egypt might be representative, evidence suggests a similar mixture of frameworks, and an equivalent enthusiasm for Roman procedures, in Gaul. Wibier noted the existence of schools of Roman law, and that writing tablets showed Roman procedures used for contracts. However, he also pointed out that references in Ulpian suggested the existence of different legal practises.<sup>222</sup> This seems to have been the kind of legal melting pot which Levy described as ‘Vulgar Law’. In particular, Levy saw a withering of classical legal traditions, which, for example, led to the erosion of the distinction between *dominium* and *possessio*, making the latter a form of permanent legal control.<sup>223</sup> Levy’s view of the extent to which late Roman jurists had declined in ability, and of the exact effect of Constantine’s reforms have since been questioned.<sup>224</sup> However, the idea of the legal crucible remains. Charles-Edwards has argued that the element of choice along

---

<sup>220</sup> Uri Yiftach, ‘Law in Ptolemaic and Roman Egypt’, in *The Oxford Handbook of Ancient Greek Law*, ed. by Edward M. Harris and Mirko Canevaro (online edn, Oxford Academic, 6 Aug. 2015), doi.org/10.1093/oxfordhb/9780199599257.013.11.

<sup>221</sup> Andrea Jördens, ‘Government, Taxation, and Law’, in *The Oxford Handbook of Roman Egypt*, ed. by Christina Riggs (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), pp. 56-67 (pp. 61-64).

<sup>222</sup> Matthijs Wibier, ‘Legal education and legal culture in Gaul during the Principate’ in *Law in the Roman Provinces*, ed. by Kimberley Czajkowski and Benedikt Eckhardt, in collaboration with Meret Strothman (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2020), pp. 462-485 (pp. 476-482).

<sup>223</sup> Levy, *West Roman Vulgar Law*, pp. 19-22.

<sup>224</sup> Tony Honoré, ‘Conveyances of land and professional standards in the Later Empire’, in *New Perspectives in the Roman Law of Property. Essays for Barry Nichols*, ed. by Peter Birks (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989), pp. 137-152 (pp. 149-151).

lines of 'ethnic' law may have been at its strongest in matters of contract and sale,<sup>225</sup> while Rio argued against the existence of a single legal system in Merovingian Gaul, stressing that individuals could appeal to one of a number of different legal frameworks to justify their actions or support their case.<sup>226</sup> Therefore, it is necessary to imagine a symbiotic relationship not simply between Roman and 'Germanic' law, but also between elements of what, for want of a better word, might be called customary law, descending from pre-Roman Gaul.<sup>227</sup> Whether the people of the time were aware of these different strands, or whether they simply comprised 'the law' is another matter.

The situation in Britain is equally complex. The province ceased to be part of the Roman empire, in any meaningful way, before the promulgation of the Theodosian Code. The degree to which Roman law then penetrated the island might be a function of how organised administrative systems are thought to have been. The reference in Gildas to the Britons contacting 'Agitius' to complain about barbarian incursions might suggest that enough administrative structure, and communication with the continent, remained for an attempt to be made to maintain at least some elements of Roman law.<sup>228</sup> Also, if, as Dark believed,<sup>229</sup> the Church provided a unifying force among the post-Roman British, then canon law may also have been circulated, especially through visits like those of Germanus, or through interaction with Brittany. However, on the basis of current evidence both of these must be doubtful. Gildas' own description of the 'tyrant' kings suggests a world of internecine conflict. Within that world, alliances were made and broken on the basis of political expediency, as, for

---

<sup>225</sup> Charles-Edwards, 'Law in the western kingdoms between the fifth and seventh century' in *The Cambridge Ancient History* Vol. 14, ed. by Cameron, Ward-Perkins, and Whitby, pp. 260-287 (p. 283).

<sup>226</sup> Rio, 'Merovingian Legal Cultures', p. 502.

<sup>227</sup> Caesar stated that Gaul was divided between three peoples, each with their own language, customs, and laws: *Conquest of Gaul*, p. 29.

<sup>228</sup> Gildas, *De Excidio*, 20, 1.

<sup>229</sup> Dark, *Britain and the End of the Roman Empire*, pp. 227-230.

example, in the alliance between Gwynedd and Mercia to attack Northumbria in 632.<sup>230</sup> This seems to leave little room for law to operate at anything other than a local level. The degree to which this local law was based on Roman practise or native custom is difficult to assess. Charles-Edwards used the form of the later Welsh laws to argue that Roman law disappeared from Britain after the empire's withdrawal.<sup>231</sup> Stevens, as mentioned earlier, believed British law had been tolerated by the Romans, and was used throughout their rule.<sup>232</sup> However, Du Plessis, while not rejecting this possibility, traced the use of Roman law in trade and other transactions through texts such as the Vindolanda tablets. He also noted that even curse tablets used a contractual form. He concluded that local law forms may have continued to exist, but that their interaction with Roman legal practise was more complex than previously thought.<sup>233</sup> This echoes Rio's assessment of the situation in Gaul, and suggests a similarly opportunistic approach to the law.

Nowhere does Rome appear to have systematically attempted to suppress local law (other than possibly as part of wholesale suppressions such as that which followed the Jewish Revolt),<sup>234</sup> nor is it clear that inhabitants of the provinces displayed any chauvinistic preference for their own rules. Where the evidence survives, it appears that people were happy to employ any framework which bolstered their case. In both Britain and Gaul, it could be asked how far such systems remained aloof as time went on. It seems likely that the law's multiplicity of origins would have faded in people's minds, leaving a different series of

---

<sup>230</sup> Stenton, *Anglo-Saxon England*, p. 80.

<sup>231</sup> Charles-Edwards, 'Law in the western kingdoms between the fifth and seventh century' in *The Cambridge Ancient History* Vol. 14, ed. by Cameron, Ward-Perkins, and Whitby, pp. 261; 286.

<sup>232</sup> Chapter Five, p. 265; Stevens, 'The social and economic aspects of rural settlement' in *Rural Settlement in Roman Britain*, ed. by Thomas, pp. 108-128.

<sup>233</sup> Paul du Plessis, "'Provincial law" in Britannia', in *Law in the Roman Provinces*, ed. by Czajkowski and Eckhardt, pp. 436-461 (pp. 441-449).

<sup>234</sup> Martin Goodman, 'Judaea', in *The Cambridge Ancient History* Vol. XI, *The High Empire AD 70-192*, ed. by Alan K. Bowman, Peter Garnsey, and Dominic Rathbone (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), pp. 664-678 (pp. 674-675).

avenues from which people could choose depending on need and local circumstance. Roman law may therefore have been an influence on the ambitions of new barbarian elites, but it may not have been the only one, and what was perceived of as 'Roman' may have varied from place to place. This legal melting pot explains how the patchwork of landholding and peasant status, which peeks confusingly through legal codes and charters, persisted from the Late Antique into the early medieval world. But this melting pot ultimately left the weakest exposed, since it allowed the elites who commissioned charters, and the scribes who drew them up, to manipulate the status of others through the written word. It is this process which will be considered next.

### 6.3: Elites, the Church, and the written word

In Britain, the use of charters by the Church to obtain perpetual tenure and rights of alienation has been seen as the example which prompted elites to attempt to secure the same rights through the same process. At first this happened by founding religious institutions of their own, later they were able to obtain direct grants from kings.<sup>235</sup> However, in Gaul, where Roman ideas of legal possession and documentary proof survived, it might be thought that the elite did not need an example from the Church, and that they knew how to secure or alienate land through a civil process, even if they sometimes needed royal approval to proceed with it.<sup>236</sup> However, while they may not have needed a documentary model, it does seem as if the exchange of land from the laity to the Church allowed a temporary blooming of family power.

---

<sup>235</sup> See, for example, Maitland, *Domesday Book and Beyond*, p. 289; Blair, *Church in Anglo-Saxon Society*, pp. 85-91.

<sup>236</sup> Wood, *Merovingian Kingdoms*, p. 203.

One element of this may have been the desire to avoid partible inheritance or to endow daughters, as Susan Wood believed.<sup>237</sup> It may also have allowed families to limit the number of legatees or evade the payment of dowries by placing male and female children into monasteries, as Brown argued happened under Rome.<sup>238</sup> The authority of the Church as an undying institution, even when incarnated in a local form, seems to have provided a bulwark against the demands of wider kin and to have promoted the interests of a more nuclear family. Fox, for example, recounts the dispute between Sadalberga and her brother Fulculf-Bodo over her plan to grant certain family land to her monastery. When he seized the properties, she was forced to acknowledge his right to a share in the land. However, her daughter Anstrude was then able to frustrate the plans of relatives (possibly this same brother) to arrange her marriage, and so control her inheritance, by entering the monastery herself.<sup>239</sup> The moment of family power may have been relatively brief. Family churches and monasteries seem to have lasted, at best, for a couple of generations, after which point control passed beyond the family circle, and the most that descendants of the endowers could probably hope for was a continuation of *beneficia* and *precaria*. For parents with an eye to the interests of their children and grandchildren, however, this may still have been sufficient.

However, the relationship between elite families and monasteries may have run even deeper than this. Both Fox and Hummer have argued that through the endowment of monasteries, elites created repositories of family memory which allowed the development of lineages.<sup>240</sup> For Hummer, in particular, this was a crucial component. Indeed, he maintained that the whole notion of 'family' is a modern projection into the early middle ages, and that

---

<sup>237</sup> Wood, *The Proprietary Church in the Medieval West*, pp. 101; 120.

<sup>238</sup> Brown, *Through the Eye of a Needle*, pp. 438-441.

<sup>239</sup> Fox, *Power and Religion in Merovingian Gaul*, pp. 84-85; 214-215.

<sup>240</sup> Fox, *Power and Religion in Merovingian Gaul*; Hummer, *Politics and Power in Early Medieval Europe*, pp. 56-75.

such units only became visible through their interaction with religious institutions.<sup>241</sup> This is difficult to square with the evidence considered in Chapter Four. Notions of family permeate the law codes in both Gaul and Britain, and structure the arrangements for marriage.<sup>242</sup> Hummer may be right, however, to the degree that it is not always the notion of 'family' was different to that understood today. It seems to be somewhat different both the modern idea of the nuclear family, and to the broader kin group, which does not appear as an entity in the Frankish laws, and which may have already been waning in Wales and Ireland, where the widest circle of kin were excluded from questions of inheritance. Perhaps Fox came closest to defining this unit when he suggested that 'family policy' came from shared interests which prompted a sense of group identification.<sup>243</sup> In this way, the early medieval family could encompass both close and distant relatives, as required, but it could also encompass those not immediately related by blood, especially through the process of marriage. This gives the elaborate marriage conventions examined in Chapter Four renewed significance.<sup>244</sup>

While these aspects of the relationship between families and churches have been explored widely and at some depth, the idea that this relationship also worked to the detriment of peasant proprietors and allowed lords to commute tribute into rent is far from established. It is acknowledged here that it rests on circumstantial evidence, and is therefore proposed only as a working hypothesis. Wickham argued that peasant proprietors existed in the immediate post-Roman period, and that many had disappeared by the eighth century, at least in the Île-de-France. A manipulation of tenurial status in the interim therefore seems to be logical, but may be impossible to prove either way. If the *accolae* discussed in Chapter Four

---

<sup>241</sup> Hans Hummer, *Visions of Kinship in Medieval Europe* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018), pp. 185-191; 247-248.

<sup>242</sup> See Chapter Four.

<sup>243</sup> Fox, *Power and Religion in Merovingian Gaul*, p. 55.

<sup>244</sup> Chapter Four, pp. 246-254.

could be definitely ascertained to have been free proprietors, then the use of the term would be suggestive. However, it must be at least as likely that, whether they were proprietors or not, their relationship with the landlord was predicated on a different basis. This could easily be that they rented a portion of land from that lord, but were not utterly dependent upon them for their holdings.<sup>245</sup> Ultimately, it seems likely that any postulated land-grab of this period was effected through multiple means, of which documentary legerdemain was just one part. It may not be possible to reconstruct these means. The only categorical statement which can be made, then, is that both Merovingian charters and wills show a detailed attention to the constituent parts of often dispersed landholdings, and that these holdings were seen as important indicators of family status.

In the Anglian and Saxon areas of Britain, it was not just documentary culture which was absent, but the kind of long-term links between lay elites and the Church which were found in Gaul. Only with the arrival of Irish missionaries did connections between these groups begin to be forged, connections which the Roman mission then perpetuated and extended.<sup>246</sup> In British areas, the picture is less clear. Traditionally, it has been thought that Christianity in Roman Britain was largely limited to urban and elite environments, both of which were severely impacted by the Roman withdrawal.<sup>247</sup> However, Thomas argued for a broader existence of rural Christianity, while Dark suggested that it may have been primarily a rural religion which was more popular among the poor than the wealthy.<sup>248</sup> Yet, Patrick came from an elite Romano-British family, while Gildas' education also suggests elite

---

<sup>245</sup> See Chapter Four, pp 213-217.

<sup>246</sup> Henry Mayr-Harting, *The Coming of Christianity to Anglo-Saxon England*, 3<sup>rd</sup> edn. (London: Batsford, 1991), p. 69; Blair, *The Church in Anglo-Saxon Society*, pp. 84-91; 92-95

<sup>247</sup> Mayr-Harting, *The Coming of Christianity to Anglo-Saxon England*, pp. 32-33; Peter Salway, *Roman Britain* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991), pp. 723-726.

<sup>248</sup> Charles Thomas, *Christianity in Roman Britain to AD 500* (London: Batsford, 1981), pp. 349-352; Ken Dark, *Britain and the End of the Roman Empire*, p.18.

connections.<sup>249</sup> It has been suggested that this took place in a milieu closer to the Roman schools of grammarians and rhetors than those of medieval monasteries.<sup>250</sup> At the same time, the Christian allegiances of British kings are implied by Gildas' harangues, since if they had been pagan, these would have carried no weight. A link between the elite and the Church is also suggested in British territories by the conjectured association between Dinas Powys and the monastery of Llandough.<sup>251</sup> There may, therefore, have been a similar perpetuation of elite and ecclesiastical links as seen in Gaul, even if they did persist in a rural rather than urban context. However, some, at least, of these links may have been subsequently broken by the spread of the Roman Church and lay Saxon power. The influence of this British Church beyond the west is also disputed. Bede was scathing in his assessment of its capabilities, but it might be dangerous to take him at his word.<sup>252</sup> Bassett has suggested, for instance, that there were British Christians in the western Midlands who played a crucial role in the early conversion of the *Hwicce* and *Magonsæta*.<sup>253</sup>

Such arguments notwithstanding, durable relationships between the elite and the Church undoubtedly took longer to develop across the whole of Britain than in Gaul, where there was no interruption to the development of local Christianity. Similarly, there is no evidence for the continuation of any documentary culture which may have existed before the Roman withdrawal. Some caution is needed once again, however, since literacy did persist in western Britain, as the inscribed stones show.<sup>254</sup> These stones testify to both a Christian and

---

<sup>249</sup> Charles-Edwards, *Early Christian Ireland*, p. 216.

<sup>250</sup> Charles-Edwards, *Wales and the Britons*, pp. 213-215.

<sup>251</sup> Knight, *The End of Antiquity*, p. 144.

<sup>252</sup> Blair, *The Church in Anglo-Saxon Society*, pp. 28-29; Bede, HE i. 22.

<sup>253</sup> Steven Bassett, 'Church and diocese in the West Midlands: the transition from British to Anglo-Saxon control', in *Pastoral Care Before the Parish*, ed. by John Blair and Richard Sharpe (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1992), pp. 13-40 (pp. 16-20).

<sup>254</sup> Charles-Edwards, *Wales and the Britons*, p. 128.

elite culture, while also implying the control of land: Charles-Edwards suggested that the prevalence of Irish elements on Welsh stones showed settlers keen to assert their authority over the landscape.<sup>255</sup> The general consensus is that such stones were funeral markers, but these burials may have been placed at boundaries, although the original locations of many are not known.<sup>256</sup> There may even have been literacy among the Angles and Saxons in the form of runic inscriptions, although only a few early examples have been found.<sup>257</sup> Given that runes were a script primarily designed for inscribing on wood, which is unlikely to have survived, it is impossible to know how representative this sample is. However, Okasha believed that such inscriptions implied a respect for literacy, rather than widespread literacy itself.<sup>258</sup> Whatever the basis to literacy in post-Roman Britain, there is clearly a qualitative difference between the kind of organised documentary culture embedded in an administrative context which existed in Gaul and any form of *ad hoc* literacy which may have survived in Britain. Consequently, when the writing of documents was re-introduced, it was done in an ecclesiastical context, as described in Chapter Four, and left the Church as the only exemplar of a body with a written administration.<sup>259</sup>

In Anglo-Saxon areas, then, both the process and the documentary model were later introductions, and there was no sense of documentary culture moving from a civil to a clerical *milieu*, as happened in Gaul. The only context for the possession and alienation of land was one regulated by the Church. This may go some way to explaining differences in the

---

<sup>255</sup> Charles-Edwards, *Wales and the Britons*, p. 125.

<sup>256</sup> Charles Thomas, *And Shall These Mute Stones Speak* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1994), p. 21; Davies, *Wales in the Early Middle Ages*, pp. 186-188; 13.

<sup>257</sup> R. I. Page, *An Introduction to English Runes* (London: Methuen, 1973), pp. 21-29.

<sup>258</sup> Elisabeth Okasha, 'Literacy in Anglo-Saxon England: the evidence of the inscriptions', in *Anglo-Saxon Studies in Archaeology and History 8*, ed. by David Griffiths (Oxford: Oxford University Committee for Archaeology, 1995), pp. 69-74 (pp. 71-73).

<sup>259</sup> Chapter Four, pp. 193-196.

documentary culture, not because the early models upon which the cultures were based were different (as Chapter Four explored, they do not seem to have been), but because there may have been a tension between the civil and ecclesiastical in Gaul which did not exist in Britain. This might be further explored by a comparison of Merovingian charters with later documents more firmly ensconced in the administration of the Church. Be this as it may, the later development of the relationship between the Church and lay elites in Anglo-Saxon areas, accompanied by the later introduction of written title, may explain why these elites were content with their role as collectors of tribute for a longer period than their Gallic counterparts. If a documentary connection with the transmogrification of tribute into rent and lordship into possession were accepted, this late start could explain the relative delay behind this process in Britain.

#### 6.4: Peasant proprietors, peasant tenure, and estate organisation

While the possibility of peasant proprietors has been widely acknowledged, there is little evidence for them before the ninth century, and little at all for the ways in which their tenure and inheritance may have been governed.<sup>260</sup> This thesis cannot claim to have fully elucidated these areas, but it has gone so far as to propose that the *accolae* of Merovingian charters may have constituted such a class. This proposition was based upon the introduction of this term (merely 'neighbours' in classical Latin), which is not found in any of the other sources for legal or tenurial status. By comparing this introduction to apparently deliberate variations in tenurial identification found in the testament of Ermentrude, it was argued that

---

<sup>260</sup> See Chapter One, pp. 10-14.

use of the term was a deliberate attempt at obfuscation. Since it carried no legal meaning, it left the tenure and status of these people free to be redefined.<sup>261</sup> It was not clear, however, whether the term's floruit in seventh-century charters, primarily from the Saint-Denis archive, represented the beginning of the process or a later stage in which many peasant proprietors may have already lost their claims. Only the slimmest evidence, just two charters, hinted that the *mancipiis/accolabus* pairing may have originated in the sixth century, with appurtenance clauses before this point being content to list the *mancipia*.<sup>262</sup>

In Britain, even this slight evidence is absent. The early Anglo-Saxon charters do not list people in their appurtenance clauses, although the reason for this omission is not clear. It does not seem to be related to the diplomatic models upon which these charters were based, and might, therefore, relate to the organisation of land and the ways in which people viewed lordship.<sup>263</sup> It was suggested in Chapter Four that one reason could be that Anglian and Saxon elites were confidently content to receive renders in kind and showed purposeful disdain for the details of how their foodstuffs were created. The archaeology suggests that this might also have been the case in Wales. In neither case, however, does this tell us anything about the people who produced these renders. Higham argued that, at least in the seventh century, the Anglo-Saxon *ceorls* were a free, 'yeoman' class, exercising authority over the *læts* and 'loaf-eaters' of Æthelberht's laws.<sup>264</sup> He also emphasised their military role, and it is not clear if the land they farmed would have been their own, or that of the lord in whose retinue they served. The tenets of the 'superiority' theory would suggest that it was their own, since otherwise it would not be rights to renders but the land itself which was granted to the class

---

<sup>261</sup> Chapter Four, pp. 215-217; 218-228.

<sup>262</sup> Chapter Four, p. 212-213.

<sup>263</sup> Chapter Four, pp. 193-208.

<sup>264</sup> Higham, *An English Empire*, pp. 238-239.

above. However, the difficulties of terminological definition at this time make certainty impossible. Comparisons with Wales are also difficult for the same reason. If all who were fully free were classed as 'noble', then it seems as if the *bonheddigs* were free landowners and the *taeogs* bound tenants, but this may be to over-simplify the levels of obligation in Welsh society.<sup>265</sup> To equate the *ceorls* with the *bonheddigs* seems to risk over-estimating their status, while equating them with the *taeogs* may underestimate it, unless the bond of the *taeogs* was one of man to lord rather than tenant to owner. In this context, the subsequent later drop in status which the *ceorls* experienced is interesting, since it may have reduced them to the level of *taeogs*, as well as mirroring the possible fall of the *accolae*.

The tenorial position of peasants was undoubtedly affected by changes in the organisation of landholdings, although tenure was only one factor here, since both free/unfree status and susceptibility to labour dues were essential components. Rio argued that polyptychs suggest that lordly threats to manipulate the free/unfree status of peasants were used to extract greater labour from them, and that attempts to increase the level of rents or renders may have been aimed at securing rights over the land itself.<sup>266</sup> The latter contention might indicate that the similar process argued here for the *accolae* had either not proceeded very far or was geographically limited.<sup>267</sup> Many of these later struggles between landlords and peasants occurred under the system of bipartite manors, and it is possible that something of the origins of that system could be read in the descriptions of Merovingian wills. Their focus on, and concern for, those people working closely with the family suggests an intense core to family holdings, even if the social and economic distinctions between this and outer areas had not yet developed. This is not surprising: it is natural to exercise greater

---

<sup>265</sup> Charles-Edwards, *Early Irish and Welsh Kinship*, pp. 71-72.

<sup>266</sup> Rio, *Slavery After Rome*, p. 210; 184.

<sup>267</sup> See Chapter Four, pp. 215-217.

oversight over the land closer to you. However, it is not a great leap to see the development of the demesne in this arrangement. This might suggest, however, that rather than seeing a continuum in which the rights of peasants were consistently eroded, we should see an ongoing exchange of privileges and duties as landlords sought, through different ways, to extend their power, and peasants sought the best circumstances in any given situation. This is consistent with the trade-offs of continuing free status for greater labour service which Rio described, and it may also be consistent with the protections offered to people in wills in return for services on the death of their masters. This web of negotiation would also match the patchwork pattern of rights and duties, with different combinations on different estates. The greater concentration of large, bipartite estates in what is now northern France could then be potentially explained not only by royal example, but also by the possible survival in the south of unified estates based on a Roman model, whose organisation had no need to, and did not quickly, change.<sup>268</sup>

It may also have been the case that tenure in this early period was not static in Britain and Ireland. O'Sullivan and McCormick argued that the emergence of enclosed sites in sixth century Ireland could be linked to a shift in focus from the broader kin group to a more nucleated family unit.<sup>269</sup> This contention is important since it reminds us that the familial tenure systems discussed in Chapter Four should not be seen as primitive or vestigial, but that they were socially dynamic systems in their own right. This may be less easy to see in Britain. In both the east and west of the island, there may have been more of the dialogue between lord and dependant, as suggested for Gaul. However, in Britain much of this negotiation over status, tenure, and labour dues, may have been initiated by the Church. Comeau, Seaman,

---

<sup>268</sup> Verhulst, *Carolingian Economy*, p. 34; Zadora-Rio, 'Early Medieval villages and estate centres in France' p. 83.

<sup>269</sup> O'Sullivan and McCormick, 'Early medieval Ireland', p. 111.

and Bloxom argued that the spread of monastic estates was a significant factor in the reorganisation of the Welsh countryside, contributing to the decline of both the number of grain dryers and of hillforts.<sup>270</sup> Blair and McKerracher have suggested that similar monastic expansion was a key factor in agricultural intensification, and the re-appearance of structures such as grain dryers, in Anglo-Saxon areas, while much of the transformation of warland to inland which Faith described occurred on monastic estates.<sup>271</sup> This is consistent with the later development of written title, and its ecclesiastical milieu, described above. It does not, however, tell us about the relationship between lords and peasants at an earlier point. One possibility for the mechanism which ordered this relationship lies in the use of '*manentes*' and '*cassati*' discussed in Chapter Four. If, in the Anglo-Saxon charters, these terms referred to units of land and people, they would fill the gap left by the absence of people and buildings in the appurtenance clause. These terms, allowing for the possibility of a distinction between them, may have told the people of the time all they needed to know about the people on the land and about their tenurial status. Rio noted that manorial reorganisation in what became England seemed to have been effected through the status of land rather than status of people.<sup>272</sup> These references may have contained information about both combined in a single term.

---

<sup>270</sup> Comeau, Seaman, and Bloxom, 'Plague, climate and faith in Early Medieval Western Britain', pp. 19-22.

<sup>271</sup> Blair, *Building Anglo-Saxon England*, pp. 131-138, 154-163; McKerracher, *Farming Transformed*, p. 124; Faith, *English Peasantry and the Growth of Lordship*, pp. 153-177. See also Faulkner, 'An Agro-Social Revolution in a Mid Saxon Village', pp. 173-174.

<sup>272</sup> Rio, *Slavery After Rome*, p. 208.

## 6.5: Conclusion

This thesis set out to combine two different sources of evidence, one documentary and one archaeological. In itself, this is nothing new: documentary sources are often referred to in archaeology, and archaeology in historical accounts. Two things were different about the approach taken here. Firstly, investigation of both involved detailed new analysis, rather than a synthesis of previous work. Secondly, the two sources were blended interactively, so that a hypothesis developed in the examination of one could be tested in the other. It is suggested here that this is the primary success of this study. A comparison between the conclusions of Chapter Two, dependent solely on the documents, and Chapter Three, after consulting the archaeological evidence, shows how different sources of evidence changed the conclusions which were advanced. A reading of the Merovingian appurtenance clauses could lead to the inference that the countryside of sixth- to seventh-century Gaul was full of buildings and agricultural structures which were under the direct control of local elites. A reading of the archaeology shows that this was not so. It is then necessary to modulate ideas derived from the documents, and to seek hypotheses which satisfy the evidence from both sides. A different approach, or a different topic, could equally have begun with the archaeology, using that to generate research questions which could be pursued in the documents.

These conclusions suggest that there is value to be derived from more fully integrating historical and archaeological research, rather than relying on synthesis, as useful as that can sometimes be. There are, of course, difficulties with this. Not least is the continued separation of archaeology and history in academic departments, with all the implications for funding streams which that generates. Nonetheless, collaboration is probably the most productive

route forward, since attempts to combine historical and archaeological researcher in one individual, as here, face substantial risks of data overload. This study focussed minutely on specific areas of the documents and the archaeology. Even so, it has proved difficult to guarantee inclusion or full analysis of all relevant data, and this remains its most overriding limitation.

With the archaeological evidence, this meant a concentration on buildings and their arrangement within settlements. The problems with this were discussed in Chapters One and Three, but, as noted there, it also meant paying little attention to other forms of evidence such as pottery, bone and metal goods, personal decoration and the artistic styles which adorned it, the crops people grew, the meat they ate, and how they buried their dead. All of these are crucial pieces of evidence about these societies and their omission here is deeply felt. While some attempt has been made to offset this by reference to secondary works and the conclusions of excavation reports, this is merely to resort once more to synthesis.

Where the documentary evidence is concerned, this meant a far narrower concentration on one aspect of the charters than was ever envisaged in the planning stage. No real reference has been made to other aspects of the dispositive sections, to the presence of absence of proems, to the *intitulatio* or invocation. When the project was first taking shape, it was thought any or all of these sections might be significant, and record sheets were designed to collect details such as the tense, subject and object person of dispositive verbs (a sample data collection sheet is given in Appendix H). In the event, only the appurtenance section of this record was routinely used, and the results of comparing those other aspects across Anglo-Saxon and Merovingian charters remain for another study. Similarly, the inclusion of other sources, such as law codes, meant scanning those documents for details specific to the areas discussed in Chapter Four, with all the attendant dangers of

misunderstanding and omission. Again, it is hoped that this was avoided by recourse to secondary sources, but it remains somewhat unsatisfactory. In spite of all these issues, the conclusions of this study could not have been reached without this approach, and, in this sense, it has been productive.

In addition to the points outlined above, there are a number of areas which would lend themselves to future research. The most obvious of these is an attempt to determine why there was such a marked difference between the appurtenance clauses of the Merovingian and Anglo-Saxon charters. It has been suggested above that a possible answer might lie in the Anglo-Saxon documents' use of *manentes*, *cassati*, and related terms. However, it is far from clear how this could be satisfactorily investigated. cursory analysis suggests that there is no statistical point of entry, beyond a simple predominance of *manentes* over other terms. Perhaps the most promising route would be a detailed study of those charters which contain both terms, in an attempt to determine whether any distinction is made between them. Since, in most cases, this would involve estates whose location or boundaries are not known, it is difficult to see how any such distinction could be recognised, and it therefore remains doubtful whether this would be successful. There are other potential explanations which could be explored. Another possible reason could be that the newly re-introduced Roman Church treated Christianised Britain as a virgin land.<sup>273</sup> This idea might receive some backing from the letter of Gregory quoted by Bede, which gave Augustine free reign to arrange the English Church as he saw fit.<sup>274</sup> Certainly, a religious motive cannot be easily discounted. Again, however, it is difficult to see how more categorical evidence could be collected, although it might be possible to search for such an attitude in any other

---

<sup>273</sup> An idea suggested by Dr Robert Gallagher, personal communication.

<sup>274</sup> Bede, HE, I.27.

documents of the Church of Augustine and his successors. There are doubtless many other potential explanations, all of which are likely to encounter the dearth of hard evidence which dogs so many questions from this period. A definitive answer may, then, be unlikely, although it is conceivable that a broad consensus could be reached.

Secondly, although the broad geographical scope was always intended to be a feature of this thesis, the topic would benefit from more localised studies. The existence of regional variation is clear and, in particular, hypotheses about the significance of variations in charter formulae proposed in Chapter Two and Four might be tested by more detailed local case studies. While this can be difficult at a micro-regional level, since lands named in charters are sometimes hard to identify, a more localised study based on the monastic archives from which the documents derived would go some way to giving this breakdown. This could allow a more nuanced view of documentary traditions, but also a more closely allied analysis of the archaeology.

Many of the questions asked of that archaeology in this thesis will undoubtedly benefit from ongoing excavation. While attempts here to read family land in the archaeology have only served to underline Rivet's reported comment that you cannot dig up tenure, work in Ireland does suggest that settlement morphology can tell us about society on a broader level.<sup>275</sup> Further work in the western areas of Britain could yet provide similar elucidation. There is also the possibility, suggested by evidence from Wales and northern Gaul, that the first concentration of agricultural structures in the post-Roman period occurred on meeting or service sites.<sup>276</sup> It might, therefore, be possible that excavations at suspected meeting

---

<sup>275</sup> Quoted by C. J. Stevens in 'The social and economic aspects of rural settlement', p. 108; O'Sullivan and Nichol, 'Early medieval settlement enclosures in Ireland', pp. 63-67; O'Sullivan and McCormick, 'Early Medieval Ireland', pp. 111-112.

<sup>276</sup> See Chapter Three, pp. 168-171.

places in the Anglo-Saxon areas of Britain could yet reveal evidence for missing early activities such as malting. However, while increasing amounts of evidence are desirable and possible, there remains something of an epistemological divide between Britain and France in the interpretation of some of that evidence, notably the fate of the villas. While ephemeral structures on the site of former villas in Britain have been read as decline and abandonment, in France there is a greater tendency to stress the continuity of occupation.<sup>277</sup> It may be that there is no right or wrong position here, but an approach such as that suggested by Van Ossel, and attempted here in Chapter Five, may help build a more nuanced picture of 'continuity'.<sup>278</sup>

Chapter One noted a number of difficulties which were created by the prevailing theories surrounding peasant and elite tenure. These included how concepts such as 'superiority' and heritability co-existed among the various social groups, and the apparent need for forms of customary governance which are not clearly present in the sources.<sup>279</sup> This thesis has not found categorical evidence for such structures of governance, even though their presence is a logical corollary of the documented systems of landholding management found in laws, marriage conventions, and charters. However, this thesis has argued that the evidence suggests a desire among the Merovingian elite of post-Roman Gaul to monumentalise and control family land, and it has proposed one possible way in which this may have been achieved. The lack of this evidence in all areas of Britain at this time suggests that the process began earlier in Gaul, and that British elites were content with their positions as receivers of renders. When this did finally change, it did not leave the same traces in the documentary evidence. One possibility for this is that there was simply an ossification of the terminology of appurtenance clauses: since people had never been included, they never were

---

<sup>277</sup> See Chapter Five, pp. 332-341.

<sup>278</sup> See pp. 332-339.

<sup>279</sup> See Chapter One, pp. 12 & 16.

in any significant way. Another is that it may have been a product of the arrival in Britain, or at least the Anglo-Saxon parts of it, of control of land and people as a pre-tested package from Gaul, carried by the wave of monastic foundation. Finally, it is possible that references are present, but in a form which we are not yet able to recognise.

The four centuries following the end of Roman rule in Britain and Gaul constitute a period of profound change which saw the creation of new elites and dramatic changes in the fortunes of the peasantry. Some of the people living at the service sites found in the archaeology may have risen to elite status on the back of their intermediate position; others may have lost their land and even their freedom as those further up the scale took a more direct control of the agricultural process. But it seems certain that these societies were highly dynamic and sharply regionally defined. Indeed, this regionality may have extended to the scale of individual estates or even their constituent land blocks. The kind of conversations and negotiations which mediated the changes at this fine level may be recorded in the changing morphology of settlement, if only we were confident enough to read the language in which they are written. They can also be traced in later documents, such as polyptychs and accounts of disputes. This thesis has tentatively suggested that they may have their antecedents in a few short clauses of the period's earliest charters.

## Bibliography

### Primary Sources

*Anglo-Saxon Charters IV. Charters of St Augustine's Abbey Canterbury and Minster-in-Thamet*, ed. by S. E. Kelly (Oxford: Oxford University Press for the British Academy, 1995)

*Anglo-Saxon Charters VI. Charters of Selsey*, ed. by S. E. Kelly (Oxford: Oxford University Press for The British Academy, 1998)

*Anglo-Saxon Charters 15. Charters of Glastonbury Abbey*, ed. by S. E. Kelly (Oxford: Oxford University Press for the British Academy, 2012)

*Anglo-Saxon Charters 20. Charters of Barking Abbey and Waltham Holy Cross*, ed. by S. E. Kelly (Oxford: Oxford University Press for The British Academy, 2021)

*Anglo-Saxon Wills*, ed. by Dorothy Whitelock (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1930)

*Æthelberht's Code*, Digital edition ed. by Lisi Oliver, text based on Felix Lieberman, *Die Gesetze der Angelsachsen*, 3 Vols (Halle, 1903 – 1916), Vol. 1 pp. 3-8. Available at <[www.earlyenglishlaws.ac.uk/laws/txts/abt](http://www.earlyenglishlaws.ac.uk/laws/txts/abt)>

*Das älteste Traditionsbuch des Klosters Mondsee*, ed. by Gebhard Rath and Erich Reiter (Linz: 1989). AT-OeStA/HHStA HS B 70 Mondseer Traditionskodex, 10. Jh. (Einzelstück (Aktenstück, Bild, Karte, Urkunde)) <<https://www.archivinformationssystem.at/detail.aspx?id=12388>>

*Das Testament des Bischofs Berthramn von Le Mans vom 27 März 616*, ed. by Margarete Weidemann (Mainz: Römisch-Germanisches Zentralmuseum, 1986)

Bede, *Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum*, in *Venerabilis Bedae Opera Historicae*, ed. by Charles Plummer (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1896)

*The Burgundian Code*, trans. by Katherine Fischer Drew (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1972)

Caesar, *Conquest of Gaul*, trans. by S. A. Handford (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1951)

*Cartulaire général de l'Yonne*, Vol. 1, ed. by Maximilien Quantin (Auxerre: Perriquet-Société des sciences historiques et naturelles de l'Yonne, 1854-1860), no. X, in *Projet CBMA - Chartae Burgundiae Medii Aevi*, <<http://documents.cbma-project.eu/texte/YonneCartulaireTome1.txt>>

*Cartulaire de l'abbaye de Gorze*, ed. by A. d'Herbomez (Paris: C. Klincksieck, 1898)

*Cartulaire de l'abbaye de Saint-Bertin*, ed. by Benjamin Guerard (Paris, 1841)

*Cartulaire de Notre-Dame de Chartres: d'après les cartulaires et les titres originaux*, 3 vols., ed by Lucien Merlet and Buchère de Lépinos (Chartres: Garnier, 1861-65)

*The Cartulary of Flavigny*, ed. by Constance Brittain Bouchard (Cambridge, Mass.: The Medieval Academy of America, 1991)

*The Cartulary of Montier-en-Der, 666-1129*, ed. by Constance Brittain Bouchard (Toronto: University of Toronto Press for the Medieval Academy, 2004)

Cartae Europae Medii Aevi, A Place for the European Charters of the Middle Ages  
<<https://cema.lamop.fr>>

*Cartularium Saxonicum: A Collection of Charters Relating to Anglo-Saxon History, Vol. 1, AD 430-839*, ed. by Walter De Gray Birch (London: Whiting & Co., 1885)

*Chartae Galliae*, Edition électronique: Institut de Recherche et d'Histoire des Textes, 2014. (Telma) <<http://telma.irht.cnrs.fr//outils/chartae-galliae/index/>>

*Chartae Latinae Antiquiores: Facsimile-Edition of the Latin Charters Prior to the Ninth Century*, ed. by Albert Bruckner and Robert Marichal (Zurich: Urs Graf Verlag)

Vols. XIII-XVI, ed. by Hartmut Atsma and Jean Vezin (1981-1986)

Vol. XVII, ed. by Hartmut Atsma, Robert Marichal, Jan-Olof Tjäder, and Jean Vezin (1984)

Vol. XVIII, ed. by Hartmut Atsma, Robert Marichal, Pierre Gasnault, and Jean Vezin (1985)

Vol. XIX, ed. by Hartmut Atsma, Jean Vezin, and Robert Marichal (1987)

Vol. XX, ed. by Albert Bruckner and Robert Marichal (1982)

Vol. XXI, ed. by Armando Petrucci and Jan-Olof Tjäder (1983)

Vol. XXII, ed. by Armando Petrucci and Jan-Olof Tjäder (1983)

Vol. XXV, ed. by Robert Marichal and Jan-Olof Tjäder (1986)

*Les chartes du pays d'Avignon, 439-1040*, ed. by Georges de Manteyer (Mâcon: 1914)

*Chartes et documents de Saint-Bénigne de Dijon: prieurés et dépendances, des origines à 1300, Tome 1 : VIe-Xe siècles*, ed. by G. Chevrier et M. Chaume (Dijon: Analecta Burgundica, 1986), in Projet CBMA - Corpus Burgundiae Medii Aevi, <<http://documents.cbma-project.eu/texte/SaintBenignedeDijonT1.txt>>

*Chartes originales antérieures à 1121 conservées en France*, ed. by Cédric Giraud, Jean-Baptiste Renault et Benoît-Michel Tock (Nancy : Centre de Médiévistique Jean Schneider; electronic edition: Orléans : Institut de Recherche et d'Histoire des Textes, 2010). (Telma)

*Codice Diplomatico Longobardo*, Vol. 1, ed. by Luigi Schiaparelli (Rome: Istituto storico italiano, 1929)

Columella, *Res Rustica*, Vol. 1, trans. by Harrison Boyd Ash, Loeb Classical Library (Cambs, Mass.: Harvard University Press; London: William Heineman, 1960)

Corpus Burgundiae Medii Aevi, Website of the Corpus of Burgundy in the Middle Ages project, <http://documents.cbma-project.eu/texte/Lebeuf4.doc>

*Corpus Iuris Civilis, The Civil Law*, ed. by S. P. Scott (Cincinnati: Central Trust Company, 1932; reprinted AMS, 1973).

*Corpus Iuris Civilis. Text und Übersetzung. I, Institutionem*, ed. and trans. by Otto Behrends, Rolf Knütel, Berthold Kupisch, and Hans Hermann Seiler (Heidelberg: C.F. Müller Juristcher Verlag, 1990)

DEEDS (Documents of Early England Data Set), University of Toronto, <<https://deeds.library.utoronto.ca/content/about-deeds>>

*Diplomata, Chartae, Epistolae, et Alia Documenta, ad Res Francicas Spectantia*, Part One, Vol. 1, ed. by L. G. O. Feudrix de Bréquigny and F. J. G. La Porte du Theil (Paris: Nyon, 1791)

*Diplomata, Chartae, Epistolae, Leges, aliaque instrumenta ad res Gallo-Francicas Spectantia*, Vol. 1, ed. by J. M. Pardessus (Paris: 1843)

*Diplomatum Imperii*, Vol. 1, ed. by George Heinrich Pertz, *Monumenta Germaniae Historica* (Hannover, 1872)

Electronic Sawyer, available at < <https://esawyer.lib.cam.ac.uk/about/index.html>>

*English Historical Documents 1042-1189* ed. by David C. Douglas and George W. Greenaway, (London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1953)

*Epistolae, Gregorii I Papae Registrum Epistolarum*, ed. by Paul Ewald and Ludovic M. Hartmann, *Monumenta Germaniae Historica* (Berlin, 1891)

Formulae-Litterae-Chartae, Early Medieval Formula Collections, University of Hamburg  
<<https://werkstatt.formulae.uni-hamburg.de/>>

*Formulae Merovingici et Karolini Aevi*, ed. by Karl Zeumer, *Monumenta Germaniae Historica* (Hannover, 1886)

*Geschichte der Grundherrschaft Echternach im Frühmittelalter*, ed. by C. Wampach (Luxemburg 1929). Available at *Formulae-Litterae-Chartae* < <https://werkstatt.formulae.uni-hamburg.de/corpus/urn:cts:formulae:echternach> >

Gildas, *De Excidio Britanniae*, in *Chronica Minora Saec. IV, V, VI, VII*, ed. by Theodore Mommsen, *Monumenta Germaniae Historica* (Berlin: 1898)

Gregory of Tours, *Decem Libri Historiarum*

*The Laws of the Earliest English Kings*, ed. and trans. by F. L. Attenborough (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1922)

*The Laws of the Salian Franks*, trans. and with an introduction by Katherine Fischer Drew (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1991)

*Laws of the Salian and Ripuarian Franks*, transl. and with an introduction by John Rivers (New York: AMS Press, 1986)

*Leges Nationum Germanicarum Vol. I, Leges Visigothorum, Liber iudicorum sive Lex Visigothorum*, ed. by Karl Zeumer (Hanover, 1902)

*Leges Nationum Germanicarum Vol. II Part I, Leges Burgundionum*, ed. by Ludovic Rudolf De Salis (Hanover: 1892)

*Leges Nationum Germanicarum Vol. III Part II, Lex Ribuaria*, ed. by Franz Beyer and Rudolf Bruckner (Hanover, 1954)

*Leges Nationum Germanicarum Vol. IV Part I, Pactus Legis Salicae*, ed. by Karl August Eckhardt (Hanover: 1962)

*Liber Diurnus Romanorum Pontificum*, ed. by Hans Foerster (Bern: Francke Verlag, 1958).

'Manuscrits de l'abbaye de Saint-Bénigne', Dijon. Ms 591, Bibliothèque municipale de Dijon, <<http://patrimoine.bm->

dijon.fr/pleade/ead.html?id=FR212316101\_saintbenigne#!{%22content%22:[%22FR212316101\_saintbenigne\_D11011462%22,false,%22%22]}>

*Mémoires concernant l'histoire civile et ecclésiastique d'Auxerre et de son ancien diocèse*, Vol. 4, ed. by Jean Lebeuf (Auxerre, Paris: 1855)

*Papsturkunden, 896-1046*, ed. by Harald Zimmerman (Vienna: Austrian Academy of Science, 1984)

*Recueil des actes du prieuré de Saint-Symphorien Autun de 696 à 1300*, ed. by A. Déléage (Autun: 1936). In Project CBMA - Corpus Burgundiae Medii Aevi <<http://documents.cbma-project.eu/texte/AutunStSymphorien.pdf>>

*Recueil des chartes de l'abbaye de Saint-Benoît-sur-Loire*, Vol. 1, ed. by M. Prou and A. Vidier, Documents publiés par la Société archéologique du Gâtinais (Paris: 1907)

*Recueil des Chartes de l'abbaye de Saint-Germain-des-Prés des origines au début du XIIIe siècle*, Vol. 1, 558-1182, ed. by René Poupardin (Paris: H. Champion, 1909)

Sawyer, P. H., *Anglo-Saxon Charters: an Annotated List and Bibliography* (London: Royal Historical Society, 1968)

*Scriptores reurm Merovingicarum 2, Frederagii et Aliorum Chronica. Vitae Sanctorum*, ed. by Bruno Krusch (Hanover: 1888)

Sidonius Apollinaris, *Epistolae et Carmina*, MGH Auctores Antiquissimi 8, ed. by Christian Luetjohann (Berlin, 1887)

Tacitus, *Germania*, transl. by M. Hutton, revised by E.H Warminton, Loeb Classical Library (Cams, Mass.: Harbard University Press; London: William Heinemann, 1980)

*The Táin, A New Translation of the Táin Bó Cúlailnge*, trans. by Ciaran Carson (London: Penguin, 2007)

*The Text of the Book of Llan Dâv*, ed. by J.G. Evans and J. Rhys (Oxford, 1893)

*The Theodosian Code and Novels and the Sirmondian Constitutions*, ed. and transl. by Clyde Pharr (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1952)

*Theodosiani, Libri XVI cum constituionibus Sirmondianis et leges novellae ad Theodosianum Pertinentes Vol. I*, ed. by Th. Mommsen and Paul M. Meyer (Berlin, 1905)

*Traditiones Wizenburgenses. Die Urkunden des Klosters Weissenburg*, ed. by Karl Glöckner and Ludwig Anton Doll (Darmstadt, 1979)

*Die Urkunden der Arnulfinger*, ed by Ingrid Heidrich, Monumenta Germaniae Historica (Hannover: Hahnsche Buchhandlung, 2011)

*Die Urkunden der Merowinger*, ed. by Carl Richard Brühl and Theo Kölzer, with Martina Hartmann and Andrea Stieldorf, Monumenta Germaniae Historica (Hannover: Hahnsche Buchhandlung, 2001)

*Urkundenbuch der Abtei Sanct Gallen*, Vol. 1, ed. by Hermann Wartmann (Zurich, 1863)

*Urkundenbuch zur Geschichte der mittelrheinischen Territorien*, Vol. 1, ed. by Heinrich Beyer (Coblenz: J. Hoelscher, 1860)

*Urkundenbuch des Klosters Fulda*, ed. by Edmund Stengel (Marburg: N. G. Eltwert'sche, 1913)

Venantius Fortunatus, *Vita Sancti Radegundis in Venanti Honori Clementiani Fortunati, Opera Pedestria*, ed. by Bruno Krusch (Berlin, 1885)

Vitruvius, *On Architecture*, Vol. II, ed. and transl. by Frank Granger, Loeb Classical Library (London: William Heinemann, 1952)

*The Visigothic Code (Forum Judicum)*, transl. and ed. by S. P. Scott, (Boston: The Boston Book Company, 1910)

*Vitae Sanctorum Britanniae et Genealogiae*, ed. and transl. by A. W. Wade-Evans (Cardiff University of Wales Press, 1944)

*Welsh Medieval Law, Being a Text of the Laws of Howel the Good*, ed. and transl. by A.W. Wade-Evans (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1909)

## Secondary Sources

Addyman, P. V., 'Note on a kiln-like structure at Buckden, Hunts.', *Medieval Archaeology*, 6-7 (1963), 12-14

Addyman, P. V., 'A Dark-Age settlement at Maxey, Northants', *Medieval Archaeology*, 8 (1964), 20-73

Addyman, P.V., and D. Leigh, 'The Anglo-Saxon Village at Chalton, Hampshire: Second Interim Report', *Medieval Archaeology*, XVI (1972), 13-31 (pp. 14-15)

Adrian, Yves-Marie, Dagmar Lukas, Nicolas Roudié, Frédérique Jimenez, and Aminte Thomann, 'Val-de-Reuil, "Le Chemin aux Errants" (Eure): l'habitat antique et le hameau du haut Moyen Âge de la zone C', in *Journées Archéologiques de Normandie*, Rouen, 30 Septembre – 1 Octobre 2016, ed. by Jean-Paul Ollivier (Mont-Saint-Aignan: Presses universitaires du Rouen et du Havre, 2018), pp. 127-144

Agriculture and Horticulture Development Board, 'In-store grain drying: high-temperature and near-ambient air approaches', <<https://ahdb.org.uk/knowledge-library/in-store-grain-drying-high-temperature-and-near-ambient-air-approaches>>

Alcock, Leslie, *Dinas Powys. An Iron Age, Dark Age and Early Medieval Settlement in Glamorgan* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1963)

Alcock, Leslie, 'Excavations at Degannwy Castle, Caernarvonshire, 1961-6', *Archaeological Journal*, 124, 1 (1967), 190-201

Alcock, Leslie, *Arthur's Britain: History and Archaeology AD 367-634* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1971)

Alcock, Leslie, "By South Cadbury is that Camelot..." *Excavations at Cadbury Castle 1966-70*, (London: Thames and Hudson, 1972; reprinted Book Club Associates, 1975)

Alcock, Leslie, Sylvia J. Stevenson, and Chris Musson, *Cadbury Castle, Somerset: The Early Medieval Archaeology* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1995)

Ancel, Marie-Josée, and Damien Tourgon, 'Département de l'Isère (38). Aoste "Les Communaux – ZAC PIDA"', *Rapport d'Opération d'Archéologie Préventive Vol. 1, Text* (Ministère de la culture et de la communication; Préfecture de la région Auvergne-Rhône-

Alpes; Direction Régionale des Affaires Culturelles; Service Régional de l'Archéologie; Archeodunum; Communauté de communes Les Vallons du Guiers: Chaponnay, April 2017)

Anderson, Thomas R., 'Roman military colonies in Gaul, Salian ethnogenesis and the forgotten meaning of Pactus Legis Salicae 59.5', *Early Medieval Europe*, 4 (1995), 129-144, reprinted in *Warfare in the Dark Ages*, ed. by John France and Kelly DeVries (Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing, 2008), pp. 38-48

Andrews, Phil, Edward Biddulph, Alan Hardy, and Richard Brown, *Settling the Ebbsfleet Valley. High Speed 1 Excavations at Springhead and Northfleet, Kent. The Late Iron Age, Roman, Saxon, and Medieval Landscape. Vol. 1: The Sites* (Oxford; Salisbury: Oxford Archaeological Unit; Wessex Archaeology Ltd, 2011)

Applebaum, S., 'Roman Britain', in *The Agrarian History of England and Wales, Vol. I, Part II, AD 43-1042*, ed. by H. P. R. Finberg (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1972), pp. 3-277

Atkins, Rob, and Aileen Connor, *Farmers and Ironsmiths: Prehistoric, Roman and Anglo-Saxon Settlement beside Brandon Road, Thetford, Norfolk*, East Anglian Archaeology Report No. 134 (Bar Hill: Oxford Archaeology East, 2010)

Baldini Lippolis, Isabella, 'Private Space In Late Antique Cities: Laws And Building Procedures', in *Housing in Late Antiquity. From Palaces to Shops*, Late Antique Archaeology, Vol. 3, 2, ed. by Luke Lavan, Lale Özgenel, and Alexander Sarantis (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2007), pp. 197-237

Baldus, Christian, transl. by David Kerr, 'Possession in Roman Law', in *The Oxford Handbook of Roman Law and Society*, ed. by Paul J. Du Plessis, Clifford Ando, and Kaius Tuori (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), pp. 537-552

Banham, Debbie, and Rosalind Faith, *Anglo-Saxon Farms and Farming* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014; paperback 2020)

Barbier, Josiane, 'Le testament d'Ermentrude, un acte de la fin du VI<sup>e</sup> siècle?', *Bulletin de la Société Nationale des Antiquaires de France*, 2003 (2009), 130-144

Barbier, Josiane, 'Testaments et pratique testamentaire dans le royaume franc (vie-viii<sup>e</sup> siècle)', in *Sauver son âme et se perpétuer: Transmission du patrimoine et mémoire au haut Moyen-Âge*, ed. by François Ougard, Cristina La Rocca, and Régine Le Jan (Rome: Publications de l'École française de Rome, 2005), pp. 7-79

Barker, Philip, Roger White, Kate Pretty, Heather Bird, and Mike Corbishley, *The Baths Basilica Wroxeter, Excavations 1966-1990*, English Heritage Archaeological Report 8 (London: English Heritage, 1997)

Barnwell, P.S., 'Emperors, Jurists and Kings: Law and Custom in the Late Roman and Early Medieval West', *Past & Present*, 168 (2000), 6-29

Bassett, Steven, 'Church and diocese in the West Midlands: the transition from British to Anglo-Saxon control', in *Pastoral Care Before the Parish*, ed. by John Blair and Richard Sharpe (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1992), pp. 13-40

Bateman, Clifford, Dawn Enright, and Niall Oakey, 'Prehistoric and Anglo-Saxon Settlements to the rear of Sherborne House, Lechlade: excavations in 1997', *Transactions Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society*, 121 (2003), 23-96

- Batey, Colleen E., Rachel C. Barrowman and Christopher D. Morris, *Excavations at Tintagel Castle, Cornwall, 1990-1999*, Reports of the Research Committee of the Society of Antiquaries of London (London: Society of Antiquaries, 2007)
- Bavuso, Irene, 'Balance of power across the Channel: reassessing Frankish hegemony in southern England (sixth–early seventh century)', *Early Medieval Europe*, 29, 3 (2021), 283–304
- Beach, A. I., and I. Cochelin, eds, *The Cambridge History of Medieval Monasticism in the Latin West* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2020)
- Bennett, Paul, Peter Clark, Alison Hicks, Jonathan Rady and Ian Riddler, eds, *At the Great Crossroads. Prehistoric, Roman and Medieval Discoveries on the Isle of Thanet 1994-95*, Canterbury Archaeological Trust Occasional Paper No. 4, ed. (Canterbury: Canterbury Archaeological Trust, 2008)
- Bermond, Iouri, Hervé Pomarède, and Pierre Rascalou, 'Évolution des centres de production et poles de peuplement dans la vallée de l'Hérault. Les exemples d'Embonne (Agde) et Peyre Plantade (Clermont-l'Hérault)', *Revue archéologique de Narbonnaise*, 35 (2002), 241-258
- Bermond, Iouri, and Hervé Pomarède, 'Agde (Hérault): Embonne', *Archéologie du Midi médiévale*, 32 (2014), 40-44
- Billoin, David, with Christophe Gaston, Sylviane Humbert, Valérie Lamy, Jean-Christophe Le Bannier, and Olivier Putelat, 'Un établissement rural Mérovingien à Delle 'la Queue au Loup' (Territoire de Belfort)' *Revue Archéologique de l'Est*, 59 (2010), pp. 603-634
- Billoin, David, and Cédric Cramatte, 'Le castrum de l'Antiquité tardive et du haut Moyen Âge de Mandeuve et l'établissement fortifié de hauteur de Château-Julien (Doubs)', *Gallia*, 74,1 (2017), 273-287
- Birks, Peter, ed., *New Perspectives in the Roman Law of Property. Essays for Barry Nichols*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989)
- Blair, John, and Richard Sharpe, eds, *Pastoral Care Before the Parish*, (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1992)
- Blair, John, *The Church in Anglo-Saxon Society* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005)
- Blair, John, *Building Anglo-Saxon England* (Princeton; Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2018)
- Blair, John, 'The Limits of Bookland', *Anglo-Saxon England*, 49 (2020), 197-252
- Blair, John, Stephen Rippon, and Christopher Smart, *Planning in the Early Medieval Landscape* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2020)
- Blaising, Jean-Marie, 'Yutz (Moselle), l'occupation antique, le point après dix ans d'archéologie préventive (1989-1999)', *Les Cahiers Lorrains*, 3 (September 2002), 233-254
- Blaising, Jean-Marie, 'L'évolution de l'habitat sur la terroir de Yutz (Moselle-France)' *Ruralia*, III, Supplement 14 (2000), 120-155
- Blinkhorn, Paul, 'Early and Middle Saxon Pottery', in Gill Hey, *Yarnton. Saxon and Medieval Settlement and Landscape*, Thames Valley Landscapes Monograph No. 20 (Oxford: Oxford Archaeology, 2004), pp. 267-273

Bloch, Marc, 'Comment et pourquoi finit l'esclavage Antique' *Annales. Economies, sociétés, civilisations*, 2, 1 (1947), 30-44

Bloch, Marc, 'Serf de la Glèbe' in *Mélanges Historiques* (Paris: Ecole Pratique des Hautes Études, 1963), pp. 356-378

Boudartchouk, Jean-Luc, 'Lapanouse-de-Cernon: Le Camp des Armes', in *Bilan Scientifique de la Région Midi-Pyrénées, 1999* (Toulouse: Direction Régionale des Affaires Culturelle; Service Régional de l'Archéologie, 2000), pp. 65-66

Bourgeois, Luc, 'Les résidences des élites et les fortifications du haut Moyen Âge en France et en Belgique dans leur cadre européen: aperçu historiographique (1955-2005)', *Cahiers de civilisation médiévale*, 49e année, 194, La médiévisique au XXe siècle. Bilan et perspectives (2006), 113-141

Bourgeois, Luc, 'The fate of small towns, hilltop settlements, and elite residences in Merovingian-period Gaul', in *The Oxford Handbook of the Merovingian World*, ed. by Bonnie Effros and Isabel Moreira (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2020), pp. 611-640

Bowden, William, Adam Gutteridge, and Carlos Machado, eds., *Social and Political Life in Late Antiquity*, *Late Antique Archaeology*, 3, 1 (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2006)

Bowman A., A. Cameron, and P. Garnsey, eds. *The Cambridge Ancient History. Vol. 12: The Crisis of Empire, AD 193-337*, 2nd edn. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005)

Bowes, Kim, and Adam Gutteridge, 'Rethinking the later Roman landscape', *Journal of Roman Archaeology*, 18 (2005), 405-413

Bowman, Alan K., Peter Garnsey, and Dominic Rathbone, eds, *The Cambridge Ancient History Vol. XI, The High Empire AD 70-192*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000)

Bradley, K. R., *Slaves and Masters in the Roman Empire. A Study in Social Control* (Brussels: Latomus Revue D'Etudes Latines, 1984)

Bradley, Keith, and Paul Cartledge, eds, *The Cambridge World History of Slavery Vol. 1: The Ancient Mediterranean World* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011)

Brady, Niall, 'Agricultural Buildings', in *The Oxford Handbook of Later Medieval Archaeology in Britain*, ed. by Christopher Gerrard and Alejandra Gutiérrez (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018), pp. 259-272

Brennan, Naomi, and Helena Hamerow, 'An Anglo-Saxon Great Hall Complex at Sutton Courtenay/Drayton, Oxfordshire: A Royal Centre of Early Wessex?' *Archaeological Journal*, 172, 2 (2015), pp. 325-350

Broggiolo, G. P., 'The control of public space and the transformation of an early medieval town: a re-examination of the case of Brescia', in *Social and Political Life in Late Antiquity*, ed. by Bowden, Gutteridge, and Machado, pp. 251-283

Brooks, Nicholas, 'The Laws of King Æthelberht of Kent: Preservation, Content, and Composition' in *Textus Roffensis: Law, Language, and Libraries in Early Medieval England*, ed. by Bruce O'Brien and Barbara Bombi (Turnhout: Brepols, 2015), pp. 105-136

Brown, Peter, *The Rise of Western Christendom: Triumph and Diversity, AD 200-1000* (Somerset: John Wiley & Sons, 2013)

Brown, Peter, *Through the Eye of a Needle. Wealth, the Fall of Rome, and the Making of Christianity in the West, 350-550 AD* (Princeton; Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2012; paperback, 2014)

Brown, Warren, Marios Costambeys, Matthew Innes and Adam J. Kosto, *Documentary Culture and the Laity in the Early Middle Ages*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013)

Brown, Warren C., 'The *gesta municipalia* and the public validation of documents in Frankish Europe', in *Documentary Culture and the Laity in the Early Middle Ages*, ed. by Warren Brown, Marios Costambeys, Matthew Innes and Adam J. Kosto, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), pp. 95-124

Brown, Warren C., 'Laypeople and documents in the Frankish formula collections', in *Documentary Culture*, ed. by Brown, Costambeys, Innes and Kosto, pp. 125-151

Bruce, S. G., 'Review of The Cartulary of Montier-en-Der, 666-1129, by C. B. Bouchard', *Speculum*, 80, 1 (2005), 192-193, <<http://www.jstor.org/stable/20463178>>

Bruley-Chabot, Gaëlle and Nicolas Warmé, 'Approche expérimentale pour la compréhension des fours culi-naires du haut Moyen âge: bilan critique et perspectives', *Revue archéologique de Picardie*, 1-2 (2009), 121-128

Brunskill, R.W., *Illustrated Handbook of Vernacular Architecture* (London: Faber and Faber, 1971)

Brunskill, R. W., *Traditional Farm Buildings of Britain* (London: Victor Gollancz, 1987)

Buckland, W. W., *The Roman Law of Slavery. The Condition of the Slave in Private Law from Augustus to Justinian* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1908)

Bullough, Donald, 'Early Medieval Social Groupings: The Terminology of Kinship', *Past & Present*, 45 (1969), 3-18

Butler, Chris, *Saxon Settlement and Earlier Remains at friars Oak, Hassocks, West Sussex*, BAE British Series 295 (Oxford: Archaeopress, 2000)

Cameron, Avril, and Peter Garnsey, eds, *Cambridge Ancient History, Vol. XIII. The Late Empire, AD 337-425* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997)

Cameron, Avril, Bryan Ward-Perkins, and Michael Whitby, eds, *The Cambridge Ancient History Vol. 14. Late Antiquity: Empire and Successors, AD 425-600* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001)

Campbell, Ewan, and Alan Lane, 'Excavations at Longbury Bank, Dyfed, and Early Medieval Settlement in South Wales', *Medieval Archaeology*, 37 (1993), 15-77

Campbell, Ewan, *Continental and Mediterranean Imports to Atlantic Britain and Ireland, AD400-800*, CBA Research Report 157 (York: Council for British Archaeology, 2007)

Carpentier, Vincent, and Michel Besnard, 'Une occupation du haut Moyen Age dans le bocage normand à Saint-Ouen-des-Besaces (Calvados)', *Revue archéologique de l'ouest*, 16 (1999), 209-226

Carrié, Jean-Michel, 'Developments in provincial and local administration', in *The Cambridge Ancient History, Vol. 12: The Crisis of Empire, AD 193-337*, 2nd edn, ed. by A Bowman, A. Cameron, and P. Garnsey (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), pp. 269-312

Chadwick, H. Munro, *Studies on Anglo-Saxon Institutions* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1905; reissued New York: Russell and Russell, 1963)

Chambers, Richard, and Ellen McAdam, eds, *Excavations at Barrow Hills, Radley, Oxfordshire, 1983-5*, Oxford Archaeology Thames Valley Landscape Monograph No. 25 (Oxford: Oxford Archaeological Unit, 2007)

Chapelot, Jean, and Robert Fossier, *The Village and House in the Middle Ages*, trans. by Henry Cleere (London: Batsford, 1985)

Chaplais, Pierre, 'Who introduced charters into England? The Case for Augustine', *Journal of the Society of Archivists*, III, 10 (1969), reprinted in *Prisca Munimenta. Studies in Archival and Administrative History Presented to Dr A.E.J. Hollaender*, ed. by Felicity Ranger (London: University of London Press, 1973), pp. 88-107

Chapman, Andy, *West Cotton, Raunds. A Study of Medieval Settlement Dynamics AD450-1450. Excavation of a Deserted Medieval Hamlet in Northamptonshire, 1985-89*, Raunds Area Project (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2010)

Charles-Edwards, T. M., 'Kinship, status and the origins of the Hide', *Past & Present*, 56 (1972), 3-33

Charles-Edwards, T. M., 'The Distinction between Land Moveable Wealth in Anglo-Saxon England', in *Medieval Settlement. Continuity and Change*, ed. by P. H. Sawyer (London: Edward Arnold, 1976), pp. 180-187

Charles-Edwards, T. M., 'Nau Kynywedi Tei-thiauc', in *The Welsh Law of Women*, ed. by Dafydd Jenkins and Morfydd E. Owen, (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1980), pp. 23-39

Charles-Edwards, T. M., *The Welsh Laws* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1989)

Charles-Edwards, T. M., *Early Irish and Welsh Kinship* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993)

Charles-Edwards, T. M., *Early Christian Ireland*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000; paperback, 2007)

Charles-Edwards, T. M., 'Law in the Western Kingdoms between the Fifth and Seventh Century', in *The Cambridge Ancient History Vol. 14. Late Antiquity: Empire and Successors AD 425-600*, ed. by Averil Cameron, Bryan Ward-Perkins, and Michael Whitby (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), pp. 260-287

Charles-Edwards, T. M., *Wales and the Britons 350-1064* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013; paperback, 2014)

Châtelet, Madeleine, 'Marlenheim en Alsace: une résidence royale et un centre domanial des périodes Mérovingienne et Carolingienne', *Des Fleuves et des Hommes à l'époque mérovingienne. Territoire fluvial et société au premier Moyen Âge (Ve – XIe siècle)*, Actes des 33<sup>e</sup> journées internationales d'archéologie mérovingienne 28-30 septembre 2012, Strasbourg, Mémoires de l'Association française d'Archéologie mérovingienne 32, *Revue archéologique de l'Est* supp. 42 (Dijon: AFAM; RAE, 2016), pp. 245-254

Chavarría Arnau, Alexandra, 'The Fate of Late-Roman Villas in Southern Gaul between the sixth and seventh centuries', in *The Oxford Handbook of the Merovingian World*, ed. by Bonnie Effros and Isabel Moreira (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2020), pp. 641-656

Christie, Neil, and Hajnalka Herold, 'Introduction', in *Fortified Settlements in Early Medieval Europe. Defended Communities of the 8th-10th Centuries*, ed. by Neil Christie and Hajnalka Herold, (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2016), pp. xix-xxviii

Christie, Neil, and Hajnalka Herold, eds., *Fortified Settlements in Early Medieval Europe. Defended Communities of the 8th-10th Centuries* (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2016)

Collingwood, R. G., and J. N. L. Myres, *Roman Britain and the English Settlements* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1936)

Collingwood, I. G., and Ian Richmond, *The Archaeology of Roman Britain*, rev. edn. (London: Methuen, 1969)

Comber, Michelle, 'The Irish Cashel: Enclosed Settlement, Fortified Settlement or Settled Fortification? With evidence from Ongoing Excavations at Caherconnell, Co. Clare, Western Ireland', in *Fortified Settlements in Early Medieval Europe*, ed. by Neil Christie and Hajnalka Herold, (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2016)

Comeau, Rhiannon, and Steve Burrow, 'Corn-drying kilns in Wales: a review of the evidence', *Archaeologia Cambrensis*, 171 (2021), 111-149

Comeau, R., and S. Burrow, 'Corn-drying kilns in Wales: a gazetteer'. (2021) <<https://archaeologydataservice.ac.uk/>>

Comeau, Rhiannon, Andy Seaman, and Anna Bloxom, 'Plague, climate and faith in Early Medieval Western Britain: investigating narratives of change', *Medieval Archaeology*, 67, 1 (2023), 1-28 (pp. 19-20)

Congès, Gaëtan, Jean-Pierre Brun, and Kim Prothro, 'Un foyer d'époque mérovingienne dans la villa de Pardigon 2 (Var – La Croix-Valmer)', *Revue archéologique de Narbonnaise*, 19 (1986), 307-317

Costambeys, Marios, 'An aristocratic community on the northern Frankish frontier 690-726', *Early Medieval Europe*, 3,1 (1994), 39-62

Coumert, Magali, *La Loi Salique: Retour Aux Manuscrits* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2023)

Crabtree, Pam J., *West Stow, Suffolk: Early Anglo-Saxon Animal Husbandry*, East Anglian Archaeology Report No. 47 (Ipswich: Suffolk County Planning Department, 1989)

Cramp, Rosemary, 'New perspectives on monastic buildings and their uses', in *Early Monasticism in the North Sea Zone*, ed. by Gabor Thomas and Alexandra Knox (Oxford: Oxford University School of archaeology, 2017), pp. 27-42

Cunliffe, Barry, *Iron Age Communities in Britain*, 3<sup>rd</sup> edn. (London: Routledge, 1991)

Cunliffe, B.W., 'For men of rank... basilicas: British aisled halls reconsidered', in *Living and Working in the Roman World. Essays in Honour of Michael Fulford on His 65<sup>th</sup> Birthday*, ed. by Hella Eckardt and Stephen Rippon, Journal of Roman Archaeology Supplement Series No. 95 (Portsmouth, Rhode Island: Journal of Roman Archaeology, 2013), pp. 95-109

*Current Archaeology* special edition, No. 392, (November, 2022), pp. 18-54

*Current Archaeology*, 'Confirming a 5<sup>th</sup>-century mosaic at Chedworth Roman villa', *Current Archaeology*, 410 (May, 2024), p. 10

Czajkowski, Kimberley, and Benedikt Eckhardt, eds in collaboration with Meret Strothman, *Law in the Roman Provinces*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2020)

Dark, Ken, *Britain and the End of the Roman Empire* (Stroud: Tempus, 2000)

Darnaud, Olivier, Emmanuel Ferber et Pierre Rigaud, 'Le Couvent des Chèvres au Pouzin (Ardèche): découverte d'un site fortifié de hauteur tardo-antique', *Archéologie Du Midi médiéval*, 26 (2008), pp. 45-57

Davies, Wendy, *An Early Welsh Microcosm: Studies in the Llandaff Charters* (London: Royal Historical Society, 1978)

Davies, Wendy, *An Early Welsh Microcosm: Studies in the Llandaff Charters* (London: Royal Historical Society, 1978)

Wendy Davies, 'Land and power in early medieval Wales', *Past and Present*, 81 (1978), 3-23

Davies, Wendy, *The Llandaff Charters* (Aberystwyth: National Library of Wales, 1979)

Davies, *Wales in the Early Middle Ages* (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1982)

Davies, Wendy, 'The Latin charter-tradition in western Britain, Brittany and Ireland in the early medieval period', in *Ireland in Early Mediaeval Europe: Studies in Memory of Kathleen Hughes*, ed. by D. Whitelock, R. McKitterick, and D.N. Dumville (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982), pp. 258-280

Davies, Wendy, 'On servile status in the early Middle Ages', in *Serfdom and Slavery. Studies in Legal Bondage*, ed. by M.L. Bush (Harlow, Essex: Longman, 1996), pp. 225-246

Davies, Wendy, and Paul Fouracre, *The Settlement of Disputes in Early Medieval Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986)

De Klijn, Hans, Élise Faure-Boucharlat, Michel Feugère et Dominique Lalai, 'L'Albenc, Le Bivan', in *Vivre à la campagne au moyen âge: L'habitat rural du Ve au XIIIe s.*, ed. by Élise Faure-Boucharlat (Bresse, Lyonnais, Dauphiné) d'après les données archéologiques (Lyon: Alpara, 2001), pp. 460-493

Derry, T.K., and Trevor I. Williams, *A Short History of Technology* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1960)

Desrayaud, Gilles, Aurélie Alligri, Annie Lefèvre, Céline Le Goff, Philippe Lorquet, and Nicolas Warmé, 'Île de France, Essonne, Tigery. ZAC des Fossés Neufs – Rue du Parc des Vergers (Extension BMW). Villa gallo-romaine et hameau médiéval des "Fossés Neufs" (2nde moitié 1er s. av.-XIIIe s. ap. J.-C.).' [Rapport de recherche] *Institut National de Recherches Archéologiques Préventives* (2017)

Desrayaud, Gilles, and Nicolas Warmé, 'Concentrations du foyers du Bas-Empire de la villa Gallo-Romaine de "Chanteloup" (Moissy-Cramayel, Seine et Marne): un témoignage du séchage des céréales', paper given at *Rurland 2017. Les campagnes du nord et de l'est de la Gaule à la fin de l'Antiquité (IIIe – Ve siècles)*, Michel Reddé, April 2017, Paris, France. Available at <https://hal.archives-ouvertes.fr/hal-02295820>

Devals, Christophe, 'Un site du haut Moyen Age en Vexin français, Marines - Les Carreaux (Val d'Oise)', *Bulletin De Liaison Association Française D'Archéologie Mérovingienne* (2004), 139-156 (p. 141)

Devroey, Jean-Pierre, *Puissants et misérables Système social et monde paysan dans l'Europe des Francs (VIe-IXe siècles)*, (Brussels: Académie royale de Belgique, 2006)

Devroey, Jean-Pierre, and Nicolas Schroeder, 'Beyond royal estates and monasteries: landownership in the early medieval Ardennes', *Early Medieval Europe*, 20, 1 (2012), pp. 39-69

Dobney, Keith, Deborah Jaques, James Barrett, and Cluny Johnstone, *Farmers, Monks and Aristocrats: The Environmental Archaeology of Anglo-Saxon Flixborough, Excavations at Flixborough Vol.3* (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2007)

Dodd, J., 'Assessing Late Antique Villa Transformation at Individual Sites: Towards a Spatial Approach', *Theoretical Roman Archaeology Journal*, 4 (1): 3 (2021), pp. 1–28

Dopsch, Alfons, 'Agrarian institutions of the Germanic kingdoms from the fifth to the ninth century', in *The Cambridge Economic History of Europe, I. The Agrarian Life of the Middle Ages*, 2<sup>nd</sup> edn., ed. by M. M. Postan (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1966), pp.180-204

Douglas, David C., and George W. Greenaway, eds, *English Historical Documents 1042-1189* (London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1953)

Dronsfield, Neil, Sean Bell and Richard O'Neill, 'Anglo-Saxon settlement at Coston Hall, Leicestershire', *Transactions of Leicestershire Archaeological and Historical Society*, 89 (2015), 113-144

Du Plessis, Paul, "'Provincial law" in Britannia', in *Law in the Roman Provinces*, ed. by Kimberley Czajkowski and Benedikt Eckhardt, in collaboration with Meret Strothman (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2020), pp. 436-461

Du Plessis, Paul J., Clifford Ando, and Kaius Tuori, eds., *The Oxford Handbook of Roman Law and Society* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016)

Eagles, Bruce, *From Roman Civitas to Anglo-Saxon Shire* (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2018)

Edwards, Nancy, *The Archaeology of Early Medieval Ireland* (London: Routledge, 1999)

Effros, Bonnie, *Merovingian Mortuary Archaeology and the Making of the Early Middle Ages* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003)

Effros, Bonnie, and Isabel Moreira, eds, *The Oxford Handbook of the Merovingian World*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2020)

Emanuel, Hywel David, *The Latin Texts of the Welsh Laws* (Cardiff: The University of Wales Press, 1967)

Epstein, Richard A., 'The Economic Structure of Roman Property Law', in *The Oxford Handbook of Roman Law and Society*, ed. by Paul J. Du Plessis, Clifford Ando, and Kaius Tuori (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), pp. 513-523

Esders, Stefan, and Steffen Patzold 'From Justinian to Louis the Pious: inalienability of church property and the sovereignty of a ruler in the ninth century' in *Religious Franks. Religion and power in the Frankish Kingdoms: Studies in honour of Mayke de Jong*, ed. by Rob Meens, Dorine van Espelo, Bram van den Hoven van Genderen, Janneke Raaijmakers, Irene van Renswoude and Carine van Rhijn (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2016), pp 386-408

- Esmonde Cleary, A. S., *The Ending of Roman Britain* (London: Batsford, 1989; reprinted by Routledge, 2000)
- Evans, D. H. , and Christopher Loveluck, eds., *Life and Economy at Early Medieval Flixborough, c. AD 600–1000: The Artefact Evidence, Excavations at Flixborough Vol. 2* (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2009)
- Faith, Rosamond, *The English Peasantry and the Growth of Lordship*, (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1997; paperback, 1999)
- Faith, Rosamond, 'Forces and Relations of Production in Early Medieval England', *Journal of Agrarian Change*, 9, 1 (January 2009), 23-41
- Faith, Rosamond, *The Moral Economy of the Countryside: Anglo-Saxon to Anglo-Norman England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2020)
- Farwell, D. E., and Theya I. Molleson, *Excavations at Poundbury, Dorchester, Dorset 1966-1982, Volume II: The Cemeteries*, Dorset Natural History and Archaeological Society Monograph Series: 11, (Dorchester: Dorset Natural History and Archaeological Society, 1993)
- Fasham, P.J., R.S. Kelly, M.A. Mason and R.B. White, *The Graeanog Ridge: The Evolution of a Farming Landscape and its Settlements in North-West Wales*, Cambrian Archaeological Association Monographs No. 6 (Aberystwyth: Cambrian Archaeological Association, 1998)
- Faulkner, Neil, *The Decline and Fall of Roman Britain* (Stroud: Tempus Publishing, 2000).
- Faulkner, Neil, and Eleanor Blakelock, 'The excavation of a Mid Anglo-Saxon malthouse at Sedgeford, Norfolk: An interim report', *Anglo-Saxon Studies in Archaeology and History* 22 (2020), 68-95
- Faulkner, Neil, 'An Agro-Social Revolution in a Mid Saxon Village: Making Sense of the Sedgeford Excavations', in *New Perspectives on the Medieval 'Agricultural Revolution'. Crops, Stock and Furrow*, ed. by Mark McKerracher and Helena Hamerow (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2022), pp. 161-178
- Faure-Boucharlat, Élise, ed., *Vivre à la campagne au moyen âge: L'habitat rural du Ve au XIIIe s. (Bresse, Lyonnais, Dauphiné) d'après les données archéologiques*, (Lyon: Alpara, 2001)
- Faure-Boucharlat, Élise, 'Poncin, le Châtelarde', in *Vivre à la campagne au moyen âge: L'habitat rural du Ve au XIIIe s. (Bresse, Lyonnais, Dauphiné) d'après les données archéologiques*, ed. by Élise Faure-Boucharlat (Lyon: Alpara, 2001), pp. 118-235
- Ferrière, Alain, *Les Compagnes en Gaule Romaine, Vol. 2. Les techniques et les productions rurales en Gaule (52av. J.-C. – 486 ap. J.-C.)* (Paris: Editions Errance, 1988)
- Finberg, H.P.R., *The Early Charters of the West Midlands*, (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1961)
- Finberg, H. P. R., ed., *The Agrarian History of England and Wales, Vol. I, II, AD 43-1042* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1972)
- Finley, M. I., *Ancient Slavery and Modern Ideology* (London: Chatto and Windus, 1980)
- Fizellier-Sauget, Bernadette, and Jean-Michel Sauget, 'Riom (Puy-de-Dôme). La Chapelle de Pessat', *Archéologie médiévale*, 16 (1986), 241-243

Flannery, Kent V., ed., *The Early Mesoamerican Village* (London; New York: Academic Press, 1976)

Fouillet, Nicolas, 'Un habitat rural du haut Moyen-Âge à Déols (indre)', *Revue archéologique de la France*, 38 (1999), 169-194

Fouracre, Paul, and Richard A. Gerberding, *Late Merovingian France. History and Hagiography, 640-720* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1996)

Fouracre, Paul, "'Placita" and the settlement of disputes in later Merovingian Francia', in *The Settlement of Disputes in Early Medieval Europe*, ed. by Wendy Davies and Paul Fouracre (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), pp. 23-43

Fowler, Peter, 'Moving through the landscape', in *The Archaeology of Landscape*, ed. by Paul Everson and Tom Williamson (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1988), pp. 25-41

Fox, Yaniv, *Power and Religion in Merovingian Gaul. Columbanian Monasticism and the Frankish Elites* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014)

Gaffiot, Félix, *Dictionnaire Latin-Français* (1934), available as Le Gaffiot 2016 <<http://gerardgreco.free.fr/spip.php?article43&lang=fr>>; University of Chicago, *Logeion* <<https://logeion.uchicago.edu/about>>

Gandel, Philippe, and David Billoin, 'Le site de Gaillardon à Ménétru-le-Vignoble, Jura: un établissement de hauteur de l'Antiquité tardive et du haut Moyen Âge', *Revue archéologique de l'Est*, 60 (2011), 313-421

Gandel, Philippe, and David Billoin, 'L'établissement fortifié de hauteur alto-médiéval de Château-sur-Salins (Salins-les-Bains, Jura)', *Gallia*, 74, 1 (2017), 261-272

Ganz, David, and Walter Goffart, 'Charters Earlier than 800 from French Collections', *Speculum*, 65 (1990), 906-932

Gardiner, Mark, 'Stacks, barns and granaries in Early and High Medieval England: crop storage and its implications', in *Horea, Barns and Silos. Storage and Incomes in Early Medieval Europe*, Documentos de Arqueologia Medieval 5, ed. by Alfonso Vigil-Escalera Guirado, Giovanni Bianchi, and Juan Antonio Quirós (Gipuzkoa: Universidad del País Vasco, 2013), pp. 23-38

Garland, Nicky, and Joe Whelan, *Pinn Brook Enclosure, Redhayes, Exeter: Post-Excavation Assessment and Updated Project Design*, Cotswold Archaeology Unpublished Report (2016)

Garland, Nicky, 'Prehistoric settlement and burial, early Medieval crop processing and a possible early Medieval cemetery along the Clyst valley: investigations south of the Pin Brook, Broadclyst, near Exeter, 2015-2016', *Proceedings of Devon Archaeological Society*, 77 (2019), 103-145

Garnier, Bruno, Alexandrine Garnotel, Catherine Mercier, and Claude Raynaud, 'De la ferme au village: Dassargues du Ve au XIIe siècle (Lunel, Hérault)', *Archéologie du Midi médiéval*, 13 (1995), 1-78

Geary, Patrick J., *Phantoms of Remembrance. Memory and Oblivion at the End of the First Millenium* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994)

Gelling, P. S., and S. C. Stanford, 'Dark Age pottery or Iron Age ovens?', *Trans. Proc. Birmingham Arch. Soc.*, 82 (1967), 77-91

Gentili, François, 'Serris, Seine et Marne (Les Ruelles)', *Archéologie médiévale*, XXVIII, (1999), pp. 205-206

Gentili, François, and Katalin Escher, 'Le village Merovingien de Serris au Coeur de la Ville Nouvelle', *Revue Archeologique de Picardie*, Trimestriel 1-2, (2009), pp. 145-152

Gentili, François, *Agglomerations rurale et terroirs du haut Moyen Age en Ile de France (Vie – XIIe)*, unpublished doctoral thesis, Paris, Pantheon-Sorbonne (2017)

Genty, Pierre, Fabrice Moireau, Pierre Cabard, and Jean-Louis Girault, 'Le site gallo-romain et médiéval de Glatigny (Mer, Loir-et-Cher)', *Revue archéologique du Centre de la France*, 26, 1 (1987), 21-66

Gerrard, James, 'How late is late? Pottery and the fifth century in southwest Britain', in *Debating Late Antiquity in Britain AD 300-700*, ed. by R. Collins and J. Gerrard, BAR 365 (Oxford: BAR Publishing, 2004), pp. 65-75

Gerrard, James, *The Ruin of Roman Britain. An Archaeological Perspective* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013; paperback, 2016)

Gibson, C., with J. Murray, 'An Anglo-Saxon Settlement at Godmanchester, Cambridgeshire', with contributions by S. Anderson, I. Baxter, H. Cool, N. Crummy, V. Fryer, J. Last, M. Lyne and T. McDonald, in *Boundaries in Early Medieval Britain*, ed. by David Griffiths, Andrew Reynolds, and Sarah Semple, Anglo-Saxon Studies in Archaeology and History 12 (Oxford: Oxford University School of Archaeology, 2003), pp. 137-217

Gilles, Amaury, Thierry Argant, Stéphane Carrara, Aline Colombier-Gougouzian, Olivier Darnaud, with Fabien Delrieu and Pierre Dutreuil, 'L'établissement de hauteur du Malpas à Soyons (Ardèche) durant l'Antiquité tardive (IVe – VIe s.)', *Revue Archéologique de Narbonnaise*, 46 (2013), 179-200

Giry, A., *Manuel de Diplomatie* (Paris: Librairie Felix Alcan, 1925)

Goffart, Walter, *The Le Mans Forgeries. A Chapter from the History of Church Property in the Ninth Century* (Cambridge, Mass. Harvard University Press, 1966)

Goffart, Walter, *Rome's Fall and After* (London: Hambledon Press, 1989)

Goffart, Walter, *Barbarian Tides: The Migration Age and the Later Roman Empire* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2006)

Goldberg, Eric J., *In the Manner of the Franks. Hunting, Kingship, and Masculinity in Early Medieval Europe* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2020)

Goodman, Martin, 'Judaea', in *The Cambridge Ancient History Vol. XI, The High Empire AD 70-192*, ed. by Alan K. Bowman, Peter Garnsey, and Dominic Rathbone (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), pp. 664-678

Goodson, C., 'John Blair, Stephen Rippon, and Christopher Smart, Planning in the Early Medieval Landscape', *Speculum*, 97,2 (2022), 478-479

Goody, Jack, *The Development of the Family and Marriage in Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983)

Gretzinger, J., Duncan Sayer, Pierre Justeau, Eveline Altena, Maria Pala, Katharina Dulias, Ceiridwen J. Edwards, Susanne Jodoin, Laura Lacher, Susanna Sabin, Åshild J. Vågane, Wolfgang Haak, S. Sunna Ebenesersdóttir, Kristjan H. S. Moore, Rita Radzeviciute, Kara

Schmidt, Selina Brace, Martina Abenhus Bager, Nick Patterson, Luka Papac, Nasreen Broomandkhoshbacht, Kimberly Callan, Éadaoin Harney, Lora Iliev, Ann Marie Lawson, Megan Michel, Kristin Stewardson, Fatma Zalzal, Nadin Rohland, Stefanie Kappelhoff-Beckmann, Frank Both, Daniel Winger, Daniel Neumann, Lars Saalow, Stefan Krabath, Sophie Beckett, Melanie Van Twest, Neil Faulkner, Chris Read, Tabatha Barton, Joanna Caruth, John Hines, Ben Krause-Kyora, Ursula Warnke, Verena J. Schuenemann, Ian Barnes, Hanna Dahlström, Jane Jark Clausen, Andrew Richardson, Elizabeth Popescu, Natasha Dodwell, Stuart Ladd, Tom Phillips, Richard Mortimer, Faye Sayer, Diana Swales, Allison Stewart, Dominic Powlesland, Robert Kenyon, Lilian Ladle, Christina Peek, Silke Grefen-Peters, Paola Ponce, Robin Daniels, Cecily Spall, Jennifer Woolcock, Andy M. Jones, Amy V. Roberts, Robert Symmons, Anoosha C. Rawden, Alan Cooper, Kirsten I. Bos, Tom Booth, Hannes Schroeder, Mark G. Thomas, Agnar Helgason, Martin B. Richards, David Reich, Johannes Krause & Stephan Schiffels, 'The Anglo-Saxon migration and the formation of the early English gene pool', *Nature* 610 (2022), 112–119, doi:10.1038/s41586-022-05247-2

Gretzinger, Joscha, and Stephan Schiffels, 'Transformations in early medieval England', *Current Archaeology*, 392 (November 2022), 26-31

Griffiths, David, ed., *Anglo-Saxon Studies in Archaeology and History 8*, (Oxford: Oxford University Committee for Archaeology, 1995)

Griffiths, David, Andrew Reynolds, and Sarah Semple, eds, *Boundaries in Early Medieval Britain*, Anglo-Saxon Studies in Archaeology and History 12 (Oxford: Oxford University School of Archaeology, 2003)

Guillaume, Maxime, and Guilhem Sanchez, 'Carcassonne (Aude): La Fajolle', *Archéologie de Midi médiévale*, 32 (2014), 25-28

Guyotjeannin, Olivier, 'La diplomatie médiévale et l'élargissement de son champ', *La Gazette des archives*, 172 (1996), 12-18

Halsall, Guy, *Settlement and Social Organization: The Merovingian Region of Metz* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995; paperback, 2002)

Halsall, Guy, *Warfare and Society in the Barbarian West, 450-900* (London: Routledge, 2003)

Halsall, Guy, *Barbarian Migrations and the Roman West 376-568* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007)

Hamerow, Helena, *Excavations at Mucking. Vol. 2: The Anglo-Saxon Settlement* (London: English Heritage in assoc. with the British Museum Press, 1993)

Hamerow, Helena, 'Catholme: The development and context of the settlement', in Losco-Bradley, Stuart, and Gavin Kinsley, *Catholme. An Anglo-Saxon Settlement on the Trent Gravels in Staffordshire*, Nottingham Studies in Archaeology Vol. 3 (Nottingham: Trent and Peak Archaeological Unit, 2002), pp. 123-129

Hamerow, Helena, Chris Hayden, Gill Hey, Paul Blinkhorn, Paul Booth, John Cotter, Kate Cramp, Louise Martin, D. M. Metcalf, Julian Munby, Annsophie Witkin & Susan M. Youngs 'Anglo-Saxon and Earlier Settlement near Drayton Road, Sutton Courtenay, Berkshire' *Archaeological Journal*, 164, 1 (2007), 109-196

Hamerow, Helena, *Early Medieval Settlements. The Archaeology of Rural Communities in Northwest Europe 400-900* (Oxford : Oxford University Press, 2002)

Hamerow, Helena, *Rural Settlements and Society in Anglo-Saxon England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012; paperback, 2014)

Hamerow, Helena, 'Timber buildings and their social context', in *The Oxford Handbook of Anglo-Saxon Archaeology*, ed. by Helena Hamerow, David A. Hinton, and Sally Crawford (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011; paperback, 2020), pp. 128-155

Hamerow, Helena, David A. Hinton, and Sally Crawford, eds, *The Oxford Handbook of Anglo-Saxon Archaeology* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011; paperback, 2020)

Hamerow, Helena, 'The "FeedSax" Project: Rural Settlements and Farming in Early Medieval England', in *New Perspectives on the Medieval Agricultural Revolution. Crop, Stock and Furrow*, ed. by Mark McKerracher and Helena Hamerow (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2022), pp. 3-24

Hancock, Alistair, with contributions by Paul Blinkhorn, Gemma Martin, James Rackham, Alex Thompson, and Donna Waters, 'Excavation of a Mid-Saxon settlement at Water Eaton, Bletchley, Milton Keynes', *Records of Buckinghamshire*, 50 (2010), 5-24

Harnay, Véronique, 'Le site du "Chemin de Croix", un habitat du haut Moyen Âge aux abords de la villa royale d'Athies (Somme)', *Revue archéologique de Picardie*, 1-2, L'actualité de l'archéologie du haut Moyen-Âge en Picardie. Les apports de l'expérimentation à l'archéologie mérovingienne. Actes des XXIXe journées internationales d'archéologie mérovingiennes. Musée des Temps Barbares, Marle (Aisne) 26-28 septembre 2008, (2009), 37-54

Harper, Kyle, *Slavery in the Late Roman World AD275-425* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011)

Harris, Edward M., and Mirko Canevaro, eds, *The Oxford Handbook of Ancient Greek Law*, (online edn, Oxford Academic, 6 Aug. 2015), doi:10.1093/oxfordhb/9780199599257.013.11

Hart, Cyril, *The Early Charters of Essex*, (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1971)

Hart, C. R., *The Early Charters of Northern England and the North Midlands* (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1975)

Heaton, Michael J., 'Two mid Saxon grain dryers and later medieval features at Chantry Field, Gillingham, Dorset,' *Proceedings of Dorset Natural History and Archaeological Society*, 114 (1993), 97-126

Heawood, Richard, and Christine Howard-Davis, 'Two early medieval settlement sites in eastern Cumbria', *Transactions of the Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archaeological Society*, 3<sup>rd</sup> Series, II (2002), 145-169

Hedstrom, D. L. B., and H. Dey, 'The Archaeology of the Earliest Monasteries' in *The Cambridge History of Medieval Monasticism in the Latin West*, ed. by A. I. Beach and I. Cochelin (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2020), pp. 73-96

Helmholz, R. H., 'Canon law and Roman law', in *The Cambridge Companion To Roman Law*, ed. by David Johnston (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), pp. 396-422

Hey, Gill, *Yarnton. Saxon and Medieval Settlement and Landscape*, Thames Valley Landscapes Monograph No. 20 (Oxford: Oxford Archaeology, 2004)

Hicks, Alison, 'The Roman Settlement', in *At the Great Crossroads. Prehistoric, Roman and Medieval Discoveries on the Isle of Thanet 1994-95*, Canterbury Archaeological Trust Occasional Paper No. 4, ed. by Paul Bennett, Peter Clark, Alison Hicks, Jonathan Rady and Ian Riddler (Canterbury: Canterbury Archaeological Trust, 2008), pp. 108-278

Higham, N. J., *An English Empire. Bede and the Early Anglo-Saxon Kings* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1995)

Hinchcliffe, John, 'An Early Medieval Settlement at Cowage Farm, Foxley, Near Malmesbury', *Archaeological Journal* 143, 1 (1986), 240-259

Hines, John, ed., *The Anglo-Saxons from the Migration Period to the Eight Century: An Ethnographic Perspective* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 1997)

Hines, John, 'The Anglo-Saxon settlement at Catholme, Staffordshire: a re-assessment of the chronological evidence and possible re-interpretation', in *Anglo-Saxon Studies in Archaeology and History*, 21, ed. by Helena Hamerow (Oxford: Oxford University School of Archaeology, 2018), pp. 47-59

Hincker, Vincent, 'Un habitat aristocratique en Neustrie: Le site du château à Biéville-Beuville (Calvados, Normandie, France)' in Laurent Verslype, ed., *Villes et campagnes en Neustrie: Sociétés, Économies, Territoire, Christianisation*, Actes de XXV<sup>e</sup> journées internationales d'Archéologie mérovingienne de l' AFAM, Tome XVI des mémoires de l'Association française d'archéologie mérovingienne (Montagnac: Monique Mergoïl, 2007), pp. 175-189

Hingley, Richard, *Rural Settlement in Roman Britain* (London: Seaby, 1989)

Hirn, Vincent, Matthieu Gaultier, Céline Aunay, Chloé Génies, Claire Gerbaud, Philippe Husi, and Florian Sarreste, 'Un habitat du haut Moyen Âge à "Foujouin" (vernou-sur-Brenne, Indre-et-Loire)', *Revue archéologique du Centre de la France*, 56 (2017), 1-60

Hoffmann, Richard, *An Environmental History of Medieval Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014)

Hogg, A. H. A., 'Native settlement in Wales', in *Rural Settlement in Roman Britain*, ed. by Charles Thomas (London: Council for British Archaeology, 1966), pp. 28-36

Holbrook, Neil, and Alan Thomas, 'An Early-medieval Monastic Cemetery at Llandough, Glamorgan: Excavations in 1994', *Medieval Archaeology*, 49 (2005), 1-92

Honoré, Tony, 'Conveyances of land and professional standards in the Later Empire', in *New Perspectives in the Roman Law of Property. Essays for Barry Nichols*, ed. by Peter Birks (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989), pp. 137-152

Hooke, Della, *The Anglo-Saxon Landscape: The Kingdom of the Hwicce* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1985)

Hope-Taylor, Brian, *Yeavinger: An Anglo-British Centre of Early Northumbria* (London: H.M.S.O., 1977)

Hopkins, Christopher, 'Owning descriptions in early medieval charters', unpublished paper delivered at the European Society for Textual Scholarship Annual Conference, 'Authorship, Identity, and Textual Scholarship' (University of Kent, April 13-14, 2023)

Hoskins, W. G., *The Making of the English Landscape* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1955; reprinted Penguin, 1985)

Hough, Carole, 'The Earliest English Texts? The Language of the Kentish Laws Reconsidered', in *Textus Roffensis: Law, Language, and Libraries in Early Medieval England*, ed. by Bruce O'Brien and Barbara Bombi (Turnhout: Brepols, 2015), pp. 137-156

Hudson, John, *The Oxford History of the Laws of England: 871-1216* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012)

Humfress, Caroline, 'Law and legal culture in the Age of Attila', in *The Cambridge Companion to the Age of Attila*, ed. by Michael Maas (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), pp. 140-155

Hummer, Hans J., *Politics and Power in Early Medieval Europe: Alsace and the Frankish Realm, 600-1000* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005)

Hummer, Hans, 'The production and preservation of documents in Francia: the evidence of cartularies', in *Documentary Culture, Documentary Culture and the Laity in the Early Middle Ages*, ed. by Brown, Costambeys, Innes and Kosto, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), pp. 189-230

Hummer, Hans, *Visions of Kinship in Medieval Europe* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018)

Innes, Matthew, 'Archives, documents and landowners in Carolingian Francia', in *Documentary Culture*, ed. by Brown, Costambeys, Innes and Kosto, pp. 152-158

James, Edward, *The Franks* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1988)

James, Simon, Anne Marshall and Martin Millett, 'An Early Medieval Building Tradition', *Archaeological Journal*, 141, 1 (1984), 182-215

Jenkins, Dafydd, 'Property Interests in the Classical Welsh Law of Women', in *The Welsh Law of Women*, ed. by Dafydd Jenkins and Morfydd E. Owen, (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1980), pp. 69-92

John, Eric, *Land Tenure in Early England* (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1960)

Johnston, David, ed. *The Cambridge Companion To Roman Law* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015)

Johnston, David, 'Succession' in *The Cambridge Companion To Roman Law*, ed. by David Johnston (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), pp. 199-212

Jones, Glanville R., 'Post-Roman Wales', in *The Agrarian History of England and Wales, Vol. I, II, AD 43-1042*, ed. by H. P. R. Finberg (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1972), pp. 283-382

Jördens, Andrea, 'Government, Taxation, and Law', in *The Oxford Handbook of Roman Egypt*, ed. by Christina Riggs (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), pp. 56-67

Joshel, Sandra R., 'Slavery and Roman literary culture', in *The Cambridge World History of Slavery Vol. 1: The Ancient Mediterranean World*, ed. by Keith Bradley and Paul Cartledge (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011) pp. 214-240

Jurasinski, Stefan, and Lisi Oliver, *The Laws of Alfred: The Domboc and the Making of Anglo-Saxon Law* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2021)

Kanne, Kate, 'What were medieval stables like?', Blogpost, *Warhorse: The Archaeology of a Medieval Revolution?* <<https://medievalwarhorse.exeter.ac.uk/2022/04/>>

Kelly, Fergus, *A Guide to Early Irish Law* (Dublin: Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies, 1988)

Kelly, R. S., 'The Excavation of an Enclosed Homestead at Graeanog, 1985, 1987 and 1988', in P.J. Fasham, R.S. Kelly, M.A. Mason and R.B. White, *The Graeanog Ridge: The Evolution of a Farming Landscape and its Settlements in North-West Wales*, Cambrian Archaeological Association Monographs No. 6 (Aberystwyth: Cambrian Archaeological Association, 1998), pp. 114-158

Kelly, Susan, 'Anglo-Saxon lay society and the written word' in *The Uses of Literacy in Early Medieval Europe*, ed. by Rosamond McKitterick (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), pp. 36-62

Kemble: *The Anglo-Saxon Charters Website*, hosted by the University of Cambridge Department for Anglo-Saxon, Norse, and Celtic, <https://dk.robinson.cam.ac.uk/>

Kenney, Jane, 'Cefn Graianog Quarry Extension, Archaeological Watching Brief, Report No. 424', Gwynedd Archaeological Trust unpublished report, September 2001

Kinsella, Jonathan, 'New discoveries and fresh insights: researching the early medieval archaeology of the M3 in County Meath', in *Roads, Rediscovery and Research*, ed. by J. O'Sullivan and M. Stanley, Archaeology and the NRA Monograph Series 5 (Dublin: National Roads Authority, 2008), pp. 95-107

De Klijjn, Hans, Élise Faure-Boucharlat, Michel Feugère et Dominique Lalaï, 'L'Albenc, Le Bivan', in *Vivre à la campagne au moyen âge: L'habitat rural du Ve au XIIe s. (Bresse, Lyonnais, Dauphiné) d'après les données archéologiques*, ed. by Élise Faure-Boucharlat (Lyon: Alpara, 2001), pp. 460-493

Knight, Jeremy K., *The End of Antiquity* (Stroud: Tempus, 2007)

Kokkonen, Andrej, Jørgen Møller, and Anders Sundell, *The Politics of Succession* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2022)

Ladle, Lillian, *The Rise and Decline of Druce Farm Roman Villa (60-650 CE). Excavations 2012-2018*, BAR British Series 676, Archaeology of Roman Britain Vol. 8 (Oxford: BAR Publishing, 2022)

Lancaster, Lorraine, 'Kinship in Anglo-Saxon Society', *British Journal of Sociology*, 9, 3 (1958), 230-250

Laporte, Jacques, 'Deux haches d'époque mérovingienne (VIe ap. J.-C.) découvertes récemment dans le Gers', *Archéologie du Midi médiéval*, 13 (1995), 215-221

Laporte, Jacques, 'Le destin de quelques villae de Novempopulaire centrale à la fin de l'Antiquité et pendant le Haut Moyen Âge: regards sur l'évolution du peuplement entre le Ve et le XIe s.' in *Nouveaux Regards sur les villae d'Aquitaine: bâtiments, vie et d'exploitation, domaines et postérités médiévales*, *Archéologie des Pyrénées Occidentales et des Landes*, Hors séries No. 2, ed. by François Réchin (Pau: Fédération Archéologique des Pyrénées Occidentales et des Landes, 2006), pp. 363-37

Latham, R. E., D. R. Howlett, & R. K. Ashdowne, eds, *The Dictionary of Medieval Latin from British Sources* (DMLBS) (London: British Academy, 1975-2013)

Lauwers, Michel, transl. by Matthew Mattingly, 'Constructing Monastic Space in the Early and Central Medieval West (Fifth to Twelfth Century)', in *The Cambridge History of Medieval*

*Monasticism in the Latin West*, ed. by A. I. Beach and I. Cochelin (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2020), pp. 317-339

Lavan, Luke, 'Fora and agorai in Mediterranean cities during the 4<sup>th</sup> and 5<sup>th</sup> C. AD', in *Social and Political Life in Late Antiquity*, *Late Antique Archaeology*, 3.1, ed. by William Bowden, Adam Gutteridge, and Carlos Machado (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2006), pp. 195-249

Lavan, Luke, Enrico Zanini and Alexander Sarantis, *Technology in Transition AD 300-650, Late Antique Archaeology Vol. 4* (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2001)

Lavan, Luke, Lale Özgenel, and Alexander Sarantis, eds, *Housing in Late Antiquity. From Palaces to Shops*, *Late Antique Archaeology*, Vol. 3, 2, ed. by (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2007)

Leeds, Edward Thurlow, *The Archaeology of the Anglo-Saxon Settlements* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1913)

Leeds, E.T., *Early Anglo-Saxon Art and Archaeology* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1936; reprinted 1968)

Leff, Arthur Allen, 'The Leff Dictionary of Law: A Fragment', *The Yale Law Journal*, 94 (1984-85), pp. 1855-2251

Leroux, Gilles, Françoise Le Boulanger, and Stéphanie Blanchet, 'Les occupations anciennes des rives de la Vilaine à Vieuxville-Beaurade (Rennes, Ille-et-Vilaine) de la Préhistoire à la fin du Moyen-Age', *Revue archéologique de l'ouest*, 15 (1998), 173-199

Levison, Wilhelm, *England and the Continent in the Eighth Century* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1946, reprinted 1998)

Levy, Ernst, *West Roman Vulgar Law* (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1951)

Lewis, Charlton T., and Charles Short, *Lewis and Short's Latin-English Lexicon* (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1879)

Lewis, Timothy, 'Revisions in Economic History: XV. The Tribal System in Wales', *The Economic History Review*, New Series, 6, 3 (1954), 297-304

Lewit, Tamara, *Agricultural Production in the Roman Economy, AD 200-400*, BAR Series 568 (Oxford: Tempus, 1991)

Lewit, Tamara, 'Absent-minded landlords and innovating peasants? The press in Africa and the Eastern Mediterranean', in *Technology in Transition AD 300-650, Late Antique Archaeology Vol. 4*, ed. by Luke Lavan, Enrico Zanini and Alexander Sarantis (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2001), pp. 119-139 (pp. 129-130)

Lewit, T., "'Vanishing villas": what happened to élite rural habitation in the West in the 5<sup>th</sup>-6<sup>th</sup> c?' *Journal of Roman Archaeology*, 16 (2003), 260-274

Logel, Thierry, Florence Burg, and Thomas Vigreux, *Roeschwoog (Alsace, Bas-Rhin)*, Rapport de diagnostic (Sélestat: Pôle d'Archéologie Interdépartemental Rhénan, 2007)

Logel, Thierry, *Ostheim, Haut-Rhin Volume 2: Le haut Moyen Âge et la période moderne*, Rapport de Fouille Préventive (Sélestat: Pôle d'Archéologie Interdépartemental Rhénan, 2008)

Longpierre, Samuel, 'Moulins manuels, à sang et hydrauliques durant l'Antiquité dans le Sud-Est de la France: essai de définition' in *Évolution typologique et technique des meules du*

*Néolithique à l'an mille. Actes des IIIe Rencontres Archéologiques de l'Archéosite gaulois*, dir. By Olivier Buchsenschitz, Luc Jaccoffey, Floret Jodry, and Jean-Luc Blanchard, *Aquitania Supplément* 23 (2011), 81-94

Lorans, Elisabeth, 'Marmoutier (Tours), a late Roman and early medieval monastery in the Loire Valley (fourth-eleventh centuries)', in *Early Monasticism in the North Sea Zone*, ed. by Gabor Thomas and Alexandra Knox (Oxford: Oxford University School of archaeology, 2017), pp. 55-66

Lorren, Claude, and Patrick Périn, 'Images de la Gaule rurale au VIe siècle' in *Grégoire de Tours et l'espace gaulois. Actes du congrès international (Tours, 3-5 novembre 1994)*, *Revue archéologique du centre de la France*, Supplement 13 (Tours: Fédération pour l'édition de la Revue archéologique du Centre de la France, 1997), pp. 93-109

Losco-Bradley, Stuart, and Gavin Kinsley, *Catholme. An Anglo-Saxon Settlement on the Trent Gravels in Staffordshire*, Nottingham Studies in Archaeology Vol. 3 (Nottingham: Trent and Peak Archaeological Unit, 2002)

Loveluck, C. P., 'A high-status Anglo-Saxon settlement at Flixborough, Lincolnshire', *Antiquity*, 72 (1998), 146-61

Loveluck, Christopher, and David Atkinson, *The Early Medieval Settlement Remains from Flixborough, Lincolnshire: The Occupation Sequence, c. 600-1000, Excavations at Flixborough Vol. 1* (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2007)

Loveluck, Christopher, *Rural Settlement, Lifestyles and Social Change in the Later First Millennium AD: Anglo-Saxon Flixborough in its Wider Context, Excavations at Flixborough Vol. 4* (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2007)

Loveluck, Christopher, 'Problems of the Definition and Conceptualisation of Early Medieval Elites, AD 450-900: The Dynamics of the Archaeological Evidence', in *Théorie et pratiques des élites au Haut Moyen Âge. Conception, perception et réalisation sociale: Theorie und Praxis frühmittelalterlicher Eliten. Konzepte, Wahrnehmung und soziale Umsetzung*, ed. by F. Bougard, H.-W. Goetz, and R. Le Jan (Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols, 2011), pp. 21-68

Loveluck, Christopher, *Northwest Europe in the Early Middle Ages, c. AD 600-1150* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013, paperback, 2017)

Lukas, Dagmar, 'Un sanctuaire du Haut-Empire et un habitat tardo-antique à Val-de-Reuil (Eure), « le chemin aux Errants » (zone A)', in *Journées Archéologiques de Normandie*, Rouen, 30 Septembre – 1 Octobre 2016, ed. by Jean-Paul Ollivier (Mont-Saint-Aignan: Presses universitaires du Rouen et du Havre, 2018), pp. 113-126

Lucy, Sam, Jess Tipper and Alison Dickens, *The Anglo-Saxon Settlement and Cemetery at Bloodmoor Hill, Carlton Colville, Suffolk*, East Anglian Archaeology Report No 131 (Cambridge: Cambridge Archaeological Unit, 2009)

McAdam, Ellen, 'The Anglo-Saxon Settlement, Structural Evidence', in *Excavations at Barrow Hills, Radley, Oxfordshire, 1983-5*, ed. by Richard Chambers and Ellen McAdam, Oxford Archaeology Thames Valley Landscape Monograph No. 25 (Oxford: Oxford Archaeological Unit, 2007)

McKerracher, Mark, 'Landscapes of production in Mid Saxon England: the monumental grain ovens', *Medieval Settlement Research* 29 (2014), 82-85

- McKerracher, Mark, *Farming Transformed in Anglo-Saxon England* (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2018)
- McKerracher, Mark, and Helena Hamerow, eds, *New Perspectives on the Medieval Agricultural Revolution. Crop, Stock and Furrow* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2022)
- McKitterick, Rosamond, *The Carolingians and the Written Word* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989)
- McKitterick, Rosamond, ed., *The New Cambridge Medieval History Volume 2, c.700-900* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995)
- Maitland, F. W., *Domesday Book and Beyond*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1897; reprinted, Fontana, 1969)
- Marchaisseau, Vincent, and Gaëlle Pertuisot, 'Un exemple d'habitat groupé au début du haut Moyen Âge. Le site de Warmeriville "La Bassière" (Marne)', *Archéopages*, 40 (April-July, 2014), 124-131
- Martinez, Damien, Sandra Chabert, Pascal Chevalier, Marieke Faure, Sophie Liégard, 'L'église paléochrétienne de l'établissement fortifié de hauteur de La Couronne à Molles (Allier, Auvergne)', *Archéologie médiévale*, 48 (2018), pp. 1-36
- Maufras, Odile, Mathieu Ott, Claude Raynaud, Marie Rochette, Liliane Tarrou, Agnès Bergeret, Marilynne Bovagne et Richard Pellé, 'Villæ-Villages du haut Moyen Âge en plaine du Languedoc oriental. Maillage, morphologie et économie', *Archéopages*, 40, April-July 2014. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.4000/archeopages.620>
- Mayr-Harting, Henry, *The Coming of Christianity to Anglo-Saxon England*, 3<sup>rd</sup> edn. (London: Batsford, 1991)
- Meadows, Karen, Chris Lemke, and Jo Heron, eds., *TRAC 96: Proceedings of the Sixth Annual Theoretical Roman Archaeology Conference*, (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 1997)
- Mercier, Catherine, 'Lunel: Dassargues', in *Formes de l'habitat rural en Gaule Narbonnaise*, ed. by Christophe Pellecuer (Juan-led-Pins: Éditions APDCA, 1994), pp. (34) 1-9
- Miket, R. F., 'Understanding British/Anglo-Saxon continuity at Gefrin: Brian Hope-Taylor's excavations on Yeavinger Bell', *Archaeologia Aeliana*, Series 5, 42, (2013), 133-160
- Miles, David, *Archaeology at Barton Court Farm, Abingdon, Oxon: An investigation of late Neolithic, Iron Age, Romano-British and Saxon settlements*, Oxford Archaeological Unit Report 3, CBA Research Report 50 (Oxford: Oxford Archaeological Unit/CBA, 1986)
- Miller, Darren, *Archaeological Work at Rotherwas Industrial estate, Herefordshire (Rotherwas Futures)*, Worcestershire County Council Historic Environment and Archaeology Service Report 1837 (2011)
- Millett, Martin, and Simon James, 'Excavations at Cowdery's Down Basingstoke, Hampshire, 1978-81', *Archaeological Journal*, 140, 1 (1983), 151-279
- Millett, Martin, 'The Question of Continuity: Rivenhall Reviewed', *Archaeological Journal*, 144, 1 (1987), 434-438
- Millet, Martin, *The Romanization of Britain* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990)

Millet, Martin, “‘By small things revealed’”. Rural settlement and society’, in *The Oxford Handbook of Roman Britain*, ed. by Martin Millet, Louise Revell, and Alison Moore (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), pp. 706-707

Millet, Martin, Louise Revell, and Alison Moore, eds. *The Oxford Handbook of Roman Britain*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016)

Mortimer, Richard, with a contribution by David Hall, ‘Village development and ceramic sequence: the Middle to Late Saxon village at Lordship Lane, Cottenham, Cambridgeshire’, *Proceedings of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society*, LXXXIX (2000), 5-33

Mudd, Andrew, *Excavations at Melford Meadows, Brettenham, 1994: Romano-British and Early Saxon Occupations*, East Anglian Archaeology Report No. 99 (Oxford: Oxford Archaeological Unit, 2002)

Murray, Alexander C., *Germanic Kinship Structure. Studies in Law and Society in Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1983)

Musson, C. R., with W. J. Britnell and A. G. Smith, *The Breiddin Hillfort: A later prehistoric settlement in the Welsh Marches*, CBA Research Report No. 76 (London: Council for British Archaeology, 1991)

Myres, J. N. L., *The English Settlements* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986)

Mytum, Harold, *The Origins of Early Christian Ireland* (London: Routledge, 1992)

Nelson, Janet L., ‘Dispute settlement in Carolingian West Francia’, in *Settlement of Disputes*, ed. by Davies and Fouracre, pp. 45-64

Niermeyer, J.F., *Mediae Latinitatis Lexicon Minus* (Leiden: Brill, 1976)

Notte, Ludovic, ‘Avant le village: une occupation du haut Moyen Âge à Méricourt (Pas-de-Calais) en marge de la curtis Sancti Vulmari’, *Revue du Nord*, 5, 398 (2012), 167-214 (p. 176)

O’Brien, Bruce, and Barbara Bombi, eds, *Textus Roffensis: Law, Language, and Libraries in Early Medieval England* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2015)

O’Brien, Colm, ‘The Great Enclosure’ in *Yeaving: People, Power and Place*, ed. by Paul Frodsham and Colm O’Brien (Stroud: Tempus, 2005), pp. 145-152

O’Neill, B. H. St J., ‘Excavations at Breiddin Hill Camp, Montgomeryshire, 1933-35’, *Archaeologia Cambrensis*, 92 (1937), 86-128

Okasha, Elisabeth, ‘Literacy in Anglo-Saxon England: the evidence of the inscriptions’, in *Anglo-Saxon Studies in Archaeology and History 8*, ed. by David Griffiths (Oxford: Oxford University Committee for Archaeology, 1995), pp. 69-74

Oliver, Lisi, *The Beginnings of English Law* (Toronto; Buffalo; London: University of Toronto Press, 2002)

Ollich-Castanyer, Imma, Montserrat Rocafiguera-Espona, and Maria Ocaña-Subirana, ‘The Southern Carolingian Frontier in Marca Hispanica along the River Ter: Roda Civitas and the Archaeological Site of L’Esquerda (Catalonia)’, in *Fortified Settlements in Early Medieval Europe*, ed. by Neil Christie and Hajnalka Herold, (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2016), pp. 205-217

Oosthuizen, Susan, *The Emergence of the English* (Leeds: Arc Humanities Press, 2019)

Page, R. I., *An Introduction to English Runes* (London: Methuen, 1973)

- Pagès, Gaspard, Laurent Schneider, and Philippe Fluzin, 'Le travail du fer dans l'établissement perché tardo-antique du Roc de Pampelune (Argelliers, Hérault) : l'apport des analyses métallographiques', *Archeosciences, Revue d'Archéométrie*, 29 (2005), 107-116
- Palmer, Stuart C., 'Archaeological excavations in the Arrow Valley, Warwickshire', *Birmingham and Warwickshire Archaeological Society Transactions*, 103 (1999)
- Pellecuer, C. , and L. Schneider, 'Premières église et espace rural en Languedoc Méditerranéen (Ve-Xe s.)' in *Aux origines de la paroisse rurale en Gaule méridionale*, Actes du colloque de Toulouse, ed. by C. Delaplace (2003), Paris France, 2005, p. 98-119
- Percival, John, *The Roman Villa. An Historical Introduction* (London: Batsford, 1976; reprinted by Book Club Associates, 1981)
- Petts, D., 'Elite settlements in the Roman and sub-Roman period', *TRAC 96: Proceedings of the Sixth Annual Theoretical Roman Archaeology Conference*, ed. by Karen Meadows, Chris Lemke, and Jo Heron (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 1997), pp. 101-112
- Peytremann, Édith, *Archéologie de l'habitat rural dans le nord de la France du IV<sup>e</sup> au XII<sup>e</sup> siècle, Volume 2*, Mémoires de l'Association française d'archéologie mérovingienne (Chelles: Association française d'archéologie mérovingienne, 2003)
- Peytremann, Édith, 'Structures et espaces de stockage dans les villages alto-médiévaux (6e-12es.) de la moitié septentrionale de la Gaule: un apport à l'étude socio-économique du monde rural', in *Horea, Barns and Silos. Storage and Incomes in early Medieval Europe*, Documentos de Arqueologia Medieval 5, ed. by Alfonso Vigil-Escalera Guirado, Giovanna Bianchi, and Juan Antonio Quirós, (Gipuzkoa: Universidad del Pais Vasco, 2013), pp. 39-56
- Peytremann, Édith, 'Rural Life and Work in Northern Gaul During the Early Middle Ages' in *The Oxford Handbook of the Merovingian World*, ed. by Bonnie Effros and Isabel Moreira (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2020), pp. 693-717
- Phillips, C. W., 'The excavation of a hut group at Pant-y-Saer in the parish of Mathafarn-Eithaf, Anglesey', *Archaeologia Cambrensis*, LXXXIX (1934), 1-36
- Pine, J., *The excavation of late Bronze Age/ early Iron Age features, a late Roman enclosure and early Saxon features at Waylands Nursery, Welley Road, Wraysbury, Berkshire*, Thames Valley Archaeological Services Unpublished Report (1998)
- Poly, Jean-Pierre, 'La corde au cou. Les Francs, la France et la Loi salique' in *Genèse de l'État moderne en Méditerranée. Approches historique et anthropologique des pratiques et des représentations*, Actes des tables rondes internationales, Paris (24-26 September 1987 and 18-19 March 1988) (Rome : École Française de Rome, 1993), pp. 287-320
- Pomarèdes, Laurent, and Laurent Sauvage, 'Nîmes', *ADLFI. Archéologie de la France - Informations*, Languedoc-Roussillon, uploaded 1 March 2004. Available at <http://journals.openedition.org/adlfi/11924>
- Porte, Patrick, *Larina et son territoire de l'Antiquité au Moyen Âge: Études archéologiques et historiques*, (Biarritz; Paris: Atlantica-Séguier, 2011)
- Porte, Patrick, *Domaine ruraux et forteresses de hauteur de l'Antiquité au Moyen Âge, Larina, Volume II* (Biarritz; Paris: Atlantica-Séguier, 2011)

Postan, M. M., ed., *The Cambridge Economic History of Europe, I. The Agrarian Life of the Middle Ages*, 2<sup>nd</sup> edn., (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1966)

Powell, Andrew B., 'Early-Middle Anglo-Saxon settlement beside the Winchester to Silchester Roman road at Abbots Barton, Winchester', *Proc. Hampshire Field Club Archaeological Society*, 70 (2015), 63-101

Powell, Kelly, Alex Smith, and Granville Laws, *Evolution of a Farming Community in the Upper Thames Valley. Excavation of a Prehistoric, Roman and Post-Roman Landscape at Cotswold Community, Gloucestershire and Wiltshire, Vol. 1 Site Narrative and Overview*, Thames Valley Landscapes Monograph No. 31 (Oxford: Oxford Archaeology, 2010)

Powlesland, D., 'Early Anglo-Saxon Settlements, Structures, Form and Layout', in *The Anglo-Saxons from the Migration Period to the Eight Century: An Ethnographic Perspective*, ed. by John Hines (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 1997), pp. 101-117

Powlesland, Dominic, 'The Anglo-Saxon settlement at West Heslerton, North Yorkshire', in *Northumbria's Golden Age*, ed. by Jane Hawkes and Susan Mills (Stroud: Sutton Publishing, 1999), pp. 55-65

Quérel, Pascal, and Carole Quérel, with contributions from Marie-Laure Berdeaux-Lebrazidec and Dominic Roussel, 'Mercin-et-Vaux, le *Quinconce*: villa gallo-romaine et occupation du Haut Moyen Âge', *Archéologie de la Picardie et du Nord de la France (Revue du Nord)*, 84, 348 (2002), 91-114

Quinnell, Henrietta, *Trethurgy. Excavations at Trethurgy Round, St Sustell: Community and Status in Roman and Post-Roman Cornwall* (Truro: Cornwall County Council, 2004)

Rabin, Andrew, 'Monsters in the library: Karl August Eckhardt and Felix Liebermann', OUPblog, August 5, 2014, < <https://blog.oup.com/2014/08/leges-anglo-saxonum-eckhardt-liebermann/>>

Rabin, Andrew, 'Bede, Æthelberht, and the "examples of the Romans" in early medieval England', *Early Medieval Europe*, 31, 4 (2023), 563–584

Rackham, Oliver, *The History of the Countryside* (London: Dent, 1986; paperback, 1987)

Radford, R. A., 'Tintagel: The Castle and Celtic Monastery, Interim Report', *The Antiquaries Journal*, 15 (1935), 401-419

Rahtz, Philip, and Donald Bullough, 'The parts of an Anglo-Saxon mill', *Anglo-Saxon England*, 6 (1977), 15-37

Rahtz, Philip, Ann Woodward, Ian Burrow, Anne Everton, Lorna Watts, Peter Leach, Susan Hirst, Peter Fowler, and Keith Gardner, *Cadbury Congresbury 1968-73. A late/post-Roman hilltop settlement in Somerset*, BAR British Series 223 (Oxford: British Archaeological Reports, 1992)

Rambaran-Olm, Mary, 'Misnaming the Medieval: Rejecting "Anglo-Saxon" Studies', *History Workshop*, 4 November 2019, <<https://www.historyworkshop.org.uk/anti-racism/misnaming-the-medieval-rejecting-anglo-saxon-studies/>>

Rambaran-Olm, Mary, and Erik Wade, 'The Many Myths of the Term 'Anglo-Saxon'', *Smithsonian Magazine*, July 14, 2021, <<https://www.smithsonianmag.com/history/many-myths-term-anglo-saxon-180978169/>>

Raynaud, Claude, 'Lunel (Hérault). Dassargues, de la cabane à la ferme: les constructions rurales des V<sup>e</sup> – X<sup>e</sup> siècles', *Archéologie du Midi médiévale*, 32 (2014), 75-91

Raynaud, Claude, Jean-Pierre Brun, and Gaetan Congés, 'Rians (Var): Les Toulons', *Archéologie du Midi médiévale*, 32 (2014), 58-59

Reed, Stephen, Paul Bidwell, John Allan, 'Excavation at Bantham, South Devon, and Post-Roman trade in South West England', *Medieval Archaeology*, 55 (2011), 82-138

Renard, Étienne, 'Le "Pactus Legis Salicae", règlement militaire romain ou code de lois compilé sous Clovis? *Bibliothèque de l'École des chartes*, juillet-décembre 2009, 167, 2 (2009), 321-352

Reynolds, Andrew, 'Boundaries and Settlements in later Sixth to Eleventh-Century England', in *Boundaries in Early Medieval Britain, Anglo-Saxon Studies in Archaeology and History* 12, ed. by David Griffiths, Andrew Reynolds, and Sarah Semple (Oxford: Oxford University School of Archaeology, 2003), pp. 98-13

Reynolds, Peter J., 'Experimental Iron Age Storage Pits: An Interim report', *Proceedings of the Prehistoric Society*, 40 (1974), 118-131

Reynolds, P. J., and J. K. Langley, 'Romano-British Corn-Drying Oven: An Experiment', *Archaeological Journal*, 136 (1979), 27-42

Richardson, John, 'Roman law in the provinces', in *The Cambridge Companion To Roman Law*, ed. by David Johnston (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), pp. 45-58

Rickett, Robert, *Post-Roman and Medieval Drying Kilns*, ed. by Mark McKerracher (Oxford: Archaeopress, 2021)

Riggs, Christina, ed., *The Oxford Handbook of Roman Egypt* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012)

Rio, Alice, 'Charters, law codes and formulae: the Franks between theory and practice', in *Frankland. The Franks and the World of the Early Middle Ages*, ed. by Paul Fouracre and David Ganz (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2008), pp. 7-27

Rio, Alice, *Legal Practice and the Written Word in the Early Middle Ages* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009; paperback 2011)

Rio, Alice, *Slavery After Rome* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017)

Rio, Alice, 'Merovingian Legal Cultures', *The Oxford Handbook of the Merovingian World*, ed. by Bonnie Effros and Isabel Moreira (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2020), pp. 489-507

Rivet, A. L. F., *Town and Country in Roman Britain* 2<sup>nd</sup> edn. (London: Hutchinson, 1964)

Rivet, A.L.F., ed., *The Roman Villa in Britain*, (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1969)

Rivet, A.L.F., 'Social and Economic Aspects', in *The Roman Villa in Britain*, ed. by A. L. F. Rivet (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1969), pp. 173-216

Roach, Levi, *Forgery and Memory at the End of the First Millenium* (Woodstock: Princeton University Press, 2021)

Roberts, B. K., and S. Wrathmell, *An Atlas of Rural Settlement in England* (London: English Heritage, 2000)

- Roberts, Edward, 'Flodoard, the will of St Remigius and the see of Reims in the tenth century', *Early Medieval Europe*, 22, 2 (2014), 201-230
- Roberts, Edward, 'Boundary clauses and the use of the vernacular in eastern Frankish charters, c.750-c.900', *Historical Research*, 91, 254 (2018), 580-604
- Roberts, Edward, *Flodoard of Rheims and the Writing of History in the Tenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019; paperback, 2021)
- Robinson, M., 'The palaeoecology of alluvial hay meadows in the Upper Thames valley', *Fritillary*, 5 (2011), 47-57
- Rodwell, Warwick, and Kirsty Rodwell, 'The Roman Villa at Rivenhall, Essex: An Interim Report', *Britannia*, 4 (1973), 115-127
- Rodwell, W. J., and K. A. Rodwell, *Rivenhall: Investigations of a Villa, Church, and Village, 1950-1977*, CBA Research Report 55, Chelmsford Archaeological Trust Report No. 4 (London: CBA, 1985)
- Rodwell, W. J., and K. A. Rodwell, *Rivenhall: Investigations of a Villa, Church, and Village, 1950-1977, Vol. 2 Specialist Studies and Index to Volumes 1 and 2*, CBA Research Report 4.2 (London: CBA, 1993)
- Rowe, Michael, and Mary Alexander, 'Multi-period archaeology at Wellow Lane, Peasedown St John: Excavations 2004-5', *Somerset Archaeology and Natural History*, 154 (2010), 53-70
- Ryan, Martin J., "'Charters in Plenty, if Only they were Good for Anything": the Problem of Bookland and Folkland in Pre-Viking England', *Problems and Possibilities of Early Medieval Charters*, ed. J. Jarrett and A. S. McKinley (Turnhout, 2013), pp.19-32
- Rynne, Colin, 'The technical development of the horizontal water-wheel in the first millennium AD: Some recent archaeological insights from Ireland', *The International Journal for the History of Engineering and Technology*, 85, 1 (2015), 70-93
- Salway, Peter, *Roman Britain* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991)
- Sato, Sho-ichi, 'Remarques sur les exploitations rurales en Touraine au haut Moyen Âge', *Annales de Bretagne et des Pays de l'Ouest*, 111, 3 (2004), 27-36
- Sauget, Jean-Michel, and Bernadette Sauget, 'Riom (Puy-de-Dôme). "La chapelle de Pessat", premiers résultats', *Revue archéologique du Centre de la France*, 24, 1 (1985), 111-113
- Savill, Benjamin, *England and the Papacy in the Middle Ages. Papal Privileges in European Perspective, c.680-1073* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2023)
- Savory, H., 'Excavations at Dinas Emrys, Beddgelert (Caern.), 1954-56', *Archaeologia Cambrensis*, 109 (1960), 13-77
- Sayer, Duncan, 'Grave affairs. What can ancient DNA tell us about early Anglo-Saxon cemeteries', *Current Archaeology*, 392 (November 2022), 32-37
- Schneider, Laurent, 'De la fouille des villages abandonnés à l'archéologie des territoires locaux. L'étude des systèmes d'habitat du haut Moyen Âge en France méridionale (Ve-Xe siècle): nouveaux matériaux, nouvelles interrogations' in *Trente ans d'archéologie médiévale en France. Un bilan pour un avenir*, IXe congrès de la Société d'archéologie médiévale, Vincennes, 2006, ed. by Jean Chapelot (CRAHM, 2010), pp. 133-161

Schneider, Laurent, and Nicholas Clement, 'Le Castellum de La Malène: un<<rocher monument>> du premier Moyen Age (VIe-VIIe s.) en Lozère', in *La Lozère, Carte Archéologique de la Gaule*, 48, Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, Ministère de la Culture, Ministère de l'Enseignement Supérieur et de la Recherche, ed. by A. Trintignac (Diffusion de la Fondation Maison des Sciences de l'Homme, 2012), pp. 317-328

Schneider, Laurent, 'Dynamique de peuplement et forme de l'habitat en Occitanie méditerranéenne durant en haut Moyen Âge', in *L'habitat rural du haut Moyen Âge en France (Ve-Xe siècle) : dynamiques du peuplement, formes, fonctions et statuts des établissements* ed. by J. Fernandez, L. Schneider, and J. Soulat (Lattes -Montpellier: Association Française d'Archéologie Mérovingienne, 2015). pp.13-40

Schneider, Laurent, 'Le château avant le château ou le défi reel du temps long (IV<sup>e</sup>-XI<sup>e</sup> siècles): quelques repères en guise d'introduction', *Patrimoines du Sud* (online) 10 (2019), 1-23

Schroeder, Nicolas, 'The "Cerealization" of Continental North-West Europe, c. 800-1200' in *New Perspectives on the Medieval Agricultural Revolution. Crop, Stock and Furrow*, ed. by Mark McKerracher and Helena Hamerow (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2022), pp. 199-210

Schwineköper, Berent, "'Cum aquis aquarumve decursibus". Zu den Pertinenzformeln der Herrscherurkunden bis zur Zeit Ottos I', in *Festschrift für Helmut Beumann*, ed. by Kurt-Ulrich Jäschke and Reinhard Wenskus (Sigmaringen: Jan Thorbeck, 1977), pp. 22-56

Scull, C., 'Post-Roman Phase I at Yeaving: a re-consideration', *Medieval Archaeology* 35, 35 (1991), 51-63

Scull, Christopher, and Gabor Thomas, 'Early Medieval Great Hall Complexes in England: Temporality and Site Biographies', in *Anglo-Saxon Studies in Archaeology and History* 22, ed. by Helena Hamerow (Oxford: Archaeo-press, 2020), pp. 50-67

Scull, Christopher, Linzi Everett, and Faye Minter, 'Excavations at Rendlesham, Suffolk, 2021-2023: Investigating an Early-Medieval Royal Settlement', *Medieval Archaeology*, 68, 2 (2024), 203-228

Seaman, Andrew, 'Dinas Powys in Context: Settlement and Society in Post-Roman Wales', *Studia Celtica*, XLVII (2013), 1-23

Seddon, Brian, 'Report on the organic deposits in the pool at Dinas Emrys', in H. Savoury, 'Excavations at Dinas Emrys, Beddgelert (Caern.), 1954-56', *Archaeologia Cambrensis*, 109 (1960), 13-77

Semple, Sarah, 'Back to Adgefrin. Recent findings from the Yeavinging Environs Project', *Medieval Archaeology Newsletter*, 69, (Spring, 2023), 1-2

Shaffrey, Ruth, 'Intensive Milling Practices in the Romano-British Landscape of Southern England: Using Newly Established Criteria for Distinguishing Millstones from Rotary Querns', *Britannia*, 46 (2015), 55-92

Sigaut, François, 'A method for identifying grain storage techniques and its application for European agricultural history', *Tools and Tillage*, VI, 1 (1988), 3-32

Smith, Alexander, Martyn Allen, Tom Brindle and Michael Fulford, *The Rural Settlement of Roman Britain*, Britannia Monograph Series No. 29 (London: Society for the Promotion of Roman Studies, 2016)

Smith, Alexander, 'Buildings in the Countryside', in *The Rural Settlement of Roman Britain*, ed. by Alexander Smith, Martyn Allen, Tom Brindle and Michael Fulford, Britannia Monograph Series No. 29, (London: Society for the Promotion of Roman Studies, 2016), pp. 44-74

Smith, Julia M. H., *Europe After Rome: A New Cultural History 500-1000* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005)

Smith, Roger, *Property Law*, 7<sup>th</sup> edn. (Harlow: Pearson Addison Wesley, 2011)

Snook, Ben, 'Who introduced charters into England? The case for Theodore and Hadrian', in *Textus Roffensis: Law, Language, and Libraries in Early Medieval England*, ed. by Bruce O'Brien and Barbara Bombi (Turnhout: Brepols, 2015)

Sparey-Green, Christopher, *Excavations at Poundbury, Dorchester, Dorset 1966-1982, Volume I: The Settlements*, ed. by Susan M. Davies and Ann Ellison, Dorset Natural History and Archaeological Society Monograph Series: Number Seven (Dorchester: Dorset Natural History and Archaeological Society, 1987)

Sparey-Green, Christopher, 'Poundbury, Dorset: Settlement and economy in Late and post-Roman Dorchester', in *External Contacts and the Economy of Late and Post-Roman Britain*, ed. by K. R. Dark (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1996), pp. 121-152

Sparey-Green, C. J., 'Living amongst the dead: from Roman cemetery to post-Roman monastic settlement at Poundbury', in *Debating Late Antiquity in Britain AD 300-700*, ed. by R. Collins and J. Gerrard, BAR 365 (Oxford: BAR Publishing, 2004), pp. 103-111

Stafford, Louis, 'Excavation at Lanton Quarry, Northumberland', Unpublished ARS Ltd Report No. 2007/14, Archaeological Research Services Ltd, University of Newcastle Upon Tyne (2006)

Stenton, Frank, *Anglo-Saxon England*, 3<sup>rd</sup> edn. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1971)

Stenton, Frank, *Latin Charters of the Anglo-Saxon Period* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1955)

Stevens, C. E., 'The social and economic aspects of rural settlement', in *Rural Settlement in Roman Britain*, ed. by Charles Thomas (London: Council for British Archaeology, 1966), pp. 108-128

Story, Joanna, 'Revisiting the Adventus Saxonum, again', *Current Archaeology*, 392 (November 2022), 50-54

Stout, Matthew, *The Irish Ringfort* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 1997; paperback, 2000)

Stringer, Charles, E.J. Holmroyd, A.R. Hall, and Trevor I. Williams, eds, *A History of Technology Vol. II, The Mediterranean Civilisations and the Middle Ages, c.700BC to c. AD 1500* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1956)

Swift, Ellen, *The End of the Western Roman Empire. An Archaeological Assessment* (Stroud: The History Press, 2010)

Teague, Steven, with contributions by Kate Clark, Geoff Denford, Brenda Dickinson, Peter Fairclough, Pete Higgins, Claire Ingrem, Sonja Marzinik, Jodi McCrohan, Sandy Mounsey, Helen Rees, and Rachael Seager Smith, 'Manor Farm, Monk Sherborne, Hampshire: Archaeological Investigations in 1996', *Proc. Hampshire Field Club Archaeological Society* 60 (2005), pp. 64-135

Tester, Andrew, Sue Anderson, Ian Riddler and Robert Carr, *Staunch Meadow, Brandon, Suffolk: a high status Middle Saxon settlement on the fen edge*, East Anglian Archaeology Report No.151, (Bury St Edmunds: Suffolk County Council Archaeological Service, 2014)

Thomas, Charles, 'The character and origins of Roman Dumnonia', in *Rural Settlement in Roman Britain*, CBA Research Report 7, ed. by Charles Thomas (London: Council for British Archaeology, 1966), pp. 74-98

Thomas, Charles, ed., *Rural Settlement in Roman Britain*, CBA Research Report 7 (London: Council for British Archaeology, 1966)

Thomas, Charles, *The Early Christian Archaeology of North Britain* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1971)

Thomas, Charles, *Christianity in Roman Britain to AD 500* (London: Batsford, 1981)

Thomas, Charles, *Tintagel, Arthur and Archaeology* (London: Batsford, 1993)

Thomas, Charles, *And Shall These Mute Stones Speak* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1994)

Thomas, G., 'Bringing a lost Anglo-Saxon monastery to life', *Medieval Archaeology*, 54 (2010), 409-414

Thomas, Gabor, 'Life before the minster: the social dynamics of monastic foundation at Anglo-Saxon Lyminge, Kent', *The Antiquaries Journal*, 93 (2013), 109-45

Thomas, Gabor, and Alexandra Knox, eds, *Early Medieval Monasticism in the North Sea Zone*, Anglo-Saxon Studies in Archaeology and History 20, (Oxford: Oxford University School of Archaeology, 2017)

Tipper, Jess, *The Grubenhaus in Anglo-Saxon England. An Analysis and Interpretation of the evidence from a most distinctive buildings type* (Yedingham: The Landscape Research Centre, 2004)

Tits-Dieuaide, M. J., 'Grands domaines, grandes et petites exploitations en Gaule mérovingienne', in *Le grand domaine aux époques mérovingienne et carolingienne*, ed by A. Verhulst (Gent: 1985), pp. 23-50

Ubl, Karl, 'L'origine contestée de la loi salique. Une mise au point', *Revue de l'IFHA*, 1 (2009), 208-234

Uddholm, Alf, *Formulae Marculif: Études sur la langue et le style* (Uppsala: Almqvist and Wiksells Boktryckeri AB, 1953)

Ulmschneider, Katharina, 'Settlement hierarchy', in *The Oxford Handbook of Anglo-Saxon Archaeology*, ed. by Helena Hamerow, David A. Hinton, and Sally Crawford (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011; paperback, 2020), pp. 156-171

Van der Veen, Marijke, 'When is food a luxury', *World Archaeology*, 34, 3 (2003), 405-427

Van der Veen, Marijke, 'Arable farming, horticulture, and food. Expansion, Innovation, and Diversity' in *The Oxford Handbook of Roman Britain*, ed. by Martin Millet, Louise Revell, and Alison Moore (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), pp. 807-833

Van Ossel, Paul, *Etablissements ruraux de l'Antiquité tardive dans le nord de la Gaule*, Gallia supplement 51 (Paris: CNRS, 1992)

- Van Ossel, Paul, and Pierre Ouzoulias, 'Rural settlement economy in Northern Gaul in the Late Empire: an overview and assessment', transl. by R. Bruce Hitchner, *Journal of Roman Archaeology*, 13 (2000), 133-160
- Varley, W. J., 'Excavations of the Castle Ditch, Eddisbury, 1935-1938', *Transactions of the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire*, 102 (1950), 1-68
- Verhulst, Adriaan, 'Economic Organisation', in Rosamond McKitterick, ed., *The New Cambridge Medieval History Volume 2, c.700-900* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), pp. 481-509
- Verhulst, Adriaan, *The Carolingian Economy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002)
- Vermard, Laurent, Julian Wiethold, with Michiel Gazenbeek, 'Production Agricole et stockage dans une ferme du début du VIIIe S. à Aubréville (Meuse)', *Revue Archéologique de l'Est*, 57 (2008), 315-332 (p. 319)
- Vezen, Jean, and Hartmut Atsma, 'Les faux sur papyrus de l'abbaye de Saint-Denis' in *Finances, pouvoir et memoire: Homages à Jean Favier*, ed. by Jean Kerhervé and Albert Rigaudière (Brest: Fayard, 1999), pp. 674-699
- Vigil-Escalera Guirado, Alfonso, Giovanni Bianchi, and Juan Antonio Quirós, eds, *Horea, Barns and Silos. Storage and Incomes in Early Medieval Europe*, Documentos de Arqueologia Medieval 5, ed. by (Gipuzkoa: Universidad del Pais Vasco, 2013)
- Vignaud, Didier, 'Un habitat du haut Moyen Age à Carro (Pouydesseaux, Landes)', *Archéologie des Pyrénées Occidentales et des Landes*, 29 (2010-11), 93-97
- Vinogradoff, Paul, 'Folkland', *English Historical Review*, VIII, XXIX (1893), 1-17
- Waddington, C., 'A Note on Neolithic, Bronze Age, Iron Age and Anglo-Saxon remains at Lanton Quarry near Milfield, Northumberland', *Archaeologia Aeliana Series 5*, 38 (2009), 23-29
- Wainwright, G. J., *Coygan Camp. A Prehistoric, Romano-British and Dark Age Settlement in Carmarthenshire* (Cambrian Archaeological Association, 1967)
- Waites, Rex, 'A note on windmills' in Stringer, Holmroyd, Hall, and Williams, eds, *A History of Technology Vol. II*, pp. 623-628
- Ward-Perkins, Bryan, *The Fall of Rome and the End of Civilization* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005; paperback, 2006)
- Webster, Graham, 'The excavation of a Romano-British rural establishment at Barnsley Park, Gloucestershire, 1961-1979, Part I, c. AD 140-360', *Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucester Archaeological Society*, 99 (1982), 21-77
- Webster, Graham, and Lance Smith, 'The excavation of a Romano-British rural establishment at Barnsley Park, Gloucestershire, 1961-1979, Part II c. AD 360-400+', *Trans. Bristol and Gloucester Archaeological Society*, 100 (1982), 65-189
- Webster, G., P.J. Fowler, B. Noddle, and L. Smith, 'The excavation of a Romano-British rural establishment at Barnsley Park, Gloucestershire, 1961-1979, Part III', *Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucester Archaeological Society*, 103 (1985), 73-100
- West, Stanley, *West Stow: The Anglo-Saxon Village, Volume 1: Text*, East Anglian Archaeology 24 (Ipswich: Suffolk County Planning Department, 1985)

West, Stanley, *West Stow: The Anglo-Saxon Village, Volume 2: Figures and Plates*, East Anglian Archaeology 24 (Ipswich: Suffolk County Planning Department, 1985)

Wheeler, Hazel, 'Excavation at Willington, Derbyshire, 1970-1972', *Derbyshire Archaeological Journal*, 99 (1979), 58-220

White, Roger, and Philip Barker, *Wroxeter. Life and Death of a Roman City* (Stroud: Tempus, 1998; revised edn. 2002)

Whittaker, C. R., and Peter Garnsey, 'Rural life in the Later Roman Empire', in *Cambridge Ancient History, Vol. XIII. The Late Empire, AD 337-425*, ed. by Avril Cameron and Peter Garnsey (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), pp. 277-311

Wibier, Matthijs, 'Legal education and legal culture in Gaul during the Principate' in *Law in the Roman Provinces*, ed. by Kimberley Czajkowski and Benedikt Eckhardt, in collaboration with Meret Strothman (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2020), pp. 462-485

Wickham, Chris, *Framing the Early Middle Ages* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005; paperback, 2006)

Wilkinson, P. F., 'Excavations at Hen Gastell, Briton Ferry, West Glamorgan, 1991-92', *Medieval Archaeology*, 39 (1995), 1-50

Williams, R. J., *Pennyland & Hartigans. Two Iron Age and Saxon Sites in Milton Keynes*, Buckinghamshire Archaeological Society Monograph No 4 (Aylesbury: Buckinghamshire Archaeological Society, 1993)

Wilmott, Tony, *Birdoswald, Excavations of a Roman Fort on Hadrian's Wall and its Successor Settlements: 1987-92*, English Heritage Archaeological Report 14 (London: English Heritage, 1997)

Wood, Ian, 'Administration, law and culture in Merovingian Gaul', in *The Uses of Literacy in Early Medieval Europe*, ed. by Rosamund McKitterick, pp. 63-81

Wood, Ian, 'Disputes in late fifth- and sixth-century Gaul: some problems', in *The Settlement of Disputes in Early Medieval Europe*, ed. by Wendy Davies and Paul Fouracre (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), pp. 7-22

Wood, I. N., 'Frankish hegemony in England', in *The Age of Sutton Hoo. The Seventh Century in North-western Europe*, ed. by M. O. H. Carver (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1992), pp. 235-242

Wood, Ian, *The Merovingian Kingdoms, 450-751* (London: Routledge, 1994)

Wood, Susan, *The Proprietary Church in the Medieval West* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006)

Wormald, Patrick, 'Lex Scripta and Verbum Regis: Legislation and Germanic Kingship, from Euric to Cnut', in *Early Medieval Kingship*, ed. by P.H. Sawyer and I.N. Wood (Leeds: University of Leeds, 1977), pp. 105-138

Wright, Duncan 'Planning in the Early Medieval Landscape', *Landscapes*, 21, 1 (2020), 93-94

Yiftach, Uri, 'Law in Ptolemaic and Roman Egypt', in *The Oxford Handbook of Ancient Greek Law*, ed. by Edward M. Harris and Mirko Canevaro (online edn, Oxford Academic, 6 Aug. 2015), doi.org/10.1093/oxfordhb/9780199599257.013.11

Zadora-Rio, Elisabeth, Henri Galinié, Philippe Husi, Morgane Liard, Xavier Rodier, Christian Theureau, 'La fouille du site de Rigny, 7e-19e s. (commune de Rigny-Ussé, Indre-et-Loire): l'habitat, les églises, le cimetière. Troisième et dernier rapport préliminaire (1995-1999)', *Revue archéologique du Centre de la France*, 40 (2001), 167-242

## Appendix A: Gazetteer of archaeological sites

This includes all the sites studied for this thesis contained in the All Sites Data Survey, available at: [https://osf.io/egph2/?view\\_only=a1320732e50848328221f419f4948f23](https://osf.io/egph2/?view_only=a1320732e50848328221f419f4948f23)

Sites from that survey are listed here alphabetically by country and area, and not all sites listed are cited in the text. This gazetteer also includes other sites mentioned in the text, but not included in the original survey.

### Britain: Southeast Britain

<b>Site name:</b> Abbots Barton	<b>Location:</b> Abbots Barton, Winchester, Hamps	<b>Date:</b> C6 to 8; mid to late Saxon
<b>Description:</b> Three post-built rectangular buildings and 6 SFBs near the remaining surface of the Roman Winchester to Silchester road.		
<b>Reference:</b> Andrew B. Powell, with contributions by Dana Challinor, Nicholas Cooke, L. Higbee, Matt Leivers, Lorraine Mephram, Jorn Scuster, Rachael Seager Smith, Chris J. Stevens and Sarah F Wyles, illustrations by Rob Goller, 'Early-Middle Anglo-Saxon settlement beside the Winchester to Silchester Roman road at Abbots Barton, Winchester', <i>Proc. Hampshire Field Club Archaeological Society</i> , 70 (2015), pp. 63-101.		

<b>Site name:</b> Bloodmoor Hill	<b>Location:</b> Bloodmoor Hill, Suffolk	<b>Date:</b> C6 to 8
<b>Description:</b> The site was defined by 38 SFBs of variable size, 21 of which were phased by association with pits and surface deposits. This showed a generalised increase in the size of SFBs over time. The excavators also noticed that the surface area of many of the SFBs was bigger than the excavated area of their sunken floors. The site lay on the site of a Roman settlement which had a double-ditched trackway and enclosure with three buildings and a possible hayrick. These produced mainly local coarse wares with a few imports and regional vessels. Described as a 'subsistence level rural farmstead', it was thought to have gone out of use in the third century.		
<b>Reference:</b> Sam Lucy, Jess Tipper and Alison Dickens, <i>The Anglo-Saxon Settlement and Cemetery at Bloodmoor Hill, Carlton Colville, Suffolk</i> , East Anglian Archaeology Report No 131 (Cambridge: Cambridge Archaeological Unit, 2009).		

<b>Site name:</b> Brandon Road	<b>Location:</b> Brandon Road, Thetford, Norfolk	<b>Date:</b> C5 to 8+
<b>Description:</b> There was Roman activity on site from the first to the fifth century. Firstly, this took the form of a field system, and circular enclosures associated with possible roundhouses. In the second century, this shifted to a system of rectangular fields which continued through the third and fourth, associated with aisled buildings, wells and middens. Domestic structures were not found but are thought to have been close by. In the fourth century, these barns and field system were abandoned for new enclosures which continued into the fifth. Many of these enclosures were open on the north side towards the river. Early 'Anglo-Saxon' occupation appears to have continued from the Romano-British without hiatus, although there may then have been a break between the sixth and the eighth centuries, after which occupation carried on until the ninth.		

**Reference:** Rob Atkins and Aileen Connor, *Farmers and Ironsmiths: Prehistoric, Roman and Anglo-Saxon Settlement beside Brandon Road, Thetford, Norfolk*, East Anglian Archaeology Report No. 134 (Bar Hill: Oxford Archaeology East, 2010).

<b>Site name:</b> Chalton	<b>Location:</b> Chalton Down, nr. Chalton, Hampshire	<b>Date:</b> C6 to 7
<b>Description:</b> There were four phases of post-in-hole buildings, some with fenced enclosures, forming a mix of domestic and ancillary structures, with one possibly communal building. These were broadly dated to the sixth to seventh century on the basis of grass-tempered pottery and the mount from a hanging bowl.		
<b>Reference:</b> P. V. Addyman and D. Leigh, 'The Anglo-Saxon Village at Chalton, Hampshire: Second Interim Report', <i>Medieval Archaeology</i> , XVI (1972), 13-31.		

<b>Site name:</b> Cowdery's Down	<b>Location:</b> Basingstoke, Hants SU657532	<b>Date:</b> Late C6 to 7
<b>Description:</b> A series of post-built halls were found on a site which had seen intermittent use since the Bronze Age. The site seemed to have reached its peak in the early seventh century when a linear arrangement of halls up to 194m <sup>2</sup> in size were associated with an elaborately constructed fenced enclosure.		
<b>Reference:</b> Martin Millett and Simon James, 'Excavations at Cowdery's Down Basingstoke, Hampshire, 1978-81', <i>Archaeological Journal</i> , 140, 1 (1983), pp. 151-279.		

<b>Site name:</b> Hassocks	<b>Location:</b> West Sussex	<b>Date:</b> C7 to 8
<b>Description:</b> Two post-in-hole buildings, an SFB, and a pit were spread across two sites. Site A, with one PHB, the SFB, and a pit may have been inside a boundary ditch, but this was short-lived if so. Site B appeared to be near the course of a Roman road.		
<b>Reference:</b> Chris Butler, <i>Saxon Settlement and Earlier Remains at friars Oak, Hassocks, West Sussex</i> , BAE British Series 295 (Oxford: Archaeopress, 2000).		

<b>Site name:</b> Lyminge	<b>Location:</b> Lyminge, Kent TR16104085	<b>Date:</b> C5 to 7
<b>Description:</b> Three sequences of post-built halls, peaking in structures of more than 200m <sup>2</sup> , were built in an area which was home to two early Saxon cemeteries. These were superseded in the seventh century by a monastic enclosure in the vicinity of the current church, which was associated with evidence for agricultural processing and storage.		
<b>References:</b> G. Thomas, 'Bringing a lost Anglo-Saxon monastery to life', <i>Medieval Archaeology</i> , 54 (2010), 409-414. Gabor Thomas, 'Life before the minster: the social dynamics of monastic foundation at Anglo-Saxon Lyminge, Kent', <i>The Antiquaries Journal</i> , 93 (2013), 109-45. Gabor Thomas and Alexandra Knox, eds, <i>Early Medieval Monasticism in the North Sea Zone</i> , Anglo-Saxon Studies in Archaeology and History 20, (Oxford: Oxford University School of Archaeology, 2017).		

<b>Site name:</b> Melford Meadows	<b>Location:</b> Brettenham, Norfolk	<b>Date:</b> C1 to 5?/C6
<b>Description:</b> Eleven or more SFBs were found in association with a number of ovens which could not be securely dated. They were on the edge of a former Roman settlement, some of whose ditches may still have been visible at the time of early medieval occupation.		
<b>Reference:</b> Andrew Mudd, <i>Excavations at Melford Meadows, Brettenham, 1994: Romano-British and Early Saxon Occupations</i> , East Anglian Archaeology Report No. 99 (Oxford: Oxford Archaeological Unit, 2002).		

<b>Site name:</b> Monk Sherborne	<b>Location:</b> Manor Farm, Monk Sherborne, Basingstoke NGR SU 6077 5566	<b>Date:</b> C6 to 7
<b>Description:</b> A site with largely Roman features – a winged corridor house and another building with a corn dryer – but which later had a timber-frame Saxon period structure associated with metal working and a hoard of iron artefacts. The site is only 4km from Cowdery's Down, so one interpretation put forward was that it became a craft centre servicing that elite site. Roman ruins would have been evident at the time the Saxon structure was built.		
<b>Reference:</b> Steven Teague, with contributions by Kate Clark, Geoff Denford, Brenda Dickinson, Peter Fairclough, Pete Higgins, Claire Ingrem, Sonja Marzinik, Jodi McCrohan, Sandy Mounsey, Helen Rees, and Rachael Seager Smith, 'Manor Farm, Monk Sherborne, Hampshire: Archaeological Investigations in 1996', <i>Proc. Hampshire Field Club Archaeological Society</i> 60 (2005), pp. 64-135.		

<b>Site name:</b> Mucking	<b>Location:</b> Mucking, Essex	<b>Date:</b> C5 to 7
<b>Description:</b> An area of 18 hectares excavated over 13 years from 1965 but published later. A multi-period site including two cemeteries, one with 51-63 inhumations, the second with 468 cremations and 336 inhumations. The Saxon site consisted of some 203 SFBs, 53 PHBs, and 27 pits. It was dug under difficult circumstances in the face of imminent quarrying. Some areas may have been mechanically over-scraped, and feature definition was difficult in free-draining acid gravel. The excavators assessed 75% recovery. Phasing was achieved through dating finds, but features were difficult to date securely. Normally presented as the classic wandering settlement and as typifying the lack of apparent social distinction noted for fifth century sites.		
<b>Reference:</b> Helena Hamerow, <i>Excavations at Mucking Volume 2: The Anglo-Saxon settlement</i> (London: English Heritage, 1993).		

<b>Site name:</b> Northfleet/ Springhead	<b>Location:</b> nr Ebbsfleet, Kent NGR 561413 174196 & NGR 561800 172750	<b>Date:</b> Iron Age to C9
<b>Description:</b> A series of sites spread across two locations which were excavated in advance of the High Speed 1 train line. The interest of this thesis lies specifically in the Northfleet site, where a Roman villa was built in the first century. This expanded progressively before apparently declining in the fourth century, when quarry pits were dug through parts of the villa floor, while the bath house range was abandoned completely. At the same time,		

however, an accompanying quayside showed major renovations. The early medieval evidence of occupation at both Northfleet and Springhead initially consisted of SFBs, although two cemeteries had been created at Springhead (a site with older ritual associations) by the mid Saxon period. By contrast, occupation dwindled at Northfleet, with the area possibly reverting to pasture. At the end of the seventh century, a tidal mill was built near the area of the old Roman quay, some 40m north of the villa site.

**Reference:** Phil Andrews, Edward Biddulph, Alan Hardy, and Richard Brown, *Settling the Ebbsfleet Valley. High Speed 1 Excavations at Springhead and Northfleet, Kent. The Late Iron Age, Roman, Saxon, and Medieval Landscape. Vol. 1: The Sites* (Oxford; Salisbury: Oxford Archaeological Unit; Wessex Archaeology Ltd, 2011).

<b>Site name:</b> Pennyland	<b>Location:</b> Pennyland, Milton Keynes, Bucks. SP862411	<b>Date:</b> Iron Age to c. 750
-----------------------------	--	---------------------------------

**Description:** A succession of post-built structures were found in association with some 13 SFBs, three wells, and a number of pits on a site which had seen Iron Age occupation, but which had apparently been abandoned in the mid first century BC. The site is thought to have been re-occupied in the early sixth century, with three or four SFBs and a pit dated to this phase. This was succeeded by the first post-built structures and accompanying SFBs occupying individual enclosures. However, these enclosures then seem to have disappeared in the mid Saxon period, with the settlement reverting to a scattering of buildings undefined by plots. Williams posited the development of settlement into individual farmsteads, which then fell back into dispersed dwellings as population declined. However, he noted that this could be brought about by internal forces as well as external social or economic pressures.

**References:** R. J. Williams, *Pennyland and Hartigans. Two Iron Age and Saxon Sites in Milton Keynes*, Buckinghamshire Archaeological Society Monograph Series No. 4 (Aylesbury: Buckinghamshire Archaeological Society, 1993).

<b>Site name:</b> Rendlesham	<b>Location:</b> Rendlesham, Suffolk	<b>Date:</b> C5-8
------------------------------	--------------------------------------	-------------------

**Description:** Settlement was represented by a number of SFBs south and east of a tributary of the Deben. This focus continued into the seventh century, although it was not clear if signs of zoning were later additions. In spite of the relative physical simplicity of this site, there was some evidence of wealth, with the possibility of a continuation of some military or administrative role from the fourth century. From the sixth century, activity intensified on the nearby promontory, culminating in a series of great hall structures within a boundary ditch.

**References:** Christopher Scull, Linzi Everett, and Faye Minter, 'Excavations at Rendlesham, Suffolk, 2021-2023: Investigating an Early-Medieval Royal Settlement', *Medieval Archaeology*, 68, 2 (2024), 203-228.

<b>Site name:</b> Rivenhall	<b>Location:</b> Rivenhall, Essex TL 828178	<b>Date:</b> Iron Age to C5
-----------------------------	---	-----------------------------

**Description:** A Roman villa was built on the possible the site of a wealthy Iron Age settlement. By the first century, this had stone built structures with monochrome mosaics. Later, a large barn (Building 4) was added on the same alignment as the west wing. After the villa was abandoned, this barn seems to have been used as a hall in the Saxon period,

while a well was sunk nearby. Finds from the possible hall included a fragment of cone glass beaker dated to the fifth century.

**References:** Warwick Rodwell and Kirsty Rodwell, 'The Roman Villa at Rivenhall, Essex: An Interim Report', *Britannia*, 4 (1973), 115-127.

W. J. Rodwell and K. A. Rodwell, *Rivenhall: Investigations of a Villa, Church, and Village, 1950-1977*, CBA Research Report 55, Chelmsford Archaeological Trust Report No. 4 (London: CBA, 1985).

W. J. Rodwell and K. A. Rodwell, *Rivenhall: Investigations of a Villa, Church, and Village, 1950-1977, Vol. 2 Specialist Studies and Index to Volumes 1 and 2*, CBA Research Report 4.2 (London: CBA, 1993).

<b>Site name:</b> Staunch Meadow	<b>Location:</b> Brandon, Suffolk	<b>Date:</b> C7 to 9 (Period 3): Phase 1: C7; Phase 2.1: early to mid C8
<b>Description:</b> Site on an 'island' of windblown sand surrounded by peat flood plain, south of Little Ouse, which began with a small number of buildings in an enclosure and spread across the raised area, and possibly beyond it, and included several great halls and a church. No structures could be dated earlier than the seventh century, although there were some earlier artefacts, which may have come from nearby cemeteries. It is possible that the excavated area represented no more than a third of the later settlement.		
<b>Reference:</b> R. D. Carr, A. Tester, and P. Murphy, 'The Middle-Saxon settlement at Staunch Meadow, Brandon', <i>Antiquity</i> , 62, 235 (1988), 371-377.		

<b>Site name:</b> Water Eaton	<b>Location:</b> Water Eaton, Bletchley, Bucks	<b>Date:</b> c. 650 to 850
<b>Description:</b> One SFB associated with an enclosure system and trackway. Hancock thought that any post-built buildings lay beyond the excavated area – he was confident that no post holes were missed. Dated to the seventh century by pottery, including Ipswich ware.		
<b>Reference:</b> Alistair Hancock, with contributions by Paul Blinkhorn, Gemma Martin, James Rackham, Alex Thompson, and Donna Waters, 'Excavation of a Mid-Saxon settlement at Water Eaton, Bletchley, Milton Keynes', <i>Records of Buckinghamshire</i> , 50 (2010), 5-24.		

<b>Site name:</b> Wayland's Nursery	<b>Location:</b> Waylands Nursey, Wraysbury, Berks TQ 002744	<b>Date:</b> C5
<b>Description:</b> 171 sherds of Saxon pottery were found in an SFB on a site which had seen prehistoric activity, including a child burial, and Roman occupation. In Roman Phase 2 three parallel enclosure ditches were formed which were then cut by gullies and pits in Phases 3 and 4. The ditches were dated by pottery in the fill. The SFB then cut one of the ditches. It was associated with a hearth which showed evidence of a high-temperature process, but with no other evidence (e.g. metal working debris) of what that might have been made.		
<b>Reference:</b> J. Pine, <i>The excavation of late Bronze Age/ early Iron Age features, a late Roman enclosure and early Saxon features at Waylands Nursery, Welley Road, Wraysbury, Berkshire</i> , Thames Valley Archaeological Services Unpublished Report (1998).		

<b>Site name:</b> West Stow	<b>Location:</b> West Stow, nr Bury St Edmunds, Suffolk	<b>Date:</b> Phase 1: early to late C5 Phase 2: early to late C6 Phase 3: late C6 to C7
<b>Description:</b> Three phases of post-built halls and associated SFBs found on a 4.5 acre site which was fully excavated. Seven halls were reconstructed from the thousands of discovered post holes, and these were dated by association to the 69 SFBs. The site gained enclosure systems in the seventh century which were frequently recut.		
<b>References:</b> Stanley West, <i>West Stow: The Anglo-Saxon Village, Volume 1: Text</i> , East Anglian Archaeology 24 (Ipswich: Suffolk County Planning Department, 1985). Stanley West, <i>West Stow: The Anglo-Saxon Village, Volume 2: Figures and Plates</i> , East Anglian Archaeology 24 (Ipswich: Suffolk County Planning Department, 1985). Pam J. Crabtree, <i>West Stow, Suffolk: Early Anglo-Saxon Animal Husbandry</i> , East Anglian Archaeology Report No. 47 (Ipswich: Suffolk County Planning Department, 1989).		

### Britain: Central Britain

<b>Site name:</b> Barton Court Farm	<b>Location:</b> Abbingdon-on-Thames, Oxon. SU 5095 9784, NGR 450959, 197846	<b>Date:</b> Late Iron Age to Early Saxon
<b>Description:</b> A Romano-British farmstead was established on the site of an Iron Age enclosure in the first to second centuries. This was later replaced with a stone-built house accompanied by a grain dryer and water hole. By the fifth century this had been abandoned and occupation consisting of seven SFBs and eight post-built structures had moved to a new enclosure to the south. This was thought to have links with the nearby settlement at Radley.		
<b>Reference:</b> David Miles, <i>Archaeology at Barton Court Farm, Abingdon, Oxon: An investigation of late Neolithic, Iron Age, Romano-British and Saxon settlements</i> , Oxford Archaeological Unit Report 3, CBA Research Report 50 (Oxford: Oxford Archaeological Unit/CBA, 1986).		

<b>Site name:</b> Broom	<b>Location:</b> Broom, Warks.	<b>Date:</b> C6
<b>Description:</b> Three SFBs and post-built structure were found on a site on a small hill in the valley of the river Arrow, just north of a Roman villa site.		
<b>Reference:</b> Stuart C. Palmer, 'Archaeological excavations in the Arrow Valley, Warwickshire', <i>Birmingham and Warwickshire Archaeological Society Transactions</i> , 103 (1999).		

<b>Site name:</b> Coston Hall	<b>Location:</b> Grange Lane, Coston, Leics. NGR 484778 321976	<b>Date:</b> C5 to 9
<b>Description:</b> A large number of post holes were found on a site which had seen activity in the Roman period. Many were truncated, difficult to phase, and could not be resolved into structures. There was also a possible grain dryer, but this was thought to be late Saxon. Although the earliest pottery covered a fifth to seventh century inception for the settlement, the excavators preferred the later end of this period, in part because of the association between the post holes and a number of ditched enclosures.		

**Reference:** Neil Dronsfield, Sean Bell and Richard O'Neill, 'Anglo-Saxon settlement at Coston Hall, Leicestershire', *Transactions of Leicestershire Archaeological and Historical Society*, 89 (2015), 113-144.

<b>Site name:</b> Cowage Farm	<b>Location:</b> Foxley, nr Malmesbury, Wilts	<b>Date:</b> 555 to 660
<b>Description:</b> Two large (150m <sup>2</sup> +) structures were identified, one of which may have been a church given its apsidal end, the other of which was associated with a fenced enclosure similar to those at Yeavinger and Cowdery's Down. Only a relatively small area of the site was thought to have been excavated.		
<b>Reference:</b> John Hinchcliffe, 'An Early Medieval Settlement at Cowage Farm, Foxley, Near Malmesbury', <i>Archaeological Journal</i> 143, 1 (1986), pp. 240-259.		

<b>Site name:</b> Flixborough	<b>Location:</b> Flixborough, Nr Scunthorpe, Lincs	<b>Date:</b> C7 to 11
<b>Description:</b> A possible estate centre which may have passed through a monastic phase, especially given finds of styli on site. Its floruit fell largely outside the range of this thesis, and seventh century activity in the excavated area was represented by three structures, with a boundary ditch being added later that century. The majority of artefacts and evidence of metal working all appeared to post-date the period covered here.		
<b>References:</b> C. P. Loveluck, 'A high-status Anglo-Saxon settlement at Flixborough, Lincolnshire', <i>Antiquity</i> , 72 (1998), 146-61. Christopher Loveluck and David Atkinson, <i>The Early Medieval Settlement Remains from Flixborough, Lincolnshire: The Occupation Sequence, c. 600-1000, Excavations at Flixborough Vol. 1</i> (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2007). D. H. Evans and Christopher Loveluck, eds., <i>Life and Economy at Early Medieval Flixborough, c. AD 600-1000: The Artefact Evidence, Excavations at Flixborough Vol. 2</i> (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2009). Keith Dobney, Deborah Jaques, James Barrett, and Cluny Johnstone, <i>Farmers, Monks and Aristocrats: The Environmental Archaeology of Anglo-Saxon Flixborough, Excavations at Flixborough Vol.3</i> (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2007). Christopher Loveluck, <i>Rural Settlement, Lifestyles and Social Change in the Later First Millennium AD: Anglo-Saxon Flixborough in its Wider Context, Excavations at Flixborough Vol. 4</i> (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2007).		

<b>Site name:</b> Godmanchester	<b>Location:</b> Godmanchester, Cambs.	<b>Date:</b> C5 to 7
<b>Description:</b> A vernacular farming settlement which may have been enclosed from its inception, possibly beginning with enclosure 1 and a drove road. Enclosure 2 then followed, with enclosure 1 going out of use to be replaced by smaller pens. Inside Enclosure 2 were 6 SFBs arranged in two rows, although one, SFB 5 was beyond the boundary. The drove road is conjectured but not proven and the excavators noted that the ditches could have belonged to another enclosure and that SFB5 sat between two enclosures rather than between enclosure 2 and the drove road. The settlement's early date has been contested.		
<b>Reference:</b> C. Gibson, with J. Murray, 'An Anglo-Saxon Settlement at Godmanchester, Cambridgeshire', with contributions by S. Anderson, I. Baxter, H. Cool, N. Crummy, V. Fryer, J. Last, M. Lyne and T. McDonald, in <i>Boundaries in Early Medieval Britain</i> , ed. by David		

Griffiths, Andrew Reynolds, and Sarah Semple, *Anglo-Saxon Studies in Archaeology and History 12* (Oxford: Oxford University School of Archaeology, 2003), pp. 137-217.

<b>Site name:</b> Lanton Quarry	<b>Location:</b> Lanton Quarry, nr Wooler, Northumberland	<b>Date:</b> Early Medieval
<b>Description:</b> Five post-built structures were found in association with seven SFBs, a pit, and two fencelines. The settlement may have extended further to the east, and was thought to be a centre for industrial activity with metalworking slag and possible glass slag discovered. Stafford noted that the site seemed planned, and sat between the centres of Maelmin and Yeavinger. It was expected that a large number of charred environmental samples would produce more data on dating and on consumption and/or processing at the site.		
<b>Reference:</b> Louis Stafford, 'Excavation at Lanton Quarry, Northumberland', Unpublished ARS Ltd Report No. 2007/14, Archaeological Research Services Ltd, University of Newcastle Upon Tyne (2006). C. Waddington, 'A Note on Neolithic, Bronze Age, Iron Age and Anglo-Saxon remains at Lanton Quarry near Milfield, Northumberland', <i>Archaeologia Aeliana Series 5</i> , 38 (2009), 23-29.		

<b>Site name:</b> Lordship Lane	<b>Location:</b> Lordship Lane, Cottenham, Cambs.	<b>Date:</b> C7 to 11
<b>Description:</b> Four post-in-hole structures within a ditched enclosure on a site which had seen sporadic Bronze and Iron Age activity. In the eighth to ninth centuries, the core of the settlement appeared to move south-east, beyond the extent of the excavation area. At the same time, the number of boundary features appears to have increased.		
<b>Reference:</b> Richard Mortimer, with a contribution by David Hall, 'Village development and ceramic sequence: the Middle to Late Saxon village at Lordship Lane, Cottenham, Cambridgeshire', <i>Proceedings of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society</i> , LXXXIX (2000), 5-33.		

<b>Site name:</b> Maxey	<b>Location:</b> Maxey, Northants	<b>Date:</b> C7 ('Dark Age')
<b>Description:</b> Six or seven post-built structures were found in association with three ditches, at least two of which were thought to be contemporaneous. There were also a series of pits and a possible granary. Addyman thought the settlement represented a small, peasant village, but possibly one which had some form of special function. The pottery was thought to be largely early, with only rare examples of later Saxon types.		
<b>Reference:</b> P. V. Addyman, 'A Dark-Age settlement at Maxey, Northants', <i>Medieval Archaeology</i> , 8 (1964), 20-73.		

<b>Site name:</b> Poundbury	<b>Location:</b> Poundbury, nr Dorchester, Dorset	<b>Date:</b> Phase VA: C5 Phase VB C6 to 7
<b>Description:</b> On this site, a system of rectilinear enclosures were laid out in the Roman period, at least partly in association with a developing cemetery. In the first post-Roman phase, a new curvilinear enclosure was created which may have formed the settlement boundary. In the second post-Roman phase, this was replaced by another curvilinear enclosure ditch on a different alignment. This may have been short-lived, and may have been replaced by small enclosures around individual dwellings. These phases were characterised by a mixture of sill-beam and post-in-hole buildings, with SFBs appearing in		

Phase VB. Throughout these periods, surviving mausolea were used, notably for agricultural storage or processing. This processing appears to have increased in the post-Roman phases.

**References:** Christopher Sparey-Green, *Excavations at Poundbury, Dorchester, Dorset 1966-1982, Volume I: The Settlements*, ed. by Susan M. Davies and Ann Ellison, with contributions by F.W. Anderson, J. Bayley, J. Bird, J.C. Buckland-Wright, M. Card, D. Charlesworth, A.J. Clark, H.E.M. Cool, P.W. Cox, B.W. Cunliffe, S.M. Davies, J. Draper, Ann Ellison, P. Ensom, J. Evans, P. Galloway, S. Greep, M. Guido, K. Hartley, J.W. Hawkes, M. Henig, H. Howard, L.J. Keen, M. Monk, J. Price, S. Rees, V. Rigby, A. Ross, A. Saville, I.F. Smith, S. Staines, R.F. Tylecote, M. Vaughan, and D.F. Williams, Dorset Natural History and Archaeological Society Monograph Series: Number Seven (Dorchester: Dorset Natural History and Archaeological Society, 1987).

D. E. Farwell and Theya I. Molleson, *Excavations at Poundbury, Dorchester, Dorset 1966-1982, Volume II: The Cemeteries*, Dorset Natural History and Archaeological Society Monograph Series: 11, (Dorchester: Dorset Natural History and Archaeological Society, 1993).

Christopher Sparey-Green, 'Poundbury, Dorset: Settlement and economy in Late and post-Roman Dorchester', in *External Contacts and the Economy of Late and Post-Roman Britain*, ed. by K. R. Dark (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1996), pp. 121-152.

C. J. Sparey-Green, 'Living amongst the dead: from Roman cemetery to post-Roman monastic settlement at Poundbury', in *Debating Late Antiquity in Britain AD 300-700*, ed. by R. Collins and J. Gerrard, BAR 365 (Oxford: BAR Publishing, 2004), pp. 103-111.

<b>Site name:</b> Radley Barrow Hills	<b>Location:</b> Barrow Hills, Radley, nr Abbingdon, Oxon	<b>Date:</b> C5 to 7
<b>Description:</b> A scattered settlement over a former Romano-British cemetery among Bronze Age barrows which would have been visible at the time. However, McAdam thought that suggestions that the location was influenced by the existence of the barrows were unlikely, since there seemed to have been a concerted effort to fill in barrow ditches. Instead, she believed it may have been influenced by the presence of the Romano-British cemetery, which the buildings did seem to respect. Some 13 post-built structures were associated with SFBs and appeared to cluster in three groups. However, there were also a large number of postholes which it was impossible to resolve into coherent structures and which could have formed another distinct area. Some of the structures were associated with lines of post-holes forming possible fencelines, some of which were interpreted as animal pens. The use of the same pottery stamps as Barton Court Farm suggests this was part of the same community, although that may have begun and ended earlier. The site had been subjected to deep ploughing in modern times so archaeological traces were often faint and early medieval ground levels did not survive.		
<b>Reference:</b> Richard Chambers and Ellen McAdam, <i>Excavations at Barrow Hills, Radley, Oxfordshire, 1983-5</i> , Oxford Archaeology Thames Valley Landscape Monograph No. 25 (Oxford: Oxford Archaeological Unit, 2007).		

<b>Site name:</b> Sutton Courtenay	<b>Location:</b> Sutton Courtenay, Oxon.	<b>Date:</b> C5 to 7
<b>Description:</b> A structure of 333.72m <sup>2</sup> (the largest Anglo-Saxon building in Britain at that time) was found on site of significant early medieval settlement activity, and a landscape rich in earlier remains (a number of Bronze Age ring barrows and the Drayton cursus).		

Investigation of the site has gone on over some period of time, beginning with E. T. Leeds excavating 33 SFBs in an area disturbed by quarrying – more were probably lost before this. Aerial photographs showed the existence of five rectangular structures arranged in an L-shape to the south of Leeds' excavations, and one more was found to south-east of these. There was also a Roman villa 0.5km to the east, Roman field boundaries, and a Roman driveway. In addition, the surrounding area has a number of Anglo-Saxon cemeteries with metal-detected artefacts suggesting rich burials. One of the site's notable features was that the great hall was found here in association with a large number of SFBs.

**References:** Helena Hamerow, Chris Hayden, Gill Hey, Paul Blinkhorn, Paul Booth, John Cotter, Kate Cramp, Louise Martin, D. M. Metcalf, Julian Munby, Annsofie Witkin & Susan M. Youngs 'Anglo-Saxon and Earlier Settlement near Drayton Road, Sutton Courtenay, Berkshire' *Archaeological Journal*, 164, 1 (2007), pp. 109-196.

Naomi Brennan and Helena Hamerow, 'An Anglo-Saxon Great Hall Complex at Sutton Courtenay/Drayton, Oxfordshire: A Royal Centre of Early Wessex?' *Archaeological Journal*, 172, 2 (2015), pp. 325-350.

<b>Site name:</b> West Cotton	<b>Location:</b> West Cotton, Raunds, Northants	<b>Date:</b> C6 to 7
<b>Description:</b> One SFB and another unidentified structure were found on a prehistoric long mound near river Nene. The site also had a series of round barrows from the Bronze Age, and possibly a structure in the Roman period, although most residual Roman artefacts found were thought to have been carried there later from nearby ruins. The site would develop dramatically in the periods after that covered by this thesis.		
<b>Reference:</b> Andy Chapman, <i>West Cotton, Raunds. A Study of Medieval Settlement Dynamics AD450-1450. Excavation of a Deserted Medieval Hamlet in Northamptonshire, 1985-89</i> , Raunds Area Project (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2010).		

<b>Site name:</b> West Heselton	<b>Location:</b> West Heselton, North Yorks.	<b>Date:</b> Late Roman to Early Medieval
<b>Description:</b> Excavations at West Heselton challenged the prevailing interpretation that early Anglo-Saxon settlements were shifting and unstructured. The early medieval settlement inhabited a series of Roman enclosures, within which there seemed to be a high degree of zoning of activities; another feature not generally associated with early sites. At first, it was thought that the Roman occupation had comprised a farmstead, but later investigations suggested a ritual focus based upon a spring, and Powlesland argued that it was this which instigated the Anglo-Saxon settlement. The significance of the site's nature has been challenged, with John Blair, for example, arguing that it was simply informed by the legacy of a Roman ladder settlement with no broader social implications (see Blair, <i>Building Anglo-Saxon England</i> , p. 141, and Blair, Rippon, and Smart, <i>Planning in the Early Medieval Landscape</i> , p. 22, details in main references). The extent to which early medieval settlements were influenced by previous landscape, the significance of this, and why some were and others, apparently, were not, all remain understudied areas.		
<b>References:</b> D. Powlesland, 'Early Anglo-Saxon Settlements, Structures, Form and Layout', in <i>The Anglo-Saxons from the Migration Period to the Eight Century: An Ethnographic Perspective</i> , ed. by John Hines (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 1997), pp. 101-117.		

Dominic Powlesland, 'The Anglo-Saxon settlement at West Heslerton, North Yorkshire', in *Northumbria's Golden Age*, ed. by Jane Hawkes and Susan Mills (Stroud: Sutton Publishing, 1999), pp. 55-65.

<b>Site name:</b> Willington	<b>Location:</b> Willington, Derbyshire, SK285278	<b>Date:</b> C6
<b>Description:</b> A multi-period site spread along course of the Eggington Brook, with Neolithic and Iron Age features and two Romano-British farmsteads. The early medieval evidence consists of three SFBs and associated pits.		
<b>Reference:</b> Hazel Wheeler, 'Excavation at Willington, Derbyshire, 1970-1972', <i>Derbyshire Archaeological Journal</i> , 99 (1979), 58-220.		

<b>Site name:</b> Yarnton	<b>Location:</b> Yarnton, Oxon.	<b>Date:</b> C5 to 9
<b>Description:</b> This was the site of Iron Age and Romano-British habitation, but appeared to have been abandoned for some time before early medieval occupation began, although residual ditches may have informed the structure of that occupation. The fourth-to-fifth century phase consisted of four or five SFBs and post-built structures. The site may then have been abandoned again. From the seventh century, occupation began more structured, with two or three post-built halls, ancillary structures, and SFBs associated with a number of enclosures formed from largely insubstantial ditches and fencelines.		
<b>Reference:</b> Gill Hey, <i>Yarnton. Saxon and Medieval Settlement and Landscape</i> , Thames Valley Landscapes Monograph No. 20 (Oxford: Oxford Archaeology, 2004).		

<b>Site name:</b> Yeavering	<b>Location:</b> Yeavering, Glendale, Northumbria	<b>Date:</b> C5 to 7
<b>Description:</b> The first of the 'great hall' sites to be discovered, and in many ways still archetypal, although it displays certain distinctive features, even if many aspects of Hope-Taylor's interpretations have since been challenged. Hope-Taylor envisaged it as a Romano-British ritual site which was later converted into an Anglian <i>villa regalis</i> as the two cultures met. However, his dating of buildings, including A5, and of the Great Enclosure have been disputed, with Scull preferring a seventh century date for the former, and O'Brien a similar date for the latter. Yeavering's status as a royal site remains, however, largely unchallenged, bolstered by Bede's famous reference to <i>Ad Gefrin</i> . It is also the case, as Miket noted, that Hope-Taylor's belief in a conjunction of British and Anglian culture has not been disproved: even if there is no direct evidence, the categorical assumption of the opposite (a total rift between the two) relies solely on the <i>tabula rasa</i> picture of post-Roman Britain.		
<b>References:</b> Brian Hope-Taylor, <i>Yeavering: An Anglo-British Centre of Early Northumbria</i> (London: H.M.S.O., 1977). C. Scull, 'Post-Roman Phase I at Yeavering: a re-consideration', <i>Medieval Archaeology</i> 35, 35 (1991), 51-63. Colm O'Brien, 'The Great Enclosure' in <i>Yeavering: People, Power and Place</i> , ed. by Paul Frodsham and Colm O'Brien (Stroud: Tempus, 2005), pp. 145-152. R. F. Miket, 'Understanding British/Anglo-Saxon continuity at Gefrin: Brian Hope-Taylor's excavations on Yeavering Bell', <i>Archaeologia Aeliana</i> , Series 5, 42, (2013), 133-160.		

## Britain: Northern and Western Britain

<b>Site name:</b> Bantham	<b>Location:</b> Bantham, Kingsbridge, South Devon	<b>Date:</b> C5 to 6
<b>Description:</b> A possible coastal trading site discovered buried in the dunes. Evidence for structures was sparse, but there were hearths in several of the uncovered phases which had early medieval dates. Metal working debris was also found alongside Late Antique and early medieval pottery, which included amphorae sherds.		
<b>Reference:</b> Stephen Reed, Paul Bidwell, John Allan, 'Excavation at Bantham, South Devon, and Post-Roman trade in South West England', <i>Medieval Archaeology</i> , 55 (2011), 82-138.		

<b>Site name:</b> Barnsley Park	<b>Location:</b> Barnsley Park, Barnsley, Glos.	<b>Date:</b> C2 to 5
<b>Description:</b> Occupation began around 140 and culminated in a villa complete with bath house and some heating. By the beginning of the fifth century, the villa building had been demolished down to four or five courses and converted to a raised stone platform, with access ramps for carts. There was no evidence of wooden buildings. The wells were blocked with stone and other stone removed from site. However, the barn continued in use and another barn was built to the east. In the northern courtyard area, timber building K appeared. This was the same width as the old villa, which made excavators think its roof trusses may have been reused. Later in the fifth century, many of the drystone walls were demolished, but the two barns continued in use, and a circular animal pen may belong to this period. At this time, the bath house tiles were robbed out, and the excavators believed this must have meant people knew the bath house had existed, since the tiles would not have been visible.		
<b>References:</b> Graham Webster, 'The excavation of a Romano-British rural establishment at Barnsley Park, Gloucestershire, 1961-1979, Part I, c. AD 140-360', <i>Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucester Archaeological Society</i> , 99 (1982), 21-77. Graham Webster and Lance Smith, 'The excavation of a Romano-British rural establishment at Barnsley Park, Gloucestershire, 1961-1979, Part II c. AD 360-400+', <i>Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucester Archaeological Society</i> , 100 (1982), 65-189. G. Webster, P.J. Fowler, B. Noddle, and L. Smith, 'The excavation of a Romano-British rural establishment at Barnsley Park, Gloucestershire, 1961-1979, Part III', <i>Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucester Archaeological Society</i> , 103 (1985), 73-100.		

<b>Site name:</b> Birdoswald	<b>Location:</b> Birdoswald, nr Gilsland, Cumbria	<b>Date:</b> C1 to 6
<b>Description:</b> A Roman fort on Hadrian's Wall, located to guard the crossing of the river Irthing. Late and post-Roman activity centred on the site of the former storage buildings 197 and 198. In the fourth century, building 197 appears to have been put to domestic use, with its ventilated sub floor at each end filled in and a new floor laid, upon which there was a hearth. The roof of 197 itself then collapsed c. 388-395, although it may still have been useable in some way. Following this collapse, post holes were sunk into the foundations of 198 and a timber frame building, building 199, with a stone floor, was constructed on its site. Around the same time, a timber-frame lean to, was built against the fort wall. Building 199 was subsequently superseded by building, a timber frame construction of 198m <sup>2</sup> , built		

just north of 199, partly on the site of 197 and 198, so that it was aligned with the edge of the road through the gate and with the gateway itself. Two new structures were also created on the fort wall.

**Reference:** Tony Wilmott, *Birdoswald. Excavations of a Roman fort on Hadrian's Wall and its successor settlements: 1987-92* (London: English Heritage, 1997).

<b>Site name:</b> Cadbury Congresbury	<b>Location:</b> Cadbury Congresbury, Somerset	<b>Date:</b> Phase 3: C5 to 6
<b>Description:</b> An Iron Age hillfort which saw post-Roman occupation. This appears to have begun with a small number of timber framed and post-in-trench buildings, and culminated in a structure with a stone foundation and apsidal end. The rampart was refurbished, and a new rampart built dissecting the hilltop, although the excavators believed this was more for show than defence. Late Roman amphorae fragments were found, and the animal bones suggested cattle, sheep, and pigs eaten at a young age.		
<b>Reference:</b> Philip Rahtz, Ann Woodward, Ian Burrow, Anne Everton, Lorna Watts, Peter Leach, Susan Hirst, Peter Fowler, and Keith Gardner, <i>Cadbury Congresbury 1968-73. A late/post-Roman hilltop settlement in Somerset</i> , BAR British Series 223 (Oxford: British Archaeological Reports, 1992).		

<b>Site name:</b> Catholme	<b>Location:</b> Catholme, Staffs. SK197163	<b>Date:</b> C6/7 to 9
<b>Description:</b> A complex and heavily occupied site sitting on a gravel terrace in the Trent Valley within a prehistoric ditch along the terrace edge which may have continued in use as a boundary. Some 65 structures were identified in total, along with a large number of pits of apparently different types. These were associated with a series of trackways and enclosures, and the dating and motive of these enclosures has formed one of the main elements of debate about the site. The Wychnor Anglo-Saxon cemetery lay just 500m to the south-west, with finds dating to the fifth century. A later date for the settlement has normally been preferred by most commentators, largely because this is consistent with the use of enclosures. There has also been some debate about the possibility of a British/Anglo-Saxon transition, with some of the buildings on site compared to those found at Dunston's Clump (see Hamerow, in Losco-Bradley, <i>Catholme</i> , p. 128).		
<b>References:</b> Stuart Losco-Bradley and Gavin Kinsley, <i>Catholme. An Anglo-Saxon Settlement on the Trent Gravels in Staffordshire</i> , Nottingham Studies in Archaeology Vol. 3 (Nottingham: Trent and Peak Archaeological Unit, 2002). John Hines, 'The Anglo-Saxon settlement at Catholme, Staffordshire: a re-assessment of the chronological evidence and possible re-interpretation', in <i>Anglo-Saxon Studies in Archaeology and History</i> , 21, ed. by Helena Hamerow (Oxford: Oxford University School of Archaeology, 2018), pp. 47-59.		

<b>Site name:</b> Cotswold Community	<b>Location:</b> Cotswold Community, Shorncliffe, Glos., SU031960	<b>Date:</b> Roman to C7
<b>Description:</b> The site saw activity from the middle Bronze Age onwards, with its most intensive period in the mid Roman c. 125-250 AD. Around this time, two north-south trackways were created, and enclosure boundaries were changed. The settlement was zoned, with defined areas of metalworking, crop processing, and stock management, but		

its social status seems to have been unchanged, judging by the finds. Much activity seems to have been concerned with crop drying, with two grain dryers on site. The basic arrangement of the settlement persisted into the Late Roman period, although beam-slot buildings were replaced by buildings with stone footings. Occupation seemed to end in the late fourth century. In its Saxon phase, activity moved to the south and appears to have focused on three areas: Area 1 to the north with a series of post-built structures, pits and 'waterholes', south of this a single post-built structure and frequently recut waterhole partly surrounded by a fenceline; south of this another single post-built structure. These were all interpreted as agrarian structures. They were dated by pottery and two graves, although most of the pot came from the waterholes. One grave was cut into the upper fill of a waterhole, and was an extended male 26-35 years old. This was radiocarbon dated to 635-690. The second was north-east of Area 1, inside the former inner boundary of the Roman settlement. This was a crouched female burial, 26-45 years of age, dated 580-665.

**Reference:** Kelly Powell, Alex Smith, and Granville Laws, *Evolution of a Farming Community in the Upper Thames Valley. Excavation of a Prehistoric, Roman and Post-Roman Landscape at Cotswold Community, Gloucestershire and Wiltshire*, Vol. 1, Thames Valley Landscapes Monograph No. 31 (Oxford: Oxford Archaeology, 2010).

<b>Site name:</b> Coygan Camp	<b>Location:</b> Coygan Camp, Dyfed, Wales	<b>Date:</b> C5 to 6?
<b>Description:</b> A bi-vallate Iron Age hillfort enclosing area of some 3 acres. During the Roman period, c. 270-300 AD (dated by coins), the site was re-occupied after a considerable interval. Habitation centred on a rectangular building, with partial stone footings and post-built construction, against the rampart. This is thought to have been associated with a counterfeiting operation since a hoard of coins and a white clay crucible were found near Hut 1. Wainwright suggested that the need to conceal this may have been the reason for the reoccupation of the hilltop. Two burials and some weapons also found. Wainwright also thought it was possible that the site had been briefly reoccupied in the C4 since a coin of 337-341 was found along with a calcite-gritted pot. There appeared to have been no reconstruction of the ramparts. Post-Roman occupation rested on 8 sherds from 4 different pots which included PRS/ARS and Late Roman amphorae. However, Wainwright noted that Alcock believed this pottery was already being produced in C4 and could have found its way to Britain during Roman rule (p. 71).		
<b>Reference:</b> G. J. Wainwright, <i>Coygan Camp. A Prehistoric, Romano-British and Dark Age Settlement in Carmarthenshire</i> (Cambrian Archaeological Association, 1967).		

<b>Site name:</b> Degannwy	<b>Location:</b> Degannwy Castle, Caernarvonshire	<b>Date:</b> C2 to 13
<b>Description:</b> The site of a ruined castle of Henry III, built on the same spot as stronghold of Welsh princes – reputedly the seat of Venedotian kings. The earliest feature was thought to be part of one face of a dry stone wall, but there was no definite dating for this. Post-Roman occupation was based on a dozen sherds of Late Roman pottery.		
<b>Reference:</b> Leslie Alcock, 'Excavations at Degannwy Castle, Caernarvonshire, 1961-6', <i>Archaeological Journal</i> , 124, 1 (1967), 190-201.		

<b>Site name:</b> Dinas Emrys	<b>Location:</b> Dinas Emrys, Beddgelert, Gwynedd	<b>Date:</b> Iron Age to C11
-------------------------------	---	------------------------------

**Description:** A hillfort on a small, rocky hill above the Gwynant valley, enclosing about 2.5 acres. During the Iron Age and Roman period, there may have been a wooden palisade, but in the post-Roman period, the boundary consisted of a drystone wall. Post-Roman occupation was split into three phases. In the first (C5-6), a rectangular cistern was built, although analysis of the sedimentary layers suggested that its life was relatively short lived. In the second phase (C6-8), a stone foundation, varying from 1.8-2.7m wide was found to the north of the cistern. Savory thought it possible that this had been a wall, but that it may have been just a kind of hardstanding for animals to cross the boggy ground around the pool. In the third phase (C8-11), the cistern was covered over by a layer of dark brown mud and a layer of peat. On top of this a circular platform was constructed, bounded on the south side by vertical stone slabs. A large stone slab projected over the side of this apparently linking to a causeway. By the twelfth century, a stone keep had been built to the north of this. Early medieval occupation was attested primarily through sherds of ARS and LR3 pottery.

**Reference:** H. Savory, 'Excavations at Dinas Emrys, Beddgelert (Caern.), 1954-56, *Archaeologia Cambrensis*, 109 (1960), pp. 13-77.

<b>Site name:</b> Dinas Powys	<b>Location:</b> Dinas Powys, Glamorgan, Wales	<b>Date:</b> C5 to 8
-------------------------------	---	----------------------

**Description:** A hillfort on a whale-back hill at 61m OD. Alcock had proposed six phases stretching from the Iron Age to the twelfth century, with refortification of the Iron Age banks happening in the later period. However, Campbell proposed a substantial rephasing based on an analysis of the pottery assemblage which plotted the horizontal distribution of sherds by calculating maximum sherd size curves. This is based on the idea that the less trauma sherds are exposed to (the less often they are moved or stepped on), the larger they will be. Campbell argued that the site began as an unenclosed area in the Bronze Age, and that the ramparts were not created until the fifth century, with more banks added through the sixth to eighth centuries. Campbell also challenged Alcock's idea that House II was a barn, arguing that both it and House IB were domestic, based on the presence of ARS and PRS tablewares. House IB was the larger structure (376.28m<sup>2</sup>) and was thought to have been built in stone because of the apsidal end. As well as the imported pottery, a large number of metal (bronze and iron) objects were found, along with crucible fragments.

**Reference:** Leslie Alcock, *Dinas Powys. An Iron Age, Dark Age and Early Medieval Settlement in Glamorgan* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1963).

Ewan Campbell, *Continental and Mediterranean Imports to Atlantic Britain and Ireland, AD400-800*, CBA Research Report 157 (York: Council for British Archaeology, 2007).

<b>Site name:</b> Eddisbury	<b>Location:</b> Eddisbury, Delamere, Cheshire	<b>Date:</b> C4 to 6?
-----------------------------	---	-----------------------

**Description:** An Iron Age hillfort which began as a small univallate fort on the eastern side of the hill and was later extended across the hilltop with a second rampart being added. This fort is believed to have been slighted by the Romans – the ditches show purposeful infilling and among that infill a tegula associated with the XX legion was found. The ditches were then further levelled in the post-Roman period and the site occupied by round huts, with some of the rampart stone reused as floor surfacing. Between the sixth to eighth centuries, there is evidence of some sparse 'Saxon' occupation in a hut floor containing a loomweight dated to this era. Later in the middle ages, a stone built hunting lodge was

constructed on the eastern spur of the hill – possibly the ‘Chamber in the Forest’ recorded in some sources. Any immediate post-Roman occupation was based on sherds of some ‘exceedingly crude pottery’ (p. 20) which Varley attributed to the ‘Dark Ages’ (C4-6). This was found in a circular hut built in a cut out section of the inner rampart. This met with the objection that these sherds may have been from Iron Age cookers (see also Pant-y-Saer, below) and the dating is not, therefore, secure.

**References:** W. J. Varley, ‘Excavations of the Castle Ditch, Eddisbury, 1935-1938’, *Transactions of the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire*, 102 (1950), 1-68.  
P. S. Gelling and S. C. Stanford, ‘Dark Age pottery or Iron Age ovens?’, *Trans. Proc. Birmingham Arch. Soc.*, 82 (1967), 77-91.

<b>Site name:</b> Graeanog	<b>Location:</b> Graeanog, Lleyn Peninsula, Gwynedd	<b>Date:</b> C6 to 9
<b>Description:</b> The site began as two roundhouses which were later enclosed with a drystone wall, including several annexes. One roundhouse was replaced by a rectangular house against the wall during the Romano-British period. Kelly thought that it was enclosed because of problems with colluvium. He conjectured that the wall had largely gone out of use by Period 4, since a hole was punched in it to allow access to a corn dryer to the north (p. 132). Archaeomagnetic dating of a hearth stone placed occupation in C6-9, but Kelly placed it toward the latter end of this for documentary reasons (a charter of Edward IV which referred to the seventh century). The site was in proximity to a similar settlement at Cefn Graeanog, but occupation is thought to have ended there in the fourth century.		
<b>References:</b> R. S. Kelly, ‘The Excavation of an Enclosed Homestead at Graeanog, 1985, 1987 and 1988’, in P. J. Fasham, R. S. Kelly, M. A. Mason and R. B. White, <i>The Graeanog Ridge: The Evolution of a Farming Landscape and its Settlements in North-West Wales</i> , Cambrian Archaeological Association Monographs No. 6 (Aberystwyth: Cambrian Archaeological Association, 1998), pp. 114-158. Jane Kenney, ‘Cefn Graianog Quarry Extension, Archaeological Watching Brief, Report No. 424’, Gwynedd Archaeological Trust unpublished report, September 2001.		

<b>Site name:</b> Hen Gastell	<b>Location:</b> Hen Gastell, Briton Ferry, West Glamorgan	<b>Date:</b> C6 to 7
<b>Description:</b> The site lies on an oval hill 30m high, where quarrying began in the 1930s. By the time of the excavation in the 1990s, an estimated 70-80% of the hill had already been quarried away. No certain structures were found, but Wilkinson believed that Area 1 might have contained a rectangular, artificially levelled platform of 12m x 5m, and that two gullies to the N and S could have been the foundation trenches for stone or turf walls. North of this was another group of postholes and a hearth which may have belonged to a structure which burnt down. Early medieval occupation was based upon sherds of LR1, DSPA, and E ware, plus some fragments of glass including a possible piece of Kentish blue glass.		
<b>Reference:</b> P. F. Wilkinson, ‘Excavations at Hen Gastell, Briton Ferry, West Glamorgan, 1991-92’, <i>Medieval Archaeology</i> , 39 (1995), 1-50.		

<b>Site name:</b> Longbury Bank	<b>Location:</b> Longbury, Penally, (Dyfed) Pembrokeshire	<b>Date:</b> C6 to 7
<p><b>Description:</b> The site sits at 26m OD on a flat limestone promontory between two small valleys. The thin nature of the soil meant that little survived in way of structures – only some platforms cut into the bedrock and some putative postholes. Aerial photography, geophysics and excavation did, however, combine to show that there had never been any defensive enclosure around the site. One structure was identified from a sub-rectangular rock-cut platform, parallel to the hillslope, possibly originally 3-4m x 4m, with possible post holes around the edge. One of these had remains of carbonised post which gave a radiocarbon date of 410-650. It was thought this may have been a storage building because the postholes were neither large nor deep. Beyond this, no certain structures were identified. Sherds of LR1, LR2, DSPA, and E ware were found from pits and hollows around the site.</p>		
<p><b>Reference:</b> Ewan Campbell and Alan Lane, 'Excavations at Longbury Bank, Dyfed, and Early Medieval Settlement in South Wales', <i>Medieval Archaeology</i>, 37 (1993), 15-77.</p>		

<b>Site name:</b> New Pieces	<b>Location:</b> New Pieces/Breiddin, Powys	<b>Date:</b> Late Bronze Age to post-Roman
<p><b>Description:</b> Breiddin is a hillfort which sits some 240m above the south bank of the Severn, about 20km from Shrewsbury. New Pieces, which may represent post-hillfort occupation sits on the central ridge of the hill, which rises to 320m OD. O'Neill read late or post-Roman occupation from a thick layer of debris, dated by pottery including a thin but coarse redware which he thought imitated Roman styles. This has since been thought to be residual Bronze or Iron Age material (Musson, p. 10). Musson found less evidence for occupation, although what there was centred around the third or fourth century. He thought any occupation was largely agricultural and perhaps centred more on New Pieces, where three fragments of Roman-style glass, now identified as fifth or sixth century, were found. New Pieces was formed of a wide dry stone wall, similar in character to the surrounding field boundaries, with evidence of a possible roundhouse and workshop structure inside.</p>		
<p><b>Reference:</b> B. H. St J. O'Neill, 'Excavations at Breiddin Hill Camp, Montgomeryshire, 1933-35', <i>Archaeologia Cambrensis</i>, 92 (1937), 86-128. C. R. Musson, with W. J. Britnell and A. G. Smith, <i>The Breiddin Hillfort: A later prehistoric settlement in the Welsh Marches</i>, CBA Research Report No. 76 (London: Council for British Archaeology, 1991).</p>		

<b>Site name:</b> Pant-y-Saer	<b>Location:</b> Pant-y-Saer, Gwynedd, Wales	<b>Date:</b> C2 to 5 (?)
<p><b>Description:</b> Six possible dry-stone structures were found within a polygonal stone enclosure. Phasing was problematic because past occupation layers appeared to have been used to repack the walls during refurbishment (as situation also noted at Trethurgy). Dating was also partly based on Phillips' identification of 'native pottery' as Dark Age, an identification which has since been challenged.</p>		
<p><b>Reference:</b> C. W. Phillips, 'The excavation of a hut group at Pant-y-Saer in the parish of Mathafarn-Eithaf, Anglesey', <i>Archaeologia Cambrensis</i>, LXXXIX (1934), 1-36. P. S. Gelling and S. C. Stanford, 'Dark Age pottery or Iron Age ovens?', <i>Trans. Proc. Birmingham Arch. Soc.</i>, 82 (1967), 77-91.</p>		

<b>Site name:</b> Parker's Croft	<b>Location:</b> Parker's Croft, Shap, Cumbria	<b>Date:</b> C7 to 8
<p><b>Description:</b> Three possible post-built structures were found on a site in the valley of the river Lowther. The most clearly defined was a post-in-hole building of 45.6m<sup>2</sup> with closely set post holes, two internal partitions, and doors north of centre in the long-walls. The excavators compared this to those found at Dunston's Clump, Notts, noting a similar close spacing of post holes and raising the possibility of a continuous Romano-British tradition. The doorways were reminiscent of those at Catholme, being north of centre.</p>		
<p><b>Reference:</b> Richard Heawood and Christine Howard-Davis, 'Two early medieval settlement sites in eastern Cumbria', <i>Transactions of the Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archaeological Society</i>, 3<sup>rd</sup> Series, II (2002), 145-169.</p>		

<b>Site name:</b> Peasedown St John	<b>Location:</b> Wellow Lane, Peasedown St John, Somerset, ST7120 5705	<b>Date:</b> Iron Age to 850
<p><b>Description:</b> A multi-period site including Iron Age, Roman, and medieval activity. Precise dating of features was difficult as the archaeology was truncated and features poorly preserved in the shallow soil. Features were also widely spaced with little stratigraphy and few dateable finds. As a result, the excavators assigned the latest possible date to features. A ditch delimiting a D-shaped enclosure was dated to the early medieval period by charred plant remains from its fill. Within this were two discernible structures: an H-shaped structure with one side longer than the other, and a square of stake or post holes. Neither gave dating evidence. The excavators thought the enclosure was similar in size to one of the those at Poundbury, and that it fitted Reynold's view of developing enclosures from the seventh century on.</p>		
<p><b>Reference:</b> Michael Rowe and Mary Alexander, 'Multi-period archaeology at Wellow Lane, Peasedown St John: Excavations 2004-5', <i>Somerset Archaeology and Natural History</i>, 154 (2010), 53-70.</p>		

<b>Site name:</b> Pin Brook	<b>Location:</b> Pin Brook, Broadclyst, Exeter, Devon	<b>Date:</b> C7
<p><b>Description:</b> The site showed activity from the Mesolithic onwards, including worked flints, pits, and a ring ditch. Sometime in the late Bronze Age/Iron Age an enclosure was created and inside this was a penannular ditch possibly indicating the presence of a roundhouse. The enclosure ditch was recut around the sixth century and sub-divided with two other ditches. Within these smaller enclosures were six post holes forming a rectangular arrangement of 28m<sup>2</sup>, which was undated and could have been prehistoric or early medieval, and eight 'keyhole' shaped grain drying ovens. A substantial quantity of metalworking debris was found on site, but the excavators thought this must have been redeposited since the drying ovens could not have reached sufficient temperatures. There were also 97 graves which could not be dated, but which may have belonged to the medieval phase.</p>		
<p><b>References:</b> Nicky Garland, 'Prehistoric settlement and burial, early Medieval crop processing and a possible early Medieval cemetery along the Clyst valley: investigations south of the Pin Brook, Broadclyst, near Exeter, 2015-2016', <i>Proceedings of Devon Archaeological Society</i>, 77 (2019), 103-145.</p>		

Nicky Garland and Joe Whelan, *Pinn Brook Enclosure, Redhayes, Exeter: Post-Excavation Assessment and Updated Project Design*, Cotswold Archaeology Unpublished Report (2016).

<b>Site name:</b> Rotherwas	<b>Location:</b> Rotherwas, Herefordshire	<b>Date:</b> C6 to 7
<b>Description:</b> A large curvilinear ditch, enclosing c. 0.14 hectares, was radiocarbon dated to the sixth century, and had silted up by the seventh. Another rectilinear enclosure was not securely dated, but was not believed to be contemporary. No structures were found. The majority of pottery found in the medieval contexts was Roman, c. third to fourth century.		
<b>Reference:</b> Darren Miller, <i>Archaeological Work at Rotherwas Industrial estate, Herefordshire (Rotherwas Futures)</i> , Worcestershire County Council Historic Environment and Archaeology Service Report 1837 (2011).		

<b>Site name:</b> Sherborne House	<b>Location:</b> Sherborne House, Lechlade, Glos.	<b>Date:</b> C6 to 8
<b>Description:</b> A series of post-built structures were found in association with SFBs on a site which had seen occupation from the late Bronze Age onwards, but which was apparently uninhabited during the Roman period. The excavators noted that the phasing of the site was difficult as features produced little dateable evidence and much of the pottery was made from local clay, meaning that it exhibited a similar fabric across all periods, making periodicity difficult to distinguish. A sixth-to-seventh-century date was preferred for Saxon occupation, partly due to the quantity of organic tempered ware found and partly due to the morphology of the settlement itself, which fitted prevailing ideas of seventh-century development, since all three phases of early medieval occupation showed evidence of ditches enclosures and a droveway.		
<b>Reference:</b> Clifford Bateman, Dawn Enright, and Niall Oakey, 'Prehistoric and Anglo-Saxon Settlements to the rear of Sherborne House, Lechlade: excavations in 1997', <i>Transactions Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society</i> , 121 (2003), 23-96.		

<b>Site name:</b> South Cadbury	<b>Location:</b> Cadbury Castle, South Cadbury, Somerset	<b>Date:</b> C6
<b>Description:</b> Activity on the site seems to have begun in the late Bronze Age, with the first ramparts built in the Iron Age, and the fort subsequently becoming multivallate. Roman period activity may have been confined to agriculture – a few Samian ware sherds were found which may have been brought with midden waste from the settlement at the base of the hill. Alcock did suggest the hill could have been the site of a Roman temple, although there is no definite evidence for this. In the post-Roman period, the rampart was reworked at some expense. There was a timber palisade on top, with posts set into the bank and tied to a second set of upright posts set in front of the bank. This was faced with dry stonework. A gatehouse, possibly with inner and outer gates, was built at the south-west gateway. Within this, a hall of some 190m <sup>2</sup> was built, probably as a fully framed building since the post holes were shallow. This was dated by a Late Roman amphora sherd in a wall trench. North-east of the hall were the wall trenches of another structure, but there was nothing to date this.		
<b>References:</b> Leslie Alcock, <i>"By South Cadbury is that Camelot..." Excavations at Cadbury Castle 1966-70</i> , (London: Thames and Hudson, 1972; reprinted Book Club Associates, 1975).		

Leslie Alcock, Sylvia J. Stevenson, and Chris Musson, *Cadbury Castle, Somerset: The Early Medieval Archaeology* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1995).

<b>Site name:</b> Tintagel	<b>Location:</b> Tintagel, North Cornwall	<b>Date:</b> Roman to c. C14
<p><b>Description:</b> Radford's excavations in the 1930s were never fully published, but his conclusion that the site represented an early medieval monastery fell out of favour rapidly. Thomas not only debunked this theory, but also did much to refine Radford's analysis of the Late Antique and early medieval imported pottery, producing a schema which has undergone further revision since then. It is here that the site's main interest lies; structural evidence is largely restricted to the remains of insubstantial buildings from the lower terrace, along with the rampart and Great Ditch. Excavations in the 1990s confirmed that the Roman period had been more significant than previously thought, but once again, the building work of the later Middle Ages means that the evidence is largely artefactual.</p>		
<p><b>References:</b> R. A. Radford, 'Tintagel: The Castle and Celtic Monastery, Interim Report', <i>The Antiquaries Journal</i>, 15 (1935), 401-419.  Charles Thomas, <i>Tintagel, Arthur and Archaeology</i>, (London: Batsford/ English Heritage, 1993).  Colleen E. Batey, Rachel C. Barrowman and Christopher D. Morris, <i>Excavations at Tintagel Castle, Cornwall, 1990-1999</i>, Reports of the Research Committee of the Society of Antiquaries of London (London: Society of Antiquaries, 2007)</p>		

<b>Site name:</b> Trethurgy	<b>Location:</b> Trethurgy, Cornwall, SW03475563	<b>Date:</b> Iron Age to C8
<p><b>Description:</b> A classic Cornish round which saw long-term occupation during which structures came and went within the boundary wall. The early medieval occupation made up Period 5 and was divided into four stages, covering c. 400-700, after which time the boundary began to be used as a stock fold. There seemed to have been an overall decline in occupation through this period, although industrial activity continued. While only small amounts of smithing slag and hearth linings were found, a tin ingot weighing 12kg was discovered in a midden. The midden itself though to be fourth century, but the ingot could have been placed there later (and the fifth century was suggested). There were also specimens of schorl – a mineral which often occurs in tin ores and has to be separated out, suggesting tin smelting may have been taking place somewhere nearby.</p>		
<p><b>References:</b> Henrietta Quinnell, <i>Trethurgy. Excavations at Trethurgy Round, St Austell: Community and Status in Roman and Post-Roman Cornwall</i> (Truro: Cornwall County Council, 2004).  Ewan Campbell, <i>Continental and Mediterranean Imports to Atlantic Britain and Ireland, AD400-800</i>, CBA Research Report 157 (York: Council for British Archaeology, 2007).</p>		

## France: Northern France

<b>Site name:</b> Athies	<b>Location:</b> Athies, Somme, Picardy	<b>Date:</b> C6 to 9
<p><b>Description:</b> Some 17 post-built structures, 32 SFBs, 21 ovens, and a large number of silos and pits were found within ditched enclosures on a site near the modern village of Croix-</p>		

Moligneaux. This is thought to have been home to the *villa regalis* attested in Gregory of Tours where Radegund was kept. Harnay interpreted the intense activity, coupled with the relatively modest nature of the settlement, as indicating a possible service site for the royal residence.

**Reference:** Véronique Harnay, 'Le site du "Chemin de Croix", un habitat du haut Moyen Âge aux abords de la villa royale d'Athies (Somme)', *Revue archéologique de Picardie*, 1-2 (2009), L'actualité de l'archéologie du haut Moyen-Âge en Picardie. Les apports de l'expérimentation à l'archéologie mérovingienne. Actes des XXIXe journées internationales d'archéologie mérovingiennes. Musée des Temps Barbare, Marle (Aisne) 26-28 septembre 2008, 37-54.

<b>Site name:</b> Aubréville	<b>Location:</b> Aubréville, Meuse	<b>Date:</b> C6 to 7
<p><b>Description:</b> Three post-in-hole structures were found during quarrying. The largest of these was c. 103m<sup>2</sup>, aligned north-east/south-west. The western half was a rectangle 2.5m wide, divided into two rooms. The larger east side, c. 74.75m<sup>2</sup>, was divided into three spaces. The largest of these was the north room at 35.75m<sup>2</sup>, next was the south room at 26m<sup>2</sup>, which featured a large pit, interpreted as a possible cellar or workspace rather than a later cut. Between these two was smaller space of 13.6m<sup>2</sup>. Given its lack of potential lighting, it was suggested this was a bay open to the east. The second building was roughly square, 4.8m<sup>2</sup>, and with deeper post holes, consistent with it being a granary. This seemed to have been destroyed by fire, carbonising the wood. The third structure was 62m<sup>2</sup>, with no internal partitions, interpreted as a barn. Charred grain seeds from the post holes suggested there had been a clear separation of storage areas for different crops.</p>		
<p><b>Reference:</b> Laurent Vermard and Julian Wiethold, with Michiel Gazenbeek, 'Production Agricole et stockage dans une ferme du début du VIIe S. à Aubréville (Meuse)', <i>Revue archéologique de l'Est</i>, 57 (2008), 315-332.</p>		

<b>Site name:</b> Biéville-Beuville	<b>Location:</b> Biéville-Beuville, Calvados, Normandy	<b>Date:</b> C6 to 7
<p><b>Description:</b> A difficult site, substantial areas of which had probably been destroyed during eighteenth century works and the Second World War. Occupation seems to have begun with three SFBs in the sixth century, expanding to some seven structures grouped around a courtyard in the seventh. The largest of these were wooden framed buildings on stone footings. These appear to have been contained within a palisaded ditch, although it was impossible, given modern developments, to determine whether occupation had continued beyond this. The courtyard itself was divided by a groove, and in the eastern section, which was generally less well preserved, was a structure containing a grain dryer. The site was later home to a château.</p>		
<p><b>Reference:</b> Vincent Hincker, 'Un habitat aristocratique en Neustrie: Le site du château à Biéville-Beuville (Calvados, Normandie, France)' in <i>Villes et campagnes en Neustrie: Sociétés, Économies, Territoire, Christianisation</i>, Actes de XXV<sup>e</sup> journées internationales d'Archéologie mérovingienne de l' AFAM, Tome XVI des mémoires de l'Association française d'archéologie mérovingienne, ed. by Laurent Verslype (Montagnac: Monique Mergoïl, 2007), pp. 175-189.</p>		

<b>Site name:</b> Champlay	<b>Location:</b> Le Grand Longeuron, 'Les Colombers', Champlay, Yonne, Bourgogne	<b>Date:</b> C8
<b>Description:</b> Two post-built structures were found, one 28m <sup>2</sup> the other 70m <sup>2</sup> with a possible courtyard between them. There was also an oval building of 16m <sup>2</sup> with a hearth, an oval oven, one SFB, and a series of smaller pits. No discernible boundaries were found.		
<b>Reference:</b> Édith Peytremann, <i>Archéologie de l'habitat rural dans le nord de la France du IVe au XIIIe siècle</i> , Volume 2, Mémoires de l'Association française d'archéologie mérovingienne (Chelles : Association française d'archéologie mérovingienne, 2003), pp. 59-60.		

<b>Site name:</b> Château Julien	<b>Location:</b> Château-Julien, Doubs, Franche-Comté	<b>Date:</b> C4 to 8
<b>Description:</b> A quadrangular plateau of about 1.5 hectares, the whole surrounded by a masonry rampart at the break of slope. The excavators believed this would have been an impressively high mortared wall, given the amount of debris, and that it would have had wall towers. They thought that the amount of demolition rubble also suggested that the centre was fully occupied by buildings. Traces of a hypocaust were found, and there was a chapel or church in the south-west angle of the site where a sarcophagus was found in the 1930s. 'Elite' material finds were mentioned, but not recorded in detail. They included, however, Merovingian-era weapons, crossbow brooches, and belt fittings.		
<b>Reference:</b> David Billoin and Cédric Cramatte, 'Le castrum de l'Antiquité tardive et du haut Moyen Âge de Mandeuire et l'établissement fortifié de hauteur de Château-Julien (Doubs)', <i>Gallia</i> , 74,1 (2017), 273-287.		

<b>Site name:</b> Delle	<b>Location:</b> La Queue au Loup, Delle, Belfort, Franche-Comté	<b>Date:</b> C6 to 7
<b>Description:</b> In the middle sixth century to early seventh, a building with stone footings supporting a frame of wood and cob was built on a hillside, facing the site of a Roman villa. The building took the place of an earlier post-in-hole structure, and some stone and tile from the villa was re-used in its construction. The structure was about 230m <sup>2</sup> and was divided into four rooms with probable exterior access to an upper floor. The largest room was 45m <sup>2</sup> and had an oval hearth. This contained all the pottery found on site, some 40 sherds from up to 17 different vessels, emanating from different sources. An analysis of phosphorous residues showed the highest levels were found in this room and in the second largest space, which ran parallel to it. The excavators suggested that this was consistent with the largest room as a living space, while other areas were used for the storage of vegetable material or the housing of stock. However, they noted that such a chemical signal was not an absolute guarantee, since tests from known stables had produced low readings. They noted that the kind of architecture used in this structure had a long history, continuing in some areas into the nineteenth century.		
<b>Reference:</b> David Billoin, with Christophe Gaston, Sylviane Humbert, Valérie Lamy, Jean-Christophe Le Bannier, and Olivier Putelat, 'Un établissement rural Mérovingien à Delle 'la Queue au Loup' (Territoire de Belfort)' <i>Revue archéologique de l'Est</i> , 59 (2010), pp. 603-634.		

<b>Site name:</b> Déols	<b>Location:</b> 'Le Grand Brelay', Déols, Indre, Centre	<b>Date:</b> C7 to 9
<p><b>Description:</b> The early medieval occupation of this site represented the third phase of a period of activity stretching from pre-history to the later Middle Ages. A total of 176 post holes were found, but the high level of truncation and their high density made reconstruction of any buildings difficult. The excavators did identify one potential structure which was a rectangular, 2 cell, building of 96m<sup>2</sup>. There was also a well-preserved oven, 16 storage pits, 52 other pits, and six burials. Associated with these was a heavily truncated system of basin-shaped ditches, stretching either side of a Roman road which was itself ditched. The excavators thought that given the hydrology of the area, the primary function of these ditches was drainage, although they acknowledged a secondary function of zoning.</p>		
<p><b>Reference:</b> Nicolas Fouillet, 'Un habitat rural du haut Moyen-Âge à Déols (Indre)', <i>Revue archéologique de la France</i>, 38 (1999), 169-194.</p>		

<b>Site name:</b> Distré	<b>Location:</b> Distré, Maine-et-Loire, Pays-de-la-Loire	<b>Date:</b> C5 to 11
<p><b>Description:</b> One structure with stone foundations associated with silos and other post holes, but few details available. Attention was focussed on the stronger evidence of later occupation from the ninth to the eleventh centuries, and no details were given of the features of the sixth. The later settlement was to the north and the earlier site lay on the edge of wet land, so it seemed unlikely that this single structure represented part of a larger settlement. Presumably, if the sixth-century settlement had expanded northwards, the excavators would have found it during their work on the ninth-century one. A tentative conclusion, then, might be that this represents a small family farmstead. The relatively precocious use of stone foundations is interesting, although it is not known if this was a dwelling or a structure of another kind.</p>		
<p><b>Reference:</b> Peytremann Édith, <i>Archéologie de l'habitat rural dans le nord de la France du IVe au XIIIe siècle</i>, Volume 2, Mémoires de l'Association française d'archéologie mérovingienne (Chelles : Association française d'archéologie mérovingienne, 2003), p. 358.</p>		

<b>Site name:</b> Ecrille	<b>Location:</b> La Motte, Ecrille, Jura	<b>Date:</b> Phase1: 400 to 450 Phase 2: C6 to 7
<p><b>Description:</b> In Phase 1, a tower of 60.78m<sup>2</sup> was built of roughly dressed mortared stone blocks on a 500m long, narrow hilltop, reaching height of 483m NGF. The tower was thought to have been built of stone up to the first floor, then possibly completed in wood with organic roofing material – due to the small amount of tile found. Finds from this phase included fine and coarse ware pottery. Phase 2 saw the abandonment of the tower, the occupation and demolition of the terrace to the east, and the renovation and then demolition of a path to the west. Finds from this phase included a fragment of a Hayes I/Atlante VIII African lamp, fragments of soapstone wares (possibly from Switzerland or Italy), a large number of coins, with a large date range, but the majority from Late Roman Empire (295 out of 495), and high status metalware, including jewellery, belt buckles, part of a radiate-headed brooch, a silver bird's head brooch, a silver bracelet, a bronze purse fitting, and Eastern-style arrowheads possibly curated from Roman period. The excavators thought one explanation for the presence of what they considered to be primarily a defensive position was the control of salt routes passing below.</p>		

**Reference:** Philippe Gandel, David Billoin, and Sylvaine Humbert, 'Écrille "La Motte" (Jura): un établissement de hauteur de l'Antiquité tardive et du haut Moyen Âge', *Revue archéologique de l'Est*, 57, 179 (2008), pp. 289-31.

<b>Site name:</b> Foujouin	<b>Location:</b> 'Foujoin', Vernou-sur-Brenne, Indre-et-Loire, Centre	<b>Date:</b> C6 to 9
<b>Description:</b> This settlement, near a rise which was home to prehistoric settlement and a villa, was 'structured' by a track passing through it from north to south. Thirteen sections of ditch led off the central trackway, delimiting a series of parcels. Within these, post holes were resolved into ten structures, varying from 7.72 to 76.75m <sup>2</sup> . These were associated with silos and intense scatters of pottery, animal bone, and metalworking debris.		
<b>Reference:</b> Vincent Hirn, Matthieu Gaultier, Céline Aunay, Chloé Génies, Claire Gerbaud, Philippe Husi, and Florian Sarreste, 'Un habitat du haut Moyen Âge à "Foujouin" (Vernou-sur-Brenne, Indre-et-Loire)', <i>Revue archéologique du Centre de la France</i> , 56 (2017), 1-60.		

<b>Site name:</b> Gaillardon	<b>Location:</b> Gaillardon, Ménétru-le-Vignoble, Jura	<b>Date:</b> C5 to 6
<b>Description:</b> The site covers c. 1.8 ha at a height of around 367m NGF, with steep drops on all sides except the north, where the sole access track was protected by a double wall. The outer wall was 1.5m thick and formed of mortared stone blocks, the inner wall was 2.45m thick at its base and constructed more carefully in <i>opus vitatum</i> . The outer wall continued to the west and may have formed a complete circuit, while the inner wall seemed to be a feature of the northern face. Within this, much archaeological evidence had been destroyed by agriculture, and few structures were recognisable. Some areas of earthen floors and post holes were recognised, and the excavators estimated the area could have been home to 30-40 dwellings. There was evidence of metalworking and bone-working, and material finds, and evidence of food consumption, suggested a relatively prosperous site.		
<b>Reference:</b> Philippe Gandel and David Billoin, 'Le site de Gaillardon à Ménétru-le-Vignoble, Jura: un établissement de hauteur de l'Antiquité tardive et du haut Moyen Âge', <i>Revue archéologique de l'Est</i> , 60 (2011), 313-421.		

<b>Site name:</b> Glatigny	<b>Location:</b> Glatigny, Mer, Loir-et-Cher, Centre	<b>Date:</b> C8
<b>Description:</b> There was both Iron Age and Roman activity on this site, although the nature of that activity was not entirely clear. In the second century, a trapezoidal enclosure was constructed on the area of the excavation, which may have contained masonry buildings evidenced by areas of limestone rubble, while a villa is thought to have lain to the north. In the fourth century, the villa was reconstructed on the debris of the former structures, and new structures were built, including ovens and some form of SFBs. The Merovingian structures consisted of 3 SFBs and a ditch which possibly served as a soak-away. However, in several areas, the excavators did find substantial floor levels from this period, including large amounts of pottery, leading them to conclude that occupation was significant.		
<b>Reference:</b> Pierre Genty, Fabrice Moireau, Pierre Cabard, and Jean-Louis Girault, 'Le site gallo-romain et médiéval de Glatigny (Mer, Loir-et-Cher)', <i>Revue archéologique du Centre de la France</i> , 26, 1 (1987), 21-66.		

<b>Site name:</b> Janzé	<b>Location:</b> La Tullaye, Janzé, Ille-et-Villaine, Bretagne	<b>Date:</b> C5 to 9
<p><b>Description:</b> A 24m<sup>2</sup> structure was dated between the fifth and seventh centuries. This was formed of nine post holes, three on the west and six in a double row to the east. The excavator believed these were contemporary and may have represented a raised granary in some form of baking complex. Inside the structure was another post hole associated with a pit believed to be the access pit to an oven outside the structure. The structure may have been surrounded by a palisade, while to the east there was a ditch which was interpreted as a fire trench. In the eighth century, the site was divided into three plots, each home to a post-built structure.</p>		
<p><b>Reference:</b> Édith Peytremann, <i>Archéologie de l'habitat rural dans le nord de la France du IVe au XIIIe siècle</i>, Volume 2, Mémoires de l'Association française d'archéologie mérovingienne (Chelles : Association française d'archéologie mérovingienne, 2003), pp. 77-80.</p>		

<b>Site name:</b> Marines, Les Carreaux	<b>Location:</b> Les Carreaux, Marines, Val d'Oise, Île-de-France	<b>Date:</b> C6 to 10
<p><b>Description:</b> Activity began on the site in the sixth century with one SFB and one pit. This multiplied through the seventh century and into the eighth, with a large number of SFBs accompanied by some 40 ovens. Devals noted, however, that there was little evidence for storage structures. There was also a relative dearth of pottery, which led Devals to conclude that the heart of the settlement lay beyond the limits of excavation.</p>		
<p><b>Reference:</b> Christophe Devals, 'Un site du haut Moyen Âge en Vexin français: Marines – Les Carreaux (Val d'Oise)', in <i>Villes et campagnes en Neustrie. Sociétés, Économies, Territoires, Christianisation</i>, ed. by Laurent Verslype, Actes des XXVe Journées internationales d'archéologie mérovingienne de l'AFAM, Vol. XVI, held at Tournai, France, 2004, (Montagnac: AFAM/Monique Mergoïl, 2007), pp.139-156.</p>		

<b>Site name:</b> Marlenheim	<b>Location:</b> Marlenheim, Alsace	<b>Date:</b> C6 to 12
<p><b>Description:</b> A small number of post-built structures were found, three of which were reasonably clearly defined, but only one had a full outline. Hundreds of SFBs were found across three areas, accompanied by sparse burials and a large amount of domestic residue giving evidence of weaving and butchery. There was also evidence, in the form of a piece of millstone, for a water mill c. seventh century, and a number of stilted grain silos and storage pits, some of the pits of some size. From the mid seventh to the ninth century, a craft zone was in operation mainly producing mainly metalwork but also with some bone-working and weaving.</p>		
<p><b>Reference:</b> Madeleine Châtelet, 'Marlenheim en Alsace: une résidence royale et un centre domanial des périodes Mérovingienne et Carolingienne', <i>Des Fleuves et des Hommes à l'époque mérovingienne. Territoire fluvial et société au premier Moyen Âge (Ve – XIIIe siècle)</i>, Actes des 33<sup>e</sup> journées internationales d'archéologie mérovingienne 28-30 septembre 2012, Strasbourg, Mémoires de l'Association française d'Archéologie mérovingienne 32, <i>Revue archéologique de l'Est</i> supp. 42 (Dijon: AFAM; RAE, 2016), pp. 245-254.</p>		

<b>Site name:</b> Mercin-et-Vaux	<b>Location:</b> Mercin-et-Vaux, Aisne, Hauts-de-France	<b>Date:</b> C1 to 6
<p><b>Description:</b> Near the crossroad of Roman roads, 3km west of Soissons, the site of a villa was enclosed within a wall. The <i>pars urbana</i> was to the south and was limited in extent by a patch of marshy ground. The <i>pars agricola</i> to the north was bigger and was delimited by the road. On the road was another building which did not appear to be associated with the villa because of a different alignment. Within the <i>pars urbana</i> was a T-shaped building and a building with an apse. This latter could not be dated, but was aligned differently and therefore could be either Late Antique or Merovingian. Within the <i>pars agricola</i>, there was a central building built against the dividing wall and two flanking wings of buildings. The villa was founded in the first century and went through a number of changes. Phase 4 in the late third-to-fourth century saw the beginning of a decline; occupation of the site diminished, and buildings were eventually demolished.</p>		
<p><b>Reference:</b> Pascal Quérel and Carole Quérel, with contributions from Marie-Laure Berdeaux-Lebrazidec and Dominic Roussel, 'Mercin-et-Vaux, le <i>Quinconce</i>: villa gallo-romaine et occupation du Haut Moyen Âge', <i>Archéologie de la Picardie et du Nord de la France (Revue du Nord)</i>, 84, 348 (2002), 91-114.</p>		

<b>Site name:</b> Mericourt	<b>Location:</b> Mericourt, Pas-de-Calais	<b>Date:</b> C7 to 8
<p><b>Description:</b> On a flat chalk plain about 5km south of Lens, at least eight SFBs and two arrangements of post holes were found in association with a system of ditches. The ditches described possible trackways and enclosures, but did not appear to have influenced the alignment or grouping of the structures. There were also two groupings of hearths, again with no obvious connection with the structures. The site was dated by pottery sherds in the SFB fills.</p>		
<p><b>Reference:</b> Ludovic Notte, 'Avant le village: une occupation du haut Moyen Âge à Méricourt (Pas-de-Calais) en marge de la curtis Sancti Vulmari', <i>Revue du Nord</i>, 5, 398 (2012), 167-214.</p>		

<b>Site name:</b> Moissy-Cramayel	<b>Location:</b> Moissy-Cramayel, Seine et Marne	<b>Date:</b> C3 to 5+
<p><b>Description:</b> A villa site of 2.5 hectares, with more ancillary buildings suspected to the south. The area showed Bronze and Iron Age occupation, with the villa founded in the first century. It flourished until at least the mid fourth century, when villa buildings were abandoned but some occupation continued. In the early medieval phase, the large number of post holes precluded absolute dating or full reconstitution of structures. However, five post-in-hole buildings were identified, notably one on the site of the villa itself. This predated ditch 15238 which was placed in the sixth century. A total of 121 cigar-shaped hearths were identified in two main concentrations, one in the rear court of the villa, the other, bigger, one (divided into two sub-groups) in front of the villa building. These were archaeomagnetically dated to 325-475, and some also contained ceramics which dated their fill to last third of the fifth century. The apparently low temperatures and long burns, in addition to antler tools which may have been used to work sheaves, suggested that these were grain drying ovens.</p>		
<p><b>Reference:</b> Gilles Desrayaud and Nicolas Warmé, 'Concentrations du foyers du Bas-Empire de la villa Gallo-Romaine de "Chanteloup" (Moissy-Cramayel, Seine et Marne): un témoignage du séchage des céréales', paper given at <i>Rurland 2017. Les campagnes du nord</i></p>		

*et de l'est de la Gaule à la fin de l'Antiquité (IIIe – Ve siècles)*, Michel Reddé, April 2017, Paris, France. Available from HAL Open Science, Id:hal-02295820 at <https://hal.archives-ouvertes.fr/hal-02295820>

<b>Site name:</b> Ostheim	<b>Location:</b> Ostheim, near Colmar, Haut Rhin	<b>Date:</b> C7
<p><b>Description:</b> The site straddled a long-standing communications route running north-east to south-west, with a number of Roman settlements in the area. It seemed to be largely a new creation of the seventh century, at which time the main focus of the site appeared to have been a palisaded area around one main building (B3), with a partially cobbled floor. In the same part of the site, there was a 70m<sup>2</sup> structure accompanied by two burials. Belt buckles from the graves were dated to the late seventh, early eighth century. Pottery was also dated to the last third of the seventh century. A third structure here may have been a granary, although this may have dated to the eighth century and have replaced an earlier SFB. Another zone of the site contained ten SFBs, while the third zone had what was thought to be another domestic building, partly because it was associated with dark earth deposits. There were also two more possible granaries, one apparently contained within a palisade, and some form of ancillary or agricultural building. This could not be firmly dated to the period. One pit contained a very large number of animal bones suggesting feasting on some scale, although the site did not show other signs of rich material culture.</p>		
<p><b>References:</b> Thierry Logel, <i>Ostheim, Haut-Rhin Vol 1 La pré et protohistoire</i>, Rapport de Fouille Préventive (Selestat: Pôle d'Archéologie Interdépartemental Rhéna, 2013). Thierry Logel, <i>Ostheim, Haut-Rhin Volume 2: Le haut Moyen Âge et la période moderne</i>, Rapport de Fouille Préventive (Selestat: Pôle d'Archéologie Interdépartemental Rhéna, 2008).</p>		

<b>Site name:</b> Passy	<b>Location:</b> La Sablonnière, Passy, Yonne, Bourgogne	<b>Date:</b> Late C7
<p><b>Description:</b> Some seven post-built structures, one thought to be a granary, were found in association with 10 pits, three wells, seven ovens, and six hearths, four of which were inside buildings. The wells were circular, with an oak lining which rested on a wheel of planks or beams, and two were dated dendrochronology to 690 and 725. The ovens had cooking chambers ranging from 0.5 to 1.7m, and were accessed by a pit. Four of the ovens were close to the wells. Peytremann believed that there appeared to be zoning between a building and hearth zone, and a well and oven zone.</p>		
<p><b>Reference:</b> Édith Peytremann, <i>Archéologie de l'habitat rural dans le nord de la France du IVe au XIIIe siècle</i>, Volume 2, Mémoires de l'Association française d'archéologie mérovingienne (Chelles: Association française d'archéologie mérovingienne, 2003), pp. 66-68.</p>		

<b>Site name:</b> Rigny	<b>Location:</b> Rigny, Indre-et-Loire	<b>Date:</b> C6 to 12
<p><b>Description:</b> In the late sixth or early seventh century a stone-built structure of 68m<sup>2</sup> was constructed, with foundations of unworked stone and walls of tufa blocks. It was subdivided into a number of rooms, of which only the most northerly two were fully exposed. The interior floor level had been raised with a layer of ochre clay, but there was no trace of an occupation layer. Excavators suggested that this was a storage building. To the south of</p>		

this was a structure of 170m<sup>2</sup> whose walls were poorly preserved, but excavators favoured viewing this phase as a building (i.e. with a roof) because there was evidence that the walls had been carefully finished and because they appeared to have been made strong enough to support a roof. The excavators drew attention to the quality of construction, which suggested an origin for this structure in Antiquity but pointed out that the dating of B14 showed this level was attainable immediately after the Roman period. In the next phase, a church was constructed, represented by part of the wall of an apse. By the eighth century, the area was largely given over to burial. It was believed that there was a link to St-Martin-of-Tours and the *Riniaco* estate centre.

**Reference:** Elisabeth Zadora-Rio, Henri Galinié, Philippe Husi, Morgane Liard, Xavier Rodier, Christian Theureau, 'La fouille du site de Rigny, 7e-19e s. (commune de Rigny-Ussé, Indre-et-Loire): l'habitat, les églises, le cimetière. Troisième et dernier rapport préliminaire (1995-1999)', *Revue archéologique du Centre de la France*, 40 (2001), 167-242.

<b>Site name:</b> Roeschwoog	<b>Location:</b> Roeschwoog, Bas-Rhin, Alsace	<b>Date:</b> C7
<b>Description:</b> Two early medieval phases were recognised here. The first, in the second third of the seventh century was defined by pottery decorated with rouletting, a quantity of imported wares, and the emergence of locally made pottery with a clear, fine fabric. In the second, the last third of the seventh century, locally made pottery became more abundant, but imports remained important. Straddling these phases were five SFBs and a group of post holes which could not be resolved into a recognisable structure. There were also seven burials.		
<b>Reference:</b> Thierry Logel, Florence Burg, and Thomas Vigreux, <i>Roeschwoog (Alsace, Bas-Rhin)</i> , Rapport de diagnostic (Sélestat: Pôle d'Archéologie Interdépartemental Rhénan, 2007).		

<b>Site name:</b> St-Ouen-des-Bessaces	<b>Location:</b> Saint-Ouen-des-Besaces, Calvados, Basse-Normandie	<b>Date:</b> C8 to 10
<b>Description:</b> Dating here was difficult, leaving the possibility of an earlier inception date for the site. However, it should be assumed that it represents a post-seventh century example. Four structures and a pit were found in two enclosures. The structures varied from 11 to 39m <sup>2</sup> , and the pit was thought to be silo. The first enclosure was delimited by a ditch 0.5-1.2m wide, with an irregular profile, and a maximum modern depth of 0.90m. The fill of rosy-brown silt showed little stratigraphy, but contained charcoal, fired clay and 3 pot sherds. The area of the second enclosure, containing the structures, was 1,500m <sup>2</sup> , and the ditches were 0.30-0.60m wide and 0.4-0.95m deep, with a U-shaped profile. One ditch had been recut. Evidence of metalworking was found in a separate zone to the south.		
<b>Reference:</b> Vincent Carpentier and Michel Besnard, 'Une occupation du haut Moyen Age dans le bocage normand à Saint-Ouen-des-Besaces (Calvados)', <i>Revue archéologique de l'ouest</i> , 16 (1999), 209-226.		

<b>Site name:</b> Salins les Bains	<b>Location:</b> Château-sur-Salins, Salins-les-Bains, Jura	<b>Date:</b> Late C7 to 8
<b>Description:</b> Two sites sit at either end of a narrow ridge in the valley of the river Furieuse. The ridge is c. 200m wide at its broadest point in the west, narrowing to around 50m wide		

in the east and covers c. 25ha at 510-620m NGF. To the east is Notre-Dame-de-Château, where a priory was created around 1000, supposedly on the ruin of an ancient castle. This priory was closed and demolished after the French Revolution, but became the site for a number of nineteenth century antiquarian digs. It was originally thought to have been the site of a Roman fort before this was reconsidered as an early medieval monastery. The site at the opposite end of the plateau, Château-sur-Salins, was thought to be a kind of gatehouse guarding access to the plateau. Gandel and Billoin concentrated their excavation in the west, but carried out a number of test pits to the east. On the western site, they found two stone-built structures protected by a mortared wall of irregularly cut limestone blocks, 1.10 -1.35m wide, 190m long, running diagonally across the neck of the plateau and effectively barring access. Unspecified finds from the gateway to the south, plus radiocarbon dates from charcoal found in the mortar, dated the wall to first 2 decades of the seventh century. The first structure was 113.5m<sup>2</sup>, with drystone walls of undressed local rock. There was a beaten earth floor, and it was divided into two rooms and a gallery. The second structure was 258.3m<sup>2</sup>, built of mortared stone in a manner similar to the ramparts, and had two phases. In the first, it may have been a dwelling since the finds were mainly domestic debris of animal bones, fish bones, eggshell, and pottery. Radiocarbon dates put this from c.585-640 to 635-667. In the second, it was sub-divided into a central nave surrounded by galleries, of which the easternmost may have formed the chancel. There were 28 sarcophagi here, housing 60 plus individuals. Of these, 64.1% were male and 35.9 female. There were nine children, none younger than five. Some bodies had suffered violent injuries. Few details were given on material finds, but there was nothing to suggest the practice of agriculture or metalworking, and weapons were found including arrow heads, and a spur, leading Gandel and Billoin to suggest a military, possibly elite, presence.

**Reference:** Philippe Gandel and David Billoin, 'L'établissement fortifié de hauteur alto-médiéval de Château-sur-Salins (Salins-les-Bains, Jura)', *Gallia*, 74, 1 (2017), 261-272.

<b>Site name:</b> Serris	<b>Location:</b> Serris, Seine et Marne	<b>Date:</b> C7
<b>Description:</b> Occupation appears to have been circulating around this area since the Iron Age, with a Gallo-Roman settlement to the south-east of the Merovingian site. However, the farmstead which appeared in the seventh century seemed to have no direct link to this. It seems to have been created from scratch as an elite residence complete with parcels of land delineated by boundaries and given over to specific functions – funerary, working/storage zones. Unfortunately, the first volume of Gentili's thesis was not available at the time, so details were sparse.		
<b>References:</b> Francois Gentili, 'Serris, Seine et Marne (Les Ruelles)', <i>Archéologie médiévale</i> , XXVIII, (1999), pp. 205-206. Francois Gentili and Katalin Escher, 'Le village Merovingien de Serris au Coeur de la Ville Nouvelle', <i>Revue Archeologique de Picardie</i> , Trimestriel 1-2, (2009), pp. 145-152. Francois Gentili, <i>Agglomerations rurale et terroirs du haut Moyen Age en Ile de France (Vie – XIIe)</i> , unpublished doctoral thesis, Paris, Pantheon-Sorbonne (2017).		

<b>Site name:</b> Tigery, Fossés Neufs	<b>Location:</b> ZAC des Fossés Neufs, Rue du Parc des Vergers, Tigery, Essonne, Île-de-France	<b>Date:</b> C1 onwards
---	--	-------------------------

**Description:** The site of a villa in first century, with agricultural buildings to the east and south, and two pools. Towards the end of the Roman period, settlement moved away from the villa site into the southern of the two agricultural areas. Some four post-in-hole buildings were constructed within a probable enclosure, whose southern limit was the palisaded ditch 4422. This ditch also formed the southern flank of a probable road, defined to the north by ditch 3056. Another road may have led north. Ditch 4422 cut Roman period ditches and Roman enclosure wall, but the buildings seemed to have respected Roman alignments, with one being built within the stone foundations of a Roman structure. One domestic oven was found within this later Roman/early medieval zone. A number of other possible medieval features could not be dated securely, including a number of ovens. These may be later, given their relation to ditch 4422 (outside the enclosure and close to it, with one appearing to cut into it). During the Carolingian period, the settlement then developed further, with more buildings to the south and features cutting ditch 4422, which may have been filled by this time.

**Reference:** Gilles Desrayaud, Aurélia Alligri, Annie Lefèvre, Céline Le Goff, Philippe Lorquet, and Nicolas Warmé, Île de France, Essonne, Tigery. ZAC des Fossés Neufs – Rue du Parc des Vergers (Extension BMW). Villa gallo-romaine et hameau médiéval des "Fossés Neufs" (2nde moitié 1er s. av.-XIIe s. ap. J.-C.), Research report, Institut National de Recherches Archéologiques Préventives (2017). hal-02885454

**Site name:** Val-de-Reuil

**Location:** 'Le Chemin aux Errants', Val-de-Reuil, Eure

**Date:** C1 to 5

**Description:** The whole site covered three zones, all of which saw activity in the Iron Age. Zone A was home to a religious sanctuary, Zone B was thought to be a settlement, while Zone C was home to an enclosure associated with pastoral farming. This persisted into the Roman period, and in the first century, a small building with a stone-built, mortared cellar was built in the enclosure area. This went out of service towards end of first century, and was demolished. After a period of some decades, a new habitation was built in the second century which respected the northern and southern boundaries of the old enclosure. The villa building was relatively small, 570m<sup>2</sup> at its core, but its area was increased by two long (46m) corridor arms stretching to the east. The end room to the northern-most arm was heated, as was southern-most room of villa. In front of the main building was a basin which is thought to have been filled with water and may have been linked to fountains. More buildings were constructed behind the villa to the west, all enclosed within a wall. The functions of these were unknown because of a poor state of preservation, but there was a bath house. Outside the enclosure wall was a large barn (244m<sup>2</sup>) probably with an upper storey, and an animal shed (100m<sup>2</sup>). A canal 6-8m wide and 0.5m deep, brought water into the enclosure. The canal had separate arms which were believed to be used for fish production. These silted up and were filled in during Late Antiquity. The villa declined from the start of the third century, and there was some demolition of buildings including the bath house. There was little sign of continuous occupation after the middle of third century. Then part of villa was re-occupied during the fourth, notably the southern part of old main building, while an oven was installed in the former heated room of the northern arm, and two grain dryers in former rooms of the villa. Some post-in-hole buildings were made in the enclosure. Two SFBs south of the enclosure were dated to the beginning of the fifth century, and contained cattle foot bones thought to be connected to bone-working, which was also suggested by worked deer antler fragments in the Late Roman middens.

**References:** Yves-Marie Adrian, Dagmar Lukas, Nicolas Roudié, Frédérique Jimenez, and Aminte Thomann, 'Val-de-Reuil, "Le Chemin aux Errants" (Eure): l'habitat antique et le hameau du haut Moyen Âge de la zone C', in *Journées Archéologiques de Normandie*, Rouen, 30 Septembre – 1 Octobre 2016, ed. by Jean-Paul Ollivier (Mont-Saint-Aignan: Presses universitaires du Rouen et du Havre, 2018), pp. 127-144.

Dagmar Lukas, 'Un sanctuaire du Haut-Empire et un habitat tardo-antique à Val-de-Reuil (Eure), « le chemin aux Errants » (zone A)', in *Journées Archéologiques de Normandie*, Rouen, 30 Septembre – 1 Octobre 2016, ed. by Jean-Paul Ollivier (Mont-Saint-Aignan: Presses universitaires du Rouen et du Havre, 2018), pp. 113-126.

<b>Site name:</b> Vieuxville-Beaurade	<b>Location:</b> Vieuxville-Beaurade, Rennes, Ille-et-Vilaine	<b>Date:</b> C6 to 8
<b>Description:</b> The site sits in grassland on the bank of the river Vilaine just outside Rennes. It had seen sporadic Mesolithic and neolithic activity before an enclosure was built there in the La Tène period. This consisted of a larger outer ditch with a smaller ditch within enclosing what was thought to be a habitation area. Although no structures were found here, the amount of pottery did suggest occupation. Just outside the habitation enclosure, in the larger enclosure, two sets of four post holes were found which were interpreted as two four-post granaries. In the early medieval period, a new set of enclosure ditches were formed to the south, further from the river. The excavators postulated that riverine activity led to changes in the siting of habitation, but could not take this any further in the absence of sediment evidence. It is not clear if the Iron Age ditches would have still been visible in the early Middle Ages. Again, no structures were found, but domestic occupation was deduced from the pottery. In the Carolingian period a new site with post-built buildings was created further from the river to the east.		
<b>Reference:</b> Gilles Leroux, Françoise Le Boulanger, and Stéphanie Blanchet, 'Les occupations anciennes des rives de la Vilaine à Vieuxville-Beaurade (Rennes, Ille-et-Vilaine) de la Préhistoire à la fin du Moyen-Age', <i>Revue archéologique de l'ouest</i> , 15 (1998), 173-199.		

<b>Site name:</b> Warmeriville	<b>Location:</b> 'La Bassière', Warmeriville, Marnes	<b>Date:</b> C2 to 12
<b>Description:</b> The site straddles a chalk ridge 20km north-west of Reims, on the right bank of the river Suippe. An Antique roadway ran south-west of the site, and occupation was found between this road and areas of wet silt. Antique occupation consisted of a structure on the chalk and some attempts at drainage. There was a ditch-defined enclosure in the wet area. The excavators believed the focus of occupation may have been beyond the excavation limits. Coin evidence suggested that the road went out of use towards the end of fourth century and was replaced by another route on the same alignment but some 10-20m to the north-west. Occupation then seems to have stretched along this road. In the fifth to sixth centuries, this consisted of a series of pits, ditches and SFBs following the line of the road at a distance of about 8-12m from it. There was also an X-shaped arrangement of post holes which may have been connected to stabling given a high level of phosphorous. In the sixth to eighth centuries, there was an intensification of occupation, with around 80 SFBs and two post-built structures, one 38m <sup>2</sup> , the other 10m <sup>2</sup> . Ditches appear to have been present throughout these phases, although whether their primary role was for drainage or stock regulation is unclear.		

**Reference:** Vincent Marchaisseau and Gaëlle Pertuisot , ‘Un exemple d’habitat groupé au début du haut Moyen Âge. Le site de Warmeriville “La Bassière” (Marne)’, *Archéopages*, 40 (April-July, 2014), 124-131.

<b>Site name:</b> Yutz	<b>Location:</b> Yutz, Moselle, Lorraine	<b>Date:</b> C1 onwards
<p><b>Description:</b> Towards the end of the first century, a villa was constructed on a site on the right bank of the Moselle, at 165m NGF. This consisted of a number of buildings around a courtyard served by stone-lined drains, all within a perimeter wall. In the second century, a post hole building replaced one of these structures, and in the third, another was converted into a dwelling, with a cellar and hypocaust and two added rooms. There was a gatehouse building in the perimeter wall. During the fourth century, the wall, perhaps now in a ruinous state, was replaced by a fence. Occupation appears to have shrunk but not ceased. Continued occupation into the sixth century seems to largely rest on wells in the villa area. A number of post-in-hole structures were constructed in the vicinity of the former villa buildings, but the dating of these is very insecure and no confidence was given of a date before the eighth century. There also appear to have been 2 SFBs, but again the dating was not certain, and they were possibly eighth century.</p>		
<p><b>References:</b> Jean-Marie Blaising, ‘L’évolution de l’habitat sur la terroir de Yutz (Moselle-France)’ <i>Ruralia</i>, III, Supplement 14 (2000), 120-155. Jean-Marie Blaising, ‘Yutz (Moselle), l’occupation antique, le point après dix ans d’archéologie préventive (1989-1999)’, <i>Les Cahiers Lorrains</i>, 3 (September 2002), 233-254.</p>		

### France: Southern France

<b>Site name:</b> l’Albenc	<b>Location:</b> Le Bivan, l’Albenc, Isère, Auvergne-Rhône-Alpes	<b>Date:</b> IA – C18
<p><b>Description:</b> The site saw 3 phases of antique occupation beginning in the early empire and lasting until the fourth century, by which time it consisted of a range of large buildings with stone foundations arranged in a courtyard and served by a water supply from a spring. There may have been a period of abandonment before new buildings of rough stone appeared in the fifth century, partly constructed on the old foundations. It was possibly contained within a palisade and was accompanied by annexe structures stretching away to the SW.</p>		
<p><b>References:</b> Hans De Klijn, Élise Faure-Boucharlat, Michel Feugère et Dominique Lalaï, ‘L’Albenc, Le Bivan’, in <i>Vivre à la campagne au moyen âge: L’habitat rural du Ve au XIIe s.</i>, ed. by Élise Faure-Boucharlat (Bresse, Lyonnais, Dauphiné) d’après les données archéologiques (Lyon: Alpara, 2001), pp. 460-493.</p>		

<b>Site name:</b> Aoste	<b>Location:</b> Aoste, Isère, Rhône-Alpes	<b>Date:</b> C5 to 7
<p><b>Description:</b> This was a site with a difficult chronology due to a paucity of finds and difficult stratification. Dating was based on radiocarbon dates supporting ceramic typology. No trace of activity was found from the pre-Roman period, but the Roman was represented by ditches and one structure. At the end of fifth century, a church and associated domestic structures, including possible granaries, were built within a ditched enclosure. Wood from</p>		

the foundation of the church was radiocarbon dated to 406-544. Some of the wooden domestic structures may have been earlier than this. Occupation continued until the seventh century, and possibly as long as the tenth. Burials on the site were dated between the sixth and ninth centuries, but the excavators believed that they must have been taking place from the fifth, with a peak in the seventh. More radiocarbon dates were awaited to explore this. There may have been a villa nearby, given the presence of stone architectural elements and pieces of hypocaust in ditches and reused in one tomb.

**Reference:** Marie-Josée Ancel and Damien Tourgon, *Département de l'Isère (38). Aoste 'Les Communaux – ZAC PIDA', Rapport d'Opération d'Archéologie Préventive Vol. 1, Texts* (Ministère de la culture et de la communication; Préfecture de la région Auvergne-Rhône-Alpes; Direction Régionale des Affaires Culturelles; Service Régional de l'Archéologie; Archeodunum; Communauté de communes Les Vallons du Guiers: Chaponnay, April 2017).

<b>Site name:</b> Carro	<b>Location:</b> Carro, Pouydesseaux, Landes	<b>Date:</b> C8
<b>Description:</b> On a sub-circular plateau above the river Douze, 323 sherds of handmade pottery dated to the eighth century, a piece of green glass, four nails, and two bronze belt fittings were found in association with an ashy pit. There was no surviving evidence of structures, and although Vignaud suggested that the plateau may have once been encircled by a ditch, there was no surviving evidence for this.		
<b>Reference:</b> Didier Vignaud, 'Un habitat du haut Moyen Age à Carro (Pouydesseaux, Landes)', <i>Archéologie des Pyrénées Occidentales et des Landes</i> , 29 (2010-11), 93-97.		

<b>Site name:</b> La Chapelle de Pessat	<b>Location:</b> La Chapelle de Pessat, Riom, Puy-de-Dôme, Auvergne	<b>Date:</b> Iron Age to C17
<b>Description:</b> A villa was built here on an Iron Age site, although disturbance of the remains by medieval burials meant that it could not be securely dated. The villa building survived into the early Middle Ages, at which point part of it was converted into a cruciform chapel containing a number of tombs with inscriptions dating them to this period. The villa building was then replaced, apparently without interruption in occupation, with a small church in the eighth or ninth centuries. This then served the later medieval village of Pessat, which existed until the seventeenth century, and continued to use the area as a burial ground. Some 770 burials had been discovered at the time of the excavation report.		
<b>References:</b> Jean-Michel Sauget and Bernadette Sauget, 'Riom (Puy-de-Dôme). "La chapelle de Pessat", premiers résultats', <i>Revue archéologique du Centre de la France</i> , 24, 1 (1985), 111-113. Bernadette Fizellier-Sauget and Jean-Michel Sauget, 'Riom (Puy-de-Dôme). La Chapelle de Pessat', <i>Archéologie médiévale</i> , 16 (1986), 241-243.		

<b>Site name:</b> Codols	<b>Location:</b> St-André-de-Codols, Nîmes, Gard, Languedoc-Roussillon	<b>Date:</b> C1 to 12
<b>Description:</b> Small scale settlement began in the first century with a couple of buildings. These were cleared in the third century to make way for a courtyard villa covering area of c. 1ha, with residential wings to the north and east and agricultural and production sites to the south and west. This reached its peak in the fourth to fifth century with the construction		

of an apsidal building. In the early of the fifth century, there was careful demolition of the west end of the north wing and its replacement with 'une petite unite excavée' (p. 2), although the exact nature of this (cellar or SFB?) is unclear. The villa's productive capacity seems to have continued relatively undiminished. Occupation continued throughout the early medieval period, attested by artefacts from the sixth to the ninth centuries (no details were given of structures), but the authors believed it had possibly lost its status as an estate centre. The tenth century saw demolition of buildings on the site and the construction of 'modest' structures. It was finally abandoned in the twelfth century, although there seems to have been a parish church which continued to function.

**References:** Laurent Pomarèdes and Laurent Sauvage, 'Nîmes', *ADLFI. Archéologie de la France - Informations*, Languedoc-Roussillon, uploaded 1 March 2004. Available at <http://journals.openedition.org/adlfi/11924>. Accessed 02 May 2019.

Odile Maufra, Mathieu Ott, Claude Raynaud, Marie Rochette, Liliane Tarrou, Agnès Bergeret, Marilynne Bovagne et Richard Pellé, 'Villæ-Villages du haut Moyen Âge en plaine du Languedoc oriental. Maillage, morphologie et économie', *Archéopages*, 40, April-July 2014. Available at <http://journals.openedition.org/archeopages/620>; DOI: <https://doi.org/10.4000/archeopages.620> [accessed 13 May 2020]

**Site name:** La Couronne

**Location:** La Couronne,  
Molles

**Date:** C4 to 9

**Description:** Occupation appears to have begun in the fourth century with traces of a building on sandstone footings. In the next phase, around the turn of the fourth century, the walls, cisterns, granary, were built, and a new stone-built structure of 190m<sup>2</sup> was created on the site of the original structure. Metal working was possibly taking place in wooden structures at the other end of site. In the fifth century, the large building was apparently transformed into a church, with the addition of an apse. This transition was accompanied by six burials (two adults and four children). The eastern end of the site also experienced a change. The wooden buildings of the craft-working area were replaced by a stone-built structure with some four rooms including a kitchen. It was further remodelled in the sixth or seventh century, possibly after a fire, with a new wall being built, possibly to help support the surrounding boundary wall. The church was enlarged in the sixth to seventh century before being destroyed by fire. Occupation and a rebuilt church are then thought to have continued until the ninth century. Zooarchaeological evidence suggested a rich diet.

The excavators believed the defences were built at a time when the Gallo-Roman aristocracy of the Auvergne were keeping an anxious eye on the Visigoths lately installed in Aquitaine (p. 31). The site would have been able to keep watch on movement towards the Vichy area. The conversion of the rectangular building to a church seemed to have proceeded from the first burials which appeared to be familial in nature. The church, though, was large – as large as some urban sites, and so seems to have been designed to accommodate worshippers from the surrounding countryside. It was also well-built in conformity with ancient practice (p. 31). Later, the church seemed to grow in importance, and to develop links with a bishop – as evidenced by a baptismal font. There were signs of a privileged community living here, but the excavators largely rejected the possibility of a monastic community, based on both the structures and the artefactual evidence. They did, however, suggest the possibility of a small clerical community serving the church. It is also

possible that it became a place of pilgrimage housing relics. Some residential occupation seems to have continued, and, in the ninth century, the value of the church seems to have declined, and the site gained a lay focus again, with a seigneurial motte to the west – although it was noted that this was less impressive than the Merovingian fortifications.

**Reference:** Damien Martinez, Sandra Chabert, Pascal Chevalier, Marieke Faure, Sophie Liégard, 'L'église paléochrétienne de l'établissement fortifié de hauteur de La Couronne à Molles (Allier, Auvergne)', *Archéologie médiévale*, 48 (2018), pp. 1-36; CRAHAM (2019), halshs-02014076.

<b>Site name:</b> La Croix Valmer	<b>Location:</b> Pardigon, La Croix-Valmer, Var, Provence-Alpes-Côte d'Azur	<b>Date:</b> C6 to 7
<p><b>Description:</b> This site showed several phases of a Roman villa which was probably created in the first century. It reached its height in the second and third, with the extension of a bath block. After that, there was some retraction with a smaller bath house replacing the older one. In the early medieval period, a building was erected in the north-east area of the site away from the main villa buildings. This had a porch to the east and may have housed a kitchen since five hearths were found in its floor. These hearths yielded 275 pot sherds in a fabric varying from red to black with inclusions of mica and quartz up to 8mm in size. This appeared to be handmade and fired in a basic clamp rather than a kiln. It was similar to pottery from Toulon and Fréjus dated sixth to seventh century. However, the lack of detail – what was the building made of, how big was it, what was the state of the villa at the time – makes this hard to interpret.</p>		
<p><b>Reference:</b> Gaëtan Congès, Jean-Pierre Brun, and Kim Prothro, 'Un foyer d'époque mérovingienne dans la villa de Pardigon 2 (Var – La Croix-Valmer)', <i>Revue archéologique de Narbonnaise</i>, 19 (1986), 307-317.</p>		

<b>Site name:</b> Dassargues	<b>Location:</b> Dassargues, Lunel, Hérault, Languedoc-Roussillon	<b>Date:</b> C5 to 7
<p><b>Description:</b> A courtyard farmstead was found within an arrangement of tracks and field boundaries, with some separate structures sitting among the fields. There appears to have been no occupation until the fifth century (the chronology given here is Raynaud's, which revised earlier versions), when the land was divided into parcels by a series of roads and ditches. An SFB was constructed on the area which would become the farmyard, probably predating the farm enclosure. This was surrounded by pits containing sherds of Late Antique pottery. The SFB contained a hearth with charcoal deposits. This was replaced by the courtyard enclosure of some 500m<sup>2</sup> with a structure of 70m<sup>2</sup>, part of which outside the enclosure area. The structure was divided in two by a wall with no communicating door, so it was necessary to enter the courtyard to access the other room. Later, a series of 'lean-to' structures were created in the enclosure (the date was not specified, but before the site's abandonment at the end of the seventh century). Structure 1 must have been gone before at least one of these, since it was built over that structure's footprint. There was also a possible granary, and a possible 'moulin à sang'. An SFB was also found beyond the enclosure, among the agricultural ditches of Zone 3 in an area of storage pits. Seven burials were found clustered around the crossroads to the west of the farm. One of the graves held four burials, one with grave goods including a bronze buckle, iron knife, and belt fitting</p>		

dated to the sixth century. Since it was a very large coffin (2m x 1m), Raynaud thought it was probably always intended to hold multiple burials and suggested it represented a founder burial (p. 83).

**Reference:** Claude Raynaud, 'Lunel (Hérault). Dassargues, de la cabane à la ferme: les constructions rurales des V<sup>e</sup> – X<sup>e</sup> siècles', *Archéologie du Midi médiévale*, 32 (2014), 75-91. Bruno Garnier, Alexandrine Garnotel, Catherine Mercier, and Claude Raynaud, 'De la ferme au village: Dassargues du V<sup>e</sup> au XII<sup>e</sup> siècle (Lunel, Hérault)', *Archéologie du Midi médiévale*, 13 (1995), 1-78.

Catherine Mercier, 'Lunel: Dassargues', *Formes de l'habitat rural en Gaule Narbonnaise*, ed. by Christophe Pellecuer (Juan-les-Pins: Éditions APDCA, 1994), pp. (34) 1-9.

<b>Site name:</b> Embonne	<b>Location:</b> Embonne, Agde, Hérault, Languedoc-Roussillon	<b>Date:</b> C2 to 7
<p><b>Description:</b> The site was home to basalt quarries for millstones from Antiquity, and it was thought that land divisions on the plateau might correspond to centuriation related to the town of Agde. Two areas were excavated, the first was a Gallo-Roman (possible villa) site with an early medieval phase, the second a <i>de novo</i> construction at the perimeter wall. The 'villa' was put into 6 phases, of which 5 and 6 were the post-Roman. In these phases, two post-built structures occupied the 'villa' area, one c. 74m<sup>2</sup>, with a slightly sunken floor, which was divided into two spaces, the other c. 78m<sup>2</sup> (both were measured from the plan – no dimensions were given) with a lean-to against its north-east wall. There was also one SFB. In the second area, these phases saw a structure of some 80m<sup>2</sup>, with walls thick enough to have carried an upper storey. This building linked to the perimeter wall. To the east was a courtyard space marked out by terraced walls, which seem to have been built to stabilise the area ('Évolution', p. 247). The building's positioning appears to have been influenced by the outcrops of basalt and old quarry workings. Other structures in this area were not excavated.</p>		
<p><b>References:</b> Iouri Bermond and Hervé Pomarède, 'Agde (Hérault): Embonne', <i>Archéologie du Midi médiévale</i>, 32 (2014), 40-44. Iouri Bermond, Hervé Pomarède, and Pierre Rascalou, 'Évolution des centres de production et poles de peuplement dans la vallée de l'Hérault. Les exemples d'Embonne (Agde) et Peyre Plantade (Clermont-l'Hérault)', <i>Revue archéologique de Narbonnaise</i>, 35 (2002), 241-258.</p>		

<b>Site name:</b> La Fajolle	<b>Location:</b> La Fajolle, Carcassonne, Aude, Languedoc-Roussillon	<b>Date:</b> C3 to 12
<p><b>Description:</b> A villa was built on a plateau above the river Aude in the third century, and the area which became the early medieval site, some 40m north-east of the boundary wall, appears to have acted initially as a dump for this. In the mid fourth century, a working space with an oven or kiln was built there, quickly followed by two others or two replacements. One of these produced ceramic building materials, the other DSP pottery. In the fifth century, a building was constructed, and the kilns were wound down, then in the sixth two SFBs and a post-in-hole building appeared. These disappeared around the seventh century, and the area was then used for storage.</p>		

**Reference:** Maxime Guillaume and Guilhem Sanchez, 'Carcassonne (Aude): La Fajolle', *Archéologie de Midi médiévale*, 32 (2014), 25-28.

<b>Site name:</b> Lapanouse de Cernon	<b>Location:</b> Le Camp des Armes, Lapanouse-de-Cernon, Midi-Pyrénées	<b>Date:</b> C5 to 7
<b>Description:</b> Sited on the Larzac limestone plateau at 790m NGF, on a flat space facing south near the crossroads of two ancient tracks. This was a sizeable complex of some 4000m <sup>2</sup> characterised as a villa, although most structures may have been agricultural or productive. The early medieval occupation consisted of 5 structures of drystone construction, some with limestone slate roofs. Other buildings to the north-west were not excavated. Finds included locally produced pottery, glass with Mediterranean influences, Merovingian personal dress items, and teeth from a carding comb.		
<b>Reference:</b> Jean-Luc Boudartchouk, 'Lapanouse-de-Cernon: Le Camp des Armes', in <i>Bilan Scientifique de la Région Midi-Pyrénées, 1999</i> (Toulouse: Direction Régionale des Affaires Culturelles; Service Régional de l'Archéologie, 2000), pp. 65-66.		

<b>Site name:</b> Larina	<b>Location:</b> Larina, Hières-sur-Ambry, Isère, Auvergne-Rhône-Alpes	<b>Date:</b> C4 to C7/8
<b>Description:</b> Late Antique occupation inside a prehistoric rampart began with a scatter of wooden huts connected with a forge, oven, and storage silo. In spite of the meanness of the dwellings, the material culture was relatively rich. This developed in the fifth century into a zoned settlement, with two workshop zones, one near a quarry having a building with a large wine press, a habitation zone of wooden structures on stone footings, and a possible temple. Associated with these were fragments of Dressel 1 and 20, Spatheian, Tripolitanian, and African amphorae. Cattle and pigs were raised, but there was a discrepancy in the amount of fore and hind limbs, leading to the possibility that they were being taken off-site. Porte identified the fourth century period of the cabins as the richest age of the site in terms of material wealth, as represented by imported goods. He believed the site was at this time connected to a villa on the plains below, although he thought the imported goods might be connected to a cult site which predated the temple. The Merovingian period was then divided into Phase 1 and Phase 2. Phase 1, the sixth century, included a transitional period from Late Antiquity in which in which some aspects of the buildings and material culture showed continuity, while others showed change (e.g. stone mortared with clay; new pottery types and Merovingian metalwork). Phase 2 was probably the late seventh to eighth century. Porte noted that the constructions of Phase 2 ('after a destructive phase', p. 361) were characterised by a poorer quality of workmanship. He took this to indicate a decline in building skills rather than a diminution of wealth, since the material culture continued to indicate prosperity. During these phases, a chapel was created on the summit of the site, accompanied by burials. Porte believed that the site had passed to the control of new masters in the sixth century, but that it suffered another 'invasion' at the beginning of the eighth century, when the church was destroyed by fire and part of the main dwelling torn down. He envisaged the new arrivals as a clan who partitioned the house because of this. However, he also noted that the tombs of the 'previous family' were protected inside the church. A new church was then built (less well than the old one), with separate chapels for burials of the clan, Porte argued. At the same time less privileged burials of companions		

took place in a more public chapel, while some people continued to be buried in the old cemetery.

**Reference:** Patrick Porte, *Larina et son territoire de l'Antiquité au Moyen Âge: Études archéologiques et historiques* (Biarritz; Paris: Atlantica-Séguier, 2011).

Patrick Porte, *Domaine ruraux et forteresses de hauteur de l'Antiquité au Moyen Âge, Larina, Volume II* (Biarritz; Paris: Atlantica-Séguier, 2011).

<b>Site name:</b> Le Malène	<b>Location:</b> La Malène (Castel Merlets), Lozère, Languedoc	<b>Date:</b> End C5 to end C7
-----------------------------	--	-------------------------------

**Description:** The site is perched on a spur rock, with buildings on the edge of a drop to the north and following the slope to the south, the two possibly originally connected with stairs. It is accessible by one path only. The boundary wall was substantial, with a tower at north-east end of the site. Within were a series of stone-built buildings, including a large domestic structure of some 343m<sup>2</sup> split into separate rooms, with plastered walls and a possible gallery, a possible storage structure of 160m<sup>2</sup>, a stone cistern, a bath house, and a church. More than ten thousand pottery fragments were found, including amphorae, while remains from oysters and young animals suggested an elite lifestyle. Schneider and Clement connected the site to the story of St Hilaire retreating into the mountains in the face of the Franks and founding a monastery, although they believed the site was aristocratic rather than monastic. Certainly, the site seems dominated by the domestic building 1A rather than the church, which sits in a quadrant of its own. Fowler also stressed the importance of the drove roads across the Causse, one of which La Malène commanded where it crossed the Tarn river.

**References:** Laurent Schneider and Nicholas Clement, 'Le Castellum de La Malène: un "rocher monument" du premier Moyen Age (Vie-VIle s.) en Lozère', in *La Lozère, Carte Archéologique de la Gaule*, 48, ed. by A. Trintignac, Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, Ministère de la Culture, Ministère de l'Enseignement Supérieur et de la Recherche (Diffusion de la Fondation Maison des Sciences de l'Homme, 2012), pp. 317-328.

Peter Fowler, 'Moving through the landscape', in *The Archaeology of Landscape*, ed. by Paul Everson and Tom Williamson (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1988), pp. 25-41.

<b>Site name:</b> Malpas	<b>Location:</b> Malpas, Soyons, Ardeche	<b>Date:</b> Iron Age to C6
--------------------------	--	-----------------------------

**Description:** The site sits on a hill above the village of Soyons, which is known to have seen prehistoric activity including an Iron Age hillfort whose western boundary is still visible. Two trenches were opened, only one of which produced results. Settlement was present in the fifth century, but probably ended by the sixth, judging by pottery. This was, however, from a limited excavation. No structures were found, and it was not known if the rampart would have been in use. There were substantial finds of pottery, including a locally made slip ware, amphorae sherds, including Italian and Hispanic types, and DSPA. Significant funerary evidence from the base of the hill led the excavators to argue that there were linked settlements on the hill and in the valley.

**Reference:** Amaury Gilles, Thierry Argant, Stéphane Carrara, Aline Colombier-Gougouzian, Olivier Darnaud, with Fabien Delrieu and Pierre Dutreuil, 'L'établissement de hauteur du Malpas à Soyons (Ardèche) durant l'Antiquité tardive (IVe – VIe s.)', *Revue archéologique de Narbonnaise*, 46 (2013), 179-200.

<b>Site name:</b> Poncin	<b>Location:</b> La Châtelarde, Poncin, Ain, Auvergne-Rhone-Alpes	<b>Date:</b> C2-8
<p><b>Description:</b> A substantial villa here, renovated after a third century decline, may have seen continuous occupation into the early medieval period, although, if so, there appears to have been a drop in status when structure A, built of blocks of local limestone and featuring an apse, became a working building. It was noted, however, that excavation was only possible in the northern part of the structure, and occupation could have been different in the southern part. There may also have been a first floor domestic level. This was accompanied by the more modest Building B to the north. Finds on the site indicated a privileged existence, and included some arms and horse gear.</p>		
<p><b>References:</b> Élise Faure-Boucharlat, 'Poncin, le Châtelarde', in <i>Vivre à la campagne au moyen âge: L'habitat rural du Ve au XIIIe s.</i>, ed. by Élise Faure-Boucharlat (Bresse, Lyonnais, Dauphiné) d'après les données archéologiques (Lyon: Alpara, 2001), pp. 118-235.</p>		

<b>Site name:</b> Pouzin	<b>Location:</b> Pouzin, south of Valence, Ardeche	<b>Date:</b> C5 to 6
<p><b>Description:</b> Although no structures could be identified due to erosion, there were significant traces of a Late Antique wall. This was built of two skins of limestone blocks, roughly shaped and laid in courses of variable height, with a rubble infill, fixed with lime mortar. It was about 1.8m thick, and enclosed an area of some 5 hectares. There was a flat walkway inside, sometimes created by clearing bedrock, at others by building up a small terrace retained by a small wall 0.4m from boundary wall. At the south-west corner, the wall projected in what the excavators called a 'bastion', complete with two outer towers, one rectangular, one trapezoidal, both with walls 0.9m thick but of similar construction to main wall. A staircase ascended the main wall by the door of the trapezoidal tower. The main gate through the boundary appears to have been just to the north of the bastion, anyone entering would therefore have to walk below the bastion for some 45m to reach the gate. Two pits were found. The first in the corner of the west and north wall contained artefacts dated to the fifth century (one late Empire coin and early Christian pottery), the second in the bastion, near the south wall, contained fragments of millstone made of sandstone. The site was later the home of a Cluniac convent.</p>		
<p><b>Reference:</b> Olivier Darnaud, Emmanuel Ferber et Pierre Rigaud, 'Le Couvent des Chèvres au Pouzin (Ardèche): découverte d'un site fortifié de hauteur tardo-antique', <i>Archéologie Du Midi médiéval</i>, 26 (2008), pp. 45-57.</p>		

<b>Site name:</b> Le Roc de Pampelune	<b>Location:</b> Le Roc de Pampelune, Argelliers, Hérault	<b>Date:</b> C5 to 6
<p><b>Description:</b> A triangular site on a spur of rock, covering some 2.25 hectares. The plateau slopes to the east, but drops off in cliffs to west and south-west. Within a stone enclosure wall, never more than 1m thick, was a settlement of stone buildings. These were divided into three groups according to size, with the groups exhibiting a homogeneous layout. The largest types included courtyard spaces, working buildings, and a cistern. A separate zone was interpreted as a possible curia or ecclesiastical unit, and included church, baptistry, domestic quarters, oven, storage, and workshops. There was considerable evidence of</p>		

metal work in multiple forges across the site, and finds of lamps, glass vessels, and African amphorae.

**References:** Laurent Schneider, 'De la fouille des villages abandonnés à l'archéologie des territoires locaux. L'étude des systems d'habitat du haut Moyen Age en France méridionale (Ve-Xe siècle): nouveaux matériaux, nouvelles interrogations' in *Trente ans d'archéologie médiévale en France. Un bilan pour un avenir*, IXe congrès de la Société d'archéologie médiévale, Vincennes, 2006, ed. by Jean Chapelot (CRAHM, 2010), pp. 133-161 (p. 139).  
C. Pellecuer and L. Schneider, 'Premières église et espace rural en Languedoc Méditerranéen (Ve-Xe s.)' in *Aux origines de la paroisse rurale en Gaule méridionale*, Actes du colloque de Toulouse, ed. by C. Delaplace (2003), Paris France, 2005, p. 98-119.  
Laurent Schneider. 'Dynamique de peuplement et forme de l'habitat en Occitanie méditerranéenne durant en haut Moyen Âge', In J. Fernandez, L. Schneider, and J. Soulat, eds, *L'habitat rural du haut Moyen Âge en France (Ve-Xe siècle): dynamiques du peuplement, formes, fonctions et statuts des établissements*, (Lattes -Montpellier: Association Française d'Archéologie Mérovingienne, 2015). pp.13-40. halshs-03118916.  
Laurent Schneider, 'Le château avant le château ou le défi reel du temps long (IV<sup>e</sup>-XI<sup>e</sup> siècles): quelques repères en guise d'introduction', *Patrimoines du Sud* (online) 10 (2019), 1-23. Available at <https://journals.openedition.org/pds/2638> [accessed 31 October 2024]

<b>Site name:</b> Séviac	<b>Location:</b> Séviac, Gers, Midi-Pyrénées	<b>Date:</b> C1 to 12
--------------------------	--	-----------------------

**Description:** Although the site was occupied from around the first to the twelfth century, few details were given of the early medieval phase. A villa appears to have been founded in the first century, and reached its height in Late Antiquity when it had several internal courtyards and hundreds of metres of polychrome mosaics and marble decoration. In the fifth century, a large room was built in the southern bath house with three apsidal spaces. A baptistry was built to the east and later extended. Trade appears to have continued through this period, with the villa receiving Bordelais stamped pottery, pottery from Languedoc and amphorae from Gaza. The residential part of the villa then seems to have been abandoned in the sixth century, and the southern bath block was converted to agricultural use.

**References:** Jacques Laporte, 'Le destin de quelques villae de Novempopulaire centrale à la fin de l'Antiquité et pendant le Haut Moyen Âge: regards sur l'évolution du peuplement entre le Ve et le XIe s.' in *Nouveaux Regards sur les villae d'Aquitaine: bâtiments devie et d'exploitation, domaines et postérités médiévales*, *Archéologie des Pyrénées Occidentales et des Landes*, Hors séries No. 2, ed. by François Réchin (Pau: Fédération Archéologique des Pyrénées Occidentales et des Landes, 2006), pp. 363-377.  
Jacques Laporte, 'Deux haches d'époque mérovingienne (VIe ap. J.-C.) découvertes récemment dans le Gers', *Archéologie du Midi medieval*, 13 (1995), 215-221.

<b>Site name:</b> Les Toulons	<b>Location:</b> Les Toulons, Rians, Var, Provence-Alpes-Côte d'Azur	<b>Date:</b> C1 to 5
-------------------------------	--	----------------------

**Description:** A site of more than a hectare on a rise dominating the valley of the Bearn, which was home to a villa divided between *pars urbana* and *pars fructuaria*. Only the latter part has been explored. The excavation found a wine-making centre, a tiler's kiln and a mausoleum. The viticulture site was established in the late first century, although there had

been previous occupation around the fourth to fifth century BC. Two pressing rooms were built, a U-shaped wine cellar, and the kiln. In the second century, an enclosure wall was built and expansion continued into the third. The presses and cellar were abandoned sometime that century, and by the fourth, these structures had become a dwelling. By the fifth century, the western pressing room seems to have been transformed into a forge, and around this time an SFB was created in the courtyard to the east of the former pressing house. The mausoleum seems to have been used from the site's inception but there were no grave goods for closer dating. No dating evidence later than the fifth century was found.

**Reference:** Claude Raynaud, Jean-Pierre Brun, and Gaetan Congés, 'Rians (Var): Les Toulons', *Archéologie du Midi médiévale*, 32 (2014), 58-59.

## Appendix B

### Concordance of Merovingian Charters

Key:

R = Royal; E = Ecclesiastical; L = Lay; NS = Non-standard (i.e. does not conform to criteria given in Chapter Two, pp. 42=43)

Red = Considered to be unreliable; Green = considered to be reliable; Orange = Status uncertain or disputed; Blue = partial or illegible text; \*= disputed or problematic date. 'Other sources' are given where they were used for the text. MSS are shown where single sheets are extant, but these were not consulted.

Thesis code	R/E /L	Date	Description	Pardessus	DD Merov	DD Merov (1872)	ChLA	Artem	Other source/cartulary/MS	App clause ?
M001	R	481-511	Clovis to Blessed Maria of Bethlehem	S 53-55 (LXXXVIII)	1	S.3				
M002	R	481-511	Clovis to Euspicius and Maximinus	LXXXVIII	2	S.4				Yes
M003	R	498	Clovis to Moutiers-St-Jean	LVIII	3	S.1				
M004	R	508	Clovis to his 'daughter' Theudechild	LXIV	4	S.2				Yes
M005	R	508	Clovis to his 'daughter' Theudechild	LXV	5	S.2B				Yes
M006	R	510	Clovis to Euspicius and Maximinus	LXXXVII	2	1			Kölzer rejected the idea that this was a different version of M002, see pp. 3-5.	
M007	R	511/524?	Clovis to St Hilaire, Poitiers	XCI	6	S.5				Yes
M008	R	515/528	Childebert I to the monk Carilephus	CXI	7	2				
M009	R	516/539	Chlothar I for Moutiers-St-Jean	CXXXVI	15	S.9				
M010	R	518	Childebert I gives confirmation for Notre-Dame in Le Mans.	CXVII	8	S.7				Yes

Thesis code	R/E/L	Date	Description	Pardessus	DD Merov	DD Merov (1872)	ChLA	Artem	Other source/cartulary/MS	App clause?
M011	L	519-534	Testament of Theodechilde, grand-daughter of Clovis.						Quentin, <i>Yonne; Brequigny, Diplomata</i> , p. 8	Yes
M012	E	523 (507-540)	Bishop Gregory of Landres gives land to Saint-Bénigne.						Chevrier & Chaume, 44,2	Yes
M013	R	523	Childebert I takes St Calais into his protection.	CXLIV	9	4				
M014	R	523	Chlothar I takes St Calais into his protection.		16	-				
M015	R	526/539	Childebert I confirms the founding and endowment of St Calais.	CXXXV	10	S. 8				Yes
M016	R	528	Childebert I gives land to the church of Paris.	CLXII	11	3				Yes
M017	R	545	<b>Sigibert I</b> gives land to build Peter's chapel in Chateau-Landon.	CXLIII	12	S.13				
M018	E	556	Bishop Germain of Paris gives confirmation for StGdP	CLXXII					Poupardin, II	
M019	R	558	Childebert I to St Vincent	CLXIII	13	5			K1 No.2 Pseud 11	Yes
M020	R	558-561	Chlothar I for the monastery of Glanfeuil.	Add. S.422 Nr 1	14	6				
M021	R	561-592	<b>Guntram</b> founds the abbey of StMIC.	CXCI	17	S.12				
M022	R	561-592	Guntram to Notre-Dame-de-Salles near Bourges.		18	-				Yes
M023	R	562	<b>Chilperic I</b> takes St Calais into his protection.	CLXVIII	19	9				
M024	R	567-584	Chilperic I confirms the precaria of Bish Domnolus for Abbot Gallus.	CLXXIII	20	S.15				
M025	R	561-606	Chilperic I orders the reconstruction of the abbey of St-Lucien, Beauvais.	CXC	21	8				
M026	L	573	Gaufridus to Notre-Dame de Chartres						Merlet & Lépinos, N. 11	

Thesis code	R/E/L	Date	Description	Pardessus	DD Merov	DD Merov(1872)	ChLA	Artem	Other source/cartulary/MS	App clause?
M027	R	584-629	<b>Chlothar II</b> gives confirmation for St Denis	CCXLIII	22	11	550	4503	K1 No4	Yes
M028	R	584-630	Chlothar II divides the 'earldom' of Namacius with St-Denis		23					
M029	R	? -627	Chlothar II confirms the foundation and endowment of St-Pierre	CCXL	24	S.17				Yes
M030	R	596	<b>Theudebert II</b> gives confirmation for St Martin's, Le Mans	CXXXVII	25	S.6				Yes
M101	L	620	Private charter possibly in favour of St Denis, too partial to read				549	4984	K1 No. 3 b Atsma & Vezin, Pap. 1	
M102	R	624	<b>Dagobert I</b> gives an immunity to St Denis.	CCLXXXI	26	S.43				
M103	R	624	Dagobert I continues St Denis' right to a yearly market.	CCXLVII	27	S.23				
M104	R	625	Chlothar confirms gift of Dagobert to St Denis.		28		552	4505	K1 No7/1	
M105	R	627	Dagobert give St Denis rights of sanctuary	2 255	29	S.26				
M106	R	628	Dagobert I to the church of Worms	CCXLII	30	S.21				Yes
M107	R	628	Dagobert I gives St Denis the villa of Etrepagny	CCLXXXV	31	S.22				Yes
M108	R	629-634	Dagobert confirms Bishop Modoald in possessions and immunity	CCLXVIII	33	S.32				
M109	R	629-637	Dagobert gives confirmation to Ursinus and Beppoleno	CCXLV	32	12	554	4507	AN K1 No 9/ AN AE II 3	Yes
M110	R	629-639	Dagobert explains that Audoneus founded La Croix St Ouen	CCLXIII	34	S.33				
M111	R	629-639	Dagobert I confirms a precaria for Abbott Sigirannus of St-Calais	CCLXXXVIII	35	S.48				
M112	R	629-639	Dagobert I to St Denis	CCLXXXIX	36	S.49				Yes

Thesis code	R/E/L	Date	Description	Pardessus	DD Merov	DD Merov(1872)	ChLA	Artem	Other source/cartulary/MS	App clause?
M113	R	630	Dagobert I orders Bishop Sulpicius to consecrate Bishop Desiderius	CCLI	37					
M114	R	630	Dagobert I appoints his treasurer Desiderius as Bishop of Cahors	CCXLVI	38	13				
M115	R	630	Dagobert I to St Denis	CCLXXI	39	16				Yes
M116	L	632	Ermenbert and wife Ermenaire give land to St-Benigne						Chevrier & Chaume, no. 12	Yes
M117	R	632	Dagobert I puts five churches in Angers under St Denis	CCLII	42	S.25				
M118	R	632	Dagobert grants an immunity to St Denis	CCLXXXII	43	S.27		4981	K1 No7/2	
M119	R	632	Dagobert I gives land to found a monastery	CCLIX	60	S28				Yes *
M120	R	632-633	Dagobert I confirms a privilege to St Denis	CCLXXXVII	40	S.47				Yes*
M121	R	632-633	Dagobert confirms St Denis in possession of land		41		551	4504	AN K1 No 5	Yes
M122	R	633	Dagobert I gives Bishop Amandus wood for the erection of an abbey	CCLXXX	45	S42				Yes
M123	R	633-634	Dagobert I relinquishes land to St Denis	CCLXIV	44	S34			K1 No8 ?	
M124	R	633-634	Dagobert gives Decima to St Maximin, Triers	CCLX	47	S29		1765		
M125	R	633-657	<b>Sigibert III</b> continues a privilege to the church of Speyer	2. III	46	24				Yes
M126	E	634	Testament of Deacon Grimo							Yes
M127	R	635	Dagobert I gives villas to St Denis	CCLXV	48	S35				
M128	R	635	Dagobert I gives an immunity to Rebais	CCLXX	49	15				

Thesis code	R/E/L	Date	Description	Pardessus	DD Merov	DD Merov(1872)	ChLA	Artem	Other source/cartulary/MS	App clause?
M129	R	636	Dagobert I gives villas to St Denis	CCLXVIII	50	S36				Yes
M130	R	636	Dagobert I gives a villa to St Denis	CCLXIX	51	S37				Yes
M131	R	636	Dagobert I gives a villa to St Denis	CCLXXII	52	S38				Yes
M132	R	636	Dagobert I gives a villa to St-Valery-sur-Somme.		53					
M133	L	637	Testament of Ermentrude	CCCCII			592	4495		
M134	R	637	Dagobert I gives the curtis of Reuilly to St Denis		54					Yes
M135	R	637	Dagobert I gives villas to St Denis	CCLXXVI	55	S40				Yes
M136	R	637	Dagobert I gives a villa to St Denis		56					Yes
M137	R	637	Dagobert I gives villas to St Denis	CCLXXVII	57	S41				Yes
M138	R	638	Dagobert gives a villa to St Denis.	2 284	58	S46				Yes
M139	R	639	Dagobert I to St Denis		59					
M140	R	639, 635*	Testament of Dagobert	T2, p.38		S39			Poupardin, VIII K18 No92	
M141	R	639-640	<b>Clovis II</b> gives land to Blidegesilus for a monastery.	CCXCI	71	S61				Yes
M142	R	639-642	Clovis II gives confirmation to St Denis	CCXCIV	72	18	556	4509	Paris, AN, K 2 n° 1	
M143	R	639-642	Clovis II charter for Ferrieres.		73					
M144	R	639-657	Clovis II gives Deacon Blidegesilus land		76					

Thesis code	R/E/L	Date	Description	Pardessus	DD Merov	DD Merov(1872)	ChLA	Artem	Other source/cartulary/MS	App clause?
M145	R	613/633?	Dagobert I gives land for a monastery at Haslach	CCLX	61	S30				Yes
M146	R	640*	Dagobert I gives to the church of Cambrai	CCXC	62	S50				Yes
M147	R	640*	Dagobert I gives land to Lobbes abbey	CCLXVI	63	S51				Yes
M148	R	645*	Dagobert I gives land for the founding of Weissenberg	CCLXII	64	S31				Yes
M149	R	646*	Dagobert I gives land to his daughter Irmina to found abbey	CCCLXVIII	65					Yes
M150	R	647	Dagobert I to St Denis	CCLXXXIII	66	S44				Yes
M151	L	648-651	Adroaldus to St-Bertin						<i>Chartae Galliae</i> No. 205084; Guerard, <i>Saint-Bertin</i> no. III	Yes
M152	R	652	Dagobert I to St Denis	CCLXXXVI	67	S45				
M153	R	655	Dagobert ? to Klingenmunster		68	S53				Yes
M154	R	640-647	Sigibert III placitum		77					-
M155	R	641	Clovis II to abbey of Ile Barbe	CCXCII	78	S62				Yes
M156	R	642/643	Sigibert III to Bishop Kunibert		79					
M157	R	643-647/8	Sigibert III founds Cugnon-sur-Semois	CCCIX	80	21				
M158	R	643-647/8	Sigibert III founds and endows Stavelot-Malmedy	CCCXIII	81	22				
M159	R	645	Clovis II confirms villas to St Denis	CCCVI	82	S63				
M160	R*	646/7	Chlodomer 'son of Chlothar' to St Sulpice	CCCLXXIII	83	S71				Yes *

Thesis code	R/E/L	Date	Description	Pardessus	DD Merov	DD Merov(1872)	ChLA	Artem	Other source/cartulary/MS	App clause?
M161	R	647/8	Sigibert III gives Stavelot Malmedy tolls	CCCXIX	84	23				
M257	L	c650	Grimoald makes grant to Stavelot Malmedy						DD Arnulf, 1	Yes
M162	E	651	Testament of Abbot Leodebod						<i>Chartae Galliae</i> , 266204; Prou & Vidier, Vol. 1, no 1	Yes
M163	R	654	Clovis II gives confirmation to St Denis	CCCXXII	85	19	558	4511	K2 No3	
M164	E	657	Bishop Emmo of Sens confirms privileges to Saint-Pierre-le-Vif							
M165	R	657	Clovis II confirms property of Amanchildis	CCCXXVII	75	20	559	4458	K2 No4	Yes
M166	R	657-661	<b>Chlothar III</b> grants land and an immunity to Corbie	CCCXXXVI	86	40				Yes
M167	R	657-673	Chlothar III confirms privileges to St-Maur-des-Fosses.		87					
M168	R	657-688	A son of Clovis II confirms St Denis in possession of several villas	CCCXXX	89	32	560	4459	K2 No5	Yes
M169	R	657-689	Clovis II gives his protection to St Denis		74	17	555	4508	K1 No10	
M170	R	657/9 – 678/9	Chlothar III ? gives a judgement between Rouen church and St Denis	CCCXXXIV	88	37	557	4510	K2 No2	Yes
M171	R	658	Chlothar III to St-Maur-des-Fosses	?	90	?				Yes
M172	R	658	Chlothar III gives confirmation to abbey of Beze	CCCLI	91	42				Yes
M173	R	658-659	Chlothar III confirms a donation of for the monk Frodobertus to found Montier-la-Celle.	CCCXXIX	92	33				
M174	R	659-660	Chlothar III confirms judgment ordering Ingoberga to restore land to St Denis	CCCXXXI	93	34	561	4460	K2 No6	

Thesis code	R/E/L	Date	Description	Pardessus	DD Merov	DD Merov(1872)	ChLA	Artem	Other source/cartulary/MS	App clause?
M175	R	660-673	Chlothar III gives judgement in dispute	?	94	35	553	4506	K1 No7, 3	
M176	R	660-673	Chlothar III orders restoration of land to St Denis	CCCXXI	95	35	562	4461	K2 No7A	
M177	R	661*	Chlothar III frees Corbie from tolls and tributes in the whole kingdom	CCCXXXVII	96	38				
M178	L	661	Bonefacius gives land to Weissenberg						Glöckner & Doll, no.203	Yes
M179	R	662	Dagobert ? to the church of Strasbourg	CCCLXXX	69	S70				
M180	R	662-670	<b>Childeric II</b> to Munster abbey	CCCXLII	98	26				
M181	R	662-675	Childeric II gives confirmation to the abbey of Senones	CCCXLI	97	S65				
M182	R	662-675	Childeric II continues an immunity to the church of Speyer	D2 NoIV	99	28				
M183	R	662-675	Childeric II gives confirmation to St Quentin	-	100	S64				
M184	R	663	Chlothar III confirms an exchange of goods for Abbot Bertinus	CCCXLIII	101	39				Yes
M185	R	664	Childeric II and Chimnechild give land to Bishop Amandus	CCCXL	102	25				Yes
M186	R	664/665	Placitum of Chlothar III in favour of St-Benigne in Dijon	CCCXLIX	103	41				Yes*
M187	R	665	Childeric II confirms an immunity to Montier-en-Der	CCCXLVII	104	31				
M188	E	666	Abbot Bercharius grants land to Montier-en-der						DEEDS 05940003; Bouchard, <i>Montier</i> , No. 3	Yes
M189	R	666-668	Childeric II confirms a document of Gregory the Great to Nantua	CCCLIII	105	S66				Yes
M190	R	667	Chlothar III grants Abbot Waldelenus permission to represent Gengulfus	CCCLVI	106	43				

Thesis code	R/E/L	Date	Description	Pardessus	DD Merov	DD Merov(1872)	ChLA	Artem	Other source/cartulary/MS	App clause?
			EMPTY EMPTY							
M191	R	669/ 670	Childeric II divides a right of tax collection with Bishop Dido of Poitiers	CCCLVII	107	S67				
M192	E	670	Testament of Bishop Vigilius founding and giving land to Notre-Dame-la-d'Hors							Yes
M193	R	670	Childeric II gives confirmation to Stavelot-Malmedy	CCCLIX	108	29				
M194	R	672	Childeric II to St Denis	CCCLXII	109	S68			K2 No8 s.11?	Yes
M195	R	672	<b>Theuderic III</b> gives an immunity on Ebersmunster		132					
M196	L	673	Chlotilde installs niece Mummola as first Abbess of Bruyeres-le-Chatel				564	4462	Paris, AN, AE II 11 (anc. K 2 n° 10)	Yes
M197	R	673	Childeric II gives confirmation to Le Mans	CCCLXVI	110	S69				
M198	R	675	Childeric II to Munster Abbey	CCCLXVIII	111	30	674	3869		
M199	R	x640	Childeric II gives confirmation to Stavlo-Malmedy	CCCLIV	112	27				Yes
M200	R	675- 691	Theuderic III confirms the election of a new abbot at Corbie	CCCXCVIII	113	52				
M201	R	675- 691	Theuderic III to St Vaast.	CCCXCV	114	S76				
M202	R	675	Theuderic III to St Wandrille	CCCLXX	115	S73				
M203	R	676	Theuderic III takes St Calais into his protection	CCCLXXII	118	50				
M204	R	676- 679	Dagobert II gives confirmation to Stavlo-Malmedy	CCCLXXXV	117	45				Yes

Thesis code	R/E/L	Date	Description	Pardessus	DD Merov	DD Merov (1872)	ChLA	Artem	Other source/cartulary/MS	App clause?
M205	R	677	Theuderic III gives confirmation to Bishop Agilbertus	CCCLXXIX	118	S74				
M206	R	678	Theuderic III gives confirmation to Bishop Agilbertus	CCCLXXXI	119	S75				
M207	R	679	Theuderic III gives property of conspirator Adalric to Beze	CCCLXXXVI	120	46				Yes
M208	R	677	Theuderic III to Deacon Chaino	CCCLXXXVII	121	47	566	4463		
M209	R	677	Theuderic III deposes Bishop Chramlinus	CCCLXXXVIII	122	48	565	4492	K2 No11	
M210	E	677	Bishop Leodegarius of Autun gives land to Saint-Nazaire						<i>Chartae Galliae</i> , no. 255428	Yes
M211	R	679-691	Theuderic III gives confirmation to Stavlo-Malmedy	T2 189?	124	53				Yes
M212	R	679-691	Theuderic III bestows an immunity on Stavlo-Malmedy	?	125	S.77				
M213	L	680	Nizezius and wife Ermentrude grant land to Moissac		-			4818		Yes
M214	R	680-688	Theuderic III waives rights to tolls on all transactions of St Denis		123		568	4465		-
M215	R	682	Theuderic III gives judgement against Acchildis		126		567	4464		
M216	L	682	Vuademerus and wife Ercamberta confirm grant to St GdP				594	4496	Paris, AN, K 4 n° 5	Yes
M217	L		Gammon and wife give land							
M218	R	684	Theuderic III grants immunity to St Bertin	CCCC	127	54				
M219	L	685	Amalfridus gives land to St-Bertin						<i>Chartae Galliae</i> , no. 205085; Guerard, <i>Saint-Bertin</i> no. XI	Yes
M220	R	685	Theuderic III confirms an immunity to Montier-en-Der	CCCCIII	128	55				

Thesis code	R/E/L	Date	Description	Pardessus	DD Merov	DD Merov (1872)	ChLA	Artem	Other source/cartulary/MS	App clause?
M221	R	687	Theuderic III continues Bishop Aiglibert in state financial role	CCCCV	129					
M258		687	Pippin and Plectrude give a villa to the church of the Holy Apostles						DD Arnulf, no. 2	Yes
M259		687	Pippin and Plectrude give land to Beregisus to found a monastery						DD Arnulf, no. 25	Yes
M222	E	688	Bishop Reolus gives land to Montier-en-Der						DEEDS 05940166; Bouchard, <i>Montier</i> , no. 166	
M223	R	688-690	Theuderic III to St Denis		131		570	4466		Yes
M224	R	689	Theuderic III confirms the transfer of land from Amalfrid and his wife to St Bertin	CCCCVIII	130	56				Yes
M260		691	Pippin gives a forest to the monastery of St Ursmar, Lobbes						DD Arnulf, no. 26	Yes
M261		691	Pippin to the church of St Peter and the oratory of Cambrai						DD Arnulf, no. 27	
M225	R	691-694	Clovis III gives confirmation to Gorzau abbey	CCCCXXX	133	65				
M226	R	692	Clovis III gives confirmation to St Bertin	CCCCXVII	134	58				
M227	R	690-691	Clovis III rules in dispute		135		572	4467		
M228	R	691	Clovis III to St Denis		136		575	4470		
M229	E	691	Abbot Magnoald and Abbot Lambert exchange property				563	4491		
M230	L	691	Vuaderamus and wife Ercamberta give land to various churches				571	4494		
M231	R	691	Clovis III gives a confirmation to St Denis.		138		574	4469		
M232	R	692	Clovis III orders Ermenoald to pay forfeits to St Denis		137		573	4468		

Thesis code	R/E/L	Date	Description	Pardessus	DD Merov	DD Merov (1872)	ChLA	Artem	Other source/cartulary/MS	App clause?
M233	R	693	Clovis III confirms an exchange between Stavlo-Malmedy and Childerich II	CCCCXXVI	139	62				Yes
M234	R	693	Clovis III confirms immunity to St Calais	CCCCXXVIII	140	63				
M235	R	693	Clovis III orders Amalbert to restore Bayencourt-sur-Metz to Ingramnus		141		576	4471		
M236	L	693-694	Hildifrid and brothers Managold and Waldswind give land to W'burg. OMITTED						Glöckner and Doll, no. 38	Yes
M237	R	694	Childebert III to St Denis		142		577	4472		Yes
M238	R	694-711	Childebert III continues the immunity of St Maur des Fosses		144	72	583	4478	K3 no. 12/3	
M239	R	694-711	Childebert III continues a privilege to St Serge, Angers	CCCCLXIII	145	74				
M240	R	694-711	Childebert III confirms immunity to St Calais at request of abbot		146					
M241	L	695	Adalgisus grants land to Weissenberg monastery						Glöckner & Doll, no. 46	Yes
M242	R	695	Childebert III gives a confirmation to St Denis		143		578	4473		
M243	E	696	Bishop Ansbert grants land to Saint-Nazaire, Autun						Déléage, no.1	Yes
M244	R	696	Childebert gives a confirmation to Tussonval	CCCCXXXVI	147	69	579	4474	K3 no. 10	
M245	E	696	Ageradus bishop of Chartres to Notre Dame		-		580	4475		
M246	R	696-697	Childebert III gives a confirmation to the church of Vienne.	CCCCXLIV	148	S.79				
M247	R	697	Childebert III orders Drogon son of Pipin to restore land to Tussonval		149		581	4476		

Thesis code	R/E/L	Date	Description	Pardessus	DD Merov	DD Merov (1872)	ChLA	Artem	Other source/cartulary/MS	App clause?
M248	R	697	Childebert III to Notre Dame d'Argenteuil		150		654	1766		
M249	L	697	Vualdromarus abbot of St-GdP and Adalric exchange land at Marly				582	4477		
M262	L	697	Pippin and Brunhilda give a forest to Lobbes						DD Arnulf, no. 28	Yes
M250	E	697	Abbess Irmina gives land to Willibrord and Echternach						Wampach, no.3	Yes
M251	E	697-678	Testament of Abbess Irmina in favour of Echternach						Wampach no. 4	Yes
M252	R	698	Childebert confirms an immunity to the church of Le Mans	CCCCXLV	151	80				
M253	R	698	Childebert III confirms a privilege of Bishop Hernemundus	CCCCXLVI	152	S.81				
M254	E	699	Abbess Irmina grants land to Echternach						Wampach, no. 6	Yes
M255	L	699	Ermbertus gives land to Weissenberg						Glöckner & Doll, no. 223=205=252	Yes
M256	L	699	Testament of Ermbertus						Glöckner & Doll, no. 240	Yes
M263		?	Drogo son of Pippin gives property to St Arnoul of Metz						DD Arnulf, no. 29	Yes
M301	L	700	Testament of the son of Idda				569	4493		Yes
M302	E	700	Archbishop Numerien to Val de Galilee					702		
M303	L	700?	Arduguinus to Flavigny						Bouchard, <i>Flavigny</i> no. 12	Yes
M304	L	700	Rudolfus to St Gall						Wartmann, no. 2	Yes
M305	L	700	Uveroaldus grants land to Weissenberg						Glöckner & Doll, no. 242	Yes

Thesis code	R/E/L	Date	Description	Pardessus	DD Merov	DD Merov (1872)	ChLA	Artem	Other source/cartulary/MS	App clause?
M415	L	701	Pippin and Plectrude swap estates with Bishop Armoïn						DD Arnulf, no. 3	Yes
M306	R	702 703	Childebert III, 'fictitious process' confirming gift by Adalgude and deceased spouse to St GdP	CCCCLVI	153	73	584	4479	AN K3 No13	Yes
M307	R	703- 704	Childebert III gives a confirmation to the abbey of St-Wandrille	2, CCCLXII	154	S.82				
M308	L	704	Hedenus and wife Theodrada give land to Echternach						Wampach, no.8	Yes
M309	L	704	Aengilbaldus gives land to Echternach						Wampach, no. 11	Yes
M310	L	704	Eodbertus grants land to Saint-Bertin						Guerard, no. XVIII; <i>Chartae Galliae</i> no. 205086	Yes
M425	L	704- 706	Duke Arnulf gives Fleury to Abbot Liutpert						DD Arnulf, no. 30	Yes
M311	L	706	Pippin and Plectrude give land to Echternach						Wampach, no. 14/ DD Arnulf, no. 4	Yes
M416		706	Pippin and Plectrude give land to Echternach						DD Arnulf, no. 5	
M312	L	706	Arnoul, duke of Bourgogne, to abbey of St Arnould of Metz			6		287		Yes
M313	L	706- 707	Wulfgunde gives land to Weissenberg						Glöckner & Doll, no. 229	Yes
M314	R	x706x	Dagobert (?) to St Peter in Erfurt	2, CCCLXV	70	S.83				
M315	E	708	Will of Odile, abbess of Hohenbourg					551		NS
M316	L	708	Darmundus gives land to Saint-Bertin						Guerard, no. XX; <i>Chartae Galliae</i> , no. 205087	Yes
M317	L	709	Aengilbertus gives land to Echternach						Wampach, no. 16	Yes
M318	R	709	Childebert III rules in dispute between Leudefridus and Audonius	2, CCCCLXXII	155	76	585	4480	AN K3 no. 14	Yes

Thesis code	R/E/L	Date	Description	Pardessus	DD Merov	DD Merov (1872)	ChLA	Artem	Other source/cartulary/MS	App clause?
M319	R	709/710	Childebert III gives a confirmation to St Denis	2, CCCCLXXVII	156	77	586	4481	AN K3 no. 15	
M320	R	709/710	Childebert III confirms a judgement by Grimoald	2, CCCCLXXVIII	157	78	587	4481	AN K3 No16	
M321	R	710	Childebert II rules in dispute	2, CCCCLXXIX	158	79				Yes
M322	R	710	Childebert III to St Denis	2, CCCCLXVI	159	75				Yes
M323	R	711-715	Dagobert III gives a confirmation to St-Calais	2, CCCCLXXXII	160	80				
M324	R	711-715	Dagobert III gives a confirmation to Abbt Ibbolenus of St Calais	2, CCCCLXXXIX	161	S.86				
M325	L	712	Samuhel grants land to Weissenberg						Glöckner & Doll, no. 234	Yes
M326	L	712	Testament of Benedictus in favour of Weissenberg						Glöckner & Doll, no. 237	Yes
M327	R	712	Dagobert III to Weissenberg	2, CCCLXVII	162	44				
M328	R	712/713	Dagobert III confirms an immunity to the church of Le Mans	2, CCCCLXXXVI	163	84				NS
M329	R	712	Dagobert III confirms an immunity to Le Mans	2, CCCCLXXXVII	164	85				
M330	E	713	Rodini the cleric gives land to Weissenberg						Glöckner & Doll, no. 36	Yes
M331	E	713	Weraldus the monk gives land to Weissenberg (see M190)						Glöckner & Doll, no. 192	Yes
M332	L	713	Otmarus and wife Imma give land to Weissenberg						Glöckner & Doll, no. 202	Yes
M333	R	X705x (750s)?	Dagobert (?) grants the abbey of Schuttern an immunity		165					Yes
M334	E	714	Abbot Ado gives St Remi-de-Reims land in the Ardennes				656	1767	Paris, BNF, lat. 11834 no. 1	Yes

Thesis code	R/E/L	Date	Description	Pardessus	DD Merov	DD Merov (1872)	ChLA	Artem	Other source/cartulary/MS	App clause?
M417	L	714	Pippin and Plectrude give an oratory to Willibrord						DD Arnulf, no. 6	
M335	E	715	Hughes the priest, Duke Arnoul and others to St Arnoul de Metz					288	DD Arnulf, no. 8; Metz, AD Moselle, H 137 no. 1	Yes
M336	L	715	Nordolfus gives land to Weissenberg						Glöckner & Doll, no. 41	Yes
M337	L	715	Ermbertus grants land to Weissenberg						Glöckner & Doll, no. 218=239	Yes
M338	L	715-716	Arnulfus dux gives land to Echternach						Wampach, no. 25; DD Arnulf, no. 7	Yes
M339	R	716	Chilperic II gives a confirmation to St Denis	2, XDV	166	81	588	4483	AN K3 no. 17	
M340	R	716	Chilperic II orders Friulfus to restore land to St Denis	2, XDVII	167	83	590	4485	AN K3 no. 19	Yes
M341	R	716	Chilperic II gives a confirmation to St Denis	2, XDVIII	168	84	591	4486	AN K3 no. 20	
M342	R	716	Chilperic II gives a confirmation to St Wandrille	2, XDIX	169	85				
M343	R	716	Chilperic II gives a confirmation to St Denis	2, XDVI	170	82	589	4484	AN K3 no. 18	
M344	R	716	Chilperic II gives a confirmation to Corbie	2, DI	171	86				
M345	R	716	Chilperic II to the church of Noyon-Tournai	CLXVII	172	S14				
M346	L	717	Testament of Wideradus giving land to 3 churches and Flavigny						Bouchard, <i>Flavigny</i> , no. 1	Yes
M347	L	717	Hrodoinus (Chrodoin) grants land to Weissenberg						Glöckner & Doll, no. 196	Yes
M348	L	717	Testament of Geratrudis in favour of Weissenberg						Glöckner & Doll, no. 261	Yes
M349	R	717	Chilperic II to St Denis	2, DIV	173	87	593	4487	AN K4 No3	Yes

Thesis code	R/E/L	Date	Description	Pardessus	DD Merov	DD Merov (1872)	ChLA	Artem	Other source/cartulary/MS	App clause?
M350	R	717	Chilperic confirms a privilege to St Maur des Fosses to elect the abbot	2, DV	174	88				
M351	R	717	Chilperic II to St Arnulf in Metz	2, DVI	175	89				Yes
M352	R	717-718	Chlothar IV gives land and an immunity to St-Medard in Soissons		176					Yes
M353	R	717-718	Chlothar IV gives land and an immunity to St-Medard		177					Yes
M354	R	717-718	Chilperic II gives a confirmation to St-Bertin	2, DVII	178	90				
M355	L	718	Charles Martel grants land to Echternach						Wampach, no. 27; DD Arnulf, no. 9	Yes
M356	L	718	Chroidoinus testament in favour of Weissenberg						Glöckner & Doll, no. 194=227	Yes
M357	L	718	Chrodoin to Weissenberg						Glöckner & Doll, no. 195=224	Yes
M358	L	718	Testament of Chrodoin, second version						Glöckner & Doll, no. 227	Yes
M359	E	719	Abbot Wideradus confirms the possessions of Flavigny						Bouchard, <i>Flavigny</i> , no. 2	Yes
M360	E	719	Aigmo the priest gives land to Weissenberg						Glöckner & Doll, no. 45	Yes
M361	L	719	Leotheria gives land to St-Pierre-le-Vif, Sens						Quantin, <i>Yonne</i> , Vol. 1, no. X	Yes
M418	?	720	Charles Martel rules for Stavelot Malmedy in a land dispute						DD Arnulf, no. 10	
M362	L	720	Bertrada gives land to Prum						Beyer, no. 8	Yes
M363	L	720	Adalchardus grants land to Weissenberg						Glöckner & Doll, no. 267	
M364	R	X720?	Theuderic IV transfers the management of the abbey Honau to the monk Tubanus	2, DXXXIV	189	S91				

Thesis code	R/E/L	Date	Description	Pardessus	DD Merov	DD Merov (1872)	ChLA	Artem	Other source/cartulary/MS	App clause?
M365	R	721	Theuderic IV gives a confirmation to St-Bertin	2, DXV	179	91				
M366	R	721	Theuderic IV gives a confirmation to St Bertin	2, DXVIII	180	92				
M367	R	721-737	Theuderic IV gives a confirmation to St Croix/St Vincent	2, DXLVIII	181	S92				Yes
M368	R	722	Theuderic IV confirms an immunity to the church of Le Mans	2, DXXII	182	S87				NS
M369	R	722	Theuderic IV gives a confirmation to St Maur des Fosses		183					Yes
M370	R	722	Theuderic IV gives a confirmation to Le Mans	2, DXXIII	184	S89				
M371	L	723	Rigobert sells land to Saint-Bertin						Guerrard, no. XLIX	Yes
M419	?	723	Charles Martel takes Bishop Bonifacus into his protection						DD Arnulf, no. 11	
M411	L	723	Charles Martel gives land to Willibrord						DD Arnulf, no. 12	Yes
M372	R	723-724	Theuderic IV gives a confirmation to St Denis	2, DXXVII	185	93				
M373	R	724	Theuderic gives a confirmation to Maursmunster	2, DXXXI	186	S90				
M428	?	724	Charles Martel takes Bishop Pirmin into his protection and gives him Reichenau						DD Arnulf, no. 33	
M429			Charles Martel takes Bishop Pirmin into his protection and gives him Reichenau						DD Arnulf, no. 34	
M374	L	725	Heriwinus grants land to Weissenberg						Glöckner & Doll, no. 18	Yes
M375	L	726	Geobarthus confirms a gift of land to Weissenberg						Glöckner & Doll, no. 257	Yes

Thesis code	R/E/L	Date	Description	Pardessus	DD Merov	DD Merov (1872)	ChLA	Artem	Other source/cartulary/MS	App clause?
M412	L		Charles Martel gives land to St Salvator Utrecht						DD Arnulf, no. 13	Yes
M376	R	726	Theuderic IV rules in favour of St Denis	2, DXXXV	187	94				Yes
M377	R	727	Theuderic IV confirms the possessions of Murbach abbey		188			3870		
M378	L	727/731-736	Chrodoinus grants land to Weissenberg						Glöckner & Doll, no. 247	Yes
M379	E	728	Bishop Witegern of Starsbourg grants an immunity to Murbach				671	3871		Yes
M380	L	731	Graulufus grants land to Weissenberg						Glöckner & Doll, no. 16	Yes
M381	L	732	Cout Ebrohard and wife Amaldrude give churches to Murbach				670	3872	Colmar, AD Haut-Rhin, 9 G1 no. 1	Yes
M382	L	734	Liutfridus grants land to Weissenberg						Glöckner & Doll, no. 13	Yes
M383	L	735	Goyla gives all her land to St Benigne						Chevrier and Chaume, no. 19	Yes
M384	L	735	Goyla confirms the grant above						Chevrier and Chaume, no. 20	Yes
M385	L	735	Ebrohardus and wife Chimildrudis give land to Weissenberg						Glöckner & Doll, no. 9	Yes
M386	L	736	Record of sale of land by Liutfridus to Rantwig							Yes
M387	L	736	Record of sale of land by Liutfridus to Rantwig						Glöckner & Doll, no. 162=35	
M388	E	737	Weraldus the monk gives land to Weissenberg						Glöckner & Doll, no. 241	Yes
M389	L	739	Testament of Abbo, largely in favour of Novalaise						<i>Chartae Galliae</i> , no. 221335	Yes
M390	L	739	Liutfridus grants land to Weissenberg						Glöckner & Doll, no. 10	Yes

Thesis code	R/E/L	Date	Description	Pardessus	DD Merov	DD Merov (1872)	ChLA	Artem	Other source/cartulary/MS	App clause?
M391	L	739	Boronus grants land to Weissenberg						Glöckner & Doll, no. 14	Yes
M392	L	739	Nordoaldus grants land to Weissenberg						Glöckner & Doll, no. 17	Yes
M413	L	741	Charles Martel gives Clichy to St Denis						DD Arnulf, no. 14	Yes
M393	L	742	Haroinus grants land to Weissenberg							Yes
M394	L	742	Rantwigus grants land to Weissenberg						Glöckner & Doll, no. 52	Yes
M395	R	743	Childeric III gives a confirmation to Le Mans	2, DLXIX	190	S93				
M396	R	743	Childeric III renews a privilege to St Bertin in St-Omer	2, DLXX	191	96				
M421	?	743	Pippin confirms the immunity of Bishop Domnolus of Maecon						DD Arnulf, no. 17	
M397	R	743-747	Childeric III gives a confirmation to Stavelot-Malmedy	2, DLXXV	192	97				
M398	R	743-751	Childeric (III?) gives a confirmation to St Calais	2, DLXXI	193	S94				
M399	R	744	Childeric III confirms an immunity to St Denis		194					
M400	L	744	Beata daughter of Rekinbertus grants land to St Gall						Wartmann, no. 10	Yes
M401	R?	744-747	Pippinus and Carloman grant land to Fulda						Stengel, no. 8	Yes
M402	E	745	Bishop Chrodegang of Metz grants land to Gorze							Yes
M403	L	745	Lantbertus grants land to Saint Gall							Yes
M404	E	745	Felix the priest grants land to Saint-Bertin						Guerard, no. XXXIII <i>Chartae Galliae</i> , no. 205089	Yes

Thesis code	R/E/L	Date	Description	Pardessus	DD Merov	DD Merov (1872)	ChLA	Artem	Other source/cartulary/MS	App clause?
M405	L	745	Odalhardus grants land to Weissenberg						Glöckner & Doll, no. 136	Yes
M414	L	746-747	Carloman to Abbt Anglinus and Stavelot Malmedy						DD Arnulf, no. 15	Yes
M420	?	747	Carloman presides over a dispute between himself and Abbot Anglinus						DD Arnulf, no. 16	
M423	?	747-751	Pippin grants a right in fodder to the monastery at Honau						DD Arnulf, no. 19	
M422	?	748	Pippin rules in favour of St Denis in a land dispute						DD Arnulf, no. 18	
M424	?	747-751	Pippin takes Bishop Dabanus and Honau into his protection						DD Arnulf, no. 20	
M406	L	748	Baio and wife Cylinia grant land to Falvigny						Bouchard, <i>Flavigny</i> , no. 6	Yes
M407	L	748	Uuillihelmus grants land to Mondsee						Rath & Reiter, no. 123	Yes
M408	L	749	Angiltrut grants land to Mondsee						Rath & Reiter, no. 31	Yes
M409	L	749	Maegilo grants land to Mondsee						Rath & Reiter, no. 114	Yes
M410	L	748-750	Cylinia wife of Baio adds to their grant to Flavigny						Bouchard, <i>Flavigny</i> , no. 7	Yes
M500		751	Pippin orders the return of land at Corbery to St Denis			DMDR 22		2921	DD Karol 1, no. 22; Paris, AN, K 4 no. 7	
M501	R	751	Pippin restores land to St Denis			DMDR2 3		2922	Paris, AN, K 4 no. 6/1	
M502		751	Double of A2922			DMDR2 3		2923	Paris, AN, K 4 no. 6/2	
M503	R	753	Pippin gives St Denis tolls from Paris markets					2924	DD Karol 1, no. 6	
M504	R	754	Childeric (III?) gives a confirmation to St Calais		95	S95				

Thesis code	R/E/L	Date	Description	Pardessus	DD Merov	DD Merov (1872)	ChLA	Artem	Other source/cartulary/MS	App clause?
M505	R	755	Pippin grants land to St Denis					A2925	DD Karol 1, no. 8	Yes
M506		759	Pippin orders Gérard, count of Paris, to surrender market tolls to St Denis					2928	DD Karol 1, no. 12; Paris, AN, K 5 no. 4/3	
M507	R	761	Theuderic allows a leatherworker and cobbler a yearly payment		96					
M562		762	Sigefrid gives land to his son Altmannus				676	3873	Colmar, AD Haut-Rhin, 1 H 128 no. 1	
M508		765	Pippin takes the abbey of St Maximin into his protection					1768	DD Karol 1, no. 39; Paris, BNF, lat. 9264 no. 1	
M509	L	766	Adalhardus gives land to Abbot Fulrad and St Denis				601	2929	Paris, AN, K 5 no. 7	Yes
M510	R	768	Pippin confirms land to Abbot Fulrad of St Denis				602	2930	DD Karol 1, no. 27; Paris, AN, K 5 no. 8	Yes
M511	R	768	Pippin grants an immunity to St Denis					2931	DD Karol 1, no. 26; Paris, AN, K 5 no. 10	-
M512	R	768	Pippin gives part of the forest of Yvelines to St Denis					2932	DD Karol 1, no. 28; Paris, AN, AE II 33 (anc. K 5 no. 9)	Yes
M513	R	768	Pippin grants an immunity to St Hilaire of Poitiers					1053	DD Karol 1, no. 24	
M514	R	769	Carloman to the abbey of Munster					3874	DD Karol 1, no. 45; Colmar, AD Haut-Rhin, 1 H 123 no. 2	
M515	R	769	Carloman confirms a customs exemption for St Denis					2934	DD Karol 1, no. 43; Paris, AN, K 5 no. 11/1	
M516	R	769	Carloman confirms the immunities of St Denis					2935	DD Karol 1, no. 44; Paris, AN, K 5 no. 11/2	
M517	R	769	Carloman confirms the right of St Denis to tolls on goods					2936	DD Karol 1, no. 46; Paris, AN, K 5 no. 11/3	
M518	R	769	Charlemagne gives the monastery of St Dié to St Denis					2933	DD Karol 1, no. 55; Paris, AN, K 5 no. 12/1	
M519	L	769	Aegefredus and Archesidana sell part of their property in Pincerai				609	4488	Paris, AN, K 5 no. 12/2	

Thesis code	R/E/L	Date	Description	Pardessus	DD Merov	DD Merov (1872)	ChLA	Artem	Other source/cartulary/MS	App clause?
M520	R	769	Carloman confirms an immunity for abbess Ailina					2480	DD Karol 1, no. 49; Paris, BNF, n.a.l. 2222	
M521	L	770	Grimulfridus and Adalvuara give land to St Denis				611	2937	Paris, AN, K 5 no. 13	Yes
M522	R	771	Charlemagne confirms an immunity on St Maur des Fossés					4489	DD Karol 1, no. 61; Paris, AN, K 5 no. 12/3	
M523	R	772	Charlemagne confirms an immunity for Murbach					3875	DD Karol 1, no. 64; Colmar, AD Haut-Rhin, 9 G 3 no. 2	
M524	R	772	Charlemagne gives a confirmation to St Germain des Prés					4490	DD Karol 1, no. 71; Paris, AN, K 6 no. 1/A	
M525	R	774	Charlemagne confirms a grant to the abbey of St Claude					950	DD Karol 1, no. 301; Lons-le-Saunier, AD Jura, 2H16 no. 1	Yes
M526	R	774	Charlemagne to the monastery of St Hippolyte					2939	DD Karol 1, no. 84a; Paris, AN, AE II 38 (anc. K 6 no. 3/1)	
M527	R	774	Charlemagne to the monastery of St Hippolyte					2940	DD Karol 1, no. 84b; Paris, AN, K 6 no. 3/2	
M528	R	775	Charlemagne confirms immunities accorded to Murbach					3876	DD Karol 1, no. 95; Colmar, AD Haut-Rhin, 9 G 3 no. 3	
M529	R	775	Charlemagne gives land to St Denis					2942	DD Karol 1, no. 92; Paris, AN, K 6 no. 4	Yes
M530	R	775	Charlemagne confirms an immunity for St Denis					2943	DD Karol 1, no. 94a; Paris, AN, K 6 no. 5/1	
M531	R	775	Charlemagne confirms an immunity for St Denis					2944	DD Karol 1, no. 94b; Paris, AN, K 6 no. 5/2	
M532	R	775	Charlemagne confirms St Denis in possessions restored by his father					2945	DD Karol 1, no. 101; Paris, AN, K 6 no. 6	
M533	R	775	Charlemagne recognizes the rights of St Denis over Notre-Dame et Saint-Pierre de Plaisir					2946	DD Karol 1, no. 102; Paris, AN, K 6 no. 7	
M534	R	775	Charlemagne gives land to St Denis and St Privat de Salottes					2947	DD Karol 1, no. 107; Paris, AN, K 6 no. 8	Yes

Thesis code	R/E/L	Date	Description	Pardessus	DD Merov	DD Merov (1872)	ChLA	Artem	Other source/cartulary/MS	App clause?
M535	R	776	Charlemagne gives land to the monastery of St Véran					2941	DD Karol 1, no. 83; Paris, AN, K 7 no. 4	Yes
M536	R	776	Charlemagne renews the exemption from tolls for St Denis					2948	DD Karol 1, no. 88; Paris, AN, K 6 no. 9	
M537	E	777	Abbot Fulrad gives land to the monastery of Liepvre					2951	Paris, AN, K 7 no. 1/2	
M538	R	777	Charlemagne gives a confirmation to St Denis					200	DD Karol 1, no. 118; Nancy, AD Meurthe-et-Moselle, G 468	
M539	E	777	Testament of Abbot Fulrad				622	2952	Paris, AN, K 7 no. 1	Yes
M540	E	777	Testament of Abbot Fulrad				623	2949	Paris, AN, K 7 no. 1/A	Yes
M541	E	777	Testament of Abbot Fulrad				624	2950	Paris, AN, K 7 no. 1/B	Yes
M542	E	778	Saint Remi of Strasbourg founds a monastery at Eschau					552	Strasbourg, AD Bas-Rhin, G 2 no. 1	Yes
M543	R	778	Charlemagne renews a privilege of St Denis					2953	DD Karol 1, no. 120; Paris, AN, K 7 no. 3	
M544	R	779	Charlemagne confirms an immunity for St Marcel de Chalon				651	1576	DD Karol 1, no. 123; Paris, BNF, coll. de Bourgogne t. 75 no. 4	
M545	R	779	Charlemagne confirms an exemption from tolls for St Germain des Prés					4497	DD Karol 1, no. 122; Paris, AN, K 7 no. 2	
M546	R	779	Charlemagne confirms the property and rights of the abbey of La Grasse					3769	DD Karol 1, no. 189; Carcassonne, AD Aude, H11 no. 1	
M547	E	780	Abbot Aper of St Hilaire Poitiers exchanges land with Hermenbert				680	1054	Poitiers, AD Vienne, 1 H 5 no. 1/1	Yes
M548	R	781	Charlemagne confirms an exchange of land between abbess Eufémie of Metz and Abbot Fulrad				628	2954	DD Karol 1, no. 136; Paris, AN, K 7 no. 8/1	

Thesis code	R/E/L	Date	Description	Pardessus	DD Merov	DD Merov (1872)	CLA	Artem	Other source/cartulary/MS	App clause?
M549	R	782	Charlemagne confirms a donation of Fulrad to St-Denis					2955	DD Karol 1, no. 238; Paris, AN, K 7 no. 7/A	Yes
M550	R	782	Charlemagne confirms a donation of Fulrad to St-Denis					2956	DD Karol 1, no. 238; Paris, AN, K 7 no. 7/B	Yes
M551	R	783	Queen Hildegard gives land to St-Arnoul of Metz					289	DD Karol 1, no. 318; Metz, AD Moselle, H 126 no. 1	Yes
M552	R	783	Charlemagne gives land to St-Arnoul of Metz					290	DD Karol 1, no. 149; Metz, AD Moselle, H 42 no. 1	Yes
M553	R	786	Charlemagne gives land to St Germain des Prés					5017	Paris, AN, K 7 no. 5	Yes
M554	R	790	Charlemagne confirms a donation to the abbey of St-Claude					951	DD Karol 1, no. 302; Lons-le-Saunier, AD Jura, 2H16 no. 2	
M555	R	790	Charlemagne gives land to St-Denis					2959	DD Karol 1, no. 166; Paris, AN, K 7 no. 11/1	Yes
M556	E	790	Fulrad gives land to St GdP				632	4498	Paris, AN, K 7 no. 11/2	
M557	?	791	Aigibertus missi of Charlemagne and Godabertus pass judgement on count Aubert in land dispute with St GdP				633	4499	Paris, AN, K 7 no. 11/3	
M558	L	794	Theodredane gives land to St GdP				634	4500	Paris, AN, K 7 no. 11/4	Yes
M559	L	794	-cherharius gives land to St GdP				635	4501	Paris, AN, K 7 no. 11/5	
M560	L	797	Count Theudoaldus gives land to St-Denis				638	2961	Paris, AN, K 7 no. 16	Yes
M561	R	799	Gisele sister of Charlemagne gives land to St-Denis				636	2963	DD Karol 1, no. 319; Paris, AN, K 7 no. 14	Yes

## Appendix C:

## List of appurtenance terms

This list contains appurtenance list terms from all the studied texts from Britain and Gaul before 800, plus those from the selected Italian private documents and Papal letters discussed in Chapter Four. The suggested translations were selected from the dictionaries on the basis of what was most likely to be appropriate to an appurtenance context, but they should be seen as a starting point rather than a definition.

Term as most commonly listed	Data table abbreviation	Variations	Found in: (only <5)	Root form
accensis	accensis		M243	accensa
<b>Transl. &amp; source:</b> Fee farm (Niermeyer).				
accessibus	access.			accessus
<b>Transl. &amp; source:</b> An access to a place (Gaffiot).				
accolabus	accolab.	i) acculabus ii) acolis iii) acolabis	i) M151 ii) M335 iii) M400	accolae
<b>Transl. &amp; source:</b> Neighbour (L&S); inhabitant (DMLBS); as colonus (DuCange).				
adiacentis	adiac.			Adiacentia, adiaceo
<b>Transl. &amp; source:</b> To lie near, border upon (L&S); dependant, appurtenant (Niermeyer).				
adiunctis	adiunct.			adiungo
<b>Transl. &amp; source:</b> To add, join, annex (L&S).				
aedificiis	aedific.	i) edificiiis ii) hedificiis iii) aedifitiis	i) M004;M389 ii) M192 iii) M389	aedificia
<b>Transl. &amp; source:</b> A building of any kind, not suitable for a dwelling (L&S).				
agris	agris			ager
<b>Transl. &amp; source:</b> Productive land, field (L&S).				
alpius	alp.		M389	Alpes
<b>Transl. &amp; source:</b> The Alps (L&S).				
ancillis	ancillis	i) ancillas	i) M192	ancilla
<b>Transl. &amp; source:</b> Maidservant, female slave (L&S).				
appendiciis	append.	i) adpendences	i) M256	appendicia, appendicium
<b>Transl. &amp; source:</b> An appendage (L&S).				

Term as most commonly listed	Data table abbreviation	Variations	Found in: (only <5)	Root form
aquis	aquis		-	aqua
<b>Transl. &amp; source:</b> Water (generally, also a lake, stream or river) (L&S)				
aquarumve decursibus	aq.dec.	i) aquarumque littoribus ii) aquarumve discursibus	i) M155 ii) M192	
<b>Transl. &amp; source:</b> See text. Placed alongside <i>aqua</i> contrast suggests this was used for running water.				
arboribus	abor.		See Italian and Papal docs.	abor
<b>Transl. &amp; source:</b> A tree (L&S). Both the appurtenance clauses and broader usage (see DuCange) suggest a focus on individual trees rather than the body of woodland (and possibly rights) suggested by <i>silvis</i> .				
arbustis	arbust.		See Italian and Papal docs.	arbustus, arbustum
<b>Transl. &amp; source:</b> Set or planted with trees (L&S). But see also 'arbustarica': 'public labour service' (Niermeyer).				
areis	areis	M121 i) arealis	i) M385, M394	area
<b>Transl. &amp; source:</b> Land, dry land, vacant plot, threshing floor (L&S); open space, building site, threshing floor (DMLBS); space, building plot, house courtyard (Gaffiot); rural space occupied by peasant homestead (Niermeyer). Arealis – threshing floor (L&S).				
arida	arid.		S260	aridum
<b>Transl. &amp; source:</b> Dry land (L&S); mainland (Niermeyer).				
arvis	arvis		M389	arvum, arvus
<b>Transl. &amp; source:</b> An arable field (L&S). See also 'exavis' in same document.				
aucupationibus	aucupat.			Aucupatio/ aucupationis
<b>Transl. &amp; source:</b> Fowling, birdcatching (L&S); fowling; hawking (DMLBS); 'product of hunting with birds' (Gaffiot).				
basilicis	basilic.			basilica
<b>Transl. &amp; source:</b> Basilica (L&S, Gaffiot), palace, church, chapel or shrine (DMLBS); major church (Niermeyer).				
beneficiis	benefic.		M192	beneficium
<b>Transl. &amp; source:</b> A benefit or service (L&S). See text.				
campis	campis	i) capis	i) M011	campus
<b>Transl. &amp; source:</b> Plain, field (L&S); plain, grassland, meadow, cultivated field, ploughland (DMLBS); plain (Gaffiot). See text for fuller discussion.				
casalibus	casal.		M382 M400	casalis
<b>Transl. &amp; source:</b> House; house plot; farmyard (Niermeyer).				
casis	casis		M178	casa
<b>Transl. &amp; source:</b> A small house, cottage, hut, cabin (L&S, DMLBS), but also from a peasant's homestead to a manor (Niermeyer).				

Term as most commonly listed	Data table abbreviation	Variations	Found in: (only for <5)	Root form
casticiis	castic.	i) castitiis	M224 i) M219	casticia
<b>Transl. &amp; source:</b> A building of any kind (Niermeyer).				
catallis	catall.		M210	catallum
<b>Transl. &amp; source:</b> Chattels, cattle (DMLBS).				
clericis	clericis		M347	clericus
<b>Transl. &amp; source:</b> Clergyman, priest (L&S).				
clusura	clus.		S65	clausura
<b>Transl. &amp; source:</b> Enclosing fence, enclosed area (DMLBS); fence (Niermeyer).				
colonis	colonis	i) colonecis	M107 i) M133	colonus, colona
<b>Transl. &amp; source:</b> A farmer (L&S); settler, peasant, farmer, thrall (DMLBS); cultivator, peasant (Gaffiot). See text.				
comanentis	coman.	manentis	M019, M305	manens
<b>Transl. &amp; source:</b> A free or unfree tenant (Niermeyer).				
comitibus	comitib.		M011	comes
<b>Transl. &amp; source:</b> Companion, attendant, retinue (L&S).				
communiis	common.		M224	communis
<b>Transl. &amp; source:</b> Common, general, public (L&S); for common use (DMLBS).				
corporibus	corpor.		M406	corpus
<b>Transl. &amp; source:</b> Person, with reference to heirship or lordship (DMLBS); person (Niermeyer).				
cultis	cultis	i) cultiferis	i) M004	cultus
<b>Transl. &amp; source:</b> Cultivation (L&S); cultivation, crops (DMLBS); reclaimed land (Niermeyer).				
cursibus	cursib.		M210	cursus
<b>Transl. &amp; source:</b> A way (L&S); a run or walk for animals, a (hunting) chase (DMLBS); a chase (Gaffiot).				
curtis/curtilibus		i) curtiferis ii) curtificiis iii) curtiliis iv) curticlis v) cortiferis	i) M011, M116 ii) M333 iii) M256 iv) M308, M317 v) M389	curtis
<b>Transl. &amp; source:</b> Curtis – courtyard, farmyard, homestead (Niermeyer); Curtilis – site of a manor (Niermeyer); Curtile – enclosure of house and harden (Niermeyer).				
decimis/decis	decim.		M005, M367, M112	decimus
<b>Transl. &amp; source:</b> Tenth part, tithe (L&S).				

Term as most commonly listed	Data table abbreviation	Variations	Found in: (only <5)	Root form
domibus	domib.			domus
<b>Transl. &amp; source:</b> House (L&S); other types of building (DMLBS).				
ecclesiis	eccles.			ecclesia
<b>Transl. &amp; source:</b> Although frequently used to refer to a Christian community, in appurtenance clauses most probably a church building, or possibly a fixed meeting place for religious services (e.g. marked by a cross).				
egressu	egress.		M317	egressus
<b>Transl. &amp; source:</b> A going out, departure (L&S); the yield of an estate (DuCange).				
epistolariis	epistol.		M402	epistolaris
<b>Transl. &amp; source:</b> Expressed by letter (DMLBS); a 'manumitted serf' (Niermeyer).				
exitibus	exitib.	i) exciis ii) exo	M149 i) M119 ii) M406	exitus (ii = exagum)
<b>Transl. &amp; source:</b> Way or passage out (L&S); way out; produce, revenue (DMLBS); passage out (Gaffiot).				
familiarica			ChLA 721	familiaricus
<b>Transl. &amp; source:</b> Belonging to the house servants (L&S).				
farinariis	farinar.			farinaria
<b>Transl. &amp; source:</b> Grain mill (Niermeyer); flour granary (Gaffiot).				
fluminibus	flumin.		S65	flumen
<b>Transl. &amp; source:</b> Flowing water, stream, river (L&S).				
fontanis	font.			fons, fontis
<b>Transl. &amp; source:</b> Spring, fountain, well, source (L&S); spring, well (DMLBS); spring, well (Gaffiot).				
foreste	foreste		M347	foresta
<b>Transl. &amp; source:</b> Both DMLBS and Niermeyer record meaning relating to hunting rights and forest law. DMLBS also records the meaning of wood or heath, and DuCange records examples where it appears to relate to a natural feature. Possibly a German introduction whose meaning narrowed and then broadened again.				
fructario	fruct.			fructus
<b>Transl. &amp; source:</b> Fruit, proceeds, output (L&S); DMLBS: useful product, yield, output (DMLBS); that which gives product (Gaffiot). See also fructuare/ fructificare: to reap/ to bear fruit (Niermeyer).				
garricis	garricis		M141, M171, see also Italian docs.	garrica
<b>Transl. &amp; source:</b> Oak coppice (Niermeyer).				

Term as most commonly listed	Data table abbreviation	Variations	Found in: (only <5)	Root form
gregis	gregis			grex
<b>Transl. &amp; source:</b> Flock, herd, drove (L&S).				
habitoribus	habit.		M192	habitor
<b>Transl. &amp; source:</b> Dweller, inhabitant (DMLBS).				
ortis	hortis	i) ortilis ii) ortiferis	M389 i) M402 ii) M403, M400	hortus
<b>Transl. &amp; source:</b> Garden (L&S, Gaffiot); garden yard (DMLBS).				
immovilibus	immov.			immobilis
<b>Transl. &amp; source:</b> Immovable property, real estate (L&S).				
incultis	incult.			incultus
<b>Transl. &amp; source:</b> Uncultivated (L&S, DMLBS, Gaffiot).				
ingenuis	ingen.		M389	ingenuos
<b>Transl. &amp; source:</b> Indigenous; free-born (L&S, DMLBS, Gaffiot), but in DMLBS also foreign, not native.				
ingrediis	ingred.		M011	ingredicium; ingressus
<b>Transl. &amp; source:</b> An entrance (L&S, DMLBS, Gaffiot); return from an estate (DuCange). Either would work in appurtenances, but the frequent pairing with <i>egressus</i> seems to suggest entrances and exits.				
inquilinis	inquil.		M019, M107	inquilinus
<b>Transl. &amp; source:</b> Tenant, inhabitant, settler (L&S).				
insulis	insulis		M141	insula
<b>Transl. &amp; source:</b> Island (L&S, DMLBS, Gaffiot).				
inviis	inviis		M312	invius
<b>Transl. &amp; source:</b> Without a road, impassable (L&S); trackless (DMLBS).				
irrigua	irrig.		S260	irrigue (irrigo)
<b>Transl. &amp; source:</b> A method of watering (Gaffiot).				
iumentis	iument.		M308	iumentum
<b>Transl. &amp; source:</b> Draught cattle (L&S).				
iure	iure		M162	ius
<b>Transl. &amp; source:</b> Right, obligation (L&S); tax (Niermeyer).				

Term as most commonly listed	Data table abbreviation	Variations	Found in: (only <5)	Root form
<b>libertis</b>	libert.		M107	libertus/a
<b>Transl. &amp; source:</b> A freed (i.e. emancipated) man/woman (L&S, FMLBS, Gaffiot).				
<b>libros</b>	libros		M359	liber
<b>Transl. &amp; source:</b> A person born free (in contrast to above) (L&S, DMLBS, Gaffiot).				
<b>litis</b>	Litis		M535	lis(?)
<b>Transl. &amp; source:</b> A lawsuit (L&S); a law suit, a quarrel (DMLBS); a quarrel or dispute (Gaffiot); battle, war (Niermeyer).				
<b>mancipiis</b>	mancip.			mancipium/a
<b>Transl. &amp; source:</b> A slave (L&S); possession, property; servant, slave (DMLBS); property, slave (Gaffiot). Niermeyer notes the range of conditions this word described.				
<b>manentibus</b>	manent.	i) comanentis	M004, M011 i) M019, M188	manens (from <i>maneo</i> )
<b>Transl. &amp; source:</b> Inhabitant; tenant whether free or unfree (Niermeyer).				
<b>mansionibus</b>	mansio.		M362	mansio
<b>Transl. &amp; source:</b> Dwelling or lodging place (L&S); house, measure of land, manor (DMLBS); place of residence or sojourn (Gaffiot).				
<b>mansis</b>	mansis	i) mansiones (mansio)	i) M151	mansus
<b>Transl. &amp; source:</b> Dwelling place of a family; an agricultural estate; the home of a <i>colonus</i> (DuCange); dwelling, homestead, estate centre (Niermeyer).				
<b>mariscis</b>	marisc.			mariscus
<b>Transl. &amp; source:</b> Marsh, fen, swamp (L&S).				
<b>maselis</b>	masel.		M335	masa (dimin.)?
<b>Transl. &amp; source:</b> Possibly from <i>masa</i> ( <i>mansus</i> , Niermeyer) little house cf <i>mansulus</i> . But see also <i>massa</i> : patrimony (Niermeyer).				
<b>ministerialis</b>	minist.		M019	ministerialis
<b>Transl. &amp; source:</b> Domestic servants (Niermeyer).				
<b>molinis</b>	molin.		M005	molina
<b>Transl. &amp; source:</b> A mill (L&S, Niermeyer).				
<b>montibus</b>	montib.	i) montanis	M155 i) S43	mons
<b>Transl. &amp; source:</b> Mount, mountain, mountain range (L&S).				
<b>movilibus</b>	movil.			mobile
<b>Transl. &amp; source:</b> Something moveable (DMLBS).				

Term as most commonly listed	Data table abbreviation	Variations	Found in: (only <5)	Root form
<b>mudiscapis</b>	mudis.		M004	?
<b>Transl. &amp; source:</b> No translation available. Possibly a corruption of 'molina' in a Germanised phrase. The '-scapis' ending occurs in the term 'wadriscapis' in later charters, apparently referring to possibly artificial water courses, which could be consistent with mill leats. This is also consistent with its presence as a later interpolation.				
<b>nemoribus</b>	nemor.		M112, M155	nemus
<b>Transl. &amp; source:</b> Tract of woodland, grove (L&S).				
<b>officinis</b>	offic.		M403	officina
<b>Transl. &amp; source:</b> Workshop, manufactory (L&S); workshop (DMLBS, Gaffiot).				
<b>olivetis</b>	olive.		M389	olivetum
<b>Transl. &amp; source:</b> An olive grove (L&S).				
<b>opportunitibus</b>	opport.		M192	opportunitas
<b>Transl. &amp; source:</b> Opportunity, advantage (L&S). This is listed with <i>beneficium</i> .				
<b>paecoliis</b>	paecol.		M237	? peciola
<b>Transl. &amp; source:</b> Possibly a small piece of land (DMLBS).				
<b>paludibus</b>	palud.			palus
<b>Transl. &amp; source:</b> Swamp, marsh (L&S); stockade; marsh, swamp, especially salt marsh (DMLBS); marsh (Gaffiot).				
<b>pascuis</b>	pascuis	i) pascariis (pascuarium)	i) M119	pascuum
<b>Transl. &amp; source:</b> Substantive from noun, pasture (L&S); used as or suitable for pasture, grazing land (DMLBS); suitable for pasture (Gaffiot).				
<b>pastinationibus</b>	pastinat.		S129	pastinatio
<b>Transl. &amp; source:</b> Land prepared for a vineyard (L&S); pasture (DMLBS); cultivated land (Gaffiot).				
<b>pastoribus</b>	pastor.			pastor
<b>Transl. &amp; source:</b> Herdsman, shepherd (L&S); one who feeds or cares for animals (DMLBS); someone who looks after sheep (Gaffiot).				
<b>pecoribus</b>	pecor.	i) pecudibus ii) pecora iii) pecude iv) pecudum	M107 i) M192 ii) M192 iii) M107 iv) M107	pecus
<b>Transl. &amp; source:</b> Cattle (L&S).				

Term as most commonly listed	Data table abbreviation	Variations	Found in: (only <5)	Root form
peculiis	pecul.			peculium
<b>Transl. &amp; source:</b> Property in cattle (L&S); property (esp in cattle) (DMLBS); minor wealth amassed by slaves (Gaffiot).				
pecuniis	pecun.		M029	pecunia
<b>Transl. &amp; source:</b> Property, wealth, money (L&S); property, wealth, livestock, money (DMLBS; livestock, riches, money (Gaffiot); moveable and immoveable property, livestock, tools (Niermeyer).				
pedagiis	pedag.		M119	pedagium, pedagiare
<b>Transl. &amp; source:</b> Right to levy toll for passage (L&S); to levy a toll (Niermeyer).				
perviis	perviis		M561	pervius/pervium
<b>Transl. &amp; source:</b> A passage (L&S, DMLBS, Gaffiot); route, road; passage, right of way (Niermeyer).				
piscationibus	piscat.			piscatio
<b>Transl. &amp; source:</b> Fishing, a fishery (L&S); act or practice of fishing; fishery (DMLBS); act of fishing (Gaffiot).				
planiciebus	planic.		M525	planities
<b>Transl. &amp; source:</b> Level ground, plain (L&S, DMLBS).				
pomariis	pomar.	i) pumiferis	M012 i) M400	pomarius
<b>Transl. &amp; source:</b> Orchard (Gaffiot).				
portis	portis		M141	porta
<b>Transl. &amp; source:</b> Gate, passage (L&S, DMLBS); doorway (Gaffiot).				
pratis	pratis			pratum
<b>Transl. &amp; source:</b> A meadow (L&S, DMLBS, Gaffiot).				
premiis	premic.		M155	primitiae?
<b>Transl. &amp; source:</b> First fruits (L&S).				
praesidiis	praesid.		M010	praesidium
<b>Transl. &amp; source:</b> Defence, protection (L&S); protection, fortress (DMLBS); garrison; place guarded by garrison (Gaffiot).				
quadrupedibus	quad.		M312	quadrupes
<b>Transl. &amp; source:</b> Beasts of burden (L&S).				
quesitis	quest.		M106	quaestus ?
<b>Transl. &amp; source:</b> Possibly resources (Niermeyer).				

Term as most commonly listed	Data table abbreviation	Variations	Found in: (only <5)	Root form
rebus	rebus			rebus
<b>Transl. &amp; source:</b> A thing, property, possession, the subject of a right, a benefit (L&S); property, possession (DMLBS); an estate (Niermeyer).				
recursibus	recurs.		M210	recursus
<b>Transl. &amp; source:</b> A returning path (L&S); right of pannage for pigs (Niermeyer).				
reditibus	redit.		M333	reditus
<b>Transl. &amp; source:</b> A return, revenue, income (L&S); return, rent (DMLBS).				
regresso	regress.		M406	regressus
<b>Transl. &amp; source:</b> A going back, a return (L&S); access road (Niermeyer).				
rivis	rivis		M389. See also Italian docs.	rivus
<b>Transl. &amp; source:</b> Stream, brook, canal (L&S); river, stream (DMLBS); stream (Gaffiot).				
rusticis	rustic.		M107	rusticus
<b>Transl. &amp; source:</b> A peasant (L&S); unfree peasant/tenant (DMLBS); country person (Gaffiot).				
salsilagine	salsil.		S27	salsilago
<b>Transl. &amp; source:</b> Salt marsh (DMLBS).				
saltis	salt.		M107	saltus
<b>Transl. &amp; source:</b> Woodland (L&S).				
servis	servis		M107	servus
<b>Transl. &amp; source:</b> A slave (L&S); unfree, slave (DMLBS); slave (Gaffiot); servant (Niermeyer).				
silvis	silvis			silva
<b>Transl. &amp; source:</b> Wood, forest, woodland (L&S); area of woodland, wood; wood pasture (DMLBS); parkland, wood (Gaffiot).				
slavis	slavis		M146	slavus, scalvus
<b>Transl. &amp; source:</b> Slave (DuCange).				
solaris	solar.			solarium
<b>Transl. &amp; source:</b> Sunny part of house; a ground rent (L&S); as L&S but also a house (DMLBS); land tax (Gaffiot).				
stagnis	stagnis	i) stangnis	i) M210	stagnum
<b>Transl. &amp; source:</b> Standing water, lake, pool, pond, swamp, fen (L&S); standing water, pool, including artificial (DMLBS); stagnant water, lake, pond (Gaffiot).				

Term as most commonly listed	Data table abbreviation	Variations	Found in: (only <5)	Root form
strumenta	strum.		M359	strumentum, instrumentum
<b>Transl. &amp; source:</b> Implement, utensil, tool; document, record (L&S, DMLBS, Gaffiot).				
subiunctis	subiunct.		M155	subiunctio
<b>Transl. &amp; source:</b> Yoking animals together (DMLBS); adjacent or appertaining (Niermeyer).				
suppelec	suppel.			supellex
<b>Transl. &amp; source:</b> Household utensils (L&S). This is in M243 but not in the formal app clause so can be removed.				
termino	term.		M359	terminus
<b>Transl. &amp; source:</b> A boundary line, boundary (L&S); boundary marker, boundary (DMLBS); boundary (Gaffiot).				
terris	terris			terra
<b>Transl. &amp; source:</b> Land, ground, soil (L&S); piece of land, holding or estate (DMLBS).				
territoriis	territ.		M019	territorium
<b>Transl. &amp; source:</b> A domain, district, territory (L&S); a piece of land (DMLBS); territory (Gaffiot).				
ulmis	ulmis		M141, M171	ulmus
<b>Transl. &amp; source:</b> Elm (tree) (L&S).				
urbanis	urban.		M107	urbanus
<b>Transl. &amp; source:</b> Related to a town (L&S, DMLBS, Gaffiot); land covered by buildings (L&S).				
utensilibus	utensil.		M362	utensile utensilia
<b>Transl. &amp; source:</b> Things that are useful, tools (L&S); tools (DMLBS).				
vaccariis	vacc.		M308	vaccaria vacca
<b>Transl. &amp; source:</b> Cow (L&S, DMLBS, Gaffiot).				
vallibus	vallib.		M155	valles
<b>Transl. &amp; source:</b> A valley, vale or hollow (L&S).				
vectigalis	vectigal.		M119	vectigal
<b>Transl. &amp; source:</b> Revenue, rent, income (L&S); tax, duty, tribute (DMLBS); revenue (Gaffiot).				
venationibus	venat.			venatio
<b>Transl. &amp; source:</b> Hunting, chase (L&S); hunting; right to hunt; hunting ground (DMLBS); hunting (Gaffiot).				

Term as most commonly listed	Data table abbreviation	Variations	Found in: (only <5)	Root form
vestitius	vest.	i) vestihus	i) M362	vestitus
<b>Transl. &amp; source:</b> Possession; tenure, tenement (Niermeyer).				
vestimenta	vestim.		M359	vestimentum
<b>Transl. &amp; source:</b> Clothing (L&S, Gaffiot), especially as worn for liturgy (DMLBS).				
viis	viis		M312	via
<b>Transl. &amp; source:</b> A road or path (L&S, DMLBS, Gaffiot).				
villaribus	villa		M243	villa
<b>Transl. &amp; source:</b> A country house or farm (L&S), a rural dwelling, estate, or settlement (DMLBS), a house in the country or farm (Gaffiot).				
viniis	viniis			vinum
<b>Transl. &amp; source:</b> Wine (L&S, DMLBS), wine, grape, vine (Gaffiot).				
viverio	viver.			vivarium
<b>Transl. &amp; source:</b> Fish pond (Niermeyer), game enclosure or fish pond (DMLBS); game park or oyster bed (Gaffiot).				
vuidis	vuidis		M011	poss. vuadrus?
<b>Transl. &amp; source:</b> If 'vuadrus' then 'water' (DuCange). See below and text.				
watrischafo	wat.	i) uuidriscapis	M317 i) M245?	watriscapum
<b>Transl. &amp; source:</b> See text.				

## Appendix D:

### Appurtenance clauses from charters 750-800

As explained in the text (see p. 40), the main analysis of appurtenance clauses ended at 750, since the Merovingian age came to an end in 751. However, analysis of both the Frankish and Anglo-Saxon documents was taken to 800, in order to assess whether there were any sudden changes in this period. Since what was needed was an outline of genuine practice at the time, only documents believed to be reliable were included. For Britain, this was based upon the weight of opinion as given in the *Electronic Sawyer*, and the following texts were used:

S31	S48	S119
S96	S105	S123
S260	S49	S125
S56	S108	S128
S28	S37	S129
S33	S117	S153

For the Frankish documents, only single-sheet documents believed to be authentic as described by Artem and cross-referenced in the MGH volumes, were used. These are listed in the concordance in Appendix A from M500 onwards. Only nine appurtenance clauses were found from royal documents from Francia, roughly half the number in the Anglo-Saxon texts. Another eight Frankish private charters from reliable single sheets were also analysed, providing nine appurtenance clauses (although two of the charters are versions of the testament of Abbot Fulrad: M540 and M547). The spreadsheets for the analysis of these clauses are available on the Open Science Framework (see Appendix D). The results of that analysis is given in tables D1, D2, and D3 below. In none of these was there any sudden shift in the appurtenance clause patterns, with all sets of documents maintaining the pattern shown in the first half of the eighth century.

Place	1st	2nd	3rd	4th	5th	6th
<b>Category</b>	Land	Wood	Land		Water	
<b>Term</b>	campis	silvis	pratis	pascuis	aquis fluminibus fontanis	aquis paludibus
<b>No.</b>	14	12	10	6	1 1 1	2 2

*Table D1: The appurtenance clause pattern from post-750 Anglo-Saxon charters thought to be reliable.*

Place	1st	2nd	3rd	4th	5th	6th	7th	8th	9 - 11	12th	13th	
<b>Cat.</b>	Land	Buildings		People		Land	Wood	Land		Water		
<b>Term</b>	terris	domi- bus	aedifi- ciis domi- bus	(aedifi- ciis) acco- labus	manci- piis	viniis	silvis	cam- pis	pratis	pascuis	aquis	aq dec
<b>No.</b>	7	5	5 4	(4) 3	4	3	4	2	3	3	3	3

*Table D2: The appurtenance clause pattern from original Frankish royal documents from 750 to 800.*

Place	1st	2nd	3rd	4th	5th	6th	7th	8th	9th	10th	11th
<b>Cat.</b>	Land	Buildings		People		Wood	Land	Land		Water	
<b>Term</b>	terris	domi- bus	aedifi- ciis	acco- labus	manci- piis	silvis	viniis	pratis	campis pascuis	aquis	aq dec
<b>No.</b>	5	4	4	3	3	2	3	2	1 1	2	2

*Table D3: The appurtenance clause pattern from original Frankish private documents from 750 to 800.*

## Appendix E:

### Chapter Two data held on Open Science Framework

The data used to compile figures and tables in Chapter Two has been uploaded to the Open Science Framework and can be accessed using the link below.

[https://osf.io/egph2/?view\\_only=a1320732e50848328221f419f4948f23](https://osf.io/egph2/?view_only=a1320732e50848328221f419f4948f23)

The following files are available:

Folder name	File name	File type	Relates to:
C7 royal charters from Britain and Gaul	Gaul C7 royal reliable	Excel workbook	Figure 1 & Table 1
	Gaul C7 royal not reliable	Excel workbook	
	Britain C7 royal reliable	Excel workbook	Figure 1 & Table 2
	Britain C7 royal not reliable	Excel workbook	Table 5
Royal charters to 750 from Britain and Gaul	Gaul pre 750 royal reliable	Excel workbook	Figure 2 & Table 3
	Gaul pre 750 royal not reliable	Excel workbook	
	Britain pre 750 royal reliable	Excel workbook	Figure 2 & Table 4
	Britain pre 750 royal not reliable	Excel workbook	Table 5
Post 750 charters from Britain and Gaul	Britain post 750 royal reliable	Excel workbook	Appendix D Table D1
	Gaul post 750 royal reliable	Excel workbook	Appendix D Table D2
	Gaul post 750 private reliable	Excel workbook	Appendix D Table D3
C7 private charters	C7 Gaul all private charters	Excel workbook	
	C7 Gaul private charters minus wills	Excel workbook	Table 6
	C7 Gaul private charters wills only	Excel workbook	Table 7
C8 private charters	C8 Gaul private charters	Excel workbook	Table 8
	Britain C7 & 8 private charters	Excel workbook	See text, Section 2.4.2
	C7-8 British private charters	Word document	See text, Section 2.4.2

## Appendix F:

### Chapters Three & Five data held on Open Science Framework

The spreadsheets used in analysing sites for Chapter Three and Five have been uploaded to the Open Science Framework and can be accessed using the link below:

[https://osf.io/egph2/?view\\_only=a1320732e50848328221f419f4948f23](https://osf.io/egph2/?view_only=a1320732e50848328221f419f4948f23)

The following files are available:

#### **All Sites Data Survey** (Excel Worksheet)

This gives an overview of the range of evidence provided by all the sites studied. Each site was allotted a row and given a score of 1 in each category where evidence was available. These scores were totalled at the end of the row, and then totalled for each area in Column T. This allowed the relative weighting of evidence to be observed. As the figures show, the three areas of Britain were roughly equal, and Britain provided almost double the results of France. Southern Gaul was the area with the lowest weighting.

<b>Key to abbreviations:</b>	
Dom Str: Domestic Structure	Mtl Wrk: Metalworking
Ag Str: Agricultural Structure	Archbot: Archaeobotanical evidence
Unid Str: Unidentified structure	Zoarch: Zooarchaeological evidence
Bnd &Enc: Boundaries and enclosures	
Pers Itms: Personal Items (e.g. combs, etc)	

#### **C6-7 structures and boundaries** (Excel Worksheet)

This breaks down the occurrence of types of structure and boundary on sites dated between sixth and seventh century. See Chapter Three, Sections 3.2, 3.3, 3.4, 3.5, and Chapter Five Section 5.2

<b>Key to abbreviations:</b>	
SFB: Sunken Feature Building	GrnDry: Grain drier
Sz/Indt: Size indeterminate	Trckwy: Trackway
B<10: Structure less than 10m <sup>2</sup>	IED: Inner enclosure ditch
B<50: Structure less than 50m <sup>2</sup>	IEB: Inner enclosure bank
B50-75: Structures between 50 and 74m <sup>2</sup>	IEP: Inner enclosure palisade
B1-150: Structures between 100 and 150m <sup>2</sup>	OED: Outer enclosure ditch
B>150: Structures greater than 150m <sup>2</sup>	OEB: Outer enclosure bank
Gran.: Granary	NPA: No proven association

#### **C5-6 boundaries** (Excel Worksheet)

This breaks down the occurrence of different boundary types on sites dated between fifth and sixth century. See Chapter Five, Section 5.2.

Abbreviations as above.

## Appendix G:

### Italian documents and appurtenance clauses from Chapter Four

ChLA and other editions tend to disagree on where punctuation can be placed in constructions such as *'arboribus pomiferis fructiferis vel infructiferis diversi generi'*, and more than one reading is possible. The punctuation used in ChLA 716, for example, groups the whole phrase together, giving something like, 'fruitful and unfruitful apple/fruit trees of various kinds'. It could, of course, be read as 'apple trees and various kinds of fruiting and unfruiting plants'. Punctuation has therefore been omitted from these lists.

#### i) Italian private documents from the Ravenna papyri

ChLA 706

Bib. Ap. Vat., pap lat 14

Thulgilo, the widow of Parianus, and her daughter Domnica sell 20 iugera of land to Pelegrinus.

Ravenna, 539

*'...que sunt finibus terminis ingressis spatiis campis pratis pascuis silbis selectis sationibus arboribus arbustis pomiferis diversique generis et omnem omni que iure propriaetatemque earum'*

ChLA 708

Bib. Ap. Vat., pap lat 19

Milanius and Gerontius sell land from the fundus Roborata to Laurentius.

Faenza, 540

*'cum aedificio et omni iure instructo instrumentoque eius omnibusque ad se pertinentibus'*

ChLA 715

Bib. Ap. Vat., pap lat 12

Deusdedit sells part of the fundus Genicianus to Hildigernus.

Ravenna, 575-591

*'arboribus pomiferis fructiferis et infructiferis diversique generibus limitibusque suis et omne iure propriaetateque earum'*

ChLA 716

Bib. Ap. Vat., pap lat 7

Honoratus sells land.

Ravenna, 591

*'finibus spatiis terminis campis pratis pascuis vineis arbustis arboribus pomyferis fructiferis et infructiferis diversique generibus silvis salectis sationalibus ribis fontibus acquis perennis cum earum iure et omni proprietateque omnibus que ad easdem ... pertinentibus'*

ChLA 717

Bib. Ap. Vat., pap lat 6

Sisevara gives part of the fundus Balonianus to the church of Ravenna.

Ravenna, 590-602

'finibus terminis campis pratis pascuis silvis salectis sationalibus vineis arbustis arboribus pomiferis fructiferis et infructiferis diversisque generibus rivis fontibus aquis perennis liminibus limitibusque suis omnibus omnique iure proprietateque eius'

ChLA 720

Bib. Ap. Vat., pap lat 5

Deusdedit gives land to the church of Ravenna.

Ravenna, 625

'...in integro cum ingressu et egressu qui est positus iuxta domum meam'

ChLA 721

Bib. Ap. Vat., pap lat 18

The archbishop of Ravenna (Maurus?) grants estates, in emphyteusis, to Theodorus Calliopa, his wife Anna, and children.

Ravenna, 642/3-665/6

'cum omnibus fundis casualibus vel appendicibus ad praedictam pertinentibus massam cum ---ris olivetis silvis salectis pratis pascuis'

ChLA 793

Firenze, Archivo di Stato, pap. no. 2

Isacius presents a charter of sale transferring land from the estates of Domitianus to the church of Ravenna.

Firenze, gesta municipalia, 541

'... salectis sationalibus vineis arboribus arbusteis arbustatis taleis olivarum pomiferis fructiferis diversisque generis rivis fontibus et omni iure propriaetateque earum omnibusque as easdem generaliter pertinentibus'

ii) Lombard charters (from *Codice Diplomatico Longobardo*, Vol. 1, ed. by Schiaparelli)

CDL 27

Aunefrid grants land to Saint-Lorenzo and Valendo and is given usufruct.

720

'cum homnia ris mea quod mihi etuineret casa vinea servus vel ancilla cultum desertum mobile vel inmobile sesseque moventius'

CDL 56

Lupo, son Audoaldo, sells a house and land to Duke Vualperto of Lucca.

736

'id est: casa ubi manere uideor seruis ancillas uineis campis siluis cultum adque incultum mobile uel inmobile omnia et ex omnibus de quantum ad manum mea habere uisus sunt integrum uobis tradedit'

CDL 58

Anuald gives land to the priest Anecord.

736

'[cum suis] mancipiis tam in civitate quam extra civitate vineis pratis pascuis silvis salectis pomiferis fructiferis diversis territoriiis mobile vel inmolvile sesseque moventibus'

CDL 67

Anstrualda the nun gives land to the church of Saint-Giorgio.

738

'cum omnia adiacentia sua simul cum territoriis vineis p;ivetis silvis virganis cultis et incultis et in omnibus mobilia vel immobilia seo semoventibus'

CDL 77

Filicaus gives land to Saint-Quirici.

740

'ipsa suprascripta terra cum casa vinea olivetis silvis tam intus quam foris coltum vel incoltum vel quod as huc Deo propitio conquirere potuero'

CDL 78

Teuperto, son of Mauro, gives his house to Saint-Ambrogio of Milan.

742

'una cum area curte ortoleo et credalia in ipso fundo Brisconno portione [mea in] integrum tam campis pratis pascuis uineis siluis amenedollaribus uectualia aquaria aquarumque usibus, culto uel inculto mobile aut immobile seseque mouentibus'

CDL 83

Sisters Autconda and Natalia found the monastery of Saint-Maria.

745

'cum alias casas curte orto intrinsecus foris terris vineiis colonicas pradis pascuis nupalibus montibus servis ancillis pecunia omnia seseque moventibus cultu et incultum ere terro utensilia quicquid nunc possedere videmur aut in antea aquirere et laborare potuerimus'

CDL 84

Emitanco and his wife Teuflada sell houses and land to Tanualdo the priest.

744-745

'cum terra et uineas campis siluis cum arbustra fructefera cum fontis omnia in adpretiato in tregenta soledus tibi uendere uisus sumus'

CDL 87

Causalus sells land to Regulus the priest.

746

'tres parti in Teutpasciu qui vocitatur Faurarius casa terra vineas cultu et incultu silvis et pascuas'

CDL 90

Achipert gives land to Saint-Giorgio.

747

'cum omnia ad ipsa casa pertinente in integrum serbus vel ancillas in mea reserbp potestate pro anima mea livertandum nam suprascripta casa cum terra vinea silbis cultum vel incultum omnia et in omnibus seo et perte mea de sundro illo quis nobis obvinet'

## iii) Papal charters

MGH Epistolae 2, p. 437-439

Gregory I gives four uncias from the estates of Laveriani, Speiani, Ancessani to Abbot Maiximianus and the monastery of S Andrea.

Vat Lat 5617 f. 217s, 587

'cum mancipiis colonis suis vel cum omni iure et proprietate eorum cum casalibus atque appendicibus suis parietinis adiunctis adiacentibusque suis sive cum silvis campis pratis pascuis salectis sationibus vineis olivetis arboribus pomiferis fructiferus vel infructiferis diversisque generis puteis fontibus rivis aquae perennis limitibusque suis omnibus et omnibus ad easdem quattuor uncias suprascripti Laveriani Speiani atque Ancessani cum castello suo vel cum omni iure et proprietate eorum et omnibus ad se pertinentibus'

PPU (*Papsturkunden, 896-1046*, ed. by Harald Zimmerman) 2

Pope Stephen VI confirms the possessions of the church of Archbishop Arnust of Narbonne.  
896

'hoc est omnes domos cellas ecclesias villas curtes parochias terras vineas prata silvas atque medietatem salinarum et telonei seu raficani aut naufragi cum monasterio sancti Laurentii et cellis cum omnibus adiacentiis earul ac pertinentiis una cum famulis utriusque sexus et alia...'

PPU 5

Pope Romanus renews a property confirmation for Bishop Servus Dei of Gerona.

Gerona cathedral, papyrus, 897

'hoc est domos plebes cellas ecclesias villas et insulas Maiorica scilicet et Minorica seu curtes parroechias terras vineas prata silvas una cum famulos utriusque sexus cum omnibus asiacentiis seu pertinentiis suis'

PPU 8

John IX confirms the rights and possessions of Abbot Leopard of Nonatola.

899

'cum omnibus locis massis fundis cassis casalibus domibus atque familiis servis horiginalibus simulque rebus et possessionibus necnon aquimolis olivetis vel quicquid in quibuscumque locis habere vel tenere videtur'

PPU 9

John IX confirms the rights and possessions of Abbot Ragenprand of Montecassino.

899

'cum curtis et casalibus cum servis et ancillis utriusque sexus et cum omnibus earum pertinentiis'

PPU 22

Sergius III grants possessions to Bishop Hildebrand and the church of Silva Candida after it was damaged by the Saracens.

905

'cum casis vineis casalibus seu appenditiis et cum omnibus finibus terminis limitibusque suis terris campis pratis pascuis silvis salictis arboribus pomiferis fructiferis vel infructiferis diversi generis puteis fontibus rivis aque perhennis edificiis parietinis arenariis adiunctis adiacentibusque suis cum ecclesia que vocatur sancti Andree apostoli infra ipsam edificata massam una cum colonis atque massaritiis tributariis et angarialibus masculis et feminis filiis et filiabus ac nepotibus eorem ibidem residentibus aut exinde pertinentibus'

PPU 23

Sergius III confirms the possessions of Abbess Eufemia and the monastery of St Maria, Tempulo.

905

'cum omnibus finibus terminis limitibusque ipsorum sicuti nunc sunt et ab origine fuerunt cum terris campis pratis pascuis montibus collibus vallibus padulibus silvis silvectis arboribus pomiferis fructiferis vel infructiferis diversi generis puteis fontibus rivis aquis perennibus edificiis parientinis arenariis arginis adiunctis adiacentibusque suis'

PPU 59

John X confirms the possessions of the church of Archbishop Aimerich of Narbonne.

927-928

'hoc est omnes domos cellas ecclesias vill curtes parrochias terras vineas prata silvas necnon et medietatem salinarum et telonei seu raficani et naufragi monasterium sancti Laurenti et cellas cum omnibus eis pertinentibus una cum famulis eorum utriusque sexus et omnia que a piis dominis imperatores et marchioness ... collata sunt'

PPU 73

Leo VII confirms Cluny in possessions from Duke Hugh.

936

'cum aeclesiis terris vineis domibus campis pratis pascuis silvis salectis arboribus pomiferis fructiferis diversi generis vel infructiferis puteis fontibus rivis aque perennis aedificiis adiunctis adiacentibusque suis cultis vel incultis una cum famulis masculis et feminis ibidem vel ubique residentibus et cum omnibus ad suprascriptas cortes generaliter et in integro pertinentibus'

## Appendix H:

## Sample charter record sheet

Charter ID:	Date:	<u>Dimen:</u>	Given at:
Granted by:		Support:	
Granted to:			Nature:
Script:		Archive:	
Scriptorium:		Scribe:	
Address:			
Proem:			
Invocation:			
Dispositive:	<u>Sub.Pers:</u>	Tense:	<u>Ob.Pers:</u>
Anathema:			
Blessing:			
Nature of right:			
Privilege:			
Estate:		Area:	
Appurtenances:			
Bounds:		ID with:	
Witnesses:			
Refs:			
MS:			
Comments:			