“Archaeological manifestations of the bishops in Greater Mercia, AD 700-950”

Submitted October 2021, in partial fulfilment of the conditions for the award of the degree MRes Archaeology.

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I hereby declare that this dissertation is all my own work, except as indicated in the text:

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Abstract

The rise of the Minster Hypothesis, put forward by John Blair (2005) and others (e.g. Foot 2006; Tinti 2005) has led to archaeological research focusing on the impact of the monasteries as institutions in the provision of pastoral care and as centres of economic centrality during Anglo-Saxon England. Although this model has contributed to the increasing archaeological investigations at Middle Saxon sites across Mercia, it undermines the importance of the individual bishops during this period, and has led to some academics calling out for a reassessment of the role of the bishops in the early English Church (e.g. Coates 1996). The following research, therefore, aims to highlight how the evidence can be used to explore bishops in Anglo-Saxon society, especially in regards to the geographical distributions of power and the archaeological manifestations of trade. In order to explore these themes, the following paper will have a mixed methodology of archaeological and documentary evidence and will focus on the region of Greater Mercia between the period of AD700-950.

Acknowledgements

I would like to thank my supervisor Dr. Christopher Loveluck for his continuing support throughout my research. Without your expertise and helpful guidance I would not have been able to do it. His guidance has carried me throughout all stages of the writing project. I would also like to thank the staff at the University of Nottingham for always being able to assist me during my studies.

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Introduction

0.1. Motivation

The episcopate of the Anglo-Saxon period were some of the most important figures of the time. Bishops such as Augustine, Paulinus, Aidan and Cuthbert have been praised for being the leading personnel for the evangelization of the early Anglo-Saxon kingdoms, they administered the diocese in which they were situated, formed close relationships with the royal dynasties and many were considered powerful figures in their own right. Despite this, the study of the bishops in the Anglo-Saxon period has been neglected in recent years due to the rise of theories such as the 'Minster Hypothesis', which was started by academics such as John Blair (1995; 2005) and others (e.g. Foot 2006; Tinti 2005) This model has focused on the role of minsters in the surrounding landscape and the role of monasticism in the pastoral organization of the early church and supports the view that the early church was based around communities of clerics in a network of 'minsters' which provided pastoral care to the community and formed a strong economic system which dominated the landscape (Blair 2005). Although this model has paved the way for a systematic study of the organization and impact of the Anglo-Saxon church, it has fundamentally focused on the early church as an institution, and has overlooked the importance of the individual bishops in the prosperity of the church; it also mainly focuses on the middle to late Anglo-Saxon period, after the reorganization of the church in the tenth century to follow the Benedictine reformation. Simon Coates (1994; 1996) has highlighted this neglect of the study of the episcopate, and calls for a future focus on the role of the bishops, and the reinterpretation of the contemporary works such as Bede. He argues that:

> "the importance of the episcopal hierarchy has thus been undermined by studies of the pastoral structure of the English church which have concentrated more upon the institutions involved in pastoral care than upon the individual personnel who undertook pastoral work" (Coates 1996: 179).

However, since the 1990s when Coates was writing, there has been no serious attempts to provide a systematic study on the importance of bishops in the early church. This thesis intends to highlight the importance of the bishops, not only in the organization of the church, but their importance in all aspects of Anglo-Saxon life. By focusing on the archaeological manifestations of the bishops, this thesis will examine the geographical extent of the episcopate's power across the landscape, highlighting what areas in Greater Mercia the bishops had most control, and how they used their individual power to consolidate their estates and expand their interests in the commercial zones of the kingdom. Although it is evident that some of the episcopate's power came from the 'minsters' in which they were based, the Minster Hypothesis has brought too much focus on the church as an

institution, and neglects the influence of the individual personnel who controlled these dioceses. The overall aim of this thesis is to highlight the importance of the bishops in Anglo-Saxon England as a whole, to fill in the gaps of previous research in terms of the episcopate's archaeological manifestations of power, and to influence future researchers to bring bishops to the forefront in a way that develops our understanding of the ecclesiastical and pastoral landscapes, and adds to the overall picture provided by the minster hypothesis.

0.2. The Research Focus

In order to assess the real contribution of the episcopate during the Middle Saxon period, this research will focus on the archaeological manifestations of power and their geographical distributions across the landscape. The research area will be centred on Greater Mercia, as the kingdom was important to the spread of early Christianity and encompasses a wide geographical range, as during its hegemony the kingdom expanded its original boundaries from the Humber to the Thames, and incorporated nearly all of the southern English kingdoms (Webster and Blackhouse 1991). Hence, this allows the study of important episcopal centres such as Canterbury and Worcester, which all were incorporated into Greater Mercia during its expansion. The research will be focused on the years AD 700-950 and will incorporate evidence from Mercia's annexed kingdoms during this timeframe. This time frame allows the early bishops and their impact to be considered, and takes the research up to the period before the Benedictine Reform of the mid 10th century.

Chapter 1 will focus on bishops and the ownership of land and resources. The majority of evidence from this chapter will be documentary evidence, especially the charters of the dioceses of Worcester and Canterbury, however archaeological evidence such as the distribution of stone sculpture and some excavation evidence will be discussed. The aim of this chapter is to assess how the bishops managed to consolidate their power over the landscape by the acquisition of parcels of land which were later transformed into substantial estates with evidence for production and specialisation. In order to achieve this aim, the chapter will first consider the early charters (pre-750) which will highlight how the bishops came into possession of lands previously owned by the royal household. It will also incorporate the early charters which reference the various grants of privileges obtained by the episcopate in the early eighth century, which allowed the bishops to be exempt from customary tolls and due. The following section (1.3) will focus on the charters of the diocese of Canterbury, plotting their geographical locations and analysing the charter evidence for Archbishops such as Æthelheard (793-805) and Wulfred (805-832), who had a profound impact on the transformation of episcopal estates across the Kentish landscape. Section 1.4 will then analyse the charter evidence from Worcester, focusing on the bishops such as Wærferth (869X872-907X915) who was actively involved in the commercial sphere of Greater Mercia, especially in the fortification and reconstruction of the

burhs of Worcester and London (Baker and Holt 2004: 128). The final section (1.5) will discuss how the stone sculpture can be used to explore the theme of bishops and the ownership of land and resources. This section will explore the geographical distributions of sculpture across the Mercian heartland, in particular Derbyshire, Lincolnshire, Nottinghamshire, Staffordshire and the West Midlands. This will aim to highlight how the sculpture can show direct episcopal associations in the landscape.

Chapter 2 will focus on the distribution of the episcopal coinage. The expansion of online databases such as the Portable Antiquities Scheme (PAS) and the Early Medieval Coin Corpus (EMCC) have allowed the growing body of metal detectorists to catalogue their finds in great detail; hence, although there have been numerous numismatic studies on the coinage of the period (e.g. Gannon 2003; 2013; Naismith 2010), this is constantly outdated and tends to focus on the coinage of the royal dynasties rather than the archiepiscopal coinage. This chapter will therefore analyse the distribution of episcopal coinage in chronological order. The only individuals to produce ecclesiastical coins were the Archbishops of Canterbury, and one Bishop of London. Hence, the chapter will be separated based on the timeframe of the bishop, starting at Archbishop Jænberht (765-92) and ending with Archbishop Wulfred (805-832) By assessing the coins in a chronological context, this will allow the research to focus on the individual bishop and their influence across the landscape. This exploration of the geographical distribution also aims to highlight any important routeways, especially the rivers, that were used during this period for the transhipment of goods.

The final chapter will focus on the archaeological manifestations of trade. This will begin with the analysis of bishops and their involvement of rural organisation and intensification (3.2.) which will assess the impact of the bishops on the rural landscape of Greater Mercia. This will aim to highlight how the bishops transformed their estates (discussed in Chapter 1) into working land which produced substantial agricultural surpluses. Section 3.3. will focus on bishops and the urban environment, especially their role in the organisation of burhs and the construction of ecclesiastical buildings. The following section (3.4) will focus on specialisation, and will combine the archaeological evidence for craft specialisation with documentary evidence which supports the idea of episcopal association. Finally, this chapter will discuss the bishops involvement in the salt trade, which was a major focus of the bishop of Worcester, and his ecclesiastical household.

The chapters will consider the following research questions:

1. How do the archaeological manifestations of the bishops in Greater Mercia between 700-950 show the geographical distribution of their power?
2. How did the bishops expand and consolidate their power through their active involvement in industry and trade?

3. How did the bishops exploit the resources around them to create vast territories that they directly controlled?

0.3. Methodology

Most of the material that was chosen for analysis derives from archaeological finds that are available through online database collections, and through books and articles selected for this study. In regards to bishops and land management, this research will mainly focus on the charter evidence. These charters are available through a selection of online databases and sourcebooks, including the *Electronic Sawyer* and the *ASChart.* The charters selected are those with reference to a specific bishop of Greater Mercia during the research time frame; these are first-hand accounts of any activity that is directed at land management, and showcase the boundary clauses and disputes that may aid in the examination of the power of the episcopate. The charters will be analysed through their boundary clauses, which will be plotted geographically to show the extent of their landed estates. The charters will then be examined in relationship to the surrounding landscape, by analysing specific natural and manmade resources that come under their tenure's, and compare this to modern day boundaries and ancient routeways which could highlight how the bishops exploited the natural resources available to them.

Despite this, not all of the charters online have been translated from Old English and Latin into modern English; henceforth, not all of the charters can be examined in full detail. In order to overcome this issue, this thesis will also rely on books which sort charters based on their geographical location, for example the *Worcester Anglo-Saxon Charter Bounds* (Hooke 1990) which provide translations of the texts and explore their clauses in greater detail. Despite this, some charters are still left untranslated, therefore their clauses cannot be examined in full. Another issue with the charter evidence is we are unsure how many original charters were created, hence there is an obvious bias in the research as the diocese of Worcester and Canterbury make up the majority of the evidence. This also implies that the charter evidence ignores specific regions with minimal to no surviving charters, such as the Mercian heartland of the East Midlands and Lincolnshire. The stone sculpture section (2.5) aims to fill in any gaps left by the charter evidence, as their distribution is not limited to specific areas. This section will mainly analyse the entries from *The Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture,* which is the only comprehensive source for sculpture across the whole of the Anglo-Saxon period. This will be used to construct geographical distributions of sculpture, and will provide direct episcopal links to their production and trade.

Coins have been chosen for one of the main sources of evidence in the research. They are key sources of information which can be reflected well on a map, and their find spots can aid in the reconstruction

of their original use and distribution patterns. As stated above, online databases such as the *Portable Antiquities Scheme* and the *Early Medieval Coin Corpus* have been used as they are constantly updated with the growing number of finds from archaeological investigation, and single finds collected by the general public through metal detecting. All known coins of the archbishops and bishops of Greater Mercia between c700-950 have been selected and catalogued on an excel spreadsheet; from this, all finds with known 'find spots' have been plotted on a map based on their longitude and latitude coordinates. However, there are a few issues that derive from using online databases that are available for the general public to edit: the first is that many coins were found by archaeological investigation before the advancement of coordinates; henceforth, many coins have been recorded by antiquaries without find spots, and have been subsequently lost or sold to private venders. To overcome this issue, all coins, whether their find spot has been recorded or not, have been catalogued onto the spreadsheet mentioned above; therefore, the full extent of the archiepiscopal coinage can be examined. The second issue is that many coins on the online databases have not been verified and could therefore be frauds. This has been the case for a few coins, which were copied by unofficial moneyers at the time and sold on; this is also the case for many coins of the Anglo-Scandinavian period. Unfortunately, the online databases cannot verify all coins catalogued on their websites; henceforth, even the unverified coins have been used in this thesis. The only way to overcome this is to stress that this thesis is based on the evidence given at the time, and may be subject to change with future research.

Chapter 3 will focus on the archaeological evidence from metalwork finds and excavation reports of the Mercian heartland. Although the rise of the Minster Hypothesis has undermined the role of the bishops during this period, it has prompted substantial archaeological investigations into ecclesiastical sites across Greater Mercia. However, these investigations were prompted by documentary evidence which attests to their presence, or through concentrations of metalwork found by the growing number of metal detectorists around the country. Hence, many smaller and undocumented sites have not been excavated as of yet. Despite this, the growing number of metalwork finds has led to the expansion of online databases such as the *Portable Antiquities Scheme*, as well as identification of new sites across the landscape. An issue with the archaeological material is that it is difficult to establish a direct episcopal link based off this evidence alone, hence this chapter will use documentary evidence to support the bishop's involvement in sites focused on trade.

Chapter One: Bishops and the ownership of land and resources

1.1. Introduction

In order to assess the geographical distributions of the episcopate's power, the following chapter will focus on the bishops and their acquisition and administration of land and resources. Due to the large corpus of surviving charters in the dioceses of Worcester and Canterbury, sections 2.3 and 2.4 will be focused on how these documents highlight the early involvement of the bishops in the acquisition of *bocland. Bocland* was a type of land tenure in Anglo-Saxon England that was vested by a charter (Baxter and Blair 2005: 19), and from the end of the seventh century onwards we see a substantial amount of land being acquired by bishops, abbots and abbesses, and their ecclesiastical institutions. The following chapter will be analysing the charters which reference land obtained by the bishops which will be plotted geographically to explore regional trends and the location of episcopal estates. This will aim to highlight not only the bishops transformation of landed estates, but also their geographical distributions of power across the Mercian landscape. The research will also discuss how the charters can be used to show the bishop's domination and exploitation of the resources available to them. The charter evidence will be used to pinpoint specific natural resources that were available on the land sought after by the bishops that were later transformed into surpluses intended for markets. The charter evidence will be selected from the online databases such as *The Electronic Sawyer* and *ASChart;* however, due to the copious amount of charters available during this period, the researcher will select specific documents that can show direct episcopal involvement in the acquisition of land and resources.

The documentary evidence will be supported by archaeological material such as excavations reports and the distribution of stone sculpture which will be used to consolidate the episcopal ownership of land and resources. Section 2.5 will explore how the bishops can be linked to the production and distribution of stone sculpture. This section will consider evidence such as inscriptions, stylistic design and the geographical distributions of sculpture which may point to a direct episcopal link. Once combined with the documentary evidence, the following chapter will aim to provide a comprehensive analysis of bishops and their ownership of land and resources based on a variety of methodological approaches. Section 2.5. will be based off entries from the online database, *The Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture,* which explores stylistic trends and regional schools in the stone sculpture in great depth. However, stone sculpture is one of the most well-represented forms of art during this time, and there are a substantial quantity dispersed across the landscape. Hence, the

research will be focused on specific monuments and architectural materials that can indicate a direct episcopal involvement to the ownership of land and resources.

1.2. The Early Charters (pre-750)

Charters were introduced into England in the seventh century. The first references to land payments are kings gifting often large pieces of land to churches or laymen with the intention of founding churches (Naismith 2016: 34). In nearly all cases of these early charters the king is involved, and the small number of other cases all relate to ecclesiastical property as they were dictated by social factors rather than economic (*ibidem*). This changes in the ninth century, when we start seeing economically driven charters which were often very stylistically imposing (Snook 2015: 5). Bishops are one of the most well-represented groups in the charters in terms of the acquisition of land. Rory Naismith's (2016: 22-23) recent analysis of the identities of 'buyers' and 'sellers' of Anglo-Saxon land has shown that bishops are the biggest buyers of Anglo-Saxon land, comprising over 30% of all known transactions, followed by 'other laymen' (21%), abbots (12%) and others (*ibid:* Tables 1 and 2). This is a huge percentage, especially of buyers of land, and when compared to the King, who makes up just over 36 percent of known sellers, and 1 percent of buyers (*ibid:* 23), this supports the idea that the bishops were some of the most important land-owners during the whole of the Anglo-Saxon period.

Bede tells us that King Æthelberht granted Augustine and his bishops were given 'lands and possessions' upon the foundation of the sees of London and Rochester (Bede 1991: I.26, II.3). Brooks (1984: 106) argues that the archiepiscopal see of Canterbury must have obtained many of the larger Kentish manors early on in the times of Æthelberht and his successors from 597-762, such as the estates of Northwood, Petham, Eastry and so forth. Brooks (*Ibid:* 106-7) then goes on to that some of the Canterbury estates in Surrey, such as Croydon and Mortlake, were probably acquired from the Mercian kings during the period when their power in Kent was not enough for them to alienate estates in this region. This can be supported by the charters of King Æthelbald, who granted land outside Kent or trading privileges on ships in London when he wished to favour a Kentish house, rather than granting them land within Kent. Overall, he concludes that the metropolitan church of Canterbury had already acquired a substantial endowment before the eighth century, formed not by a steady accumulation, but by an attempt to retain an extensive landed inheritance acquired through the early kings (*Ibid:* 107). Upon the acquisition of these lands from the kings, bishops and their communities often exchanged these lands for those closer to their monasteries. Bede refers to the abbot Ceolfrith (d. 716) who had bought eighth hides by the river *Fresca* which he later swapped for another property of twenty hides that was closer to his monastery (Bede 20113: 58-9; Naismith 2016: 25).

In regards to Worcester, we start seeing authentic charters regarding land endowment at the end of the seventh century. The Worcester diocese served the kingdom of the Hwicce, a client kingdom of Mercia that contributed to its initial endowments. Its importance as a diocese was seen early on with donations from successive kings during its early years; St Peter's began to acquire land scattered around modern day Gloucestershire, with grants of estates at Badgeworth, Arle and Harpury, all located close to the minster, as well as a large estate of around 100 to 120 hides at Abbot's Barton (Baker and Holt 2004: 17; Finberg 1961: 41). The earliest record grant is charter S53, and dates to only 13 years after its foundation in 693 AD, however later charters reference land given to the Church between 680 and 693, such as estates at Tolladine, Kempsey, Tapenhill, Churchhill, Lippard, Tiberton and so forth; most of these were located on the east side of the Severn river adjacent to the city which may point to the early charters being mainly Hwiccian and clustered around the cathedral (Caliendo 2014: 54) Early on after the see's foundation, the small St Peter's Church in Worcester was chosen to be the residence of the bishops and thus became a cathedral; St Peter's is often mentioned in Worcester's early charters (S77; S103) (*Ibid:* 52).

It is evident that, from the beginning, bishops and their ecclesiastical communities were heavily involved in trade in Anglo-Saxon England. During the reign of King Æthelbald of Mercia (716-757) we start seeing kings granting exemptions from toll dues across the Mercian kingdom. The first charter of this kind is S86 in which Æthelbald granted to Abbess Mildrith and the Minster-in-Thanet community remission of the toll due on one ship at the port of London (716-717). This supports the idea that the ecclesiastical communities had access to ships early on, which they used for the transportation of goods to sell at markets. This can be paralleled with charter S88, in which King Æthelbald grants the same privileges to Bishop Ealdwulf and the community of Rochester (844-852). King Æthelbald also grants remission of taxes and toll dues on ships in London to Bishop Ingwald of London (S103a; S1788) and to Bishop Milred of the Worcester community to two ships in London (S98). This indicates that the bishops were heavily involved in riverine trade early on, and these remissions would allow the bishops and their communities to receive much greater profit from their trading endeavours.

1.3. The Canterbury charters

Geographically, the bishops named in the Canterbury charters are concerned with the land running from the west side of London, along the Thames Valley and down the north and east coast of Kent [Figure 2]. The first charters of Canterbury come from St Augustine's, and concern King Æthelberht of Kent granting land for the foundation of minsters (S2; S3; S4). The second Canterbury archive comes from Christ Church, where the majority of charters concerning the actions of the archbishops are located. Hence, this chapter will be mainly focusing on the charters from the Christ Church

community. From early on we see the involvement of ecclesiastical communities in trade, for example S29 (763 x 764) grants remission of toll due of three ships at the Kentish ports of Fordwich and Sarre, from King Eadberht II of Kent to the abbess of St Peter's Minster, Sigeburga, and it was based on the condition of pre-emption rights over the merchandise acquired (Kelly 1992: 5). There are multiple Anglo-Saxon toll-charters of this type over a limited period of time, and all the primary Mercian privileges are granted in the name of King Æthelbald (*ibid:* 6). For example, both S1032 (716x45?) and S1788 (748?) in the archives of St Paul's, London concerns King Æthelbald grants the tax due on one ship to Bishop Ingwald of London. However, it is unknown if this covers a single port at London, or extended throughout the Mercian kingdom; an example of a more extensive toll-exemption can be seen in S87, where King Æthelbald grants Abbess Mildrith and her community toll-remission on one ship throughout the Mercian realm. Charters S1032 and S1788 indicate that the bishop had control over several trading-ships, and the fact that it was given to Ingwald and not the whole of his community indicates that he had interests in trade as an individual, rather than part of a wider community (Kelly 1992: 12).

When Offa gained control of Kent, he began to confiscate estates off individuals who obtained them from independent rulers, and then distribute them amongst this thegns and others who supported his rule. For example, when Mercian rule was thrown off after the battle of Otford, Ecgbert granted to Christ Church 30 sulungs at Charing, 10 sulungs at Great Chart, and a further 4 sulungs at Bishopsbourne; when Offa regained control he annexed these lands on the basis that they were distributed by an independent ruler (Brooks 1984: 115). Although we have two charters (S110, S774) that testify to Offa granting land to Jænberht at Higham Upshire and Lydd, Kent, their authenticity has been questioned has they were probably composed in the tenth and eleventh centuries. Jænberht's disputes with Offa proved to be very harmful for the Christ Church community,

Figure 1: The distribution of Canterbury estates with episcopal associations

as it appears Offa confiscated the extensive Cookham estate and gifted it to his wife Cynethryth, who became its abbess (Birch 2012: 291). During Offa's control of Kent, we also see the granting of land with a variety of natural resources in Kent to ecclesiastical communities. For example, S140 (765 x 792) Offa grants Æthelnoth, the abbot of St Augustine's, Canterbury a grant of 2 hides at Beauxfield, Kent, with specific reference to grazing rights in a wood called Singledge, thus indicating that they were involved with agricultural pursuits, probably to feed the communities, and possibly to create surplus which could be sold at markets.

1.3.1. Æthelheard and Wulfred

Brooks' (1984**:** 130, Fig. 5) analysis of the estates acquired under Æthelheard and Wulfred indicates that the archbishops were concerned with the lands centred along the Roman road that ran from London to Canterbury. Æthelheard and Wulfred obtained estates such as Northfleet, Rainham and Teynham that are located on this route; other estates which they acquired, such as Copton, Eastry, Eythorne and *Cumbe,* are located on Kentish coast and could indicate these estates were positioned to exploit the incoming trade activity along the North Sea. When Æthelheard was consecrated in 798, he began to restore the lands previously confiscated by Offa. The lands of Charing, Chart and Bishopsbourne were all recovered in 799; Cynethryth retained the estate of Cookham but compensated Æthelheard for lands at Fleet, Teynha, and *Cræges æuuelma* (Brooks 1984: 131). Overall, it appears that Æthelheard was mainly concerned with the estates that Offa had confiscated, instead of the acquisition of new lands.

When Wulfred was consecrated after the death of Æthelheard, he was exceptionally rich and spent a great deal of his own money building up large estates that benefitted both himself, and the community at Canterbury. He spent over 590 mancuses, much of his own fortune, in order to acquire estates that would eventually pass down to the archbishops and the community of Canterbury (Brooks 1984: 132). We have already explored the importance of archbishop Wulfred in Chapter 1, as he was able to mint coins in which the king's name was entirely dropped from the reverse in favour for the mint town, leaving Wulfred's name and portrait to stand alone on his issues. This supports the idea that Wulfred was powerful in his own right, and did not need the support of the royal dynasties to hold a powerful position in society. This is paralleled with the charter evidence, which indicates that Wulfred was able, on his own, to acquire large parcels of land which he exploited to gain considerable wealth for himself and his community.

From early on in his pontificate, Wulfred began to acquire adjoining parcels of land which formed one great estate that could be administered from a central nucleus. Gordon Ward's (1934: 123-136) analysis of five of Wulfred's charters from 811 to 815 found that he acquired five small but adjoining

estates at Graveney near Faversham in Kent which formed a single estate of a considerable size, which he was able to administer from a single central *mansio.* This is shown in charter S177 in which Wulfred acquired a parcel of land at *Cynincges cua lond*, Kent (possibly Kingsland near Faversham) in which its aratrum and its agricultural equipment was ceded to the central manor of Graveney (*ibid:* 136). Wulfred also exchanged land which he owned outside of Kent, for lands closer to Canterbury, again to form large parcels of uninterrupted land which he could administer locally. This is seen in charter S1264, in which Wulfred exchanged 10 hides at Yarkhill, Herefordshire which he acquired from Queen Cynethyth, for 3 sulungs in Eastry and 1 sulung on the River Limen. A similar process is noted when Wulfred was compensated lands in Harrow, Wembley and Yeadding in Middlesex and *Cumbe* in Kent when his lands at *Iognes homme* (possibly Eynsham, Oxfordshire) were confiscated by King Coenwulf (Brooks 1984: 138). Thus, indicating that Wulfred controlled large parcels of uninterrupted estates in south-eastern England, all of which were administered by a central nucleus which was geographically close to his archiepiscopal seat of Canterbury.

It is also evident that Wulfred exploited these estates for their natural resources and agricultural potential to gain considerable wealth for both himself and his community. Charter S40 says the estate at Buckholt in Petham, Kent included a 'field of cattle', swine-pastures were included in the estate at Bexley, Kent (S175). As stated previously, agricultural equipment was included with land near *Cynincges cua lond* (S177), and there is a charter which referred to a fish pond (S1434). Many of Wulfred's estates also included woodland (S40; S175; S186; S1434) which, as well as being perfect landscape for the rearing of animals, also provided timber which was used in Anglo-Saxon England for various activities, including building equipment for housing. It is also important to note that two of Wulfred's coins were found in Waldershare Park, which was included in an estate called Eythorne which Wulfred owned; he later exchanged it for lands at Barham and *Suithberhtincglond* with the Christ Church community in 824 (S1266). This may indicate a possible market site or administrative centre on this estate, in which Wulfred could sell the produce produced from these lands, or possibly buy supplies to sustain the population working and living on the estate.

Another common feature of the land granted to Wulfred are their proximity to navigable rivers or the sea. His lands at Graveney and Faversham form a great estate that borders the Swale, which was a possible route of riverine transport to the River Thames (S169; S178); this estate also roughly follows the A2 road, which was an important Roman road linking Canterbury to London which had river crossings near Wulfred's lands at Crayford. In the Anglo-Saxon times this road became part of Watling Street and continued to be an important routeway. This could indicate that Wulfred purposefully bought land that had access to both rivers and roads, allowing the easy transportation of goods and the ability to set up market-sites on important routeways. Charter S175 Wulfred acquires land at Bexley which borders the River Cray; Archbishop Ætheleard also acquired lands for the Christ

Church community at 'the source of the Cray', as well as lands at Fleet, which borders the River Thames (S1258). He also acquires land near the River Darent (S186) and the River Stour (1434). As we have seen in Chapter 1, many of Wulfred's coins were discovered near riverine sites, so the correlation presented here may point to Wulfred purposely acquiring lands that are near rivers which could be used to transport the goods created from his estates. For example, two of Wulfred's coins were found within the Thames, close to the centre of London; hence, this supports the idea that Wulfred was intentionally acquiring lands with easy access to the Thames estuary, so he could easily transport the goods from his lands to the commercial centre of London. As we have already seen, the episcopate and their communities had ships which were often exempt from tolls and taxes in the early charters (e.g. S103a, S87). Charter S91 grants the community at Minster-in-Thanet exemptions from tolls due at London, this implies that they used the Thames Estuary, and possibly off-routes such as the Swale, to get produce in and out of London. Therefore, Wulfred's estates which are located near these riverine routes could point to Wulfred exploiting these busy waterways to buy and sell produce before they arrive in London.

In sum, it is evident that from the beginning the bishops and their ecclesiastical communities exploited the ability to acquire land from kings, which they later exchanged for lands that are close in proximity and rich in natural resources. Individuals like archbishop Wulfred started to buy and exchange lands that clustered into large estates in which he could administer them from a local, central nucleus. These large, adjoining estates meant that people like Wulfred controlled very large parcels of land, which not only gained natural resources, but turned these resources into agricultural surplus which could be sold at local markets. It is also evident that the bishops had trading ships which could transport produce, maybe produced on their estates, down the Thames Estuary into London. This is supported by the fact many charters make reference to King Æthelbald granting the exemption of tolls and taxes on ships, both at the port of London, and throughout Mercia as a whole (e.g. S98; S87 etc.) This is also supported by the fact that much of the land acquired by the Canterbury archbishops were close in proximity to waterways which would allow the easy transfer of goods around the country, a pattern which is also noticeable in the distribution of the archiepiscopal coinage of this period.

1.4. The Worcester archives

The second archive with a large corpus of charters from this period comes from Worcester. In 680, it was clear that the Mercian diocese was too big to be controlled by a single bishop, thus Theodore formed the Worcester diocese to serve the Hwicce, a subordinate kingdom of Mercia that contributed to the initial endowment of the see (Caliendo 2014: 43). Worcester was probably chosen as it was a

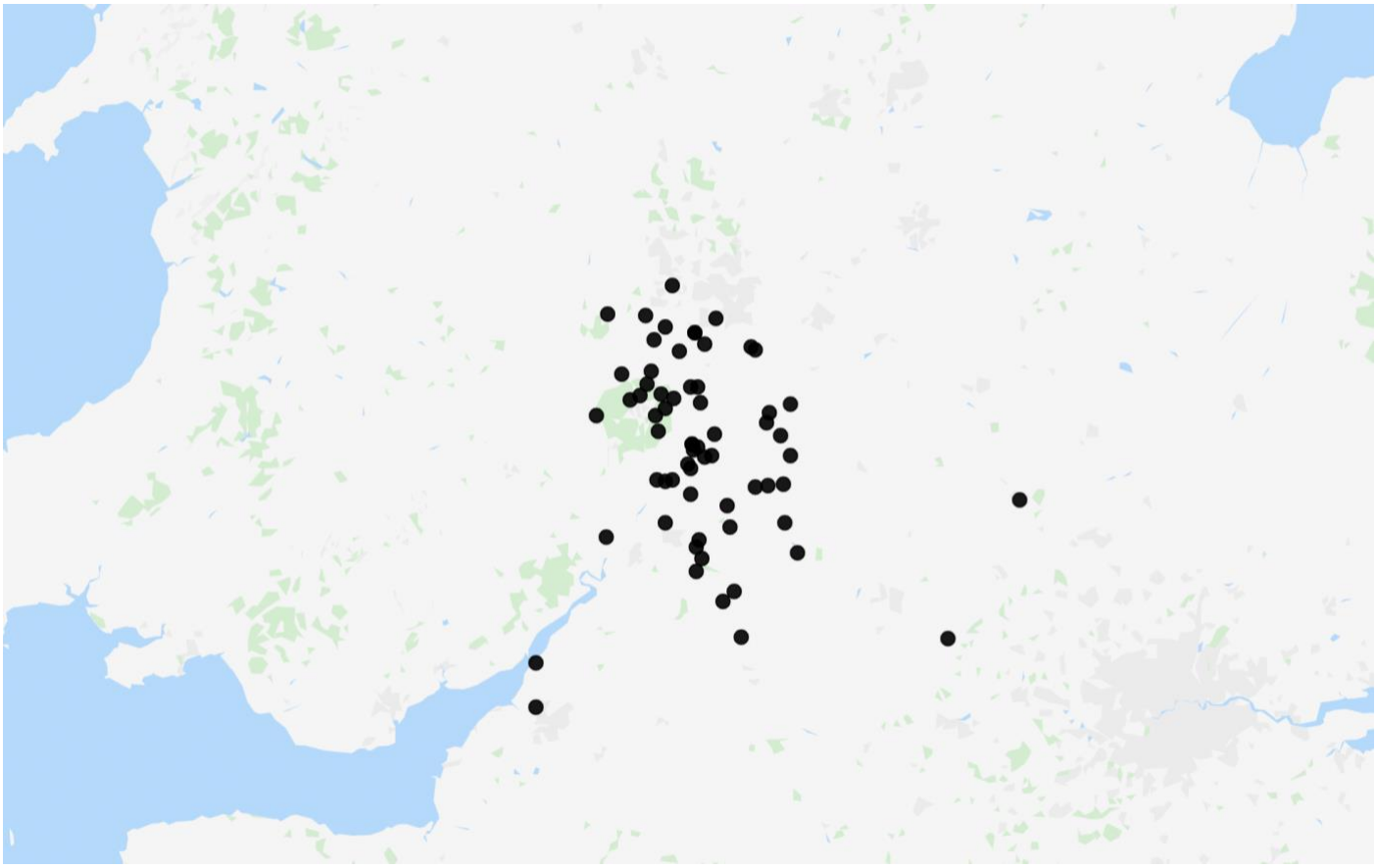

Figure 2: Distribution of the Worcester estates with episcopal associations

semi-deserted Roman settlement which was already a small, but ready-made defensive circuit with a major river crossing adjacent to the site (Biddle 1974: 212-14). Baker and Holt (2004: 128) argue that in the earliest centuries of its formation, the bishop was the lord of Worcester; this can be supported by charter S172 (814) in which Coenwulf of Mercia granted to Bishop Deneberht the cost of maintaining 12 men due from the city of Worcester, as well as Bugred's charter (S208) in 857 to Bishop Ealhhun, when land in London was to be held by the bishop 'in his own liberty, or belonging to the city of Worcester' (Whitelock 1979: 92). They also argue that during the first century of its formation, the bishop and his community kept a military revenue, and any economic development would have occurred under their authority (Baker and Holt 2004: 128; Caliendo 2014: 53-4). Thus, it is evident that the bishop of Worcester was central to the Church's development and his authority in the city and was nearly absolute (Caliendo 2014: 53). However, it is probable that Worcester did not emerge as a significant economic centre until after its creation as a burh in the 890s (Baker and Holt 2004: 128).

The Church of Worcester were mainly concerned with land around the modern-day counties of Gloucestershire, Worcestershire and Warwickshire [Figure 3]. The earliest charters recorded from Worcester appear to be forgery, however it is clear that some of these are based upon authentic

material (e.g. S75) (John 1960: 74-6; Finberg 1972). Unlike the archbishops of Canterbury, who exchange lands to form large, adjoining estates without interruptions, the early bishops of Worcester acquired small, scattered estates running from the Bristol Channel north to modern-day Birmingham. These scattered estates would have had to pay food rents to the community of Worcester, which was recorded in lands from Westbury-on-Trym (S146) and Kempsey (S1833); however, Christopher Dyer (1980: 28-30) points out their smallness in relationship to the yields from those estates. However, this changed in the eighth and ninth centuries when the Church of Worcester began expanding its commercial interests, and was drawing resources from non-agricultural sources.

It is evident that from the beginning the bishop and his community were interested in land near navigable rivers and waterways that would allow the easy transport of goods. They acquired lands near the River Severn including Hallow (S179; S180), Shrawley (S1187), as well as the large majority of land around the city of Worcester. The River Severn was particularly important, as it runs through the city of Worcester, and would have connected the city to Bristol Channel in the south, and their ecclesiastical estates to the north. Between 680-693, Worcester church acquired various lands on the east side of the Severn adjacent to the city, they only started acquiring lands to the west of the Severn in the mid eighth century, which was essential to the development of regional markets, or *wics* (Caliendo 2014: 55). Della Hooke (1980) argues that elements with *wic* (river; river inlet) in their place-names usually include fertile river pastures which would have been ideal for dairying, which was likely the case for the large estate of Wick which was given to Bishop Mildred of Worcester in 757. Hence, this indicates that the bishops of Worcester acquired land close to rivers and waterways not only for their easy accessibility for the transportation of goods, but also for their ability to fertilize land and pastures which aided agricultural production. The bishop and his community also acquired lands near the River Avon including Twyning (S172), Bredon (S195), Fladbury (S185), Hampton Lucy (S120) and Stratford-upon-Avon (S1257). They controlled monasteries in these areas, especially Fladbury and Hampton Lucy, which allowed the community to expend its reach into rural areas which would, in turn, stimulate the local economy by creating markets for their rural produce (Baker and Holt 2004: 129; Caliendo 2014: 67).

Worcester's commercial interests is shown early on in the charters, with King Æthelbald granting the church of Worcester grant of land south of the river Salwarp for the construction of salt works, in exchange for salt works further north of the river (716 x 717). This consists of two salthouses and six furnaces, and the bishop was to replace it with three salthouses and six furnaces (Whitelock 1979: 64; Baker and Holt 2003: 129). This would have been a major organization, employing many people and presumably using the timber from Worcester's estates. Like the bishop of Rochester, the bishop of Worcester also had access to ships which were used to transport goods to London; S98 shows King Æthelbald granting to bishop Milred and his community at St Peter's Minster remission of tolls due

on two bishops at the port of London. Thus, indicating that the Worcester community was involved in trade from as early as the beginning of the eighth century, and had commercial interests inside of London. This can be supported by charter S208 which grants 'a profitable little estate' in the west gate of London to Bishop Ealhhun in 857, and it is argued the rights that came with this land include the use of the customary weights and measures of the port, as well as the commercial privileges that evidently came with it (Baker and Holt 2004: 131; Whitelock 1979: 92).

The active involvement of the bishops of Worcester in trade through London is also evident later on in the research period. S346 is a grant from King Alfred and Æthelred of Mercia to Bishop Wærferth of Worcester of land in London (889); this includes an old stone building called *Hwætmundesstan* that extends from the street to the city wall, and came with the right to use the London weights and measurements for sales within the property and for their own use. This means that tolls on sales made within its bounds would go to the bishop, however the charter does state that the bishop had no immunity from the royal tolls elsewhere in the public streets or on the trading shore of the Strand (Baker and Holt 2004: 131). Charter S1628 describes a meeting between King Alfred, Æthelred of Mercia, the Archbishop of Canterbury Plegmund and Bishop Wærferth to discuss the restoration of the city of London; the conclusion was that Plegmund and Wærferth should receive a yoke each at Æthelred's Hythe (*Ætheredeshythe*), now Queenhithe, located on a street that ran northwards from the river Thames (*ibid:* 131; Pratt 2007: 67). This indicates that the bishops of Worcester were actively involved in secular affairs, especially with the refoundation of burhs across Anglo-Saxon England.

There is also evidence that Bishop Wærferth was involved in the restoration of the Worcester burh as well as the London one. Charter S223 is a report from Æthelred and Æthelflæd of Mercia and the Church of Worcester concerning the constructions of the city's fortifications and the administration of the new burh. This agreement states that all this was done at Wærferth's request, and that Æthelred and Æthelflæd had given up half of all their lordship rights in the city to the bishop and his community, who was allowed a share of all the profits from the burh. Baker and Holt (2004: 133) argue that this sharing of the lordship rights 'in the streets and market' was referring to the tolls on trade, however tolls that concern the wagon-load and horse-loads of salt passing through the city were still to go to the King. Despite this, it is evident that the bishop has heavily involved in the administration of the city, where they could instigate building works for the protection of the people of Worcester; the bishop could then reap the benefits of tolls on trade both within the city's fortifications and its hinterlands, which would provide a substantial income for himself and the community of Worcester. The Roman enclosure of Worcester was extended in the late ninth century. The southern tail of a rampart was observed in the northern part of Deansway Site 4, measuring to a height of 0.9m and is 5.6m in width; the masonry revetment that fronted the earth rampart was constructed of limestone and mortar probably taken from Roman buildings, and was possibly

supported by timber posts (Baker *et al.* 1992: 72). Baker *et al.* (1992: 72-3) argue that, although it cannot be demonstrated archaeologically, these ramparts undoubtably represent the north rampart of the burh created by Æthelred, Æthelflæd and Wærferth in the 880s or 890s. This new burh was divided in two, with one side being the planned High Street area with an established street pattern and parish, and the other being the unplanned area which was dominated by the riverside *haga*; and the position of All Saints church within this burh suggests that there was an extramural market-place associated with a gate-church, which had an approach-road to the river crossing (*ibid:* 73).

In sum, the bishop of Worcester and his community started acquiring lands across Worcester, Warwickshire and Gloucestershire soon after its foundation. To begin with, these estates were small and scattered, and relied on the agricultural produce from the minsters they controlled to support their community. In the eighth and ninth centuries, the Church of Worcester began to expand its commercial interests, and started acquiring land around the salt-producing lands of Droitwich and the city of Worcester which allowed the bishop to begin drawing resources from non-agricultural sources (Baker and Holt 2004: 129). The bishop's interests in trade in London are noted from various charters such as S346 and S1628, granting them commercial buildings and privileges within the centre. They also had involvement in the restoration of the burhs in London, as well as Worcester, indicating that the bishops of Worcester were not only involved in secular and commercial affairs, but that they held enough power to instigate major changes in infrastructure and administration in their towns.

1.5. Stone sculpture

Another way the episcopate of Middle Saxon England asserted ownership over resources was through the production of stone sculpture. Stone sculpture is one of the richest forms of Anglo-Saxon art and can be found in substantial quantity throughout the period, showing complex imagery that is often influenced by both local and international art styles. Stylistic influence and the study of sculpture schools has been explored in depth in the online source, *The Corpus of Anglo Saxon Stone Sculpture,* composed by Rosemary Cramp and others. This is the main source of information for the following section, however this does create some biases as the region of Leicestershire has been largely missed out. This following section will analyse the episcopate's role in the production, patronage and trade of Anglo-Saxon stone sculpture, focusing on evidence for quarrying and manufacture, distribution patterns and connections with episcopal sites.

The production of stone sculptures has long been associated with the Church during this period, and there is substantial evidence to indicate that the episcopate were actively involved in this industry. Centres of production were often located near ecclesiastical settlements where the bishops could directly oversee their production; for example, Bryant *et al.* (2012: 117) notes that the oolthic

limestone found in four pieces of the Cropthorne sculpture came from a production site either in Worcestershire or Gloucestershire. However, as the seat of the bishop, Worcester is the most likely location (ibidem.). This is also better seen during the Domesday survey and the following centuries, as there is documentary evidence indicates there was direct episcopal involvement in quarrying in areas such as Lincolnshire, especially centred around the city's cathedral (Everson and Stocker 1999). During the Middle Saxon period, the variation in the distribution of sculpture in the Lincolnshire area points to an earlier episcopal involvement. During the Viking-age we see a decrease in Anglo-Saxon ecclesiastical sculpture in Lincolnshire, with a later upsurge in production during the later tenth century. Everson and Stocker (1999) argue that this should be seen in the context of the revival of the bishopric of Lindsey to combat the persistent interest of the archbishop of York, which points to the quarrying and production of stone sculptures lying directly in the hands of the bishops.

The location of stone sculptures can also point to episcopal involvement. For example, the sculpture in Worcestershire and the surrounding regions are often found at ecclesiastical estates with strong episcopal associations. Stone sculpture can be found at various sites including Berkeley Castle, Cropthorne Evesham, Gloucester and Worcester, all of which can be directly linked to the episcopate through charter evidence. Unlike Lincolnshire which experienced a dearth in sculpture during the Viking incursions, the Worcestershire sculpture remained constant during this time; this might also indicate episcopal involvement, as the bishopric of Worcester was continual during the Viking-age, unlike the bishopric of Lincoln which was only revived during the Late Saxon period. Many of the sculptures also indicate that they were commissioned by the episcopate themselves. For example, the Deerhurst St Mary s sculpture (05) was a fine angel which expressed Roman stylistic influence and was placed over the doorway into the church; Gem (*et al.* 2008: 153) and Bailey (2005: 10-11) argue the placement of this sculpture complies with Canon 2 in the Synod of Chelsea (816) which requires all bishops to have sculptures of saints in the doorways and walls of newly dedicated churches. The Lichfield Angel is also a good example of episcopal association. As it is likely part of an altar piece in a shrine for St Chad manufactured during the time of his elevation to archiepiscopal status (Rodwell *et al.* 2008). This is also paralleled at Repton, whose fine collection of stone sculpture is often linked to the strong royal and ecclesiastical associations the double monastery had in pre-Viking Mercia (Biddle and Kjølbye-Biddle 1985).

Direct episcopal involvement can also be seen through inscriptions. For example, the lost 'Unknown Provenance 01' in Lincolnshire recorded Bishop Cyneberht's foundation of an episcopal seat in an unknown location (Everson and Stocker 1999). Another inscription can be noted at Deerhurst Odda's Chapel (01) [Figure 4], which although is much later than our research time frame, records the dedication of the church by Earl Offa and Bishop Aldred (Bryant *et al.* 2012). Stone sculptures were also used for funerary purposes such as grave covers and graveyard markings. This impetus in

ecclesiastical graveyards, especially around the Lincolnshire area, may indicate that the bishops and their wealthy ecclesiastical family were choosing to be buried in graves with elaborate decoration and style, which would express their power and wealth in life. As well as this, sculpture was also used to mark territorial boundaries in various ecclesiastical settlements. For example, there is evidence to believe that the boundary stones found at Crowland had been around since the Middle Saxon age, and were used to show the extent of its property (Everson and Stocker 1999). This could tie in with the charter evidence, which shows from the eighth century onwards bishops were acquiring land with set boundaries that were often discussed in great depth in the text; boundary stones would be a useful way of marking their new estates. However, there are still great variations in the distribution of sculpture at ecclesiastical and episcopal sites. For example, the early head churches of Lincolnshire display little pre-Viking sculpture, and finds can only be attributed to Caistor, Edenham, Redbourne and South Kyme (ibid.). In Staffordshire and the surrounding regions, the only episcopal estate with sculptural finds is Eccleshall (Yorke and Sidebottom 2012: 48). In Derbyshire and the Peak District, evidence suggests that sculpture found at elevated sites, such as the Pennine Fringes Group, had little episcopal or ecclesiastical association, and were usually found in secular contexts (Sidebottom 2018: 29).

The evidence indicates that stone sculptures were transported to the wider landscape using river routes. For example, the rivers Severn and Avon were used to transport the stone produced in Worcestershire and the surrounding regions (Hare and Bryant 2012: 19), whilst the Trent Valley Group were distributed and erected near the rivers Dove, Stow, Tean and Trent (Sidebottom 1994; Everson and Stocker 2015), which also led into Lincolnshire. It is clear that rivers valleys were important to whoever erected these monuments, as many sculptures were used to mark important river crossings; for example, four monuments found across Nottingham at Rolleston, Stapleford, South Muskham and Shelford, all vary in date and style, but all share the same role as marking and guarding major river crossings (Everson and Stocker 2016: 46). This is paralleled with the charter evidence, which shows a preference for riverside locations and coastal estuaries, indicating that the bishops used these routes for the transportation of goods; as we will see in the later chapters, this lines up with the distribution pattern of coinage and metalwork as well.

Overall, although stone sculptures are not present at all episcopal sites in Anglo-Saxon England, there is clear evidence that the episcopate were actively involved in the patronage and trade of this industry. There is evidence to suggest that the quarries were located at or near episcopal centres so they can be overseen by the bishops themselves, which is supported by later textual sources.

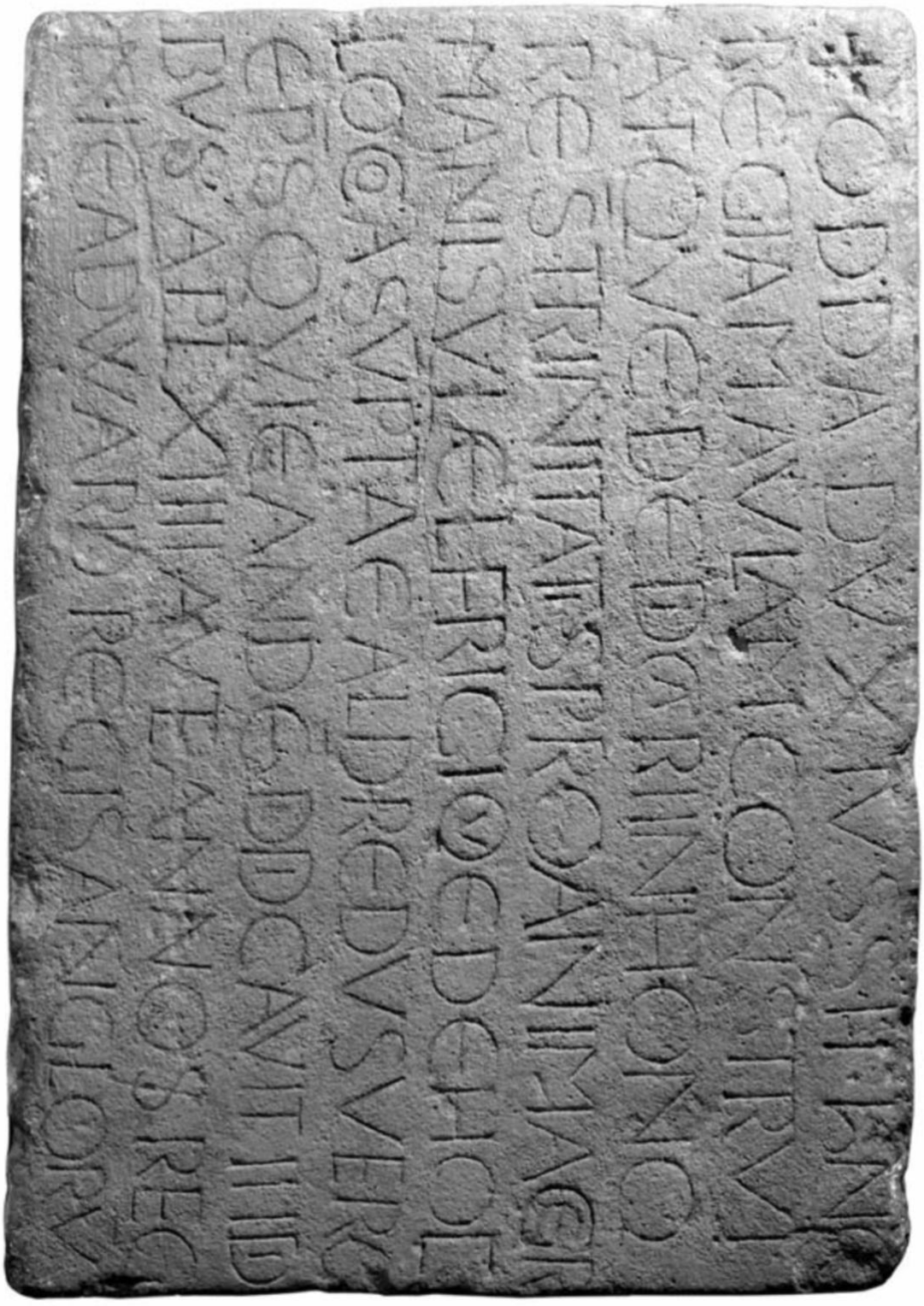

Figure 3: The inscription at Deerhurst Odda's Chapel 1. Bryant et al. 2012: Ills. 226-31)

Many of the sculptures are found at sites with strong ecclesiastical and episcopal connections, such as Eccleshall, Evesham, Gloucester, Lincoln, Worcester and others. There are also inscriptions which record the bishops involvement in the construction and dedication of churches, such as Unknown Provenance 01, as well as various pieces that were modelled on bishops, such as the Lichfield Angel. Variations in production can also be linked to the episcopate, as sculpture in Lincolnshire was only produced in substantial amounts when its bishopric was fully operating; this is comparable to the sculpture at Worcestershire, where its production throughout the Viking-age may attest to its continuous bishopric. The stone sculptures were also largely focused on rivers and landed boundaries, and were often used to mark out important ecclesiastical sites, episcopal estates or sacralised river crossings. These rivers were also used for their distribution, and we see many schools of sculpture, such as the Trent Valley Group, concentrated along these river routes. Overall, it is evident that stone sculpture was an important trade for the episcopate, who were not only involved in the commissioning of sculpture, but were involved in the manufacture and trade of these pieces throughout the whole of the Anglo-Saxon age.

1.6. Conclusion

The evidence indicates that from the seventh century, the bishops exploited the *bocland* which allowed them to start acquiring large parcels of land from the Anglo-Saxon kings. From the eighth century onwards, the bishops started to became major land-owners, being the recipients of over 30% of all land referred to in the charters (Naismith 2016: Tables 1 and 2). These lands often contained a variety of natural resources which could be turned into agricultural surplus to be sold at markets. In the Canterbury charters, archbishops like Wulfred became major ecclesiastical land-owners, who began to intentionally purchase adjoining estates centred around a central *mansio* which made it easier for the lands to be administered. In the Worcester charters, it is evident that the bishops had a marked interest in commercial affairs, often securing grants of privileges which allowed their trade ships to be exempt from customary tolls and dues that usually accompanied traders. They were also involved in commercial affairs, including the restoration or burhs and the overall care of the city, thus proving the bishops were powerful individuals, capable of making great change to towns and settlements that occupy their diocese. However, although the charters show numerous episcopal lands with distinctive boundaries, these episcopal charters have better rates of preservation than their secular counterpart, which may create a bias in the research. The stone sculpture evidence indicates that centres of production were located on episcopal estates, such as the Cropthorne sculptures which Bryant (*et al.* 1992: 72-3) argued were produced near the bishop's seat at Worcester. This indicates that the episcopate had control over the production of stone sculpture, which can be found in abundance across Greater Mercia. The concentration of sculptures near rivers indicate the bishops used

waterways to transport them across the wider landscape. Although not all episcopal sites contain stone sculpture, the inscribed stones such as ‘Unknown Provenance 01’ shows a direct link between the production of stone sculpture and the episcopate. In sum, the documentary evidence suggests that the bishops were actively involved in the ownership of land and its resources. The substantial episcopal estates that were formed from the seventh century were rich in resources, which the bishops transformed into large surpluses that could generate a large amount of wealth for themselves and their ecclesiastical households. This can be supported by the sculpture evidence, which indicates the episcopate controlled some of the quarries which were producing stone sculptures in substantial quantities that were distributed across many episcopal estates in Greater Mercia.

Chapter Two: Bishops and the Distribution of Coinage

2.1. Introduction

The study of Anglo-Saxon numismatics can help answer important historical questions that cannot be solved with other historic or archaeological evidence. They can indicate how money was used in economic contexts, how coins provided governmental and administrative roles, and highlighting major communication networks that connect the whole of Anglo-Saxon England, and beyond. Henceforth, in order to analyse the geographical distributions of the episcopate's power, this following chapter will mainly focus on the distribution and circulation of the episcopal coinage. There have been major contributors to the study of Anglo-Saxon numismatics, such as Anna Gannon (2003), Rory Naismith (2010; 2012; 2014) and David Metcalf (2002; 2009) who have analysed the function, minting and circulation of both the royal and episcopal coinage, as well as iconography and design. However, there is yet to be a full investigation into the coin-circulation of the episcopal coinage in the area of Greater Mercia; this chapter will hopefully fill the gap in the research and bring to the forefront the importance of the episcopal authorities into the distribution and circulation of coins.

This chapter will also analyse the distribution patterns of the episcopal coinage of Greater Mercia. This will include the coins of Archbishop Jænberht, Bishop Eadberht of London, Archbishop Æthelheard with Offa, Coenwulf and in his solo name, and Archbishop Wulfred. After the period of Archbishop Wulfred, Mercia loses its hegemony as well as the important mint site of Canterbury, and no episcopal coinages can be successfully attributed to the period after Wulfred. The aim of this chapter is to look at how these ecclesiastical coins circulated in Anglo-Saxon England, attempting to find common characteristic or distribution trends that may point to how the coins were used. This will also indicate the extent of the bishop's power over the landscape, and where their influence extends to. In order to achieve this, this chapter will analyse the coinage in chronological order: starting off with the coins of Archbishop Jænberht and ending with those of Wulfred; each sub-section will analyse specific trends and concentration of coins that could point to areas of communication and trade. This chapter will aim to support the theory that the episcopal authorities' had a great deal of influence in order to mint and circulate coins, and that these coins are densely concentrated along major routeways, especially riverine, which could show that the coins where used for mainly trade and communication functions, and were considered equal to their royal counterparts.

2.2. Archbishop Jænberht (765-92)

Jænberht was a monk and abbot of St Augustine's Abbey, Canterbury who became the Archbishop of Canterbury from 765 – 792 AD (Metcalf 2009: 8). There are currently twenty-seven coins in his name

found so far, twenty-six of these are joint-issues of himself and King Offa of Mercia, and one remarkable coin in Jænberht's name alone. There is one coinage (NARC60) where the location of the find is unknown. It is presumed that these coins were either being minted between c.765-776 + c.785-792, or just being produced in the latter period of c.785-792. It is a well-known fact that King Offa and Jænberht detested each other, and Jænberht was an avid supporter of King Egbert and the independence of Kent; this caused a number of disputes between the king and the archbishop, eventually leading to Offa confiscating lands belonging to Jænberht's church community and creating the Archdiocese of Lichfield under Hygberht (Yorke 1990: 116-117). Although the new Archdiocese did not last long, it solidified the hatred between the king and Jænberht, which it best shown with the single issue of Jænberht found in the Aiskew hoard which is in his sole name – *Ienberht pontifex* [1995.3.1] (Metcalf 2009: 28). The majority of Jænberht's coinage is during Offa's 'light-phase', the average weight for his coins in our collection is 1.164g. However, many coins have a higher weight standard [1042.2433, 1024.0877] and therefore indicate that Jænberht's coinage were produced during the transitional phase between the light and heavy coinage during the rule of Offa and his successors.

2.2.1. Distribution

[Figure 5] As the coins of Jænberht were minted in Canterbury, it is no surprise that there is a concentration in Kent. One specimen [BM66123001] was found in Canterbury Cathedral itself, and was probably dropped shortly after its production, or was used by the church community to pay for local commodities. There are two coins [2001.1132; 1999.1002] found in a mini-hoard at Cobham Hall, and a further coin found at Maidstone. Despite Jænberht's coins being minted in Canterbury, there a surprising lack of coins from around this area; instead, there are two concentrations of these coins: the largest concentration is around the east Wessex area. There are two within the vicinity of *Hamwic* and one further down the coast to Netley. Around 12 miles North / North-East there is are two found near Winchester, one within the city itself found at North Hill, and one found further East to Winnall Down. There is also a single coin found in Salisbury. Metcalf (2009: 29) argues this distribution shows that Jænberht could have sent a monetary gift to the Old Minster at Winchester, in which the monks created a local economy where they used the coins at the nearby productive site of *Hamwic* to purchase commodities for the Winchester community; he then argues that the archiepiscopal coinage was used for diplomatic payments or given as a gift to support other churches (Metcalf 2002: 167-9). This can be supported by the lack of *sceattas* found around Winchester, in comparison to the abundance found in Southampton (*ibid*). However, although a monetary-gift exchange between the two episcopal sees would make sense when looking at this concentration, there

Figure 4: The distribution of the coins of Jænberht

Is no further contemporary evidence for such a relationship; and it is also evident that although the coins may have started in the ecclesiastical site of Winchester, they went on to be used in the trade site of *Hamwic,* where it is evident the coins were accepted as suitable forms of payments for goods and services.

The second concentration of the single-finds around the Thames valley to Reading. In 735 the areas both side of the Thames at Oxford were under the direct control of Æthelbald, over the next 100 years the land was disputed between Mercia and Wessex (Stenton 1936: 108); this shows the area was of high importance to both kingdoms, probably due to the Thames being the major river route that connects Mercia to *Lundenwic.* Hence, it is not surprising that we see a major concentration in this area, especially with the joint issues of Offa, where showing Mercian supremacy was of key importance. One coin was found at St Martyr's Memorial, Oxford, which as stated earlier, is the issue that Blunt (1961: 132) argued to be a much later issue showing the transitional phase between light and heavy coinage. Another coin was discovered at Goring, which may be the core Anglo-Saxon *parochia* and royal estate; Geoffrey Wright (1988: 11-12) shows the main prehistoric routeway from Mercia to Wessex passed through the Thames gap at Goring which separated the Berkshire Chalk and the Chiltern which continued to East Anglia, with the other download ridge running from Winchester to Buster Hill. This shows that Goring was a major point for travel and communications between the two kingdoms, which could show high commercial activity of the two kingdoms occurring in this area, with one route going East from London to East Anglia and Kent, and the other running South to Winchester. A further coin was found, in 'South-West Chiltern Hills', this has been noted as 'Sheperds Green' on the map, however this may not be its actual location. A further coin was found further down the Thames at Reading, solidifying the idea that the archiepiscopal coinage of Jænberht was circulated down the Thames, probably heading towards the trading centre of *Lundenwic,* where they could have been used alongside the solo coins of Offa for commercial activity and trade, both nationally, and possibly internationally.

Further North, we see four coins below the Humber. One was found at Saffron Walden near the River Cam which ran to Cambridge, once again supporting the idea that rivers were crucial networks for commercial trade and transport during this period. There are also a further two coins found in Lincolnshire: one was found at Claxby Pluckacre and Wragby. Claxby Pluckacre is located around ten miles East of the River Witham and Wragby eight miles, which was used as a navigable river to Lincoln, which was linked to the River Trent by the Fossdyke. This could show a further communications and trade route from the rural sites to the major urban centres such as Lincoln. Past the Humber we see the remarkable solo coin of Archbishop Jænberht in the Aiskew hoard near Bedale, North Yorkshire. The hoard was deposited c.785, and as well as the Jænberht issue, contained ten light pennies in the solo name of Offa, one of Offa and Bishop Eadberht of London and one of

Ecgberht of Kent (Archibald 1995-96: 14-15). The Bedale area is evidently important during the Anglo-Saxon period, as it is the site of the Bedale Hoard which was deposited around 100 years later. This coin is very important to understanding the relationship between Jænberht and Offa, as well as the status of the Archbishop himself. Minting a solo coin in his own name, Jænberht was reacting to the long period of turmoil between himself and Offa, and minting a coin in his own name not only shows the authority of his position, but the ability to control the manpower and resources needed to mint a coin, and circulate them a long distance from his home see of Canterbury. It is rare to see Mercian coins north of Humber regardless, so the fact there is an archiepiscopal coin so far away from the original mint site, and amongst the coinages of powerful kings, shows how important Jænberht's position was.

2.3. Bishop Eadberht of London (772X82 – 787X89)

Unfortunately, little is known about Bishop Eadberht. He was consecrated between c.772-782 until c.787-789 but the fact that Bishop Eadberht was able to mint coins in his own right is interesting; London was not an important see in particular, and the London mint was restricted to the tenure of the bishop, suggesting an *ad hominem* allowed under Offa (Naismith 2012: 123). His personal name attributed to eighteen coins with Offa. Although some are uncertain over the attribution of these coins (e.g. Lockett 1920: 12; Blunt 1961: 44-5), Rory Naismith (2010) draws attention to the *episcopus* monogram that is a characteristic of these coins, and its similarity to the monogram of the title in the bishop's attestations in contemporary documents, to show the coins can be properly attributed to Bishop Eadberht of London. Although Naismith (2010: 78-9) has noted there is a bishop of Leicester called Eadberht, active around a similar time, Leicester was remote from coin-use and minting during this time; the southernly distribution of the coins also supports the idea that Eadberht should be attributed to the bishop of London. All the coins are attributed to the light coinage of Offa, the standard weight of the recorded coins is 1.103g, however a few coins [e.g. BMC42] are badly fragmented so they may bring down the weight standard slightly. It is presumed that his coins were minted from 772x82-787 (Metcalf 2009: 12). Minting was centred in London, which was a major trading centre of the time, where the bishop could use the production and circulation of his coinages to take advantage of their cities' economic importance (Naismith 2010: 80).

2.4. Distribution

[Figure 6] There is a bigger concentration of Eadberht's coins in the northern Midlands; two coins were found at Swinderby, Lincolnshire, located near the River Trent. The Trent connected the central and eastern Midlands to the River Humber, which would have acted as an important river route for the

Figure 5: The Distribution of Bishop Eadberht's coins

movement of goods during the Anglo-Saxon period; the bishops would have exploited this route for trade and exchange. Further East, we have a further coin at Wilksby, Lincolnshire. Again, this coin is located near a navigable river: the River Witham. The Romans improved this river from Lincoln to The Wash which allowed The Witham to connect Lincoln to the east coast, whilst the Trent and the Humber were navigable through the Fossdyke (Boyes and Russel 1977: 254-256). There are two further North, located near the Humber Eastuary; one was found at Roxby and one at Barnetby le Wold. Past the Humber, a coin of Eadberht is also found in the Aiskew Hoard, again supporting the idea that the coinage of the bishops were viewed in the same economic importance as the coins of the kings.

Further south, one coin was found at Fordham, Cambridgeshire; there are two in Essex: one in Tolleshunt Major and near Finchingfield. These three coins seem to appear in rural locations, this is probably due to them being dropped by passing travellers and merchants. One coin was found in Canterbury, and indicates good communications between the bishop of London and the episcopal city of Canterbury; however, this coin [1999.1003] was found 'near Canterbury' so the precise location cannot be fully determined. Like coin 1996.0152 of Jænberht, coin BUC-1279D1 is found within the Chiltern Hills at Saunderton, Buckinghamshire (Chick 2010: plate 11). This could indicate that the Chiltern hills was a key route, leading from the South and key towns such as London and Canterbury, to reach the Central and Central-West Midlands. One coin was found further south in the North Wessex Downs, at Lambourne, Berkshire. The most southernly coin was found at Burgess Hill, Sussex. One can imagine that this coin was dropped when travelling from the south coast, near modern day Brighton to *Lundenwic.*

2.5. Archbishop Æthelheard (792-805)

The first time we see coinage being produced on a substantial scale is through Archbishop Æthelheard (Æthelhard, Ethelheard). He produced coinage in his own name, as well as join issues with Offa and Ceonwulf. Æthelheard had a relatively short term of Archbishop of Canterbury, he was translated from the see of Winchester to Canterbury in 792 and then enthroned in 793; when Offa died in 796, Æthelheard was overthrown by King Eadberht III Præn of Kent (Fryde *et al.* 1996: 214). When he was reinstated, the rest of his term was just as turbulent, as Offa's death sparked the debate if the episcopal see should be reinstated to Canterbury away from Lichfield, this was achieved in 801 when Æthelheard travelled to Rome to converse with Pope Leo III, who demoted Lichfield down to a bishopric (Williams 2004). Although Æthelheard had a relatively short term as Archbishop, the amount of coinage produced under his name proves that by the end of the eighth century, there was an increased demand and circulation of archiepiscopal coinage.

2.6. Æthelheard and Offa

Despite the short three years between Æthelheard's consecration and King Offa's death, there are twenty-seven coins in their joint-issues minted, all of which are minted at Canterbury. Although the average weight for these issues is 1.09g, if we take away the coins with large chips or are fragmented, the average weight is 1.23g. This shows a substantial weight increase from the light coinage of Jænberht and Eadberht. There are five coins with unknown find-spots, and twenty-two with known find-spots.

2.6.1. Distribution

[Figure 7] We start moving away a more southernly distribution of the bishop's coins to a distribution centred around the east, especially around the Cambridgeshire and Essex regions. Starting off near its original mint site of Canterbury, we find five coins within Kent. One coin was found near Richborough, which was the site of a major Anglo-Saxon religious settlement which dominated the Kentish coastline (Harris 2001). Further west, there are two found near Wye, Kent. Wye is located near the River Stour, an important river highway that connected the episcopal town of Canterbury to the North Sea, and eventually to the Continent. This may indicate the river routes that the bishops used to transport goods from Canterbury across the kingdom of Kent, to the Frankish kingdoms across the coast. Further west again, there is a further coin at the important centre of Rochester, where by the ninth century we can positively attribute the town to be minting coins (Metcalf 2009: 3). We know the religious community of Rochester were actively involved in commercial activity, as in 733 a charter (S88) shows Æthelbald granting the community remission of toll on one ship at London. It was evidently a centre of trade and exchange, as we also find a coin of Jænberht at Cobham Hall, five miles west of Rochester. The final coin found in Kent came from Otford, which was the site of the Battle of Otford in 776, and the area was then given to the church of Canterbury by Offa in 791 (Bristow 1797). The furthest west coin of Æthelheard and Offa was found in Bedford, Bedfordshire; it is quite rare to find the bishop's coins in West Mercia,

We have a further two coins found along the Thames in the vicinity of modern-day London. One was found in the Richmond area of the Thames, and a further one slightly north in Whitton. The fact that one coin (1992.0252) was found in the Thames, solidifies its importance as a highway of riverine trade for the kingdom of Mercia. A further coin was found in 'Wiltshire', and although the precise location is unclear, the coins found in London were found in the west, henceforth, this could show a possible travel route from London to the west of the country. Further to the north-east, we see a high concentration of coins around the Essex, Hertfordshire and Cambridgeshire regions; in Essex, we have one in Harlow, and another eighth miles west in Matching Green. Harlow is just over five miles away from the River Lea, which runs downstream to London. This may point to a key route into

Figure 6: the distribution of the coins of Æthelheard + Offa

London from Middle Mercia; and the coin found directly east at Matching Green might indicate an overland travel route running to East Anglia.

Further north, one coin was found at Stevenage, and one at Royston, Hertfordshire. Stevenage is located on a Roman road that linked the site with Knebworth, following the current route of the Great North Road (Margary 1955). Several Saxon villages have been found in the vicinity, and around Stevenage (Ashby 1955); this may indicate settlements being located on ancient trackways that link Northern England to London and the South coast, and could imply Stevenage was a market-site which exploited the passing travellers through the site. Further north again, we find two in Cambridgeshire: one at Orwell and one at Ely. Ely is located on the Great River Ouse, which connects the North Sea, Ely and Cambridge providing a convenient transport route. Into modern-day East Anglia, we have one just labelled 'East Anglia', so a general longitude and latitude was created for this coin, which is located as near Bury St Edmunds on the map; there is one at West Row, Suffolk, and one at West Harling, Norfolk.

There is less of a concentration of Æthelheard's coins in North Mercia. One coin was found at Brixworth, Northamptonshire. This might be linked to the famous Anglo-Saxon church at Brixworth, which was founded c.680. The monastery at Brixworth incorporate re-used Roman masonry, and has been associated with *Medeshamstede* (Peterborough). This could point to a strong communications networks that runs throughout the Mercian ecclesiastical communities. There is a small concentration in Lincolnshire, however the majority of Æthelheard's coins are found in the East Anglia and Cambridgeshire regions. One coin was found at Grantham, which is again located on the Great north Road, which would connect the site to London and the South-East. Another coin was found at Waltham and a further at Louth. Æthelheard was an abbot at Louth in his early life, before his consecration as the Bishop of Winchester, and later Archbishop of Canterbury (Williams 2004). This indicates that Louth was the site of an important Anglo-Saxon monastery that would have been a centre of education, which would have allowed Æthelheard to receive thorough training to elevate him to the archbishopric; it may also indicate that Æthelheard gave tribute to the Louth community even after his elevation, which shows the power and influence he had as an individual.

2.7. Æthelheard and Coenwulf

Upon Offa's death in 796, Æthelheard's term as the archbishop began be become problematic. King Eadberht III Præn took back Kent from Mercia swiftly after 796, and he also disposed of Æthelheard as he had been appointed by Offa. Although his banishment did not last long, and he was later reinstalled as archbishop; and in 803 he returned from Rome with Pope Leo III's approval for the

archbishopric to be reinstated at Canterbury (Brooks 1996: 120-32). Although the rest of Æthelheard's term in office was turbulent, there is a substantial amount of coinage under the name of Æthelheard and King Coenwulf of Mercia. The average weight for these coins is around 1.34g, however many coins of Æthelheard and Coenwulf are not recorded, and this total excludes the coins that have been found in fragments and its weight is not properly determined. There are five unknown find locations, and thirty-two known find locations.

2.7.1. Distribution

[Figure 8] Although there are no coin finds in its mint site of Canterbury, there is a small concentration of coins in Kent. Like Æthelheard's coinage with Offa, there is a coin-find with Coenwulf in Rochester; this supports the idea of a strong archiepiscopal presence in Rochester, and it may be a key location of trade between the religious communities. Another coin was found at Snodland, which is down the River Medway from Rochester, indicating that trade and exchange were centred along river routes, and focused on goods arriving from the North Sea that would have travelled down river into inland Kent. There is another coin further west to this, at Stansted. One coin was found at Broadstairs, which was probably the location of a seaport which connects England with the Frankish Continent. There is one just further south, near Eastry, which lies near the Roman road from Dover; this may have been a key routeway for the transportation of goods across land. There is another coin found down the coast at West Hythe; this may indicate that the archbishop had an active role in the imports and exports of goods across the Continent.

Surprisingly, there is a large concentration of coins around the Wessex border as Mercia had lost control of the Wessex kingdom during this time. However, this may indicate that there was an increase in trade and exchange during this period, perhaps as a show of Mercian dominance. This is a substantial shift from the distribution of Æthelheard's and Offa's coins, which were concentrated around the East Anglia region. One coin was found at Cissbury Ring in West Sussex, which may indicate an Anglo-Saxon use of Iron Age hillforts, this is supported by another coin of this issue being found at Bury Hill, Hampshire. Other coins found in West Sussex include: one in the parish of Sutton, one on the South Downs and one at Chichester. Two coins was found at Southampton, which was also a find spot of a coin of Archbishop Jænberht and Offa, which is not surprising as *Hamwic* was one of the largest and most prosperous towns of the time, and a centre of substantial commercial production, trade and exchange. Slightly north we have a coin found at Bishop's Sutton, one at Upton Grey, one at South Warnborough and one in St Mary's Bourne, all in Hampshire. Surprisingly, there are three coins found in the South-West: one at Shaftesbury, and one at Turnworth, both in Dorset; and one in Stoke Down, Wiltshire. There is also one coin found on the Isle of Wight; this shift in concentration of coins to the South-West is unusual, and may indicate a shift in commercial focus during this time.

Figure 7: the distribution of the coins of Æthelheard and Coenwulf of Mercia

Further up north, interestingly there are no coin-finds in the vicinity of London. There is one coin found 'in Essex', however the precise location is unknown. There are various coins dotted around the landscape, and there are no noticeable concentrations of coins. However, with the coins of Æthelheard and Coenwulf there are a couple located in the modern-day Midlands, including one at Clipstone, Nottinghamshire; one at Husband's Bosworth, Leicestershire; and one at Bidford-on-Avon. Bidford-on-Avon was a productive during this period; in 1984, metal-detecting started at the site, and uncovered 61 metal objects from c.650-c.900, including 27 coins (Naylor and Richards 2010: 194). There is a cluster primary *sceattas* in the region south of Birmingham, including three from Bidford-on-Avon and one 2km north in Wixford, which Naylor and Richards (2010: 195) argue could be associated with the salt industry at Driotwich, and the series of routes which connected the West Midlands sites together. A coin of Æthelheard at Bidford is important, as it indicates that the archbishop could be involved in the trade of the region, especially in the salt industry which dominated the regions around Birmingham. Bidford is also located on the River Avon, which could indicate the river was used as a trade route to transport commodities, such as salt, to sites across the Midlands. There are no coin finds of Æthelheard and Coenwulf in North England, with the most northern coins being that of Clipstone, Nottingham and one coin found 'near Lincoln'. This shows a circulation focused in the south, especially near the borders of Wessex.

2.8. Æthelheard (solo)

There are three coins of Æthelheard alone, with no King attested as overlord. Like the coin struck in Jænberht's name alone, these coins show the archbishops had enough individual influence and power to be able to mint in their own name; this also indicates they had control over a wide variety of resources needed to produce the coins themselves. There are only three specimens found in Æthelheard's name alone; they are all minted under Eadgar, which puts the coins roughly in the phase of c.796-8. Coin 1995.0132 is 1.18g, whilst coin LEIC-159342 is 1.28g, which is closer to the weight of Æthelheard's coins with Offa which median is 1.28g. The third coin, (1999.0069) is not included in this average, as it is fragmented and only weighs 0.77g. His coins with Coenwulf are substantially heavier, with a standard weight of 1.34g.

2.8.1. Distribution

One coin's (1999.0069) find spot is just noted as 'Kent', so a precise location cannot be determined. As the coins were minted in Canterbury, this coin would have been used in local trade, or was dropped close to its original mint site. Coin 1995.0132 was found at Mileham, Kent. Mileham is just under six miles away from North Elmham, which was one of two independent diocese in East Anglia; the Act of the Council of Clovesho (803) is the first contemporary documentary evidence for the northern see being established at Elmham (Haddan and Stubbs 1878: 545-47). It was an immemorial

estate of the bishop, and Rigold (1963) argues the church may have originated as the chapel of his *familia*, which was retained even after its life as a cathedral, which has been dated to the eleventh century. During the tenth century this area had two large timber halls of high status character, which was probably the bishop's palace before it was replaced with stone in the eleventh century (Wade-Martins 1980). Although the geographical boundaries of the bishop's estate has not been fully investigated, it is appropriate that the Anglo-Saxon village of Mileham was incorporated into this estate. The final coin was found near Hinckley, Leicestershire. It is rare to find the coinage of the bishops in the modern-day East Midlands, however the coins of Æthelheard, both joint issues and solo, start to appear in this area. This may indicate that Æthelheard's power extended to this area of England.

2.9. Archbishop Wulfred (805-832)

Although we do not know a great deal about Wulfred's life before he was consecrated, he was Æthelheard's archdeacon and his family were of Mercian or Middlesex origin (Brooks 1984: 132). He is frequently made large payments of cash and gold in the charters, which shows he came from a family of considerable wealth, spending up to 590 mancuses to acquire the estates for his own use, which were eventually passed down to the church of Canterbury (*ibid).* It appears that he had a good relationship with king Coenwulf from the start, as his Mercian family connections implies that he was chosen to avoid the issues that arose from archbishop's with Kentish ties, like Jænberht. However, their relationship changed during the years, which is attested in a letter that Pope Leo III wrote to Charlemagne in 808, which refers to Coenwulf not yet making peace with the archbishop (Haddan and Stubbs 1873: 583). Despite this, the extent of his power can be shown through his coinage; whilst some of the previous bishops minted coins in their name alone, Wulfred is the first archbishop we see where the king's name was dropped completely from the coins, and the reverse was replaced by the mint town, and then in later issues the name of the moneyers. Brooks (1984: 133) argues that the removal of the king's name form the coins shows Coenwulf recognised the need for the archbishops to have greater independence that Offa had allowed; however, the evidence for their turbulent relationship may indicate that Coenwulf was not completely content with the amount of power Wulfred had in his kingdom.

This can be shown through the amount of coins under Wulfred's name. Over 104 specimens have been found to date, which is a massive leap from the amount of coins we find in any bishop or archbishop before Wulfred. This also indicates that the coins were circulated outside the religious communities, and probably would have been recognised as equal importance to the royal issues. They would have been circulated with the coins of Coenwulf, and used in local markets, as well as national, and maybe international, trade. Although as a median the coins of Wulfred weigh about 1.25g, this is

due to many coins being highly fragmented or broken, therefore bringing the average down. One coin (1065.0030) had been turned into a pendant, which would have been suspended form a chain and worn around the neck. This is very rare for the archiepiscopal coinage, and indicates that Wulfred's coins were well circulated and extensively produced, which makes it comparable to the coins of the kings. Wulfred's coins are rarely rivalled in terms of artistic design and sophistication throughout the Anglo-Saxon period. For the first time we see a tonsured facing bust, which is sometimes wearing a *pallium,* the symbol of his metropolitan office (Brooks 1984: 133). They are distinctly recognisable, and the artistic skill shows that Wulfred had access to the best engravers and mint-workers in the country. Although there is a large body of evidence for find-spots of these coins, 38 out of 104 coins have unknown find-spots, henceforth, a distribution pattern can only be constructed with the recorded locations.

2.9.1. Distribution

[Figure 9] There is a heavy concentration of Wulfred's coins along the east coast and south coast of England, as well as the areas around London. Interestingly, there are few coins found in Kent, and none found in Canterbury itself. One coin was found in Dover, which was starting to emerge as a principal town which connected England to the Continent, implying Wulfred's coins may be used for international trade. There are a few small concentrations in Kent, around six miles north we see two coins found at Waldershare; there are three around the area of Hollingbourne, which was held by the Archbishop of Canterbury by the Domesday Book; and two in Dartford. Dartford may have been a settlement used for the transportation of goods from the North Sea down the River Thames, as we have a further two found in the Thames near Thamesmead, and one further downstream at Depotford, London. This small distribution shows clearly that the Thames was used as a means of transportation, and the coins of Wulfred were used for the transactions of these goods. Despite this, there is no evidence for coins within London itself; however, this is probably due to its urban environment which means metal detecting and dropped coins are harder to come by.

We have another cluster of coins along the south coast of England. One coin was found in West Firle in East Sussex, near the River Ouse which connected the English Channel with inland sites. There is another cluser in the South Downs, around the area of Petersfield. This distribution seems to follow a pattern from Portsmouth into London, with another found near Bignor Roman Villa, West Sussex, along the ancient Stane Street that connects Chichester to London. This is supported by another coin found further north at Dorking, which is again situated along Stane Street. This may show possible routes connecting the port towns along the English Channel, which allows the transportation of goods from the ships, inland to London. In the South-West, there is another concentration along the coast. One was found at Swanage, another at Weymouth, and a further one near Blandford, which was a

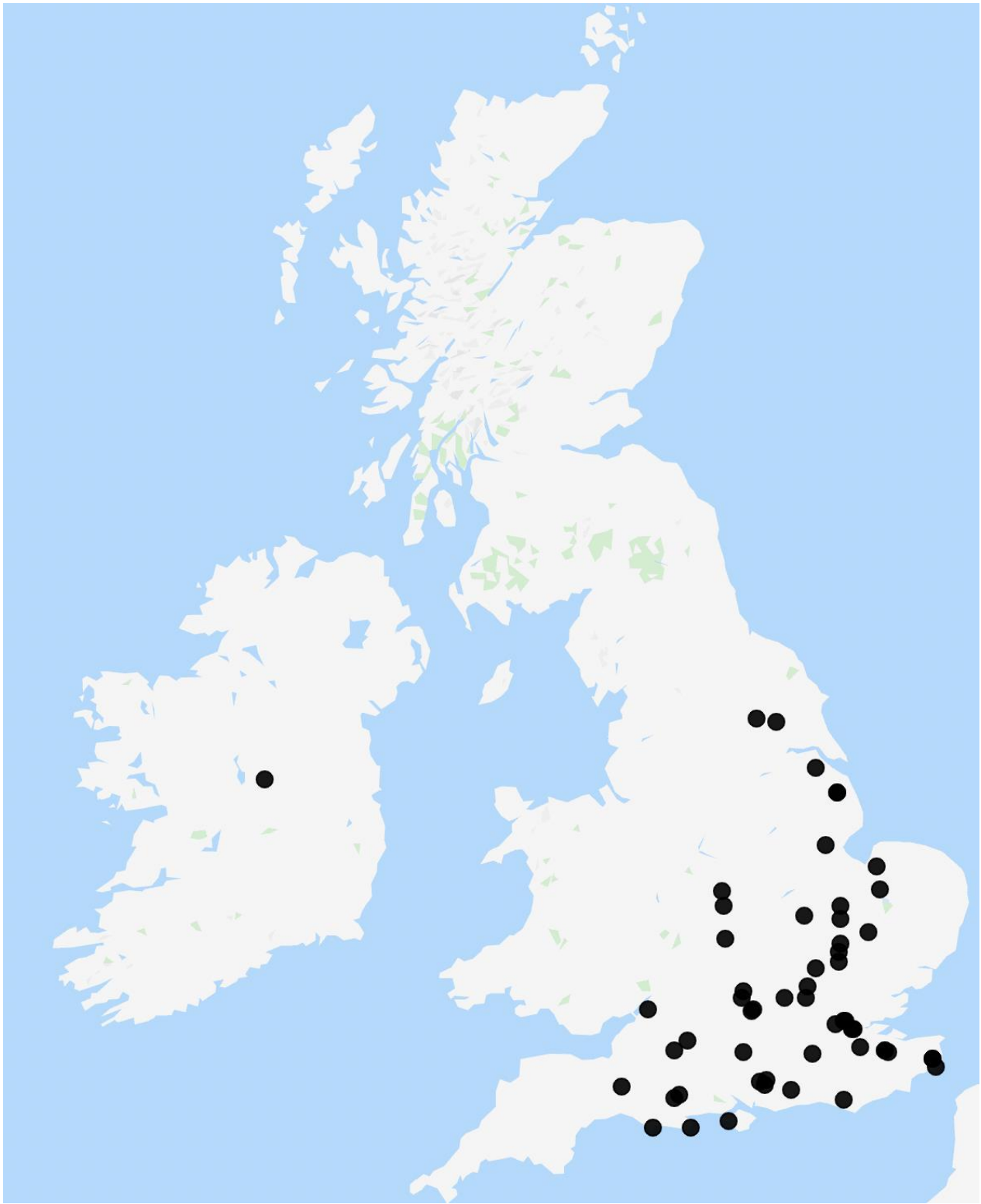

Figure 8: Distribution of the coins of Archbishop Wulfred

fording point crossing the River Stour; one is found slightly north-east of this, again seemingly headed towards London. There is a high concentration of Wulfred's coins in South-West England, which is unsual as this area seems to be mainly outside the circulation of Mercian coins in general. This may indicate an increase in trade and coin circulation in this area, or may point to the extent of Wulfred's power reaching the area of Wessex. Like his predecessor Æthelheard, one of Wulfred's coins was found in the Isle of Wight, indicating increasing communications with the island.

Like his predecessors, there is another concentration around the Oxfordshire area. Two coins were found in Wallingford, which became one of King Alfred of Wessex's burhs; one further north in Sunningwell and one in Oxford itself. Again, this concentration shows how the people of this time exploited the River Thames for transportation of goods, as the Oxfordshire concentration seems to roughly follow this riverine route. North of London we have a few coins dotted across the landscape, with on at great Missenden; one at Abbots Langley along the River Gade and one at Redbourn along the River Ver. Further East we have a distribution that runs in a straight line fro Barkway, Hertfordshire; to Melbourn and then Harlingfield, Cambridgeshire; one near Earith, Huntingdonshire near the River Ouse; to further north at Chatteris. This vertical distribution may indictae a Anglo-Saxon routeway leading from the North Sea, through East Anglia, along through Cambridge to London.

The final distribution of Wulfred's coins is along the east Coast. One was found near King's Lynn, Norfolk; one at Swineshead; two at Louth and one at Great Limber, all Lincolnshire. This is not suprising as it is evident that the main coin circulation of the time was centered around the East Coast, where they were higher concentrations of settlements which took full advanatge of incoming ships from the North Sea. However, we do start to see a higher concentration of coins in the West Midlands; with one near Lighthorne Heath; one at Ash Green, both Warwickshire; and one at Witherley, Leicestershire. This may indicate a changing commercial focus from the east Coast to the West Midlands and the South, South-West coast. The majority of Wulfred's coins are focused in the south, however we have two pst the Humber: one in York, and the other at Pocklington.

2.10. Discussion

The distribution patterns of the episcopal coinage raises some important questions on coin-use in Anglo-Saxon England, and the exploitation of routeways, especially riverine, for the transportation of goods to local, national and international sites. The minting and circulation of coins were focused along the eastern seaboard after c.765, exploiting the incoming bullion from the Continent (Naismith 2010: 80). The eastern seaboard also had a high concentration of trading towns, which shows the circulation of coinage was based on the influence of economic forces, rather than political power;

henceforth, there is an apparent dearth in the west of England, where there are centres of royal power rather than a dense concentration of trading sites (*ibid)*. This is reflected in the general distribution of the ecclesiastical coinage; there is a preference for eastern England throughout. This is most prominent in the coins of Bishop Eadberht and Archbishop Æthelheard and Offa. Both of these coin issues are found in locations that exploit riverine routes connecting inland England to the North Sea and the Continent. Coins have been found along the River Stour, the River Thames, the River Humber and the River Witham. This indicates that the ecclesiastical coinage was actively used for the purchase of goods which either came into England through the North Sea and the Channel, or were local produce taking advantage of the rivers which connect them with other inland sites.

The ecclesiastical coinage also shows a preference for coastal of river sites; the coins are often found along the courses of the River Trent, the Humber, the River Cam and the Great River Ouse. Henceforth, indicating that water was a major means of communication and trade during the research period; David Pelteret (2009: 21) has even gone so far to argue that,

"To appreciate the experience of the Anglo-Saxons one needs to think oneself into another world in which water was a major, perhaps *the* major, means of communication where its characteristics were vital to trade and agriculture."

Despite this, although there is an evident connection between the use of rivers and the coast for the transportation of goods, the Anglo-Saxons also used other means of communication, such as ancient trackways leading across land. For example, ecclesiastical coins have been found along Roman roads like the Great North Road and Watling Street. On the other hand, although many of the ecclesiastical coins have been found inland in rural areas with no access to water, it is evident throughout this thesis that water was a very important source of trade and communication during this period. The distribution of the ecclesiastical coinage has also brought to light the number of finds in the west, especially the East Wessex area. Although the presence of Jænberht's coins around the Winchester area have been attested to be monetary-exchange between ecclesiastical sites (Metcalf 2009: 29), this cannot be said for the coinage of Æthelheard and Coenwulf, nor the coinage of Wulfred, which have both been found in abundance in the East Wessex region. There is a high concentration of coins around the Southampton area, which is excepted due to its significance as a trading site; there is also a concentration around the Cranbourne Chase area, which may indicate the growing influence of the bishops in the west.

If we compare the distribution of the ecclesiastical coinage to that of the royal coins, we see some common characteristics. The distribution of Offa's pence [Figure 10] are also densely concentrated in

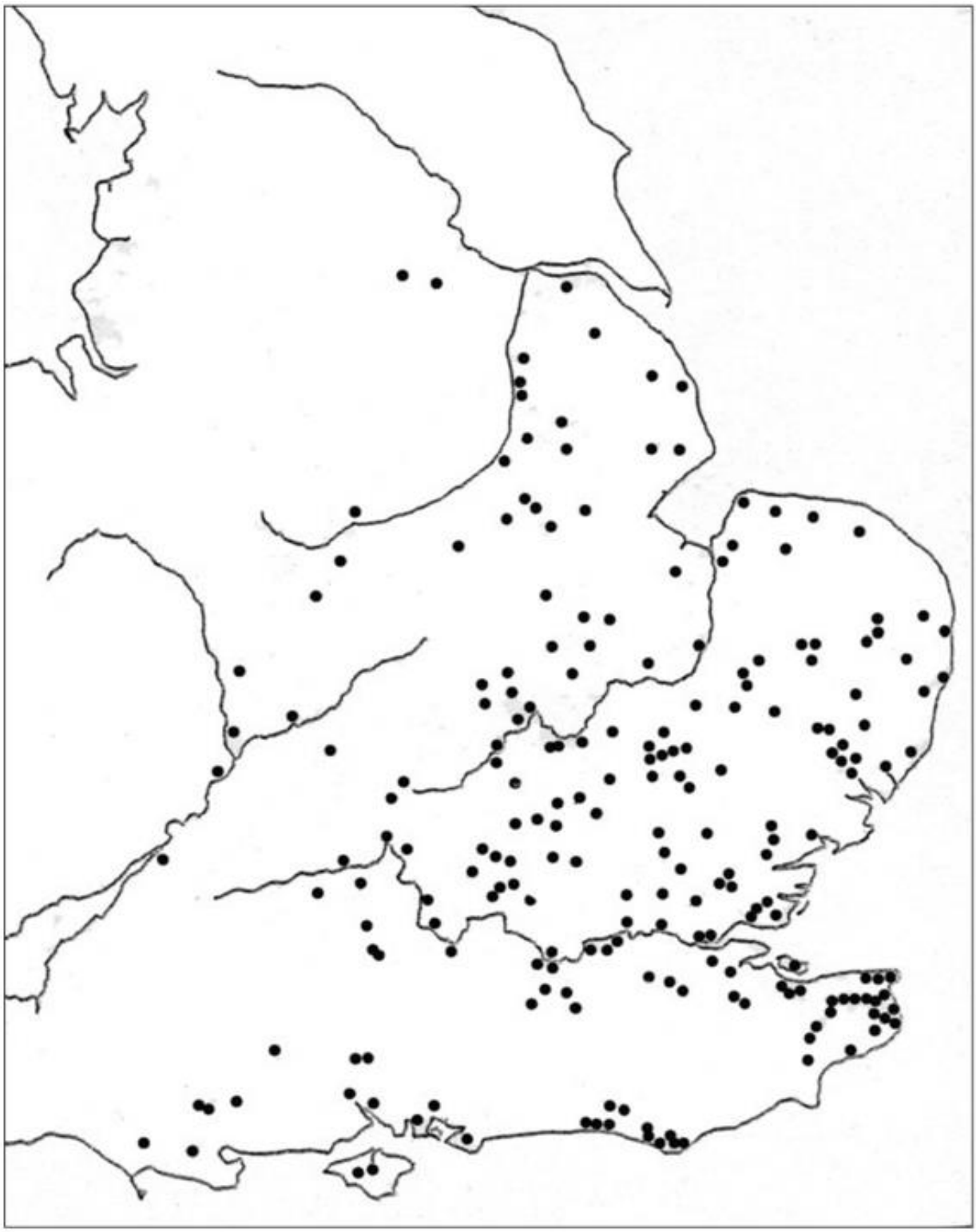

Figure 9: The distribution of Offa's pence (Metcalf 2009: Fig. 11 24)

the regions of the east Kentish coast, around the Southampton and Winchester region, along the Thames Valley, and sparsely dispersed around the Cambridge and Essex region; the coinage of Offa also shows a preference for riverine and coastal sites, concentrating around the River Thames, the Great River Ouse and the costal sites of Kent, Essex and East Anglia (Metcalf 2009: 24). This indicates that the royal and ecclesiastical coinages were used and circulated in similar fashions; they were both probably used for the purchase of goods and services, which exploited the riverine and coastal routes that linked them to other sites across Anglo-Saxon England, as well as the North Sea and the English Channel which connected them to the Continent.

Rory Naismith's (2014) analysis of the coin-circulation at possible ecclesiastical sites yields some interesting results. Of the 84 sites examined, 47 have produced one to three coins, 11 have produced four to six, and 17 have produced at least ten coins (Naismith 2014: 75).. There are also some sites which have produced royal coinage, and archiepiscopal coinage. For example, Louth in Lincolnshire not only produced coins of Offa and Æthelheard and Archbishop Wulfred, but also produced 19 *sceattas* and 6 pennies of Offa (*ibid:* Appendix 1, 49). Despite this, the evidence suggests that there is not a universal pattern of coin-circulation at ecclesiastical sites, and ecclesiastical coinage does not dominate the coins found; the southern episcopal coinage never goes above a quarter of known finds from a church-site (*ibid:* 79). This suggests that the ecclesiastical coinage was not minted to be circulated within the ecclesiastical communities; the ecclesiastical sites are not dominated with episcopal coinage, and are usually made up of mainly royally-issued coins. This may again point to the use of the ecclesiastical coinage in trade; however Naismith (2014: 77) warns not to jump to this conclusion as coins in this period were used for a multitude of functions including the payments of taxes, tributes and so forth. However, the pattern of ecclesiastical coinage shows a general concentration along major routeways, especially riverine, which indicates the use of coinage for the purchase of goods that ran up and down the country; the episcopal coins also appear in productive sites such as Bidford-on-Avon, Royston and Southampton, which although all are possibly connected to a minster, are often found along with royally-issued coins which point to their use in trade. This wide use of ecclesiastical coinage also indicates the extent of power that the archbishops and bishops had in Anglo-Saxon England; they were able to mint coins, some in their solo name, which would have been spread across the country. The allocation of natural resources and the manpower needed for minting shows they had access to a wide variety of resources to be able to mint their own coins in the first place. They were used in a similar fashion to the royal coinage, and although they were minted in smaller numbers, it is evident that the people of Anglo-Saxon Mercia did not see them as inferior to the royal issues, and their parallel design and weight standard shows they were considered as respectable forms of payment. This indicates that the bishops and archbishops had a large influence in Mercia, and the coins travelling both around the country, and across the sea, bore their names and faces, just as the coins of the royals.

Chapter Three: Bishops and the Archaeological Manifestations of Trade

3.1. Introduction

Lincolnshire and the Mercian heartland have often been overlooked when analysing the episcopate's role in trade during the Middle Saxon period due to the lack of charter evidence. As we have seen, the huge corpus of documentary evidence from the archives of Worcester and Canterbury means these areas are often used when studying the activities of the episcopate. However, this is changing in recent years, as the increase in amateur metal detecting and the expanding online databases has allowed various ecclesiastical settlements to be linked to trade through the presence of metalwork. This next chapter will therefore analyse the archaeological manifestations of the episcopate's involvement in trade during the Middle Saxon period. As mentioned above, the huge corpus of archaeological evidence means this chapter will rely mostly off the archaeology of Lincolnshire and the surrounding areas. However, the whole of the Mercian heartland will be considered, and the following chapter will discuss regional trends in the evidence and their implications.

The first section will discuss how the bishops were involved in trade in the rural environment, discussing how the exploitation of resources and extensive production at the estate centres mentioned in the 'Bishops & Land Management' can be detected through archaeological evidence. This will then be followed by a section on the urban environment, discussing how the bishops' used their wealth and influence to transform the infrastructure of the urban environment. Following this, this chapter will analyse how the bishops and their ecclesiastical communities began to specialise in various industries during this period, including a discussion on textile production, glass working, specialist artefacts and the salt industry. The aim of this chapter is to highlight that the Middle Saxon bishops and their ecclesiastical households were actively involved in trade, which can be demonstrated through the archaeological material.

3.2. Rural organisation and intensification

As we have previously discussed in Chapter 1, the episcopate were actively acquiring rural estates which had a variety of natural resources which they could exploit for commercial gain. These resources include both arable and pastural land, which were used for various agricultural pursuits including the rearing of animals and the specialisation of crops. We also start seeing the bishops buying parcels of land which could be joined to create a single substantial estate with a central foci in which he could administer the land. Often these central foci were the churches, which were often found in topographically advantageous locations, which naturally became the focus for the surrounding landscape (Blair 2005: 193). It has been argued that this caused settlement nucleation, as

well as the introduction of 'common fields' which were characterised by a strict communally-regulated rotation of cultivation, in the southern Mercian heartland (Oosthuizen 2007: 154-5). David Hall's (1995: 129-130) study of Northamptonshire shows that common fields were laid across most of each parish in one dramatic event of replanning the landscape. Hence, it is likely that the inhabitants of the dispersed settlements would have moved elsewhere, probably to these new estates where they lived and worked close to the central foci of the region. This is supported with the work of Della Hooke (1998: 115), who argues 'by the late ninth and tenth centuries nucleated settlements at the core of several large open arable fields were gradually replacing earlier scattered farmsteads'. There is evidence for settlement nucleation at high status rural sites such as North Elmham, Flixborough, Ely and Brandon (Wade-Martins 1980: 122-3; Ulmschneider 2000: 53-79; Blair 2005: 255; Tester *et al.* 1988: 371-7). Many of these sites have strong ecclesiastical association, and it is likely that the bishops involvement with landscape planning and the acquisition of estates played a part in the wider reorganisation that is seen across Mercia. This can be supported by Susan Oosthuizen (2007: 162-3), who has argued that this landscape change and settlement nucleation was stimulated by the production of agricultural surpluses that were taken by ecclesiastical communities by establishing specialist trading centres on their estates.

The bishops and their ecclesiastical communities begin to start investing in agriculture which meant many settlements began specialising in specific grains or animal husbandry. For example, we start seeing the spread of watermill technology, as often ecclesiastical sites were located near running water which allowed them to exploit the resources available to them. Anglo-Saxon watermills can be found at Barking (MacGowan 1996: 174-5), Wareham (Hinton 1998: 49-50) and Northfleet (Blair 2005: 256). This indicates that specific sites were producing enough agricultural surplus to invest in specialist milling practices (*ibid:* 25). At other sites, we see evidence for cereal-processing such as the barn and threshing floor from Lyminge (Thomas 2009: 6-7) and corn-drying ovens from Hoddom (Lowe 2006: 196). At Brandon, Lincolnshire, there is evidence for lava and stone querns which were found both immediately north of the church and along the waterfront (Tester, Williams and Anderson 2014: 276-7). The bishops & land management chapter has highlighted that the bishops were heavily involved in agriculture, acquiring arable land that often came with specialised equipment, such as the land acquired by Wulfred at *Cynincges cua lond* in Kent, which came with a aratrum and agricultural equipment which was ceded to the manor of Graveney (Ward 1934: 123-136). The evidence in the land management chapter also indicates that the bishops were purposefully acquiring agricultural estates that had central foci, in which surplus could be stored, distributed and administered around the kingdoms. These estates were often accompanied by rural markets which would have provided outlets for the bishops and their communities to sell their agrarian bulk goods, as well as other commodities. These would have formed a hierarchy of trading networks across Middle-Saxon England, ranging from the emporia such as *Hamwic,* London, Ipswich and York, through to ecclesiastical estate centres

and productive sites, to rural sites with specialist production, as well as temporary or seasonal markets with their own hinterlands (Palmer 2003: 53-6; Oosthuizen 2007: 172).

Within Lincolnshire, there is a strong ecclesiastical association with the establishment of markets. In the *Domesday Book,* seven markets are mentioned in Lincolnshire, five of which are religious settlements: Louth, Barton, Kirton, Partney and Threekingham (Ulmschneider 2000: 88-9). Many of these sites have strong episcopal connections too. For example, Louth was the religious centre which Æthelheard derived from before becoming the Archbishop of Canterbury, and was the find spot of various coins including one of Archbishop Æthelheard with Offa, as well as two of Archbishop Wulfred (Green 2011: 141). Partney also has episcopal connections, as its abbot Aldewin was brother to the bishop of Lindsey; it is also linked to the senior church of Bardney, which has strong Mercian royal associations (Stocker 1993: 110), and the monastery at Barton has often been argued to be the location of the bishop's seat (Roffe 1984: 116, 120, 122). This indicates that these ecclesiastical establishments, which were controlled by the bishops, later became the foci for not only nucleated settlements and arable land, but were places of markets in which the bishops and his communities could sell their surplus to a wider hinterland.

3.3. The urban environment

As well as being involved in rural trading affairs, the bishops also had a role in urban trade. As we have already discussed, there is archaeological evidence for the construction of ramparts that is chronologically aligned to the charter S223, in which Bishop Wærferth was involved in the fortification of the burh, as well as having significant rights to the trade conducted within the site. [Figure 11, Site 4]. Baker *et al.* (1992: 72-3) argue that although it cannot be demonstrated archaeologically, these ramparts and the new layout of the burh are undoubtedly the work of Wærferth and the Mercian royal household. The establishment of the Mercian burhs would have also contributed towards the hierarchy of trading sites as discussed previously, as they needed a greater demand for grain and foodstuffs to feed the workers and the inhabitants, as well as providing a defensive system in which markets could be established; for example, the Hereford burh included an industrial centre as well as a trading centre (Oosthuizen 2007: 172). Bassett (2007: 78-81) argued that many of the Mercian burhs survived as county towns due to their markets which would have drawn in people from a wider hinterland, which would link local and regional markets to national trading

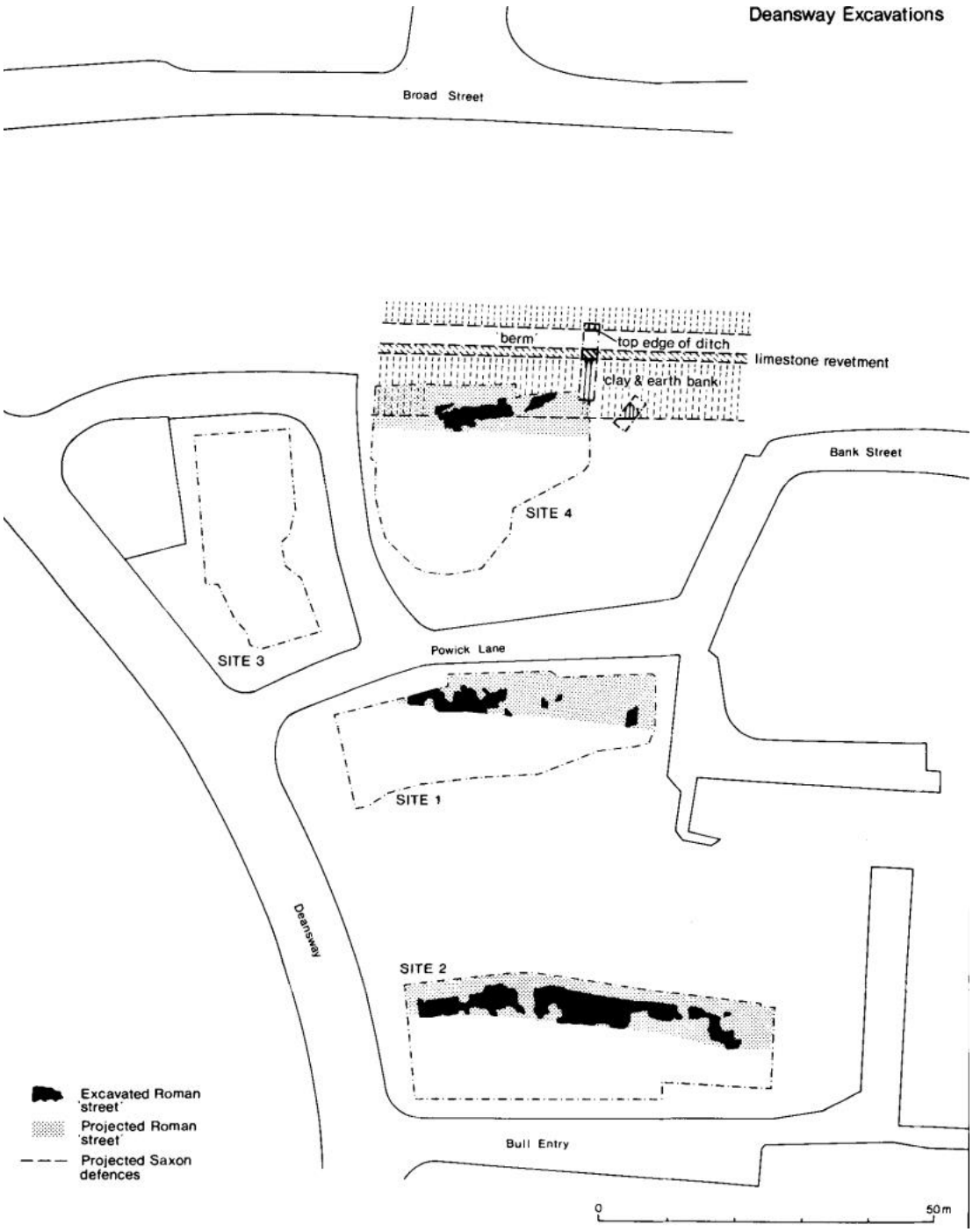

Figure 10: Map of the Deansway Excavation which highlights the rampart probably constructed on behalf of Bishop Wærferth at the end of the 9th century (Baker et al. 1992: Figure 4, 70).

networks; Bassett (*ibid)* suggests this was the case at Nottingham, Derby, Leicester, Lincoln, Stamford, Leicester, Lincoln and many more. Lincoln can be linked to the episcopate through textual sources. Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica* said that Paulinus built a stone church within the city in which he performed episcopal ordination (Bede 1991: II. 15). He also wrote an epigraph to be placed in the apse of the basilica which Bishop Cyneberht had built; the church was established in an un-named city and served as the episcopal see for the bishop and his successors (Wallach 1975: 144). Richard Gem (1993: 125-6) argues that this was probably referring to Lincoln, partially due to the episcopate's preference for establishing sees in Roman fortified cities, which was the case at Canterbury, York and London. This would allow the bishops access to Roman masonry, in which they refurbished ruined buildings and constructed new ones with the abundance of stone in the city.

There is also significant evidence to suggest that the bishops were heavily involved in the construction of the churches in Canterbury. It has already been established that the first phase of the Anglo-Saxon cathedral was constructed by Augustine in AD 597, re-using Roman materials but without adding additional structure, this early phase is similar in plan to the churches of Sts Peter & Paul at Augustine's abbey, as well as St Mary's at Reculver. Kevin Blockley (2000: 238-9) argued that this is a typical plan of an early Kentish church built by Augustine and his successors in the late 6th and 7th centuries, and can be paralleled to St Andrew's cathedral in Rochester and St Pancras church in St Augustine's abbey (238-9). Blockley (*ibid*: 92) also argues that a second major phase of re-building for the cathedral, which was archaeomagnetic dated from the mid 7th to the 10th century could be in line with Archbishop Wulfred's reforms of the community of Christ Church during the early 9th century, despite its wide time frame [Figure 12]. There is also evidence for major change in mid 9th century, with the reorganisation of the central area of time with cellared structures, influence by the introduction of an organised street system completed with street frontages and rear cellars (*ibid:* 241-2). Although it is difficult to determine archaeologically, this was probably influenced by the changes of Wulfred and his successors; Wulfred in particular was a wealthy and powerful individual during this period, therefore it is not unlikely that he had a hand in the reorganisation of areas of Canterbury. As we have already seen, Wulfred was a major landowner and capitalised on his estates to gain considerable agricultural surplus and it is probable that his produce was sold at the street fronts and markets within Canterbury; Hence, the reorganisation of Canterbury to be centred around shopfronts could be seen as Wulfred's attempt to establish more permanent markets and trading centres, which he could capitalise through the selling of his estates produce, as well as the tax and customary dues that would be imposed upon the incoming merchants and travellers.

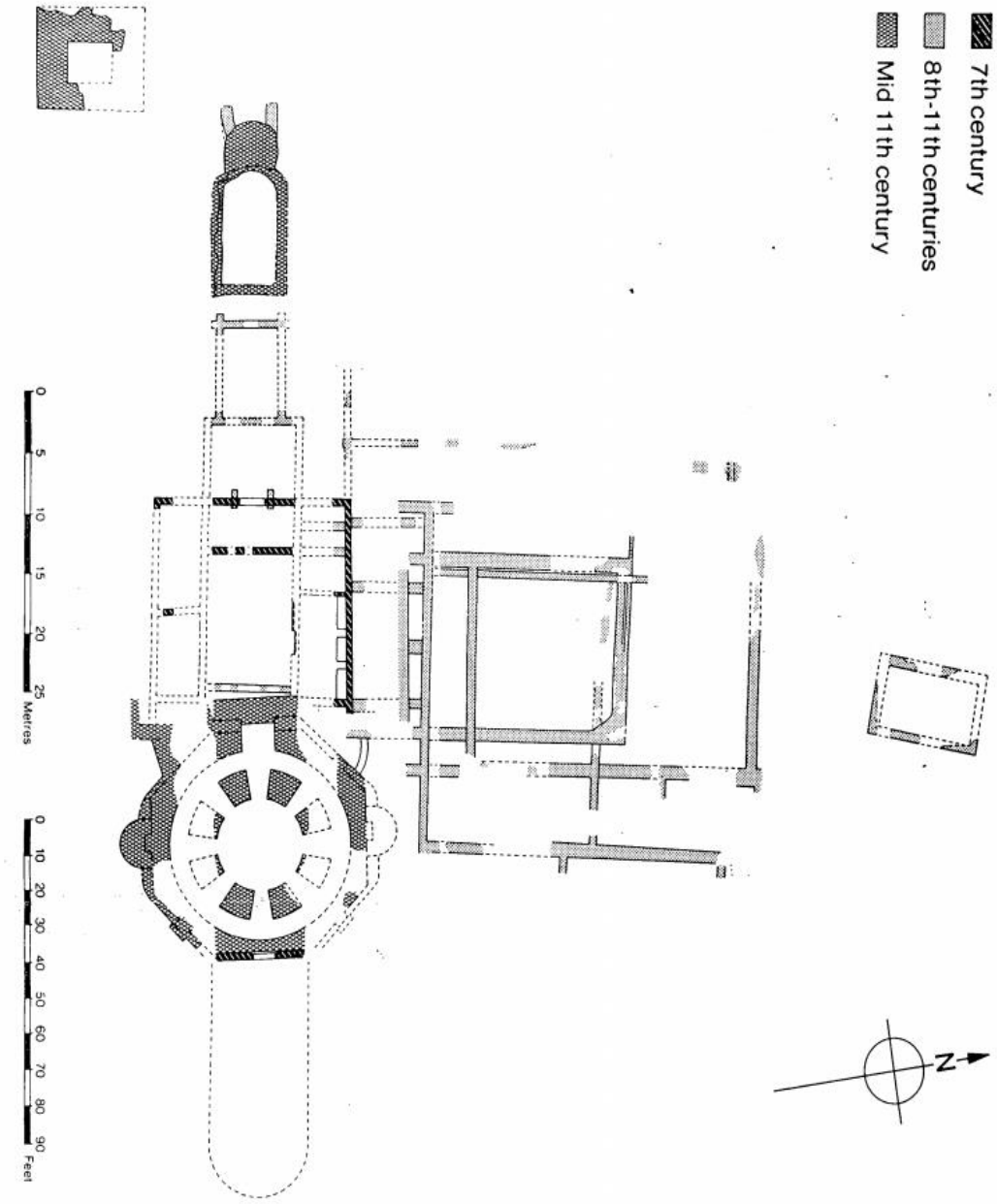

Figure 11: St Augustine's abbey: phased plan of the Anglo-Saxon remains. Gem 1992.

3.4. Specialisation

As we have seen, the bishops and their ecclesiastical communities were actively involved in both industrial and agricultural production. Although difficult to determine archaeologically, it is clear that these ecclesiastical communities began responding to the increasing production by specialising in particular industries such as textiles, glass and high-status metalwork. For example, the increase of textile manufacturing is well attested in the archaeological record. Flixborough's early ninth century levels yield a substantial amount of small loomweights, and the animal remains indicate a high number of sheep at the site, suggesting that the site was involved in specialised production of wool during its monastic phase (Loveluck 2001: 96-99; 2007: 102). This is also paralleled at Brandon, where funds include flax-processing waste and potential dye-plant seeds, as well as a high portion of mature sheep which could indicate a wool-flock (Carr *et al.* 1988: 376-7). A similar scale of textile-manufacturing is seen at Barking, founded by the Bishop Erkenwald of London, which the presence of loomweights, spindle whorls and gold thread (MacGowan 1996: 175). The animal bone evidence from the excavations at Upwich show a growing number of mature sheep, which indicates a shift in agricultural emphasis for wool production during the Middle Saxon phase (Hurst 1997: 27). As discussed below, the charter evidence suggests that Upwich was under the control of Bishop Oswald by the mid 10th century, which may indicate that wool-production was a specialist industry of the episcopate.

Glass-working is another activity which also indicate ecclesiastical associations with trade. Coloured glass has strong ecclesiastical associations, and can be found at Brandon, Flixborough, Repton, St Paul in the Bail, Jarrow, Wearmouth (Ulmschneider 2000: 70; Tester *et al.* 2014: 139; Ottaway, Wastling and Cramp 2009: 159-160). Repton was the seat of the Bishop of Mercia in the seventh century and is known to have strong royal and episcopal associations, and the land at Brandon is first referenced when Bishop Aethelwold acquired the land at the end of the 10th century (Tester *et al.* 2014: 11). There is also evidence for possible ship building at Flixborough indicated by the presence of iron clench bolds and carpentry tools (Leahy 1994-5: 352); although this could easily be a secular industry, the charter evidence in the 'Bishops & Land Management' chapter indicates that bishops had access to trading ships, whilst the ship from Minster-in-Thanet might have been constructed at the minster itself (Kelly 1992: 7). Hence, it is clear that the episcopate must have been actively involved with the industry of ship building, which were used for the transportation of goods and produce around the country.

It has been suggested that Middle Saxon monastic craft production can be characterised by concentrations of fine metals, glass and stone sculpture, whilst other crafts such as weaving, smithing and carpentry are more prominent in secular settlements (Loveluck 2007: 102). Specialist religious

objects can also be used to trace episcopal associations at sites. For example, the gold plaque from Brandon has definite monastic associations, measuring 33 x 35mm with a symbol portraying an eagle's head set on a human body with a pen and book; the inscription SCS/EVA/N/GE/LI/ST/A/IO/HA/NNIS, 'St John the Evangelist' surrounds the symbol. It has been dated to the late eighth or early ninth century and is believed to have originally be part of a set of four evangelist portraits which was probably attached to a book, the terminals of a cross or a shrine (Hinton 2005: 97). An object of this religious symbolism and the high-status craftmanship needed to produce it indicates that the owner of this item would have been a very high-status ecclesiast. As we have seen, the bishops were extremely wealthy during this period, and often aimed to capitalise this wealth by increased production and trade, hence it is not unlikely that a bishop could be the owner of such an object. Although Brandon is only mentioned as being under the authority of a bishop at the end of the 10th century (Tester *et al.* 2014: 11), the concentration of ecclesiastical artefacts at the site could point to a longer period of episcopal association. There are also high concentrations of metal-work across the Lincolnshire ecclesiastical and episcopal sites in general, whilst their distribution pattern shows a preference for rivers, coasts and ancient roads; this is similar to the distribution pattern of the coinage discussed in the 'bishops and coinage' chapter.

3.5. The salt trade

As the 'Bishops & Land Management' chapter has briefly discussed, the bishops and their ecclesiastical communities were actively involved in the Droitwich salt trade. Droitwich has been exploited for its salt brines since the Iron Age, and its location on the River Salwarpe means it is connected to not only Worcester itself, but the various surrounding settlements through the network of rivers. Recent excavations at Upwich revealed ten stone-built bring boiling hearths with extensive charcoal and ash deposits dating from the 5th to the early 7th c, as well as evidence for different functional zones within the site (Hurst and Hemingway 1997: 17). However, from the later 7th century onwards there was a period of severe flooding at the site, which hindered all salt production at the site. There is also little evidence for salt-producing features during the Middle Saxon period due to this extensive flooding, however there is still evidence for a trackways, a post and wattle revetment , a paddle and rakes for manoeuvring salt crystals to the side of the pan (*ibid:* 27). This flooding can also be attested by the chronological distribution of coins found at the productive site of Bidford-on-Avon. The site is located on the intersection of *Sealy Stræt,* Ryknild Street and the River Avon has led to suggestions that it was a transhipment point for Droitwich salt (Maddicott 2005: 47). The coinage at the site seems to decrease around the time of the Droitwich flooding, amounting to a total of just 5.3 percent of the total corpus between AD 740-790, then increasing from AD 790-810 to 23.1 percent (Richards and Naylor 2010: Fig. 5b, 199). The first documentary evidence for Upwich is Charter S1301 in which bishop Oswald leases a minister land and saltpans at Upwich. This indicates that the

site was in episcopal hands by the mid 10th century. A coin of Archbishop Ætheleard and Coenwulf has also been found at the site (*ibid:* 195), and could indicate additional archiepiscopal interest in the area due to its connections with the transhipment of salt.

The archaeological evidence alone cannot show the bishops were directly involved in the salt trade. However, the charter evidence indicates that the bishops had interest in this industry from early on in the period, purposefully acquiring land that contained brine springs which they could exploit for profit. A lost charter of 691 recorded a grant to Bishop Oftfor of Worcester by King Æthelred, concerning land at Fladbury which came with 'a shed and two furnaces belonging to the great [brine] pit at Wic [Droitwich] pertaining to that land' (S77). A later charter dating to 716 x 717 records King Æthelbald exchanging property at Droitwich with the Worcester church, giving them land south of the River Salwarpe for the construction of three sheds and six furnaces (S102). The taxation of salt has also been seen in the charter evidence, with S97 (716 x 717) recording Æthelbald's grant to Evesham 'a portion of a house in Wic, the salt market, which we call "Saltwich"… so that that portion which we in our fashion call "Sele" may be free in perpetuity from all tribute of the common tax" (Wormald 1984: 25). A further charter that suggests a taxation of salt is S223 in which Ealdorman Æthelred and his wife, Æthelflæd grants half of the rights belonging to their lordship within the Worcester burh to the church of Worcester. These rights were applicable 'either in the market or the street' apart from 'the wagon-shilling and the load-penny at Droitwich go to the king as they have always done' (Hooke 1981: 149). Maddicott (2005: 41) argues that the measurements were possibly marking the quantities of salt which were carried out of Droitwich, as well as the quality of the tracks and roads leading out of the *wic.* Despite some of the taxes going to the king, which by the language was an ancient nature, this charter gives a very generous grant to the church of Worcester, and allowed them to reap the benefits and gain considerable profit. This can be supported by a another charter of the period, in which Æthelred granted Æthelwulf Himbleton with tax exemptions on salt boilings, as well a second salt privilege which Madicott (2005: 42) has interpreted as meaning 'taken at a stopping-place or in the loading of wagons'; Harmer (1914: 107) has gone further and translated this as meaning 'the king had the right to levy tolls on the wagons as they stood at the salt-pans, and upon the loads being placed in them'. This implies that salt was subject to a double toll, a *tributum* on brine-shares, as well as a second toll on transport (Maddicott 2005: 43). This indicates that salt was a major industry during this time, which was capable of gaining enough profit to pay two lots of tolls, which would go to the church of Worcester and the king.

In sum, although it is hard to prove archaeologically that the episcopate were involved in the salt trade at Droitwich, the evidence suggests continuing production at the site throughout the Middle Saxon period. There is a dearth in activity around the mid 8th century due to extensive flooding in the area, however production increases again at the end of the 8th century to the beginning of the 9th (Richards

and Naylor 2010: Fig.5b). The charter evidence supports the idea that the bishops were major landowners in the area, acquiring estates with salt brines along with rights to tolls and customary dues which allowed them to gain considerable profits at local and national markets. Overall, it is evident that the bishops were involved in the production and trade of salt at Droitwich and the surrounding areas, acquiring land early on which had access to the rich salt brines which had been exploited since the Iron Age. The evidence suggests that the bishops would have then sold the salt at local markets, often located within ecclesiastical settlements, or across the country using their trading ships and navigating the many rivers that connected Droitwich with sites such as *Lundenwic.*

3.6. Conclusion

Although the dearth in textual sources around the Lincolnshire and Mercian heartlands has previously limited our understanding of the episcopate's role in trade in these regions, the increasing corpus of archaeological material has allowed us to reconstruct the bishops' activity in the area. In the rural environment, the archaeological evidence indicates that the bishops acquisition of estates led to a reorganisation of the landscape, creating nucleated settlements that were centred on the focal points set up by the episcopate to administer their large parcels of land. This also led to a transformation in agricultural practices, and the bishops were actively involved in the intensification of grain production and animal husbandry that would allow them to produce a greater amount of surplus that could be sold at markets. These rural markets were often located within ecclesiastical settlements, often monasteries, with strong episcopal connections. This would allow the bishops to have greater control over the trade occurring within this episcopal centres, as well as impose taxes and customary dues that would be paid directly to the bishop instead of the royal household. The episcopate also had an important role in the urban environment by being actively involved in the reorganisation of the urban landscape, constructing churches and street fronts that would attract settlers, merchants and travellers and would allow them to sell their produce to a wider audience, as well as again reap the benefits of imposed taxes. The bishops' also had an involvement with the construction of Middle Saxon burhs, which were often large, fortified market towns connected to other trading centres through a series of established trade routes.

The increasing production allowed the bishops and their communities to start specialising in various industries such as metalworking, glass working and textile production. The archaeological evidence suggests that these industries were often located at monasteries and other ecclesiastical settlements, and many new 'productive sites' often have a strong mixture of religious, secular and industrial aspects which changes our understanding on what an ecclesiastical settlement really is. Although it is almost impossible to form a direct link to the episcopate and the rise of these industries based on archaeological evidence alone, this can be often be supported by documentary and charter evidence.

For example, we know through charter evidence that the bishops had access to trading ships that were often constructed at these ecclesiastical centres; hence, evidence such as possible ship building facilities at Flixborough could have a strong episcopal link. Specialisation also occurred through the episcopate's role in the Droitwich salt trade. Again, the archaeological material is limited, and although there is evidence for Middle Saxon activity at the site, it is very difficult to establish an episcopal link based off the material and structural evidence alone. However, the charter evidence confirms that many of the bishops, especially those from the Worcester diocese, were actively involved in the salt industry that allowed them to produce a huge surplus that could be controlled, taxed, and then transported all around the country through a trade network of rivers, coasts and ancient roads. Overall, this chapter indicates that the episcopate were actively involved in the commercial sphere of Anglo-Saxon England; the increasing evidence for 'productive' sites with religious attributes, the discovery of specialist agricultural and industrial practices within ecclesiastical settlements. and the reorganisation of the rural and urban landscape all points to the bishops being powerful individuals in Middle Saxon trade. Although the episcopate's role in trade is difficult to determine based on the material evidence alone, the mixture of archaeological and textual resources has allowed us to gain a better understanding on how they operated in this commercial sphere.

Conclusion

This research aimed to reassess the real contribution of the episcopate in Anglo-Saxon Mercia by highlighting their economic significance in the administration of the kingdom, as well as their geographical distributions of power. The rise of the Minster Hypothesis put forward by John Blair (2005) and others (e.g. Foot 2006; Tinti 2005) has revaluated monasticism and its role in the pastoral care of early English society, which has led to academic attention on monasteries as institutions of power and has largely ignored the power of the individual bishops and undermined the importance of the episcopate. In the 1990's, academics such as Simon Coates (1996: 177-9) explored how the importance of the episcopal hierarchy was reflected in Anglo-Saxon texts, and has called for future research to move away from the study of minsters and focus on the power of the individual bishops. Despite this, since the rise of the Minster Hypothesis there has been no real attempt to discuss the contribution of the episcopate, and research has focused on how the minsters of Anglo-Saxon England provided pastoral care which contributed to the emergence of a new landscape of local churches after the Benedictine reform. This research has challenged this view that the early English Church acquired power in Anglo-Saxon England through its status as an institution, and has instead argued that it was the individual bishops who were heads of this network of institutions and were influential enough in their own right to have wide geographical distributions of power.

Chapter 1 explored how documentary evidence and the distribution of stone sculpture can be used to show the episcopate's role in the ownership of land and resources. The charter evidence was split regionally into two sections: The first explored the evidence from the archives of the diocese of Canterbury, and the second the diocese of Worcester. The Canterbury charter evidence suggests that the bishops were acquiring separate parcels of land which they adjoined and transformed into a single estate of substantial size. Archbishop Wulfed was a prime example of this, and many of the charters attest to him buying small adjoining lands which he joined to create a single great estate, equipped with a variety of natural resources which was administered from a central *mansio* (Ward 1934: 123-6). The Archbishops of Canterbury were focused on lands around the Kent region, especially along the east coast and along major river routes.

The Worcester archives, on the other hand, are focused on the counties of Gloucestershire, Worcestershire and Warwickshire. The documentary evidence indicates the bishops of Worcester were highly involved in commercial affairs in Greater Mercia, and were often the recipients of tax exemptions which were applied on their trading ships which operated around Greater Mercia. Individuals such as Bishop Wærferth was also involved in the restoration of the burhs of London and Worcester (e.g. S223). This can be supported by the archaeological evidence which shows the construction of a rampart at the end of the ninth century (Baker *et al.* 1992: 72-3). The final section of

this chapter explored how the distribution and manufacture of stone sculpture shows how the episcopate asserted ownership of land and resources. Centres of production were often located near important episcopal sites (Bryant *et al.* 2012: 117), and many sculptures show direct links to the episcopate, such as 'Unknown Provenance 01' which records Bishop Cyneberht founding an episcopal seat in an unknown location, however this was probably Lincoln (Everson and Stocker 1999). The distribution of these charters are parallel to the distribution of the episcopal estates, which were mainly focused on major river routes which would allow them to transport goods and produce around Anglo-Saxon England with ease.

Chapter 2 analysed how the episcopal coinage can be used to explore distributions of power of the bishops across the landscape. The first coins were in joint issue with Offa, including those by Jænberht, Eadberht and Æthelheard, however there is one issue by Jænberht in his solo name (1995.3.1) in response to the ongoing argument between himself and Offa due to conflicting political views (Metcalf 2009: 28). Jænberht's coins were focused around the Thames Valley, Southampton and the surrounding regions, as well as the east cost of Kent and Lincolnshire. Bishop Eadberht's coinage followed a similar pattern, and were concentrated around the East of England especially Cambridgeshire and the surrounding regions, as well as Lincolnshire; however, unlike the coins of Jænberht, there are no finds around the Southampton region. We start seeing the archiepiscopal coinage being produced in substantial quantities during the time of Æthelheard. His joint issues with Offa are highly concentrated around Cambridgeshire, Suffolk, Essex and the surrounding regions. There is also coins found around Kent and the Thames Valley. In Æthelheard's joint issue with Ceonwulf, we see a shift in concentration to the West, especially around Wessex; however, there are still concentrations in the Kent region. There are also three coins of Æthelheard alone, and can be found in Kent, Norfolk and Leicestershire. This solo mint indicates that the archbishops started to gain considerable power as an individual, and could control the resources needed to produce coins without the patronage of the royal family. The coins of Wulfred were also produced in substantial quantity. There are no obvious concentrations, and they can be found in large amounts in Wessex, especially around the south coast, as well as Kent Cambridgeshire and the Thames Valley. The majority of Wulfred's coins can be found in the south, however there are some found in Lincolnshire and north of the Humber.

Overall, the episcopal coinage are mainly circulated in the eastern seaboard of England (Naismith 2010: 80). The distribution of this bishop's coins are paralleled to the distribution of the royal coinage which indicates they were both used for commercial aspects and not limited to ecclesiastical circulation. The episcopal coins can be found along many major rivers such as the Stour, the Thames, the Trent. In sum, the distribution of the episcopal coinage indicates the bishops were powerful enough to produce coins, often in their solo name, in substantial quantities. These coins were

distributed in areas of strong commercial associations, especially around the eastern seaboard, the Thames Valley and the Southampton region. There is a lack of coinage, both royal and ecclesiastical, around the western midlands during this period indicates that episcopal coinage was used for commercial aspects and not solely circulated in the ecclesiastical sphere.

Chapter 3 analysed the archaeological manifestation of the episcopate's involvement in trade. The first section analysed how the bishops were involved in rural intensification during the Middle Saxon period. The evidence suggests that once the bishops acquired rural estates (discussed in Chapter 1), they were actively involved in the transformation of the rural landscape which led to settlement nucleation and new agricultural technology (e.g. Oosthuizen 2007: 154-5). These rural settlements were often accompanied with markets with strong episcopal associations, such as Louth, Barton and Partney (Ulmschneider 2000: 88-9). The episcopate were also involved in the transformation of the urban environment. For example, there is considerable archaeological and textual evidence that attests to Bishop Wærferth being involved in the reconstruction and fortification of the Worcester and London burhs, which were often reorganised to be focused around trade, such as new ports and streets aligned with shop fronts (Baker *et al.* 1992: 72-3). Section 4.4 was focused around archaeological evidence for the bishops involvement in specialisation and the evidence suggests that many ecclesiastical institutions with episcopal connections were involved in increased specialisation including the production of religious artefacts. Section 4.5 discussed how the episcopate were involved in the salt trade. The archaeological and documentary evidence all indicates the episcopate were directly involved in the production of salt during the time period.

This research aimed to answer how the archaeological manifestations of the bishops in Greater Mercia reflect the geographical distribution of their power. The archaeological and documentary evidence indicate that the bishops of the Mercian kingdom were powerful individuals who were able to exploit the resources around them to transform the landscape and its resources into substantial surpluses which were transported down major routes such as rivers to markets with strong episcopal associations. Their geographical distributions indicate that the bishops, especially Worcester and Canterbury, had lands and trading interests that extended well beyond the boundaries of their diocese, indicating their individual power extended beyond their areas of ecclesiastical jurisdiction. The coinage evidence highlights the geographical distribution of their power, and shows that the bishops were able to mint coins in their solo name which were used for commercial exchange across multiple kingdoms of Anglo-Saxon England. Their manifestations of trade are best attested in archaeological investigations, which points to increasing agricultural intensification, the transformation of urban settlements, as well as craft production and specialist industries. Overall, this research has highlighted the need for future academic focus to move away from the study of the early Church as an institution of power put forward by supporters of the Minster Hypothesis (e.g. Blair 2005; Foot 2005; Tinti

2005), and towards a future where the archaeological manifestation of the bishops can be better explored.

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