A Land of Five Languages:

Material Culture, Communities

And Identity in Northumbria, 600-867 CE

Sian Webb

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Department of Classics and Archaeology

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Author's Declarations

The author confirms that this work has not been accepted in substance before and is not being concurrently submitted for any other degree.

The author confirms that the work submitted is her own unless otherwise noted in the text or through footnotes. Appropriate credit has been given where reference has been made to the work of others and a full bibliography is included.

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Abstract

This thesis examines the identities that developed, coalesced and evolved over time in the Kingdom of Northumbria circa 600 CE and 867 CE and the methods and materials through which they were expressed in different regions using an interdisciplinary lens synthesising material culture and written evidence. Northumbria at it largest covered a considerable area of land and varying terrain in northern Britain. Considering this, one of the key questions pursued through this thesis is whether a shared Kingdom-wide sense of Northumbrian identity existed in the kingdom. If a shared identity did exist, how far through the social hierarchy did this identity permeate? Was this a specialised identity shared among elite spheres of society, or was it open to a larger proportion of the Northumbrian population? Finally, how did this kingdom-wide identity interact with localised and regional identities felt in different areas of Northumbria?   The main aim through this work is that this exploration moves beyond elite groups in secular and ecclesiastic life and incorporate the wider hierarchy. In order to do so, an interdisciplinary approach has been taken using the presence, utilisation and iconography of archaeology and material culture throughout the kingdom and the social and cultural networks that emerge through these artefacts. This discussion is aided by the use of textual vignettes to open an inroad into the material remains and highlight the lived experience of the individuals who made and used these objects.

List of Figures

Ireland, as well as patterns found in the Lindisfarne and Durham Gospels and other illuminated manuscripts. The zoomorphic terminal at the top is repeated in a side view on the bindings of the helm near the hinges that connected the chain mail to the main structure. *© York Archaeological Trust for Excavation and Research 2015*

Table of Contents

1. Introduction:
Aims and Context

The island is rich in crops and in trees and has good pasturage for cattle and beasts of burden. It also produces vines in certain districts, and has plenty of both land- and waterfowl of various kinds. It is remarkable too for its rivers, which abound in fish, particularly salmon and eels, and for copious springs. Seals as well as dolphins are frequently captured and even whales; besides these there are various kinds of shellfish, among which are mussels, and enclosed in these are often found excellent pearls of every colour, red and purple, violet and green, but mostly white. There is also a great abundance of whelks, from which a scarlet-coloured dye is made, a most beautiful red which neither fades through the heat of the sun nor exposure to the rain; indeed the older it is the more beautiful it becomes[1]

Thus Bede begins *The Ecclesiastical History of the English People*. He evokes the geography of an island set on the edge of the Christian world. It is an account of the physical landscape and resources of Britain that could serve as a primer for readers or listeners who had never seen the island. Yet in these ostensibly didactic sentences, Bede presents a living landscape. He describes the resources that communities would have relied upon and used in their daily lives. When one reads of the scarlet dye produced from the plentiful whelks, it is not so much a stark description of fact but a passionate evocation of a material substance that was very real for and important to the author. This paragraph, opening as it does a work of history and weighty significance to the author, brings readers towards the everyday, domestic lives of the peoples living within the kingdoms of Britain and the materials around which this life was built.

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[1] Bede, *The Ecclesiastical History of the English People,* ed. and trans. Judith McClure and Roger Collins. (Oxford, 2008), Book I Ch 1
'Optima frugibus atque arboribus insula, et alendis apta pecoribus ac jumentis; vineas etiam quibusdam in locis germinans; seb et avium ferax terra marique generis deversi. Fluviis quoque multum piscosis ac fontibus præclara copiosis, et quidem præcipue issicio abundant et anguilla. Capiuntur autem sæpissime et vituli marini et delphines, necnon et balænæ; exceptis variorum generibus conchyliorum, in quibus sunt et musculæ, quibus inclusam sæpe margaritam omin quidem coloris optimam inveniunt, id est, et rubicundi, et purpurei, et jacintini, et prasine, seb maxime candidi.'

Bede filled his works with a sense of the world he inhabited. The quote, however, moves beyond a surface level sense of this world. There are a variety of facets of life evoked in this passage. It reaches from the secular and ecclesiastical elites who immediately come to mind when one thinks of pearls and scarlet-coloured dyes to the diverse strata of the population from regional nobility and free landowners to unfree labourers.[2] More than merely a cast of individuals able to access high-status trade goods, it included those individuals who would have engaged in animal husbandry, farming, fishing and hunting as well as artisans, craftspeople and traders.

This project will examine how society functioned, interacted and evolved in the Anglo-Saxon Kingdom of Northumbria between circa 600 CE and 867 CE. Moreover, it will bring together different evidence bases to discuss how the materials of everyday life, the objects that men and women would have interacted with every day, help to bring the identities of the broader society to light. The majority of these material objects, such as brooches, coins and strap ends, would have been so commonplace that they may not often have been noticed consciously, in the same way that the majority of people today do not spend too much time consciously considering their watch bands, belts or pens. These developments will be explored through different regions of the kingdom and will chart how place affected the organization and development of society. It is my goal to begin to move towards a consideration of the different ways in which the various layers of society interacted and the ways in which a Northumbrian identity and culture transcended

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[2] Henderson, George. 'Bede and the Visual Arts', Jarrow Lectures, Jarrow: St. Paul's Parish Church Council, 1980. p 4

social boundaries to different degrees, allowing men and women throughout the kingdom to influence and be influenced by it in different ways and to various extents.

In essence, it is the connections, trade routes and affinities that spread throughout the different regions of the kingdom that brought together these elements of cultural and social identities. The similarities and the differences seen in the engagement with this broad culture by the various spheres and strata of society as well as how different regions communicated this shared identity forms the core of this thesis. I am interested in dissecting these overlapping cultures, and examining how they fit together and influenced each other, and how identities varied in type and scale in different regions of Northumbria. Furthermore, if such an identity did develop within the kingdom, did it belong to an elite sphere comprising of those in power along with influential ecclesiastic and monastic communities alone? Did a shared overarching concept of a Northumbrian identity expand to include the wider Northumbrian population? More importantly with a view towards the differences between the three regions that formed the kingdom, to what extent and in what ways did non-elite communities and individuals choose to participate in it?

This is a story of identities, the lines along which they developed, how they were displayed and communicated through both visual and written means and how they varied within a community. It is the group identities that show the networks that fed communities and the contacts that developed. It is an exploration of influences shown through material culture, sculpture and hagiographical tropes, and how these expressed identities communicated the importance of different contacts. Finally, it is how these identities evolved over time alongside political and social

developments. This thesis is not an exhaustive history of the kingdom of Northumbria. Each chapter is a different window onto aspects of the cultures and identities present there, considering the ways in which gender, socioeconomic position and region effected the ways people expressed their identity as well as the types of identities present. By bringing these chapters together and seeing a tapestry of different ways of considering the cultures of the kingdom, the project will create a holistic consideration of the people of the kingdom, the aspects that unified them and the differences that emerged in the separate regions of the kingdom.

1.2 Historic Background of the Kingdom

As this thesis argues, the three region that together form the kingdom of Northumbria develop a shared culture. Foreign merchants and external powers recognised this and interacted with it in ways that point to its strength. Even so, the regions each possessed different histories leading up to their union that helped shape the ways and extent to which the people and communities living in them living later expressed the shared Northumbrian identity. In order to provide context for the threads that will be brought together in this endeavour it is important to briefly sketch these histories here.

During the Roman period, the region that would become Bernicia existed at the edge of Roman dominance. The lands south of the Tyne and Hadrian's Wall mark imperially controlled territory and so had a more thorough exposure to Roman culture and personal artefacts. Along the eastern coast and at the border marked by Hadrian's Wall, series of forts and signal stations have been excavated or posited, including the fort at Vindolanda near Hexham and the suggestions made by scholars

that sites along Roman roads from Hartlepool north to the region around

Wearmouth may have served as such in the Roman period.[3] North of the Tyne, and

so much the area of the kingdom of Bernicia, never truly became Roman land. This

is not to say that northern Britain would not have been affected by Roman culture,

nor that trade with those who expressed the Romano-British culture did not take

place. Rather, for individuals and communities north of Roman territory such

exposure would be limited, filtered and primarily restricted to trade goods. This

allowed these groups to thoroughly embed more traditional styles of building, land

use and culture into their communal identity.

North of Hadrian's Wall and into Lothian, there is evidence of continued

habitation throughout the period prior to the seventh century. Whilst Bede and

other authors portrayed the spread of Anglo-Saxon culture in terms of large-scale

warfare and conquest, much of the place names and settlement evidence suggest a

largely peaceful transition of cultural expression.[4] Traditional building styles and

burial practices continued to influence communities throughout the early medieval

period. Hill forts have been excavated at sites in Lothian, where Bernicia gained

dominance by the eighth century, such as Dunbar. The region also shows evidence

of settlements incorporating Anglo-Saxon building practices with large, stone-footed

timber halls being constructed.[5] Cist-style burials exist through much of the region,

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[3] Daniels, Robin, et. al. *Anglo-Saxon Hartlepool and the Foundations of English Christianity: An Archaeology of the Anglo-Saxon Monastery,* eds. Robin Daniels and Christopher Loveluck, Hartlepool: Tees Archaeology, 2007. p. 9; Cramp, Rosemary. *Wearmouth and Jarrow Monastic Sites.* Vol 1. Swindon: English Heritage 2005-2006. p 24

[4] Crone, Anne and Hindmarch, Erland with Woolf, Alex. *Living and Dying at Auldhame, East Lothian: The Excavation of an Anglian Monastic Settlement and Medieval Parish Church*, Edinburgh: Society of Scottish Antiquaries, 2016. p 130

[5] Perry, David R. *Castle Park Dunbar: 2000 Years on a Fortified Headland.* Edinburgh: Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, 2000; Crone and Hindmarch. *Living and Dying at Auldhame.* p 131-132

both within what became the early cultural heartland of Bernicia in the settlements around Yeavering and Bamburgh and in Lothian. Whilst some are more difficult to date than others, culturally Anglo-Saxon artefacts have been found alongside other personal items and within traditionally arranged settlements and burials suggesting that existing populations chose to adopt and incorporate such artefacts and practices rather than having them forced upon them.[6] There is also some indication from sources such as *Historia Brittonum* that the ruling families in Northumbria, Lothian and other Northern powers intermarried.[7]

The area that came to be Deira, unlike the other two regions discussed here, existed fully within the Roman Empire whilst it held political sway in Britain. It was here, in York, that the Romans built a legionary fortress. From this starting point, and no doubt aided greatly by being well served by land and sea routes, Roman York grew both in size and importance. By the early third century, after being the focal military base York gained official recognition as the capital of the province of Lower Britain. This was a position of vital administerial and political importance. For Anglo-Saxons looking back on the history of Northumbria and York, this importance would be underscored when York became the site in which Constantine declared himself emperor in 306 CE. Constantine's successful usurpation of the Roman Empire had long-lasting importance for religious as well as political regions.

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[6] Loveluck, Christopher. '"The Romano-British to Anglo-Saxon Transition" – Social Transformations from the Late Roman to Early Medieval Period in Northern England, AD 400-700' in *Past, Present and Future: The Archaeology of Northern England*, eds. Catherine Brooks, Robin Daniels and Anthony Harding, West Sussex: Roger Booth Associates, 2002. p 142

[7] *Historia Brittonum'* in *English Historical Documents, Vol. I c 500-1042.* ed. Dorothy Whitelock, London: Eyre & Spottiswoode, 1955. p. 260. Whitelock notes that Alan Anderson, writing in 1922, argued that Eanfrith, son of Æthelfrith, was the maternal grandfather of Bridei who defeated Ecgfrith at Nectansmere. Cf. Anderson, Marjorie O. *Kings and Kingship in Early Scotland*, Edinburgh: Scottish Academic Press, 1973. p 170-173

His decision to publicly convert to Christianity before his death as well as allowing and incorporating Christian symbols into Roman monuments marked a significant development for the growing religion. Deira, with its ties to the early life of Constantine, thus saw itself as the starting point of the reign of the man who many acknowledge as the first Christian emperor of Rome. The role of York in Constantine's rise to power in addition to serving as the seat of one of the early Christian bishops of Britain, gave it a psychological connection with the success of the Christian Church in the centuries that followed. This connection reverberates through the works of Bede and Alcuin in later centuries.

As Roman power diminished in Britain, York followed suit and the site lost its political significance in what came to be Deira. By the late sixth to early seventh century, the type and centrality of the settlement shifted and the inhabitants adapted as the surrounding power structure changed.[8] Political power in the region that became Deira moved towards Driffield and other influential settlements in the East Riding of Yorkshire including Market Weighton, Pocklington and Goodmanham by the late fifth century as Anglo-Saxon material culture began to feature in furnished burials in the region.[9] The chain of estate sites with royal connections highlights a key difference between what made these settlements important and what gave York its power. Sites such as Driffield did not necessarily possess inherent meaning or significant political power. What power they held came from the person

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[8] Roskams, Steve. 'Urban Transition in Early Medieval Britain: The Case of York' in *Towns in Transition: Urban Evolution in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages*, ed. Neil Christie and Simon Loseby, Aldershot : Ashgate, 1996. p. 264

[9] Loveluck. 'The Archaeology of Post-Roman Yorkshire'. p. 162. See also: Richards, Julian D, et. al. 'Cottam: an Anglo-Scandinavian Settlement on the Yorkshire Wolds', *The Archaeological Journal*, Vol. 156, Iss. 1. 1999. p. 255.

of the king. Unlike the static meaning bound to the urban setting of York, these rural

estate sites were tied to the ruler. Through the seventh and eighth centuries burial

evidence suggests more activity east of York, around Kirkby Underdale, Fimber,

Cottam and Driffield.[10] It is in this region that the secondary barrow burials

mentioned in the third chapter became particularly prevalent. It was not until later

that the Anglo-Saxon nobility began to show a preference for burial in the

cemeteries of important urban churches.[11] The choice to bury their dead in these

places indicates that the eastern regions of Deira held more psychological weight for

secular powers than York with its Roman ties perhaps until the latter half of the

seventh century reflecting the growing importance of Christianity and the new

Christian heritage built from 616 CE through the influence of Paulinus and the

support of Edwin.

In this early period, Deira began to exert its influence on its immediate west

upon the smaller, culturally British Kingdom of Elmet leading to its full incorporation

in the larger entity. Elmet is mention briefly by Bede as the site of a monastery

housing the stone altar used by Paulinus.[12] The *Historia Brittonum* records that

during his reign, Edwin 'occupied Elmet and drove out Ceredig, the king of that

district'.[13] These sources, along with place-name evidence suggest that Elmet was

located between the Vale of York and the Pennine watershed east of Leeds.[14] It has

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[10] Dobson, Lemont. 'Landscape, Monuments and the Construction of Social Power in Early Medieval Deira: Volume 1: Text', PhD thesis, University of York, 2006, p. 57

[11] Fleming, Robin. 'Rural Elites and Urban Communities in Late-Anglo-Saxon England', *Past & Present*, Volume 141, Issue 1, November 1993, p. 25

[12] Bede. *Historia Ecclesiastica.* eds. Bertram Colgrave and R.A.B. Mynors, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969, Book II Ch. 14

[13] 'Historia Brittonum' in *English Historical Documents.* p. 262

[14] Breeze, Andrew. 'The Kingdom and Name of Elmet', *Northern History,* Volume 39, Issue 2, 2002. p. 159

been argued that, until Northumbria began to grow in political power and pursuing

expansionist aims, Elmet acted as a buffer between the kingdom and Mercia, its

southern neighbour as well as a safe harbour for political refugees.[15]

While documentary and datable archaeological information is scarce for the

northwest, it is possible to use what evidence is extant for information on the

settlements and people living from Cumbria north through Galloway. It is generally

accepted based on this evidence that there was continued occupation in the region

through the early centuries of the first millennium, with the Roman fort at

Birdoswald in particular providing no evidence of abandonment in the post-Roman

period.[16] Before Northumbria gained dominance to the west it was known as

Rheged, a kingdom that appears in extant documentary evidence for the region.

Rosemary Cramp argues hillforts and other fortified settlements along the Solway

First such as the Mote of Mark acted as foci for the ruling elite.[17] In the same way

that intermarriage between Bernician elite and ruling families in northeast Scotland

is believed to have occurred, marriages between elites in Cumbria and Northumbria

are recorded with Oswiu's marriage to Rhiainfellt being most noted.[18]

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[15] Ibid. p. 164. Cf. Wallace-Hadrill, J.M., *Bede's 'Ecclesiastical History of the English People': A Historical Commentary,* Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1988, p. 227

[16] Wilmot, T. 'The Late-Roman Transition at Birdoswald and along Hadrian's Wall' in *The Late Roman Transition in the North: Papers from the Roman Archaeology Conference, Durham 1999,* eds. Tony Wilmot and Peter Wilson, Oxford: Archaeopress, 2000. p. 14-15; Loveluck, 'The Roman-British to Anglo-Saxon Transition'. p. 142

[17] Loveluck, 'The Romano-British to Anglo-Saxon Transition'. p. 142; Cramp, Rosemary. *Whithorn and the Northumbrian Expansion Westward,* (Whithorn Lecture) Whithorn: Friends of the Whithorn Trust, 1995. p. 6-7. It has been noted that one cannot discount the argument for several loosely associated powers rather than a single ruling family. Higham, Nicholas J. *The Northern Counties to 1000.* London: Longman 1986. p. 253

[18] *Historia Brittonum'* in *English Historical Documents, Vol. I c 500-1042.* ed. Dorothy Whitelock, London: Eyre & Spottiswoode, 1955. p. 260; It is suggested that Rhiainfellt appears in the Durham *Liber Vitae* as Rægnmaeld. Breeze, Andrew. 'Northumbria and the Family of Rhun'. *Northern History,* Volume 50, Issue 2, 2013. p. 172

In the west as in the northeast, culturally Anglo-Saxon artefacts and styles exist within traditional settings and amongst traditional cultural artefacts. This indicates that Anglo-Saxon acculturation in the west was a gradual process in which elite society chose to incorporate Anglo-Saxon practices and objects into their lives in order to communicate an affiliation or shared identity with a powerful allied kingdom.[19] Even as Northumbrian dominance became more widespread in the region through the eighth century, adoption of culturally Anglo-Saxon artefacts largely remained circumscribed to the elite members of communities in Cumbria and Galloway. As later chapters will show, however, Northumbrian identity began to be expressed by a wider spread of society through the end of the eighth and into the ninth centuries.

1.3 Disciplinary Foundation

Interdisciplinary research sits at the centre of this thesis. I have structured it around information of archaeological, historical and artistic natures. Through this I will discuss the complicated and at times occluded themes of perceptions of identity, cultural affiliation and belonging. In order to engage in these themes, it is necessary to build upon a variety of literature from the different academic disciplines included here. I would like to highlight a few key monographs and base trends which I will use as the foundations for this study. For their approaches toward early medieval history in Western Europe, two books in particular serve as the bedrock on which I have based my methodology in this study.

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[19] Loveluck. 'The Romano-British to Anglo-Saxon Transition'. p. 145; Troop, Nicola J. 'Northumbria in the West: Considering Interaction through Monumentality' in *Early Medieval Northumbria: Kingdoms and Communities, AD 450-1100,* eds. p. David A and T. Sam, Turnhout: Brepols, 2012. p. 85-86

The first of these two works is Chris Wickham's 2006 monograph *Framing the Middle Ages: Europe and the Mediterranean 400-800*.[20] In this, Wickham traced the development of societies with a keen eye towards how class and unified state structures developed as the power of the Western Roman Empire waned in northern Europe.[21] Through a study built upon comparative methods, Wickham examined how societies developed over the early medieval period. In order to explore how the landscape and ease of connection both inside the regions and with other regions affected the speed at which and types of communities that developed. Due to the dearth of local documentation from Anglo-Saxon England, when Wickham turned to consider a case study of the local society for the peasantry in Britain he created a hypothetical village built upon the information he had available from different excavations as well as comparative information taken from Scandinavian examples.[22]

Focusing on the development of Britain and Francia, Chris Loveluck published *Northwestern Europe in the Early Middle Ages: A Comparative Archaeology* in 2011.[23] In this, Loveluck argues against the top-down model of social change that has been favoured by scholars in the past, and highlights the indications of complex relationships existing between different strata of society that have emerged in detailed studies.[24] In a similar vein, he brings light to an overuse of the terms 'high-status' and 'low-status' in studies of social identity and how these terms erase the

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[20] Wickham, Chris. *Framing the Middle Ages: Europe and the Mediterranean 400-800*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006

[21] Wickham. *Framing the Middle Ages.* Wickham outlines the ideal form of an aristocratic class p. 153, and does the same for the state p. 303

[22] Wickham. *Framing the Middle Ages* p. 428

[23] Loveluck, Christopher. *Northwest Europe in the Early Middle Ages, c. 600-1150: A Comparative Archaeology.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, (2011)

[24] Loveluck. *Northwestern Europe.* p. 3-4

range of social ranks that could exist within the free population.[25] This approach

towards an intensive examination of the ways status was expressed in different

areas based on their local communities and access to networks of trade will be key

to the current study. It is this move towards examining regional similarities and

differences in social organization and identity throughout the free population, along

with how the variety of regional identities fit together, that is essential to

understanding how society as a whole functioned.

Monographs focused on the form and function of both group identity and

social memory will inform how I approach the expression of identity in the different

regions of Northumbria as well as in different types of communities. These

expressions of identity can be found both in physical objects, such as the Ruthwell or

Bewcastle monuments, or in written work such as the hagiography promoted by

particular religious communities.[26] Different types of expressions begin to unveil

more information about both the internal communities and their relationships with

their neighbours. Monumental structures, for instance, are made to be viewed by

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[25] Loveluck. *Northwestern Europe.* p. 98-99

[26] For the Ruthwell and Bewcastle Crosses see: Orton, Fred and Wood, Ian with Lees, Clare A. *Fragments of History: Rethinking the Ruthwell and Bewcastle Monument.* Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2007; Hawkes, Jane. 'Planting the Cross in Anglo-Saxon England' in *Place and Space in the Medieval World,* eds Meg Boulton, Jane Hawkes and Heidi Stoner, New York: Routledge, 2018, p. 47-63; Hawkes, Jane. 'Stones of the North: Sculpture in Northumbria in the Age of Bede' in *Newcastle and Northumberland Roman and Medieval Architecture and Art,* eds Jeremy Ashbee and Julian Luxford, Leeds: Maney Publishing, 2013, p. 34-53; Stancliffe, Clare. 'The Riddle of the Ruthwell Cross: Audience, Intention and Originator Reconsidered' in *Crossing Boundaries: Interdisciplinary Approaches to the Art, Material Culture, Language and Literature of the Early Medieval World,* eds Eric Cambridge and Jane Hawkes, Philadelphia: Oxbow Books, 2017, p. 3-14. For a discussion of the importance of hagiography for monastic communities see: Cubitt, Catherine. 'Monastic Memory and Identity in Early Anglo-Saxon England' in *Social Identities in Medieval Britain, eds.* William O. Frazer and Andrew Tyrell, London: Leicester University Press, 2001, p.. 253-276; Foot, Sarah. Monastic Life in Anglo-Saxon England, c. 600-900. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006.; Wood, Ian. 'Introduction' in Bede. *The Abbots of Wearmouth and Jarrow,* eds. Christopher Grocock and Ian Wood, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2013; Coates, Simon. 'Ceolfrid: history, Hagiography and Memory in Seventh- and Eighth Century Wearmouth-Jarrow', *Journal of Medieval History*, Vol. 25, Iss. 2. 1999, p. 69-86

others, and can be used in attempts to cement power or presence either for a culture or an individual. Architectural decorations in the interior of monastic living space or religious works written for a particular community, such as the anonymous *Vita Ceolfridi* or Aldhelm's *De Abbabatus*, reinforce a communal identity in the form understood by the writer or patron of the work.[27]

Up to this point I have touched upon the ultimate aim of this thesis to pick apart the identities at play throughout the kingdom of Northumbria in the period between 600 CE and the latter half of the ninth century and to argue for the existence of a collective Northumbrian identity. Moreover, I endeavour to consider non-elite individuals in this consideration and their participation in and contribution towards this shared culture to the extent that can be gleaned from extant material, artistic and textual sources. Towards this end, it is important to discuss ideas and arguments of identity particularly as it relates to medieval studies through the lens of historical studies.

Studies of identity and the sense of self in the medieval period, of course, had a somewhat less than positive start in the mid-nineteenth century. Burckhardt, writing in 1860 used this period as a counterpoint to his rise of the self with Renaissance humanism.[28] People of the medieval world in Burckhardt's work had little agency in how they conceived of themselves. Instead, they merely absorbed the affiliations of their surrounding political structure. They appear, in this work, as simple creatures of a rather literal 'Dark Age' that separated the complicated,

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[27] My approach toward placement and symbolism of architecture design is led by Robert Gilchrist's book *Gender and Material Culture: The Archaeology of Religious Women*. New York: Routledge, 1994, p. 152-159.

[28] Burckhardt, Jacob. *The Civilization of the Renaissance in Italy,* trans. S.G.C. Middlemore, Ontario: Batoche, 2001. p. 106

'civilised' microcosms of Antiquity before them and the Renaissance that followed.[29]

This strain of argument, denigrating medieval society as uncivilised, childlike in its

simplicity of self-conception and lacking in critical thinking and artistic skill,

continued more or less unchallenged through to the end of the 1980s.[30] In the 80s,

the rising popularity of Marxist histories and postmodernism as well as an increasing

interest in the application of sociological theories in historical and archaeological

research lead to a change in the narrative. A series scholars turning the negative

view of medieval simplicity of identity on its head whilst maintaining this truth: This

'benevolent' construction created a hierarchical paradise wherein identity,

understood as social bonds and national ties, was laid upon medieval groups without

independent thought or action from the people before being marred by the rise of

subjectivity.[31]

A number of factors helped fuel this school of thought. The period served as

the Other used to point out what was positive, exceptional or 'new' in other periods

of history as well as the present day. In part this may be understood as an arguably

misguided notion that lack of extant texts equated with their absence overall and so

too a necessary, corresponding lack of intellectual, artistic and emotional activity.

This sense of a Dark Age of violence and ignorance, though widely dismissed in

academic thought, stubbornly clings to the margins of the cultural sector and

popular thought. A general lack of subjectivity also helped to prop up the Great Man

narrative. In a period without subjectivity, the very fact that the names of great,

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[29] Burckhardt. Ibid. p. 379
[30] Patterson, Lee. 'On the Margins: Postmodernism, Ironic History, and Medieval Studies', *Speculum,* Vol 65, Iss. 1, January 1990. p. 96, 103
[31] Patterson. Ibid. p. 97

elite actors were preserved indicates their exceptionalism. Patterson, writing in

1990, argued for a concerted endeavour for medievalists to become involved with

their non-medieval colleagues in order to help rehabilitate the popular conception of

the medieval period and its inhabitants which in part called for an increase in and

dissemination of interdisciplinary studies.[32]

Shifting slightly to developments first felt in archaeology in the same period

before spreading more generally through the humanities, research in this field has

historically considered identity as both a mixture of corresponding parts including a

variety of collective attributes that connect the individual with his or her social

network. In the collection of essays *The Invention of Tradition*, originally published in

1983, Eric Hobsbawm and Terrence Ranger brought together works that indicated

the extent to which rituals and traditions that shape collective identity, particularly

that derived from one's nation of birth, have been created and cultivated in order to

provide meaning to the present.[33] At this point, though, how these traditions and

the active cultivation of culture function as part of identity fails to come fully into

focus.[34] By the latter half of the 1990s, though, the archaeologist Siân Jones began

to reinsert this into the discourse through her examination of ideas of ethnicity

through the discourse evident between present groups and the past, and

considering how material culture in the form of personal objects and artefacts act as

signifiers of identities.[35] They are active, physical signs of identities that individuals

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[32] Patterson. Ibid. p. 105

[33] *The Invention of Tradition,* eds. Eric Hobsbawm and Terrence Ranger, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992

[34] Hobsbawm, Eric. 'Introduction' in *The Invention of Tradition*, eds. Eric Hobsbawm and Terrence Ranger, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992.

[35] Jones, Siân. *The Archaeology of Ethnicity: Constructing Identities in the Past and Present.* London: Routledge, 1997, p. 13

or, in the case of the dead, their families wished to affiliate with and communicate to others. This constructed identity in part puts into action an understanding of this past to give meaning in the present. The 80s and 90s saw the more negative, political uses and their radicalising consequences more critically analysed by researchers.[36]

By the late 1990s and early 2000s the concept of social identity building on anthropological and sociological theories as understood here that had been germinating through the prior decades became entrenched within academic studies. More to the point, this development had grown strong within medieval research, eschewing the negative arguments of preceding research that had either denied the existence of identity or a social self before the Renaissance or allowed for it only among royals, nobles and other privileged groups. Ian Craib is notable in the 1990s for his work with the layering of identities and their differentiation. In such monographs as his 1998 title *Experiencing Identities,* Craib discusses the difference between social identities and personal identities. Identity, particularly the social identities one can accrue throughout life, according to Craib are less of 'things' than a set of fluid negotiations. These identities can either be placed upon an individual by external forces or pursued and adopted by the individual. These identities coexist

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[36] Jones. Ibid., p. 1-2; Jones, Siân and Graves-Brown, Paul. 'Introduction' in *Cultural Identity and Archaeology: The Construction of European Comunities*, eds. Paul Graves-Brown, Siân Jones and Clive Gamble, London: Routledge, 1995. p. 1; In history this same criticism is stated outright in the work of Hobsbawm in 1992. Hobsbawm writes: 'historians are to nationalism what poppy-growers in Pakistan are to heroin addicts: we supply the essential raw material for the market. Nations without a past are a contradiction in terms'. Hobsbawm, Eric. *Nations and Nationalism since 1780: Programme, Myth, Reality,* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992. p. 3. This is a sobering reminder for researchers in all fields that we must be careful, responsible and self-critical in our own work to do our best to limit the extent to which research can be used to fuel racism, sexism, xenophobia and other forms of hatred.

though certain ones may be emphasized in certain situation or groups. One can and does lose certain identities as one goes through life and circumstances change.[37]

William Frazer and Andrew Tyrell published *Social Identity in Early Medieval Britain* in 2002. This volume explored how different communities within early medieval Britain understood and expressed their identities and how these fit within the larger framework within which they lived. The identities here are complex and multifaceted. As Frazer writes in the first chapter 'it is fruitful to recognise explicitly the broad concept "social identity" as multi-layered and to understand that identities derive from circumstances of social interaction. This re-emphasises the vital, active role which the formation of social groups has on the formation of individual identities(subjectivities). It begins to reconnect the two'.[38] By bringing together personal and social identities and picking apart the ways these corresponding aspects interact one can begin to pick apart the complexities of a society and the backgrounds and cultures brought together within it. Moreover, it is through this mixture of peoples and identities that culture remains vibrant, dynamic and capable of pivoting in response to contemporary developments.

Frazer goes on to highlight a difficulty that emerges in this understanding of identity, a difficulty that makes discussing how identity has been treated in past research somewhat of a task. It could be argued that identity and the choice thereof must be either completely active depending on the will of the individual, or that it must be completely passive and subconscious. It is through such understandings that prior conceptions of identity that eschewed it from medieval peoples

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[37] Craib, Ian. Experiencing Identities. London: Sage Publications, 1998.

[38] Frazer, William. 'Identities in Early Medieval Britain' in *Social Identities in Medieval Britain, eds.* William O. Frazer and Andrew Tyrell, London: Leicester University Press, 2001. p. 3

developed. These forms of identity, outlined above, based the concept primarily on

national identity and social status rather than culture and smaller, more intricate

interpersonal relationships. Yet, as the author argues and as scholarship has trended

in the following decades, there is room between these two absolutes. Working with

anthropological theories, which will be discussed below, there can be constructed

identities that allow for both identities built through social interactions and more

consciously sought after and expressed, alongside those contingent upon factors

such as family relationships, marital or social status.[39] It is through the study of

material culture, as discussed by Siân Jones, that these multiple, interacting

identities can be uncovered and studied.

Alongside the developments from within the humanities sketched above, it is

necessary to draw from the insights gained by social anthropologists in order to fully

explore the themes interwoven throughout this thesis. Fredrik Barth's 1969

symposium *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries* provides a seminal text in this discipline.

In it Barth set out the model of ethnicity as a shared perception of identity built upon

cultural similarity against an external Other.[40] Following this model, Richard Jenkins

structured ethnicity as a shared social identity of cultural differentiation built upon

an ongoing and changing dialogue of group similarity and difference.[41] These works

moved away from models of ethnicity as an unchanging, fixed and homogenous

monolith and towards an appreciation that ethnic identity is constructed. It is, as

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[39] Frazer. Ibid. p. 3-4
[40] Barth, Fredrik. *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries: The Social Organisation of Cultural Difference*. Ed. Fredrik Barth. Boston Mass.: Little, Brown and Company, 1969
[41] Jenkins, Richard. *Rethinking Ethnicity: Arguments and Explorations.* London: Sage Publications, 1997. p. 13. See also Jenkins, Richards. *Social Identity.* Abingdon: Routledge, 2014

Jenkins put it, 'situationally variable and negotiable'.[42] Ethnicities are ways that

groups shared an overarching collective identity understood against those perceived

as external to it.

In 2001 Ian Hodder produced a collection of essays that addressed the

current trends inn archaeology in which many of the essays addressed the study of

culture and identity through archaeological sources. In it, John Barrett focused on

the presentation of agency in the archaeological record.[43] He noted the tendency in

some archaeological works to approach societies as structural realities while failing

to appreciate the agency of the people living within them.[44] Drawing upon

sociological trends, Barrett argues that structure exists in a duality with the agency

of the people living within it.[45] In this arrangement, the material conditions of a

society should be understood an intrinsic part of 'the structural properties of a social

system'.[46] Therefore material culture acts as a sign of agency. The choice of certain

iconographic trends and motifs both show signs of embedded cultural preferences

while also helping to either augment or reify the social structure. Writing in the

same volume, Lynn Meskell worked to open discussions of identity and how it can be

studied through archaeology that moved beyond older models of identity politics.[47]

In it, she argued that the traditional practice of considering categories of identity as

'natural' and fixed failed to consider the full range of agency in identity. In it, she

argued for a holistic view of identity, appreciating the ways that identities can be

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[42] Jenkins. *Rethinking Ethnicity.* p. 50

[43] Barrett, John. 'Agency, the Structure of Society and the Problem of the Archaeological Record' in *Archaeological Theory Today.* ed. Ian Holder, Cambridge: Polity Press, 2001, p. 141-164

[44] Barrett. 'Agency, the Structure of Society'. p. 147

[45] Barrett. 'Agency, the Structure of Society'. p. 155

[46] Barrett. 'Agency, the Structure of Society'. p. 156-157

[47] Meskell. 'Archaeologies of Identity' in *Archaeological Theory Today.* ed. Ian Holder, Cambridge: Polity Press, 2001

layered with broader socially distinguished identities co-existing with more immediate and individual identities.[48]

Working these models into a more focused historical framework, James Fentress and Chris Wickham published on these theories of group identities in 1992 with their book *Social Memory*.[49] In this book, the authors examined memories shared by groups within society. They argued that the types of memories, both real and imagined, shared within different groups helped to cement the group and promote a shared identity, which, depending on the group involved, could either be informal and ephemeral, or structured and enduring.[50] These memories were active parts of identity, and would change in meaning in order to continue to serve their purpose as society changed.[51]

Two years later, Patrick Geary published *Phantoms of Remembrance: Memory and Oblivion at the End of the First Millennium*.[52] This monograph worked on similar themes as *Social Memory*. While the former book examined group memory in general, without any temporal boundaries, Geary focused unwaveringly on the medieval period. In particular, Geary highlighted how memories were key elements in directing how institutions and groups reacted to their present challenges, making any loss of memory a keen danger.[53] Memories imbued themselves in the surrounding landscape, giving meaning to the communities sited there.[54] This trend of scholarship helps to inform my approach towards monastic

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[48] Meskell. 'Archaeologies of Identity'. p. 189
[49] Fentress, James and Wickham, Chris. *Social Memory*. Cambridge, Mass.: Blackwell Publishers, 1992
[50] Fentress and Wickham. *Social Memory.* p. x
[51] Fentress and Wickham. *Social Memory.* p. 161
[52] Geary, Patrick. *Phantoms of Remembrance: Memory and Oblivion at the End of the First Millennium.* Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1994
[53] Geary. *Phantoms of Remembrance*. p. 117
[54] Geary. *Phantoms of Remembrance.* p. 124

communities and their relationship with their surrounding communities, as well as

secular communities sited in different areas of Northumbria, from coastal or

riverside trading communities to rural farming areas.

For the history and archaeology of Northumbria, I would like to highlight

three scholars, on whose work I have greatly relied. Rosemary Cramp stands out as

a foundational figure in the study of the material culture of Northumbria. Her work

in the *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture*, alongside her extensive study of

Northumbrian culture and networks of influence through its material culture provide

an excellent starting point for this thesis. Of particular importance for my purposes,

Cramp's work has helped to bring light to the Northumbrian communities of

Cumbria and Dumfries and Galloway.[55]

Another author upon whose work this thesis is built is Ian Wood. The studies

he has done on early medieval culture in general, and the history of the monastic

institution of Wearmouth and Jarrow in particular, greatly inform my approach and

understanding of these issues. In particular, his book written with Fred Orton and

Clare Lees on the Ruthwell and Bewcastle monuments and the recent volume of

Bede's writings on the history of his monastic community highlight how integral it is

to use history and archaeology together in order to work towards a more detailed

understanding of early medieval societies.[56]

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[55] Bailey, Richard N and Cramp, Rosemary. *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture, Vol. II: Cumberland, Westmoreland and Lancashire-North-of-the-Sands*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988, Chapter 4 and Cramp, Rosemary. 'The Anglian Sculpted Crosses of Dumfriesshire' in *Transactions of the Dumfriesshire and Galloway Natural History and Antiquarian Society* Ser. 3, vol. 38. 1959/60 p. 9-20

[56] See: Bede. *The Abbots of Wearmouth and Jarrow.* eds. Christopher Grocock and Ian Wood, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2013. Wood's introduction to this book is rich with insights into the community and on Bede's background.; Orton, Fred and Wood, Ian with Lees, Clare A. *Fragments of History: Rethinking the Ruthwell and Bewcastle Monument*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2007

The final author to be highlighted here is Jane Hawkes. Since the 90s, Hawkes has published widely on sculpture, iconography and the ways that people interacted with it in early medieval Britain, building on the foundation of scholarship produced by Rosemary Cramp and Richard Bailey. Notably, she co-edited a volume on the culturally productive period between the mid-seventh and mid-eighth century in Northumbria.[57] This collection of essays moved to bring together different academic specialties to look at the artistic and iconographic outflowing that occurred during this culturally rich period. *Northumbria's Golden Age* should be highlighted for moving towards interdisciplinarity to reach for a more detailed understanding of the period. In this Hawkes has continued to work towards proving to be a driving force in interdisciplinary research on this subject.[58] Medieval studies, Hawkes wrote, was built around interdisciplinary research due to the lower number of extant primary sources.[59] This helped to foster a more holistic study of the period in which 'an understanding of Anglo-Saxon literature was inseparable from the material and visual culture of the period, and *vice versa'.[60]* It is in this tradition of interdisciplinarity that this thesis is built and directed through the examination of Northumbrian identities.

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[57] *Northumbria's Golden Age: Proceedings of a Conference held at Newcastle upon Tyne, July 1996,* eds Jane Hawkes and Susan Mills. Sutton: Sutton Publishing, 1999. See also Hawkes, Jane. *The Golden Age of Northumbria*, Newcastle upon Tyne: Tyne and Wear Archives and Museum, 1996

[58] 'Hawkes, Jane. 'Introduction' in *Crossing Boundaries: Interdisciplinary Approaches to the Art, Material Culture, Language and Literature of the Early Medieval World,* eds Eric Cambridge and Jane Hawkes, Philadelphia: Oxbow Books, 2017. p. xiv. 'The compartmentalisation of knowledge and a qualitative assessment of its component parts has certainly persisted with ever-increasing specialisation leading to gaps in the level of comprehension, not only between individual disciplines but also within the disciplines themselves. . .'

[59] Hawkes. 'Introduction'. p. xiv

[60] Hawkes. 'Introduction'. p. xiv

1.3 Sources

For the purpose of this project, it is very important to maintain a balanced view of the communities used from each region and to examine the lifestyles of people from a variety of social strata as much as the evidence allows. In order to do this, I have carefully arranged my sources, thinking about how different types of sources can be used to uncover evidence about the various social groups. I will now briefly introduce how I intend to approach the sources in order to study the people in these different levels

The high-status groups include both secular and ecclesiastic elites. Since these groups functioned as powerful members of society and often acted as patrons, they can be approached through both written and material sources. The views and worldviews presented in most of the extant written works will offer a way to understand how these groups understood their world and their real or desired places within the structure of that world. Material culture and sculpture remains also abound in information about how these individuals lived and the networks they engaged with. These include sculptural remains, architectural motifs, manuscripts, coins and trade goods either recovered from sites, or found in graves.

For the lower strata of society, including a range of free individuals living in various types of communities from farming villages to trading ports, sources are less abundant. In spite of this, when used carefully sources just as varied as those for the higher orders of society can open up a window on the lives of these individuals. Written sources, though they were neither produced by nor for non-elites, offer small glimpses into the structure of society and the lives of non-elites. Hagiographic

texts may be highlighted for the casual references and allusions toward the normal experiences and lifestyles of a range of levels of society.

A range of archaeological sources will be discussed throughout this thesis. Each one can inform us about the people who made or used a particular object or who lived in or occupied a settlement or building. For the settlements as a whole, their layout and how they changed in purpose or form over time will be examined. The types of buildings present at different times and their placement reveals who may have lived in a given settlement and how the people of a variety of social strata interacted with each other. Alongside this, the layout and style of burial favoured by the community will also be an important source base.

Manuscript illumination and style of decoration will provide insights into ideology and identities at least at the elite level and illustrate cultural links with other kingdoms both in the Insular sphere and the continent. These sources can reveal more than just external relationships. The relationship between decorative elements used in manuscripts, metalwork and sculpture, as well as small portable goods such as combs and pins will be used to examine networks within Northumbrian society and how they varied in each of the regions and types of settlements, for sculptural works and coins in particular, but this also pertains to other sources as well. The intended audience, their abundance or scarcity, the composite material and how viewers or users were intended to interact with objects will also be important to consider.

Hagiography will also be utilised. These texts do more than just provide interesting narratives, information about the spirit life of readers and sometimes amusing anecdotes. They provide colour and texture to the lives of the people who

filled the settlements. I will be using a variety of hagiographical works that feature

Northumbrian saints or those that include information about Northumbria.

Adomnan's *Vita Sancti Columba* is rich with information about everyday life of non-

elite people. This information adds further context for the lives of the

underrepresented non-elite members of society. Along with hagiography, the works

of Bede and Alcuin, Æthelwold's *De Abbatibus*, the letters of Saint Boniface,

inscriptions, penitentials, and law codes will provide insights and inroads into the

topics explored in the pages that follow.

1.4 Thesis Structure

The following chapter details the specific aims of this thesis and the

methodological structure devised to address questions of identity and culture in the

kingdom of Northumbria. In it, the way the kingdom was broken down in order to

look at the patterns and common trends in material culture and iconography in

different areas of Northumbria is explained. Importantly, this chapter includes an

explanation of the process through which data was collected for the thesis and the

structure of the databases that form the foundation of the study. The databases

created for sculpture, coinage and metalwork and metalworking tools are included

at the end of the thesis as appendices B through D. After the Aims and Methodology

chapter, the chapters are centred on themes relevant to the creation, maintenance

and dissemination of identities through material culture and structure of one's

surroundings.

Chapter 2 ends with a detailed discussion of these chapters in which the

following chapters and their thematic centres are explained. The thesis concludes

with a discussion of the materialisation of Northumbrian identities. Material objects represented the cooperation and shared identities of people from different social spheres and ranged over the whole social hierarchy. By pursuing these themes throughout the chapters, I hope to examine the degree to which a shared sense of Northumbrian-ness penetrated society as well as how its appearance and expression varied depending on a community's geographic setting.

2. Approaches and Methodology

2.1 Introduction: Sources and Approach

In order to fully engage in an exploration of the identities that developed in the kingdom of Northumbria and the cultural expressions thereof a composite two-scale approach was constructed. Using archaeological sources, the nature of the expression of aspects of identity over time and geography will be explored. These physical sources include coins, the imagery invoked on of monumental sculpture, namestones, the sculptural sequences of selected sites, manuscript images, and non-ferrous metal and metalworking objects including moulds, tuyere, dress accessories and fittings. The key aim of this project is to explore the extent to which people throughout the kingdom of Northumbria and on different levels of the social hierarchy did or did not engage in or incorporate into their own concept of self a potential overarching Northumbrian identity. The two-scale analysis and integrated thematic discussion developed here serves the purpose of exploring the expressions of cultural identities from different social groups and in different regions or settlement types as evidenced by the description of their lifestyles.

This thesis explores the different ways in which the various layers of society interacted with each other and how they related to each other in the kingdom of Northumbria at the scale of single settlements as well as on region-wide and kingdom-wide levels. Unlike older top-down models of society those groups outside of the elite should not be thought of as passive recipients of culture and ideology handed down to them by those on top of the hierarchy.[61] The ties between the

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[61] Insoll, Timorthy. 'Introduction' in *Archaeology of Identity: A Reader,* ed. Timothy Insoll, Abingdon: Routledge Press, 2007. p. 6; Meskell. 'Archaeologies of Identity' p. 188-189. For a discussion focused

different social groups should be thought of as permeable to a certain degree. Artistic trends, cultural preferences and ideology could travel both from the general population to the elites and vice versa. Barriers and hindrances to cultural dissemination could be more geographical in nature or the result of strong pre-existing cultural traditions and preferences.

In this chapter, the approach taken throughout this thesis towards the analysis of the data provided by the archaeological sources found within the kingdom of Northumbria will be discussed. This will begin with a discussion of the two-scale approach taken. The macro-level, which looked at trends that developed throughout the kingdom and the sources used will be explained. From here the regional level analysis, the case study regions and the use of material sources developed therein will be described. In order to examine whether or not an overarching Northumbrian identity existed throughout the geographic region contained within the kingdom and if this penetrated beyond privileged levels of the social hierarchy a thematic approach was developed.

Over both of these layers of study I attempted to give comparable weight to the historical and archaeological sources wherever possible in order to avail myself of the different strengths offered by the different evidence pools. The desire to build upon the complementary strengths of history and archaeology whilst accounting for the blindspots and weaknesses endemic to each helped to bring about the thematic structure of the thesis that follows. By arranging the study along thematic lines different sources could be brought out according to their strengths to

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on medieval identities see also: Loveluck. *Northwestern Europe*. p. 3 and Gilchrist, Roberta, *Medieval Life: Archaeology and the Life Course*, Woodbridge: Boydell, 2012.

address different aspects of identity and Northumbrian society in greater detail. It is at this level that textual vignettes were brought in to serve as a lens upon the analysis of the archaeological sources. This thematic analysis will be discussed at the end of the chapter.

In the course of this thesis a range of archaeological sources will be discussed. These include coins, stone sculpture and non-ferrous metalwork among others obtained through the use of published excavation reports, the *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture* and the rich databases maintained by Canmore and the Portable Antiquities Scheme. Every source type brings with it issues, blindspots and biases unique to it. Sculptural evidence provides a largely monastic or ecclesiastic worldview but helps to illuminate the ideology of the communities that commissioned the work as well as the networks of influence they acted within. More importantly, these monuments may have been moved or altered after their original creation in ways that may obscure or hinder our understanding of the original audience pool and information that could be drawn from the intended setting.

Portable objects such as coins, brooches and strap ends and information taken from published excavation reports, Historic England, PAS and Canmore open their own insights and issues. These objects could travel widely and offer information of the penetration of artistic styles and economic and ideological diffusion. Through their inclusion they provide information about how the wider Northumbrian world and the people within it chose to express their identities as well as the extent to which they accepted and perpetuated the overarching trends of Northumbrian identity. At the same time, this mobility introduces some issues.

Particularly with metal detectorists' finds provenance and exact findspots rely on trust, and small items could easily have been moved or disturbed between its original deposition and the present. On a larger scale, different areas within the region that had once been the kingdom of Northumbria have received more archaeological excavations than others and interests and funds have tended to favour high status sites. This alongside environmental conditions skews visibility towards different areas of the country while simultaneously leaving the realities of life and the expression of cultures, community and identity for the wider range of society at risk of being masked.

Taken at face value, textual sources appear to provide a clear if circumspect view of the concerns and interests of some actors in the society of early medieval Northumbria. It is all too easy to forget that these texts were written by authors with their own aims and intentions for a particular audience. Particularly for Northumbria in this period, these documents also tend to emerge from monastic communities and have the intention to further their particular aims and the fortune of the centre and its patron. The majority of the textual primary sources have been chosen from examples written in or referring to events taking place in Northumbria between 600 CE and 867 CE. Others, those written either in Iona or in the southern kingdoms from the period more generally, provide some insights into the lifestyles and the lived experience of people in the rural settlements that spread through the northern kingdom. The works of Bede and a selection of hagiography as well as some Anglo-Saxon poetry and penitentials will be used as tools to support the interpretation of the archaeological and iconographic evidence along the themes

that form the hearts of the chapters to follow. These themes will be discussed below.

In order to approach the cultural landscape and realities of Northumbria it is crucial to appreciate the strengths and weaknesses of the source base. Each individual type of source – the sculptural data, the material culture, selected textual vignettes and the artistic insights accessible through manuscript illuminations and stylistic choices in personal ornamentation – offers its own inroad into the study of the cultures and communities of the past. All of these are enlightening and important. When used without the wider source base, however, this information losses some of its key context. By bringing them together to form an integrated approach it is possible to work towards an understanding of how all of the pieces fit together. Insights gleaned from the different sources can help to provide the context that is essential to understand both how the kingdom of Northumbria and the communities contained within its territory functioned and how the people living in different areas of the kingdom and at various socio-economic levels saw themselves and their surroundings. Did their local and regional identities exist alongside a sense of 'Northumbrian-ness'?

To explore the multi-scale expression of Northumbrian identities, the archaeological evidence needed to be sampled and analysed at two levels. The first level looked at evidence at the macro or kingdom-wide level. Material sources such as monumental sculpture and the patterns of coin loss served as key sources for this level of the study. The similarities and differences in the motifs on and the designs of the stone crosses and that found in manuscript illuminations, strap-ends, brooches and coinage helped to build an image of the networks that stretched

throughout the kingdom of Northumbria. Along with the different material footprints offered by the Northumbrian gold coinage, the silver *sceatta* and the later, widespread styca coinage, these trends indicated the extent to which these ideological and portable representations of a shared Northumbrian identity were present and used throughout the kingdom.

The second level of the study focused on three defined regions within the kingdom and the settlement hierarchies that developed within each. The more intricate study allowed for at the regional level will examine of a broader range of sources to serve as evidence for social hierarchy and identity continuity and discontinuity between the different types of settlements and between the regions. The material culture present will provide information on social networks in each region and on different levels of the settlement hierarchy. Not only will this provide insights on the levels to which different regions may or may not have accepted an overarching Northumbrian identity, but also whether and how this difference depended on an individual's social group and position in the wider regional hierarchy.

2.2 Two-Level Approach

In different settings within the kingdom, disparate settlement types and communities developed and were able to flourish. In addition to this, these diverse settlements had varying ease of and ability to access resources, trade routes and other networks depending on their different geographic settings. The different regions fostered certain ways in which social ranking and relationships in the community developed, as well as the level to which levels of the inhabitants could

access what might be thought of as luxury goods.[62] That is to say, communities on

the coast had greater opportunity to access trade goods over a larger range of the

social hierarchy. Thus individuals and groups such those who left the mid-ninth

century Talnotrie hoard – discovered in a burn off the River Cree near the Solway

Firth in modern-day Dumfries and Galloway – had access to foreign silver coinage

including two Abbasidd dirhams and gold and silver dress and personal

ornamentation engraved in the Trewhiddle style.[63] This made items that would be

viewed in inland settlements as luxury goods available only to the elite far more

common possessions.

The kingdom of Northumbria covered a large geographic area, encompassing

a variety of landscapes and seascapes. Not unlike the adaptations of subspecies

occurring in the natural world, these differences prompted regionally distinct

identities to develop. At the same time the inclusion and active involvement in the

networks of the overarching kingdom allowed for the development of a shared

Northumbrian identity. This regional distinction can best be seen in Bernicia. The

most striking example of it here was the slow and limited adoption of coinage as

suggested by the material footprint. At the same time, the shared iconography

found on monumental stonework and the similar motifs found on brooches and in

the illuminations found in manuscripts such as the Lindisfarne Gospels indicate a

shared Northumbrian tradition.

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[62] Loveluck. *Northwestern Europe.* p. 81

[63] Canmore Archaeology notes, https://canmore.org.uk/event/726936. This includes dress pins, a silver with niello inlays brooch and a gold finger ring along with thirteen coins, gold filigree and other items. The motif on one of the pins can be paralleled with Trewhiddle-style mounts found in Yorkshire.

These two layers of identities required different approaches so that they could be sufficiently and appropriately examined. First it was necessary to identify the key cultural regions within the kingdom. The first two of these areas were not difficult to determine. These were largely found along the lines of the formerly independent kingdoms whose combination formed Northumbria. The northern territory of Bernicia stretched from the River Forth in East Lothian down to the River Tees, while Deira provided its southern counterpart down to the Humber. The line of the Pennines provided a natural western border for these two regions. From the latter half of the seventh century and into the eighth the expansionist aims of the kings of Northumbria helped the kingdom to grow to incorporate large stretches of territory to the west of the original two political heartlands. This western region included Cumbria in the south and stretched north through Galloway into Ayrshire.

By outlining the three case study regions Northumbria in this way a two-scale approach to the data could be thoroughly developed. The macro-level looked at social and cultural trends in the different regions as well as throughout the kingdom. Using published excavation reports, textual sources, burial trends, sculptural data from relevant volumes of the *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture* and information taken from the Portable Antiquities Scheme database and Canmore, I examined the similarities and differences in culture, lifestyles, and how Northumbrians throughout the kingdom preferred to express their identities.

Within the larger case study regions, a closer examination of micro-regional trends could be conducted. This brought in the micro-regional level of the study. In order to follows the threads of culture and identity that emerged on the macro-scale and search for their existence and permutation within the wider, non-elite

population, a number of settlement sites were selected in each region. These sites were grouped into a hierarchy of different types based on their size, structure and purpose. Within these sites it was possible to engage in a closer study of the above media along with a more detailed examination of portable objects such as brooches and strap ends. Through this approach the character of the different settlements themselves as well as the trends that helped delineate the settlement hierarchy in the different regions became apparent. The ways in which societal power structure and hierarchy was expressed varied in each region. These differences can be seen in the arrangement, structure and relationships between the settlement types as they developed in the three regions as will be discussed in Chapter 4.

Using this foundation, I was able to begin to pick apart the variety of ways in which communities and individuals expressed their culture and identity in each region, and how that related to trends and developments that emerged at the kingdom-wide level of the study. This began the process of integrating the two levels of analysis to build an understanding of how far the emblems of Northumbria seen in its distinctive coinage and in the motifs used on stone monuments and in manuscript illumination penetrated into the wider rural world within the distinct regions. It also allowed for a deeper study of how the communities within the different regions chose to interact with and adapt these cultural markers through their use of coinage, and in their personal adornment and settlements.

By examining the identities that emerged at both regional and micro-regional levels the interplay of the two could be accessed and the comparative adherence to and value of Northumbrian-ness throughout the kingdom could be tested. Each person within a community adhered to a number of different layers of identity that

could be accessed depending on the social group or activity he or she engaged with at the any one time.   Alongside this, the communication of identity could be further differentiated depending upon an individual's social sphere, gender, status and occupation. Additionally, the relative geography of a settlement and the strength and ease of that community's links to larger networks of trade, travel and external communication compounded by the pre-existing cultural backgrounds present therein helped to shape the character of the shared identities as they developed within the different regions. By opening up a window on the varying ways that an individual may express their layered identities through this scaled approach their regional and hierarchical idiosyncrasies were brought to the fore.

2.2-1 Macro-scale Analysis

In order to begin the study of cultures and identities existing, interacting and thriving within the geographic space held by Northumbria, the kingdom of Northumbria was separated into three regions. This process had the additional benefit of marking key cultural zones with shared history and allowing for the clear and effective arrangement of data at an early stage of the process. These three regions were Bernicia in the northeast of the kingdom, Deira to the south bounded by the Pennines in the west and the Northwest stretching north into modern day Ayrshire. The geographic range of each of the three regions roughly corresponded with that of the case study regions discussed below where they will be described in more detail. At this level general trends and regional idiosyncrasies could be studied. By separating the entire area into the three main regions the large-scale similarities and differences became more apparent.

Site	Artefact Type	Approx	Class/Subclass	Decorative Motif	Ascribed Culture	Material	Surface Tr	Additional Notes	Parallels
Acomb	Brooch	600-650	Composite disc	Filigree annulets, beaded gold wire		Gold, garnet, glass		From high status grave assemblage, Treasure case: 2016T392	Kent
Allerthorpe	Strap End	800-900	Thomas B4	Zoomorphic design, incised lunate ears, drilled eyes and nostrils	anglo-Scandinavian	Copper alloy			Fishergate, York; Norwich, Northumberland Dundee
Barkton Ask	Toilet Implement	650-700		Pointed oval-faced bust wearing horned helmet. Odin	Scandinavian	Copper alloy		Probably imported from Sweden	Swedeb, Gotland, Denmark, Russia, Belgium and other English sites
Beningbrough	Pin	800-900	Kite	Three ring-and-dot motifs	anglo-Scandinavian	Copper alloy			York
Brimham	Box	700-900	Shrine Mount	Watch Spring spirals	Irish	Copper alloy	Blue Glass or Amber Inlaid	Possible Book Shrine piece	Komnes, Norway; Clonard, Co Meath
Buttercrambe	Strap End	800-900	Thomas A2	Zoomorphic terminal, rounded snout		Copper alloy			Meols
Carthorpe	Pendant	600-700	Oval	cabochon-cut stone		Gold and garnet		Treasure case: 2015T609	northamptonshire
Catterick	Annulet	500-700				Copper alloy		Female grave assemblage	Sewerby grave assemblage
Catterick	Brooch	500-700	Annular	Circles flanked by vertical lines		Copper alloy		Male grave assemblage	Anglo-Saxon cemetery at Fonaby, Lincolnshire
Cottom	Comb	800-900	Handled		Frisian	Antler			Textual references among Frisian merchant in York
Crayke	Sword	800-900	Upper guard		anglo-Scandinavian	Copper alloy			Berderkesa, Germany
Habton	Sword	800-900	Upper guard		anglo-Scandinavian	Copper alloy			Bederkesa, Germany
Hawnby	Hanging Bowl	600-700		Dots and diamond shapes		Copper alloy		Associated with female barrow burial	Decoration paralleled in the Book of Durrow and the Lindisfarne Gospels
Kellington	Pin	600-700	Spiral			Copper alloy			Caerwent; Binbrook, Lincolnshire
Kettlewell with Starbotton	Weaving Batten	800-900	Sword-beater		anglo-Scandinavian	Iron		Insular sword-beaters tend to be made of wood or bone, whereas iron is common in Norwegian examples. These would have been highly prized items and are often found among grave goods	Westness, Orkney; Coppergate, York
Kirk Deighton	Mount	600-700	Cloisonne	Geometric		Gold and garnet		Treasure Case: 2009T647	Isle of Wight
Market Weighton	Pin	700-900	Balloon			Silver			This type commonly found at Abbey sites
Riccall	Brooch	600-700	Composite disc	Thumb-knot, lattice pattern, T-shape collets in cruciform arrangement		Copper alloy, shell, garnet	Gilded	Treasure case: 2002T170	Kent
Ryther	Tweezers	750-850				Copper alloy			Flixborough
Selby	Pin	800-900	Kite	Five Ring-and-dot motifs	hiberno-norse	Copper alloy			Ireland, Eastern Britain, sites of the Irish trade routes
Selby	Pin	800-900	Kite	Three ring-and-dot motifs	hiberno-norse	Copper alloy			Ireland, Eastern Britain, sites of the Irish trade routes
Skipton	Weaving Batten	800-900				Iron			Coppergate, York; Linconshire graves
Sutton-on-the-Forest	Fitting	800-900		Animal head with snub nose, scrolls of beaded filigree wire		Gold		Treasure case: MMET255	Osfordshire. Hertfordshire, Alfred Jewel
Sutton-on-the-Forest	Hooked Tag	700-900		Kite-shaped		Silver	Niello Inlaid	Treasure case: 2004T50	Meols, Wirral and Ipswich, Suffolk
Thormanby	Hanging Bowl	700-800	Mount	Human face mask, champleve panel	Irish	Copper alloy	Enamel inlaid		Arnside, Cumbria
Wharram	Finger Ring	700-800		Scroll- and knot-work		Silver	Niello Inlaid, gilded	Treasure case: 2007T376	River Witham pins and Suffolk

fig. 1. Selection of material culture noting parallels. Information taken from the database of Deiran sites compiled for this thesis.

Defining the larger cultural zones within Northumbria the examination focused on looking at broad similarities and differences between the three areas. This study took place on the macro-scale and involved sources including texts and the trends of coin loss in the regions over time. In addition to these stone monuments in the different regions along with the choices of design and motif and the inclusion of inscriptions and the languages in which these were written offered an insight into ongoing currents of ideology and stylistic designs present in Northumbria. This level of the study provided the opportunity to look closer at the ways in which local communities imbued the landscape around them with meaning

and cultural significance. This process existed throughout Northumbria in

settlements such as Milfield, Doon Hill, the Mote of Mark and Yeavering either with

direct reference to the Romano-British and prehistoric landmarks or in the creation

of new communities and landmarks. These processes will be discussed in the

following chapter.[64]

Coin and sculptural data proved to be the optimum sources for the macro-

level investigation. Northumbrian coinage was identified as a key sign of

engagement in a shared Northumbrian identity. These objects were produced by

Northumbrian rulers, both secular and ecclesiastic. From the eighth century they

were marked with the name of the issuer or issuers. Compounding this, they carried

approved iconographic symbols. Their portability allowed these signs and symbols

of Northumbrian-ness to travel widely. The rate of coin loss over the period

considered here indicated the degree to which this method of communicating

identity penetrated into the different areas of the kingdom. The design and motifs

chosen for and purpose of sculpture (ie: namestones, stone crosses, pillars, etc.)

offered a way to pick out networks of exchange. Similarities and differences

between iconographic traditions indicated stands of influence connecting religious

communities that may have been separated by considerable physical distance.[65]

These networks of influence stretched between artisans working in different

materials as well, moving the discussion around these trends of influence beyond

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[64] To a lesser extent this practice also occurred with Roman settlements and stations such as Carlisle, York, Birdoswald and the potential Roman signal station at Hartlepool.

[65] In Northumbria, monumental sculpture tended to be executed for religious communities until after c. 867 CE.

the more elite and circumscribed audience of stone sculpture as became apparent

through the regional case studies.

2.2-2 *Regional Case Studies*

At the second level of analysis, I chose sites to be the subject of more focused

archaeological study. Whilst evidence could be drawn from a wide range of places

within each region, the vast majority of these sites provided either a small number of

objects or a large number of objects that provided information on a single aspect of

life for the people active at or living at that site. The information was useful and

certainly informative, but not diagnostic at a broad scale for the site, its region or the

kingdom. It was important to determine key sites within each region that could

provide a wide range of evidence in order to gain a better understanding at the

intricacies of life and society for the individuals and communities within the

settlements. With this information alongside the trends built up from the PAS,

Canmore and Historic England data I began to build an understanding of identities in

the regions and how these may have interacted with the cultural trends that

spanned the kingdom to create a possible shared Northumbrian identity.

A list of the selected optimal sites separated by region and settlement

hierarchy forms Appendix A at the end of the thesis. In choosing these sites it was

important to find different types of sites to represent the wider settlement hierarchy

found throughout the regions of Northumbria. It was also important to find sites

that offered a variety of source types. Thus, sites that had well-dated occupational

sequences as well as portable material goods, sculpture and stonework were vital.

This range of source types recorded at each settlement allowed for a context to be

built around the material footprint of the site. With this information, the networks and connections built between different sites and different regions, and the forms of expression favoured as seen through the motifs on metalwork and stone sculpture could be reconstructed. In this way the level to which people living at different levels of the social hierarchy and in different specialised groups within society engaged with an overarching Northumbrian identity and the methods of expressing identity preferred by each subgroup can be analysed.

From the sites identified as key indicators of life within each region an interpretation of site purpose or type was made. These designations were chosen in order to provide examples of the settlement hierarchy in each of the three regions. By examining the types of settlements present, the structure of the sites and the materials present, the consideration of how relationships and networks developed throughout the kingdom formed a central focus. It is this aspect of the present thesis that provides new insights into the people, communities and identities present in Northumbria. The synthesis of texts and material sources of a variety of natures on a large scale over the range of settlement types and regions the degree to which this identity penetrated the more remote areas of the kingdom may be moved towards.

2.2a Bernicia
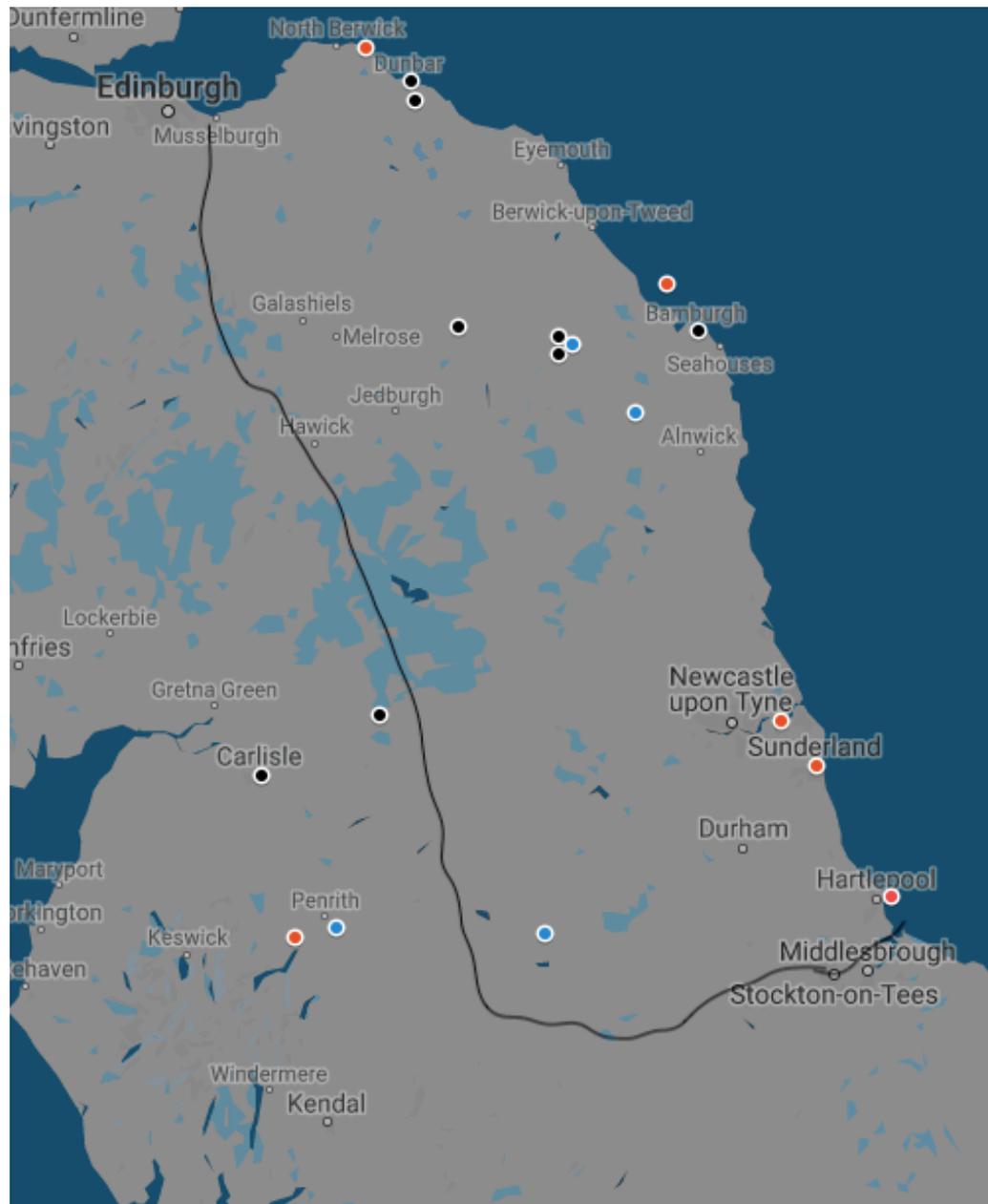
fig. 2. Map of Bernicia showing settlement sites used for the intra-regional study. Monastic settlements are marked in red, Central Administrative sites are marked in black and the wider rural settlement hierarchy are marked in blue.

The area covered by the pre-existing kingdom of Bernicia forms the heart of

the first region in the study. For the purpose of this study, the region will stretch

from the River Tees north to Lothian, incorporating the modern-day counties of

Durham and Northumberland, as well as portions of the southern Scottish border

region to a greater or lesser degree over time. Though the amount of extant

material in this region is lower than that from its southern neighbour, it was home to

a number of important monastic communities, such as Wearmouth, Jarrow, Melrose

and the Lindisfarne community, in addition to sites such as Bamburgh and Yeavering.

The presence of these relatively well-known religious houses and the amount and

skill of the manuscripts produced therein may have created a somewhat skewed

view of the region as representative of the core of Northumbrian cultural expression

and unity. The extent that this seems to be supported by the evidence of material

and textual evidence will be examined throughout the following chapters.

Prime Sites in Bernicia			
Name	Type	Latitude	Longitude
Auldhame	Monastery	56.0285 N	2.64002 W
Lindisfarne	Monastery	55.68077 N	1.80085 W
Wearmouth	Monastery	54.98029 N	1.48275 W
Jarrow	Monastery	54.90686 N	1.3838 W
Hartlepool	Monastery	54.69709 N	1.17587 W
Doon Hill	Administrative	55.97177 N	2.50324 W
Dunbar	Administrative	56.00208 N	2.51673 W
Sprouston	Administrative	55.61122 N	2.38412 W
Bamburgh	Administrative	55.60764 N	1.71482 W
Yeavering	Administrative	55.56751 N	2.10258 W
Thirlings	Other	55.8568 N	2.06703 W
New Bewick	Other	55.47441 N	1.88819 W
Holwick	Other	54.63605 N	2.14379 W

fig. 3. Prime sites selected in Bernicia arranged by type.

In selecting and arranging sites for the more detailed and intensive level of

the study a range of three primary settlement types were highlighted. The chief

among these were central administrative sites. These included the more famous

sites of Yeavering, Milfield and Bamburgh as well as Sprouston, Dunbar and Doon

Hill. Such settlements acted as rural administrative sites serving as seats of power within the local landscape.   What is important to note is that for these significant sites, their status is not necessarily reflected in their size. The key distinguishing features of these sites were the inclusion of palisaded enclosure structures and some potential for fortification. These sites acted as central places and seats of power in the landscape. Their structure and arrangement allowed them to be nodes for the collection of goods through taxation while also acted as places for the surrounding communities to congregate to for justice, safety or celebration.

Alongside the seats of secular administration, monasteries served as important centres of power and provide a wealth of resources to inform the present study. In Bernicia Wearmouth and Jarrow, Hartlepool and Auldhame have been highlighted for the archaeological information as well as the textual resources provided by Wearmouth and Jarrow. The early Christian monasteries produced the vast majority of the monumental stone sculpture in Northumbria between 600 and 867 CE, after which under the influence of Scandinavian and Norse settlers secular sculpture became more common. Not only do these sites provide portable artefacts and monuments but by the end of the seventh century and increasing into the eighth century and beyond these sites have large records of burial activity both for the monastic communities as well as for the surrounding area.

The rural landscape was filled with a range of settlement sites of various sizes and socio-economic positions. To represent the wider rural settlement hierarchy present in Bernicia, Thirlings, New Bewick and Simy Folds have served as key sites in the study. These sites lacked the large enclosures of the central administrative sites, though many including the larger settlement site of Thirlings seem to have possessed

considerable regional significance.[66] The information from these sites help

illuminate the range of lifestyles, craftworking and communities that existed outside

of the more well-known elite sites. By including these sites non-elite identities can

begin to be examined.

2.2b Deira
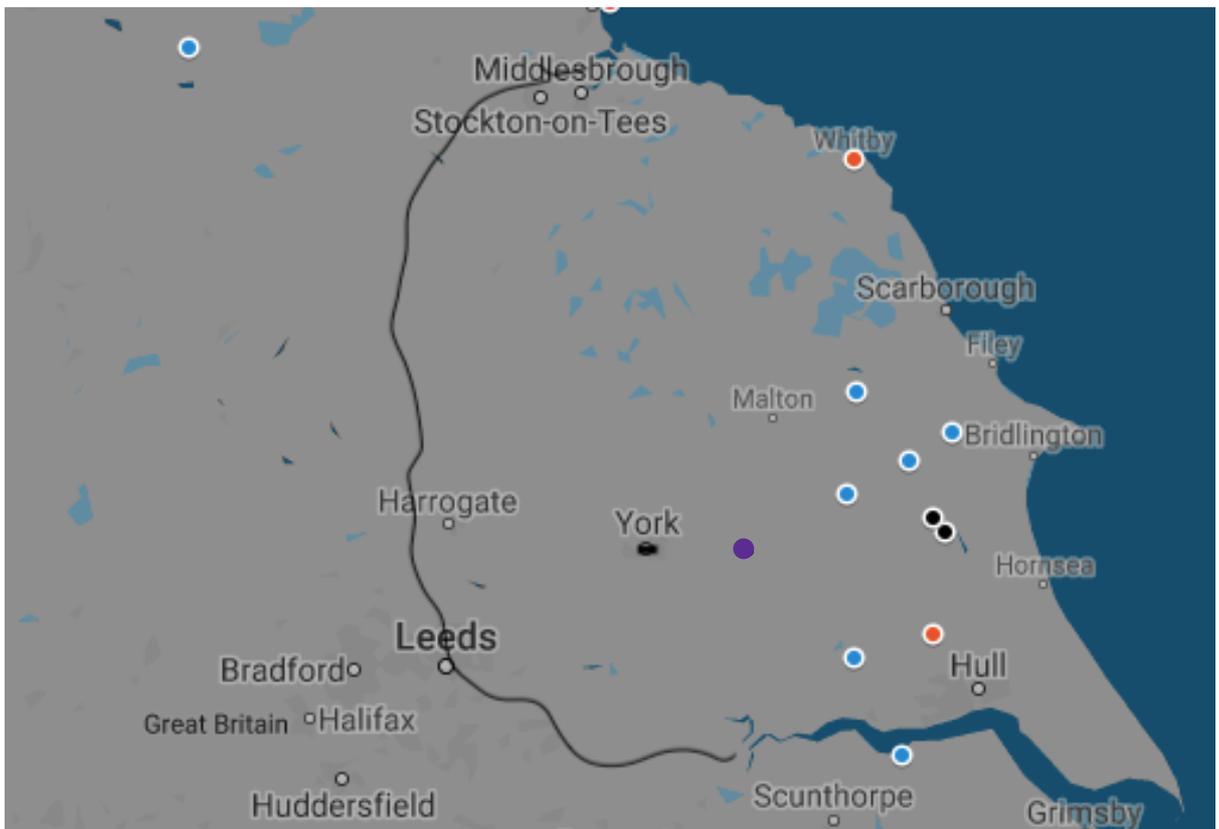
fig. 4. Map of Deira. Monastic settlements are marked in red, Central Administrative sites are marked in black and the wider rural settlement hierarchy are marked in blue. To represent the uniquely multi-focal nature of York, the site has been marked in purple

After this northern region, the second region that will be considered is

centred on the Deiran heartland to the south. Deira as it is considered for the

purpose of this thesis covers the Humber Estuary to the River Tees, containing the

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[66] Loveluck. '"The Romano-British to Anglo-Saxon Transition" – Social Transformations from the Late Roman to Early Medieval Period in Northern England, AD 400-700'. p. 138

Yorkshire Wolds. To the west the region is bounded by the Pennines. This area in

particular offers a wide variety of source types throughout the period considered in

this study. Material culture has survived and perhaps more importantly been

recovered and studied to a much greater degree than the other two regions

considered here. In part, this may be skewed by the presence of York which has

been a site of large archaeological projects and studies. In addition to this, though,

this may reflect a difference of visible cultural expression in the region, particularly in

burial trends.

Prime Sites in Deira			
Name	**Type**	**Latitude**	**Longitude**
Whitby	Monastery	54.48633 N	0.61334 W
Beverley	Monastery	53.84196 N	0.43509 W
Driffield	Administrative	54.00154 N	0.43467 W
Skerne	Administrative	53.98345 N	0.40587 W
York	Multifocal	53.9617 N	1.0877 W
West Heslerton	Other	54.17176 N	0.60793 W
Thwing	Other	54.1158 N	0.39029 W
Cottam	Other	54.07799 N	0.48716 W
Fimber	Other	54.03485 N	0.63019 W
South Newbald	Other	53.81054 N	0.61477 W
North Ferriby	Other	53.67633 N	0.50528 W

fig. 5. Prime sites selected in Deira arranged by type

York was rather unique as a settlement in Northumbria. It grew to be a large

multi-focal centre incorporating areas of secular, ecclesiastic and monastic influence.

Alongside this elite presence a strong segment of merchants, included foreign

visitors, free people and artisans developed in Fishergate and Coppergate along the

River Ouse. Reflecting the importance and dynamic nature of the settlement, York

provides a large range of sources relating to individuals over the range of socio-

economic hierarchy from the elite actors representing secular and sacred power to the artisans and tradespeople who made their livelihoods in the region. The ways in which these different levels interacted here will be of particular interest.

Outside of this outlier, the chief settlements in Deira acted as high-status estate sites. These settlements, with Driffield acting as a key example, were built over a large area incorporating a range of different terrain in order to take full advantage of the surrounding landscape. For Driffield in particular, Skerne and Cottam acted as ancillary sites on the riverside and in the uplands respectively. Though these outlying sites possessed a strong connection to the central site, the material footprint reflects the different activities engaged in locally and the functions they each filled.

Just as the Bernician monasteries reflected the chief secular sites in the northeast, the Deiran examples similarly acted as counterparts to the high-status estate centres. Here, the monasteries included for a more intensive study were the famous seat of Hild at Whitby and the monastery at Beverley. These sites provide a wealth of information on the trade networks and metalworking activities that each site engaged in. Moreover, they show how different monastic sites expressed their affiliation through the design and motifs used on monumental stonework. Monasteries were well connected both with their surrounding local landscape and to wider networks extending into the continent. Through the stonework and portable artefacts found at these sites these connections will be explored in detail.

The rural landscape of Deira provided ample fertile land, both in the lowland regions and on the Moors. In the post-Roman period, people living in Romano-British-style settlements began to adopt Anglo-Saxon cultural artefacts. Many of

these former Romano-British nucleated 'ladder' settlements and farmsteads

provided the locations for the later culturally Anglo-Saxon communities.[67]   The

tendency to site Anglo-Saxon settlements either alongside or in direct reference to

their Romano-British forbearers does more than simply show a continuity of

cultivation. These choices suggest a fair amount of continuity of the local population

in the region as new influences and popular cultural objects came into fashion and

synthesised with older traditions. These sites show a range of artisan activities that

the communities living within them engaged in, as well as the development of

identities incorporating the past and the contemporary realities and influences. The

sites that offer a range of information for these types of settlements in Deira include

Thwing, Fimber, North Ferriby along the Humber estuary and South Newbald.

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[67] Loveluck, Christopher. 'The Archaeology of Post-Roman Yorkshire, AD 400 to 700: Overview and Future Directions for Research' in *The Archaeology of Yorkshire: An Assessment at the Beginning of the 21st Century*, eds. T.G. Manby, Stephen Moorhouse and Patrick Ottaway, Huddersfield: The Charlesworth Group, 2003. p. 163

2.2c The Northwest
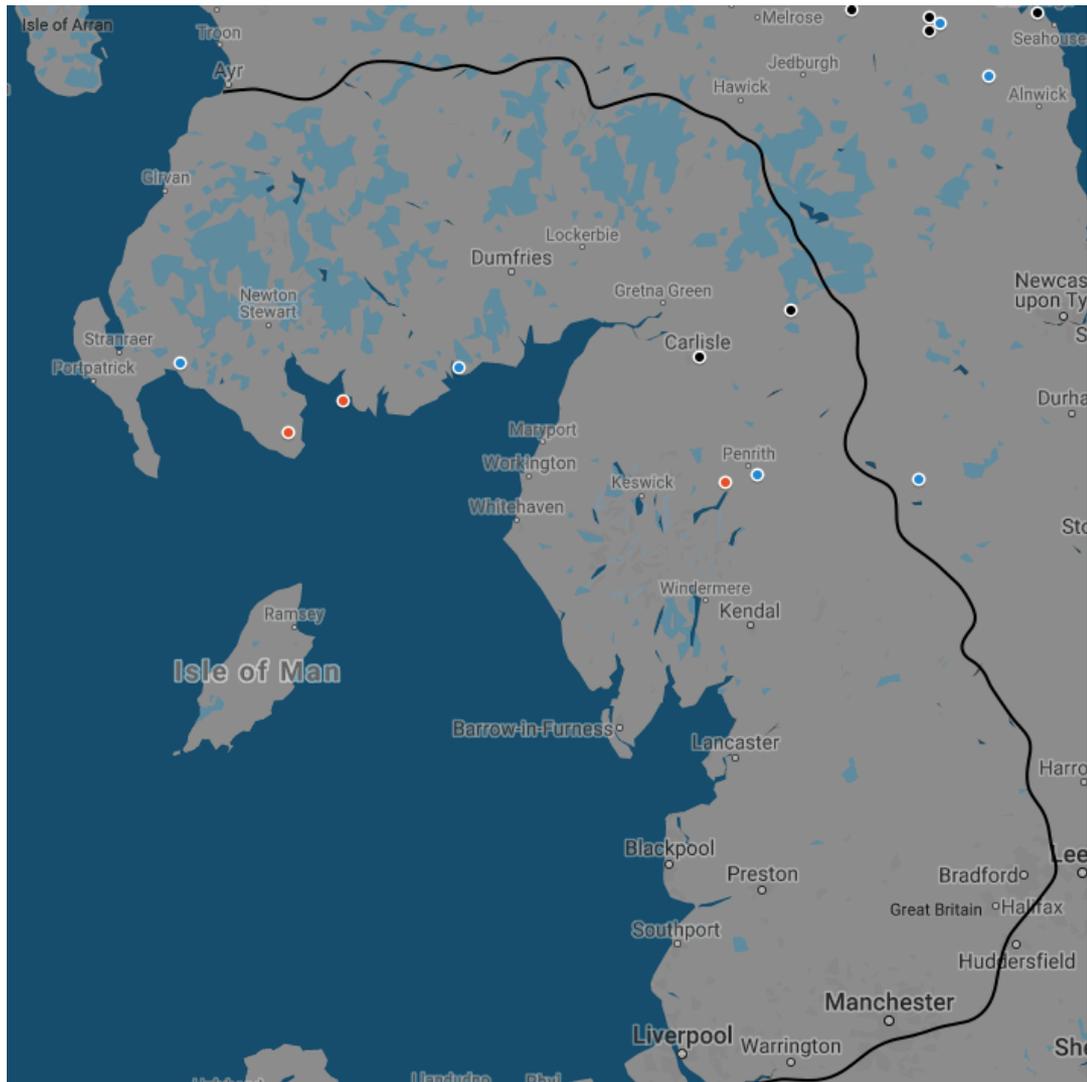
fig. 6. Map of the Northwest. Monastic settlements are marked in red, Central Administrative sites are marked in black and the wider rural settlement hierarchy are marked in blue.

The third area used in this study incorporates the Western region of

Northumbria. Though firmly planted in the northwest communities in the region

accessed land and sea trade routes that brought it into contact with Deira and the

southern kingdoms while remaining connected to the Irish Sea and the trade routes

spanning the region of Hadrian's Wall. Cumbria in Northern England and Western

Scotland into the Ayrshire regions bordering on the Firth of Clyde comprise this last

region. Unlike the previous areas, this region fell into Northumbrian control more

gradually through the seventh century. While there are fewer excavated

settlements in this area, and the written material is similarly less abundant, the

region provides an interesting case study. This relatively recent addition to the

kingdom at the time considered in this study (600-867), offers the ability to explore

several interesting questions. It will suggest the ease of access to and openness

towards Northumbrian cultural identity in the West. Furthermore, the expression of

this identity, should it be present, may lend weight to the shape and texture of a

shared Northumbrian identity. Though the other regions formed the core of the

original kingdom, the West presents an opportunity to reflect upon Bernician and

Deiran identities and will help to unveil how differences in regions and the networks

communities interacted with and effected the lives of those within them.

Prime Sites in the Northwest			
Name	Type	Latitude	Longitude
Ardwall Isle	Monastery	54.4914 N	4.1320 W
Whithorn	Monastery	54.73483 N	4.41489 W
Birdoswald	Administrative	54.98971 N	2.60315 W
Carlisle	Administrative	54.89247 N	2.93293 W
Luce Sands	Other	54.87995 N	4.80879 W
Mote of Mark	Other	54.86932 N	3.80178 W
Brougham	Other	54.64486 N	2.72564 W

fig. 7. Prime sites selected in the Northwest region arranged by type.

Similar to Bernicia, the chief settlement sites in the Northwest appear to

have been structured as administrative centres for the surrounding landscapes. In

this region unlike in Bernicia and Deira there is a fair amount of reuse of former

Roman forts for these larger sites. For the Northwest Carlisle and Birdoswald have

served as examples of the structure and function of these types of sites. These

centres acted alongside larger religious settlements such as Whithorn and Dacre, whose material footprint provides ample information relating to the active involvement in international trade both before it became part of Northumbria and extending through the ninth century. These sites provide information through iconographic choices on stone monuments about the interaction of different regions of Northumbria and the development of a shared sense of Northumbrian identity that stretched into the religious setting. Alongside the larger religious houses, there remained an element of smaller, more austere monasteries such as that found on Ardwall Island. These sites show a strong blending of Irish and Anglo-Saxon influences through the cemetery data, choices of building styles and structure and the motifs decorating portable artefacts present.

The wider rural settlement hierarchy in the Northwest included traditional hill fort sites alongside villages showing strong Anglo-Saxon settlement structures. Sites such as the hillfort Mote of Mark show a high volume and quality of metalworking, bone and antler crafting and incorporated Anglo-Saxon script and design. This site alongside remote beach landing sites provide examples of the range of non-elite settlement types in the region. The range of materials both found at these sites and the evidence of active production indicate the degree to which these communities, though seemingly remote, maintained strong connections both with the wider Northumbrian trade and with international networks. These connections inform the understanding of the communities and identities that developed and thrived in these sites.

2.3. Data Creation

The archaeological data required for the study needed to be recorded and arranged in a way that allowed it to be used to understand the material footprint over the kingdom of Northumbria. To represent the differences in pre-Northumbrian development while also allowing the collected data to be arranged in a way that produced a clearer picture of the regional cultures, the kingdom was separated into three regions: Bernicia in the Northeast, Deira centred on Yorkshire and the Northwest beyond the Pennines stretching along the Irish Sea. These three regions and the key sites within them will be discussed below. The main purpose of this arrangement being to focus more upon the types of sources present in each of the main regions and how to best use these sources to reveal insights into the different levels of the communities present.

2.3a Data Creation at the Macro-Level

Using these regions as guides, a series of databases were created to contain the information. Each region has a database containing sculptural data, one containing the portable artefacts and one containing burial data. Given the size of each individual database, they cannot be included in their entirety here. Therefore, selections from the databases including coin data and sculptural data will be included in appendices. In these databases, using the invaluable resources provided by published excavation reports of settlement sites within Northumbria, the Portable Antiquities Scheme, Canmore for sites in Scotland and Historic Environment Records, the types of finds and relevant data were recorded. The longitude and latitude of the findspots was also recorded so that the information could be mapped.

The coin data and the sculptural information provide an insight into how certain social identities was disseminated and expressed on a kingdom wide basis. The type of motif and the number of coins found over time can be used to assess the degree to which each region utilised and incorporated these forms of expression of identity. Using these databases and mapping the finds allows for the exploration and study of networks and identities within the local setting as well as the connections and influences drawn from the kingdom wide networks and stretching beyond it further to the North, Ireland and the continent. Appendix B at the end of this thesis will show a database of the coins recorded by region.

The same process was then followed for the monumental stonework and sculpture found within each region. The find sites and the longitude and latitude of the items was recorded for all sources included in the databases. The sculpture databases included monumental pillars and crosses as well as architectural features, stone thrones and stools and grave markers both inscribed namestones and their non-engraved counterparts. After that I noted any motifs or iconography carved on the stone followed by interlace designs, vine- and scrollwork where appropriate. Any inscriptions were noted as well as the script and language they were carved in. Finally, I noted any parallels, primarily focusing on sculptural similarities throughout the kingdom and northwest Europe but including similar artistic trends and motifs found in manuscripts and on metalworks such as strap ends. Appendix C at the end of this thesis records a database of the sculpture by region. The following data standard was developed for stone sculpture:

- *Sites*
- *Sculpture*
- *Latitude*
- *Longitude*
- *Approximate Date*
- *Iconography (separated by Face of the object where necessary)*
- *Plant/Inhabited Scrollwork (separated by Face where necessary)*
- *Interlace (separated by Face where necessary)*
- *Inscription, Language and Script*
- *Parallels*

2.3b *Data Creation at the Regional Level*

After creating the basis of the study at the macro-level, I chose key

settlements within each region. Using information from these sites, I assembled the

micro-level of the study. In the database created for the occupational sequence the

type of structures at different sites were recorded. Where possible the sequence of

structures on one foundation was recorded, noting period of use, foundation type,

material, size and alignment. The following data standard was developed for

occupational sequence:

- *Site*
- *Latitude*
- *Longitude*
- *Date of Construction*
- *Foundation*
- *Type*
- *Material*
- *Length*
- *Width*
- *Height/Depth*
- *Post Holes*
- *Door Placement*
- *Alignment*
- *Associated Finds*
- *Structure ID*
- *Notes*

At these sites, the information recorded could be considered in more detail and greater depth than the general trends built at the macro-level. The regional level analysis began at the structural footprint of settlements and the settlement hierarchies of each region. The differences between the three regions of Northumbria influenced how local and overarching identities developed and how they were expressed. The regions provided the settings for the performance of identity and the physical structure of these settings helped steer the ways in which communities interacted with the wider kingdom. In turn these networks helped build the layered identities in the regions as iconography, design motifs and ideology spread as seen through similarities between manuscript illuminations, metalwork and sculpture.[68]

After recording the structural setting at the settlement sites, the wider material footprint of the sites could then be analysed. Sculpture, coinage and selected non-ferrous metal objects and metalworking tools provided evidence of networks of exchange and social expression between different sites and different regions. The metalwork included dress accessories such as brooches and strap ends as well as fittings for books, shrines and helmets. The following data standard was developed for portable material culture**:**

- *Sites*
- *Artefact Type*
- *Latitude*
- *Longitude*
- *Approximate date*
- *Class/Subclass*
- *Motif*
- *Reverse Motif/Colour*

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[68] Craib. *Experiencing Identities.* p. 4.

- *Inscription*
- *Ascribed Culture*
- *Material*
- *Notes*
- *Parallels*

In this database, the object type was recorded, along with its approximate date of construction, type and subtype, colour, motif, material, ascribed culture and manufacture method. The objects included in this database ranged from glass and pottery shards, brooches, strap ends, moulds, whetstones and loom weights along with other items such as rings and combs. Not all of these items may serve to answer the questions posed here, but the breadth of information was necessary for the insights that may be possible from the items. The additional notes also served to provide a place to connect the burial data where appropriate allowing for items found in a grave assemblage to be highlighted. A similar column on included items was kept in the latter database. Through the study, it became evident that some of these media were more diagnostic for cultural trends and identity in the kingdom than others.

2.3c *Methodology for an Integrated Analysis*

After collecting the data and distilling the relevant information along the headings listed for each type of source the archaeological sources could then be analysed to move towards a consideration of the layered social identities. At the macro-level the sculpture and coinage proved the most diagnostic providing an insight into the level to which overarching trends seen through the kingdom permeated the different regions of Northumbria.

The distribution of sculpture and coinage through space and time across the whole of Northumbria between roughly 600 and 850 CE was analysed. On this level the differences between the use and dissemination of the denominations of coins used in Northumbria throughout the period indicated striking differences through the three regions. This indicated the extent to which the wider range of the population of the kingdom used and interacted with the coinage of Northumbria. While the distribution of coins by denomination provided important evidence for how sites interacted with kingdom-wide trends, sculpture provided valuable information for distribution and purpose of monumental stonework by date and on different types of sites throughout the regions of Northumbria. Moreover, questions of audience could be investigated. By analysing the settlement types at which sculpture tended to be found and the purpose these objects served the data allowed for an investigation of whether monumental sculpture in different regions was intended to address a larger subsection of the population or whether it was directed to a specialised social sphere.

On the regional level the distinct distributions of different denominations found in the coin data offered insight into the use and importance of coins over time. The coin loss footprints of each denomination allowed for an analysis of how these trends varied depending on the settlement hierarchy and location. The iconography and motifs used on monumental sculpture acted as signs of the networks that existed between the regions and between different artisans working in different types of materials. Thus, when looked at in relation to the motifs found on the dress accessories and metal fittings as well as that found in extant manuscript illuminations the networks of influence between different social and artistic spheres

and the separate regions could be charted. Moulds and other objects used for metalworking allowed for questions to be posed relating to specialised sites in different regions and the dissemination of iconography. The designs found in moulds, such as the winged calf found at Hartlepool, helped strengthen the networks that emerged from this data set.

As the two sets of data were integrated in this manner, bringing out the idiosyncratic ways in which emblems of Northumbrian identity were used and adapted in the three regions of the kingdom did two things. First it showed the dissemination of the shared Northumbrian identity through both the widespread landscape and the social hierarchy. Its spread built upon trade routes, art and iconography, the growing strength of Northumbrian traders and the evolution of its distinct coinage over time. This aspect of Northumbrian life formed the core of what I built this study to delve into. These themes will be discussed in detail in the chapters that follow.

The second thing that the integration of the macro- and micro-regional studies did was provide a map for its presentation. The evidence at both levels of the study provided sketches of different aspects of life in communities throughout the kingdom of Northumbria. It provided the basis for understand the identities at play there. These were identities that any individual could take upon themselves or be foisted upon the individual along with its associated expectations, responsibilities and stereotypes at different times, in different settings and depending on the circumstances. Some of these identities were useful at the macro-level and others when dealing with more local or communal relations at the micro-level. These identities could shift and change over time, such as being a child, becoming a young

unmarried woman and later growing old perhaps as a widow or entering a

monastery.

The interplay of identity and the different methods and materials in which it

could be expressed lead to a thematic presentation of the evidence. The following

chapters are each built around this dynamic play of people, culture and things, all of

whose meanings and roles could shift and change depending on whether they acted

on broader issues that played into inter-regional or foreign matters or whether they

gained more significance at a local level within communities and their

surroundings.[69] Each theme relates to an aspect that helped shape, influence or

express the identities at play in Northumbria and how they interacted and adapted

between 600 CE and 867 CE. In order to set the scene and bring the reader in to the

discussion, each begins with a brief textual vignette that is used to illuminate the

ways in which the theme plays into the material culture discussed through the

chapters. By bringing together this two-scale approach, discussing the evidence that

emerged through this integration along thematic chapters and framing these with

the textual vignettes, this thesis will discuss how the three regions of Northumbria

adapted the kingdom-wide identity in different way that suited their local settings

and cultural history through the use of material culture, stonework and iconography.

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[69] Jenkins. *Rethinking Ethnicity.* p. 41. Siân Jones discusses this shifting nature of identity as it appears in archaeology as well how these emerged and interacted in a number of works. Cf. Jones. *The Archaeology of Ethnicity.* p. 13 and Jones, Siân. 'Archaeology and the Construction of Community Identities' in *Archaeology for All: Community Archaeology in the early 21st Century: Participation, Practice and Impact,* eds. Michael Nevell and Norman Redhead, Centre for Applies Archaeology, University of Salford: Birstall, Leicester, 2015.

3. Landscapes and the Construction of Northumbrian Identities:
Location, Space and Conversion

One day when king Oswald was encamping in readiness for battle, sleeping on his pillow in his tent he saw a vision of Saint Columba. . .Thus in the vision Saint Columba spoke to the king, and added: 'This coming night your enemies shall be turned to flight, and your adversary Catlon shall be delivered into your hands. . .' The King, awakened after these words, related this vision to the assembled council. All were thereby strengthened, and the whole people promised that after returning from the battle they would believe, and accept baptism[70]

The place is still shown today and is held in great veneration where Oswald, when he was about to engage in battle, set up the sign of the holy cross. . .And even to this day many people are in the habit of cutting splinters from the wood of the holy cross…[71]

At the end of the seventh century, King Oswald and the Battle of Heavenfield, when the Northumbrian heir to the throne triumphed in battle against Cadwallon, is referenced in the works of both Bede and Adomnán. In Bede's story of the coming of Christianity to the kingdoms, the king of Gwynedd becomes a treacherous pagan usurper standing against the valiant Northumbrian king.[72] Both authors implicitly

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[70] Adomnán. *Vita Sancti Columbae.* eds. and trans Alan Orr Anderson and Marjorie Ogilvie Anderson, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991, Book I Ch. 1, 8b-9a.
'*Hujus talis honorificentiae viro honorabili ab Omnipotente coelitus collatae etiam unum proferemus exemplum, quod Ossualdo regnatori Saxonico, pridie quam contra Catlonem Britonum regem fortissimum praeliaretur, ostensum erat. nam cum idem Ossualdus rex esset in procinctu belli castra metatus, quadam die in suo papilione supra pulvillum dormiens, sanctum Columbam in visu videt forma corscantem agelica; cujus alta proceritas vertice nubes tangere videbatur. Qui scilicet vir beatus, suum regi proprium revelans nomen, in mdeio castrorum stans, eadem castra, excepta quadam parva extremitate, sui protegebat fulgida veste; et haec confirmatoria contulit verba, eadem scilicet quae Dominus ad Jesue Ben Nun ante transitum Jordanis, mortuo Moyse, prolocutus est, dicens: Confortare et age viriliter; ecce ero tecum etc. Sanctus itaque Columba, haec ad regem in visu loquens, addit: Hac sequenti nocte de castris ad bellum procede; hac enim vice mihi Dominus donavit ut hostes in fugam vertantur tui, et tuus Catlon inimicus in manus tradatur tuas, et post bellum victor revertaris, et feliciter regnes. Post haec verba experrectus rex senatui congregato hanc enarrat visionem; qua confortati omnes, totus populus promittit se post reversionem de bello crediturum et baptismum suscepturum: nam usque in id temporis tota illa Saxonia gentilitatis et ignorantiae tenebris obscurata erat, excepto ipso rege Ossualdo, cum duodecim viris, qui cum eo Scotos inter exulante baptizati sunt.*'
[71] Bede. *Historia Ecclesiastica*, Book III Ch. 2.
'*Nam et usque hodiemulti de ipso ligno sacrosanctae crucis astulas exidere solent , quas cum in aquas miserint, mox sanitati restituuntur.*'
[72] This statement cannot be taken as reliable information. Rather than that, it does more to serve Bede's purpose of promoting Northumbria's status as a chosen land, whose kings and holy men enjoy a special relationship with the Christian god. By facing and eventually defeating an overwhelming pagan force led by a strong king who had slaughtered Edwin, the overlord who first welcomed and

acknowledge the importance of the place and the events that happened upon it, though each chose different aspects to emphasis. Adomnán - an Irish-born monk writing the hagiography of his fellow countryman St. Columba – placed the event in the first chapter of the text's first book, stressing the saint's ability to confer great power to those who pray for his aid and his role in bringing Christianity to the Northumbrians. The events are brought to the fore in order to reinforce Columba's status as a powerful intercessor with the divine. The focus is upon the interaction between the saint and the Northumbrian heir apparent in such a way as to display the direct connection to the Christian god that could be accessed through the veneration of Columba. In this light, Adomnán shows how the victory of Oswald, the future king and a saint in his own right, relied to a large extent on Columba's own status as an insuperable intercessor.[73]

The scope of the action is broadened by Bede in the *Historia Ecclesiastica,* both in terms of space and time. Rather than the immediate effect, it is the ripples that resulted that become important. For Bede, it is what Oswald's faith brings to the land and his people through time that resonates. Bede structures this scene of miraculous conversion to portray how the Christian god empowered and enriched the kingdoms of England and how the power of the Church reverberated and remained potent through time. The focus of the scene at Heavenfield in Bede's

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promoted Christianity in Northumbria, Bede emphasises this distinction while at the same time portraying these battles as religious endeavours rather than struggles for regional dominance.

[73] This strategy could be working both ways. Daphne Brooke has argued that King Oswald's cult was well established in Galloway before Adomnán wrote Columba's hagiography around 692 CE. Opening the text with the miracle makes the relationship between the Irish saint and the royal martyr absolutely clear. By interceding on behalf of Oswald, Columba could be seen as making the Northumbrian king's sainthood possible, thus further enhancing the Ionan based cult. Brooke, Daphne. 'Northumbrian Settlements in Galloway and Carrick: An Historical Assessment', *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, Vol. 121, 1991. p. 298-299

retelling moves from the actors in it to how the actions taken there left a lasting mark upon the land itself. It becomes a case study for how memories and messages are mapped onto the landscape and how these catalyse lasting effects on the people around it.

In this chapter, the ways in which communal memory and identity were signified through the use of the landscape and physical monuments will be examined to discuss how methods of communicating ideology and belief evolved over time and adapted to the needs of different regions of Northumbria. Conversion here is not solely concerned with conversion in a religious sense. It is rather a conversion of mentalities and how these mental landscapes effected the ways in which communities and individuals marked out the physical landscape. This can be extended to the materials used in the construction of monuments, or how those materials were arranged or decorated to give the impression of being something else.[74] What is of interest in the following pages is the ways that landscape, the choice and deployment of material culture and publicly displayed monumental structures manipulated how individuals saw the world as a whole and their particular community's place within it.

3.2 Monumentality and Memory

Land and how communities structure their settlements within it provided an important tool to combat the problem of communication over the distances that

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[74] This conversion of materials can be seen in the use of wood and stone in construction both of buildings and of monuments. In particular, there was a wooden church at Hartlepool which was painted to convey the appearance of stone. The implications of this will be discussed in further detail below.

separated individual communities. The interplay between land and people affected the communication, reception and understanding of ideology and served to shape a communal identity. By marking the landscape out in this way, communities began to build a usable environment onto which memories and identities could be grafted and disseminated.[75] Whether through the construction and display of monuments or through the physical position of a settlement in the landscape, Northumbrians crafted an identity for themselves rooted in and performed through a relationship with the land.[76] The ways in which this method was put into practice varied over the different areas of Northumbria, with communities adapting it for their local environment. The materials used varied as well depending on place, time and purpose. The use of the natural and prehistoric landmarks provided the most direct method of this while also conveying the most inherent and immediate meaning for those living within that landscape.

The location of, and land surrounding a settlement offered more than a platform on which a community could be built and grow. In post-Roman Britain, the new communities incorporating both native Britons and continental migrants created novel syncretic identities for themselves.[77] In these young communities to cement both their positions of prominence as well as their people's right to the land, incoming elites looked to the land around them, and in particular areas in which the natural features took an unusual or notable form. By connecting themselves and their people's identity to these features, they could simultaneously work to

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[75] Fleming, Robin. *Britain After Rome: The Fall and Rise 400 to 1070*. London: Penguin Books Ltd., 2010, p. 90
[76] Semple, Sarah. *Perceptions of the Prehistoric in Anglo-Saxon England*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013, p. 99
[77] Fleming. *Britain after Rome.* p. 59

legitimise themselves and their presence as well as set a concrete, visible reminder

of the shared group identity to strengthen the bonds of the community.[78]

Fortunately, the landscape offered ample opportunities to inscribe themselves upon

the land, merging their communal identity with the sense of permanence offered by

the stone and earthen structures.

Northumbria is rich with barrows and stone circles, though their prominence

and abundance vary in the separate regions. These sites, and what they

represented, offered ample opportunity for the fashioning of group identity.[79]

Settlements in both the Bernician and Deiran regions of Northumbria show clear

relationships with the ritual landscapes that surrounded them that continued at least

into the early eighth century.[80] In the Deiran heartland, the site of Driffield shows

careful use of the existing landscape both in the settlement location and in cemetery

arrangement.[81] To the north-east, in what was Bernicia, landscape also influenced

settlement choice. The royal sites of Yeavering and the slightly later site at Milfield

were built with deliberate reference to the complex ritual landscapes of stone

circles, henges and ring barrows that surrounded them.[82] The use of these sites by

elite members of society suggests the potency of the memories of the past held in

the landscape. By rooting themselves into these landscapes, and thereby enmeshing

themselves into the past symbolised in the barrows, henges and stone circles,

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[78] Howe, Nicholas. *Writing the Map of Anglo-Saxon England: Essays in Cultural Geography,* London: Yale University Press, 2008. p. 33; Fleming. *Britain after Rome.* p. 90

[79] Driscoll, Stephen T. 'Picts and Prehistory: Cultural Resource Management in Early Medieval Scotland', *World Archaeology,* Vol. 30, Iss. 1, June 1998. p. 143

[80] Semple. *Perceptions of the Prehistoric.* p. 98

[81] Loveluck, Christopher. 'The Development of the Anglo-Saxon Landscape, Economy and Society 'On Driffield' East Yorkshire' in *Anglo-Saxon Studies in Archaeology and History*, Vol. 9, 1996, p. 30. The relationship between Deiran cemeteries and the landscape will be discussed in more detail below.

[82] Fleming. *Britain after Rome.* p. 102

members of the society, and particularly those who possessed some wealth and influence, could grasp at and shore up the legitimacy of their power and prestige.

What made these sites peculiarly potent was their prominence. These were highly visible touchstones for the past that served to physically mark out the landscape. The mental weight carried in the landscape is reflected in the Anglo-Saxon epic poem *Beowulf*.

> *Then the Geat people began to construct*
> *a mound on a headland, high and imposing,*
> *a marker that sailors could see from far away*
> *and in ten days they had done the work.*
> *It was their hero's memorial; what remains from the fire*
> *They housed inside, behind a wall*
> *As worthy of him as their workmanship could make it.*
> *And they buried torques in the barrow, and jewels*
> *and a trove of such things as trespassing men*
> *had once dared to drag from the hoard.[83]*

The poem survives in one manuscript dating from the late-tenth to early eleventh centuries, and there is much debate over the dating of the original poem and how it may have changed when it moved from oral to written tradition. [84] As with all

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[83] *Beowulf,* trans. Seamus Heaney. London: W. W. Norton & Compan Ltd, 2000, lns 3156-3165
> *Geworhton ða Wedra leode*
> *hleo on hoe, se wæs heah ond brad,*
> *weg-liðendum wide gesyne,*
> *ond betimbredon. On tyn dagum*
> *beadu-rofes becn; bronda lafe*
> *wealle beworhton, swa hyt weorðlicost*
> *fore-snotre men. Findan mihton.*
> *Hi on beorg dydon beg ond siglu,*
> *eall swylce hyrsta, swlce on horde ær*
> *nið-hedige men. genumen hæfdon;*

[84] Newton, Sam. *The Origins of Beowulf and the Pre-Viking Kingdom of East Anglia.* Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 1993. p. 29, 31, 37. Newton argued that the poem's transmission began around the mid-sixth- to early seventh centuries using a range of sources and highlights similarities found in the

written sources, though it cannot be taken to be a unerring representation of a time

predating when it was set into writing in its extant form, it provides a touchstone for

how peoples and communities understood and interacted with their world as well as

the immaterial landscapes that held importance.[85] This passage tells of the Geats

fulfilling their king's command that they build a barrow mound for him after his

pyrrhic victory against a hoard-guarding dragon. The earthen mound's prominence

in the landscape is particularly emphasised. It is '*wīde* gesȳne', a marker that

seafarers might use as they navigated in the journeys. The barrow becomes imbued

with the memory of a successful and, of particular importance to the poet, a good

king upon the headland through the hard work of his people. It is a physical

reminder and a record of the great deeds performed by a member of the

community. It is a lasting testament of who held the lands around it and what kind

of people they were. These echoes of memories lingered in the landscape. This is an

evocative past that the people could relate back to during the uncertainties of the

future.

The landscape was uniquely capable of absorbing and embodying memories

and legends of the past. These physical representations of this sense of permanence

allowed the settlements growing around them to tap into the idea of the past,

providing the opportunity to put it towards present use.[86] By arranging a settlement

with deliberate reference to these features in the landscape, the community tied

itself to the ways of remembering the past that these landmarks represented. Yet,

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description of Heorot with Yeavering as described by Brian Hope-Taylor as well as between war-gear
described in the poem and that found in Mound 1 of Sutton Hoo and at Benty Grange.

[85] Elden, Stuart. 'Place Symbolism and Land Politics in "Beowulf"', *Cultural Geographies,* Vol. 16, No. 4,
Oct. 2009. p. 458; Howe, *Writing the Map.* p. 42

[86] Geary. *Phantoms of Remembrance.* p. 7

these markers were more than just physical in nature. Barrows, earthen works and

henges carried significant spiritual meaning.[87] These ties to social and ritual

discourse made them apt for the construction and negotiation of identities as

societies grew larger and more complex.[88]

As the social landscape and power balance between Bernicia and Deira

changed, the use of such sites acted as a firm reinstatement of a memorialized past

and the structures of power in the region. In the centuries predating the period on

which this thesis focuses Deirans in particular showed a predilection to arrange

cemeteries with direct references to prehistoric monuments such as linear earthen

works and Iron Age barrows.[89] By tapping into these landmarks they claimed a

connection with this past. The abstract power represented by these markers then

tied the community to the land and provided potent boundary markers.

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[87] Semple, Sarah. 'A Fear of the Past: The Place of the Prehistoric Burial Mound in the Ideology of Middle and Later Anglo-Saxon England', *World Archaeology,* Vol. 30, Iss. 1 June 1998. p. 109
[88] Williams, Howard. 'Monuments and the Past in Early Anglo-Saxon England' in World Archaeology, Vol.30, Iss. 1 1998, p. 108
[89] Semple. *Perceptions of the Prehistoric.* p. 37-38; Lucy, S. J. 'Early Medieval Burials in East Yorkshire: reconsidering the evidence' in *Early Deira: Archaeological studies of the East Riding in the fourth to ninth centuries,* eds. Helen Geake and Jonathan Kenney. Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2000. p. 13

fig. 8. Map of reused barrows from database, 6th century – 8th century

This arrangement tied the settlements into the more otherworldly aspects of

barrows, earthen works and henges. The barrow mounds, stone circles and

prominent features of the landscape with their psychological ties to a mental

landscape of ancestral dead and spirits conveyed a certain legitimacy and right to the

land. It is a relationship mirrored in poetry and Irish law tracts. One tract tied the

act of riding over a burial mound to the establishment of a hereditary right to the

land surrounding it.[90] To transgress or disregard these visible boundaries set in the

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[90] Charles-Edwards, T. M. 'Boundaries in Irish Law' in *Medieval Settlement Continuity and Change,* ed.
p.H. Sawyer, London: Edward Arnold, p. 83-87

land, both natural and manmade by past generations and the reverence owed to the

ancestral spirits brought with it a risk of disaster and ruin.
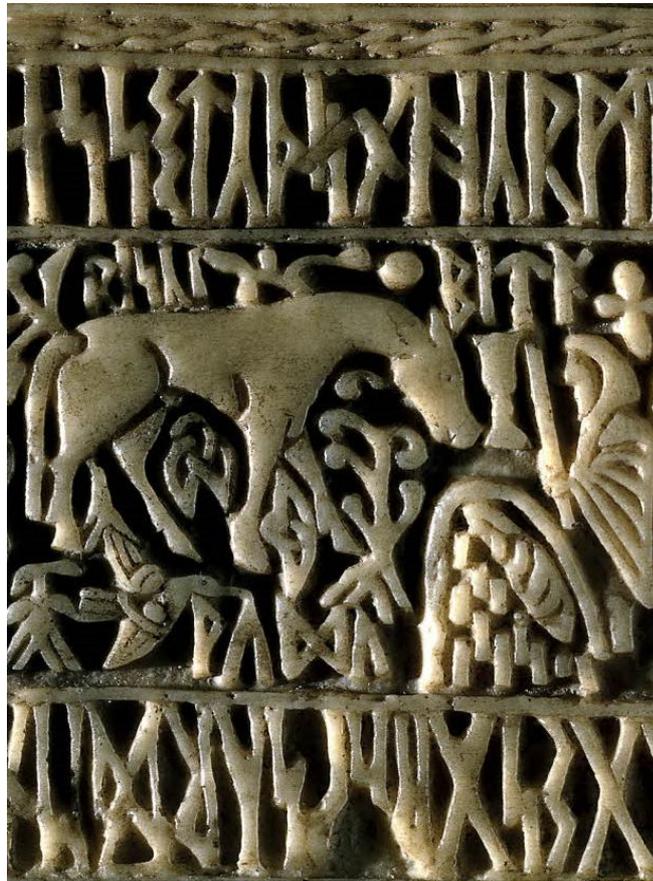
fig. 9. Detail, right-hand end panel, The Franks Casket, early 8th C,
© Trustees of the British Museum.

It was a reverence craftspeople reproduced in material culture such as the

Franks Casket produced around the beginning of the eighth century in Northumbria.

One particularly enigmatic scene embodies this cultural mindscape quite well. The

casket itself blends the pagan and Christian beliefs that coexisted in the seventh and

eighth century Anglo-Saxon world.[91] It blends Christian and Roman myths and

northern traditions such as Weland and a group of three figures who may represent

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[91] Abel, Richard. 'What has Weland have to do with Christ?: The Franks Casket and the Acculturation of Christianity in Early Anglo-Saxon England', *Speculum,* Vol. 84, No. 3, July 2009. p. 549

the Germanic *norns*, women connected with fate, destiny and time. [92] Moreover, both Latin and runic inscriptions can be found on the box. In it, the wide variety of influences and ideologies from which the artisans, crafts workers, poets and scribes drew exist together. It is a physical representation of the melding of cultures that tends to be smoothed over and made subtle in the materials produced.

In the centre of the right-side panel, a figure is shown crouched beneath or within a mound or barrow. The exact meaning of the runic inscription above the scene is debated. A widely accepted translation gives the description: 'Here Hos sits on the sorrow-mound; she suffers distress in that Ertae had decreed for her a wretched den of sorrows and torments of mind'.[93] The image of a lone woman, possibly shrouded, within a 'sorrow-mound' may represent a corpse within a barrow, forgotten and ignored.

Ancestral spirits, housed within tombs, mounds and barrows needed to be remembered and respected in some way or else they could breed danger for the surrounding land. The danger hinted at in the forgotten tomb in which the dragon resides in *Beowulf* can be read as the result of the loss of memory described in the mysterious image shown on the Franks Casket. The resting places of the dead were

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[92] Bray, Daniel. 'The Franks Casket: An Anglo-Saxon Synthesis of Religion, Literature and Art'. *Religion, Literature and the Arts Project: Conference Proceedings of the Australian International Conference 1996.* Sydney: Syndey University Press, 1996. p. 253; Abel, Richard. 'What has Weland have to do with Christ?', p. 557. There has been scholarly debate about what this right-side panel may represent with some arguing for a Judeo-Christian interpretation. The majority of modern scholars, though, suggest this northern mythology-based interpretation.

[93] 'The Franks Casket/The Auzon Casket', *the British Museum Collection Online,* 2017. *http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.aspx?objectId=9 2560&partId=1.* Bray offers an alternative translation in 'The Franks Casket: An Anglo-Saxon Synthesis of Religion, Literature and Art'. He reads 'Here a host sits on the mound of grief; misery endures; so to (her or them) Erta prescribed dread, a sad grave of sorrow and troubled heart', directly relating the inscription to the Norn who cut the threads of fate.

inherently liminal spaces. They connected the present and the past in a particularly

poignant way.

3.3 Monasteries, Churches and Aesthetics

Through the seventh century, as Christianity grew in power and popularity

especially among the higher orders of society, church and monastic burials grew in

popularity. In this setting, burial traditions began to shift and evolve. Whilst

Northumbrian cemeteries are only lightly touched upon here the use and

composition of grave markers in Anglo-Saxon monasteries provide a sketch of the

importance of the affiliation, ideologies and shared identities they represent at a

time of memoralisation.[94] In so doing, they built an unmistakably regional Christian

identity. The ways in which these techniques were deployed informed those who

saw the graves of more than simply the religious identities of the dead and their

community. The design and script choice of the inscriptions point towards the

identities of both the community as a whole and of the individual buried beneath the

monument.

All three regions discussed here show the use of inscribed grave markers,

though the style and period of these markers varies. In Bernicia and Deira, the

practice seems to have been most active between the mid-seventh and the early

ninth centuries.[95] Here, inscribed grave memorials acted as apt, lasting signals of

identity and affiliation, drawing primarily from Lombardic traditions of memorialising

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[94] Williams. 'Monuments and the Past'. p. 40, 43
[95] Maddern, Christine. *Raising the Dead: Early Medieval Name Stones in Northumbria*. Turnhout: Brepols, 2013. p. 11 Maddern bases this date on arguments relating to artistic style, burial rite and palaeography.

the dead.[96] Given that this shift coincides with the 664 CE Synod of Whitby, it seems

to be part of the process of aligning the Northumbrian church towards the Roman

Church.

The use of name-stones featured most heavily in Bernicia where six sites

have shown the use of grave slabs or markers with written inscriptions. These sites

include Billingham and Hartlepool in the southern area of Bernicia - where in the

Church Close Cemetery at least ten such markers have survived – Wearmouth,

Jarrow and Lindisfarne along the coast as well as Hexham along the Roman road

heading towards Carlisle.[97] The language and script of these monuments vary, but

all show the use of inscriptions bearing either Insular script or runes. At both

Lindisfarne and Hartlepool, several of these slabs bear a variety of scripts and

multiple languages. This conscious use of multiple languages suggests an

understanding or appreciation of the layering of identities in the community.[98]

Further west around the Solway Firth a similar pattern can be found.

Inscribed slabs have been found at Ardwall Island, one of the Fleet Islands in Fleet

Bay, and Knells, which lie north of Carlisle. The example at Ardwall Island bears an

Anglo-Saxon name written in a half-uncial script, which may have been inscribed by a

sculptor whose first language was not Anglo-Saxon.[99] That the name is placed in the

nominative case like the name-stones found at Hartlepool and other Northumbrian

monasteries rather than the genitive case as was favoured on memorials in western

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[96] Maddern. *Raising the Dead.* p. 65
[97] Daniel, Robins, et. al. *Anglo-Saxon Hartlepool and the Foundations of English Christianity: An Archaeology of the Anglo-Saxon Monastery,* eds. Robin Daniels and Christopher Loveluck, Hartlepool: Tees Archaeology, 2007. p. 80
[98] Frazer, William. 'Identities in Early Medieval Britain' in *Social Identities in Medieval Britain*. p. 3
[99] Thomas, Charles. 'An Early Christian Cemetery and Chapel on Ardwall Isle, Kirkcudbright' in *Medieval Archaeology,* Vol. 11, Iss. 1 1967. p. 153-154

Britain further suggests the merging of cultures and interplay of identities.[100] It was a system of shared affiliation with different identities given equal commemoration.

Region	Insular script	Latin in Roman Capitals	Runes	Both	Incised Cross Alone	Blank or illegible	Primarily imagery
Bernician	10		1	5	9	6	
Deira	4	2			8	10	
Western					13	1	2

fig. 10. Scripts used chosen for use on grave markers by region

In Deira, surviving grave slabs bearing inscriptions have been found at Wensley, Whitby and York Minster. These grave markers point towards different affiliations than their northern counterparts. The Wensley and Whitby examples follow the same style as those found north of the Tees, bearing scripts of an Insular fashion. The mid-eighth group found in the York Minster, however, trumpet the Roman affiliation which were only hinted at in some of the Bernician markers. In style and script the York examples place the Roman affiliation in a position of dominance. Through it, the Church of York communicated their direct connections with the See of Rome, and thereby their connection to the centre of Christian power.[101]

The permanence of stone developed into a powerful symbol for the inhumation of important members of society after their deaths. A fixed and visible entombment, such as this, also gave the saint's cult a central place to focus their devotion upon, at the same time as it acted as a sediment on which to build and

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[100] Thomas. 'An Early Christian Cemetery'. p. 154. At least one grave slab in the cemetery on Ardwall shows Pictish influence alongside that drawn from the Northumbrian tradition

[101] This is only one of the strategies used by York in this period to make their relationship with Rome and the papacy clear, and it is a theme that will be returned to below.

disseminate the prominence of their saint. Cuthbert spoke of the magnetic potential

of a saintly tomb in his final days as he cautions the brothers of Lindisfarne from

taking his body from his island hermitage to be buried in the church.

> *I also think it more expedient for you that I should remain here, on account of the*
> *influx of fugitives and guilty men of every sort, who will perhaps flee to my body. . .*
> *and you will be compelled very frequently to intercede with the powers of this world*
> *on behalf of such men, and so will be put to much trouble on account of the presence*
> *of my body.[102]*

Alongside spiritual potency, the tomb and relics of a significant saint's cult offered an

opportunity to garner worldly recognition, wealth and power.

The theme of the saintly entombment is frequently encountered in the

works of Bede. From the start of Cuthbert's illness he asks the brothers of

Lindisfarne to see that he is buried '"on the eastern side of the holy cross which I

have erected there [near his oratory]. . .[in] a sarcophagus hidden under the turf,

which the venerable abbot Cudda gave me."' [103] Eleven years later, the community

exhumed the holy man's body, to wash and rebury his remains in a specially

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[102] Bede. 'Life of St. Cuthbert' in *Two Lives of St. Cuthbert,* ed and trans. Bertram Colgrave, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985. Ch. XXXVII
'Sed et vobis quoque commodious esse arbitror ut hie requiesam, propter incursionem profugorum vel noxiorum quorum habet. Qui cum as corpus meum forte confugerint quia qualiscunque sum, fama tamen exit de me quia famulus Christi sim, necesse habetis sepius pro talius apud potentes saeculi intercedere, atque ideo de praesentia corporis mei multum tolerare laborem.'
Even at face value, concerns of this sort would not be unfounded. Alcuin's later letters attest to the troubles he and the community at Tours had with Charlemagne after a fugitive sought sanctuary at the Church of St. Martin. Several of the letters from this period show Alcuin trying to soothe the rift that this incident caused. Alcuin. *Alcuin of York c. A.D. 732 to 804: His Life and Letters.* ed. and trans. Stephen Allott, York: The Ebor Press, 1974. Letters 114-116
[103] Bede. 'Life of St. Cuthbert'. Ch XXXVII
'Cum autem Deus susceperit animam meam, sepelite me in hac mansion iuxta oratorium meum ad meridiem contra orientalem plagam sanctae crucis quam ibidem erexi. Est autem ad aquilonalem eiusdem oratorii partem sarcofagum terrae cespite abditum, quod olim mihi Cudda venerabilis abbas donavit.'

prepared chest for public veneration, at which time they found the body to be

miraculously whole and incorrupt.[104]

fig. 11. Coffin of St Cuthbert © Durham Cathedral Library

The community, with Bishop Eadberht's blessing, reburied the saint in a

wooden chest bringing the physical remains of the saint closer to and more present

for community devotion. Bede writes that they intended to place the coffin 'in the

same place but above the floor, so that they might be worthily venerated'.[105] The

chest itself was intricately designed and carved to recall Merovingian stone

sarcophagi.[106] The desire for close contact with the saint felt by the community was

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[104] Bede. 'Life of St. Cuthbert'. Ch XLII
[105] Bede. 'Life of St. Cuthbert'. Ch XLII
'… ut tollerent ossa illius, quae more mortuorum consumpto iam et in pulverem redacto corore reliquo sicca invenienda rebantur, atque in leui area recondite in eodem quidem loco sed supra pavimentum dignae venerationis gratia locarent.'
[106] Thacker, Alan, 'Lindisfarne and the Origins of the Cult of St. Cuthbert' in Gerald Bonner, David Rollason, Clare Stancliffe (eds.) *St. Cuthbert and his Community to 1200* Woodbridge: Boydell, 1989. p. 106-107

attained whilst retaining the symbolism of stone monuments. The placement of the

engravings of the Apostles on the side board and the Virgin and Child along with the

angels and the symbols of the apostles above the body situated Cuthbert's corporeal

remains in direct conversation with the divine.[107] Similarly, the style of the motif and

the way the inscription was executed seem to share similar inspiration with the

Lindisfarne Gospels and other contemporary Northumbrian manuscripts.[108] Through

material and iconographic symbolism working together, the coffin and its inhabitant

transcended the physical world and became a connection to the divine for the

Lindisfarne community.

3.4 The Monumental Landscape and Communication over Time

Wooden posts and pillars possessed a considerable significance in

Northumbria long before the seventh century. These pre-existing attachments

linked the sites with an imagined pagan prehistory in a way that Northumbrian

authors reproduced in textual sources. [109] When Bede relates the coming of

Christianity to the Northumbrians, the image of wooden monuments features

prominently.

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[107] Hawkes, Jane, 'The Body in the Box: The Iconography of the Cuthbert Coffin' in *Crossing Boundaries: Interdisciplinary Approaches to the Art, Material Culture, Language and Literature of the Early Medieval World,* eds Eric Cambridge and Jane Hawkes, Philadelphia: Oxbow Books, 2017. p. 85-86

[108] Brown, Michelle P, 'Strategies of Visual Literacy in Insular and Anglo-Saxon Book Culture' in *Transformation in Anglo-Saxon Culture: Toller Lectures on Art, Archaeology and Text*, eds. Charles Inslay and Gale R. Owen-Crocker, Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2017. p. 98-99

[109] Hooke, Della, *Trees in Anglo-Saxon England: Literature, Lore and Landscape,* Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer Press, 2010. p. 5. Hooke notes that tree cults were widespread, far pre-dating their emergence in Germanic tradition and Northwestern Europe. Whether the tree itself possessed power or whether it became sacred as a dwelling place of the gods and spirits is debated.

When the king heard his [Paulinus'] words, he answered that he was both willing and bound to accept the faith which Paulinus taught. He said, however, that he would confer about this with his loyal chief men and his counsellors together. . .Coifi, the chief of the priests, answered at once, 'Notice carefully, King, this doctrine which is now being expounded to us. . .For a long time now I have realized that our religion is worthless; for the more diligently I sought the truth in our cult, the less I found it.'[110]

Coifi proceeds to transgress prohibitions required of a member of the pagan Northumbrian priesthood. These acts culminate in the ritual destruction of their religion's holy shrine, wherein the former priest casts a spear into the shrine before setting 'fire to the shrine and all its enclosures'.[111] The enclosure mentioned here suggests the carefully laid out arrangements found at many sites around single posts that are thought to serve as ritual focal points marking graves or barrows.[112] This imagined scene of glorious destruction of the sacred spaces of the past is presented by Bede as an expression of Christian supremacy evident even to the honourable but misguided pagan priest. Even after the rise of Christianity, however, trees retained their potent symbolism.[113] The relationship between communities and trees and timber adapted and evolved over time to suit contemporary needs.

Yeavering in Bernicia provides an example of how these relationships developed. Throughout its period of habitation, the community at Yeavering maintained a square enclosure surrounding a standing post or pillar. This post

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[110] Bede. *Historia Ecclesiastica.* Book II Ch 13
Quibus auditis, rex suscipere quidem se fidem, quam docebat, et velle et debere respondebat. Verum adhuc cum amicis principibus et consiliariis suis sese de hoc conlaturum esse dicebat, ut, si et illi eadem cum illo sentire vellent. . .Cui primus Pontificum psius Coifi continuo respondit: Tu vide, rex, quale sit hoc, quod nobis modo praedicatur; ego autem tibi verissime, quod certum didici, profiteor, quia nihil omnino virtutis habet, nihil utilitatis religio illa, quam hucusque tenuimus.
[111] Bede. *Historia Ecclesiastic.* Book II Ch 13
[112] Semple. *Perceptions of the Prehistoric.* p. 101
[113] Hooke. *Trees in Anglo-Saxon England. p. 7*

aligned with a post set in a Bronze Age barrow, and it was upon this arrangement that the settlement was built around in its earliest phases.[114] In later phases of the site, a timber church was built alongside the post.[115] The focal point represented by the post remained relevant in the settlement structure throughout its use. Furthermore, the church did not completely supplant the post. The fact that it remained *in situ* suggests that the monument continued to serve a purpose for the community and its inhabitants. The placement of a church at this spot in later phases indicates that the community sought to draw from its persistent significance as a point of focus in the elaborate landscape of Yeavering.

Wooden monuments, like the natural and ancestral landscape, absorbed symbolic meaning with ease. This ability allowed such monuments to retain their significance in the new Christian landscape of Northumbria. The chapter began with Bede's description of the wooden cross erected where Oswald prayed for victory before the battle at Heavenfield.[116] Oswald was not the only Northumbrian whose presence led to the erecting of monumental wooden relics of this sort. After Wilfrid's death at Oundle, the brothers erected a wooden cross where his body had been washed before it was taken back to Ripon for burial.[117] This site, according to his hagiographer, gained a reputation for miracles shown through the story of a group of violent exiles who set out to destroy the monastery at Oundle and its surroundings through arson. The fire raged through the hedges surrounding the monastery, only to stop at the spot where a wooden cross had been raised to mark

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[114] Semple. *Perceptions of the Prehistoric.* p. 100
[115] Semple. *Perceptions of the Prehistoric.* p. 119
[116] Bede. *Ecclesiastical History of the English People.* Book III Chapter 2
[117] Stephen of Ripon. *Vita Wilfridi.* ed. and trans Bertram Colgrave, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985. Chapter LXVI

the site where the brothers had bathed Wilfrid's body.[118] The wooden crosses at

Heavenfield and Oundle do more than mark significant places. These monuments

made present a connection with holy men and their powerful intercessory abilities

to pilgrims and travellers who came into physical contact with the structures in their

travels. The public setting of Oswald's cross is more evident than its southern

counterpart. Pilgrims shaved the splinters from the cross, bringing the very material,

imbued as it was with miraculous power, with them.

Wooden crosses existed as more than fixed signs of a community's Christian

identity and the power of Christian saints. From the early seventh century, the

monks of Lindisfarne propagated the use of wooden preaching crosses throughout

Northumbria.[119] These mobile symbols could be carried into rural areas to spread

the signs and ideological structure of the Christian faith that had become part of the

Northumbrian identity and power structure after the conversion of the more

powerful families. The ritual meanings of wooden pillars and posts embodying

eternal life and salvation translated to stone throughout the eighth and ninth

centuries emphasising permanence and strength.[120] In this period the practice of

placing memorial inscriptions on stone cross-shafts and pillars became more

common, and their use is particularly noteworthy in the Northwestern region of

Northumbria. In the same manner as the wooden monument and the use of

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[118] Stephen of Ripon. *Vita Wilfridi.* Ch LXVII
[119] Cramp, Rosemary. *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture, Vol I: County Durham and Northumberland*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1979. p. 27
[120] Hawkes, Jane, 'Venerating the Cross around the year 800 in Anglo-Saxon England', *The Jennifer O'Reilly Memorial Lecture Series,* University College Cork History Department, https://www.ucc.ie/en/media/academic/history/JenniferOReillyMemorialLecture2018reduced.pdf. p. 6; O'Carragáin, Eámon Ó, *Ritual and the Rood: Liturgical Images and Old English Poems,* London: The British Library, 2005. p. 280

wooden preaching crosses, the use of these objects served to spread the knowledge and understanding of the new faith throughout the regions of Northumbria.

During the growth of Christianity in Northumbria, Bede noted the vast stretches of land between individual settlements and the ecclesiastical centres and the difficulties this presented to proper religious practices to be maintained in rural communities. Writing to Bishop Egbert, Bede urges that more priests be ordained so that the villages in each diocese within the See might have more contact with teachers of the faith and thereby more fully understand its practices.[121] He goes on to suggest that prayers that teach the doctrines of Christianity be taught to both clerics and laity in the vernacular so that 'the whole community of believers may learn of what their faith consists'.[122] The use and careful placement of monuments, inscribed in multiple languages and carved with images drawn from religious texts, helped serve this aim.

Yet these were not solely Christian monuments with the purpose of spreading this particular religiosity. The design of and motifs adorning the sculptures, the utilisation of inscriptions, and the language or languages inscribed upon them sent a cultural message that would have been just as meaningful as their religious messages.[123] Two monuments in Western Northumbria, the Ruthwell and Bewcastle Crosses, represent this tradition. Both of these stone structures were intricately carved, made use of inscriptions and were erected in the region in the first

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[121] Bede. 'Letter to Bishop Ecgbert' in *The Abbots of Wearmouth and Jarrow.* eds. Christopher Grocock and Ian Wood, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2013

[122] Bede. 'Letter to Bishop Ecgbert'

[123] Hedeager, Lotte. 'Migration Period Europe: The Formation of a Political Mentality' in *Rituals of Power from Late Antiquity to the Early Middle Ages,* eds. Frans Theuws and Janet L. Nelson, University Park: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2001. p. 38

half of the eighth century. On the Bewcastle Cross, all of the inscriptions are

executed in a runic script, while the Ruthwell Cross bears both runic carvings and

Latin executed in an Insular script.[124] Not unlike the Hartlepool name stones and

other grave markers, the choice to make the Ruthwell cross a multi-lingual

monument suggests that it existed in a landscape in which different cultural

influences and affiliations coexisted, influencing and taking influence from each

other. Even for the illiterate, though, the carvings of religious scenes such as the

Annunciation and the Crucifixion executed in Northumbrian style helped to produce

a similar effect, though in a less controlled or direct manner.

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[124] Orton, Fred and Wood, Ian with Lees, Clare A. *Fragments of History: Rethinking the Ruthwell and Bewcastle Monument.* Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2007. p. 96
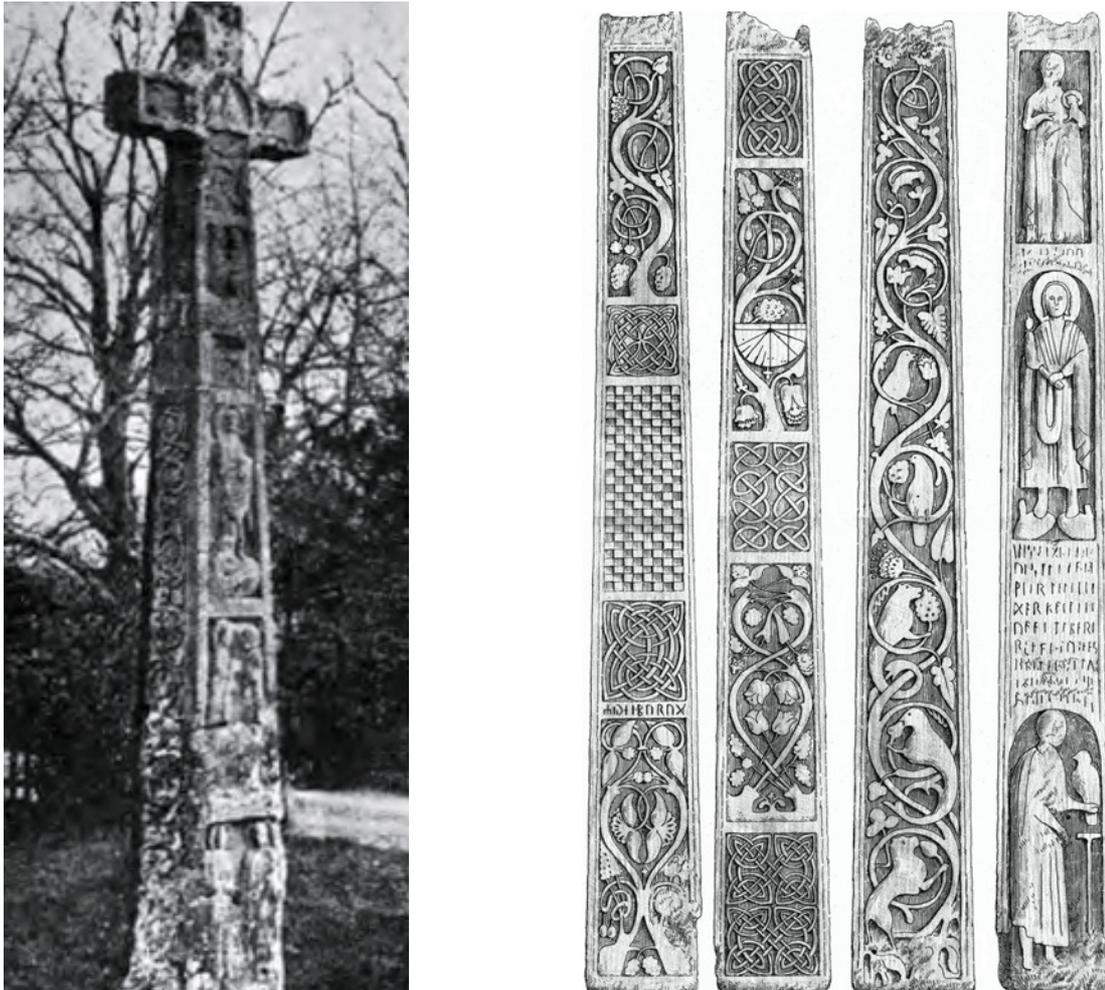
figs. 12 & 13. (*left*) Ruthwell Cross pre-1910, before being moved indoors. (*right*) diagram of the four faces of the Bewcastle Cross, image from http://www.bewcastle.com/

The Bewcastle Cross was erected east of Carlisle near a Roman outpost north of Hadrian's Wall in a landscape filled with Bronze Age sites.[125] Ruthwell was raised further to the Northwest, between the River Annan and the River Nith. Like the monument in Bewcastle, the Ruthwell Cross was not far from another Roman site. It is significant, though, that the community decided against setting it immediately within the remains thereof.[126] In this way neither shared nor derived its importance from the older settlement. Only the Bewcastle monument still stands in its original

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[125]Orton, Wood and Lees. *Fragments of History.* p. 15, 17

[126] Orton, Wood and Lees. *Fragments of History.* p. 55

position, yet both would have stood out in the landscape as an individual or group approached them.[127] The Ruthwell Cross in particular is intricately carved with inhabited vine-scroll framing the poem *The Dream of the Rood* inscribed into the stone in runic.[128] The inhabited vine-scroll emphasised the Cross as a Tree of Life not unlike Yggdrasil, representing salvation and protection.[129] These were distinctly Northumbrian cultural monuments in a region that had in the not too distant past been ruled by the kingdom of Rheged out of the north.[130]

Monastic communities and bishops used the symbolic potential of sculptural monuments to advance their own claims for power and religious authority and to emphasise their relationship with Northumbrian kingship. This practice intensified through the eighth century and in the See of York the focus of the work was on producing clear ties directly with Rome through sculptural motif as can be seen on the pillars at Masham.[131] This was done through the use of distinct sets of iconographical traditions, the use of which helped to fashion a distinct identity for communities from which they could draw legitimacy.[132] In this region, the creation and display of these monuments continued an endeavour started by Wilfrid in the late seventh century that saw his churches cleave to continental models with an eye

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[127] O'Carragáin, Éamon Ó, 'Conversion, Justice and Mercy at the Parousia: Liturgical Apocalypse from Eighth-Century Northumbria, on the Ruthell and Bewcastle Crosses', *Literature & Theology,* Vol. 26, No. 4, December 2012. p. 368. O'Carragáin uses the positioning of the sundial on the southern face of the cross to support this. This would be necessary for the feature to have a practical use. More importantly, the runic carvings were arranged so that they would be legible for those viewers at ground level emphasising that these were intended to read by those in the vicinity to walk by.
[128] O'Carragáin, 'Conversion, Justice and Mercy'. p. 369-370
[129] Murphy, Ronald G, *Tree of Life: Yggdrasil and the Cross in the North,* New York: Oxford University Press, 2013. p. 8-9, 137; O'Carragáin, 'Conversion, Justice and Mercy'. p. 370
[130] Orton, Wood and Lees. *Fragments of History.* p. 124-125
[131] Hawkes. 'Planting the Cross in Anglo-Saxon England'. p. 37-38
[132] Cubitt, Catherine. 'Monastic Memory and Identity in Early Anglo-Saxon England' in *Social Identities in Medieval Britain, eds.* William O. Frazer and Andrew Tyrell London: Leicester University Press, 2001. p. 272

upon Rome.[133] As this practice developed further, Yorkshire churches deployed

distinctly Roman models, signalling that their power derived directly from the centre

of the Christian world, rather than a more defused method of transmission through

the influence of Frankish Christianity. This fixation on Rome found textual

expression in the works of Alcuin, writing about York from the court of Charlemagne.

> *During his bishopric a new basilica of wondrous design*
> *was begun, completed, and consecrated.*
> *This lofty building, supported by strong columns,*
> *themselves bolstering curved arches, gleams*
> *inside with fine inlaid ceilings and windows.[134]*

Alcuin picks out the curved arches and columns of the high basilica. These features

connected the basilica in York directly to Rome. In this way Alcuin subtly enhances

the See's prominence in the landscape as it strove to become the head of the

Christian church in Britain.

These connections between York and Rome took physical form as the See's

daughter churches spread throughout the Yorkshire landscape. Like the open-air

pillars and crosses of the northern and western Northumbria, these structures were

set to catch the eyes of those who encountered them. Around York, these pillars

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[133] Lang, Jim. 'Monuments from Yorkshire in the Age of Alcuin' in *Early Deira: Archaeological Studies of the East Riding in the Fourth to Ninth Centuries AD,* eds. Helen Geake and Jonathan Kenny. Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2000. p. 109

[134] Alcuin. *Alcuin: The Bishops, Kings, and Saints of York.* ed. And trans. Peter Godman, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1982. Lns 1507-1511

> *Ast nova basilicae mirae structura diebus*
> *praesulis huius erat iam coepta, peracta, sacrata.*
> *Haec nimis alta domus solidus suffulta columnis,*
> *suppositae quae stant curvatis arcubus, intus*
> *emicat egregiis laquearibus atque fenetris.*

tended to be erected along old Roman roads.[135] This arrangement suggests that

they carried a clear message to proclaim to travellers. These stone structures

proudly proclaimed the identity of their foundation and rooted them in the power

embodied in both the memorialized Roman past and the present Christian Rome.

On the monuments in Masham and Easby this was done through the depiction of

figures in Classical dress, their half-profile arrangement, the enclosure of individual

panels in classical arches and the classically derived carving techniques used.[136]

　　This process comes into focus when one considers near contemporary works

out of the Bernician and Northwestern regions of Northumbria. Whereas Bernicia,

like in many other aspects, largely followed its own idiosyncratic traditions, the

Northwest echoed patterns found in Deira. In particular, the contemporary dress of

several of the figures on the cross from St Andrew Auckland, and the moustachioed

angel and other figures appear in the Crucifixion scene in Rothbury.[137] The

Northwest around this period seems to show more of a mixing of influences, with

figures with classical hair styles mixing with more naturalistic depictions and

contemporary dress carved onto the crosses at shafts at Halton. The practice can

also be seen on the Bewcastle Cross, both in its runic inscriptions and in the

iconography of its images. On the western face of the monument both secular and

sacred themes are represented. The second panel shows a highly worn figure

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[135] Alcuin. *The Bishops, Kings and Saints of York*. p. 117. Lang points out that these structures tended to be found along the intersections of the main north-south routes with the east-west routes heading towards the Pennines

[136] Alcuin. *The Bishops, Kings and Saints of York*. p. 111.

[137] Hawkes. 'Planting the Cross in Anglo-Saxon England'. p. 57. Hawkes also notes that it has been suggested that the elaborate bases of the stone monuments were intended to invoke the Hill of Calvary and that the potential that this symbolism may have been in mind is intriguing given that the elaborate plant-scroll growing from the base of the Auckland cross contains an archer caught in the moment of shooting upwards.

holding a lamb. The figure holding Jesus as the Paschal lamb has been suggested to

be a representation of either a bishop, the Christian god or John the Baptist.[138]

Below this is an image of Christ in Judgement standing triumphantly on apocalyptic

beasts. The final panel on this face of the monument depicts a figure with a bird that

has been identified either as a dove, suggesting a religious figure, or a falcon or eagle

which would indicate a high-status secular figure being depicted.[139] In this the bird

may be compared to the presence of human figures and birds on early sceatta as

well as the iconographic tradition on Pictish stone slabs of indicating high-status

individuals through the presence of falcons and hawks.[140] If this is taken as a secular

figure from the position of the figure and the presence of a bird of prey its presence

alongside the religious scenes above it creates a similar impact as the shared coinage

of kings and the bishops of York. The Northwest, like Deira, bolstered the strength

of both religious and secular authority through their shared visual representation on

physical objects that would be encountered by a wider audience than it would

otherwise be possible to reach.

The distinctive setting of monuments like these throughout the different

regions of the kingdom helped to build, reinforce and maintain networks of

Northumbrian identity, through an intermingling of religious and cultural sentiments.

The built landscape and its arrangement, inscriptions and figural depictions worked

in concert with the natural landscape and the placement of Northumbrian

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[138] Bailey, Richard N and Cramp, Rosemary. *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture, Vol. II: Cumberland, Westmoreland and Lancashire-North-of-the-Sands*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988. Bewcastle 01

[139] Bailey and Cramp. *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture, Vol. II: Cumberland, Westmoreland and Lancashire-North-of-the-Sands*. Bewcastle 01

[140] Bailey and Cramp. *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture, Vol. II: Cumberland, Westmoreland and Lancashire-North-of-the-Sands*. Bewcastle 01

settlements within it. In concert, the natural and the constructed geography absorbed meaning. In a way, it transcended time to 'remember' and signify past events and distant meaning for the current inhabitants. Together, all of these aspects worked to connect Northumbria internally while also signalling external connections to the Continent and beyond. By acting as touchstones in this way, the physical surroundings put the past and the present into conversation. Through this process communities wove a highly wrought web of influences and networks that formed the basis for power structures, authority and legitimacy whose expression found a voice through the choice, display and design of material culture.

4 Settlements and Society in Rural Northumbria

…this young man[Eosterwine] of good resolution was delighted to keep the teaching of the rule on an equal footing with the brothers in every way. And in fact, though he had been in King Ecgfrith's service. . .he rejoiced to work cheerfully and obediently at winnowing and threshing with them, at milking the ewes and the cows, in the bakehouse, in the garden, in the kitchen, and in all the work of the monastery. Even when he assumed the role and rank of abbot. . . he would come across some brothers working, and would immediately join in their task, whether it was guiding the progress of the plough with its handle, or shaping iron with a hammer, wafting the winnowing-fan with his hand, or doing something else of that sort.[141]

There is a popular notion that only the shadowy remains and the echoes of early medieval settlements are extant for the study of past communities through their physical remains. Alongside this mistaken impression, surviving textual sources were largely written with a high-status audience in in mind large, lavish halls in secular or ecclesiastical and monastic settings. Thus, they are inflected with the concerns and mindset of this audience. Therefore, it can be easy to assume that the early medieval landscape was empty and entirely wild. On the contrary, settlements of varying size, influence and purpose dotted the landscape of rural Northumbria each containing their own community of individuals busy with their own concerns and responsibilities. Whilst many texts largely overlook life in the rural world, hagiography often includes small mentions and background sketches of the societies through which saints journeyed. In the hagiography of Northumbria this tendency seems to increase depending on the contact with and influence of the Irish Church

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[141] Bede. 'Historia Abbatum', in *The Abbots of Wearmouth and Jarrow*, eds. Christopher Grocock and Ian Wood, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2013. Ch. 8

> *. . .sed aequali cum fratribus lance boni propositi iuvenis gloriabatur se regularem per omnia seruare disciplinam. Et quidam cum fuisset minister Ecgfridi regis. . .ut uentilare cum eis coquina, in cunctis monasterii operibus iocundus et obediens gauderet exerceri. Sed et abbatis regimine graduque assumpto. . .ubi operantes inuenit fratres, solebat eis confestim in opera coniungi; vel aratri gressum stiba regendo, uel ferrum malleo domando, uel uentilabrum manu concutendo, uel aliud quid tale gerendo.*

and Iona. While this may be due to the more rural setting in the north and west as well as the more itinerant lifestyle of many of the protagonists, the differences can be striking. Yet it is in the archaeological remains that one may begin to uncover the vibrancy and variety of communities in early medieval Northumbria. Though textual sources hold a strong bias towards elite settings and people which can skew the wider understanding the early medieval world, by incorporating these alongside the archaeological remains of the settlements found throughout Northumbria it is possible to create a path towards a wider appreciate of the social hierarchy. By focusing on what the physical remains suggest about the settlement hierarchy and the communities within them that were present in the different regions of Northumbria, it becomes possible to redress the balance between elite and non-elite settlements and move towards a wider understanding of the lives of the common people who inhabited the Northumbria and who help influence the texture of Northumbrian culture and identities.

The needs of and tasks required for life in an early medieval settlement, particularly a larger and more influential one such as Wearmouth, can be seen above in Bede's description of the humble tasks that abbot Eosterwine happily joined his brothers in during his journeys through the holdings of Wearmouth and Jarrow. Bede uses this activity to emphasise the humility maintained by a high-born abbot as an example for his audience, many of whom would be from similarly privileged backgrounds. This audience can be inferred clearly in the description:

> *At another time also, he went from the same monastery which is called Melrose with two brothers, and, setting sail for the land of the Picts. . .They remained there some days in great want, for hunger afflicted them and the tempestuous sea prevented them from continuing their voyage. . .They then arose and went out. He went in front of them as though he were the forerunner, until they came to the sea. And*

immediately they looked and found three portions of dolphin's flesh as though they had been cut by a human hand with a knife and washed with water.[142]

The discovery of a beached dolphin in this coastal environment is not entirely surprising, particularly given the presence of a strong storm. What is significant in this excerpt is the preparation of the animal. Cuthbert and his brethren find the cetacean cut neatly into three pieces and already cleaned.

Not only did the group find shelter to keep them through the storm, they found a foodstuff ready to serve as the centrepiece of a luxurious feast. Like most things often considered luxury items, dolphins and other cetaceans may have been available to a larger segment of society depending on the geographic location of a settlement.[143]   Yet, the animals do seem to have featured in high-status feasting. At Flixborough on the Humber estuary evidence of a considerable number of marine mammals have been found alongside exceptionally large cattle and other goods that seem to represent food-renders supporting the argument that this represented conspicuous consumption of a high-status settlement.[144] Here the waste from the

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[142] Anonymous. 'Vita Sancti Cuthberti' in *Two Lives of St. Cuthbert,* ed and trans. Bertram Colgrave, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985. Book II, Ch. IV. This story is also present in Bede's telling of Cuthbert's life in the eleventh chapter. In Bede's hands, though, the preparation of the dolphin is explained in a more symbolic way, with Cuthbert stating that the three pieces signify the three days they would be detained by the weather. The anonymous version also views the three pieces of flesh sufficient for three days rations. Unlike Bede, this version portrays Cuthbert as trusting that God would provide enough food for the duration of their stay rather than as a manifest sign of the number of days they would remain in the land of the Niduari before conditions would be favourable enough for further progress.

> *Alio quoque tempore de eodem monasterio quod dicitur Mailros, cum duobus fratribus pergens et nauigans ad terram Pictorum. . .Manserunt autem ibi alioquod dies in magna penuria, nam famis premebat eos et tempestas maris potestam iterum nauigandi prohibuit. . .Tunc itaque surgentes exierunt. Ille autem precendes eos quasi preuiator, usque ad mare peruenerunt. Et statim uidentes tres partes delifini carnis | quasi humano mane cum cultella sectas, et aqua mundatas inuenerunt.*

[143] Loveluck. *Northwestern Europe.* p. 14

[144] Loveluck, Christopher. 'Wealth, Waste and Consumption: Flixborough and its Importance for Mid and Late Saxon Settlements' in *Image and Power in the Archaeology of Early Medieval Britain: Essays in Honour of Rosemary Cramp,* eds. Helena Hamerow and Arthur MacGregor, Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2001. p. 116. Loveluck. *Northwestern Europe.* p.. 81.

dolphins and porpoises suggests that they had been prepared in exactly the manner described in the texts.[145] The condition in which the brothers found the dolphin would be immediately recognisable to a high-status audience familiar with the dish through its presence in feasts. By including this element of life, the anonymous author provides a touchstone for the intended, privileged audience that would make Cuthbert's world and experience more relatable.[146] That God would provide the holy man with a finely prepared, high quality dish further indicates Cuthbert's status while also translating the acts of the Christian God into the audience's worldview.

figs. 14 & 15. (left) Cuthbert with dolphin. (right) An eagle brings fish to Cuthbert. Both from London, British Library, MS Yates Thomas 26, fol. 26v and 28v, late 12th Century. In the first image the dolphin is prepared in a way often evident at settlements where high-status feast were held. The second image depicts Cuthbert's companion preparing the 'fish' in a manner that would be recognisable to an elite audience. The dolphin's head is presented to the eagle in thanks for her contribution.

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[145] I am greatly indebted to Chris Loveluck for sharing this information and showing how the preparation shown in later manuscript illuminations (see fig. 35) displays the preparation found at Flixborough, where the central portion would be highly prized.

[146] The potential for material insights into the lives of contemporary communities provided by textual vignettes such as Cædmon's story was well demonstrated in the collection of essays *Caedmon's Hymn and Material Culture in the Age of Bede,* eds. Allan J. Frantzen and John Hines, Morgantown: West Virginia University Press, 2007

The differences between the interests shown in different saints' lives display the ideal lifestyles each school of sacred teachings strove for. Members of the Church trained in the Roman tradition often followed a more settled life mirroring secular rulers. Many lived in centres with strong ties to royal or other high-ranking families whether by blood or cultivation. This close relationship was portrayed visually in coinage and sculpture in Deira and the Western region. Monks and clerics of a more Irish-style house seemingly strove for a more nomadic and humble life often involving travel among rural populations.[147] While this is an ideal form of life rather than an objective truth, it resulted in hagiography that featured life as it was experienced in rural settlement. These miracles and the activities described provides a sketch of how free people in rural landscapes similar to those found through the vast majority of Northumbria viewed local hierarchy and wealth.[148] It suggests the tremulous nature of life and how power in this local world could be lost and gained due to the vagaries of forces outside of one's control.

4.2 Perceptions of Landscapes and Seascapes from Texts

There is an inherent bias towards elite audiences, both secular and ecclesiastic, and topics in textual sources. In a material sense, manuscripts themselves were high-status items. Even before a scribe's work began, manuscripts already consumed an incredible amount of time and resources. In the Anglo-Saxon

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[147] Foot, Sarah. 'Church and Monastery in Bede's Northumbria' in *The Cambridge Companion to Bede*, ed. Scott DeGregorio, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010. p. 57

[148] The approach taken by Chris Loveluck towards vignettes of this sort provided inspiration for my own. See Loveluck, Christopher. 'Caedmon's World: Secular and Monastic Lifestyle and Estate Organization in Northern England, AD 650-900' in *Caedmon's Hymn and Material Culture*, p. 150-190

kingdoms, manuscript parchment tended to be made from calves' hides, from which

the best quality vellum of a white or creamy colour could be obtained.[149] In the

same way that gospel books would be illuminated with pigments drawn from

precious gems and far-flung trade networks and their bindings may be gilded or

bejewelled, the quality of the parchment served as a render of riches from the

Christian Anglo-Saxons to the glory of the holy word.

Though less eye-catching, the use of calves could be at least as precious a gift

as the luxury pigments and adornments, if not more so. Among the Anglo-Saxon

kingdoms, and in particular Northumbria, cattle represented great wealth on both a

psychological and concrete level.[150] Cattle themselves were expensive beasts. They

are slow to mature and require a large amount of physical labour and resources.[151]

What balanced out the expense were the various vital roles filled by the animals.

They provided traction in the field, food, hides, bones, sinews and their horns – the

latter items serving as important raw materials to be put to various domestic uses.[152]

This made cattle a very real investment and a sign of prosperity. Towards this end,

the vast majority of cattle bones found on early medieval Anglo-Saxon sites show

that they were allowed to reach maturity, living in some extreme cases to the age of

seven or eight before they were slaughtered.[153] Given the wealth and potential

represented by these animals it is perhaps less surprising than it may seem that

patrons and scribes preferred to use the skin of calves for manuscript vellum. By

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[149] Clemens, Raymond and Graham, Timothy. *Introduction to Manuscript Studies.* London: Cornell University Press, 2007. p. 9

[150] Banham, Deborah and Faith Rosamond. *Anglo-Saxon Farms and Farming.* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014. p. 86

[151] Banham and Faith. *Anglo-Saxon Farms and Farming.* p. 85

[152] Banham and Faith. *Anglo-Saxon Farms and Farming*. p. 86

[153] O'Conner, Timothy. 'Animal Husbandry' in *The Oxford Handbook of Anglo-Saxon Archaeology,* eds David A. Hinton, Sally Crawford and Helena Hamerow, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011. p. 368

cutting short the lifespan of potential labour and the larger amount of meat and materials that the animal could provide, this represented a great sacrifice.

After the slaughter, the calf would need to be carefully blooded so that the veins would be imperceptible in the final product. Then began the laborious process of removing the hair, washing in water, caustic lime, and then water again before the crucial stage of drying the skin under tension began. A process that would find the skin painstakingly tightened on the skein day after day, eventually yielding around three and a half folios.[154] Through this work, the skin would slowly undergo a physical transformation that helped to realign the fibres making it a smooth surface ideal for taking in ink.[155] This would have to be repeated hundreds of times for a single manuscript.[156] The labour needed both in terms of raising and culling the young cattle and in the time and effort spent carefully transforming the skins to vellum was all but incalculable, and that is before the work of the scribes, illuminators and leatherworkers began.

Simply put, regardless of literacy or illiteracy among the free people of Northumbria, manuscripts and the works contained therein were conceived, produced and distributed outside of the world of secular non-nobles, with the exception of those living directly around monasteries such as Cædmon at Whitby for

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[154] Clemens and Graham. *Manuscript Studies.* p.. 11. This is not even to mention the repair work necessary if the skin had been damaged during the removal or the bites and wounds that would widen into large holes as the skin dried. For the finest of manuscripts, such as the Codex Amiatinus, such marred pages would be placed near the end of the work if they were used at all.

[155] Clemens and Graham. *Manuscript Studies.* p. 11

[156] Hamerow posits that almost 1500 acres of pasture would have been necessary to sustain a cattle herd large enough to produce a single gospel book the size of the Lindisfarne Gospel. Hamerow. *Early Medieval Settlements.* p. 152. Almost twice this much land was required for Bede's *Codex Amiatinus*, an endeavour that saw Ceolfrith obtain a land grant in order to support the enormous herd required to complete it and two other gospel books.

whom the monastery acted as a significant focal point for life.[157] They were not the

audiences for whom the scribes sculpted the world within textual sources. Alone,

texts present a past primarily focused on kings and nobles, secular and sacred. In

this world, those with significant wealth and power single-handedly drove society

without any influence from the non-noble free people. The latter fell below the

interest of the authors and their intended audiences and so rarely featured in the

written world. It is in the shadows of the texts, in what is not mentioned or

expounded upon, that scholars can glean a rough idea of the outline of life for the

common person. When the ephemeral image of secular non-nobles is placed

alongside their representation in material culture and other archaeological remains,

a much fuller and more accurate picture of the structure of rural society emerges,

just as complex and intricate as that developing in urban settlements discussed in

the previous chapter.

Texts of this period present the non-farmed landscapes, and in particular the

more removed landscapes along the land's edges as the home to demons and

danger.[158] It is into these places that authors sent heroes and saints so that they

could be tamed and brought out of chaos and into order. The Beowulf poet marks

these remote landscapes as the haunt of Grendel, who eked out a miserable

existence amongst the banished monsters eternally exiled among Cain's kin.[159] Much

like the Anglo-Saxon law codes, Cain and his people were exiled from the settled

world and took to life in the marshes and other areas that were harder to travel

through and excerpt any control in. This juxtaposition is amplified as the Beowulf

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[157] Foot. *Monastic Life. p. 251*
[158] Loveluck, *Northwestern Europe.* p. 77, 178
[159] *Beowulf*. Lns 102-107

poet moves the fight from Heorot to the 'hall' of Grendel's mother as the hero dove

in to face her in her domain.

> *A few miles from here*
> *a frost stiffened wood waits and keeps watch*
> *above a mere; the overhanging bank*
> *a maze of tree-roots mirrored in its surface.*
> *At night there something uncanny happens*
> *the water burns. And the mere bottom*
> *has never been sounded by the sons of men.*
> *. . .*
> *Then once she* [Grendel's mother] *touched bottom, that wolfish swimmer*
> *Carried the ring-mailed prince to her court.*
> *. . .and a bewildering horde*
> *came at him from the depths, droves of sea-beasts*
> *who attacked with tusks and tore at his chain-mail*
> *in a ghastly onslaught. . .*[160]

Here the liminal setting of the marsh landscape is quite literally set up as an

inversion of a good ruler's hall.

First, Beowulf undertakes a passage into an otherworld through a watery

entrance. This world, however, is not a court of the sidhe but the home of a grim

mere-hag. In this place, Grendel's mother is the unrivalled head of her household

and the ruler of the domain. The underwater hall however is a hoard of treasures

rather than a room full of faithful thegns. The companions of her hall are hideous

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[160] *Beowulf.* lns 1361-1368, 1506-1512

> *Nis þæt feor heonon*
> *mil-gemearces,   þæt se mere standeð*
> *ofer þæm hongiað   hrinde bearwas;*
> *wudu wyrtum fæst. wæter oferhelmað.*
> *Þær mæg nihta gehwæm. Nið-wundor seon,*
> *fyr on flode;   no þæs frod leofað*
> *gumena bearna   þæt þone grund wite.*
> *. . .*
> *Bær þa seo brim-wylf,   þa heo to botme come,*
> *hringa þengel   to hofe sinum,*
> *swa he ne mihte,   no he þæs modig wæs,*
> *wãpna gewealdan;   ac hine wundra þæs fela*
> *swencte on sunde,   sæ-deor monig*
> *hilde-tuxum   here-syrcan bræc,*
> *ehton aglæcan.*

sea-beasts. She, like her son, is distinguished by her solitude and lack of positive

relationships, epitomised through the presence of the vast quantities of fine

weaponry and other material wealth.[161] Grendel's mother hoards the goods rather

than forming and strengthening bonds. Her monstrous form is combined with the

twinned vices of avarice and stinginess. This setting and the abandoned goods kept

therein informs the audience that this unnatural ruler epitomises the most disdainful

vices possible in a society built on communication through gift-giving.[162] Through

this inversion of ideal social structure and order, the remote landscapes become

quite literal embodiments of chaos, misrule and a collapsing of social relations.

This treatment of liminal landscapes is repeated in the hagiography of Anglo-

Saxon Northumbria in a way that is not as pronounced in their Columban

counterparts. Many of Cuthbert's miracles show a similar distrust of the remote

land and seascapes. Eleven of the sixty-six chapters in Bede's *Vita Sancti Cuthberti*

are devoted to ways in which the saint managed to bring order to the wild and

unpredictable elements. That the land's edge tends towards chaos is made

particularly clear when Cuthbert chooses to live a more isolated life on the island of

Farne.

> *Now indeed at the first beginning of his solitary life, he retired to a certain place in the outer precincts of the monastery which seemed to be more secluded. But when he had fought there in solitude for some time with the invisible enemy. . .he sought a place of combat farther and more remote from mankind. . .There is an island called Farne in the middle of the sea. . . [which] is shut in on the landward side by very deep water and on the seaward side by the boundless ocean. No one had been able to dwell alone undisturbed upon this island before. . .on account of the phantoms of demons who dwelt there. . .[163]*

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[161] Bazelmans, Jos. 'Beyond Power: Ceremonial Exchange in Beowulf' in *Rituals of Power from Late Antiquity to the Early Middle Ages,* eds. Frans Theuws and Janet L. Nelson, University Park: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2001. p. 343

[162] Vestergaard, Elisbeth. 'Gift-Giving, Hoarding and Outdoing' in *Social Approaches to Viking Studies,* ed. Ross Samson. Glasgow: Cruithne Press, 1991. p. 98

[163] Bede. *Vita Sancti Cuthberti. Ch 17*

Bede continues on to relate how once Cuthbert stepped foot on the island and drove

out the demons, he became like a 'monarch of the land he had entered and. . .built a

city fitted for his rule, and in it houses equally suited to the city'.[164] Cuthbert goes

through an extended process to find the appropriate setting in which to vie with the

'unseen enemy'. His first secluded location is still well within the tamed setting of

the monastery. It appears that he finds the demons there too weak for his holy

warfare. This leads him to take residence on the wild island of Farne, a rock on the

edge of the world set up in the text. Bede underlines the distrust of the wild margins

of the world in the way he described the saint's work on the island. Cuthbert acts

first as a soldier and then as a monarch building a city.[165] He quite literally brings

order and wise rule to the boundless wilds.

In hagiography though, the farmed landscape often acted as the set dressing

for the deeds and miracles of the saints. In Bede's *Vita Sancti Cuthberti* the

landscape takes two aspects. It is both an active, unruly participant in the story

almost possession its own agency and a passive setting for holy acts. The former

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Et quidam in primua uitae solitariae rudimentis, secessit ad locum quondam qui in exterioribus eius cellae partibus secretior apparet. At cum ibidem aliquandiu solitarius cum hoste inuisibili orando ac ieiunando certaret. . .loginquiorem ac remotiorem ab hominibus locum certaminis petiit. . .Farne dicitus insula medio in mari posita, cotidie accendente aestu oceani. . .adeurum secreta, et hinc altissimo, et inde infinito clauditur | oceano. Nullus hanc facile ante famulum Domini Cuthbertum solus ualebat inhabitare colonus, propter uidelicet demorantium ibi phantasias demonum.

[164] Bede. *Vita Sancti Cuthberti.* Ch 14

Qui uidelicet miles Christi ut deuicta tyrannorum acie monarcha terrae quam adierat factus est, condidit ciuitatem suo aptam imperio, et domos in hac aeque ciuitati congruas erexit.

[165] This process works out of the tradition set up by with the Desert Fathers, a reference that is brought to the forefront in Felix's *Vita Sancti Guthlaci*. The locus for holy warfare in this Mercian hagiography shows the different settings for the wild, liminal landscapes depending on the regional landscape. These landscapes, fens for Guthlac and isolated islands looking out upon the boundless sea for Cuthbert, are difficult to manage because of their remoteness and the difficulty of travel in these terrains. Felix. *Vita Sancti Guthlaci.* ed. and trans. Bertram Colgrave, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1956. Ch. XXV

emerges vividly when Cuthbert sought to build his hermitage on the wild and remote island of Farne.[166] After the island had been tamed, the sea around it still proved mischievous, preventing some monastic brothers from leaving Farne until they return to Cuthbert to retrieve a goose the saint had granted to them.[167] Once the island had been tamed, Cuthbert humbly engaged in farming. With some otherworldly assistance, the saint's newly-farmed land soon produces barley. Before Cuthbert is able to appreciate his crop, a pair of ravens steal it away. Facing the anger of the saint, they return with a gift of hog's lard as reparation.[168] In this telling, the saint's holiness is presented both through his ability to intercede with the land and sea either to calm the uncontrollable or to bring forth the structured and fertile farmed setting on which life depended. Through the disputation with the ravens, the importance of animal husbandry alongside crop maintenance shows itself.[169] While Cuthbert had engaged in the work of the fields, he did not have pigs or cattle with him and so there were materials he simply could not obtain on his own. Thus the importance of the gift of hog's lard from the birds. It was a necessary commodity that Cuthbert did not possess making it ideal for getting back in the saint's good graces.

Cuthbert's farmed hermitage gives an idea of how the authors conceived of such landscapes. These were islands of civilisation in a sea of woodlands and wolds,

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[166] Bede. *Vita Sancti Cuthberti*. XVII.

[167] Bede. *Vita Sancti Cuthberti.* XXXVI

[168] Bede. *Vita Sancti Cuthberti.* XX-XXI

[169] Though later than the period considered here, Ælfric's *Colloquy of Occupations* rates the importance of farming work highly. When posed with the question of which secular craft is most important [*And hwelc woruldcræft is þe firmest geþuht?*] the adviser answers agriculture, stating that it is from those working the earth that the people receive their bread and food [*Eorþtilþ;, for þæm se ierþling fett us ealle*]. Anonymous. 'Ælfric's Colloquy of Occupations', in Mitchell, Bruce and Robinson, Fred C, A Guide to Old English, 8th ed. Chichester: John Wiley & Sons, 2012. p. 196

fells and moors.[170] Unlike the truly wild lands, the majority of this again provides set

dressing for communal life. At the same time as offering hunting grounds and wood

for building and burning, the less civilised nature of these places left them

susceptible to danger. Columba makes the relationship clear when foretelling the

sins of a disobedient penitent, Neman mac Cathir. 'Neman, Baithéne and I have

allowed a relaxation in the diet, and you refuse it. But the time will come when in

the company of thieves in the forest you will eat the flesh of a stolen mare'.[171] This

theme is echoed later with a man living on the coast. Talking to two brothers at

Iona, the saint gives them specific instructions for protecting what is deemed

property of the monastery.

> *'Take a boast now across the Sound of Mull and seek out a thief called Erc among the
> ground near the sea. He arrived…alone and in secret, and has made himself a hiding
> place under his upturned boat, which he has camouflaged with grass. Here he tries
> to conceal himself all day so that by night he can sail across to the little island that is
> the breeding-place of the seals we reckon as our own. His plan is to kill them, to fill
> his boat with what does not belong to him and take it away to his home. He is a
> greedy thief'[172]*

The farmed surroundings provided the opportunity to prove God's benevolence or

to punish the sinful. Even the semi-tamed landscapes on the edges of settlements

hid dangers and attracted thieves and raiders in the texts. While dangers certainly

did exist, the archaeological record offers a slightly different viewpoint on the

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[170] Banham and Faith. *Anglo-Saxon Farms and Farming.* p. 147

[171] Adomnán. *Vita Sancti Columbae.* I.23
> *'O Nemane, a me et Baitheneo indultam non recipis aliquam refrectionis indulgentiam? Erit
> tempus quo cum furacibus furtive carnem in sylva manducabis equae.'*

[172] Adomnán. *Vita Columbæ.* I.41
> *'Nunc ad Maleam transfretate insulam, et in campulis mari vicinis Ercum quaerite furacem;
> qui nocte praeterita solus occulte de insula Coloso perveniens, sub sua feno tecta navicular
> inter arentarum cumulos per diem se occultare conatur, ut noctu ad parvem transnaviget
> insulam ubi marini nostril juris vituli generantur et generant; ut de illis furenter occisis edax
> valde furax suam replens naviculam, ad suum repedet habitaculum.'*

landscapes and how communities adapted their habits to best suits their

surroundings.

4.3 Physical and Material Evidence of Rural Settlements

In the texts non-noble free people are more conspicuous through their

absence than anything else. The presence of these individuals, their actions and how

they experienced life tend to remain only as whispers from the shadows. The

cultural background and rural settlement sites in Northumbria helped shape a

kingdom in which, for the most part, nobles exert less dominance over a greater

portion of the land and society.[173] The relative independence of these communities

may be reflected in the number of freemen recorded in these areas in the later

Domesday surveys where available.[174] At the same time, it is unclear to what extent

settlement after 867 CE during the Viking Age influenced this pattern. While these

settlements may not have been necessarily under complete control of a high-status

landlord, they should not be thought of as entirely egalitarian. Though it may not

have been expressed through luxury goods or other forms of status displays that are

commonly understood, there seems to have existed complex internal hierarchies.[175]

The ways in which power and social structure was communicated in smaller

communities will be discussed in more detail below. Where archaeological

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[173] Wickham. *Framing the Middle Ages*. p. 428
[174] Loveluck. *Northwestern Europe. p. 77.* Due to the more tumultuous nature of the northern region of Northumbria in the period after the Norman Conquest and the destruction caused during the Harrying of the North, settlement records are notable sparse north of Yorkshire. Thus it is harder to get a grasp on the texture of society that evolved out of the earlier Anglo-Saxon traditions in the region using the Surveys.
[175] Loveluck. *Northwestern Europe.* p. 81; Wickham. *Framing the Middle Ages.* p. 538

excavations have been conducted, the fabric that made up the world experience by non-elites can be sketched in more detail.

Of course, there are drawbacks to archaeology as well, including the twinned issues of survival and visibility. The survival of settlement evidence and material culture depends in large part on the climate and conditions in which it is built or deposited. High level of acidity in the soil, extreme weather conditions or extensive agricultural activity all contribute to the loss of physical evidence of the past settlements and communities. Compounding this is the fact that for a variety of reasons there are significant differences in the number of settlement excavations in the different regions. Much like texts, though, when properly managed and balanced alongside complimentary sources, archaeology provides an unparalleled avenue into the lives of the non-elite inhabitants of the early medieval world.

In each of the three regions of Northumbria, it was possible to bring together key sites wherein a broad range of archaeological sources where available. Using these, a hierarchy of settlements could be discerned through the differences in size, layout and materials present. This hierarchy and the settlement structure in the different categories varied slightly depending on the region. Each region developed a settlement hierarchy that best suited the environment, both physical and cultural, present therein. Whilst Bernicia and the Northwest followed a broad similarity in hierarchy and settlement types, Deira's settlements showed some marked differences particular in the settlements of highest status in the different regions as will be discussed below.

4.4 The Bernician North

	Prime Sites in Bernicia	
	Name	**Type**
1	Auldhame	Monastery
2	Lindisfarne	Monastery
3	Wearmouth	Monastery
4	Jarrow	Monastery
5	Hartlepool	Monastery
6	Doon Hill	Administrative
7	Dunbar	Administrative
8	Sprouston	Administrative
9	Bamburgh	Administrative
10	Yeavering	Administrative
11	Thirlings	Other
12	New Bewick	Other
13	Holwick	Other
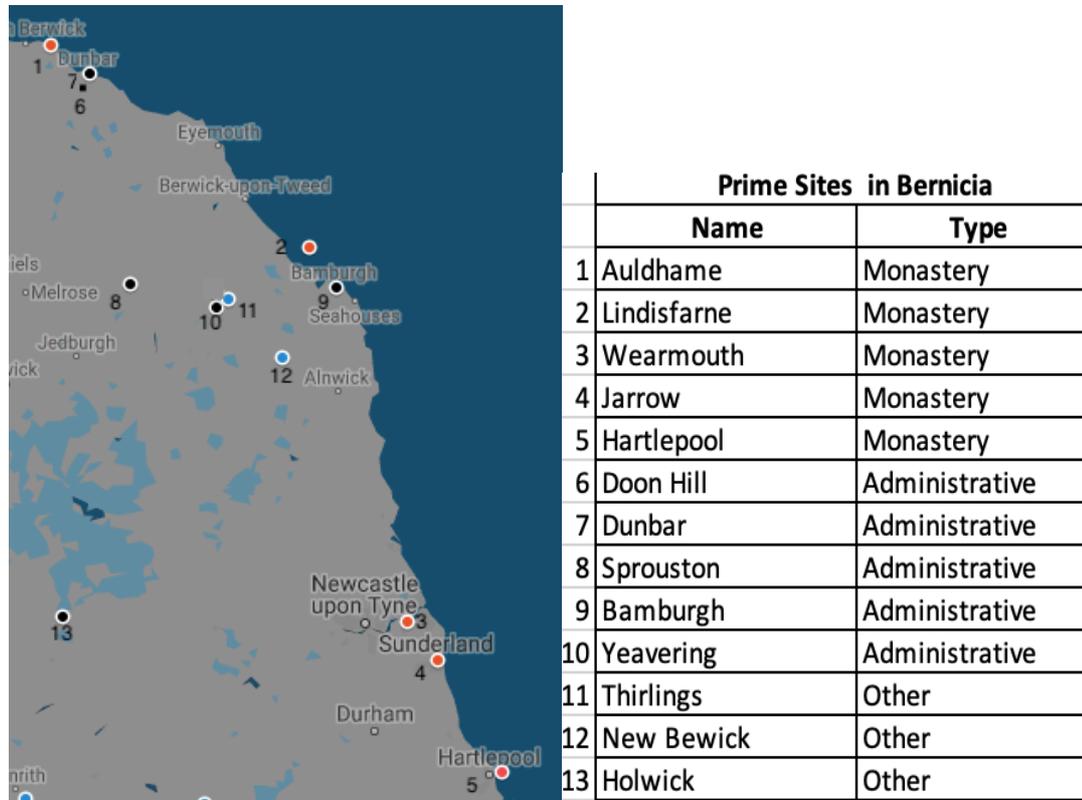
fig. 16. Settlement sites in Bernicia discussed in this section. Red dots mark monastic sites, black dots mark central places and blue dots mark elements of the wider rural settlement hierarchy

While Anglo-Saxon Bernicia shared some of the cultural signifiers and the basic language with the southern kingdoms, Anglo-Saxon identity in this area of Northumbria came to be expressed in a distinct way and incorporated a greater native British influence. Through the sixth and seventh centuries, the blending of influences occurring within Bernicia emerges as culturally Anglo-Saxon of dress and ornamentation began to be interred with the dead in traditionally British cist graves.[176] This openness is reflected in the structure of and lifestyle present at settlements in the region.

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[176] Loveluck, Christopher. '"The Romano-British to Anglo-Saxon Transition" – Social Transformations from the Late Roman to Early Medieval Period in Northern England, AD 400-700' in *Past, Present and*

Central Administrative Sites

Bernicia's earliest cultural centre developed 30 km south of the River Tweed around Bamburgh. Alongside this headland site, the fortified sites of Yeavering and Milfield further in land came to serve as important administrative sites which the ruler or a representative of royal power would periodically visit during the peripatetic journeys through the kingdom which the royal household would engage in.[177] These three sites, alongside Doon Hill and Dunbar further north, acted as key nodes in a landscape of early sites in the region.[178] They provided the early kingdom with access to both inland and maritime networks of trade and communication.[179] By being positioned well for either land or sea trade and travel in defensible locations, they provided ideal regional seats of power in the kingdom. In this they acted as regional centres of collection, both in term of people and goods for purposes of taxation, storage and consumption.[180] These were social and economic hubs built on good quality land that served as a seat for royal power. These locations offered ease of communication between the central sites and settlements in the surrounding landscape, allowed for external trade for foreign goods and

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Future: The Archaeology of Northern England, eds. Catherine Brooks, Robin Daniels and Anthony Harding, West Sussex: Roger Booth Associates, 2002. p. 135

[177] Bede. *Historia Ecclesiastica.* II.14. Bede includes Yeavering as one of the sites at which Paulinus visited Edwin. Under the ruler's auspices, as Bede relates, the bishop engaged in thirty-six days of preaching and baptising at the site. The author continues to state that the site fell out of use after Edwin's reign and its follow fell to Milfield. In the text, Milfield is described as a new site, but archaeological evidence suggests that it was contemporary with Yeavering. In fact Milfield appears to be a direct successor to a Romano-British site.

[178] Kirton, Joanne and Young, Graeme. 'Excavations at Bamburgh: New Revelations in Light of Recent Excavation', *Archaeological Journal,* 174:1, 2017. p. 148

[179] Hope-Taylor. *Yeavering.* p. 27

[180] Loveluck, Christopher. '"The Romano-British to Anglo-Saxon Transition"'. p. 138

ensured that they would not be easily overtaken in times of war or raiding.[181]

Particularly in the early conversion period each also seemed to have some religious

role as well.[182] Their purpose was multivalent, but they were not urban in the way

that York came to be.

Such settlements acted more as rural administrative sites serving as seats of

power within the local landscape. What is important to note is that for these

significant sites, their status is not necessarily reflected in their size. While the royal

seat of Bamburgh covered nearly 2 hectares, the coastal fortification of Dunbar in

Lothian measured a mere 5600 m^2 after it was reorganized behind a ditch and

rampart.[183] The entirety of this settlement could fit within the Great Enclosure at

Yeavering. For the coastal fortified sites the primary concern seems to have been

their location, both in terms of ease of access for renders and ample defensibility

against hostile actions. By building settlements close to traditional trade routes over

land, navigable rivers and natural harbours they could easily exploit the goods and

livestock produced in the surrounding region as well as serve as a stopping point for

native and foreign merchants and traders.

From its original heartland Bernicia quickly grew beyond its original

boundaries. In order to efficiently administer the larger territory, additional sites

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[181] The fact that these sites often housed large amounts of livestock and renders made them targets not unlike how monasteries came to be towards the end of the eighth century. Unlike their religious counterparts, however, they were well fortified making them more difficult to overtake. The fact that fortifications often show signs of burning, destruction and rebuilding points towards their importance.

[182] Bede. *Historia Ecclesiastic*. Book II, Ch 14. Yeavering is mentioned as a place where Paulinus conducted baptisms in the River Glen.   The religious function may be tied more to the collective nature of these central places and itinerant activities of the king and his advisors. Still, the locations themselves would gain an attachment to this function much like the place where a Scandinavian Thing was held would be recognised as such whether or not it was in use presently.

[183] Perry, David R. *Castle Park Dunbar*. p. 317

became necessary to serve the growing expanse of the kingdom. In the early decades of the seventh century, Æthelfrith brought his kingdom's influence more to bear on Lothian. With this northern region more firmly under Bernician control a settlement was needed to act as a centre of administration, collection and redistribution for the surrounding countryside. The settlement of Dunbar located on a headland overlooking the North Sea suited this perfectly. Through the later seventh century the settlement at Milfield, three km to the north, came to supplant the place of Yeavering in the rural landscape.[184] Roughly 18 km northwest of Yeavering on the River Tweed, the settlement of Sprouston filled the role as the rural administrative centre.[185]
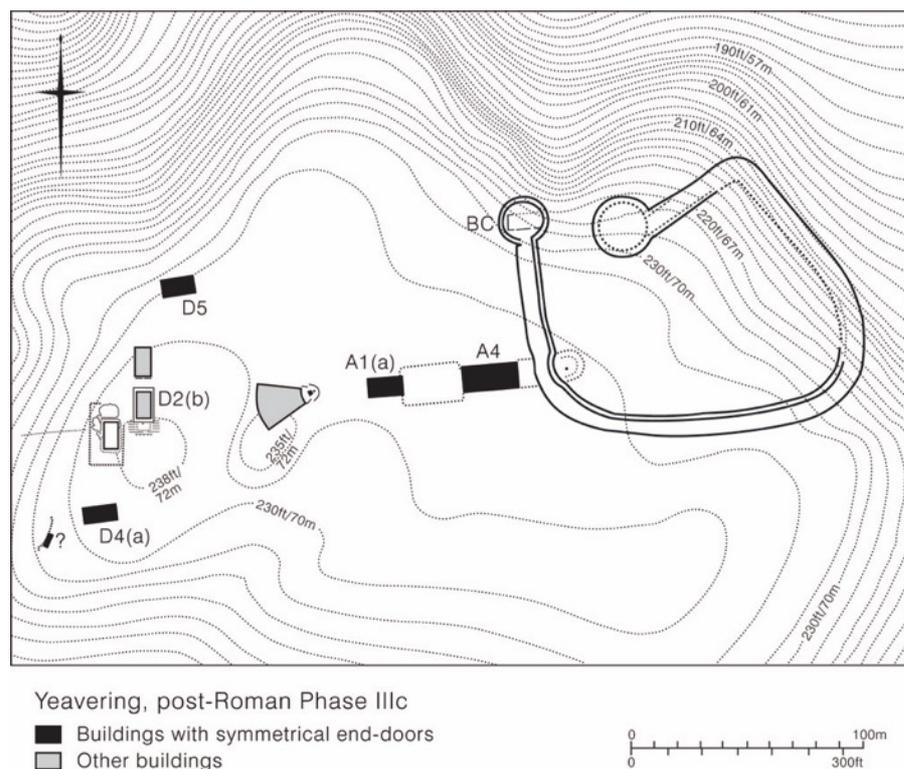
fig. 17. Layout of the Yeavering showing Great Enclosure, the largest hall A4 and the stadium-like structure E. Drawing by Allan T. Adams from Hope-Taylor, Brian. *Yeavering: An Anglo-Saxon Centre of Early Northumbria.* Swindon: English Heritage, 2009

[184] Bede. *Historia Ecclesiastic.* Book II, Ch. 14. Yeavering's symbolic role in the landscape is dealt with in more detail in Chapter 3.
[185] Smith, Ian M. 'Sprouston, Roxburghshire: An Early Anglian Centre', *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland,* Vol 121, 1991. p. 272

These four settlements marked out the Bernician landscape acting as central places at which people and goods could be gathered. Bernician settlements of this sort followed a general plan that allowed them to best serve the purpose of regional administration. The key feature at each of these sites was large, palisaded enclosures. It is this feature that characterised the embryonic structure of these northern central places and to which the placement of field boundaries and buildings referenced.[186] At both Yeavering and Sprouston these structures enclosed over 7200 m^2 and, like the buildings surrounding them, all of the enclosures were rebuilt and reorganised several times.[187] These structures enclosed large areas of land empty of long-lasting physical structures. This allowed the area to serve several purposes. In times of war they could serve as a defensible structure into which the inhabitants of the surrounding areas could retreat for additional protection. [188] Likewise, it provided a place for the mustering and organisation of a war band. Dunbar's palisade, built around the estate centre itself, points towards the defensive nature of these structures. In the eighth century, plaster and mortar found near the palisade suggest that it was finished in a manner akin to stone and a stone rampart was built.[189] In this, the township settlements in Bernicia fit within a long-standing tradition of fortified centres found in the northern and western regions of Britain in the Early Medieval period.[190]

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[186]Smith. 'Sprouston'. p. 272
[187] Smith. 'Sprouston'. p. 272
[188] Smith. 'Sprouston'. p. 286
[189] Perry. *Castle Park, Dunbar.* p. 60
[190] Loveluck. ''The Romano-British to Anglo-Saxon Transition'. p. 138

These sites were multifunctional centres that served varied purposes. Though they were key defensible sites and acted as protection when needed, oftentimes these enclosures served distinctly less martial purposes such as places for communal gatherings and the gathering of livestock.[191]   In serving as a place for the collection of livestock central places helped to reinforce social bonds and communal needs. The owners of the cattle and other animals as well as the ox- and shepherds would need to work together to drive the herds to the enclosures for penning, sorting and exchange.[192] Like the living, the dead through their surviving kin were drawn to these centres for their final respite. Before the draw to be close to Christian power made monastic burial the most highly honoured resting place for a loved one, central places served that purpose. All of these sites with the sole exception of Dunbar included large cemeteries showing similar numbers of male and female burials and included children. The cemeteries here seem to be arranged in groups that have been suggested to show family groups reflected both in similar idiomatic burial rites such as crouched burials as well as the string-like rows of graves found at Yeavering.[193] These were places imbued with meaning, built in a 'storied' landscape of stone circles and ancient barrows. It was an emotive landscape that could be read and exert an influence upon the inhabitants of the surrounding region, and it possessed a gravity of its own.

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[191] Loveluck. 'The Romano-British to Anglo-Saxon Transition'. p. 138
[192] Banham and Faith. *Anglo-Saxon Farms and Farming*. p. 158
[193] Carver. 'Intellectual Communities'. p. 187

The public gatherings helped bring the wider community together. This gave the central places a role equivalent to Scandinavian Things.[194] It is a role exemplified by the inclusion of a large stadium-like structure at Yeavering centred on a small dais the form of which suggests the presence of assemblies. It allowed those farmers and members of the dispersed rural communities who were able to afford time away from their farmlands and other livelihoods to strengthen their position within the social networks upon which the more abstract hierarchies within smaller rural communities were built.[195] The unique nature of this structure, though, gives it a slightly mysterious air. It may be seen as symbolic of Yeavering as a place of assemblies, but its exact nature and function is not necessarily fully understood. In these places, bonds could be reinforced, broken or built anew as the social power of individual landholders waxed and waned.[196] It gave a venue for established landholders to build upon existing power while also giving younger men and women the opportunity to use it as a platform to raise their own status in their local communities.

Sprouston similarly contained a hall measuring 28 m by 9m. The small settlement of Dunbar also possessed multiple halls. Here these structures were built from stone and finished with plaster-coated walls.[197] At these two sites, unlike Yeavering and Bamburgh, many of the structures followed longstanding vernacular traditions of style common in this period in settlements north of Hadrian's Wall with

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[194] O'Brian, Colm. 'Yeavering and Bernician Kingship' in Early Medieval Northumbria: *Kingdoms and Communities, AD 450-1100,* eds. p. David A and T. Sam, Turnhout: Brepolis, 2012. p. 211; Hope-Taylor. *Yeavering.* p. 161

[195] Woolf, Alex. 'Communities, Identity and Kingship in Early England' in *Social Identities in Medieval Britain, eds.* William O. Frazer and Andrew Tyrell, London: Leicester University Press, 2001. p. 104

[196] Wickham. *Framing the Middle Ages.* p. 539

[197] Perry. *Castle Park, Dunbar.* p. 73. Perry suggests that the stone halls may overlie earlier timber structures that have yet to be uncovered.

sill-beams, a preference for stone or gravel post-pads over post-holes and dwarf-walls.[198] In this, the inhabitants show an appreciation of the local climate, preferring styles that would help to protect timbers from the damp soil that hastened rot and help to contain heat and keep out the wind.

The size and material of the halls whether they followed the styles prevalent at Yeavering or those found at Sprouston and Dunbar gave the structures an inherent psychological power. The thick oak timbers perhaps painted in a way to catch the eye of those approaching the structures as suggested in the description of Heorot, created a vivid, immediate impression. Through this, the structures helped to promote both the strength and power of the community and its king to an external audience as well as acting as a tool to maintain social relations and prevailing power structures for those within the community.[199]

Alongside the larger halls, central places contained several smaller structures and residences as well as more ephemeral sunken-featured structures, often built with wattle-and-daub walls. These structures tended to be significantly smaller with lengths tending toward 4 m and widths of roughly 2 m.[200] A structure not unlike this may well have been the type Bede had in mind as he wrote of the shelter Cuthbert entered with his horse as he travelled through the rural landscape.

> *…when, with evening at hand, he discovered that he could not finish the journey he had undertaken on the same day, and that there were no lodgings in the neighbourhood where he could stay, he suddenly saw, as he made his way along, some shepherds' huts close by, which had been roughly built during summer time and were then lying open and deserted. He*

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[198] Smith. 'Sprouston'. p. 277. See also: Daniel, Robins, et. al. *Anglo-Saxon Hartlepool and the Foundations of English Christianity: An Archaeology of the Anglo-Saxon Monastery,* eds. Robin Daniels and Christopher Loveluck, Hartlepool: Tees Archaeology, 2007. p. 166and 197 Buildings at both Hartlepool and Whitby tended to be stone-footed, with the former following this model from the mid-eighth century.

[199] Walker, Jenny. 'The Recursive Structuring of Space'. p. 223

[200] Smith. 'Sprouston'. p. 274

entered one in order to shelter there, and fastening to the wall the horse he had been riding…[201]

Like many features found in central places, these buildings likely served multiple purposes from family dwellings, animal byres or external kitchens. Within the settlements these structures contained numerous loom weights as well as, in some cases, evidence of metal-working debris suggesting that they were purpose built to serve as workshops for the settlements. Their transient nature makes them more difficult to identify, but 40 have been found at Milfield and at least 9 at Sprouston. In addition to these sites, further north Dunbar acted in a similar capacity. At this site there is evidence of a number sunken-featured buildings. One of these buildings contained clay loom-weights along with evidence that these items were being produced at one end of the building and used at the other.[202] These buildings filled an important niche for the purpose of central places. They gave the settlements a place to house the production of textiles, pottery and metals as well as the processing of cattle carcasses and the storage of grain and other crops. In these structures the role of the township came full circle allowing the goods brought into the settlements to be prepared for use and distribution.

Monastic Settlements

In many ways, monastic communities were not overly different from their secular counterparts. The physical structure and realities of life in monasteries,

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[201] Bede. *Vita Sancti Cuthberti*. Ch 5
    Cunque instate iam uespera cerneret se iter quod proposuerat eodem die non posse finire, neque ulla in proximo hominum hospicia ubi manere posset adesse, ecce subito | iter faciens, uidit iuxta pastorum tuguria, quae aestate infirmiter posita, tunc iam deserta patebant. Huc propter manendum ingrediens, equum in quo uenerat alligauit ad parietem. . .
[202] Perry. *Castle Park, Dunbar.* p. 49-50

however, remains to be discussed. Hartlepool, Wearmouth and Jarrow are among

the most well-known early Anglo-Saxon monastic institutions. The first of these was

situated in southern Bernicia near the border between Bernicia and Deira. It was

founded in a dynamic social world in which Anglo-Saxon and northern British

practices mingled in burial practice.[203] As Bede records it, Heiu, the first

Northumbrian woman to take vows and be ordained by Aidan of Lindisfarne, built a

monastery on the headlands at Hartlepool before retiring in Deira.[204] After the

departure of the founder, Hild became abbess of the monastery before taking that

role in the Deiran foundation of Whitby. In form, Hartlepool mirrored Lindisfarne

being founded on an island and paired with a secular settlement inland.[205] Hart, like

Sprouston and Milfield existed as a continuation or adaptation of a site that had

been significant from prehistoric through to Romano-British eras.[206] It continued to

serve as an important administrative site after the foundation of the monastery.

Furthermore, the relationship between the secular site and the monastery seems to

have given Hart access to masons and craftspeople active at Hartlepool. Hart and

two other hinterland sites show evidence of stonework, marking them out as

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[203] Loveluck, Christopher. 'Anglo-Saxon Hartlepool and the foundations of English Christian Identity: The Wider Context and Importance of the Monastery' in *Anglo-Saxon Hartlepool and the Foundations of English Christianity: An Archaeology of the Anglo-Saxon Monastery,* eds. Robin Daniels and Christopher Loveluck, Hartlepool: Tees Archaeology, 2007. p. 187. Loveluck discusses the Anglo-Saxon garnet-inlaid belt buckle found within a late cist burial. This 6th-7th C burial in the area surrounding Hartlepool would have occurred only decades before the founding of the monastery.
[204] Bede. *Historia Ecclesiastica.* IV.23
[205] Loveluck. 'Anglo-Saxon Hartlepool'. p. 190. It is important to note the similarities with Lindisfarne. At present there is an ongoing extensive excavation occurring at Lindisfarne the findings of which have yet to be published. See Petts, David. 'Locating Early Medieval Lindisfarne: Excavationon Holy Island, 2016' in *Medieval Archarology,* Vol. 61, Iss 2, 3 July 2017, p.. 423-428.
[206] Daniels, Robins. *Anglo-Saxon Hartlepool.* p. 178-179. As mentioned in Chapter 1, Daniels also suggests it may have been the site of a Roman signal station.

important centres and providing evidence of an affiliation with the religious settlement.[207]

Benedict Biscop, a Northumbrian nobleman who had been a thegn of Oswiu, left secular life in the mid-seventh century and made a several pilgrimages to Rome. Following his period of Continental travels and time spent in the monasteries of the south, Biscop returned to Bernicia during the reign of Ecgfrith to found Wearmouth, his own mixed rule monastery. Founded in 673, construction began in earnest the following year. From the outset, Biscop endeavoured to recreate the striking impressions of continental monasteries, going so far as to import masons and glaziers to build his grand stone church and fill its windows with fine glass.[208] Upon completion, Biscop dedicated the church to St. Peter. It stood approximately 114 m high at the tower, with a total length of roughly 24 m and a width of 12 m.[209] In a manner similar to the church, the buildings within the community show a high degree of planning.

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[207] Daniels. *Anglo-Saxon Hartlepool.* p. 181. Daniels and Loveluck (discussed 196-197) present contrasting views of the relationship between the settlements of 'Hartness' (Hart, Greatham and Billingham) and the monastery with the former suggesting they were gifted to the religious community and the latter arguing that given Hild's activity at Whitby and the development of a distinct material footprint incorporating high-status items there, the Deiran site seems to have possessed a greater resource base. Therefore, Hartness may have been affiliated with but not subject to Hartlepool. Given Hartlepool's somewhat humbler status when compared with its abbess' foundation at Whitby I find Loveluck's view to be more convincing and to better reflect the present evidence provided by the material culture at both sites.

[208] Bede. *Historia Abbatum.* 4

[209] Cramp, Rosemary. *Wearmouth and Jarrow Monastic Sites.* p. 53, 68
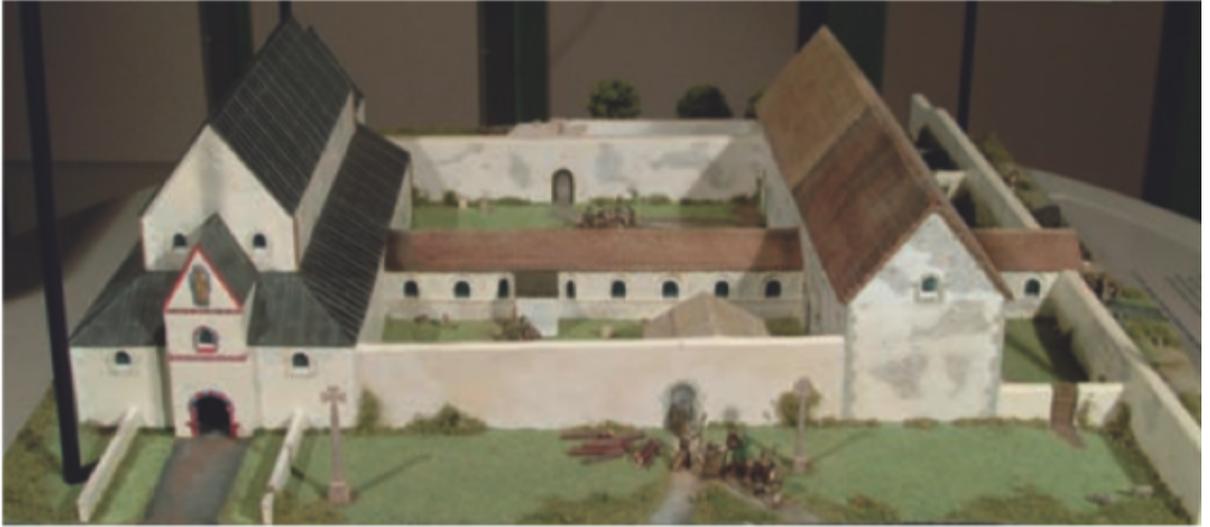
fig. 18. Model reconstruction of Anglo-Saxon Wearmouth. © Sunderland Museum and Winter Gardens.

Sherds of window glass have been recovered throughout the site suggesting the extent of Biscop's aspirations for his community. Like the Continental monasteries he visited in his travels, Wearmouth stood resplendent with glazed windows that created a visual marvel which marked the establishment as a unique tribute to God's wonder.

fig. 19. Anglo-Saxon window glass sherds. © Tyne and Wear Museums

Eight years after the foundation of Jarrow, work began to build a second monastery

10 miles to the north on the River Tyne. Biscop and his successors took pains to

portray Wearmouth and its counterpart to the south as one whole community in

two places.

> King Ecgfrith was thoroughly pleased with the good qualities, hard work and
> devotion of the venerable Benedict. He took pains to increase the land which he
> had given to him to build the monastery, because he saw that he had given well and
> fruitfully, and granted him ownership of a further forty hide. . .a year later
> [Benedict], by the decision and indeed the command of the said King Ecgfrith, built
> the monastery of the blessed apostle Paul, on the basis that a single peaceful
> harmony and the same friendship and grace should be maintained in each pf the
> two places in perpetuity, so that just as the body cannot be torn from the head. . .so
> no man should try by any attempt to split these monasteries. . .[210]

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[210] Bede. *Historia Abbatum.* Ch. 7

Contrary to this description, Jarrow seems to have been in origin rather different from Wearmouth. Unlike Wearmouth, which was planned from its outset by the abbot, Jarrow was inextricably tied to Ecgfrith. It was the Northumbrian king whose name was emblazoned on the foundation stone in the community's main church.[211] This may be seen as a commemoration of a king with whom the community had a favourable relationship that they wished to maintain. The fact that the monastery was situated to take full advantage of a royal port and that Ecgfrith chose where the altar would be placed suggests that the community was a royal foundation of Ecgfrith's up until his death shortly after the completion of Jarrow's main church.[212] Compounding the later difficulties the community experienced in continuing the singing of the antiphons during the daily mass in the plague year of 686 suggests that there was a considerable disconnect between the two communities.[213] After the death of Ecgfrith, though, Benedict and Ceolfrith worked together to stress the inextricable nature of the communities in order to protect the independence of Jarrow from the royal landholdings.

In keeping with its origin, Jarrow shows far more interest in the secular concerns of its surrounding community. Unlike Wearmouth, Jarrow included several

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Igitur uenerabilis Benedicti uirtute industria ac religione rex Ecgfridus non minimum delectatus terram quain ad construendum monasterium ei donauerat, quia bene se ac fuctuose donasse conspexit, quadraginta adhuc familiarum data possession, augmentare curauit; . . . ubi post annum Benedictus consultu immo etiam iussu praefati Ecgfridi regis monasterium beati Pauli apostoli construxit, ea dumtaxat ratione, ut una utriusque loci pax et concordia, eadem perpetua familiaritas conseruaretur et gratia: ut sicut uerbi gratia corpus a capite per quod obliuisci, 'ita nullus' haec monasteria primorum apostolorum fraternal societate coniuncta aliquo ab inuicem temptaret disturbare conatu.

[211] Wood, Ian. *The Origins of Jarrow: The Monastery, The Slake and Ecgfrith's Minster*. Bede's World Studies, Jarrow: Bede's World, 2008. p. 11

[212] Wood, Ian. 'Introduction' in Bede. *The Abbots of Wearmouth and Jarrow,* eds. Christopher Grocock and Ian Wood, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2013. p. xxxi

[213] Anonymous. 'Vita Ceolfridi' in *The Abbots of Wearmouth and Jarrow,* eds. Christopher Grocock and Ian Wood, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2013. 14; Wood. 'Introduction'. p.. xxxi

workshops built of timber and stone close to the harbour as well as a large hall

measuring 12 m by 4.5 m that may have served as lodgings for visitors. This building,

like many of the structures at Jarrow, includes far more associated finds than those

at the Wearmouth settlement. These finds, with higher amounts of metalworking

debris and imported pottery and vessels, showing nearly three times as many

fragmentary vessels, reinforce Jarrow's separate royal foundation and the intentions

of serving both secular and sacred concerns that lay behind it. Of course, that is not

to say that Wearmouth did not have contact with its lay community, rather that the

communities at Jarrow were particularly interwoven.

Jarrow		Wearmouth	
Hall (D1)	Styca, Red Ware pottery, bone comb, knife	Storage (569)	Painted plaster, fish bones, pottery sherds
Cell (Biii)	Opus signium flooring, multicoloured glass sherds, fish and animal bones	Wall (F/2)	Glass bead, animal bone
Riverside 1	Slag, glass sherds, imported pottery, animal bones	Covered Walkway	Decorative wall panels
Riverside 2	Slag, ash, charcoal, animal bones	Cell (D)	Pottery sherds
Scriptorium (B)	Animal bones, shellfish, ring-headed pins, bow brooch, whetstone, stylus, plumb bob, scriber	Church porch	Decorative frieze of animal and human figures
Refectory (A)	Fish and bird bones, bronze vessel rim		
Kitchen (Aiii)	Fish and bird bones		

fig. 20. Associated finds with buildings at Wearmouth and Jarrow. Information taken from the database compiled for this thesis.

These were both larger institutions built under the auspices of royal and/or

high-status individuals, and they drew upon the material cultural, structural

landscape and lifestyle not entirely unlike their secular counterparts. In Lothian, 9.5

km north of Dunbar, another monastic community stood on the headlands of the

North Sea. Unlike the prior two establishments, Auldhame does not loom large in

the written narratives of Northumbrian Christianity. Similarly, the archaeological

footprint is less clear than that of its southern counterparts, particularly due to some

difficulty accurately separating the early medieval assemblage from the later period.

Though the monastic community seems smaller, with only three structures apparent from the Anglo-Saxon period it is likely that the cells necessary for the religious inhabitants left only ephemeral marks on the landscape that at present cannot be determined.[214] Evidence of cereal production and the bones of cattle, sheep and pigs suggests the fertility of the land and its suitability to support a wide community and its visitors.[215] More significantly, the presence of an Insular-made inkwell and large amounts of periwinkle and whelk shells indicates that the members of the community engaged in the production of books and pigments. This activity placed it in a similar role to that found at Jarrow with its large scriptorium in which the plumb bob, scriber and stylus were found.
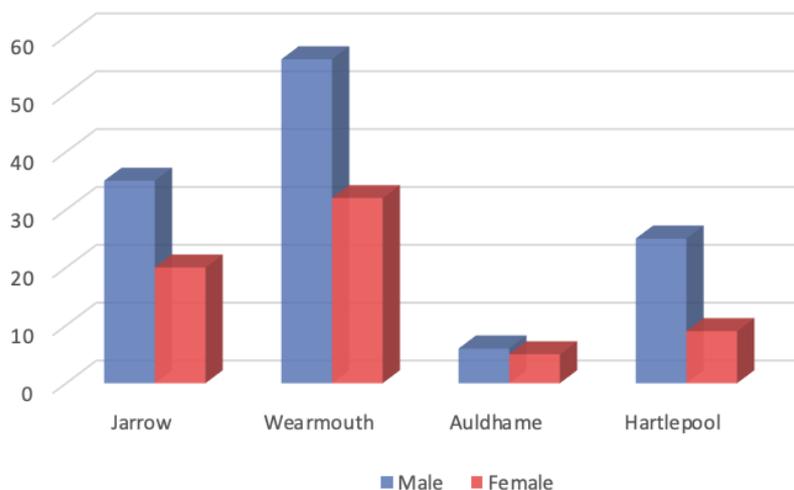
fig. 21. Sexed burial at Wearmouth, Jarrow, Auldhame and Church Walk, Hartlepool. Information taken from the database compiled for this thesis.

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[214] Crone and Hindmarch. *Living and Dying at Auldhame.* p. 139
[215] Crone and Hindmarch. *Living and Dying at Auldhame.* p. 139
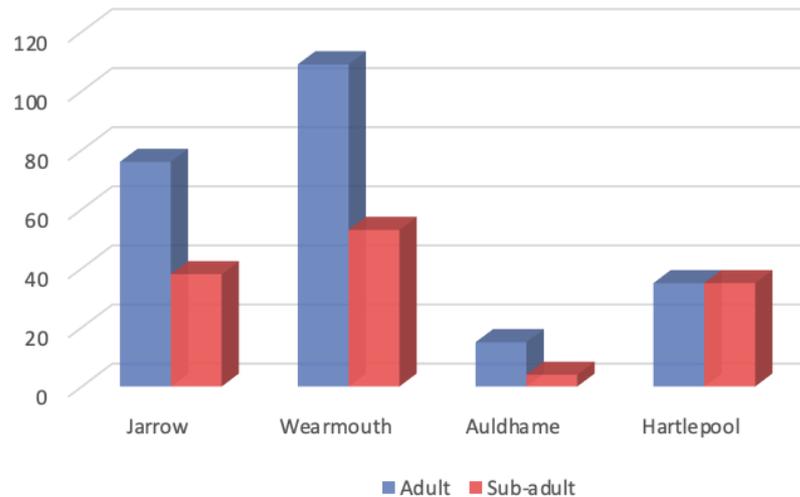
fig, 22. Age of burials at Wearmouth, Jarrow, Auldhame and Church Walk, Hartlepool. Information taken from the database compiled for this thesis.

Their attachments to the Christian afterlife, however, allowed them to take over the role of custodian of the dead for those with the influence to bury their loved ones near the sacred place. All four of these communities included cemeteries large enough to serve both the religious and lay communities. Both Jarrow and Auldhame show little concern for segregating the cemetery by either age or sex. Wearmouth shows a similar, mixed pattern for adults and subadults but inclining more towards some segregation of male and female burial with more female burials in the Northern section where multiple burials seem to overlie or cut into each other possibly indicating use by families.[216] At the Church Walk cemetery in Hartlepool a distinct pattern of groupings have been found which seem to indicate the desire to preserve a physical separation between the avowed and lay members of the Hartlepool community.[217] This cemetery included a large number of sub-adult burials, with nearly a quarter (18) of the excavated graves (72) containing an infant.

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[216] Cramp. *Wearmouth and Jarrow.* p. 84
[217] Daniels, Robins. *Anglo-Saxon Hartlepool.* p. 92

The graves here largely followed a uniform orientation, but the groupings and some idiosyncratic elements suggest patterns family groups within the cemetery.[218]

A second cemetery found at Back Gladstone Street in Hartlepool included unfurnished cist graves dating to the seventh to ninth centuries. These graves following a cultural tradition found earlier in the furnished cist graves at Norton and Darlington and represent a direct continuity of native Bernician burial traditions at Hartlepool.[219] The desire to maintain these visible symbols of traditional identity indicate the importance with which these practices were imbued by the families and the desire continuation of the links between the individuals buried here and their forebearers. The decision to bury these individuals in close proximity to an influential monastery indicates the incorporation and adaption of newer Christian traditions and the importance of the new religion and its afterlife beliefs to the family or families. A further two graves, located within the Church Walk cemetery, provide clear evidence of this blending of cultures within Hartlepool. One of these contained and unsexed infant under the age of two and the other held an adult male between 25-35. These two graves marked in their own distinct group within the cemetery with each individual buried within a kerb of stone pebbles.[220] Though these were not full cist style graves like those found Back Gladstone Street, these two are distinct enough to suggest a link between these two cemeteries and the practices found therein as well as a continuing evolution of a distinctly Bernician

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[218] Loveluck, Christopher. 'Anglo-Saxon Hartlepool and the Foundation of English Christian Identity: the Wider Context and Importance of the Monastery' in Daniels, Robin, et. al. *Anglo-Saxon Hartlepool and the Foundations of English Christianity: An Archaeology of the Anglo-Saxon Monastery,* eds. Robin Daniels and Christopher Loveluck, Hartlepool: Tees Archaeology, 2007. p. 191
[219] Loveluck. 'Anglo-Saxon Hartlepool and the Foundation of English Christian Identity'. p. 191
[220] Daniels. *Anglo-Saxon Hartlepool.* p. 89. The group seems to originally have incorporated six graves in total.

cultural tradition in a Christian setting in Northumbria throughout the period considered in this study.

Auldhame and Hartlepool, unlike Wearmouth and Jarrow, show a marked inclination towards supine burial positions, with only two burials at Auldhame showing a different, flexed position. Wearmouth and Jarrow, on the other hand show a more diverse range of burial positions, with both right-sided and supine positions being equally represented at the latter site. Importantly, while Jarrow does not provide evidence for spatial segregation of sexes, right-side burials show a marked connection with male burials, with far fewer women positioned in that way.[221] Hartlepool monastery in southern Bernicia, though not included in the graph below, follows an alternative pattern as that found at Jarrow in positioning the bodies. In the Church Walk cemetery at the monastery on grouping of burials included six individuals buried on their sides. Of the six burials arranged on their sides, four individuals were positioned on their left side, all of whom were male. Two burials, a female and an unsexed child, were positioned on their right side.[222] This suggests that where the bodies were placed may have communicated far less meaning about the individual therein than how the mourners arranged the body. The meaning of positions, and the choices made by the mourners and surrounding community, however, differed depending on the institution and the people who lived therein.

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[221] Cramp. *Wearmouth and Jarrow.* p. 175. Cramp also notes that the majority of burials with stone features were female.
[222] Daniels, Robins. *Anglo-Saxon Hartlepool.* p. 87
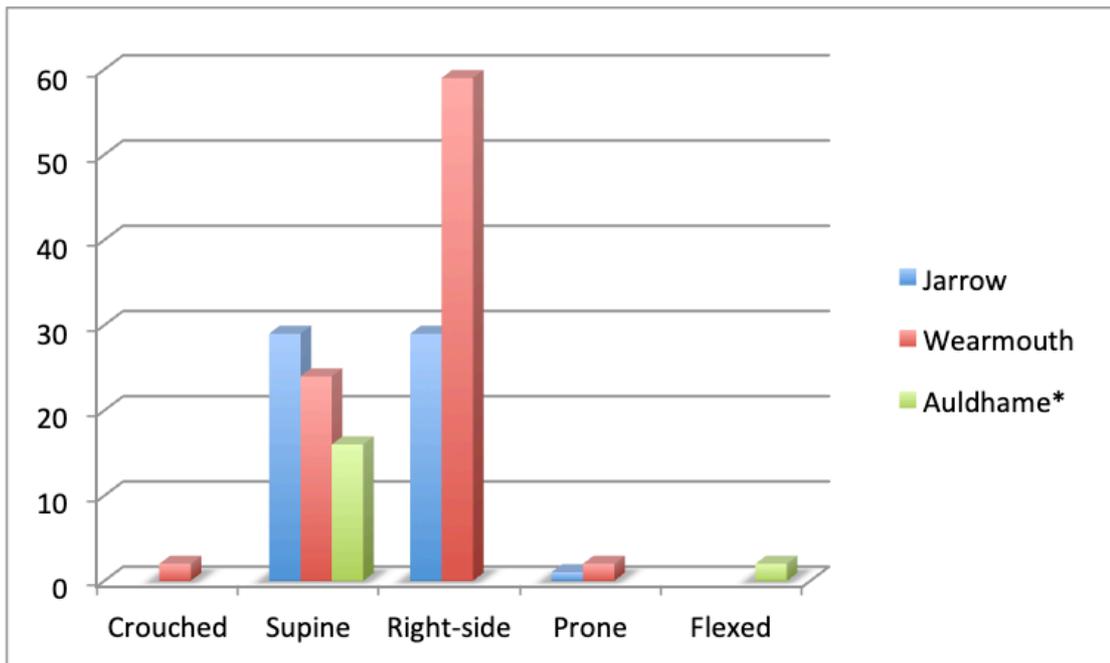
fig. 22. Burial positions at Wearmouth, Jarrow and Auldhame. Information taken from the database compiled for this thesis.

The Wider Rural Settlement Hierarchy

Though the previous categories of sites produced a magnetic effect, both

physically -as seen in the secular halls, material culture and the abundance of

feasting vessels – and psychologically - shown through the fervour for obtaining

burial at a monastic site for cherished loved ones - upon the people in the

surrounding regions and beyond, these were far from the only settlements found in

the rural world. The Northumbrian landscape was dotted with a range of

settlements exiting in a complex hierarchy of rural sites.[223] On the lower end of the

hierarchy were smaller farmsteads belonging to a single family or small clusters of

homesteads that could represent an extended family's holding or a group of families

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[223] Loveluck. 'The Romano-British to Anglo-Saxon Transition'. p. 138

living on shared fields.[224]   At the higher end of this rural landscape were regionally

significant settlements such as Thirlings located near Milfield and Sprouston.

Thirlings lacked the large enclosures that marked out the central places, but

the settlement suggests that it may have acted in some ways as an ancillary site for

the central places in the region. The site incorporated 9 timber halls, one of which

included an annex.[225] The amount of timber used as well as the labour that these

buildings would have taken in construction and maintenance suggests a resident

population that could afford the expense of time and energy.[226] Perhaps more

importantly, the inhabitants sought to be seen as a settlement of significance not

unlike the central places nearby.

New Bewick, located 17 km south of Yeavering on a tributary of the River

Breamish perhaps represents the humblest settlement. This is not necessarily a

remark on the relative social status of its inhabitants in the hierarchy of free farmers,

but rather a reflection of the size of the site itself. The site seems to represent a new

settlement rather than a continuation or reorganisation of an older site in

contemporary use.[227] At the site eight sunken-featured buildings have been

uncovered. Such buildings, though often serving ancillary functions at larger sites

such as Yeavering, have been found in increasing numbers through much of

Northern Britain.

These were relatively swift to build, adaptable to a variety of uses and

regional styles and required less labour and fewer material resources than earth-fast

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[224] Woolf. *From Pictland to Alba.* p. 17
[225] O'Brien, Colm and Miket, Roger. 'An Early Medieval Settlement at Thirlings, Northumberland',
Durham Archaeological Journal, Vol. 7, 1991. p. 60-61
[226] Hamerow. *Early Medieval Settlements.* p. 98
[227] Loveluck. 'The Romano-British to Anglo-Saxon Transition'. p. 138

buildings.[228] In one of these buildings significant evidence for clay-working and

weaving has been found with over 30 loom weights and other sherds of pottery

found.[229] In the southern area of Bernicia, Simy Folds seems to represent a

settlement slightly higher on the rural settlement hierarchy. It shows three distinct

sites within the settlement, with at least two of these providing evidence for

contemporary habitation.[230] Here, the stone foundations of the buildings as well as

the lintels used for the doorframes suggest low walls and doors well suited to the

local climate.[231]

Simy Folds provides the best evidence for the variety of activities that these

smaller rural sites engaged in. There is evidence for the practice of metalworking

throughout the sites on a domestic level, where both smelting and smithing took

place in the buildings.[232] The evidence of cereal pollen suggests that despite that

fact that the site is current above the modern limits of cultivation, the community

could produce more than enough to be self-sufficient.[233] The amount of spindle

whorls and loom weights present at all of the sites also indicates the importance of

sheep and other livestock to the lifecycle of the rural settlement. Together, this

evidence suggests the high standard of life that could be achieved even at these

smaller sites. Here, there was a lively blend of cultural influences in building type

and lifestyles with buildings adapted for local conditions existing side-by-side with

the more iconic and visually impressive Anglo-Saxon halls.

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[228] Hamerow. *Early Medieval Settlements*. p. 31

[229] Smith. 'Sprouston, Roxburghshire'. p. 276

[230] Coggins, D., Fairless, K.J., and Batey C.E. 'Simy Folds: An Early Medieval Settlement Site', *Medieval Archaeology*, Vol. 27, 1983. p. 22

[231] Coggins, Fairless and Batey. 'Simy Folds'. p. 20

[232] Coggins, Fairless and Batey. 'Simy Folds'. p. 19. Smelting appears to have been the primary activity, though iron slag and evidence of blacksmithing has also been found on the site.

[233] Coggins, Fairless and Batey. 'Simy Folds'. p. 22

4.5 The Deiran South

	Prime Sites in Deira	
	Name	**Type**
1	Whitby	Monastery
2	Beverley	Monastery
3	Driffield	Administrative
4	Skerne	Affiliated Landing site and port
5	York	Multifocal
6	West Heslerton	Other
7	Thwing	Other
8	Cottam	Other
9	Fimber	Other
10	South Newbald	Other
11	North Ferriby	Other
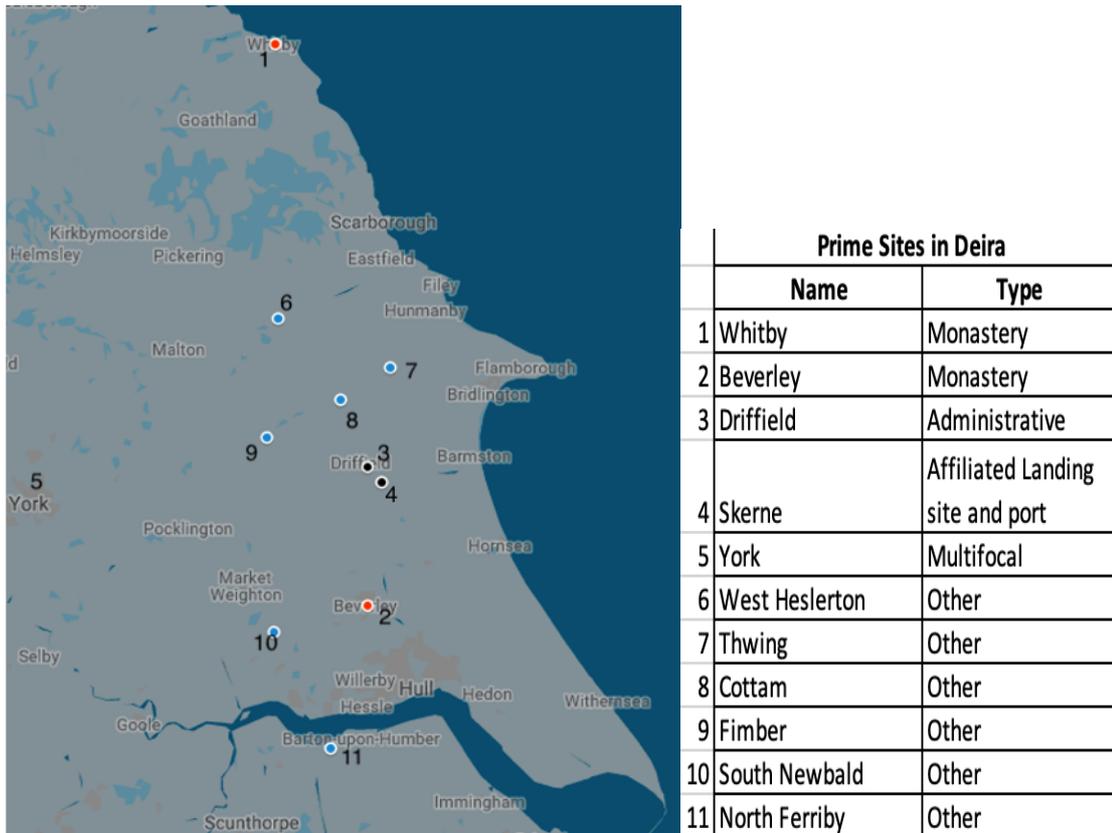
fig. 24. Map of Deiran sites discussed

Royal Centres

With fervency unlike its northern neighbour, Deiran elites sought to emulate and exploit the material culture and ideological trends contemporary on the continent and the southern kingdoms. The majority of the material culture for which there are clear parallels underline this affiliation, with Irish and other northern influences becoming more prevalent after the incursions of the Scandinavian kings of Dublin exerted their influence around York in the mid-ninth century.

The central sites in Deira took a different structure from their Bernician and Northwestern counterparts. Rather than the fortified township centres constructed in the north, Northumbrian kings in Deira followed a scheme of royal estates spread throughout the landscape. These sites were built and positioned in order to

emphasise their relationship with barrows and other significant features in the

surrounding landscape in East Yorkshire.[234] In the late seventh century, the estate

centred on Driffield seems to have been a favoured estate of Aldfrith. Deiran estates

ranged over a larger area than the Bernician central places. Driffield incorporated a

number of farmsteads, including those at Cottam, as well as a riverside settlement at

Skerne.[235] Though the estate did not leave many textual traces beyond being stated

in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle as the place at which Aldfrith died in 703, it continued

to act as an important royal estate through the mid-ninth century. In part this can

be seen in the pattern of coin loss in the environs of the estate.
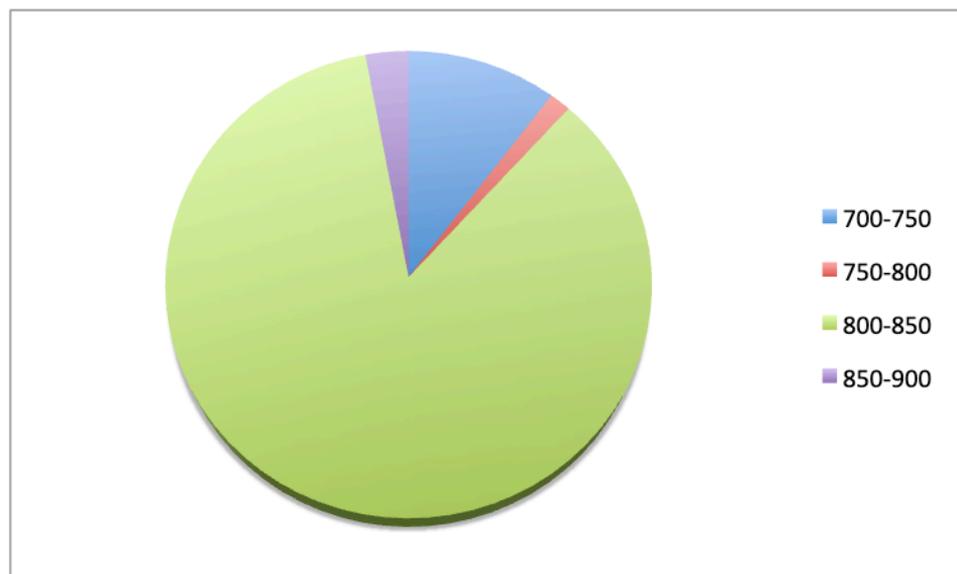
fig. 25. Pattern of coin loss in the area around Driffield including Cottam and Skerne.
Information taken from the database compiled for this thesis.

Cottam and Skerne acted as ancillary sites to fill the needs of the estate

centre, connected to the estate centre and its dispersed farmsteads by a series of

track- and droveways. The former site served as an upland settlement for hunting,

animal husbandry and farming. Excavation indicates the use of sunken-featured

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[234] Loveluck. ''On Driffield', East Yorkshire'. p. 30
[235] Richards, Julian D, et. al. 'Cottam: an Anglo-Scandinavian Settlement on the Yorkshire Wolds', *The Archaeological Journal*, Vol. 156, Iss. 1. 1999. p. 90

buildings as well as at least one post-built timber building, all of which was set within a series of ditched enclosures.[236] Evidence for pigs and cattle suggests that they were raised and slaughtered primarily for local consumption rather than large-scale production of secondary products such as their skin, horns or milk.[237] Sheep made up the largest proportion of the animal bones found on the site and the presence of wool-combs at the site suggests that they were raised for their wool as well as their meat.[238] In this way, Cottam acted as a largely self-sufficient farming settlement within the estate system.

The riverside settlement at Skerne is evident through its artefacts and the evidence of a causeway rather than clear structure signs. Large amounts of oyster shells and processed animal bones follow recognised patterns indicating that they featured in the diet of the local inhabitants.[239] As may be expected from a riverside inhabitant serving the needs of a larger estate, tools at the site suggest that the inhabitants engaged in net repair and boat-building and maintenance.[240] This alongside domestic implements such as a slide key and structural fittings indicate that there was a settled population at the dock site. This range of individual sites each filled important roles in the life of the estate as a whole. In order for the royal estate to function fully, each one was necessary and represented an intrinsic part to the whole system.

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[236] Richards. Julian, et. al. ' Cottam, Cowlam and the Environs: An Anglo-Saxon Estate on the Yorkshire Wolds', The *Archaeological Journal*, Vol. 170, Iss. 1, 2013. p. 257-258

[237] Richards. 'Cottam, Cowlam and the Environs'. p. 252

[238] Richards, Julian D. 'The Anglian and Anglo-Scandinavian Sites at Cottam' in *Markets in Early Medieval Europe: Trading and 'Productive Sites, 650-850*, eds. Tim Pestell and Katherina Ulmschneider. Macclesfield: Windgather Press, 2003. p. 165

[239] Dent, John; Loveluck, Chris; and Fletcher, William. 'The Early Medieval Site at Skerne' in *Wetland Heritage of the Hull Valley: An Archaeological Survey*, eds. Robert Van de Noort and Stephen Ellis, Hull: Humber Wetlands Project, 2000. p. 237

[240] Dent, Loveluck and Fletcher. 'The Early Medieval Site at Skerne'. p. 236

Monastic Settlements

The estates of the powerful families in the Yorkshire Wolds allowed for land to be given for the construction of monasteries in the region, often under the control of abbesses from the royal kin such as Hild at her foundation at Whitby.[241] Like Jarrow, these monasteries were intrinsically linked with their surrounding lay communities. The Deiran sites were particularly wealthy and powerful institutions, able to draw upon trade-networks with the southern kingdom and Continent present in the Humber estuary.[242] After serving as the abbess of the Hartlepool in Bernicia, Hild founded Whitby in northern Deira, on a headland overlooking the North Sea. This occurred in the 650's during a period of widespread expansion for institutions of this type, and in a similar vein monastic activity continued through to the mid-ninth century before faltering until the period of the Benedictine reforms in the late tenth and eleventh centuries.[243] These arrangements match descriptions provided by Bede in the *Historia Ecclesiastica* such as those that occurred in Whitby wherein lay members of the local community such as the cowherd Cædmon were present at feasts.[244] The lay and religious communities particularly in these Deiran Double Monasteries do not seem to have been strictly segregated either physically or

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[241] This is discussed in more detail in Chapter 5

[242] Loveluck, Christopher. 'Caedmon's World: Secular and Monastic Lifestyle and Estate Organization in Northern England, AD 650-900' in *Caedmon's Hymn and Material Culture,* eds. Allan J. Frantzen and John Hines, Morgantown: West Virginia University Press, 2007. p. 177

[243] Hunter, David; Baker, Polydora; Campbell, Gill; Daulby, Melanie; Graham, Karla; Jennings, Sarah; Paynter, Sarah. 'Whitby Abbey Headland Project Heritage Lottery Funded Work 1998-2004', *Centre for Archaeology Report*, Iss 1, Swindon: English Heritage, 2005. p. 11

[244] Bede, *Historia Ecclesiastica.* Book IV, Ch 24. Abbesses as landholders and lords is discussed in Chapter 3

ideologically, acting instead as one family engaged in many of the same labours and other tasks.

By incorporating people of varied backgrounds within the heart of the settlement, the needs of both the lay and religious members could be filled. Thus, an ample population could produce the labour of farming, food processing and livestock management while the religious community could ensure that their pastoral needs were filled.[245] More than solely acting as unimportant elements within the working environment, the attachment to an influential religious site granted the lay members within the settlement additional status. Their physical proximity and inclusion in the monastic family allowed them to draw upon the psychological weight of the monastery in a way that was not available to most free people below the nobility. This brought lay members of monasteries into a closer relationship with the divine through their proximity and participation in the life of the holy place. Even those higher status individuals living beyond the boundaries of a monastery, this inclusion in the prayers and power of a religious community was almost exclusively reserved for the deceased.

Structural evidence for the early medieval monastery sited at Whitby in Deira has been largely obscured by later settlement activity on the site with some areas being damaged or destroyed by rising sea levels.[246] In spite of this, excavations have uncovered the remains of an Anglo-Saxon cemetery, rectangular post-in-trench and dry-stone footed timber buildings and smaller cells suggesting a large community revolving around the monastic centre. Like the estate centres in Deira, monasteries

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[245] Foot. *Monastic Life.* p. 85, 172
[246] Foot. *Monastic Life*. p. 63

in the region lack the primarily centralised nature of their North and Northwestern counterparts that created an atmosphere of self-sufficiency. The dispersal of sites over a large area led to a filtering of information, with news taking longer to reach inhabitants depending on their location within the estate such as some of the members of the religious community whose position at the edges of the monastic lands allowed the death of Abbess Hild to be revealed though a miraculous vision.[247] This in turn indicates the interconnectivity of the lay and religious populations of the monastery. Rather than concentrating the sisters and brothers of the monastery at the heart while segregating lay members of the community to the peripheries, there seems to have been a mix of population throughout the site, many of whom filled the same labour.

Both Whitby and the monastery at Beverley located further to the south on the edge of fenland show evidence of local metalworking likely produced for the religious centres. At Whitby, hundreds of portable goods have been recovered and evidence of over 2 kg of slag and other debris indicating large scale iron-smithing present along the cliffs at the site.[248] Both sites also seem to have engaged in scribal activity with several styli recovered from Whitby and a fragmentary inkwell of the type known from Auldhame found at Beverley.[249] This local production alongside the large numbers of coins found at Whitby indicate that these foundations were linked to and actively engaged with large trade networks. These were powerful

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[247] Bede. *Historia Ecclesiastica.* Book 4, Ch. 23
[248] Lucas, Victoria A L and Paynter, Sarah. 'Whitby Cliff, Whitby, North Yorkshire: An Assessement of Metalworking Debris from the Whitby Cliff Excavations'*, Research Department Report Series,* no. 31, Portsmouth: English Heritage, 2010. p. 7
[249] Hadley, Dawn. *The Northern Danelaw: Its Society and Structure.* Leicester: Leicester University Press, 2000. p. 246; Crone and Hindmarch. *Living and Dying at Auldhame.* p. 59

institutions and they sought to be recognised as such in both their local communities and the wider landscape. Towards this end, many Deiran monastic holdings emphasised their connection with Rome through the use of monuments incorporating the iconography and motifs currently in use there showing their active involvement with ideological trends.[250] In this way, these foundations located where some would site the periphery of the civilised world attached themselves to the power at the heart of Christian Europe. At Whitby, though, plain crosses were somewhat unusual in an Anglo-Saxon context.[251] These crosses emphasised the monastery's Irish roots and affiliations. For travellers approaching a monastic foundation, sculptures such as these provided a clear signal of its ideological ties.

The Wider Rural Settlement Hierarchy

The landscape of rural Deira provided ample fertile land, both in the lowland regions and on the Moors. It had been an area rich in settlement sites and villas in the Roman and post-Roman period. Anglo-Saxon sites tended to avoid the former villa sites. Instead, former Romano-British nucleated 'ladder' settlements and farmsteads provided the locations for the later communities.[252] Alongside this, there is evidence of continued crop cultivation and forest maintenance in the region.[253] The tendency to site Anglo-Saxon settlements either alongside or in direct reference to their Romano-British forbearers, as well as the continuity of cultivation, suggests a

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[250] Lang. 'Monuments from Yorkshire'. p. 118

[251] Bailey, Richard. *England's Eariest Sculptures.* Toronto, Ont: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1996. p. 58

[252] Loveluck, Christopher. 'The Archaeology of Post-Roman Yorkshire, AD 400 to 700: Overview and Future Directions for Research' in *The Archaeology of Yorkshire: An Assessment at the Beginning of the 21st Century*, eds. T.G. Manby, Stephen Moorhouse and Patrick Ottaway, Huddersfield: The Charlesworth Group, 2003. p. 163

[253] Higham. *The Northern Counties.* p. 244

fair amount of continuity of population in the region as new influences and cultural trends synthesised with older traditions.

Similar to the monastic settlement, much of the wider rural hierarchy in Deira has suffered from later development or lack of funding for archaeological investigation. The Portable Antiquities Scheme, however, has worked hard with metal-detectorists in the region to properly evaluate and document the small finds recovered in the landscape. Through these efforts, scholars may use the extant material evidence to map the landscape and indicate the types of objects available to, and present in, different locations. The difficulty with this, though is that it creates biases in the data, potentially creating a false inflation of objects in some favoured detecting locations while leaving others blank due to inaccessibility, failure to report finds, inaccurate find spots and the backlog created by the amount of find to be accessed by small teams primarily staffed by volunteers. Thus, conclusions drawn from the information should be taken with some care to recognise the weaknesses inherent in the sample data.

In spite of these drawbacks, the scheme provides access to a wealth of valuable information that otherwise would be lost to scholars as well as indicating areas ripe for future study. The patterns identified by the PAS indicate that Eastern Yorkshire in particular served as a major cultural hub in the Deiran region and it became an area of dense settlement.[254] In this region, the wealth of metalwork recovered has led to many sites being described as 'Productive Sites'.[255] One of

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[254] Richards and Naylor. 'Settlement, Landscape and Economy'. p. 141
[255] Leahy, Kevin. 'Middle Anglo-Saxon Metalwork from South Newbald and the 'Productive Site' Phenomenon' in *Early Deira: Archaeological Studies of the East Riding in the Fourth to Ninth Centuries AD,* eds. Helen Geake and Jonathan Kenny, Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2000. p. 51

these sites located on the edge of the Yorkshire Wolds, Thwing, was situated within

a Bronze-Age ringwork monument. In the eighth century, there are signs that the

earthwork was reinforced, and a settlement was built within it.[256] The settlement

included a large timber hall, a long sunken-featured structure, and several domestic

and workshop sites.[257] The size and complexity of the settlement suggests that it

was a fairly significant site in the rural landscape.

More than solely an opportune occupation of a defensible structure, the

prehistoric monument seems to have retained a psychological importance, and the

Anglo-Saxon community chose to locate their cemetery in the centre of the feature

with signs of a timber-built chapel close by.[258] In this cemetery, there is evidence of

coffin fittings in roughly 23% of the graves.[259] These findings provide an insight into

the hierarchy in rural Deira. While there may have been few overt signs of

differences in status between those buried in coffins and others, the fact that their

families chose to inter their deceased in this way indicates their ability to

permanently mark their higher social status at that point in time.[260] It acted as a sign

of the intricate and often volatile patterns of hierarchy present within the social life

of the rural community.

In this region large quantities of coinage have also been found, largely

conforming to the pattern seen at the estate of Driffield with concentrations of finds

highest in the early eighth and early ninth centuries. It is important to note that

Aldfrith sceatta are found primarily around settlements near landing places on

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[256] Leahy. 'Middle Anglo-Saxon Metalwork'. p. 71
[257] Leahy. 'Middle Anglo-Saxon Metalwork'. p. 71
[258] Leahy. 'Middle Anglo-Saxon Metalwork'. p. 71
[259] Leahy. 'Middle Anglo-Saxon Metalwork'. p. 71
[260] Wickham. *Framing the Middle Ages.* p. 538-539

navigable rivers and along the Humber estuary at sites like North Ferriby. From

these Northumbrian points, their footprint can be followed southward in a pattern

indicative of waterborne travel. Merchants and traders carried Aldfrith's silver

coinage along the eastern shores, riverine landing sites, ports and trading sites with

the westernmost examples found at Hamwic.[261]
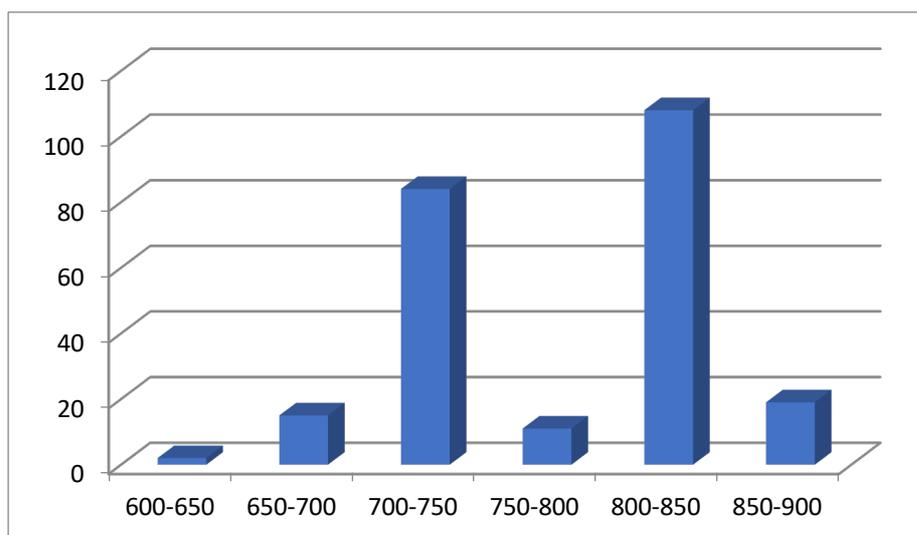
fig. 26. Approximate dates of coins found in rural Deira. Information taken from the database compiled for this thesis.

In the early eighth century, South Newbald acted as a thriving *wic*, showing

numerous coins and other types of metalwork. Only a few decades later, however,

this site no longer featured as strongly as a place of trade as suggested by the

diminished number of coin loss in the area and the lower numbers of metalwork

present.[262] It is only after this period in the mid-eighth century that the inland site of

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[261] Loveluck. *Northwestern Europe in the Early Middle Ages.* p. 189-190

[262] Booth, James. 'Northumbrian Coinage and the Productive Site of South Newbald (Sancton)' in *Early Deira: Archaeological Studies of the East Riding in the Fourth to Ninth Centuries AD,* eds. Helen Geake and Jonathan Kenny, Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2000 *Archaeological Studies of the East Riding in the Fourth to Ninth Centuries AD,* eds. Helen Geake and Jonathan Kenny, Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2000*.* p. 93

South Newbald began to show more activity. The amount of metalwork present at the site - primarily strap-ends, coins and pins with a single example of a copper alloy stylus also found - in addition to the low levels of domestic fittings present, suggests that the site may have acted as a local market site.[263] The Deira rural landscape was marked with a patchwork of sites serving complimentary needs. The density of population led to a series of 'productive sites' acting as industrial centres, markets and *wics* depending on their size and place within the landscape. At the higher end of this hierarchy stood larger settlements such as Thwing, showing a complexity of settlement structure, the presence of enclosures, and the presence of a prehistoric monument.

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[263] Leahy. 'Middle Anglo-Saxon Metalwork'. p. 77-78

4.6 The Northwest
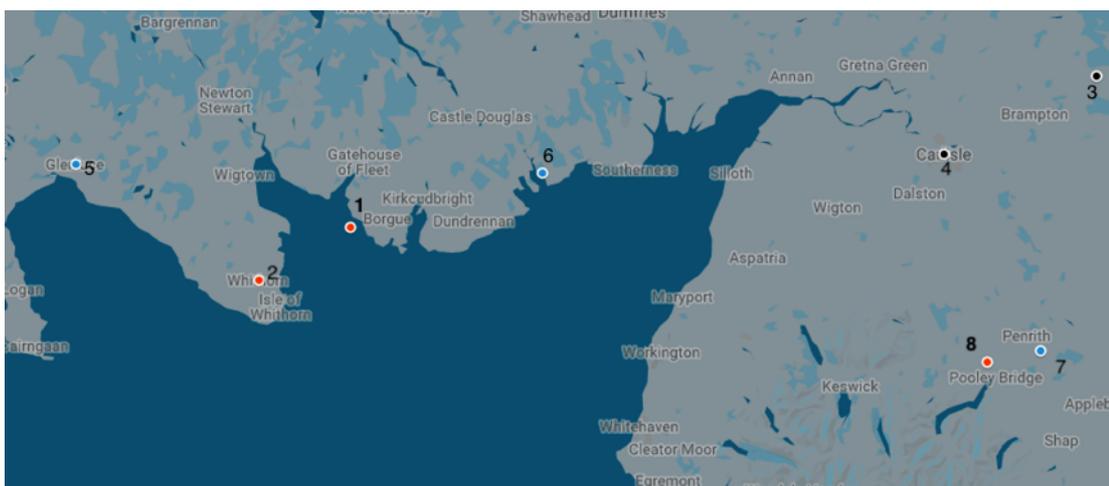
Prime Sites in the Northwest		
	Name	**Type**
1	Ardwall Isle	Monastery
2	Whithorn	Monastery
3	Dacre	Monastery
4	Birdoswald	Administrative
5	Carlisle	Administrative
6	Luce Sands	Other
7	Mote of Mark	Other
8	Brougham	Other

fig. 27. Northwestern settlement sites discussed

The Northumbrian territories west of the Pennines fall under the shadow of settlements that have either been lost beneath later development. Potential Anglo-Saxon sites in this region have yet to be fully excavated to the same degree as Roman Cumbria or post-Anglo-Saxon sites in area have been.[264] Though much of the physical evidence of Northumbrian culture and settlement in this region has to some extent been lost to time and tide, there are a number of sites that offer insights into life in the settlements of the Northwest during the period of Northumbrian control. In the seventh and eighth centuries the Anglo-Saxon kingdom exerted considerable

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[264] O'Sullivan, Deirdre. 'Cumbria Before the Vikings: A Review of Some 'Dark-Age' Problems in North-West England' in *The Scandinavians in Cumbria*, eds. John R. Baldwin and Ian D. Whyte, Edinburgh: The Scottish Society for Northern Studies, 1985. p. 21

influence over this Northwestern region.[265] The author of the anonymous *Vita Sancti Cuthberti* discusses the saint along with priests and deacons receiving a tour of the Roman remains of Carlisle by Waga, reeve (*civtatis praepositus)* of the settlement.[266] In Cumbria there is the enigmatic site at Brougham near the remains of a Roman fort. Though the extant material is difficult to date with precision, there are signs of both secular and religious activity around the settlement between the seventh and ninth centuries.[267] Farther north, the Mote of Mark provides evidence of a thriving and well-protected site at which large-scale metalworking took place.

At its height the kingdom stretched from roughly the River Mersey in the South to the Kyle on the Firth of Clyde in the northwest.[268] The northern expansion began with Æthelfrith of Bernicia at the turn of the seventh century as part of his larger territorial expansion that brought the southern kingdom of Deira under Bernician overlordship.[269] It has been theorised that the marriage of Oswiu to Reiemmelth, the last heir of the kingdom of Rheged in Galloway, represented a peaceful incorporation of this kingdom into Northumbrian control.[270] At its largest,

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[265] Cramp, Rosemary. *Whithorn and the Northumbrian Expansion Westward*. p. 6.

[266] Anonymous. 'Vita Sancti Cuthberti' in *Two Lives of St. Cuthbert,* ed and trans. Bertram Colgrave, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985. Book III Ch. VIII. '. . .*id quod Ƿaga ciuitatis praepositus ducens eos reuelauit'*.

[267] Loveluck. 'The Romano-British to Anglo-Saxon Transition'. p. 144; Bailey, Richard N. 'A Cup-Mount from Brougham, Cumbria', *Medieval Archaeology,* Vol. 21, 1977. p. 178-179. Based on the extant materials and the presence of an unusual, ditched enclosure, as shown through aerial photography, Loveluck suggested that an early Christian settlement active through the period of Northumbrian dominance in Brougham grew out of an earlier British centre located there. This suggests a blending of cultures at the site. Alongside the religious activity, Bailey discussed high-quality items, found in the nineteenth century, including a drinking horn with decorative metalwork mount the motif of which can be paralleled in Insular manuscripts such as the Book of Kells and the Lindisfarne Gospel.

[268] Woolf, Alex. *From Pictland to Alba, 789-1070.* Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2007. p. 14. Between the 685 and the 750s, after the defeat at Nechtansmere when Fortriu gained more power over Northumbria's northern frontier the kingdom still extended as far north as the Lowther Hills.

[269] Brooke, Daphne. 'Northumbrian Settlements in Galloway and Carrick: An Historical Assessment', *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, Vol. 121, 1991. p. 300

[270] Brooke. 'Northumbrian Settlement in Galloway and Carrick'. p. 300

Northumbria may have incorporated more than a third of Scotland. Northumbrian kings remained active in the regions of Lothian and Rheged after Ecgfrith's defeat at Nechtansmere in 685 through to the tenth century.[271] It is in this region around the Solway Firth that a network of Northumbrian settlements has been uncovered and in which many Northumbrian stone monuments have been found.

Administrative Centres

Sited around a series of firths, bays and inlets, Northwestern Northumbria and the communities inhabiting it were ideally placed to benefit from maritime trade routes on the Irish Sea. The fact that this region provided this access may have been one of many factors that drew the attention of the Northumbrian kings. Unlike some the eastern states, evidence suggests that all of these sites hosted sustained habitation through to the period of Northumbrian influence.

Secular administrative sites in the region, such as Carlisle and Birdoswald, tended to be centred on Roman sites and forts.[272] In Carlisle, the fountains and walls survived into its Northumbrian occupation.[273] The centrality of these two places in the Northumbrian administration of the region can be seen in the number of coins recovered from these two sites. Whithorn showing some Roman finds alongside an

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[271] Maddicott, J.R. 'Two Frontier States: Northumbria and Wessex, c. 650-750' in *The Medieval State: Essays Presented to James Campbell,* eds. J.R. Maddicott and D.M. Palliser, London: The Hambledon Press, 2000. p. 26

[272] Troop. 'Northumbria in the West'. p. 101

[273] Bede. *Vita Sancti Cuthberti.* Book IV, Ch VIII. McCarthy, Mike, Buckberry, Jo and Montgomery, Janet. *Carlisle Cathedral, Cumbria: Excavations 1988, Roman, Medieval and Post-Medieval Reports*, Archaeology Data Service, University of York, 2011; Hill, Peter. *Whithorn and St. Ninian: The Excavation of a Monastic Town.* Stroud: Sutton Publishing, 1997.

early Christian settlement with evidence of two rectangular buildings, two shrines, a

roundhouse and an extensive cemetery.[274]

Monastic Settlements

While monasteries served important functions throughout the kingdom, in

the Northwestern region they seem to have held a particularly significant additional

function of helping to consolidate and strengthen Northumbrian influence in the

region.[275] This intensification of function worked because of the large areas of land

held by monastic institutions on which Northumbrian stone monuments could be

erected and reach a wide local audience, the role they served for trade activities and

metalworking and the psychological impact of their religious function for the

surrounding communities.

The Bewcastle and Ruthwell monuments, different aspects of which have

been discussed in previous chapters, are well-known examples of Northumbrian

monumentality in the Northwest. Stone fragments from the monastery at Dacre

indicate ideological affiliation with the eastern sites at Otley, Yorkshire and Breedon

as well as to the north at Hoddom. A stone cross-shaft from the early ninth century

shows the intricate inhabited scroll work found at religious sites throughout

southern Northumbria with images of human figures and a finely carved lion shows

influence from the school at Hexham drawing upon classical models.[276] Like their

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[274] Hill notes that in the 1990 season of excavations of the pre-Northumbrian ecclesiastic structures some evidence was found in builders' debris of limestone and plaster providing some support to arguments that a plastered, mortared structure gave the site its Latin and Old English names, *Candida Casa* and *Hwit Aerne*, as recorded by Bede.

[275] Troop. 'Northumbria in the West'. p. 101

[276] Bailey and Cramp. *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture, Vol. II: Cumberland, Westmoreland and Lancashire-North-of-the-Sands*. p. 90-91

Deiran counterpart, such motifs showed the desire to tie the western foundation back to its Yorkshire counterparts as well as to the Roman centre.

fig. 28. Dacre 1A, plate no. 239
© Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture, University of Durham/ Photographer: Tom Middlemass

After Northumbrian control was consolidated in the region, both sites continued to flourish with Whithorn becoming the site of a north-western bishopric with continuing interest in maritime trade and Carlisle acting as both an ecclesiastic

and royal centre.[277] Of the four sites considered here, these two are the only ones that show casual loss of coins. Whithorn in particular shows over 60 coins, 44 of these being lost between 800 and 850. All of these save one East Anglian silver penny are Northumbrian in origin. The findings of these coins provide an interesting attestation of the life cycle of these sites. Whithorn's position on the coast suggests that the early findings of coins here represent its continued role as a market.[278] It also may indicate a different audience present at the site. These coins bear the names of the Northumbrian kings, and their circulation with their early motif of the stylised stag would communicate the power, wealth and control of the Anglo-Saxon ruler. The acceptance of the coinage as it became more debased through the ninth century indicates a continuing trust in the royal authority behind the value of the stycas.[279] This continued through to the latter half of the century where the fall in coins suggests the Northumbria's slow ebb of control in the region.

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[277] Henig. 'The Fate of Late Roman Towns'. p. 527

[278] Blair. *Church in Anglo-Saxon Society.* p. 261

[279] It is very interesting to note that the vast majority of the coins recovered at these two sites are the copper alloy stycas with silver *sceatta* and silver penny of Beonna being rare exceptions. This does more than show the influence of the king in the western reaches of Northumbria, it also hints at an understanding of the lack of inherent value in the coins. That they were lost shows a large volume changing hands, but it also suggests that lost coins were not necessarily sought out if they were dropped. Silver coinage both from Northumbria and abroad including Arabic dirhams are far more numerous in hoards such as that found at Talnotrie north of Whithorn. Trade networks stretched far from the Solway Firth as evidence by these foreign currencies, but the standardization of value by precious metal content shows these coins being carefully protected with casual loss being uncommon.
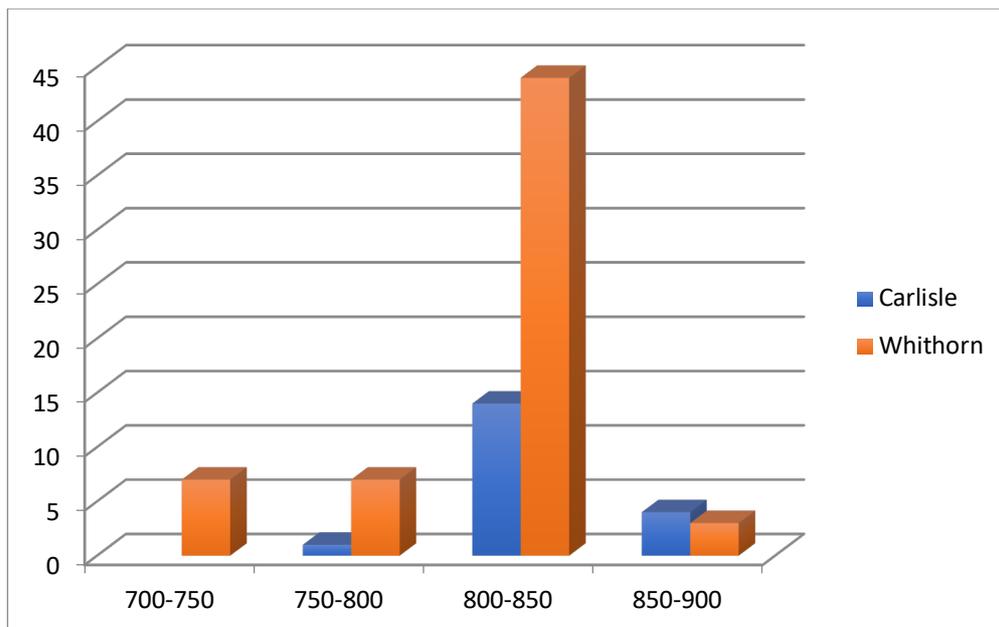
fig. 29. Coins recovered from the case study sites. All except one East Anglian penny of Beonna found at Whithorn are Northumbrian in origin. Information taken from the database compiled for this thesis.

On Ardwall Isle, the material footprint left by the Columban-style monastery indicates a very different relationship between the community living there and material goods. Located on an island, this site eschewed the administrative and cultural roles served by Whithorn and Dacre. The small number of items present on the island when compared to other excavated sites suggests that the members of this community embraced the monastic rule of poverty, avoiding the acquisition of rich or unnecessary items. Moreover, the possessions that did belong to the community would have been reused or recycled in some way rather than disposed of. What items they did collect tended to be utilitarian in form and function. There are two exceptions to this that in turn seem to support the general rule. One grave on the island contained the body of an elderly man who may have been one of the community's abbots. The people who buried him placed a stone portable altar decorated with multiple incised crosses with his body. It seems that the community

made this item, unique in that it is made of stone rather than timber or metal, for the purpose of the deceased abbot's inhumation.[280] A decorative strip, incised with an uncommon stamped triangular motif similar to the Carraig Aille II type, represents the other non-utilitarian item extant from the community. The strip itself seems to have come from a house-type shrine or a reliquary of the same type as the Lough Erne shrine.[281] Both of these more ornate items serve particular religious purposes and their deposition, one in furnishing an abbot's grave and the other lost from a larger shrine, emphasise the sites religious nature and its focus on living simply.
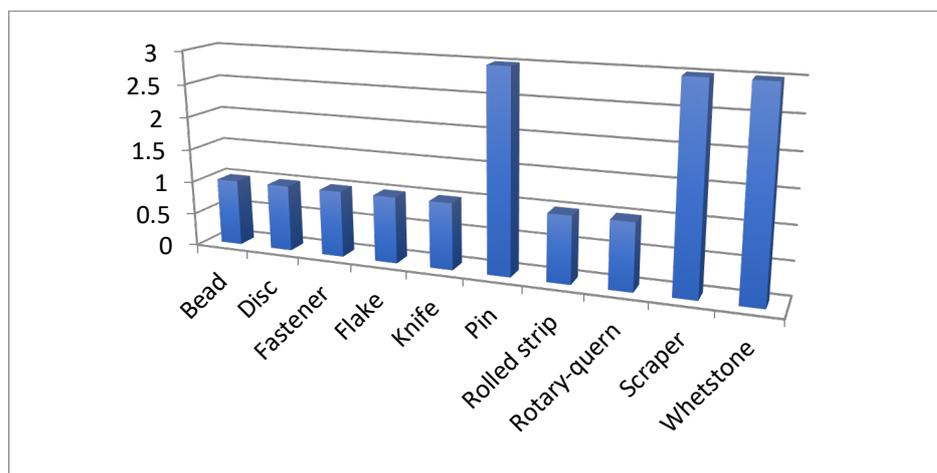
fig. 30. Material found on Ardwall Isle, c. 600-800. Information taken from the database compiled for this thesis.

The footprint of this site illuminates the differences between different religious sites when looked at alongside that found at Whithorn. This site continued previous activity on the site and shows an extensive and evolving structural sequence. The majority of the buildings found at the bishopric are larger than those

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[280] Thomas, Charles. 'An Early Christian Cemetery and Chapel on Ardwall Isle, Kirkcudbright' in *Medieval Archaeology,* Vol. 11, Iss. 1 1967. p. 162
[281] Thomas. 'An Early Christian Cemetery'. p. 146

found at Ardwall Isle. It also stands out with many of these buildings incorporating

walls of wattle-and-daub and timber used along with stone rather than the focused

stone construction found at its monastic counterpart. This difference may reflect

the different environments of the sites, with Whithorn better able to obtain and

make use of timber rather than the island setting of the monastery. Whithorn also

shows a wider variety of building types, with sunken-feature workshops alongside

larger halls, churches, oratories and burial enclosures built on rubble platforms or

padstones. The material footprint found in the individual buildings also serves to

show the difference of lifestyles. Nearly all of the structures at Whithorn show a

fairly sizable number of portable artefacts. These vary from offcuts of bone or

metalworking debris found around the workshops, to ornate Germanic palm cups

and other glass vessels, silver pins and decorative tweezers found around the halls

on the site.[282] The variety and amount of the items recovered at Whithorn show the

interest taken by the ecclesiastic community there in supporting and contributing to

the trade networks available to it, as well as its relationship with the local lay

population and elite members of society.

Wider Rural Settlement Hierarchy

Unlike the previous sites, the Mote of Mark represented a traditional hillfort

settlement style. The site does not seem to have had any attachment to Roman

activity in the area. Rather, construction and sustained occupation of the settlement

began in the mid-sixth century with the construction of a rampart of beach stones.[283]

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[282] Hill. *Whithorn and St. Ninian.*

[283] Hind, Damien, *The National Trust for Scotland: Dumfries and Galloway Small Properties Archaeological Survey*. Unpublished Internal NTS Report, 2002

From that point the settlement survived and thrived for a further two centuries through to nearly the turn of the ninth century.[284] Throughout this time, the settlement seems to have been intrinsically linked to the trade opportunities provided by its coastal position. The people living here seemed to be heavily engaged in metalworking, gold- and silver-smithing. Over one hundred crucible fragments were recovered from the site representing at least 34 individual items of a variety of sizes in use throughout its period of occupation. Along with these vessels, several hundred moulds and a tuyere were also found. The vast quantity of items – a number which dwarfs the moulds and crucibles found at the larger and longer-lived settlement site at Whithorn - shows the high level, both in quantity and quality, of smithing active at the Mote of Mark. Alongside this there is evidence that bone and antlers were also worked at the site. It is in this that there can be found an intriguing representation of the site's Northumbrian connections. During excavation, a broken piece of polished antler was found bearing a runic inscription written in Old English.

Besides the rampart itself, the remnants of three structures remain. Two of these were small workshops built of clay and stone atop hard subsoil. The second of these workshop huts, built nearly a century after the first, was twice the size of its earlier counterpart. This may indicate that the site was enjoying increasing volumes of trade necessitating additional or larger workspaces. The final building was a rectangular timber structure built on padstones roughly 8.5 m by 4 m. Overall, the site does not seem to have an overwhelming high-status presence. Yet, its position

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[284] Lloyd, Laing and Longley, David. *The Mote of Mark: A Dark Age Hillfort in South-West Scotland.* Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2006

on the Firth and its role in maritime trade afforded the people living therein access

to fine continental glass vessels and pottery, with several examples of both being

found.

This type of trading and craft working settlements could not have existed

with the presence of smaller beach landing places. In the early medieval Solway

Firth region, thousands of small finds and Northumbrian coins have been recovered

from dune landscape of Luce Sands indicating that, though the settlement itself is no

longer evident due to the slow shifting nature of the dunes.[285] While structural

evidence has largely been destroyed over time, evidence has been found of a hearth

and a possible windbreak on the beach from a period of time when the surface of

the dunes went through a period of stability allowing for more permanent

dwellings.[286] Like the landing places in the Humber estuary in function, the site

seems to have acted as a place for merchants to land and engage in trade with the

local population. Here, brooches, zoomorphic strap-ends and pins have been found

alongside Northumbrian coins.[287] The coins recovered from the site seem to indicate

stray finds from the trading place and range from the mid-eighth to mid-ninth

centuries.[288] Despite its small size and location on the dunes, this settlement and

others like it were able to accrue material culture that in inland communities were

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[285] Cowie, T.G.'Torrs Warren, Luce Sands, Galloway: A Report', *Transactions of the Dumfrieshire and Galloway Natural History and Antiquarian Society*, 3rd Series, Vol. LXXI, Dumfries: Council of the Society, 1996. p. 17

[286] Cowie. 'Torrs Warren, Luce Sands, Galloway'. p. 99

[287] Griffiths, David. 'The Coastal Trading Ports of the Irish Sea' in *Viking Treasures from the North West: The Cuerdale Hoard in its Context*, ed. James Graham-Chapman, Liverpool: National Museums & Galleries on Merseyside, 1990. p. 65

[288] Cormack, William F. 'Northumbrian Coins from Luce Sands, Wigtownshire', *Transactions of the Dumfrieshire and Galloway Natural History and Antiquarian Society*, 3rd Series, Vol. XLII, Dumfries: Council of the Society, 1965, p. 149-150

used to signify high social status.[289] Here these objects represent the availability of the goods to communities on trade routes and their active involvement in networks of trade that stretched through the different regions of Northumbria and into continental Europe and beyond.

Northumbria's rural landscape was far from a largely empty landscape dotted with insular communities largely cut off from wider networks of social and mercantile connections. Environmental conditions allowed for people to build settlements throughout the rural world, stretching into the highlands, fenlands and coast that appear as the haunts of demons and monsters in texts. Far from being an isolated backwater, Northumbria's access to North and Irish Sea trade routes, and its navigable rivers allowed for the importation of foreign vessels and other luxury items. This is turn gave those living near landing places the opportunity to trade necessary goods to merchants for their wares, allowing them access to items that would communicate high social status and wealth if they lived inland. The landscape was active with trackways, droveways and roads on which people, both the living and the dead, travelled on their various ways to regional markets, neighbouring settlements or a desirable burial location at an influential monastery. It was imbued with meaning that those people who knew the area could discern. The fact that this landscape was actively travelled through allowed for minsters and monasteries to work to disseminate culture and ideology through the use of public monuments set in positions that travellers could interact with.

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[289] Loveluck. *Northwestern Europe.* p. 361

Northumbria was a patchwork of settlement types and lifestyles, each of which could then be broken down to individual hierarchies of site. Different landscapes, lifestyles and traditional styles greatly influenced how individual communities structured their surroundings. In Bernicia and the Northwest this can be seen in the preference for fortified settlements for sites with royal and administrative roles, whereas in Deira sites serving the same roles were built along dispersed estate sites. In the same manner, many monastic sites in the Northwest overlapped in function with administrative sites. Backgrounds of individual sites also lead to differences between settlements in the same region. Thus, the Columban institution of Ardwall Isle appears markedly different in material footprint from its fellow western monasteries, Whithorn and Dacre, and the community at Jarrow with its potentially royal foundation was far more integrated between its lay and religious members than Wearmouth. Social, cultural and mercantile networks spread through the different regions of the kingdom and it is this wider system of cultural connections that helped to helped disseminate a unifying Northumbrian identity that could be felt simultaneously with the unique local identities.

5. Gender, Authority and Legitimacy in the Mingled
Spheres of the Sacred and the Secular in Rural Northumbria

The first task that must be taken in the creation of a community or settlement is the choice of where to set it. It is the physical landscape used by a group of people in conjunction with the ideological manipulation and employment thereof. Once that foundation has been set the built environment could begin to take shape. This environment should not be thought of as strictly physical in essence. It is more than an arrangement of buildings, bridges and roads slowly accruing as a settlement grows and evolves. A crucial part of this environment is the more abstract arrangement and network of the people within the community. It is this aspect of communities that will be the focus of this chapter. That is the negotiation of authority and legitimacy, how it was understood and expressed, using the written word – either in texts or inscriptions - as well as through material culture. To open this discussion these themes will first be explored through the lens of gender and gender relations. The roles and position of women and men in Northumbrian society, both secular and lay, will be explicitly discussed. Following on from this, the methods utilised by landholders and other figures of power to communicate their position in different regions of Northumbria will be explored alongside a consideration of how these objects would have been understood by their respective audiences.

The danger of a chapter on the fashioning of authority and legitimacy is the danger that it could inadvertently skew the society it seeks to understand. By using a wide variety of material and textual sources together, and by considering authority and power broadly in terms of the roles that they may have related to – that is not

solely leaders of society but of one's role within their community.   This chapter

concerns the many types of rural settlements that filled the Northumbrian

landscape.

5.2 Abbesses, Noble Women and *friwif locboran*

So great was her[Hild's] *prudence that not only ordinary people but also kings and*

princes sometimes sought and received her counsel when in difficulties[290]

When this question of Easter and of the tonsure and other ecclesiastical matters was

raised, it was decided to hold a council to settle the dispute at a monastery called

Strenæhealh*(Whitby). . .at this time Hild, a women devoted to God, was abbess. .*[291]

Both of the preceding passages provide examples of how authority was

recognized and described by an outside observer.   They show how a Northumbrian

author understood and structured authority and legitimacy through writing. They

also afford readers a glimpse into how intricately and intrinsically interwoven the

sacred and secular aspects of society were in early medieval Northumbria. These

quotes, both from Bede, also show the tensions present between these two spheres

of influence. The first, which occurs in a section noting the abbess' death,

commemorates Hild's life both as a holy woman and as a member of the ruling

family. In the quote, Bede emphasises her elevated position in society and the high

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[290] Bede. *Historia Ecclesiastica.* Book IV Ch. 23
   Tanta autem erat ipsa prudentiæ, ut so non solum mediocres quique in necessitatibus suis,
   sed etiam reges ac principes nonnunquam ab eam quærerent consilium et invenirent.
[291] Bede *Historia Ecclesiastica*. Book III Ch. 25
   Mota ergo ibi quæstione de pascha, vel tonsure, vl aliis rebus ecclesiasticis, dispositum es tut
   in monasterio, quod dicitur Strenaesbalch. . .cui tunc Hild abbatissa Deo devota femina
   præfuit, synodus fieri et haec quæstioneterminari deberet.

regard in which she was held by lay and ecclesiastic figures. Hild's renown in lay society, and her monastery's reputation in educating bishops and abbots, gave her the reputation as a counsellor and intellectual authority for leaders of both the secular and religious spheres in Northumbria.

The second quote, describing the Synod of Whitby, is written in such a way as to stress the power and authority of the Northumbrian king as a force for order and harmony for the kingdom as a whole, both sacred and secular.   In it Hild, though the abbess of the monastery and perhaps one of the presiding figures over the synod, is written into a role tangential to the action of the scene. In this chapter, the structure of society will be examined as well as the methods whereby leading members of society tried to convey their position within their communities. The communities considered will include both secular and ecclesiastic, in order to reflect the permeable, imprecise and shifting boundaries that existed between the two in the early medieval period. Just as it is important not to lose site of the shared space occupied by the secular and sacred spheres, the often intentionally muted, obscured or textually subverted roles of women as figures of, and their relationship to, authority must not be forgotten. For this reason, parts of this chapter will focus on women and their roles and positions within Northumbrian society.

Bede provides an excellent example of the dangers of written sources when taken at face value. His purpose in writing the *Ecclesiastical History of the English People* is to highlight how the Christian faith came to Britain, and how the power of the Christian God manifests through history. Another key point for the Northumbrian cleric was to highlight the role of Northumbria and its kings and bishops as dominant figures both for the coming of the faith to the shores of Britain

as well as in the hierarchy of Anglo-Saxon kingdoms.   It is a story of royalty as crucial

ambassadors for Christianity in Britain. In this narrative, royal abbesses like Hild,

Ælfflaed and Æthelthryth serve as vehicles to advance both the power of Christianity

and its intricate relationship with secular rulers. By emphasising the traditional

feminine virtues of chastity, virginity and motherhood – in a spiritual sense – while

deemphasising their actions as landholders, community leaders and political actors,

Bede removes them from the taint of the secular world and creates exemplars of

female religious life. [292] Bede's emphasis is on the purity of the women within his

narrative. Their royal birth elevates them, proving an innate nobility, but their true

importance lies in their special relationship with the divine.

This can be seen with a particular clarity with Hild. Unlike many of the other

women who enter into Bede's narrative, Hild spent half of her life in the secular

world before she entered into religious orders.[293] Hild cannot be lauded as a virgin,

unlike Æthelthryth whose virginity through two marriages became the central point

of her story both in Bede's telling and in her later hagiographies.[294] Thus, Bede

positions Hild as a maternal figure expounding the 'virtues of justice, devotion, and

chastity and other virtues too, but above all things to continue in peace and

charity'.[295] A few sentences below this, Bede specifically states that 'all who knew

Hild, the handmaiden of Christ and abbess, used to call her mother. . .'[296] For Bede,

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[292] Blanton. *Signs of Devotion.* p. 26
[293] Bede. *Ecclesiastical History of the English People.* Book IV Ch. 23. Bede cites that she spent precisely 33 years of her life in the secular world. This time period may have been set to parallel the Biblical example of Jesus who was said to be 33 when he was crucified and resurrected. Thus, Hild's life as a before entering into the monastery becomes in this telling a symbolic period of testing and preparation for her role as a vessel of divine will, though I may be over-stretching the metaphor.
[294] Blanton. *Signs of Devotion.* p. 53
[295] Bede. *Ecclesiastical History of the English People.* Book IV Ch. 23
[296] Bede. *Ecclesiastical History of the English People. Book IV CH. 23*

Hild becomes a motherly figure, attentively raising the next generation of bishops, archbishops and abbots. Her direct influence is glossed over, and instead the emphasis is placed on her ability to produce strong male ecclesiastics to shepherd the Church further.

In *The Ecclesiastical History,* abbesses are simultaneously revered and potentially troublesome figures. These were women whose positions afforded them the opportunity to independently wield power, both within their religious communities and in the secular business of landholding. Moreover, their very positions as religious leaders granted them a certain degree of political influence such as Cuthbert, Adomnán, Wilfrid and other male religious figures were shown to have.[297] The religious life in the first two centuries after the Anglo-Saxon conversion period opened up an opportunity for women to play a crucial role in the promotion and shaping of the new religion. This is not to discount the validity of religious devotion felt by these women, but ambition cannot be discounted as an influence. Noble women, whether widowed or unmarried, in particular were able to establish their own foundations over which they become head.[298] These minsters often passed from the control of one woman to a sister, a daughter or another more distantly related member of the same family.   In this manner they were not unlike many single sex monasteries including Wearmouth as well as the monastery in Æthelwulf's monastery in *De Abbatibus*.[299] These arrangements simultaneously

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[297] The fact that many if not most abbesses were members of the royal families certainly would not have detracted from their ability to influence contemporary politics.

[298] Foot, Sarah. *Monastic Life in Anglo-Saxon England, c. 600-900*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006. p. 82

[299] Bede. 'Historia Abbatum' in *The Abbots of Wearmouth and Jarrow*. eds. Christopher Grocock and Ian Wood, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2013. Book I Ch. 8. Eosterwine, who served as abbot in Benedict's absences from Wearmouth, is noted by Bede as a close cousin (*patruelis*) of Benedict's;

allowed for authority to be passed from one women to another without the direct

intercession of male family members and kept the control of the landed wealth and

power of the foundation to remain within the influence of the abbess or abbot's

family.[300]   For the families of abbesses and female religious alike, this situation

provided the added benefit of removing the threat of land loss through

inheritance.[301] At the same time, this situation created the opportunity for abbesses

to choose to pass the control of large tracts of land to a kinswoman of their choice.

The importance and tenacity of the ties between women within monasteries

and their secular families can be seen in the name stones found at Hartlepool. Bede

mentions Hartlepool as the first monastery over which Hild became abbess after

being called back to Northumbria by Bishop Aidan of Lindisfarne before she founded

a monastery at Whitby closer to the Deiran heartland to the south.[302] It is also the

monastery in which Ælfflaed, the daughter of King Oswiu, began her religious life

under Hild's direction after being promised to God in thanks for Northumbrian

victory at the Battle of the Winwæd.[303] At least from the time of Hild's accession,

Hartlepool seems to have possessed close ties with the royal lines of Northumbria.

Not only was it under the control of a relative of Edwin of the Deiran branch, but it

also fostered the daughter of the Bernician overlord of Northumbria, Oswiu.

The links between powerful holy women and their noble families made

monasteries such as Hartlepool desirable sites for interment. The corpus of name

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Æthelwulf. *De Abbatibus.* ed. A. Campbell, Oxford: Clarendon, 1967. Ch XIII and Ch XV. Æthelwulf
notes that the abbacy was passed between at least two sets of brothers before his time.
[300] Foot. *Monastic Life.* p. 84-85.
[301] Foot. *Monastic Life.* p. 84
[302] Bede. *Ecclesiastical History of the English People.* Book IV Ch 23
[303] Bede. *Ecclesiastical History of the English People.* Book III Ch 24

stones recovered at the monastery may bear witness to this. It has been suggested that name stones at monastic sites such as Hartlepool may have been intended for respected members of the monastery or for the use of noble kin of those within the community.[304] Ten name stones have been found at the site of Cross Close cemetery at the monastery. Early excavations began after the monastic cemetery was identified in 1833 and continued sporadically in the following century.[305] Unfortunately, the early records of excavations at Cross Close lack accurate sexing and age information about the individuals uncovered here. The inscribed largely feminine names found on the stone markers here and comparisons with the other two cemeteries found around the abbey have led researchers to conclude that this may have been a cemetery primarily for the vowed women of the monastery as well as their close kin.[306]

Of the stone markers where at least parts of the names remain legible, five bear female names and one stone, bearing the inscription 'Vermund', commemorates a male name.[307] The final legible stone is particularly interesting for the fact that it is inscribed with two names, one male and one female.[308] The presence of male names among the name stones at Hartlepool is not surprising. The site had been a double monastery, much like Whitby, which the abbess Hild founded and gained much of her renown, as well as sites such as Lindisfarne where name stones similarly record both male and female names. What is interesting at

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[304] Daniels. *Anglo-Saxon Hartlepool*. p. 142
[305] Daniels. *Anglo-Saxon Hartlepool.* p. 78
[306] Daniels. *Anglo-Saxon Hartlepool.* p. 80
[307] Daniels. *Anglo-Saxon Hartlepool.* p. 80
[308] Daniels. *Anglo-Saxon Hartlepool.* p. 141

Hartlepool is the stone that bears the names Wærmund and Torhtsuiþ. The sharing

of a single name stone would seem to suggest a direct tie between the two

individuals, perhaps a spouse who died before the survivor entered the religious life,

or a son commemorated alongside his mother. The exact relationship between

Wærmund and Torhtsuiþ may not be known, but the fact that the choice was made

to commemorate them together suggests the desirability of burial in influential

monastic sites where one may trust that the prayers of members of the community

may weigh in their favour. More importantly, it also indicates that the ties of kinship

were considered valuable and worthy of memorialising by both the lay members of

the family as well as by those within a religious community. The bonds of kinship

allowed even the lay family of religious women entrance into the spiritually

significant space of the monastic women's cemetery at the abbey and through that a

special place in the prayers of the monastic community.

Penitentials offer another insight into the construction of gender roles within

religious life. These sources, like law codes, should not be read as exact portrayals of

life as it was lived. In them, church authorities ruled on how members should act.

What these texts do allow for is an examination of the Church's position on the

situation and the influence it sought to exert upon society. The Penitential of

Theodore, a work written at the end of the seventh century, seems to distinguish

between the position of an abbess and an abbot within Church hierarchy.

4. A presbyter may consecrate an abbess with the celebration of the mass.

5. In the ordination of an abbot, indeed, the bishop ought to perform the mass and bless him as he bows his head, with two or three witnesses from among his brethren, and give him the staff and shoes.[309]

The consecration of an abbess is described simply and appears fairly unremarkable. The only information the author deems necessary to lay out is that the consecration ought to be conducted during a mass presided over by a presbyter. A presbyter was a cleric who could perform the mass as well as deliver sacraments.[310] In the church hierarchy, they were distinct from and subordinate to bishops.

Other than the setting for the consecration and the presiding official, the author does not describe the necessary rituals for the elevation of an abbess. This lack of description suggests that the role of an abbess did not, for this author at least, hold the same significance or importance as the male role of abbot. For the consecration of an abbot, the author stresses that the mass ought to be conducted by a bishop. He continues to enumerate who ought to witness the elevation and

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[309] 'The Penitential of Theodore' in *Medieval Handbooks of Penance,* eds. and trans. John T. McNeill and Helena M. Gamer, New York: Columbia University Press, 1990. Book 2, III.4-5. The separate value of male and female religious also appears in the author's discussion of the rituals of ordination for monks and nuns. In III.3, the rituals involved for the ordination of monks are careful enumerated. It is discussed as though it were a second baptism with the presiding abbot taking the place of a presbyter in the sacrament. When the author comes to discuss women within the Church in III.6, it is simply stated that 'nuns. . .and churches ought always to be consecrated with a mass'.

> *III.3: In monarchi uero ordinatione abbas debet missam agree et III orations s<upe>r capud eius conplere; et Vii dies uelet capud suum coculla sua, et septima die abbas tollet uelamen, s<icut> in baptism praesbiter solet uelamen infantum auferre: ita et abbas debet monacho, quia secundum baptismum est iuxta iudicium partum in quo omnia peccata dimittuntur sicut in baptism.*
> *III.4: Praesbiter potest abbatissam consecrare cum missae caelebratione,*
> *III.5: in abbatis uero ordinatione episcop<us> debet missam agree et eum benedicere inclinato capite cum duobus uel tribus testibus de fratribus suis; et dat ei baculum et pedules.*
> *III.6: Sanctaemoniales autem et bascilicae cum missa semper debent consecrare.*

[310] Elford, Kerry Jane. *The Terms Used for Priests and Other Clergy in the Anglo-Saxon Period.* PhD dissertation, University of Birmingham, 2009. p. 39. Elford notes that the OE translation of Bede's Ecclesiastical History uses the word *massepreost* for presbyter in all but two cases.

remarks upon the symbols of authority, the staff and shoes, given to an abbot to serve as a visible sign of his authority. These symbols are absent from the description of the consecration of an abbess given in the Penitential. In spite of their absence, the staff and shoes described seem to have been given to Anglo-Saxon abbesses as well. Later images of St Æthelthryth prominently tend to feature the scar on her neck, a book and a crozier.[311] Furthermore, some croziers have been found within the graves of abbesses, and the symbol was occasionally used to mark the grave-slabs of abbesses.[312] Though the author of the penitential does not mention it, the crozier was as closely tied with the role of the abbess as it was with an abbot.

The power and authority wielded by women within the church waned as the period progressed. Through the ninth and tenth centuries, long before the Benedictine Reforms imposed stringent segregation of male and female religious, double houses ruled by an abbess began to fall out of favour for new foundations.[313] The fairly egalitarian attitude, and in particular the habitual usage of *homo*, found in the works of Alcuin may be rooted in his native tongue. In the Anglo-Saxon language the term *mann/menn* referred to any person or group regardless of natural sex.[314] The language did not require the separation of men and women by sex before they could be spoken of either in written or oral form. The theory of Linguistic Relativity suggests that language influences thought and the ability of a group to conceptualise

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[311] Blanton. *Signs of Devotion*. p. 53-54

[312] Gilchrist. *Gender and Material Culture.* p. 19

[313] Foot. *Monastic Life.* p. 176. Foot points out that it seems that after 796 no new double monasteries can be identified with certainty. This, of course, does not necessarily mean that they did not exist, but the silence suggests that they no longer acted as centres of intellectual and religious authority as they did in the earlier period.

[314] Fell, Christine. 'Words and Women in Anglo-Saxon England' in *'Lastworda Betst': Essays in Memory of Christine E. Fell.* eds. Carole Hough and Kathryn A. Lowe, Donington: Shaun Tyas, 2002, p.. 201-202

and think about reality is deeply influenced by the structure of their native language.[315] If that is so, then the structure of the Anglo-Saxon language both reflected and reinforced the position of women in Anglo-Saxon society and the roles open to them. Therefore, as opportunities for leading roles in the Church gradually began to ebb after the eighth century, lay women, particularly those within the nobility, continued to have the capability to act independently and with authority in their communities.

Law codes of the period provide information of the types of offenses the authors of the texts deemed unacceptable and sought to curtail. In addition, they give some indication of the types of individuals within a community along with the roles they could conceivably fill within society. Unfortunately, law codes are not extant from Northumbria until after the period considered in this study. The use of law codes from southern kingdoms with more prevalent writing traditions, when paired with the archaeological and textual sources of Northumbria, provide some intriguing possibilities. '*Gif friwif locbore leswæs hwæt gedeþ, xxx scll' gebete.'*[316] This tract is from the early law codes of Æthelberht of Kent, who reigned around the same time as the earliest named king of Bernicia and Deira, Æthelfrith, in the early years of the seventh century. Attenborough, along with the majority of translators before Christine Fell, translates this passage as 'If a freewoman, with long hair, misconducts herself, she shall pay 30 shillings as compensation', giving the code a sexual spin incongruous with the injury-focused codes surrounding it.[317] Fell, in

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[315] Whorf, Benjamin. *Language, Thought, and Reality: Selected Writings of Benjamin Lee Whorf.* ed. John B. Carroll, Cambridge: MIT Press, 1956. p. 212-214

[316] 'The Laws of Æthelberht' in *Laws of the Earliest English Kings.* ed. and trans F. L. Attenborough, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1922. Cap. 73

[317] 'Æthelberht'. Cap. 73

1985, argued that the term *locbore* should not be read as a metaphor for a free-born woman. Rather than complicate the code, Fell read lock-bearing far more simply as a woman who controlled access to the household or possessed some economic privileges.[318] Thus the code, in Fell's view, concerned women in positions of authority failing in their responsibilities. The high fine of 30 shillings suggests the woman's ability to produce such a sum. Therefore, it is arguable that such a woman enjoyed reasonably high status within the community as well as the considerable degree of trust in women in position of importance such that a breach of this trust required a heavy punishment.

fig. 31. Two incomplete girdle hangers from Yorkshire.
Images courtesy of York Museums Trust :: http://yorkmuseumstrust.org.uk/ :: CC BY-SA 4.0

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[318] Fell. *Women in Anglo-Saxon England.* p. 60

fig. 32. Example of a complete girdle hanger from Searby, North Lincolnshire. *© Trustees of the British Museum*

The connection between women and keys and locked places was more than metaphorical. Women who controlled a household seem to have kept keys on a chain attached to their waists. The display of keys in this way communicated to others the importance of the holder's role. It served to show that the woman holding the keys possessed the economic control of a household.[319] Moreover, it signalled that one possessed enough to necessitate locking-up. It was a sign of status that was reproduced in burial. Remnants of girdle hangers, often in the forms of corroded iron chain-links, have been found in many female burials, particularly in the southern kingdom. In Northumbria, girdle hangers and keys have been found in burials at the Deiran sites of Market Weighton, Driffield, Painsthorpe Wold, Cottam and York as well as Yeavering and Darlington in Bernicia. While furnished burials seem to have been a far rarer occurrence in Bernicia and the Northwestern regions of Northumbria, some do appear as the Viking influence increased in the late-ninth

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[319] Fell. *Women in Anglo-Saxon England.* p. 60

century.   In the Northwest, the special treatment of householders and high-status members of the community in burial is expressed through the sixth and seventh centuries and the practice continued over a longer period than in Deira. This continuity likely stemmed from interactions with and influence from the surrounding cultures and settlers such as the Norse and Scandinavians. The Cumwhitton burial, dating from the mid-ninth to mid-tenth centuries, contains a woman buried with several keys among her possessions.   Fell pointed out that there seems to be a distinction made between women buried with girdle hangers and women buried with high-status jewellery.[320] This, she suggested, indicates that in the wealthiest household the lady of the house may have been separate from the housekeeper who possessed the keys.

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[320] Fell. *Women in Anglo-Saxon England.* p. 60
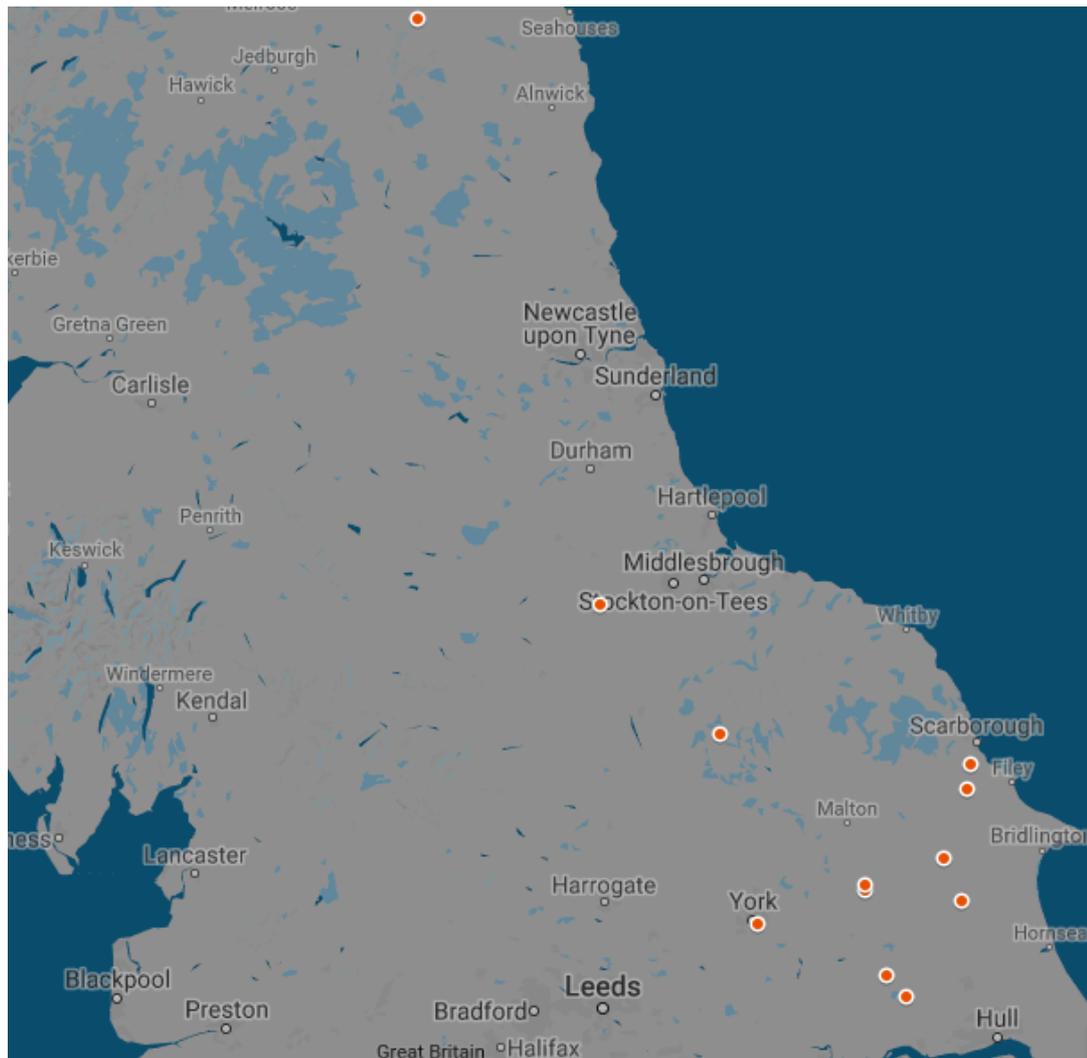
fig. 33. Map of sites with girdle hangers

Elaborate displays of wealth and keys symbolised power and status, while at the same time informing the viewer about the individual woman and what signs were appropriate in different social situations. As a woman moved through different social roles, different signs of authority became appropriate.   Young women displayed jewellery communicating their access to an international network of trade, as well as the economic ability to obtain such valuable items. Moreover, these signs of wealth seem to be tied to public functions such as a feast or at her own funeral

should she die young.[321]   After marriage and as she came into later stages of

adulthood, a woman's authority became more intricately tied to the control of a

household. By displaying a set of keys, women claimed the status of a householder

and the authority to command those within it. Such a display would also be more

appropriate for less ornamental functions.

These levels can be seen in the differing depictions of the queen Wealtheow

in the epic poem *Beowulf* and the house-holding women who appear in hagiography.

The wife of a reeve is highlighted among the miracles associated with Cuthbert by

Bede. The couple were 'specially beloved' (*specialiter dilectus*) by the holy man and

he would often visit them. The woman is described as being devoted to charity and

other virtuous actions, yet she falls grievously ill, suffering wild fits and falling into

insanity. In despair and fearing demonic possession, her husband rides to Cuthbert

begging him to send a priest to grant his wife last rites. Cuthbert, in a moment of

divine inspiration, decides he must go himself to see the woman to drive out the

spiritual affliction that she suffers.[322] In this vignette, the reeve weeps fearing that

Cuthbert would see his ill wife, out of her right mind in her affliction, and that this

would change his perception of the woman. It is not so much himself or his wife's

reflection on him that grieves the man, but rather his wife's personal honour. As

they reach their destination, though, the woman is miraculously freed from her

sickness and rushes out to greet them, 'taking the horse on which he was seated by

the bridle. . .she prayed him to dismount quickly and to enter and bless her

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[321] Sherlock, Stephen. *A Royal Anglo-Saxon Cemetery at Street House, Loftus, North East Yorkshire*. Tees Archaeology, 2012

[322] Bede. *Vita Sancti Cuthberti.* Ch 15

home'.[323] Her sickness cured, she is able to resume her role within the family and perform her duties in the welcoming of guests to the home.

The reeve's wife, returning to the discussion above regarding grave-goods as signals of authority, may well have worn a set of keys displaying her role within her family as well as her age. She performs the duties of hospitality in offering a greeting and invitation into the home to the visitor, showing both courtesy and signalling her role in keeping their shared belongings safe.   Wealtheow, in the epic poem *Beowulf*, provides an example of a woman's performance of power in a public setting. She appears 'adorned in gold' (*grette gold-hroden)* and greets the men of the hall 'offering the goblet to all ranks' (*duguþe ond geogoþe   dael æghwylcne, // sinc-fato sealde,   oþþæt sæl alampe)* .[324]   Repeatedly in the poem, she is shown as a figure of hospitality, dispensing wisdom in her words to the men around her and it is she who formally gifts Beowulf a gold torque and fine mail from the armoury.

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[323] Bede. *Vita Sancti Cuthberti.* Ch 15
        Cuius solute uinculis mulier, quasa graui experrecta de somno surrexit continuo, ac uiro Dei gratulabunda ocurrens, iumentum quo sedebat per frenum tenuit. Moxque ad integrum receptor uigore mentis et corporis eum cito descendere atque ad benedicendam domum suam precabatur ingredi. . .
[324] *Beowulf*. Lns 614-622

	Bernicia	Cumbria		Bernicia	Cumbria
Brooch	1 (disc)	1	Knife	1	
Comb	1		Earrings	1	
Urn of burnt clay	6		Beads	2	1
Workbox	1		Opus signium	1	
Tweezers	1		Whetstone	1	
Keys	1	1	Girdle hanger	2	
Cow forelimb		1	Pins		12
Weaving Chest		1			

fig. 34. Number of female furnished graves with different material items in Bernician and Cumbrian regions, 500-900 CE.

Earrings (gold)	2	Cowrie shell	1	Spindle whorl	4
Comb (bone)	3	Necklace	10	Hanging bowl	2
Food Vessel	3	Bodkin	1	Finger ring	3
Knife	19	Shears	1	Ring (ivory)	1
Beads	17	Bone Sheath (for comb)	1	Wrist-clasps	4
Beads (amber)	1	Plate	1	Gold disc	
Bracelet	1	Animal bone	1	Pendant	3
Brooch (undefined)	1	Boar tusk	1	Bone ball	1
Brooch (penannular)	3	Keys	2	Steel Sharpener	1
Brooch (annular)	1	Girdle hanger	8	Workbox	6
Brooch (cruciform)	1	Girdle w/ garnets and gold	1	Chain	1
Buckle	15	Latch lifter	1	Strap end	2
Pins	6			Tweezers	1

fig. 35. Number of female furnished graves with different material items in the Deiran region, 500-900 CE.

At the Street House Cemetery in Loftus, archaeologists have discovered a burial of a type that is otherwise unrecorded north of the Humber River. Here, a young woman was buried with jewellery made of gold, gemstones, silver and jet. The most extraordinary aspect of the burial is the fact that the woman had been

buried in a fine ash-wood bed.[325]   Beds of this sort from this period would have

been among the most valued possessions an individual owned, and into the later

medieval period beds would often be passed to other family members, featuring as

highly valuable items in wills. At present, only twelve bed-burials are known from

early medieval Britain.[326] These burials occurred almost exclusively in the seventh

century giving them a strong connection with the pre-existing and early Christian

cultures in Britain. This scarcity may relate to both the perishable nature of wood-

framed beds, obscuring these burial practices, as well as the resources required to

be able to afford to permanently consign the item to the grave. The entombment

would have been a grand display, with the body of the woman, adorned in gold and

gem-studded jewellery, prone on a marvellous bed. Poetry and penitentials mention

the practice of singing or chanting for the purpose of mourning and memorialising

the dead.[327]   Both the bed and a unique shield-shaped cabochon pendant show

signs of being used and repaired before the interment.[328]   This burial formed the

main grave in the cemetery, and there is evidence that an earthen mound had been

raised above it.[329] The amount of wealth and the effort shown in the burial of this

woman is significant. It suggests the high status and power in their own right that

women could achieve in early Northumbrian society.

Women, like Wealtheow and the reeve's wife, could achieve levels of

authority equal to men. Wealtheow and the woman buried in Street House

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[325] Sherlock. *A Royal Anglo-Saxon Cemetery.* p. 13
[326] Fleming. *Britain After Rome.* p. 347
[327] Women seem to have been particularly prominent in performing these forms of remembrance, but men are also noted as chanting dirges in honour of the fallen Beowulf. *Beowulf*. Lns 3148-3153 and 3169-3172. See also 'An Old Irish Penitential' in *Medieval Handbooks of Penance*, Ch V.17
[328] Sherlock. *A Royal Anglo-Saxon Cemetery.* p. 48-49
[329] Sherlock. *A Royal Anglo-Saxon Cemetery*. p. 13-14

cemetery communicated their position and role in society through their wealthy

garments and fine jewellery. The perception of these women is suggested in text

representations of noble women. Wealtheow and Hild both are described as wise

counsellors. In the secular sphere, Wealtheow performs the ritual of sharing the

goblet among all of the inhabitants of the hall, regardless of rank, and she also

publicly dispenses treasure. She, alongside Hrothgar, controls access to lines of

trade goods and sources of wealthy objects. Noble women, it would seem, were

figures who could possess the loyalty of their people and whose directions would be

followed. Wealtheow gives voice to this capability as she declares 'having drunk and

pledged, the ranks do as I bid'.[330]

5.3 Proud, Strong and Stalwart: Presentations of Masculinity

Where signs of feminine power and authority are occluded in extant sources

and must be reconstructed with care through the gaps and suggestions left to us, the

opposite is true for representations of masculine power. In fact, examples of this are

so prevalent as to create their own sort of problem for the discussion of how such

authority would have been understood and expressed. Burial archaeology provides

an insight into these social displays up until the end of the seventh century when,

with the influence of Christianity, furnished burials gradually became less common.

Where the presence of domestic items in the graves of women indicated

their active role in society, weaponry communicated masculine secular authority. It

has been argued that the presence of weapons in the grave should not be taken as a

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[330] *Beowulf.* Ln 1231

direct indication that the individual in the grave had been a warrior in life.[331]

Weaponry accompanying the dead did not and was not intended to communicate

martial prowess. This can be seen quite clearly in cases where infants or very young

children have been found buried alongside spears or other weapons, such as in the

iron spearhead found alongside a seventh century child burial in Catterick.

Instead, the presence of weapons acted as a sign of the family's social status,

made either by the wealthier members of the population or by middling families

seeking increased prestige.[332]   Weaponry signalled the individual's ability to muster

arms and armaments from their possessions. By placing weapons into the grave, the

family of the individual not only communicated that the deceased owned the

implements in their own right but also implied that the family could afford to

consign the item to the grave, losing the potential of future use. This symbolism,

however, did not apply uniformly over the entire area of Northumbria. In eastern

Northumbria, both in the cultural heartlands of Bernicia and Deira, weapons

including spears and swords can be found deposited in grave sites between 500 CE

and 800 CE. Swords in particular seem to indicate the wealthiest individuals with

burials dating to the second quarter of the seventh century. Beyond this date range,

swords are almost entirely absent from furnished graves.

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[331] Harke, Heinrich. '"Warrior Graves"? The Background of the Anglo-Saxon Weapon Burial Rite' in *Past & Present*, No. 126, February 1990, p. 24. Harke goes on to argue that the period in which burials with weaponry were most prevalent were periods in which warfare was less common, suggesting that many of the individuals may never have actually used the weapons in battle. This alongside the fact that the weapons included often either failed to constitute a full weaponry set or else would have been ill-suited for actual battle.

[332] Harke. '"Warrior Graves?"'. p. 24. Harke notes that the while the majority of weaponry burials were not among the wealthiest furnished graves found, the wealthiest burials tended to include weapons among fine imported goods and other lavish items.

This tradition does not seem to have been widely practiced in the Northwestern regions of Northumbria and weaponry is largely absent from grave sites west of the Pennines. It is important to note that these areas did not join to Northumbria until the later seventh to early eighth century. The Northwestern region of Northumbria hosted distinct cultural influence building from its unique place in the kingdom. It past and landscape differed from both the Northeast and Deira and maintained active trade with its Celtic and other maritime merchants due to its location. These brought fresh interactions with a variety of material and ideological cultures. Moreover, when Northumbria gained dominance in the region furnished burials had largely fallen out of common practice.
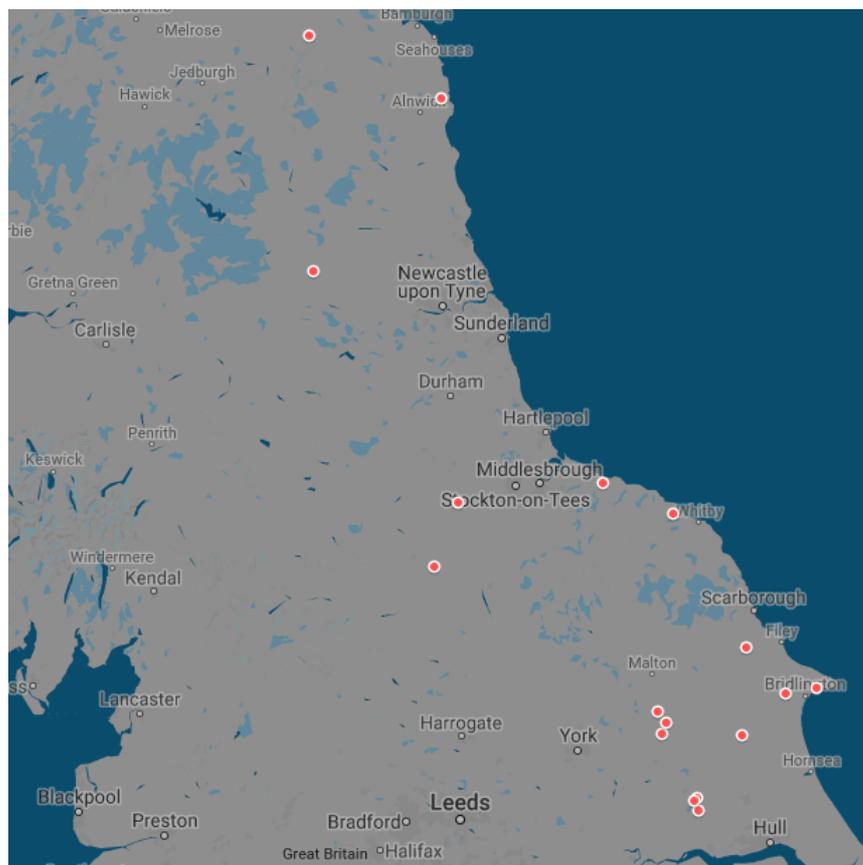
fig. 36. Map of cemetery sites with weaponry deposited in graves

The cultural symbolism of weaponry also appears in hagiography. Bede repeatedly used the motif of an individual setting aside their weapons as he described the entry of holy figures into religious life. After deciding to devote himself to religious service, Bede described Cuthbert's arrival as such: 'And by chance it happened that, having jumped down from his horse on reaching the monastery, and being about to enter the church to pray, he gave both his horse and the spear he had been holding to a servant, for he had not yet put off his secular habit.'[333] Weaponry is a symbol of secular life. In the text, the spear is only mentioned in the moment wherein Cuthbert hands it to a servant. It exists solely to be cast aside as a physical sign of the passage from the life of a layman into that of a monastic.

This symbolic gesture is used by Bede again as he memorialised the early abbots of his monastery Wearmouth and Jarrow. Both Benedict Biscop and Eosterwine, his cousin and first co-abbot follow in this trend. Benedict 'spurned the ownership of transient things so that he could acquire eternal ones, and shunned earthly military service with its perishable reward'.[334] A few chapters later, Eosterwine is introduced as a former member of Ecgfrith's service before 'he left worldly business behind him and laid down his arms'.[335]   His humble nature and tireless desire to serve the eternal King prove his ability to act as the abbot of

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[333] Bede. 'Life of St Cuthbert'. Ch VI
  Casuque contigit, ut cum illo perueniens equo desilisset, ingressurusque ad orandum aecclesiam, ipsum partier equum et hastam quam tenuerat manu ministro dedisset, necdum enim habitum deposuerat saecularem. . ..
[334] Bede. *Historia Abbatum*. Book I Ch 1
  . . .annos natus circiter uiginti et quinque fastidiuit possessionem caducam, ut adquirere posset aeternam; despecit militiam cum corruptibili donatiuo terrestrem. . .
[335] Bede. *Historia Abbatum.* Book 1 Chs 7-8
  . . .relictis semel negotiis saecularibus, depositis armis, assumpta militia spirituali. . .

Wearmouth whether it be alongside his cousin or in Biscop's absences. In all of these, weaponry acts as a visible sign of secular life, and in the case of Eosterwine and Benedict Biscop, quite a high status of that life. In a way, a holy man shown setting aside or turning away from these symbols served as shorthand for entering the religious life where power and authority would be expressed in a rather different manner. This created a clear designation for Bede between the sacred and secular spheres.

In Deira, however, a different view of sacred life emerged. Wilfrid, the troublesome and oft-embattled bishop of York, held a rather different view from his northern colleague. Rather than spurning his weaponry, Stephen of Ripon showed Wilfrid's ability to gain weapons to be key to his entrance into the religious life. After reaching the age of fourteen, Wifrid ensured that he had fine weaponry and well-arrayed servants so that he could go before Oswiu's queen, Eanflæd.[336] Impressing the queen, both through the visual presentation of his worth and bearing, and his strength of mind opens the path to entering religious vocation.

Wilfrid does not gather weaponry for himself and his men until after deciding to devote himself to religious service. Here the desire to serve God acted as a catalyst for the holy man to prove his worth in the same way as a man pursuing a secular life only with a different ultimate goal. In order to gain power in the religious sphere, Wilfrid first showed his aptitude and authority as an independent secular man. There is a notable lack of distinction between these spheres in the *Vita* once

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[336] Stephen of Ripon. *Vita Wilfridi.* Ch II

Wilfrid succeeds in gaining favour with Eanflæd, contrary to the clear demarcation made by Bede.

This mingling of sacred and secular identities or expressions of gendered power mirrors the Anglo-Saxon adaptation of Jesus. High status men were expected to be warriors, to wield weapons and defend themselves and their people. This is particularly the case for those in positions of power. A figure of significant importance such as a thegn or the king who would meekly give himself over to judgement and the public ignominy of execution, one who seemed to warn his followers against martial action even when taken in self-defence would be somewhat culturally incongruent. As Christian belief and mythology gained prominence, the ideology blended with the pre-existing beliefs and traditions, to promote a figure that could both retain the teachings of the new faith while being acceptable to the Anglo-Saxon people. This can be seen in the connection made between the legendary figures Weland the Smith and Jesus.[337] Moreover, the poem *Dream of the Rood*, which is featured in runic script on the Ruthwell Cross, put the Crucifixion scene in a new, meaningful context for an Anglo-Saxon audience.[338] In this telling, in which the narrator takes the perspective of the tree which becomes the cross, Christ is no longer the passive sufferer allowing himself to be killed. On

[337] Weland the Smith is a figure in Scandinavian legend and Old English poetry who appears in the Old English poem *Deor* and is mentioned in *Beowulf* as the man who made the fine mail shirt given to the titular character as a reward for his deeds by Hrothgar. In his tale, tales of his great skill leads to his capture by King Niðhad who has his hamstrings cut before imprisoning him on a secluded island in order to gain exclusive access to his creations. Weland using his craft to forge wings with which he escapes, taking revenge on the King as he does so. Weland appears on Anglo-Saxon crosses and stone monument in Northumbria as a Christ-like figure and is featured on the front panel of the Frank's Casket next to the image of the Adoration of the Magi. Frank, Roberta. 'Germanic Legend in Old English Literature' in *The Cambridge Companion to Old English Literature*, Second Edition, ed. Malcolm Godden and Michael Lapidge, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013. p. 86
[338] 'Introduction to *The Dream of the Rood or A Vision of the Cross*' in *A Guide to Old English, Eight Edition,* eds. Bruce Mitchell and Fred C. Robinson, Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, 2012, p. 264

the contrary, he becomes the only true actor in the scene, eclipsing every other figure. He jubilantly embraces the cross, ready to face his enemies and emerge victorious.[339] By shifting Jesus into this active stance, the poem promotes a warrior king who bravely faces grave pain and insurmountable enemies to defend his honour and his people. In this light, he appears much like Brythnoth in the tenth century poem *The Battle of Maldon*. Jesus, a religious figure, seems to take the guise of a secular lord. He becomes an unconquerable warrior whose might defeats even death.

Wilfrid is never shown setting aside his arms as Bede had his subjects do. The saint emphatically maintains power in both the secular and sacred spheres. This became one of the many sources of tension between the bishop and kings and queens of Northumbria. Stephen describes the growing enmity between Wilfrid and the royal couple, Ecgfrith and Jurmenburg, as being stoked by their jealousy of the riches and glories of Wilfrid and by his 'countless army of followers arrayed in royal vestments and arms'.[340] In Stephen of Ripon's telling, Wilfrid acts as a prince of the Church, rivalling secular powers as a figure of strength and authority.

5.4 Communicating Legitimacy: Language, Literacy and Lordship

Repeatedly in the works of Bede, the estates of wealthy monasteries provided the setting for saintly miracles. When this occurs, the communities

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[339] Marsden, Richard. 'Biblical Literature: The New Testament' in *The Cambridge Companion to Old English Literature, Second Edition*, ed. Malcolm Godden and Michael Lapidge, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013, p.. 243
[340] Stephen of Ripon. *Vita Wilfidi.* Ch XXIV

described seem to differ only slightly from secular estates. The Life of Saint Cuthbert

provides an example of the mingled role held by religious landholders. During a visit

to Abbess Æfflæd of Whitby to dedicate a church on one of her monastery's estates,

Cuthbert experienced a vision in which he saw the soul of one of the people of the

estate being escorted into heaven by angels. A priest attending to the abbess

noticed the saint's distraction and informed Æfflæd who pressed the saint to reveal

his vision and the identity of the deceased. Cuthbert, however, would only say that

the abbess herself would tell him the name of the deceased at the dedication mass

the next day.

> *When she heard this, she immediately sent to her larger monastery to see who had*
> *recently been summoned from the body. . .and on the following morning* [the
> messenger]*was preparing to return to his mistress, when he met some men bearing*
> *the body of a dead brother to burial on a cart. On asking who it was, he learned that*
> *one of the shepherds, a man of good life. . .[341]*

Large, affluent minsters included lay peasantry among their inhabitants who would

provide the labour necessary for the cultivation of land and other aspects of life.[342]

Thus the text refers to the deceased man as a brother[*defuncti fratis]* it would not be

uncommon for a lay member of the community to be considered part of the

monastic family.[343]   Here, Bede presents a monastic estate as a shared space in

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[341] Bede. *Vita Sancti Cuthberti*. Ch XXXIV
    Haec audiens illa, confestim misit ad maius suum monasterium, uidere qui nuper raptus esset
    e copore. . .postquam mane facto reuerti ad dominam coepit, obuios habuit eos qui copus
    defuncti fratris sepeliendum in carro deferent. Interrogansque quis esset, didicit quia quidam
    de pastoribus bonae actionis vir. . .
[342] Foot. *Monastic Life*. p.. 93
[343] Foot. *Monastic Life*. p.. 172

which lay and religious people lived alongside one another, under the lordship of the abbess.

The divine inspiration of the poet Cædmon also takes place on an estate of Whitby monastery. During a feast, the harp would be passed around the room allowing all of those gathered within the hall to sing and take part in the night's entertainment. Unfortunately, Cædmon lacked the ability to sing, and instead would retire early, before his shame could be discovered. One night, after leaving a feast, Cædmon dreamt that an angel came to him and bid him sing the tale of creation. Upon awakening, the cowherd told the reeve of his miraculous gift and he was brought before the abbess who 'recognized the grace of God which the man had received, instructed him to renounce his secular habit and to take monastic vows'. [344]

This vignette gives a clear view of the organisation of a monastic estate. The lay cowherd, Cædmon, is overseen by a reeve. When the miracle is brought to his attention, the reeve takes the situation to their lord, the abbess Hild, who investigates the situation and decides that, if willing, Cædmon ought to enter the monastery and serve God with his gift. Hild and Ælfflæd, as the landholders, were responsible for the well-being of their estates and the people who populated them, both lay and religious.[345] In order to fulfil their responsibilities appropriately, they had to share their attention between sacred and secular concerns.

Cædmon's tale presents monastic estates as places where feasting and song were not only accepted but actively encouraged. Moreover, the story would take

[344] Bede. Ecclesiastical History. Book IV Ch 24
Unde mox abbatissa amplexata gratiam Dei in uiro, saecularem illum habitum relinquere et monachicum suscipere propositum docuit. . .
[345] Loveluck. 'Cædmon's World'. p. 164, 177

place only a few decades after Christianity received noble backing in Northumbria with the baptism of Edwin in 627, and it survives in writing from 731. The mixed nature of the settlement, alongside its early date, may suggest the feast described reflects a society in which Christianity was still a novel import before it fully cemented itself into the culture. Throughout the early medieval period monasteries and other religious settlements show an active involvement with the secular landscape surrounding them. This can be seen with striking clarity in the cemeteries found at monasteries such as Hartlepool and Jarrow discussed in the previous chapter. Monasteries throughout Northumbria and the wider early medieval landscape show signs of lay family members being interred with their vowed kin, and of the spatial representation of children's burials and the lay community who inhabited the monastic landholdings.[346] In spite of these clear signs of the secular and sacred spheres overlapping, in Bede's works there seems to be little concern over the church's position in, and participation with, the secular aspects of Northumbrian culture.[347] To separate the two devalues the role of feasting and secular life in both the monastic community and the early medieval world. More problematically, this barrier placed between the two creates a false distinction between sacred and secular life in early Northumbria that would be foreign to those who lived therein.

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[346] Loveluck. 'Cædmon's World'. p. 175-176

[347] Mayr-Harting, Henry, *The Venerable Bede, The Rule of St. Benedict and Social Class,* Jarrow Lectures, Jarrow: The Rector of Jarrow, 1976. p. 1. Bede appears to be far more concerned that people fill their roles within society fully and properly. This focus on propriety within roles may be at the root of some of his criticisms of Ecgfrith's half-brother and successor, Aldfrith who lacked the military drive of his brother and focused instead upon cultivating cultural and educational projects.

Feasts and conviviality were important aspects of life for secular and religious estates. These events brought together the members of a community, from a range of different levels on the social hierarchy, to a shared space, often a large hall such as at Yeavering whose size and structure grew and changed over time. Such social events would help to contextualise the community, its identity and its members. One's presence at a feast and position in the hall indicated that one shared in the communal identity as well as where he or she fit into its structure. The hall itself served an active role in constructing and maintaining relationships between the various levels of society.[348] On a religious estate, their cyclical occurrence provided the opportunity to maintain and strengthen the relationship between the members of the monastery and their lay brothers, sisters and neighbours.[349] Structures of similar size and shape to the hall at Yeavering could be found being built and rebuilt at Whithorn, Tatton Park, and Carlisle in the Northwest as well as at Jarrow in the Bernician heartland. At both Tatton Park and Yeavering, these halls seem to have been sited quite close to the enclosures that would have held the landowner's cattle and tribute, ensuring that their power would be enhanced by a sign of their wealth.

Concern over the mingling of sacred and secular business became a more common theme in Anglo-Saxon England during the ninth century. Legates sent by Pope Hadrian highlighted the desire to create separate spheres of influence for sacred and secular rulers. A point is made to forbid bishops from giving judgement

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[348] Walker, Jenny. 'The Recursive Structuring of Space: Socio-Political and Religious Performance in the Hall' in *Early Medieval Northumbria: Kingdoms and Communities, AD 450-1100,* eds. p. David A and T. Sam, Turnhout: Brepols, 2012. p. 223
[349] Foot. *Monastic Life. p. 236*

in secular councils.[350] This statute records a poignant point about the structure of

Anglo-Saxon governance as well as how Christianity developed within the kingdoms

as well as how heads of monasteries acted as secular lords as well as religious

leaders for those living on their land. From at least the time of King Edwin, sacred

and secular power were closely entwined. Male and female members of noble

families filled roles of immense religious power, with few exceptions.[351] Even those

bishops, such as the early bishop of Lindisfarne, Aidan, who were not born from

Northumbrian nobility tended to have close connections with the Northumbrian

king.

In the seventh century in particular, monastic communities were inextricably

tied into the existing social structure in Northumbria. It has been argued that even

Bede's own monastery of Jarrow started out as a royal foundation of Ecgfrith's in

which he had enough control of the structure of the community that he chose the

site of the altar.[352] The presence of ecclesiastics from aristocratic families or those

with such aspirations in monastic settings is reflected by finds of high-quality objects

such as silver pins, brooches and amber, glass and jet beads at monastic sites such as

Hartlepool, Whitby and Jarrow.[353] A bone comb decorated with a fine runic

inscription has also been found at the Whitby site.[354] The presence and use of these

items, along with the valuable brooches, pins and beads mentioned above,

presented tangible signs of secular social status that did not align well with the

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[350] 'The Report of the Legates to Pope Hadrian' in *English Historical Documents, Vol. I c 500-1042*. p. 771

[351] Rollason. *Northumbria, 500-100.* p. 182

[352] Wood, Ian. *The Origins of Jarrow: The Monastery, The Slake and Ecgfrith's Minster*, Bede's World Studies, Jarrow: Bede's World, 2008. p. 11

[353] Wood. *The Origins of Jarrow.* p. 183

[354] Page, Raymond I. *An Introduction to English Runes,* London: Methuen & Co Ltd, 1973. p. 102

monastic Rules of St. Benedict. Overvaluing and revelling in material signs of wealth such a fine jewellery and rich textiles in ecclesiastical settings provoked divine punishment in Bede's *Ecclesiastic History* and the avoidance of it became a common theme in the letters of Alcuin.[355] Moreover, leaders of both the secular and ecclesiastic spheres visually expressed their respective power and authority in similar ways.
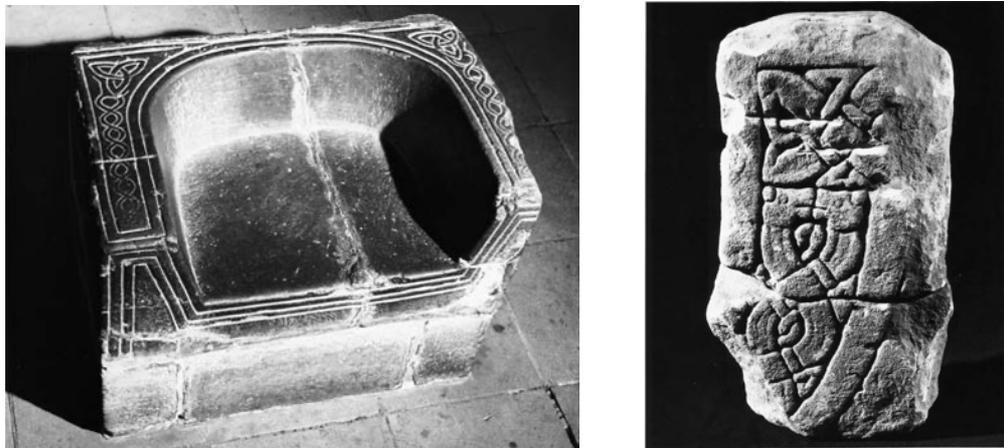
figs. 37. & 38. (*right*) Photo of Hexham frith stool carved from reused Roman stone. Late 7th century. © The Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture at Durham University (*left*) Arm-rest fragment from Bamburgh seat with zoomorphic interlace. 8th century. © The Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture at Durham University.

Extant at Hexham Abbey is a large stone 'frith stool', shown in the image above. It is carved from reused Roman stone and decorated with Anglo-Saxon interlace along the arms and back. The image beside it shows the fragmentary remains of the arm of a chair found at Bamburgh Castle. While little of this chair

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[355] Bede. *Ecclesiastical History.* Book IV Ch 25. Bede discusses the fire that destroyed the monastery of Coldingham, indicating that it was punishment for the sins of the inhabitants: 'And the cells that were built for praying and for reading have become haunts of feasting, drinking, gossip, and other delights; even the virgins who are dedicated to God put aside all respect for their profession and, whenever they have leisure, spend their time weaving elaborate garments with which they adorn themselves as if they were brides, so imperilling their virginity, or else to make friends with strange men.' Alcuin returns to this theme repeatedly in his letters, in particular see two written to Higbald, Bishop of Lindisfarne: 'Letter 26' and 'Letter 160' in *Alcuin of York.* p. 37 and 155

remains, the arm shows a similar interlace design to that present on the Hexham

example.   The main difference between the two designs is that the stool from

Hexham, a holding of the archbishop of York, eschews the zoomorphism present on

the secular example.[356] Beyond this difference, though, both of these items indicate

the use of monumental, highly decorative items in a domestic setting to promote the

importance of the man or woman to whom they belonged. These objects were both

physically and psychologically weighty, communicating the gravity of the individual

seated therein. There is no clear distinction between a secular or religious setting.

The stone chairs communicate on the same registers. They speak the same

authoritative language.

While monumental objects such as the stone stools and personal items -

whether of exotic origin, made from gems and precious metal or decorated with

symbolic images or script – may be more explicit expressions of power, they

presented an unavoidable wrinkle. In order for these items to fulfil their

performative purpose, the audience must be physically present. As the frontiers of

Northumbria spread further, and power became more dispersed, the need for a

more mobile method to communicate legitimacy and authority became more

necessary.

Northumbrian kings, and later the Archbishops of York, were quick to seize

on to the potential of coins to address this issue. Anglo-Saxon people show an

awareness and appreciation of Roman coins as items of power and significance from

the fifth century. Roman coins can be found in furnished graves, including one male

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[356] York's connection with the Roman church and its participation cultural traditions surrounding personified materials, such as the cross from *The Dream of the Rood*, or animals will be developed further in the chapter on the urban centre.

grave in Wearmouth, and being reused as pendants or focal points of bead

necklaces. The use of native coinage, however, represents a distinct tradition rather

than a continuation of either Roman or Continental practices.[357] Some of the

earliest examples of native coinage are a group of gold coins struck between 620 and

650 CE found in Deira. These coins bear images of busts resembling Hiberno-Saxon

manuscript images of St. Matthew or standing figures holding crosses on the obverse

and a single cross on the reverse. While these coins largely lack inscriptions, the

motifs expresses an adherence with Christian beliefs.[358]   This is particularly

important as the coins begin to be minted during King Edwin's reign, when

Northumbria began the process of conversion.

By striking golden coinage with Christian motifs, Northumbrian rulers could

express their new faith and the power offered by the Christian god. In these objects,

the king made a public profession of the power offered through the new religion and

its apotropaic aspects.[359] The motif of a figure wielding two crosses with which

these coins are emblazoned has been discussed in a previous chapter. The reverse

motif of a coin found in Spofforth, North Yorkshire shows an intricate cross fourchée

with a diamond at its centre surrounded by four Greek crosses.[360] Overall the design

is reminiscent of a carpet page.[361] It should be noted here that this imagery made

manifest a message of the Northumbrian king as a force for the promotion of

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[357] Gannon, Anna. *The Iconography of Early Anglo-Saxon Coinage: Sixth to Eighth Centuries.* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003. p. 2

[358] Gannon. *Iconography of Early Anglo-SaxonCoinage*. p. 26

[359] Gannon. *Iconography of Early Anglo-Saxon Coinage.* p. 26

[360] Gannon, Anna. *Sylloge of Coins of the British Isles. 63, British Museum Anglo-Saxon Coins. I, Early Anglo-Saxon Gold and Continental Silver Coinage of the North Sea Area, c. 600-760.* London: Published for the Trustees of the British Museum by the British Museum Press, 2013. p. 92

[361] Gannon. *Sylloge of Coins. p. 92*

Christianity.[362] Through the person of the king, Northumbria and its people as a

whole enjoyed divine favour.

Outside the religious connotations evoked in these objects, they acted as a

sign that the kings of Northumbria possessed the wealth and authority to issue and

control this coinage. It has been argued that coins may have been used in gift

exchange, where such items would gain value as unusual variants on more common

exchange items.[363] As gifts, these items were uniquely tied to the ruler and acted as

an expression of accepted ideology. Moreover, it may have accessed the same

cultural beliefs that made reused coins popular pendants. By the end of the seventh

century, Aldfrith took effort to refine the coins minted in Northumbria, ensuring the

weight and silver content present in a move that would be followed by the later king

Eadberht.[364] He began striking his coinage with his name, underlining the expression

of royal authority. Including the inscription of the issuer's name personalised the

items. They became particularly linked to the figure of the individual authority.

Through this practice, one could express the possession of both the power and the

legitimacy to rule. The true value lie not in the coin's commercial use but in the

message it sent to the individual who came into contact with it.

The ability to issue coins did not necessarily equate with the concrete power.

By examining the extant coins of the kings Eanred, Æthelred II and Rædwulf

throughout Northumbria, the use of coinage as a means of promoting an image of

power in periods of turbulence begins to take shape. The reigns of the latter two

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[362] Gannon. *Sylloge of Coins.* p. 26
[363] Gannon. *Sylloge of Coins*. p. 9
[364] Naismith, Rory. *Money and Power in Anglo-Saxon England: The Southern English Kingdoms 757-865.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012. p. 97

kings occurred during an extended period of political instability.[365] Eanred ruled for

roughly three decades in the early ninth century. After his death, Æthelred II led

Northumbria intermittently for eight years before he was killed. During his reign,

Æthelred was briefly deposed and Rædwulf took the throne before dying in battle

within a year.
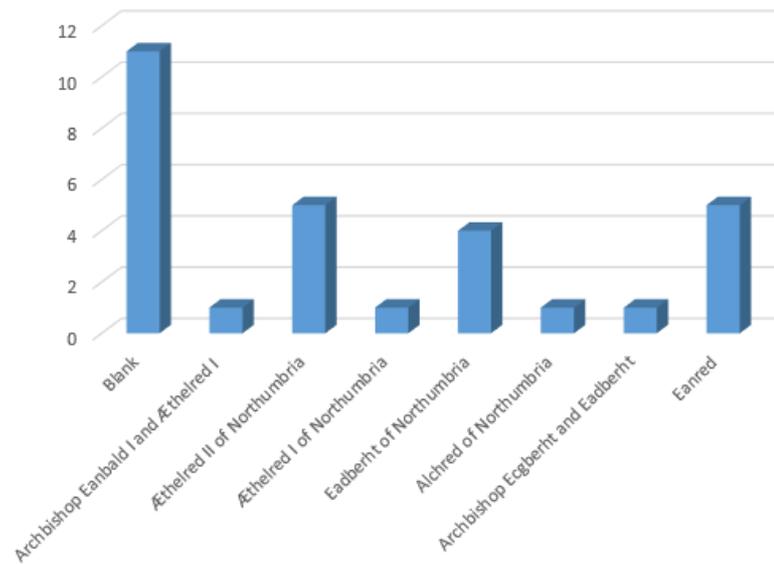
fig. 39. Number of coins found from each issuing authority in Bernicia

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[365] Rollason. *The Making of Northumbria.* p. 196-197
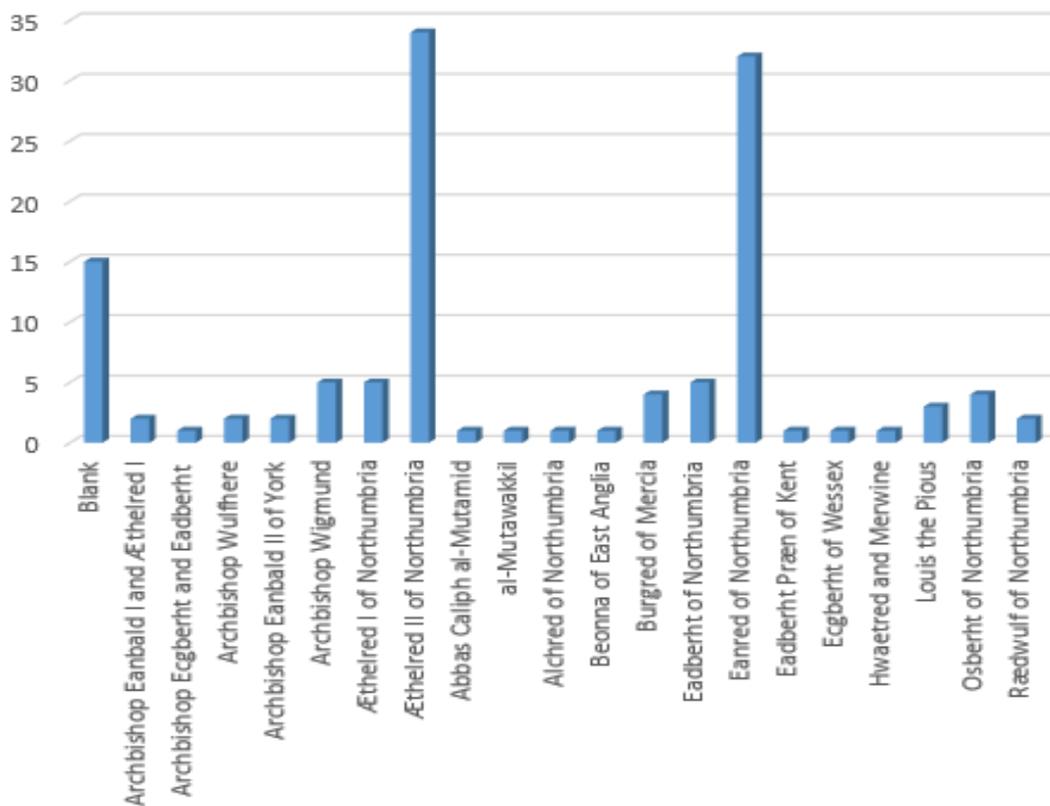
fig. 40. Number of coins found from each issuing authority in Northwestern Northumbria
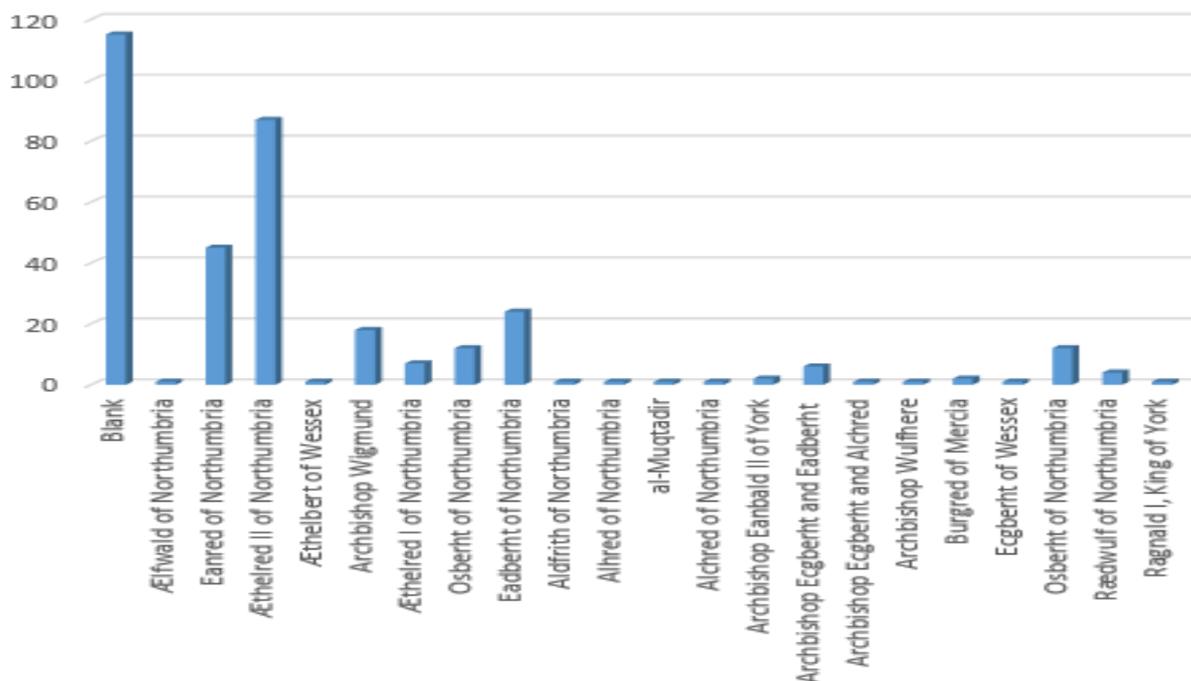
fig. 41. Number of coins found from each issuing authority in Deira

In all three regions the coins issued by Eanred and his successor Æthelred II

represent the majority of identified examples. Coins of Rædwulf have been found in

the Deiran region and the Northwestern region of Northumbria, found in a hoard

from Talnotrie, Dumfriesshire and in Meols in the Wirral. The length of Eanred's

reign partially explains the large number of extant finds. Eanred also began to issue

cheaper copper alloy *styca* coinage opposed to the silver *sceatta* used by earlier

kings. The debasement of the coinage was intensified by the increasing amounts of

coins issued by all three kings, particularly during the markedly shorter reigns of

Æthelred II and Rædwulf.[366] The number of coins present suggests both that they

were in widespread circulation and that they were not considered particularly

precious. People could afford to lose these coins, much as someone today tends to

make an effort to recover a lost pound coin but wouldn't be overly concerned about

dropping a couple pence. The intrinsic value of the coins meant much less than the

importance of showing that one had the authority to issue coinage and to spread

that message throughout Northumbria and into the communities in the

Northwest.[367]   As the value of the coins decreased the number of people who might

come into contact with them rose significantly. With this familiarity, the number of

individuals engaging with the inherent messages of active Northumbrian royal power

and religious sanction carried in the motif of the coins increased in tandem.

In rural Northumbria, the majority of actual wealth and power, came from

the control of land and livestock. Land helped to reinforce a community's sense of

identity and of belonging. It provided a physical, visible setting on which identity

could be grafted and shaped, as well as provided a sense of timelessness. More than

ideological importance alone, though, land provided an inexhaustible, fixed good to

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[366] Naismith. *Money and Power in Anglo-Saxon England.* p. 248
[367] Naismith. *Money and Power.* p. 117

those who controlled it, whether they were a lay family, a member of the ecclesiastical hierarchy or a religious community.[368] For much of the period considered in this study and particularly for Northumbria, the holding and transaction of land rights was conducted orally and preserved in memory and oral tradition.[369] Through the seventh century with the influence of Christian Church practices, there was a shift to record oral transmissions of land in writing in the form of charters. The presence of such documentation was crucial for the growth of religious communities, as these charters could be stored in monastic archives and produced to affirm and protect a community's rights to land donated by lay magnates.[370]

A charter provided physical evidence that land had been granted to the individual or group who possessed the document in perpetuity. In theory, the land described in the document would be fully and eternally alienated from the control of the original owner and his or her kin. The charter then served as defence against any who might claim that the land had been given under false pretences or for a certain, circumscribed period of time.[371] The Kingdom of Northumbria is particularly poor in extant charters – as is the case in the north with most early legal documentation – and those that do survive were written in the tenth century after the region had been conquered by the English king Æthelstan around 927.[372] This is not to say that

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[368] Geary, Patrick. 'Land, Language and Memory in Europe 700-1100' in *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, Vol. 9, 1999. p.. 171

[369] Geary. 'Land, Language and Memory'. p.. 172

[370] Wickham, Chris. *Medieval Europe.* New Haven: Yale University Press, 2016. p. 81

[371] Smith. Scott Thompson. *Land and Book: Literature and Land Tenure in Anglo-Saxon England.* Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2012. p. 28-29

[372] There is a charter that survives in an eleventh-century manuscript purporting to be a grant of lands at Crayke and Carlisle to the Lindisfarne community by Ecgfrith in 685. Based on a number of inaccuracies in the document, though, it is considered a forgery. *Charters of the Northern Houses*, ed. D.A. Woodman, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012. Charter 17, p.. 348-349

such documents did not exist, nor that they were lacking in influence in the northern kingdom. On the contrary, charters provided clear evidence of rights and authority over land, but they did not themselves effect this change.

Charters acted as records of a legal performance. They recorded a physical and verbal transference. It was this oral transmission that conveyed the power from one individual or group to another, and the written evidence worked with this, preserving the actions for future audiences.[373] It is for this reason, that is the purpose of future public recital, Anglo-Saxon charters tend to include passages written in vernacular relating to the boundaries of the land that the document refers to.[374] This would allow audiences with limited knowledge of Latin to understand the document and judge its veracity. It is important to note that charters tended to be written in Latin, emerging as they did from Christian practice and even as they were adopted into practices of secular land rights, they retained vestigial elements of their religious origin.

Latin came to be considered the appropriate language for religious and official documentation, but it was not the only language or script used. Bede repeatedly writes about the importance of preaching in the vernacular language so that hearers may better understand the Christian faith and through it be drawn closer to god.

> *Now in this matter of providing preaching for the people I think. . .that you should take pains utterly to fix in the memory of all who belong to the Catholic faith which is contained in the Apostles' Creed and the Lord's Prayer. . . Now it is most certain that those who have learned the Latin tongue by means of reading will also have learned these very well; but see that the ignorant, that is, those who are acquainted only*

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[373] Geary, 'Land, Language and Memory', p.. 175
[374] Geary. 'Land, Languae and Memory', p.. 177

with their own tongue, learn these things in their own tongue and regularly chant

them; that this ought to be done not just with lay people. . .but also with the clergy

or monks who do not know the Latin tongue.[375]

Bede's recognition of the necessity to accept Anglo-Saxon into the sacred sphere

emerges even in his discussion of miracles. Cædmon, one of those monks ignorant

of the Latin tongue, composed his songs through his miraculous gift 'in English,

which was his own tongue'.[376]   The acceptance of the Anglo-Saxon language by the

Church incorporated the written as well as the spoken language.

The runic script used by the Anglo-Saxons appears on a wide variety of items,

from items of personal ornamentation to public monuments. Though extant

inscriptions are fairly scarce, Ray Page, an authority on the script and its usage, has

suggested that this may reflect that the script may have appeared most often on

perishable items such as wood.[377]   In spite of their relative scarcity, it has been

argued that the script was used widely on monumental inscriptions, personal

correspondence and magic.[378] Runic and Latin were not seen as mutually exclusive.

In fact, Northumbrian members of religious communities often used the scripts

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[375] Bede. 'Letter to Bishop Ecgbert'. Ch. 5
   *In qua uidelicet praedicatione populis exhibenda hoc prae ceteris omni instantia
   procurandum arbitror, ut fidem catholicam quae apostolorum symbolocontinetetur et
   dominicam orationem quam euangelii nos scriptura edocet, omnium qui ad tuum regimen
   pertinent memoriae radicitus infigere cures. Et quidem omnes qui Latinam linguam lectionis
   usu didicerunt etiam haec optime didicisse certissimum est; sed idiotas, hoc est eos qui
   propriae tantum linguae notitiam habent, haec ipsa sua lingua discere ac sedulo decantare
   factio. Quod non solum de laicis. . .uerum etiam de clericis siue monachis qui Latinae sunt
   linguae experts fieri oportet*
[376] Bede. *Ecclesiastical History.* Book IV Ch. 24. That the author still considered Latin more refined, apt
to display his own poetic skill and perhaps closer to the divine is hinted at in his decision to write or
translate 'Cædmon's Hymn' into Latin.
   *. . .hoc ipse post pusillum uerbis poeticis maxima suauitate et compunction compositis, in sua,
   id est Anglorum lingua, proferret;*
[377] Page, Raymond I. *An Introduction to English Runes,* London: Methuen & Co Ltd, 1973. p. 16
[378] Page. *An Introduction to English Runes.* p. 116

alongside one another.[379] They appear on name-stones in Hartlepool, Wearmouth,

Jarrow and Lindisfarne as well on the Franks Casket and the coffin of St. Cuthbert.

The name-stones, in many cases, take the form of asking a reader to pray for the

soul of the deceased, suggesting a public function as well as some level of literacy or

familiarity with names written in the runic script. The use of runes on the coffin of

St. Cuthbert is particularly noteworthy as the coffin itself would have spent most of

its time covered in a fine fabric, obscuring the runes from public view.[380] The runes

name three of the four evangelists depicted on the wooden coffin, so it would seem

that they served an explanatory purpose for viewers who may not have been

familiar with the symbols related to the apostles depicted. Furthermore, it has been

suggested that the execution of the runic carvings indicate that the carver was

unfamiliar with the script and based their work on manuscript sources.[381] Given the

importance of the coffin, holding the earthly remains of the patron of their cult, the

inclusion of a less than ideal script especially when it would only be visible at

particularly sacred occasions when the coverings were removed from the coffin

seems slightly odd. It may be that the carvings were later additions to the coffin, but

this begs the question: why choose the runic script? It would seem that runes

themselves held a deep cultural significance. Perhaps more than being an accepted

alternative to the sacred Latin, the runic alphabet was seen as possessing a divine

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[379] Page, Raymond I. 'Roman and Runic on St. Cuthbert's Coffin' in *Runes and Runic Inscriptions: Collected Essays on Anglo-Saxon and Viking Runes,* ed. David Parsons, Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 1998. p. 322

[380] Thacker, Alan. 'Lindisfarne and the Origins of the Cult of St. Cuthbert' in *St. Cuthbert and his Community to 1200,* eds. Gerald Bonner, David Rollason, Clare Stancliffe, Woodbridge: Boydell, 1989. p. 105

[381] Page. 'Roman and Runic on St. Cuthbert's Coffin'. p. 321

element and importance in its own right separate and distinct from the amount of

Northumbrians literate in it.

Personal as well as public items have been found that bear the script. Runes

have been found on small items such as a wooden spoon in York, a jet disc and a

bone comb, both found at Whitby. The two Whitby items show what may hint at the

scope of society who made use of the script. The jet disc is inscribed with three

characters produced in a humble fashion, thought to be the owner's mark. An

owner's mark is similarly found on the comb, but this inscription is produced in an

elegant fashion by a craftsman with the skill to include Latin in the inscription,

suggesting that it was a fairly high status item.[382] Rings with runic inscriptions have

also been found, stretching from the western region near Carlisle, to West Yorkshire,

and north into Coquet Island and Edinburgh. The dates that these rings were

produced range from the late eighth century to the tenth. Two of these inscriptions,

appearing on the gold Bramham Moor and Greymoor Hill rings, are quite similar and

seem to serve as protective charms for the wearers.[383]   The inscriptions themselves

were not solely intended to serve a decorative or public purpose. They may well

have been gifts, showing high-esteem and a concern for the wearer's well-being. In

such a case though, the ring itself would have been a cherished item, and the

inscription on it would continue to serve a protective function, the main

performance in which the ring featured was the moment of gifting, and it is the

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[382] Page. *An Introduction to English Runes. p. 35*
[383] Page. *An Introduction to English Runes*. p. 112-114. Page points out a third ring, the later Linstock Castle ring, which bears what he suggests to be a corrupt version of the same charm. The effect of the charm on this ring would perhaps be enhanced by the fact that the ring itself was made from agate which itself was considered to provide some protective function

memory of this moment and the relationship between the two individuals that the ring would chiefly serve to reinforce.

fig. 42. Malton disc-headed pin with runic inscription, ca. 8th C. © Trustees of the British Museum

This fairly private or personal use of runes is countered by the more decorative use of such on the fine eighth-century Malton dress pin. The pin itself is disc-headed and made of gilded copper-alloy. The flat, decorative surface of the pin is inscribed with the first seven characters of the runic alphabet followed by what had been suggested by Bob Oswald, working on behalf of the auction house Christie's, to be a regional variant of the word 'Gleaw' which would mean clever or wise.[384] Whether or not the wearer or the audience could understand the characters on the brooch is difficult to say. What the pin does suggest is that the runic script would have been recognised, even if not understood, by a significant

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[384] Christie's. Sale 8724 12 April 2000, London, South Kensington. Lot 122. http://www.christies.com/lotfinder/lot/an-important-and-rare-anglo-saxon-late-8th-1758928-details.aspx#top

part of the population, and the display of runic, whether or not the displayer necessarily understood the script themselves, carried ideological weight. The written word itself, and the suggestion that one understood its secrets may have been connected to conceptions of power, perhaps magical or sacred in nature, and to knowledge.

A varied audience is also presupposed by the use of Latin and runic scripts on the large Christian monuments such as those at Bewcastle and Ruthwell. The iconography of the Ruthwell Cross suggests that this audience may not have been entirely confined to the religious community.[385] The incorporation of the faithful into the heavenly community as shown in the vine-scroll that trailed up the narrow side of the cross spoke to the lay members of the community in an area that had been independent from Northumbria.[386] The imagery subtly served to suggest a place for these communities within the overarching kingdom. The regional identities that existed in the area and the overarching Northumbrian identity were not mutually exclusive. The text inscribed into the surface of the cross emphasised these messages. Page argued that the ways communities influenced by an Anglo-Saxon culture used runes, either through extant inscriptions or implied in textual sources, provides evidence for a limited specialist reading audience, perhaps incorporating members of the laity as well as ecclesiastics, who would be able to understand the

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[385] Stancliffe, Clare. 'The Riddle of the Ruthwell Cross: Audience, Intention and Originator Reconsidered' in *Crossing Boundaries: Interdisciplinary Approaches to the Art, Material Culture, Language and Literature of the Early Medieval World,* eds Eric Cambridge and Jane Hawkes, Philadelphia: Oxbow Books, 2017. p. 7. Stancliffe points out that one side, the 'Desert' side, of the cross seems to speak to the needs of a monastic community, the 'Salvation' side appears to be intended for a wider audience.
[386] Stancliffe. 'The Riddle of the Ruthwell Cross'. p. 7

script and share the message of the text with the broader audience.[387]   What is more important is that these scripts, together, represented a distinctly Northumbrian identity.

By incorporating inscriptions in the two scripts on monumental crosses, placed as they were along rural routes where travellers would encounter them, the patrons of these works were communicating to viewers the nature of the estate, with whom they chose to align themselves and the ability to mark out the landscape in such a permanent manner.[388] That monuments largely escaped deliberate contemporary defacement suggests the inhabitants of the communities around did not find their presence intrusive. These objects were uniquely suited to communicate in the rural world of Northumbria, and like the communities who set them up, they carried sacred and secular imagery and messages.   Their size and grandeur created lasting impressions on their audience. They hinted at the strength of the society, divine approval and a sense of permanence.

Through this chapter, individuals and groups communicated and disseminated their authority in physical objects, and it is through these that concepts and ideologies of power are best preserved. The material chosen depended on the context of the individual. It differed depending on age, from childhood to the category that incorporated the deceased. In much the same way, the sex, gender and occupation of the person in question effected these signs and symbols.

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[387] Page, Raymond I. 'Runeukyndige Risteres Skriblerier: the English Evidence' in *Runes and Runic Inscriptions.* p. 296

[388] Troop, Nicola J. 'Northumbria in the West: Considering Interaction through Monumentality'. p. 86

Alongside these, the physical setting influenced how those expressing power and authority chose to do so.

Audience also mattered. In different areas, and among disparate groups, the expectations for what actions and behaviours were deemed acceptable varied significantly as emerged in the hagiographic evidence. Bede's Cuthbert casts aside his weaponry and horse, the signs of secular masculine authority, upon entering the monastery and taking up religious authority through his relationship with the divine. The Deiran-born Wilfrid, on the other hand embraced these gendered secular symbols of authority. In Stephen of Ripon's hands, the holy man who had spent years in Rome and exiled in the southern Anglo-Saxon kingdoms saw in his wealth, weapons and war-bands wearing proof that God had granted him both religious and secular power.

Context gave the material culture meaning. It is through combing through the extant material and drawing out signs of how these items were used and what places and meanings they filled in particular early medieval settings that we can begin to unravel the complexities of a community and the identities present among the people living there.

6. Bishops, Kings and Traders:
Northumbrian Identities in 'Urban' York

To York from divers people and kingdoms all over the world,

they come in hope of gain, seeking wealth from the rich land,

a home, a fortune and a hearth-stone for themselves.[389]

York stands apart from the other settlements in Northumbria. This is a result

of the size of its population as well as the diversity of origins and occupations

present amongst its inhabitants. This grand mixture of people and preoccupations

mingled within the comparatively densely populated centre of York. These

distinctions set York apart and it is for this reason that the settlement requires a

chapter devoted to following the threads of the identities that emerged and

developed within it. Unlike other settlement sites in the kingdom, York alone is one

that we would recognise as urban. It grew to incorporate a diverse mixture of social

groups within it creating a highly complex social fabric. The urban character of York

is reflected in its polyfocal nature that brought together large and diverse lay

communities and several religious centres at which key ecclesiastical figures held

authority. Secondly, by the 7th century York was a seat of political power for the

rulers of Northumbria. In the absence of the king, this political authority fell to the

archbishops of York, who often were the brothers or close kin of the kings. Finally,

York possessed a key role in the economy of Northumbria, both as a mint for the

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[389] Alcuin. *Alcuin: The Bishops, Kings, and Saints of York,* ed. and trans. Peter Godman, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1982. Lns 35-37
> *Quo variis populis et regnis undique lecti*
> *spe lucre veniunt quaerentes divite terra*
> *divitias, sedem sibimet, lucrumque laremque*

coinage of the kingdom's ruler and the archbishops of York and as the site of significant trade activity.

It is important to consider that urban does not *necessarily* or solely refer to the building materials and physical structure of a settlement but also to the inhabitants, authorities and activities present within a settlement. It is the individuals and groups as well as the mechanisms that bind and maintain this large and diverse community that creates the distinct urban identity.   To this end and within this setting, the position of the trading settlement and the craftspeople and merchants, both native-born and foreigners who visited periodically, all of whom lived and worked within this structure of power will be considered. The interplay of ties between the free people of York working their crafts or acting as merchants, the foreign visiting traders and the more recognisably powerful royal and noble representatives as well as the ecclesiastic hierarchy all colour urban Anglo-Saxon York.[390] The confluence of separate pieces coming together in a circumscribed area created something of an administrative village, in which it is not population size that denotes the type of settlement, but rather the variety and complexity of functions carried out therein.[391] Without the coexistence and interaction of these disparate interest groups, it is unlikely that York would have been able to achieve the influential position it came to hold in the medieval and early modern periods.

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[390] Loveluck. *Northwestern Europe.* p.. 153
[391] Reece, Richard. 'Town and Country: The End of Roman Britain', *World Archaeology,* Vol. 12, No. 1, 1980. p. 88

6.1 Bringing Rome to Northumbria:
Metropolitan Ambitions in an Urban Setting

The myriad of influences in the city, shared between the Church, regional

secular powers and the interests of the inhabitants of York, can be seen in the

hagiography of St. Liudger, written by Altfrid in the ninth century. Liudger lived in

the latter half of the eighth century and studied under Alcuin in York in the early

770s CE.

> *Tunc Gregorius et parentes eisdem Luidgeri quandoque praecibus victi direcerunt*
> *eum ad praefatum magistrum Eboraicae civitatis Anglorum praebentis. . . quem*
> *magister illustris Alchinus cum magno suscepit gaudio. Susceptus itaque Liudgerus*
> *erat consueto more omnibus carus, eo quod esset ornatus moribus bonis et studiis*
> *sanctis. Et mansit ibi annis truibus et mensibus sex proficiens in doctinae studio.*
> *Cupiebat enim ibidem diutius in sancto manere studio, sed non fuerat concesa*
> *facultas, quia egredientibus civibus illis ad bellum contra inimicos suos contigit, ut*
> *per ricam interficeretur filius euiudsam comitis ipsius provinciaw a Fresone quodam*
> *negociatore. Et idcirco Fresones festinaverunt egredi de regione Angorum timentes*
> *iram propinquorum interfecti iuvenis. Tunc Alchuinus necessitate compulsus direcit*
> *Liudgerum cum praefatis negotiatoribus, misit etiam eum eo et diaconem suum*
> *nomine Putul timens, ne amore discendi aliam regionis illis civitatem adiret et pro*
> *ultione praedicti iuvenis aliquas pateretur insidias*[392]
>
> *[Then, overcome by his entreaties, Gregory and the parents of Liudger sent him to*
> *the aforementioned teacher living in the English city of York. . .and the illustrious*
> *master Alcuin received him with great joy.   Having been received, Liudger was loved*
> *by all in his usual way for he furnished himself with good habits and holy study. He*
> *stayed there for three years and six months in pursuit of knowledge. Truly, he longed*
> *to remain there in holy study, but it became impossible for as the citizens marched*
> *out to war against their enemies, the son of a nobleman was killed in a brawl by a*
> *Frisian merchant. Fearing the anger of the slain boy's kin, the Frisians hastened to*
> *flee Northumbria. Compelled by necessity and fearing that Liudger in his love of*
> *learning would travel to another cathedral city in that region and suffer some harm*
> *in vengeance for the young man, Alcuin sent Liudger with the merchants and his*
> *deacon named Pyttel]*

York appears in the first book of the text in chapters ten through twelve. The city

enters the narrative as the holy abbot Gregory sends Aluberht there so that he may

be ordained as a bishop. The young Liudger travels with Aluberht to York and enters

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[392] Altfrid. *Die Vita Sancti Liudgeri*. ed. Wilhelm Diekamp. Munster: Druck und Verlag Der
Theissing'schen Buchandlung, 1881. Book I, Ch. 11-12. Translation my own.

the tutelage of Alcuin. The ecclesiastical authority of the city was not only felt in the

Anglo-Saxon kingdoms. As Altfrid frames the story, York holds an international

importance both for the status of the archbishopric and as a site of wisdom and

learning. The school at York, under the leadership of Alcuin, held an unrivalled

eminence.[393] This came from the amount and quality of the texts present and the

high degree of training and knowledge possessed by the individuals attached to it.

Altfrid's excerpt shows York as a settlement with a highly mixed population.

There are Frisian traders, clerics, secular magnates and craftspeople and other non-

elite free inhabitants. York possessed a magnetic quality that brought individuals to

it for a variety of different reasons. It acted as a centre for trade. York's role in

minting and as a trading centre alongside fertile ideological ground created by the

city's attachment to Roman history, influenced power, both ecclesiastic and secular,

to increasingly gravitate towards the centre in order to maintain and increase their

position and network. Sited as it was on navigable rivers, having a base of power

within the settlement, allowed Northumbria's kings and clerics to interact with

influential sites throughout Europe. Through the latter half of the eighth century,

York garnered significant renown for its traditions of erudite education and

ecclesiastical authority built by its bishops and monks that spread throughout

Europe.[394] It is mentioned on its own, attesting to the high regard held for the

archbishop of York and the school founded there. This is certainly the image that

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[393] Goodman, Peter. 'Introduction' in Alcuin. *Alcuin: The Bishops, Kings, and Saints of York,* ed. and trans. Peter Goodman, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1982. p.. lxiii

[394] This link between York and wisdom seems to have been actively pursued by Archbishop Æthelberht. Alcuin wrote that the archbishop had founded a new church in York around 780 CE, which he consecrated to Alma Sophia. Morris, Richard. 'Alcuin, York and the Alma Sophia' *in The Anglo-Saxon Church: Papers on History, Architecture and Archaeology in Honour of Dr. H.M. Taylor.* eds. L.A.S. Butler and Richard Morris. London: Council for British Archaeology, 1986. p. 80

Alcuin, and to a lesser extent Bede, claimed for the city. For Alcuin, York appeared

as more than an important metropolitan See in the far north-western reaches of

Europe. In his writings, York became the Anglo-Saxon equivalent of Rome - a

position traditionally granted to the southern See of Canterbury in Kent.

In spite of Alcuin's later praise of the city, York's status in early seventh

century Northumbria as Christianity grew to be the dominant religion in the kingdom

is somewhat unclear. In many areas of the city, the Anglo-Saxon foundations have

been obscured by later development in the area. Whilst York possessed extensive

Roman and later medieval settlement evidence, extant signs of activity from the

early Anglo-Saxon period have received comparably less attention. Textual sources

suggest that as early as the reign of Edwin, roughly 616 to 633 CE, the royal family

held land in the area. Excavations at York Minster suggest the Roman basilica

remained inhabited into the early Anglo-Saxon period.[395] Evidence of large amounts

of suckling pig around the fortress indicates the presence of high-status feasting

around this period.[396]   Together, this indicates significant elite presence in York

around the early seventh century.

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[395] Ottoway, Patrick. *Archaeology in British Towns: From Emperor Claudius to the Black Death.* London: Routledge, 1992. p. 122; Carver, Martin, 'Roman to Norman at York Minster', in *Excavations at York Minster Volume 1: From Roman Fortress to Norman Cathedral*, Derek Phillips and Brenda Heywood, ed Martin Carver, Royal Commission on the Historical Monuments of England. London: HMSO, 1995. Carver presents three potential occupation sequences from the evidence found during excavation. The one favoured by Carver would have the basilica area hosting continued occupation into the immediate sub-Roman period, but not lasting into the seventh century. Phillips and Haywood on the other hand find an alternative model that would have some extent of continuous occupation throughout the early medieval period. Carver's preference seems to be influenced by the substantial presence of the so-called 'Dark Earth' in the basilica area in the sixth and seventh century. As Loveluck argued, though, this should not be taken to necessarily show a lack of habitation, but rather a changing use of the area. It is this changed use of the area that Phillips and Haywood find the most convincing given the large amounts of animal bones and other evidence found in the excavation.
[396] Rackham, DJ and Allison, EP, 'Animal Bones from post-Roman Contexts', in *Excavations at York Minster Volume 1: From Roman Fortress to Norman Cathedral*, Derek Phillips and Brenda Heywood, ed Martin Carver, Royal Commission on the Historical Monuments of England. London: HMSO, 1995; Henig. 'The Fate of Late Roman Towns'. p. 512. Henig argues that this indicates particularly secular

This trend over the period is reflected in the works of Bede. York does not seem to have weighed heavily in the mind of his more rural, monastery-focused viewpoint. When he did mention the city, though, he made it a point to show that Pope Gregory had intended a place of shared primacy for the bishopric of York alongside that of the southern See.[397]

> *. . . the bishop of London shall however, for the future, always be consecrated by his own synod and receive the honour of the pallium from that holy and apostolic see which, that by the guidance of God, I serve. We wish to send as bishop to the city of York one whom you yourself shall decide to consecrate; yet, always provided that if this city together with the neighbouring localities should receive the Word of the Lord, he is the consecrate twelve bishops and enjoy the honourable rank of a metropolitan; for it is our intention, God willing, if we live, to give him the pallium too; nevertheless, brother, we wish him to be subject to your authority: but after your death. . .being in no way subject to the authority of the bishop of London. There is, however, to be this distinction in honour, in future between the bishops of London and York, that he who was first consecrated is to be reckoned senior.[398]*

The attention placed upon this papal letter, as well as the leading southern See being London rather than Canterbury indicates the importance granted to the words of the

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elite feasting and lifestyle. While it does seem likely that secular elites had some presence and took part in these feasts, particularly in the early period of Christianisation, there generally was not a high degree of difference between members of the secular and ecclesiastic elite. Moreover, elites of both spheres often came from similar backgrounds if not from the same families. While it may well suggest the presence of an early royal hall in York, it may also indicate secular visitors at an ecclesiastic holding.

[397] McClure, Judith and Collins, Roger. 'Explanatory notes' in *The Ecclesiastical History of the English People.* eds Judith McClure and Roger Collins. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008. Notes for page 55, p. 373. The text of the letter as Bede writes it show Gregory's lack of knowledge of the landscape of the Church in the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms. The fact that he assumed London would be heart of the new archbishopric as well the fact that he seems to think the Anglo-Saxons shared one ruler rather than being a collection of distinct kingdoms indicates that he failed to recognise that this much had changed since the Roman political administration had ebbed from the island. In fact, Canterbury had already taken this place due to the power of the kingdom of Kent and how swiftly the nobility in that kingdom adopted the new faith.

[398] Bede. *Historia Ecclesiastica.* Book I Ch. 29

> *…quatenus Ludiniensis civitatis episcopus semper in posterum a synodo propria debeat consecrari, atque honoris pallium ab hac sancta et apostolica, cui, Deo auctore, deservio, sede percipiat. Ad Eburacam vero civitatem te volumus episcopum mittere, quem ipse judicaveris oredinare, ita dumtaxat ut, si edem civitas cum finitimis locis verbum Dei receperit, ipse quoque duodecim episcopos ordinet, et metropolitan honore perfruatur; quia ei quoque, si vita comes fuerit, pallium tribuere, Domino favente, disponimus, quem tamen tuæ fraternitatis volumus disposition subjacere; post obitum vero tuum ita episcopis, quos ordinaverit, præsit, ut Ludoniensis episcopi nullo modo ditioni subjaceat. Sit vero inter Lundoniæ et Eburacæ civitatis episcopos in posterum honoris ista distinction, ut ipse prior habeatur, qui prius fuerit ordinatus; …*

sainted pope. Bede considered the fulfilment of the Gregorian plan to be essential

and argued for the fact that Gregory gave York a place equal to its southern

counterpart.[399] It became for Bede proof of the vital importance of Northumbria in

the story of Christianity in the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms. Bede, writing in the early

years of the eighth century from a monastic setting in the primarily rural kingdom of

Northumbria, did not seem to consider the growing urban centre of York intrinsically

important in itself. Rather, it became a stand-in for the kingdom itself. The weight

given to it by Pope Gregory's intentions transferred to the land, clerics and rulers of

Northumbria.

Bede's lack of focus upon the secular aspects of the growing multi-focal

centre of York does not necessarily provide an accurate reflection of the settlement's

role and position in Northumbria and the wider Christian world. It is more telling of

the monk's own interests and his idea of the ideal structure of the Church's

hierarchy as well as a reflection of his attachment to and focus upon the position of

Lindisfarne and the supremacy of the Bernician line. Bede saw the role and sanctity

of a bishop to be best served when surrounded by others devoted to holy life and

travelling often to see to the needs of his flock and he expended a good deal of

energy trying to influence the church towards this path.

> *And when the holy Pope Gregory was wondering about the faith of our people. . .in letters sent to the blessed Archbishop Augustine he decreed that twelve bishops were to be ordained for it after they had come to the faith, and that the Bishop of York must be the metropolitan over them when he had received his pallium from the apostolic see. I would like you, holy father, with the support of the aforementioned most pious king, beloved of God, to strive nor with every effort to make up that number of so that as the number of bishops grows larger the Church of Christ may be*

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[399] Story. Joanna. 'Bede, Willibrord and the Letters of Honorious I on the Genesis of the Archbishopric of York', *English Historical Review,* Vol. 127, No. 527, August 2012. p. 785

more perfectly instructed in those matters which affect the observance of holy religion.

. . .

§ 10. Because of this, I had thought it advisable that with the agreement of a great council and by a decree of both bishop and king some monastic location should be identified as a likely episcopal see, and in case the abbot or monks might try to obstruct or resist this decree, they should be given the freedom themselves to choose from their own number a man who would be ordained bishop, and who would exercise the function of bishop in as many of the neighbouring areas as belonged to that diocese, along with the monastery itself; . . .[400]

In order to best serve both the community and to live according to the strictures of the Church, Bede sought to maintain a degree of separation between those dedicated to the Church and secular society. In particular he seemed to recognise the dangers of exposure to secular elite lifestyle and luxury that could lead one astray.

Bede admired and promoted the teachings of the Roman Church, following in the decision of the Synod of Whitby. At the same time, though, his construction of the Church structure shows the influence of the humility and simple lifestyle found among the Irish traditions found in Lindisfarne and Iona.[401] For Bede, the role of

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[400] Bede. 'Letter to Bishop Ecgbert'. Chs 9-10.
Nam et 'sanctus papa' Gregorius cum de fide nostrae gentis quae adhuc futura et conseruata erat in Christo ad beatissimum archiepiscopum Augustinum missis litteris disputaret, duodecim in ea episcopos, postquam ad fidem uenirent ordinandos esse decreuit; in quibus Eboracensis antistes accepto a sede apostolica pallio metropolitanus esse debert. Quem profecto numerum Episcoporum uelim modo tuasancta paternitas, patrocinante praesidio piisimi ac Deo dilecti regnis praefati, sollertr implore contendat quatinus abundante numero magistrorum perfectius ecclesia Christi in his quae ad cultum sacrae religionis pertinent instituatur.
…
10. *Quapropter commodum duxerim habito maiori concilio et consensus pontificali simul et regali edicto propiciatur locus aliquis monasteriorum ubi sedes fiat episcopalis. Et ne forte abbas uel monachi huic decreto contraire ac resistere temptauerint, detur illis licentia ut de suis ipsi eligant eum qui episcopus ordinetur, et adiacentium locorum, quotquot ad eandam diocesim pertineant, una cum ipso monasterio curam great episcopalem; . . .*
[401] Brown, George Hardin. 'Bede both Subject and Superior to the Episcopacy' in *Envisioning the Bishop: Images and the Episcopacy in the Middle Ages,* eds. Sigrid Danielson and Evan A. Gattin, Turnhout: Brepols 2014. p.. 93

bishop grew from the traditions set forth by the Apostles and, perhaps most importantly, John the Baptist.[402] These models were intrinsically linked to a more mobile, itinerant lifestyle with their chief responsibility being the health and wellbeing of the Christian people. This was the type of lifestyle that, in his consideration, could best be fostered in a rural setting, living in common among a group of religious men and women. For this reason, urban settings, such as the one developing around York, where the secular and ecclesiastic world blatantly overlapped and encouraged or enabled secular signs of wealth and power within religious settings conflicted with Bede's vision.[403] In some ways the very centrality of an urban setting seemed apt to breed a certain sedentary structure to life.

6.2 Archaeological Evidence for the Communities of York circa 700-870 CE

The presence of elites of either a secular or sacred background, or both secular and sacred as was common, affected the settlement. The potential patronage that came along with a static focus served to encourage and maintain an increase of population density with a corresponding growth of social and ethnic diversity.[404] According to Bede, York served as the site for Edwin's baptism by Paulinus and had built for Paulinus a church first in wood and later in more magnificent scale in stone.[405] The choice of this location indicates that even in the early seventh century, the king of Northumbria maintained a presence in York and

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[402] Kingsley, Jennifer p. 'Bishop and Monk: John the Baptist in the Episcopal Image of Anglo-Saxon England and Ottonian Germany' in *Envisioning the Bishop: Images and the Episcopacy in the Middle Ages,* eds. Sigrid Danielson and Evan A. Gattin, Turnhout: Brepols 2014. p.. 216

[403] It is perhaps not a coincidence that Bede's reticence towards York seems to be mirrored in his approach towards one of its early bishops, the excessively luxurious and quite secular-styled Wilfrid.

[404] Loveluck, Christopher. *Northwest Europe in the Early Middle Ages, c. 600-1150: A Comparative Archaeology.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013. p.. 153

[405] Bede. *Historia Ecclesiastica*. Book II, Ch. 14.

that it likely acted as one of the sites visited during the travels of the royal

household. Moreover, after this, York gained a new significance. It now served a

key religious function as the site wherein the seeds of Christianity came to

Northumbria.

York had been chosen, both by the Pope and by the original emissary

Paulinus, as the site for the baptism of the Deiran nobility and the construction of

the first church under the auspices of Edwin, the first Northumbrian leader to

convert. Yet, with his death and Paulinus' subsequent return to Kent, York's role as

the guiding light of Northumbrian Christianity faded and the Irish-influenced sites in

Bernicia gained prominence. In the *Vita Sancti Wilfridi*, Stephen of Ripon represents

his mentor as a man who faced a succession of attacks against his rightful role as the

bishop of York. Throughout the narrative, the author's bias towards Wilfrid is

undeniable as his protagonist shows an unshakable faith in his sacred position

throughout the trials sent his way by sadly misled nobles and a determination to

fulfil his destiny and that of his See.[406] According to Stephen's telling, Wilfrid's chief

concern was to tend to the stone church in York.

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[406] Goodman, Peter. 'Introduction: iii. The Date and Character of Alcuin's Poem on York' in Alcuin. *Alcuin: The Bishops, Kings, and Saints of York,* ed. and trans. Peter Godman, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1982. p.. li-lii. It is important to note that while Stephen is firmly devoted to Wilfrid's sanctity and presents his unwavering pursuit of his righteous purpose, there are few overt enemies or villains to appear in the text outside of the devil. Oswiu raises Chad to Wilfrid's rightful position in York, yet it is done during an extended absence in Gaul and 'at the instigation of the ancient foe' (Ch. XIV). Chad, though he could be seen to have usurped Wilfrid's See, is a 'true and meek servant of God' who 'obeyed the bishops in all things' willingly allows Wilfrid to assume the bishopric after a lapse of three years(Ch. XV). Even Ecgfrith's second queen Jurmenburg - who Stephan calls a sorceress, a she-wolf and akin to the wicked Jezebel – is said to have been 'at that time tortured with envy owing to the persuasions of the devil'. After this time she became 'a perfect abbess and an excellent mother of the community' (Ch. XXIV).   All of those who stand in Wilfrid's way are merely acting as pawns of Satan rather than from their own free will and far from any rational objection to the means or methods of the bishop himself. In a way this serves to further emphasis Wilfrid's true and god-given purpose. His sanctity draws the ire of the devil, and it is solely for this reason that otherwise noble and saintly individuals find themselves at odds with Wilfrid. If anything, Wilfrid is in fact too holy for his own good, putting the souls of the Northumbrian nobility at increased risk of infernal interference.

*This church of God had been founded by the holy Paulinus the bishop and dedicated
to God in the days of Edwin, that most Christian king. But now the ridge of the roof
owing to its age let the water through, the windows were unglazed and the birds
flew in and out, building their nests, while the neglected walls were disgusting to
behold owing to all the filth caused by the rain and birds.[407]*

It would be unwise to take this description of the minster as being entirely accurate.
In the *Vita*, showing the stone church built on top of the earliest Church in Anglo-
Saxon Northumbria where Edwin himself had been baptised in such a derelict state
serves to indicate how the Church in York, and to an extent in the Kingdom of
Northumbria as a whole, had been neglected. In spite of this assessment, it can be
seen that throughout the seventh century both the Northumbria royal household
and the religious community maintained a presence in York.

By the late seventh century signs of the multifaceted nature of York's social
structure increased further. Unused parts of the Roman *principia* became the site of
a growing metalworking centre that remained in active use until the early ninth
century.[408] Likewise, along the river to the south of the main royal and ecclesiastic
focus there is strong evidence for a growing community of merchants, artisans and
other free people in the Fishergate. This can be seen in the clear delineation of
properties through ditches and in the existence of pit groups and middens.[409]   The
presence of middens is particularly noteworthy. The necessity of a place to deposit
waste materials indicates the long-term stability of the settlement. These buildings

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[407] Stephen of Ripon. *Vita Sancti Wifridi.* Ch. XVI
    *…in ea civitate a sancto Paulino episcopo in diebus olim Eawini christianissimi regni primo
fundatae et dedicatae Deo, official semiruta lapidea eminebant. Nam culina antiquata tecti
distillantia fenestraeque apertae, avibus nidificantibus intro et foras volitantibus, et parietes
incultae omni spurcitia imbrium et avium horribles manebant.*

[408] Phillips, Derek. 'The excavations' in *Excavations at York Minster Volume 1: From Roman Fortress to
Norman Cathedral*, Derek Phillips and Brenda Heywood, ed Martin Carver, Royal Commision on the
Historical Monuments of England. London: HMSO, 1995. p.. 33-34, 65-66

[409] Kemp, Richard L. *Anglian York, Vol. 7: Anglian Settlement at 46-54 Fishergate.* General Editor p.V.
Addyman, York Archaeological Trust for Excavation and Research. Dorchester: The Dorset Press, 1996.
p.. 10

were not intended solely for those who only required occasional or sporadic

housing. Rather, there was at least some core settled population, and that group

required areas for the disposal of their rubbish and other domestic debris.

Much of the physical and structural evidence of early activity in the seventh

century is vague and obscured in the archaeological record. Excavations at York

Minster suggest that the Roman flooring was removed and replaced with a

laminated surface of charcoal and sand in the late eighth to early ninth century

suggesting continued or renewed use of the area in this period.[410] In the northwest

of the Roman *basilica* alone, this lamination was covered with a mixture of mortar

and finely crushed tiles to create an *opus signinum* floor.[411] The detail given to, and

the effort devote towards, this endeavour indicates the areas significance and use in

this period. Textual sources give evidence of several churches active in this period,

many of which involved this level of care and attention to detail. In his poetic tribute

to York, Alcuin lavished praise on the churches of York, their beauty and their

knowledge contained within their libraries.[412] The evidence that remains and the

level of active metalworking gives evidence for a settlement capable of this level of

endowment and actively involved in building.

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[410] Phillips. 'The excavations'. p.. 65. The laminations contain evidence of York ware pottery allowing the approximate dating.
[411] Philips. 'The excavations'. p. 65
[412] Alcuin. *Bishops, Kings and Saints of York.* Lns. 1489-1529.
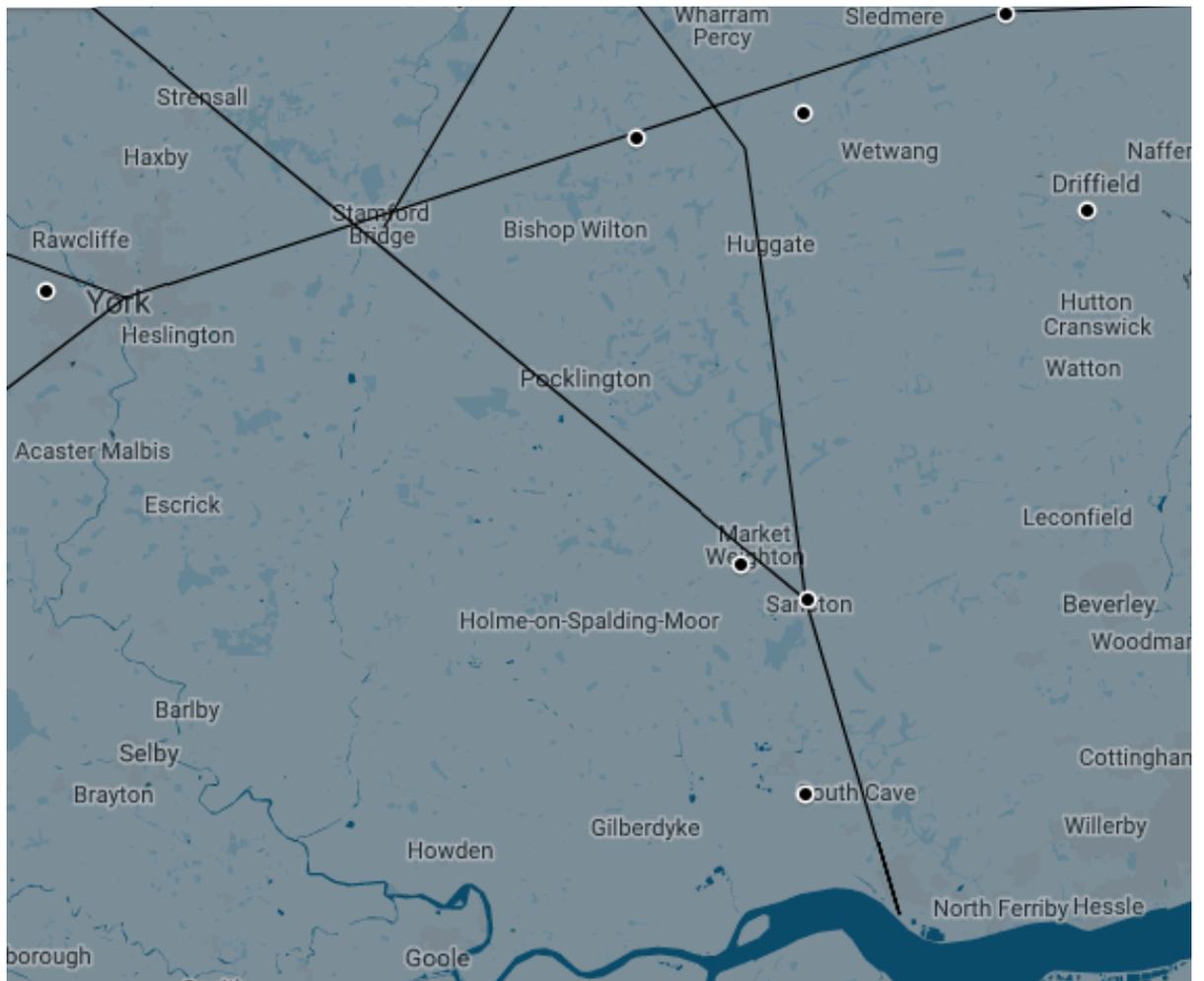
fig. 43. Map showing foci of burial activity in seventh century Deira. The black lines represent the path of Roman roads in the region.

There was an abstract magnetism exerted by the polyfocal, concentrated nature of the settlement at York. This attracted both people and goods to it as is evident from the physical footprint that remains at the site. Around the latter half of the seventh century evidence indicates that some higher status individuals chose to be interred around York. While York had been a focus for Roman burials and cremation burials in the fifth and sixth centuries, the settlement lacked some of the psychological importance to make it a significant focus for the interment of early

Deirans before the seventh century.[413] In the area just south of Coppergate lies the

Castle Yard site. In early excavations, first in 1828 and then in 1884, workers

recovered two well-preserved bowls. The state of the items suggests that they may

have been included in furnished graves rather than found from occupation levels

which would have left them more exposed to the elements and the damage and

wear that would have brought.[414] The first of these items dates from the latter half

of the seventh century. It is a gilded copper-alloy hanging bowl with a silver roundel

set at its base. The roundel is decorated with delicate interlace engravings. While it

cannot be seen in the image below, the three escutcheons take the form of birds

with finely shaped curving necks, their beaks aligned to the rim of the bowl.[415] This

item was accompanied by two clay bowls or pots that have since been lost. Near

this first location, workers found a Coptic-style bowl of the type known from the

Sutton Hoo ship burial during excavation in the late nineteenth century.[416] These

items, and the well-preserved condition they were found in, suggest the presence of

a cemetery in which higher status families chose to inter their loved ones.

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[413] Tweddle. 'The Anglian City'. p.. 167. Tweddle notes that there are three sites showing certain signs of being early cemeteries. Two of these, at Heworth and The Mount, are cremation cemeteries of a pre-seventh century date. The other is an inhumation cemetery at Lamel Hill. There is some evidence for a handful of other cemeteries around York. One is at Castle Yard, included in the *fig. 27* above.

[414] Tweedle. 'The Anglian city. p.. 172

[415] Moulden, Joan, Logan, Elizabeth and Tweddle, Dominic. 'Catalogue of Anglian Sites' in *Anglian York: A Survey of the Evidence 7/2*, eds. Dominic Tweddle, Jane Moulden and Elizabeth Logan, London: Published for the York Archaeological Trust by the Council for British Archaeology 1999. p.. 233. The design of the birds with their leaf-shaped bodies and the curving necks suggest the shape of wading birds, geese or swans. The imagery here, on an item often related to higher status individuals, could reflect a particular awareness of or appreciation for the marshlands and riverside. This in turn may be related to York's growing role as a place of trade and import.

[416] Tweddle. 'The Anglian City'. p. 172-173. Tweddle cautions that the Coptic bowl in particular may not originate from York and that further work is required to verify its origin.
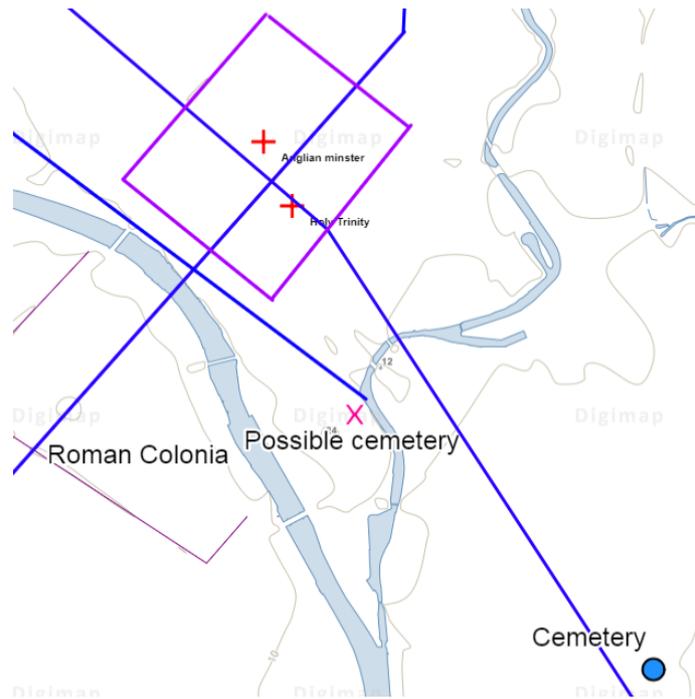
fig. 44. Map of cemeteries dating from the seventh and eighth centuries in the area around York. The X marks a possible seventh century cemetery site at Castle Yard, based on the findings of a hanging bowl and a Coptic plate. The circle marks the Lamel Hill cemetery that saw use from around the late-seventh to the mid-ninth centuries. The blue line marks the roman roads around York. © Crown Copyright and Database Right 2018. Ordnance Survey (Digimap Licence)

To the south of Castle Yard lies the Lamel Hill site. Here in the mid-nineteenth century, Dr. Thurman, a medical superintendent, discovered and excavated another Anglo-Saxon cemetery on the site of The Retreat. Thurman's excavation was carefully conducted and well documented, recording a number of burials in a re-used Roman mound as well as additional inhumations immediately west of the barrow. [417] The mound itself contained at least twenty individuals as well as a number of disarticulated bones deposited when the mound was raised using the surrounding grounds to serve as a defensible position during the Civil War. In Thurman's excavation, workers also found iron fittings of the type of corner pieces, locks and hinges found on Anglo-Saxon chests between the seventh and

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[417] Tweddle. 'The Anglian City'. p. 170-172. While it is not certain, Tweddle argues that Thurman's western site is one and the same as that at Belle Vue House that was excavated further in 1983.

ninth centuries. These fittings show a notable similarity to the slightly later

inhumations found at York Minster with burial dating from the early- to mid-ninth

century through to the tenth or eleventh centuries.[418]

To the west, a further thirty-eight extended burials were uncovered, nine

showing signs of mutilation. Unlike the possible site at Castle Yard, there was a

marked lack of burial goods around Lamel Hill. The one exception to this was an

individual buried with a single iron knife. This humble, everyday item in some ways

emphasises the lack of furnished graves. The graves both in the mound and at Belle

Vue House seem to date the late seventh and early eighth centuries given their

layout and the lessening presence of burial goods.[419] The inhumations show signs of

Christianisation, yet there does not seem to be evidence for an associated church.

Churchyard burial, therefore, does not yet seem to have been the foremost catalyst

for the choice of sight nor considered an absolute necessity by the families of those

interred therein.

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[418] Kjølbye-Biddle, B. 'Iron-bound Coffins and Coffin Fittings from the Pre-Normal Cemetery' in *Excavations at York Minster. Volume I: From Roman Fortress to Norman Cathedral*, eds. Derek Phillips, Brenda Haywood and Martin Carver, Royal Commission on the Historical Monuments of England. London: HMSO, 1995. p.. 489-491

[419] Kjølbye-Biddle, B. 'Iron-bound Coffins and Coffin Fittings from the Pre-Normal Cemetery'. p.. 72. The fittings found at Lamel Hill are paralleled by chest burial found at broadly contemporaneous cemeteries at Monkwearmouth, Dacre and several sites in Yorkshire such as Thwing.

fig. 45. Gilded copper alloy hanging bowl with a decorative silver roundel in the base found at Castle Yard. This bowl is thought to be part of furnished burial dating to the mid-seventh to eighth centuries© *Image courtesy of York Museums Trust :: http://yorkmuseumstrust.org.uk/ :: CC BY-SA 4.0*

Significantly both sites, at Castle Yard and around Lamel Hill, are situated in reference to Roman York. Both are set along the surrounding Roman roadways, and re-used Roman cemeteries. In choosing and maintaining this location for burial, the families of the deceased indicate the significance possessed there. They may have sought to attach one's memory or family to this Roman past, considered the sites as atraditional sites of interment or been attracted by the presence of a church or monastery at the site that could look after the souls of their departed loved ones.[420] Lamel Hill is particularly interesting as it may represent a sort of mid-point of burial practice in Deira. The number of individuals reusing the barrow and those being intered in reference to it show a certain willingness or perhaps even desire to be buried near York, either through its connections to Christian Rome, or through the settlement's status as a place of historic Christian importance for a group only relatively recently converted. York's psychological and material magnetism was growing. At the same time, the reuse of the barrow reflects the tradition of early

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[420] Tweddle. 'The Anglian City'. p.. 177

medieval cultural trends that treated prehistoric burial mounds as places of

significance that tied identity to place through the land and the past inhabitants that

is found at a number of sites in eastern Deira, as discussed in the third chapter.

Lamel Hill and the people who chose it for the interment of their kin or who desired

it for themselves are set at a crossroads of cultural practice.

York was becoming more than just the seat of the bishop. Members of the

secular power structure began to take more of an interest in the location. By the

730s, in the last years of Bede's life, the balance tipped steadily in favour of the

southern settlement. Alcuin looked to this time as the start of a Golden Age for the

northern kingdom.[421] By 735, York received metropolitan status, fulfilling what

many in Northumbria saw as Pope Gregory's original plans for the centre.[422] This

recognition put York on par with Canterbury at a time when the political power that

had buoyed the southern see in the seventh century had long since evaporated and

been subsumed by surrounding kingdoms.

This higher concentration of population in one location drew goods and

services from hinterland sites into the centre, thus enabling an increased

concentration of wealth and power. This, in turn, influenced a further increase in

settlement at the site and in specialisation of the hinterland sites.[423] York and other

urban centres influenced the shape and structure of their surroundings. Rural

hinterland sites and their related urban centre worked within a larger trade network

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[421] Goodman, 'Introduction'. p. xlv. Goodman underlines the contemporary resonance in Alcuin's writings. Unlike Bede, he was not looking back on a period long passed. For Alcuin, York's past was very much vibrant and alive. His writings sought to rouse the audience – reminding them of the glories of their kingdom vested in the centre of York in order to help them face present threats.
[422] Goodman. 'Introduction. p. xlv.
[423] Hamerow, Helena. 'Agrarian Production and the Emporia of mid-Saxon England circa 650-850' in *Heirs of the Roman West: Post-Roman Towns, Trade and Settlement in Europe and Byzantium Vol. I*, ed Joachim Henning. Berlin: W. de Gruyter 2007, p..219-232

that operated within a web of economic and social frameworks that had developed over a long period.[424] Both the centre and the peripheries were simultaneously moulded by and influenced the character of the other. These relationships show themselves in many ways including in some cases the placement or purpose of rural hinterland sites along navigable rivers and Roman roadways, which played a role in moving trade goods both into and out of a settlement and in the presence of coins and imported goods.[425] Before the mid-eighth century the highest concentration of coin finds in Northumbria had been found at sites in Deira with direct connection to royal presence as well as in the region around the Humber estuary.

Few coins minted before 730 have been found at York except for one silver sceat dating to roughly 700 to 725 found at York Minster.[426] A second contemporary sceat was found six miles southwest of the centre in Askham Richard.[427] An exception to this general trend emerges with one of the first Northumbrian issues, though the exact nature of which is still somewhat ephemeral. In the mid-nineteenth century, three of the early gold 'York thrymsas' were found around Parliament Street in York.[428] In total, there are twenty-eight specimens that are thought to represent this coinage type, with sixteen distinct dies, eight obverse and

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[424] Newton, John. 'Wics, Trade and the Hinterlands – the Ipswich Region' in *Anglo-Saxon Trade Networks: Beyond the Emporia*, ed Mark Anderton. Glasgow: 1999, p.. 32

[425] Palmer, Ben. 'The Hinterland of three Southern English Emporia: Some Common Themes' in *Markets in Early Medieval Europe: Trading and 'Productive Sites, 650-850*, ed. Time Pestell and Katherina Ulmschneider. Macclesfield: Windgather Press, 2003. p.. 51

[426] Richards, Julian and Naylor, John. 'Settlement, Landscape and Economy in Early Medieval Northumbria: Contribution of Portable Antiquities', *Early Medieval Northumbria: Kingdoms and Communities, AD 450-1100,* eds. p. David A and T. Sam, Turnhout: Brepols, 2012. p.. 142

[427] It is interesting to note that the latter coin is Frisian, suggesting the early period of foreign merchants recognising York as a place for trade in addition to the more immediate opportunities along the coastline and in the Humber estuary.

[428] Abramson, Tony. *'Where There's Muck, There's Brass!': Coinage in the Northumbrian Landscape and Economy, c. 575-c. 867,* PhD thesis, University of York, 2016, p.. 200. https://core.ac.uk/download/pdf/83934990.pdf

eight reverse.[429] The dates for this group are debated, with several authorities

concluding that a range from 640 to 660 is most likely.[430] More recent studies have

shifted this date earlier, arguing that Edwin issued the coins to commemorate his

conversion and continued to mint them through the last six years of his reign.[431] The

coins show a marked distribution with the uninscribed varieties remaining within 25

miles of York.[432] Inscribed varieties of the coins extend further north, tending to

Deiran sites, but with outliers found in both Yeavering in Bernicia and Lincoln south

of the Humber.[433] The distribution of the coins seems to bolster the argument for

Edwin as the issuer of the York thrymsas, particularly when the outliers are

considered.

Thrymsas existed in the space between cultural languages. These were

syncretizing objects. They both continued the tradition of a king as the Ring-Giver

and began the process of embracing coins as a means of exchange. They acted in

part as a sharing of Edwin and other early king's treasures. In this way, they spoke

the language of tradition – maintaining and augmenting past practices in light of the

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[429] Abramson. '*Where There's Muck, There's Brass'.* p.. 83.

[430] Cf. Blackburn, M. A. S., 'A Variant of the Seventh-Century "York" Group of Shillings Found in Lincolnshire', The *Numismatic Chronicle*, Iss. 154, 1994. p.. 208; Naylor, John, 'The Circulation of Early-Medieval European Coinage: A Case Study from Yorkshire, c. 650–c. 867', *Medieval Archaeology,* Iss. 51, 2007. p.. 47. Both Naylor and Blackburn suggest that the coins may date from as late as 680.

[431] Cf. Abramson, p.. 83; Williams, Gareth and Hook, D. 'Analysis of Gold Content and Its Implications for the Chronology of the Early Anglo-Saxon Coinage', in *Anglo- Saxon Coins I: Early Anglo-Saxon Gold and Anglo-Saxon and Continental Silver Coinage of the North Sea Area, c.600–760*, ed. Anna Gannon, *Sylloge of Coins of the British Isles,* Vol. 63. London: British Museum Press. p.. 61. The Volume tended to favour a date in the 640s under the Bernician king Oswald. Williams and Hook, however, found an earlier date under Deiran influence with Edwin to be more plausible. Bernicia, as we have discussed, showed a marked Northern and Western focus for its cultural influences and connections. Moreover, coin finds are much less evident in the region throughout the Anglo-Saxon period. Deira, on the other hand, always looked towards Kent and the Continent, striving to compete for supremacy using the tools and cultural currency out of that register. Therefore, Edwin seems most likely to use coinage so early in Northumbrian monetisation to communicate his status as a leading Christian king. This argument is supported by the works of Mary Garrison and Tony Abramson.

[432] Abramson. *'Where There's Muck, There's Brass'.* p. 84

[433] Abramson. *'Where There's Muck, There's Brass'.* p. 84

new beliefs. For an aristocracy with an awareness of coinage, this use made

concrete the notion that wealth was not a commodity that could be gained

independently. Instead, it was something that could only be accrued through the

relationship between a lord and their retinue and followers.[434] Outside of

Northumbria though, the coins communicated the power of a strong, wealthy

Christian king. To an external audience, these coins served as concrete proof of

Northumbria's achievements and influence.
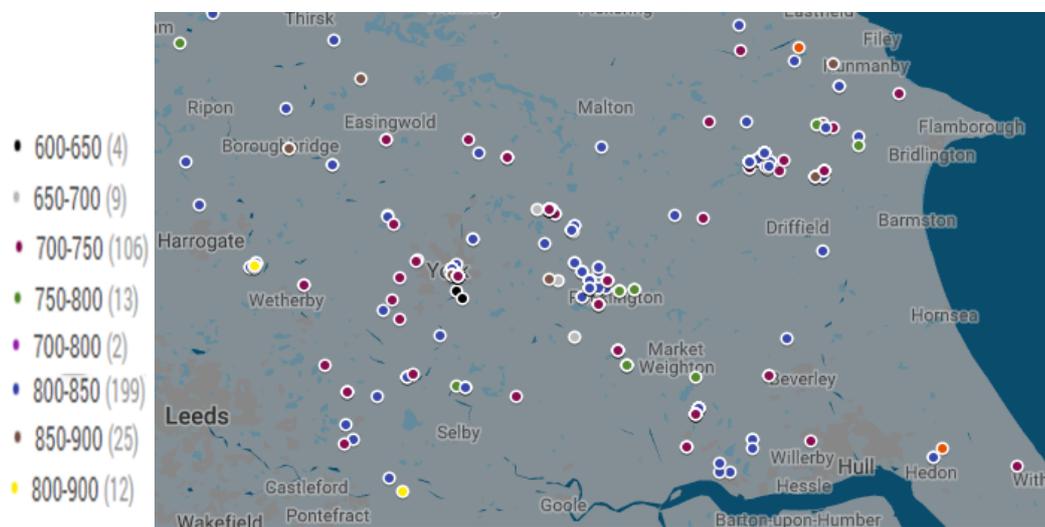
fig. 46. Graph of Coin Loss at Deiran Sites. York coins tend to be concentrated towards the mid-eighth and early ninth century. Earlier coins tend to be found on rural estate centres and around the Humber estuary

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[434] Bazelmans, Jos. 'Beyond Power: Ceremonial Exchange in Beowulf' in *Rituals of Power from Late Antiquity to the Early Middle Ages,* eds. Frans Theuws and Janet L. Nelson, University Park: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2001. p.. 350
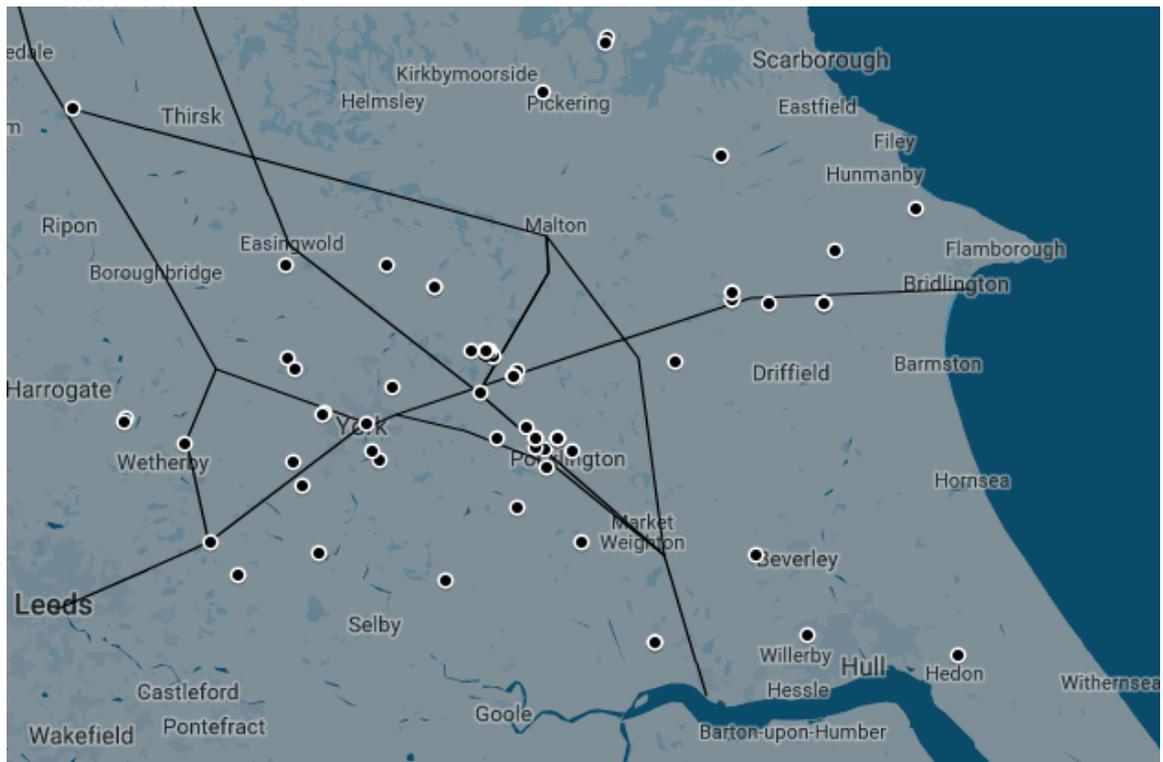
fig. 47. Map of pre-737 coins. Only one coin found in Anglo-Saxon York, recovered from the Minster, was minted prior to 737. A second coin, a silver Frisian sceat from 700-720 has been found in the immediate hinterland in Askham Richards. The lines represent the rough course of Roman roads in the region.
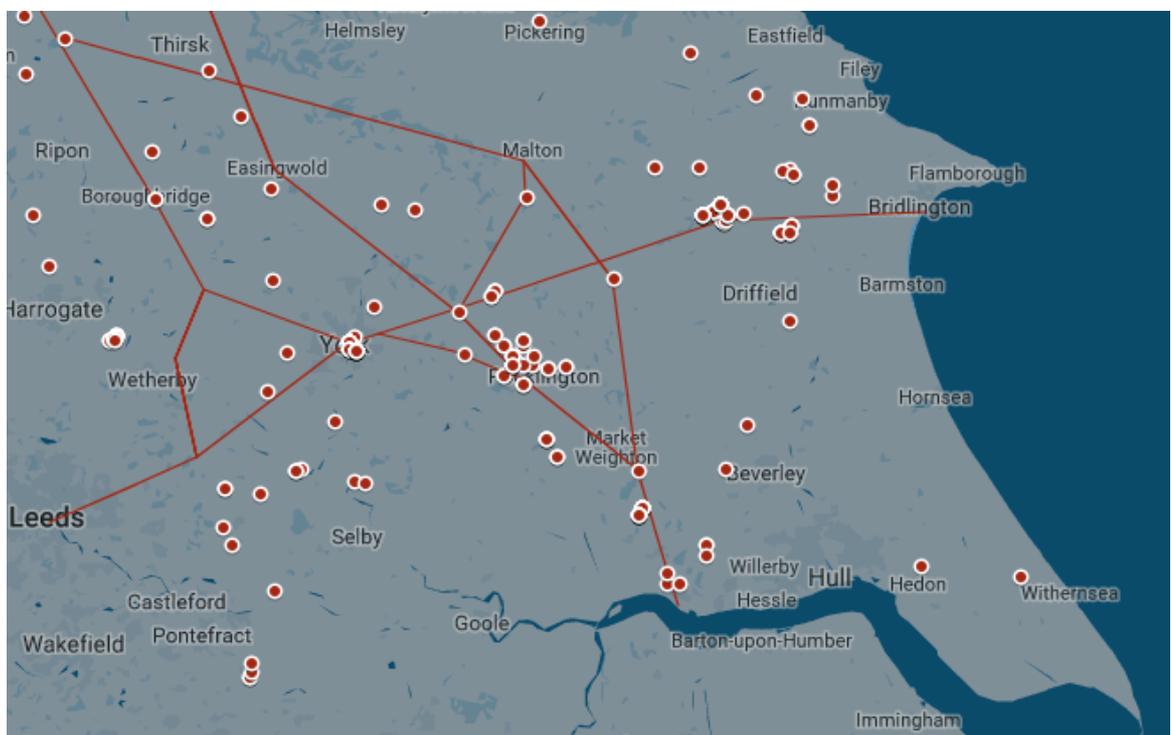
fig. 48. Map of post-737 coins. The lines represent the rough course of Roman roads in the region.
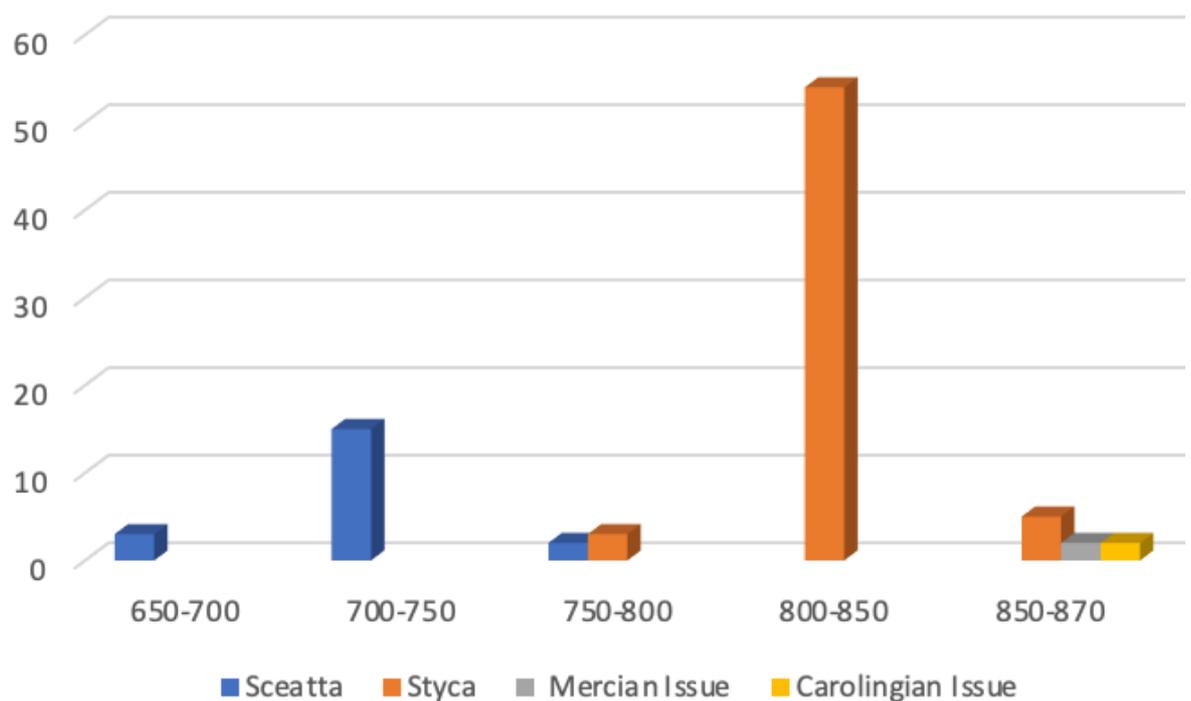
fig. 49. Approximate dates of coins found in York to the end of the research period

Much of the scholarship discussing emporia and their relationship with the surrounding countryside settlements has focused upon the better represented urban centres found in the southern Anglo-Saxon kingdoms. While the hinterland of York has proven more elusive, and the patterns evident at Cottam from the mid-eighth to the mid-ninth centuries in particular show some significant differences, there are notable similarities to the southern sites to be found in the network around York.[435] As shown in the figures above, the sites around York show a significant concentration of post-737 coin loss when compared to other sites in the Deiran

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[435] Julian Richards has argued that Cottam, while a productive site, seems to have engaged in only a limited amount of trade with little evidence of foreign goods or Southern pottery. This may suggest that the settlement may have been a direct holding of the Northumbrian ruler. If this is true, Richards states, any engagement in trade may well have been controlled from the centre rather than on a more independent basis as found at other rural and coastal trading sites. Richards, Julian D. 'The Anglian and Anglo-Scandinavian Sites at Cottam' in *Markets in Early Medieval Europe: Trading and 'Productive Sites, 650-850*, ed. Time Pestell and Katherina Ulmschneider. Macclesfield: Windgather Press, 2003. p.. 166 and Richards, Julian D, et. al. 'Cottam: an Anglo-Scandinavian Settlement on the Yorkshire Wolds', *The Archaeological Journal*, Vol. 156, Iss. 1. 1999. p. 229-230

region. This date is significant because it marks the start of the reign of Eadberht,

brother of Egbert, the archbishop of York. The brothers both showed a keen sense

of the importance of coinage. As discussed in previous chapters, Eadberht followed

the example of Aldfrith and standardised coinage in Northumbria. More

importantly, as will be discussed below, the brothers were the first to issue coinage

struck in the names of both the king of Northumbria and the archbishop of York.

The pattern of coin loss around York can be seen in other emporia-

hinterland networks and suggests that the sites participating in these networks

engaged in a significant amount of monetary exchange.[436] York's changing role and

importance can be seen through these coins as well. While York shows significant

coin loss, and so too coin use, some of the earliest coins have been found around

Deiran royal settlements such as Driffield and in the Humber estuary region where

merchants could easily land and engage in trade.[437] The effect this access to

imported goods had on the people engaging in this exchange will be discussed in the

section on the free people of York below.

While the urban centres provided opportunities for hinterland settlements to

flourish, these rural sites enabled the emporia to function. These sites allowed for

the maintenance and provisioning of the merchants and specialist craftspeople that

made up a significant portion of their population.[438] Animal bones found at York

have shown that much of the meat consumed at the site consisted of older cattle.[439]

The assemblage of bones found at Fishergate suggests that the meat arrived jointed

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[436] Loveluck. *Northwestern Europe.* p.. 207
[437] Loveluck. *Northwestern Europe*. p.. 186
[438] Palliser. *Medieval York.* p.. 37
[439] Roskams, Steve. 'Urban Transition in Early Medieval Britain'. p..284

and butchered, further suggesting that the animals were not reared locally. The

preparation, consumption and disposal of the bones seems to have been spread

evenly over the site in such a way as to show the influence of some authority

catering to the needs of a population that did not itself engage in animal

husbandry.[440] York, like its stone walls and minster, possessed a certain fixed, static

nature. Though it relied on its rural neighbours to perhaps an even greater extent

than those sites relied on the urban centre, York drew the peripheries and the goods

found there to itself.

The magnetic pull exuded by York brought with it the potential drawback, in

Bede's mind, that the bishop may fail in his responsibility to ensure the spiritual

health of his flock. The urban focus and the gravity provided by the nature of the

emporia site could have a negative effect on both the ability and desire of the bishop

to travel out to the most dispersed settlements in the diocese. By falling victim to

the temptation of staying within the walls of the city, the needs of Christians living

beyond these boundaries could be ignored and left to breed misunderstandings of

doctrines.[441] In this way, the differences between the cultures present in the

Bernician north and the Deiran south are drawn to the fore. Bernicia in many ways

shows a longstanding connection with cultures to the north and west strengthened

through ecclesiastic relationships between it, Iona and Ireland. Deira, on the other

hand, adopted the Roman Christianity brought to it in the early seventh century

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[440] Kemp, Richard L. *Anglian Settlement at 46-54 Fishergate*. p.. 74

[441] Bede. 'Letter to Bishop Ecgbert'. Ch. 7: 'For we have heard it reported, that there are many country-houses and hamlets of our nation situated on inaccessible mountains and thick forests, where, for many years, no bishop comes to perform any of the duties of holy ministry or Divine grace, yet none of these is free from paying tribute to the bishop; and yet not only is there no bishop among them to confirm by the laying on of hands those who have been baptized, but they have not even any teacher to instruct them in the truth of the faith, and in the difference between good and evil.'

through ties with Kent and the influence of Paulinus.[442] This was an urbane, worldly

Christianity, and York embraced this trend completely.[443] To a monk raised in the

heartland of Bernicia, the mind-set evident at York may have represented a

particularly relevant danger faced by the Church, leading the venerable author to

avoid granting the site the same prominence he gave to more northern sites such as

the royal site of Bamburgh, Lindisfarne, Hartlepool and Carlisle.

The York depicted in the *Historia Ecclesiastica* existed as a particular corner

that helped to heighten the position of Northumbria in the Christian world. Its

importance lay in its Roman history and the words of Gregory the Great giving York a

place of primacy. York's importance served to highlight the crucial role and holy

atmosphere of the kingdom as a whole rather than being particular to York as a

uniquely Christian place separate from the tapestry of Northumbria. Edwin appears

as a very important figure in the *Historia* as the King under whose influence

Christianity came to the Anglo-Saxons, north of the Humber, but Bede frames him as

a wise warrior king rather than a chiefly Christian king. He is devoted, but he takes

the lead of Paulinus.

> *He was baptised at York on Easter Day, 12 April, in the church of St. Peter the*
> *Apostle, which he had hastily built of wood while he was a catechumen and under*
> *instruction before he received baptism. He established an episcopal see for Paulinus,*
> ***his instructor and bishop****, in the same city. Very soon after his baptism, he set about*
> *and more magnificent church of stone, **under the instructions of Paulinus**. . .* [444]

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[442] Loveluck. *Northwestern Europe in the Early Middle Ages.* p.. 171

[443] Morris. 'Alcuin, York and the Alma Sophia'. p.. 84

[444] Bede. *Historia Ecclesiastica*. Book II, Ch. 14. Emphases added.
> *Baptizatus est autem Eburarci die sancto paschæ, pridie iduum Aprilium, in ecclesia sancti*
> *Petri apostoli, quam ibidem ipse de ligno, cum catezaretur atque ad percipiendum baptisma*
> *imbueretur, citato opera construxit; in qua etiam civitate ipse doctori atque antistiti suo*
> *Paulino sedem episcopatus donavit. Mox autem ut baptisma consecutus est curavit, docente*
> *eodem Paulino, majorem ipso in loco et augustiorem de lapide fabrocare basilicam, in cujus*
> *medio ipsum, quod prius fecerat, oratorium includeretur.*

In this relationship Edwin appears as the student to the Roman bishop in Northumbria through his Kentish connections. It is Paulinus who seems to spearhead the siting of York under the guidance of Gregory the Great's original intentions as laid out in his original letter.[445] In this action, the bishop acted within a Roman pattern of conversion in England in which bishops seated themselves within walled settlements with ties to Roman Britain.[446] York truly becomes a piece of Rome transplanted to Northumbria.

The original line of Roman influence, in many ways, died out when Edwin died and Paulinus fled back to Kent. It is the Irish-affiliated kings and bishops that become more active forces in the Northumbrian story of Christianity. Oswald, the king who brought Christianity back to Northumbria, spent much of his younger years living and training in Ireland or Scotland before returning to fight against the forces under Cadwallon.[447] Oswald goes on to request that an Irish bishop be sent to Northumbria 'by whose teaching and ministry the English race over whom he ruled might learn the privileges of faith in our Lord and receive the sacraments'.[448] They sent Bishop Aidan, a holy and humble Irish man whose teachings set the basis for the whole of the Northumbrian church through his influence on Abbess Hild and many other influential Northumbrian figures. Hild's influence as a mentor and teacher of a succession of future bishops seeded this Irish tradition throughout Northumbria. Even in York Minster these strands can be seen intertwined with the predominant Roman archetypes in the late seventh and early eighth century sculptures and

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[445] Bede. *Historia Ecclesiastica.* Book I Ch. 29
[446] Palliser. *Medieval York.* p.. 32
[447] Bede. *Historia Ecclesiastica.* Book III, Ch. 1
[448] Bede. *Historia Ecclesiastica.* Book III, Ch. 3

monuments.[449] It is on this that Bede builds his triumphant story, turning aside from the southern tradition of York.

6.3 A Brotherly Rule:
Conflict and Cooperation between Archbishops and Kings

While Canterbury maintained its abstract importance and a religious weight, its location now hindered its power. In the 730s, the more immediate rival lay far closer than Kent. South of the Humber the Mercian See of Lichfield provided a rival both in episcopal and political fields.[450] York in this period had an advantage, in Alcuin's eyes. Northumbria's Golden Age was fuelled by a synergy of political and episcopal power.[451] For Alcuin, the bishops and kings ought to work together for one purpose. Their roles fit together, making them brothers towards one end: the pursuit of religious and political harmony and stability. This ideal of rule had been a reality in Northumbria in the 730s with the elevation of the first Archbishop of York, Ecgbert during the reign of Eadberht, his brother.[452] Through them, in Alcuin's mind, the sacred and secular spheres locked together like clockwork, allowing the structure of the state to run smoothly and increase in power and influence.

This solidarity in purpose and brotherly cooperation took physical form in joint-issued coinage. While both archbishops and kings issued coins independently

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[449] Lang, James with Wilthew p. 'Finds of the early medieval period, c. AD 400-1100: Pre-Conquest Sculpture' in Phillips, Derek and Haywood, Brenda. *Excavations at York Minster, Vol. 1: From Roman Fortress to Normal Cathedral, Part 2 The finds,* ed. MOH Carver, Royal Commission on the Historical Monuments of England. London: HMSO, 1995. p.. 435. The incised cross stelae in particular show this mixing of influences, with Hiberno-Saxon cross-types and some bearing intricate interlace ornamentation alongside Roman marigold fans. YM 19 serves as the chief example of this tradition.
[450] Loveluck. *Northwestern Europe.* p.. 176-177
[451] Goodman. 'Introduction'. p.. lvi
[452] Goodman. 'Introduction.. p.. xlv

in their own names, starting with Ecgbert and Eadberht three different archbishops

of York and the four different kings minted coins in collaboration between 737 and

766.[453] Releasing coins in this way suggests a sharing of power. The bolstering of

power flowed in both directions, yet in many ways it was the archbishops who

possessed a firmer grasp on it through their connection with divine rule. Ecgbert

became the Archbishop before his brother gained secular rule.[454] For Eadberht, the

joint-issues coincided with a concerted effort to institute a newer issue standardised

coinage, by banning older coinage and ensuring reliable weight and metal content.[455]

In this way, he sought to display his secular supremacy through the ability to control

and maintain the economic situation of the kingdom. The political situation into

which Eadberht came to power necessitated such clear displays of strength and

stability. He came to power through nomination by his cousin and predecessor

Ceolwulf, who chose abdication in favour of life as a monk after a short but

tumultuous reign ending in his own forced tonsure by rebellious thanes.[456]

The physical sign of collaboration acted in a similar way, giving the kings a

mark of authority and proof of ecclesiastic approval of rule. In this way, joint-issued

coinage acted in a similar way to the Carolingian anointing ritual in confirming a

king's divine right.[457] York had gained metropolitan status and with that its link with

papal power was confirmed. This recognition of status and importance from the

heart of the Christian world gave the archbishop of York a more secure, sanctioned

[453] Loveluck, *Northwestern Europe.* p.. 175
[454] Rollason, 'Historical Evidence for Anglian York'. p.. 134
[455] Naismith. *Money and Power.* p.. 97
[456] Abramson. *'Where There's Muck, There's Brass'.* p.. 91
[457] Danielson. 'The Bishop's Presence'. p.. 141

hold on power than the secular head in a period of more unsettled transitions of

power. These coins served as concrete proof of a secure, divinely sanctioned rule.

fig. 50. A silver Northumbrian sceat issued jointly under king Eadberht and his brother Archbishop
Ecgbert of York dating to the period AD 734 - 766. The image on the reverse shows a mitred bishop
holding two crosses. © *Image courtesy of York Museums*
Trust :: http://yorkmuseumstrust.org.uk/ :: CC BY-SA 4.0

The reverse motif of the coins gives a strong representation of episcopal

power. It depicts a standing figure wearing the bishop's mitre. The figure's arms are

outstretched, each grasping the foot of a processional cross. In her influential study

of the iconography of Anglo-Saxon coins, Anna Gannon suggested that the image

seems to derive from Merovingian prototypes blending Roman and Christian

influences. [458] The image of the figure flanked by two tall crosses represented the

protective powers of the cross and an entrenchment of power.[459] This reading of the

image seems appropriate to the political situation in mid-eighth century

Northumbria, however, it may be overlooking certain aspects of the issue.

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[458] Gannon. *Iconography.* p.. 87
[459] Gannon. *Iconography.* p.. 87

The iconography of the joint-issued coin seems to echo that of the early York

Group thrymsa in some respects. Both issues depict a figure set between or holding

two tall crosses. The former presents a refined realistic portrayal of the scheme

while the latter presents an stylised image drawing from the same cultural and

artistic influences of the illuminator of the bust of St. Matthew in The Book of

Durrow.[460] Both images, though, show a Christian figure, arms outstretched,

ensconced and fearless in the safety provided by the crosses. Gannon argued that

the iconography of the thrymsa suggests the unassailable strength offered through

belief in the Christian god.[461] This seems to incorporate the same messages encoded

into the symbol on the joint-issued sceat. In his standardisation of coinage, Eadberht

may have been drawing on the original Northumbrian issue in the same way as he

drew from the examples and images set by the more recent Aldfrith. Reaching back

towards this forbearer gains more meaning through the fact that, like the coins

minted by the brothers, the thrymsas seem to have been minted in some degree of

cooperation between Edwin and the first bishop of York, Paulinus.[462]

This began Alcuin's Golden Age of York, where it became in his eyes, the

centre of the Northumbria known for intellectual pursuits and international trade.[463]

It sanctified rule, becoming the place where Eardwulf, in another period of political

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[460] Gannon. *Iconography.* p.. 26
[461] Gannon. *Iconography.* p.. 26
[462] Where this line of argument runs into trouble, though, is the unavoidable fact that a century is far more removed than the four decades separating Aldfrith and Eadberht. It is all but impossible to know whether the eighth-century king would have been aware of the early coins. The purpose of the thrymsas, however, serving as much or more as gifts or rewards between a 'ring-giver' king and his thegns and supporters than strict currency may have afforded them a heightened psychological and cultural importance, making them heirlooms of a family's status and allowed them to maintain a level of familiarity.
[463] Godman. 'Date and Character of the Poem'. p.. xlv

unrest, chose to be consecrated in 796.[464] It also came to enshrine the head of the

martyred king Edwin, making it a place of pilgrimage.[465] This, for Alcuin, marked the

place where the best strands of Northumbrian culture were brought together.

Through York, Northumbria might be revitalised, strengthened and given the

necessary stability to consolidate its deserved position of pre-eminence in Anglo-

Saxon England.[466] Cooperation between secular and sacred power helped to fuel the

growth of York as a central place in Northumbria. It helped to concentrate wealth

and influence in York, making it a place rich in potential patronage. The potential for

customers made the centre a more attractive place for merchants and traders, both

foreign and native. It drew more people from diverse backgrounds into York and

allowed the centre to maintain this increase in population density.[467] Trade began

to migrate from a concentration with primary foci in areas like the Humber estuary

and coastal landings up the River Ouse towards the inland centre of Fishergate just

outside the walls of York.

6.4 The Merchants, Craftspeople and Traders of York

The majority of people living in the settlements and environments sketched

out here have only flitted around the edges of the narrative, anonymous and elusive.

These inhabitants of the early medieval world tended to exist below the interest of

the authors and patrons of most of the textual sources considered in this work.

Though their presence in texts is lacking, they left their primary marks instead in the

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[464] Rollason. 'Historical Evidence'. p.. 130
[465] Coates. 'Bishop as Benefactor'. p.. 534
[466] Coates. 'Bishop as Benefactor'. p.. 541
[467] Loveluck. *Northern Europe.* p.. 153

surviving material culture creating a vivid remembrance of their presence and activity. Among them, we find the irate *cives* mentioned by Altfrid in the *Vita Sancti Liudgeri* quoted above. Here were the free inhabitants of York. York's unique structure in Northumbria and concentration of population opens the opportunity to get closer to an idea of the lived experience of the secular free-people inhabiting the Anglo-Saxon world.

Earlier in this chapter, the preference of foreign traders and merchants for landing in more coastal and estuary sites was suggested. Trade, particularly before the York Fishergate settlement became a foci for such activity, seemed to take place largely on coastal sites and some smaller seasonally occupied gathering points set on beach landing sites.[468] These sites were not only easily accessible from ship, but their locations and in some cases the marginal land on which they were built encouraged specialisation.[469] In order to maintain the viability of any permanent settlements of this sort, inhabitants began to move toward specialised production of goods and services to exchange for necessities that may have been lacking.[470] In areas where the land was less fertile communities in the eighth and ninth centuries focused on animal husbandry, in particular sheep for both their meat and their wool, and in the production of salt.[471] In these areas, exchange could have been conducted between merchants, either foreign or Anglo-Saxon in origin, and the local population beyond the oversight of high-status lords.[472] In this way, the merchants

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[468] Loveluck, Christopher and Tys, Dries. 'Coastal Societies, Exchange and Identity along the Channel and Southern North Sea Shores, AD 600-1000' in *The Journal of Maritime Archaeology*, Vol. 1, No. 2, December 2006. p.. 148
[469] Loveluck and Tys. 'Coastal Societies'. p.. 143
[470] Loveluck and Tys. 'Coastal Societies'. p. 143
[471] Loveluck. *Northwestern Europe.* p. 183
[472] Loveluck. *Northwestern Europe.* p. 186

and free population of the Anglo-Saxon world played an important role in driving the growth of trade.

Coins issued before the reign of Eadberht in 737, as seen in fig. 47 above, have been found along a line of sites set near the estuary. This track along the estuary and particularly the presence of Frisian coins among the coins found, indicate trade activities. Contemporary coin finds at royal sites such as Driffield suggest an early interest in trade activity among the rulers.[473] This interest continued as the trading activities at Fishergate outside the walls of York intensified. The movement of trade and activities towards York can be seen in the change of coin loss patterns. After the 730s CE, fig. 48 above, coin loss began to trend towards sites along the old Roman roads leading inland towards York. Many of the sites along these pathways showed coin loss of the earlier issues. The presence of coins in these areas was not a new phenomenon. The differences between these two maps show an increase of coins found post-737 and a stronger concentration of coins in areas of Deira that had previously been lacking. This begs the questions, who was moving the coins along the Roman roadways and why? It should be noted that the Ouse remained navigable from its mouth in the Humber estuary to the city of York. Therefore, it is highly unlikely that the coins represent the movements of foreign traders travelling to York by road. Rather, this pattern of coin loss seems to attest to a growing network of connections between the trading centre at Fishergate outside the walls of York and the settlements in its hinterland.

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[473] Loveluck. *Northwestern Europe.*. p. 52

In a way it is this interconnectivity that helped to form the unique texture of the urban world. Urban centres gained meaning from being part of a network of other urban centres.[474] In order to truly function as an urban centre, though, the web of connections made up between the centre and its rural nodes was just as important. These rural settlements enabled the urban world to function. The patterns of coin loss found around early medieval emporia suggests the presence of hinterland markets with significant monetary exchange.[475] Over time the specialisation of production seen along the Humber estuary and other coastal sites became more common even at inland sites. There are signs at sites such as Cottam of a transition towards animal husbandry, with a focus on sheep and goat rearing.[476] This shift allowed for the crucial cultivation of surpluses necessary to allow emporia and the merchants and craftspeople living there to flourish.[477]

> *Ic astige min scip mid minum hlæstum, and fare ofer sæ, and selle min þing, ond bycge deorwierþu þing þe on þissum lande acennede ne beoþ; ond ic hit læde to eow hider ofer sæ mid miclum pleo; ond hwilum ic þolie forlidenesse, swa þaet me losiaþ eall min þing, and ic self uneaþe cwic ætberste.*
> *Hwelc þing lætst þu us hider ofer sæ?*
> *Pællas, seoloc, seldcuþ reaf, wyrtgemang, win, ele, elpendban, deorwierþe gimmas, gold, tin mæstling, ar, seolfor, glæs, and fela oþerra þinga ylces. . . Ac ic wile hie wiþ maran weorþe her sellan þonne ic hie þær mid gebohte, þæt ic mæge me sum gestreon begietan, þe ic me mid afeedan maege and min wif and min bearn.[478]*
>
> *[I sail onboard my ship with my goods, and travel over the sea to sell my cargo. There I buy valuable products that are not found in this country and I bring these*

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[474] Callmer. Johan. 'Urbanisation in Northern and Eastern Europe c. 700-1100' in *Heirs of the Roman West: Post-Roman Towns, Trade and Settlement in Europe and Byzantium Vol. I*, ed Joachim Henning. Berlin: W. de Gruyter 2007. p..235

[475] Ulmschneider, Katharina and Pestell, Tim. 'Early Medieval Markets and "Productive" Sites' in *Markets in Early Medieval Europe: Trading and 'Productive' Sites 650-850*, eds. Katharina Ulmschneider and Tim Pestell, Maccelsfield: Windgather, 2003

[476] Richards, Julian D. 'The Anglian and Anglo-Scandinavian Sites at Cottam' in *Markets in Early Medieval Europe: Trading and 'Productive Sites, 650-850*, eds. Katherina Ulmschneider and Tim Pestell. Maccelsfield: Windgather Press, 2003. p.. 165;

[477] Blinkhorn, Paul. 'Of Cabbages and Kings: Production, Trade and Consumption in mid-Saxon England' in *Anglo-Saxon Trade Networks: Beyond the Emporia*, ed Mike Anderton. Glasgow: Cruithne Press, 1999. p. 12

[478] Anonymous. 'Ælfric's *Colloquy of Occupations'*, in Mitchell, Bruce and Robinson, Fred C, *A Guide to Old English, 8th ed*. Chichester: John Wiley & Sons, 2012. Lns 135-149

back here to you facing grave danger; and at times I suffer shipwrecks, losing all of my goods, hardly escaping with my life.
What things do you bring from over the seas?
Costly robes, silks, wondrous things, spices, wine, ale, ivory, precious gems, gold, tin, amber, copper, silver, glass and many other things. . .I wish to sell these here for more than I bought them abroad, that I may gain a profit. In this way may I feed myself, my wife and my child.]

This section from the Old English translation of Ælfric's *Colloquy of Occupations* shows a keen awareness of the role of the Anglo-Saxon merchants as well as their needs. Merchants and craftspeople when discussing crops or livestock were in essence non-productive members of society.[479] In order to function they needed to make a profit on their goods to exchange for their basic necessities.

It is here that the role of the higher-born members of society is expressed most clearly. While merchants seem to have had a key role in driving the development of trade, elite members of society, both religious and secular, benefited from the trade.[480] It was in their interest to foster this concentration of goods and people in one place rather than visiting a number of smaller shoreline sites.[481] In order to do this, elite members of society, such as the archbishop or the king provisioned emporia through renders paid to them in kind.[482] The bone assemblage from eighth-century Fishergate seems to support this supposition. Archaeologists have recovered more animal bones in this period of the settlements life than at any other point, and more than would be found at Coppergate until the tenth century.[483] Moreover, cattle bones predominated in the assemblage, with

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[479] Blinkhorn. 'Of Cabbages and Kings'. p. 12
[480] Callmer. ''Urbanisation in Northern and Eastern Europe'. p.. 240
[481] Woolf, Alex. 'The Russes, the Byzantines and the Middle-Saxon Emporia' in *Anglo-Saxon Trade Networks: Beyond the Emporia*, ed Mike Anderton. Glasgow: Cruithne Press, 1999. p.. 68. Woolf
[482] Hamerow. 'Agrarian Production and the Emporia'. p.. 221
[483] O'Conner, Terry, '8th-11th century economy and environment in York' in *Feeding a City: York - Provision of Food from Roman Times to the 19th Century,* ed. Eileen White, Devon: Prospect Books, 2000. p.. 45, cf. Table 2

over 60% of the bones found being bovine in origin, followed by sheep bones.[484]

Food was not the only amenity offered for the element of the population made up of

foreign-born and Anglo-Saxon traders in York. Such sites tended to provide facilities

for the visiting merchants as well as facilities such as repairing any damage suffered

by the ship during the voyage.[485] Settlements such as Fishergate offered substantial

benefits to those involved in the network of free merchants and craftspeople living

therein, the visiting foreign merchants, the local elite and the hinterland that

provided raw materials, sustenance and ancillary markets.

This interdependence served to distinguish the free inhabitants of York from

their counterparts in the rural settlements of Northumbria. From at least the early

eighth century, textual sources note that the people of York made up part of the

fyrd. As such they could be called upon to provide military service. The martial role

of the people of York is highlighted in the passage from the *Vita Sancti Luidgeri*

above. Altfrid makes a point to include that the violence that forced Luidger and the

Frisian merchants to flee Northumbria occurred 'as the citizens marched out to war

against their enemies'.[486] It is the *civibus* that are mentioned specifically. Their

anger is caused by the death of the son of a *comitis*, a nobleman. Though young

nobles tend to be thought of as the sole or primary actors when considering the

early Anglo-Saxon warband, the composition of the *fyrd* was economically diverse.[487]

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[484] O'Conner. '8ᵗʰ-11ᵗʰ century economy'. Sheep bones made up 25% of the total assemblage and over 75% of the non-bovine assemblage. Significantly, O'Conner refers to this as mutton, suggesting that the animals were older and slaughter only after they were no longer useful for breeding or their wool.
[485] Woolf. 'The Russes, the Byzantines and the Middle Saxon Emporia'. p.. 68. Woolf goes on to suggest that the need for timber may have been one of the driving motivations for Frisian merchants. Timber was needed both for their ships and their houses, yet their homeland was nearly devoid of it. The need for this may have been a contributing factor in fostering trade with timber-rich areas such as the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms.
[486] Altfrid. *Die Vita Sancti Liudgeri.* Book 1, Ch. 12
[487] Halsall, Guy. *Warfare and Society in the Barbarian West, 450-900*. London: Routledge, 2003. p.

Scholars have noted the increase of participation of common people in warfare after

Alfred came to power in Wessex and developed a sophisticated system of shire

levies to respond to the threat of Viking raiders.[488] The situation found in York,

however, would suggest that certain segments of the non-elite free population had

military responsibilities over a century before these concerted attacks upon Anglo-

Saxon shores.

The craftworking and *fyrd* responsibilities found in York come together in the

well-preserved and conserved Coppergate Helmet. Based on art-historical evidence,

as well as on the shape and construction of the helmet, this piece of martial

equipment was produced around the third quarter of the eighth century.[489] The

helmet was constructed of iron with decorative copper bindings and nose guard,

hinged cheek pieces, and a curtain of chain mail linked along the back to provide

protection to the neck. The copper binding over the crown of the helm bore the

inscription '*IN NOMINE : DNI : NOSTRI : IHV : SCS : SPS : DI :ET : OMNIBVS : DECEMVS*

: AMEN : OSHERE : XPI'.[490] The inscription was written in two halves and attached to

the helm in the form of a cross, intersecting at the top of the head. The cross shape,

the prayer and the animal decorations on the brass pieces all seem to be working

together to exhort or exert protection upon the wearer.[491] It is evident that such

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[488] Baker, John and Brookes, Stuart. 'Explaining Anglo-Saxon Military Efficiency: The Landscape of Mobilisation' in *Anglo-Saxon England*, Vol. 44, 2015. p.. 224. Baker and Brookes point out that while many scholars have downplayed the role of *ceorls* in the fyrd, recent archaeological work has supported the argument for significant militarization in early medieval Anglo-Saxon kingdoms.

[489] Tweddle, Dominic. *The Anglian Helmet from 16-22 Coppergate*. Dorchester: The Dorset Press, 1992. p. 326

[490] Oshaka, Elisabeth. 'The Inscription: Transliteration, Translation and Epigraphy' in *The Anglian Helme*t. p.. 173 Oshaka translates this inscription as 'In the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, the Holy Spirit (and) God; and to (or with) all we say Amen. Oshere'

[491] Oshaka. 'The Inscription'. p. 330-331. Oshaka concludes that Oshere was most likely the owner of the helmet but includes the suggestion that there is some chance that he may have been the craftsman who worked on it.

efforts were necessary as there is clear evidence of pre-depositional damage, particularly to the brass pieces marking the eyebrows of the helmet.[492] This helmet served more than a solely decorative function.

fig. 51. The Coppergate Helmet. © *Image courtesy of York Museums Trust :: http://yorkmuseumstrust.org.uk/ :: CC BY-SA 4.0*

This piece shows immense attention to detail, with delicate interlace and zoomorphic designs dancing along the bindings and guards. It attests to the skill of the metalworkers of York as well as the participation of the people within the Northumbrian military. That it shows evidence of damage and repair implies that the owners of the item valued it highly and maintained it through several

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[492] O'Conner, Sonia A. 'Pre-depositional Damage' in *The Anglian Helmet.* p. 187

generations rather than having a new helm crafted perhaps for its evident protective

abilities. Yet, over one hundred years after its creation, around the 860s CE, the

helmet was carefully disassembled and deposited upside-down with the pieces

inside the cap in a well in the Coppergate settlement.[493] The care taken to protect

the helmet from damage suggests that it was something of a hoard item.[494] The

deposition of the helmet may have been a response to the Viking capture of York in

866 CE. It would seem to be more than a coincidence that the period during which

the helmet was hidden away corresponds with the mid-860 date of six of the seven

hoards found around York.[495] Whoever placed the helm in the well whether as an

heirloom or as part of loot taken in battle, like the people who sought to protect

their coins in the same period, seems to have held the futile intention of recovering

the item at some future time.

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[493] Tweddle. *The Anglian Helmet.* p. 326
[494] Tweddle. *The Anglian Helmet.* p. 326
[495] Tweddle. *The Anglian City.* p. 207

fig. 52. Detail of the nose guard. Note the intricately worked interlace and snake heads. This arrangement recalls monumental carvings and metalwork found in Ninian's Isle, Dundrennan and Ireland, as well as patterns found in the Lindisfarne and Durham Gospels and other illuminated manuscripts.[496] The zoomorphic terminal at the top is repeated in a side view on the bindings of the helm near the hinges that connected the chain mail to the main structure. *© York Archaeological Trust for Excavation and Research 2015*

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[496] Tweddle. *The Anglian Helmet.* p. 298-300

The early role of the people of York may be something of an acknowledgement of the 'non-productive' nature of the settlement. That is to say that the free people of York were not tied to the land or the tending of livestock in the same way as their rural counterparts were. This made their participation in warfare when called upon regardless of the season viable in a way that the participation of farmers or labourers was not. To an extent, common participation in warfare among those whose labour could be spared seems to have been more widespread than previously thought.

Bede's story of the young noble, Imma, shows the man in enemy territory after the loss of a battle between Northumbrian and Mercian forces. In his attempt to return home, Imma attempts to convince the Mercians he meets that he is a married peasant who had only been bringing supplies to the *fyrd*.[497] What is of particular importance here is that Imma specifically claimed that he was a *married* peasant.[498] In claiming this status, Imma sought to communicate that he was settled and held land. This is important as it suggests that while perhaps a young person of lower status may have been called upon to serve in war, landowners could fulfill their military responsibilities by provisioning the *fyrd*.[499] Similarly, when discussing the consequences of neglecting military duty, the late seventh-century law code of Ine of Wessex included a fine of 30 shillings for a commoner [*ceorl*].[500] While they should not be considered entirely unique, the peculiar nature of York provides a sketch of the roles and responsibilities of non-nobles in a developing poly-focal

[497] Bede. *Historia Ecclesiastica.* Book IV, Ch. XXII, lns. 270-282
[498] Halsall. *Warfare and Society.* p. 58
[499] Halsall. *Warfare and Society.* p. 58
[500] 'The Laws of Ine' in *Laws of the Earliest English Kings.* Cap. 51

settlement. This insight shows that *ceorls* took an active role in society beyond the overarching control of elite members of society.

For Alcuin, York served as a microcosm of Northumbria. In his writing it became a place that could both represent and connect the kingdom as a whole just as it brought the imagined Roman Christian past to the present Anglo-Saxon kingdom through time and physical distance. Outside of this privileged view, though, York remained a distinct settlement in the kingdom. Unlike those settlements throughout the rural landscape that dominated Northumbria, York fostered strong secular, ecclesiastic and monastic sectors without one dominating the others. This close proximity helped to strengthen the ties between the secular and religious authorities. It was here as well that the concentration of merchants, including foreign visitors, free people and artisans, allowed these segments of society to exert a degree of influence that indelibly marked the extent remains of the trading sector. In the eighth century York drew people, goods and services to itself as well as power and influence both from within Northumbria and from the continent. Yet it was not independent. The rural settlements around York enabled the urban centre to function and without them the proto-urban site could not exist.

7. Networks and Affiliations:

Materialising Northumbrian Identity

> *A good man covered me*
> *with protecting boards,   which stretched skin over me;*
> *adorned me with gold.   Then the work of smiths*
> *decorated me with strands   of woven wire.*
> *Now may the ornaments   and the red dye*
> *and the precious possessions   everywhere honour*
> *the Guardian of peoples. . .[501]*

Previous chapters discussed the mental and material realities of life in the different regions of Anglo-Saxon Northumbria between roughly 600 and 850 CE. With this backdrop, we now consider the networks built throughout the kingdom. These networks connected the different regions both physically and ideologically. In this way, they linked the full range of society into a shared distinctly Northumbrian identity expressed in different ways and to various degrees depending on geography, location and social hierarchy.

The riddle posed above hints at an inroad on these connective links threaded through the Northumbrian land- and sea-scape. In its full form, this puzzle takes one through the process of manuscript production from slaughter to significance as a Gospel-book. It demonstrates engagement in, and the dissemination of a shared identity expressed through material culture. It shows different actors interacting with the subject in its various forms through, from the enemy (*feonda*) who killed and prepared the speaker's first form to the good man (*hæleð)* and smiths through

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[501] 'Riddle 43'. *Anglo-Saxon Riddles of the Exeter Book*, trans. Paull F. Baum, Durham: Duke University Press, 1963, lns 10-16. The answer is Book, with a corresponding emphasis on the Bible.

> …   *stop eft on mec*
> *siþade sweartlast   mec siþþan wrah*
> *hæleð hleobordum   hyþe beþenede*
> *gierede mec mid golde   forþon me gliwedon*
> *wrætlic weorc smiþa   wire bifongen ·*
> *nu þa gereno   ond se reada telg*
> *7þa wuldorgesteald*

whom it gained glory and sanctity. In this there is a meeting of the intellectual world of the text and the material world. The whole object would be incomplete without the individual parts: the word, the parchment, the ink and dye as well as the metalwork and gemstones that ornament the cover. This centre-point brings together the individual elements that marked an identity spanning distances both physical and social.

Material culture linked people and communities together over the distance spanned by this geographically and socially diverse territory. Furthermore, it provides evidence of how different levels of the social hierarchy and different actors encountered and interacted with objects depending on availability of the item and the social status of the actors involved. These factors varied depending on one's geographic location and the spheres in which the individual took an active part. The different elements of any single person's social self altered the ways in which they expressed affiliations with a shared, distinct Northumbrian identity. Different media and variations in the deployment thereof helped to tailor the cultural message to different social registers. These objects functioned as concrete manifestations of Northumbrian identity.[502] While they existed in a cyclical relationship as handiworks, possessions and altered, mended or adapted objects of the people in Northumbria, the kingdom's material culture acted more as the glue that held the different strands and distant corners of society together than passive creations. By focusing on the material objects themselves as a starting point, I will explore and analyse the uniquely Northumbrian identity and the networks that knit the whole together

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[502] Latour, Bruno. 'The Power of Associations' in *Power, Action and Belief: A New Sociology of Knowledge*, ed. John Law. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1986. p. 274, 276

through its materiality. In a similar manner to the riddle above, this chapter

examines different materials from coinage to manuscript illumination to bring the

whole tapestry of Northumbria and the networks through which it functioned into

focus. Throughout it, different categories of material culture will be discussed.

Upon this basis, the links forged between different regions of Northumbria and what

this suggests about the people with whom they resonated as shown through the

footprint of these media will come to the forefront.

7.2 Forging Identity in Materials

7.2a Northumbrian Coinage

Coins have been discussed in two of the previous chapters. First, they

provided information on use and distribution as well as the performance of power by

figures of authority. Next, they featured as signs of economic transactions and

trade. Here it is not their monetary functions that are of interest, nor is it necessarily

about the intentions of the kings and bishops alone who commissioned them. It is

instead a story of how people interacted with and understood Northumbrian

coinage and how its use helped to forge, disseminate and strengthen a shared

identity that spanned Northumbria.

These objects are interesting for a variety of reasons. In general terms and in

most places, coins are one of the earliest items to be produced on a large scale for

use of people ranging through much of the societal hierarchy.[503]   They feature in our

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[503] Blackburn, Mark. 'Coinage in its Archaeological Context' in *The Oxford Handbook of Anglo-Saxon Archaeology*. eds. David A. Hinton, Sally Crawford and Helena Hamerow. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011. p. 581

understanding of monetisation and regional considerations of value. Their

iconography offers information about what types of messages those commissioning

a coin issue wanted to disseminate.[504] At the same time, the imagery also suggests

the networks in which the craftspeople that minted the coins travelled and worked

within. The fact that these items were not recovered, whether it is a hoard or a

single-find coin, provide additional contextual clues. Hoards hint at turmoil and

unrest severe enough that people felt the need to protect and hide away their

portable wealth. When they are not recovered it would seem that the situation for

the hoard-maker at the very least did not end well or perhaps he or she could not

recall where they had stored their wealth.

On the other hand, individual coins represent lost items. Their presence in a

settlement site suggests a wide range of monetary activity. These ranged from their

passive presence in an individual's coin purse to active involvement in economic

transactions.[505] Active use and particularly high volumes of exchange helped to

increase the chance of coin loss.[506] The distribution of coins, and the mint dates of

the items, form a pattern of coin movement and use over time.[507] An abundance of

single coin finds shows that the people present at a settlement, those who lived

there as well as travellers and traders, used coins. They carried and interacted with

the objects on a regular basis. If this pattern is similar at a variety of sites in a region

it indicates a general importance of coin use and distribution in that region. Coins

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[504] Gannon. *Iconography.* p. 2

[505] Blackburn, Mark. '"Productive Sites" and Pattern of Coin Loss in England, 600-1180' in in Markets in Early Medieval Europe: Trading and 'Productive Sites, 650-850, eds. Tim Pestell and Katherina Ulmschneider. Macclesfield: Windgather Press, 2003. p. 34

[506] Blackburn. '"Productive Sites"'. p. 34

[507] Blackburn. 'Coinage'. p. 587

became everyday items. The repetitive act of interaction with these items helped to form, sustain and strengthen this sense of self and community.[508]   In this way, the presence, possession and exchange of these objects came to be a part of a Northumbrian identity and the individual's role therein. Northumbrian sceattas and stycas came to represent the identity of the kingdom in an important way.

The likelihood for an everyday presence of coins fluctuated through Northumbrian history. By charting the issue dates of coins found throughout Northumbria, a rough idea of the average presence of coins in day-to-day life depending on geographic position can be seen. This pattern hints at more than just rates of trade and exchange. Close familiarity with and active use of an object allows it to transcend its constructed meaning and exist in itself.[509]   Just as people imbue objects with meaning and messages, in this everyday state objects possess the ability to engender a sense of self and community.[510]   Therefore, once the Northumbrian coins penetrate society to the point that people through a range of the social hierarchy used them regularly, the objects in themselves could feed into a sense of individual and shared identity.

The kingdom of Northumbria shows three distinct phases of coinage marked by the material used in the coins, the types of people interacting with the coinage and how those individuals used them.

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[508] Smith, Monica L. 'Inconspicuous Consumption: Non-Display goods and Identity Formation', *Journal of Archaeological Method and Theory*, Vol. 14, No. 4, Dec. 2007. p. 417
[509] Heidegger, Martin. *Being and Time*. trans. John Macquarrie and Edward Robinson, London: Harper Perennial, 2008. p. 99
[510] Olsen, Bjølnar. *In Defence of Things: Archaeology and the Ontology of Objects*. Plymouth: Altamira Press, 2010. p. 63

fig. 53. Detail of an early seventh century gold York Thrymsa

The first phase marked the use of the gold 'York type' thrymsa.[511] This early

phase, dating to 620-650 CE, coincided with the growth in popularity of Christianity

in the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms. In Deira, the coinage marked a significant physical

symbol of a Christian kingdom. The distribution of these early Northumbrian coins

largely remained circumscribed to Deira, with some emerging from a region of

Lincolnshire then dominated by Northumbria.[512] The examples included in the

database were found around Fulford, near York and near Spofforth, North Yorkshire.

The dearth of examples suggests these coins served a different purpose than their

later counterparts.[513]   Rather than being necessarily intended for monetary

exchange, these coins may have served as prestige items for gift exchange.[514] As

such, and in keeping with their primarily rural find sites, they circulated among the

elite members of society rather than filtering through the rural world.

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[511] 19 examples of this coin type have been found four of which are included in the database.
[512] Naylor, John and Allen, Martin. 'A New Variety of gold Shilling of the 'York' Group' in *Studies in Early Medieval Coinage,* Vol. III, ed. Tony Abramson, London: Spink, 2014. p. 145-146
[513] Blackburn. '"Productive Sites"'. p. 31
[514] Abramson. 'Where There's Muck'. p. 81
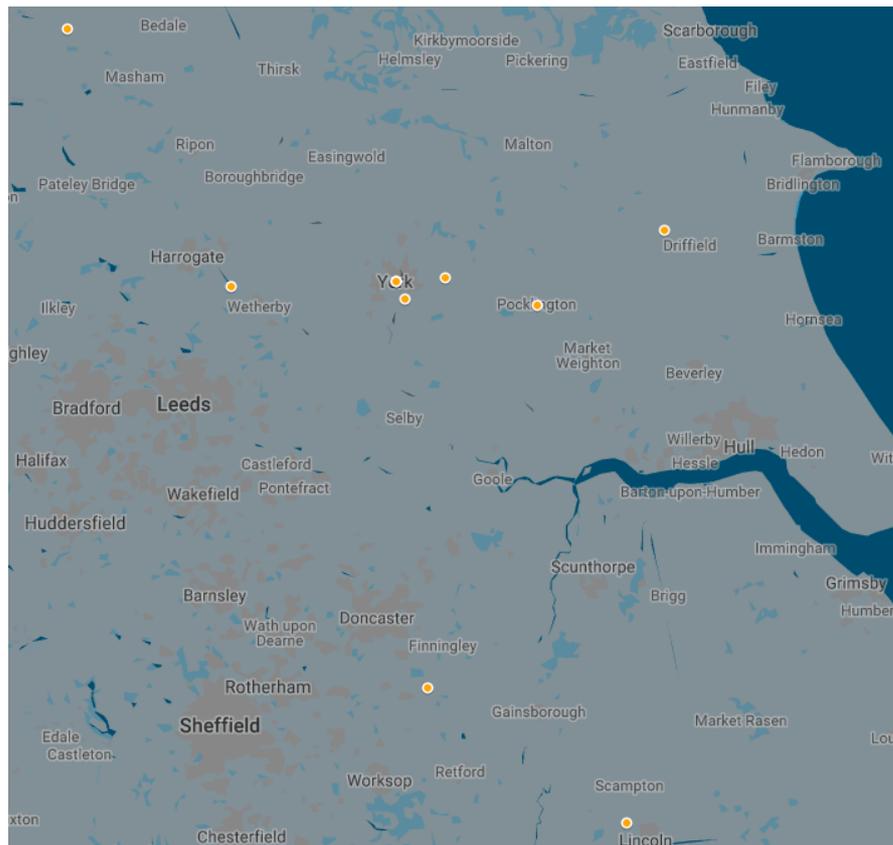
fig. 54. Distribution of York Thrymsa

In a period of intermittent warfare with the southern kingdoms and changing

religious affiliations, kings sought to ensure and reward the loyalty of their

supporters.[515] Thus the small number and the range of the coin issue show an effort

made by the Northumbrian king to negotiate and solidify the relationship between

himself and his thegns.[516] There is a trend in scholarship discussing gift exchange

that discounts the exchanged item as secondary to the social relationships they

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[515] Bazelman. 'Beyond Powers: Ceremonial Exchanges in Beowulf'. p. 371; Curta, Florin. 'Merovingian and Carolingian Gift Giving', *Speculum*, Vol. 81, No. 3, July 2006. p. 682.

[516] Naismith, Rory. 'Gold Coinage and Its Use in the Post-Roman West', *Speculum*, Vol. 89, No. 2, April 2014. p. 297; Culter, Anthony. 'Gifts and Gift-Exchange as Aspects of the Byzantine, Arab and Related Economies', *Dumbarton Oaks Papers,* Vol. 55, 2001. p. 260. Culter works to reaffirm gift-exchange as an element of exchange in addition to its symbolic functions. The meeting of these two strains of gift-exchange in the material of the gold York coins amplifies the ambiguity of this distinction.; Wood, Ian. 'The Exchange of Gifts Among the Late Antique Aristocracy' in *El Disco de Teodosio,* ed. Martín Almagro-Gorbea, José Maria Álvarez Martínez, José Maria Blázquez Martínez and Salvador Rovira, Madrid: Real Academia d la Historia, 2000. p. 303-304

represent.[517] The golden coins made physical a relationship between king and the receiver. Though the individual who received the coin may not have seen the giver in person on a regular basis, the physicality of the material object served as a constant reminder of their bonds.[518] Moreover, the Christian iconography that represented Northumbria's power and importance tied the receiver and the people dependent on him or her into that divine significance. These coins signified Northumbrian identity and connections, but they did not penetrate below the elite level nor did this expression thereof stretch far beyond the southern region of Deira.

In order for coins to become familiar objects, their purpose and material value needed to fundamentally change.   By the 680s, this process took place as the more trade-friendly silver sceat came into use.[519] Like the gold coinage before it, sceattas largely feature in Deira with some examples emerging in the Northwest. In Deira, the earliest distribution of these coins concentrated around the Humber Estuary and the East Riding of Yorkshire. From this starting point, the coins filtered south along the east coast and can be found at larger market sites.[520] This pattern is mirrored with those sceattas found in the Northwest found at sites favourable to trade, the most notable of these being Whithorn. In both regions, this attests to the

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[517] Samson, Ross. 'Economic Anthropology and Vikings' in *Social Approaches to Viking Studies,* ed. Ross Samson. Glasgow: Cruithne Press, 1991. p. 90 The early line of this is evident in the Marcel Mauss' seminal 1925 work *The Gift*.

[518] Latour, Bruno. *Reassembling the social: An Introduction to Actor-Network Theory.* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005. p. 68; Pétursdóttir, Þóra. '"Deyr Fe, Deyja Frændre": Re-animating Remains from Viking Age Iceland', MA thesis, University of Tromsø, 2007. p. 61 Using these theories, Pétursdóttir examined how descriptions of material exchange in Icelandic sagas to argue for the importance of the physical objects and the receiver's regular engagement therewith

[519] Abramson. 'Where There's Muck'. p. 63

[520] Metcalf. 'The Coinage of King Aldfrith of Northumbria (685-705) and Some Contemporary Imitation'. p. 150-151

elevation of their economic role in relation to the social ties and in the focus on building trade.

This change in coinage corresponded with a change in direction for Northumbria brought in during the reign of Aldfrith. Following the loss at Nectansmere and the death of Ecgfrith in 684, Northumbria shifted from a more expansionist and militaristic focus to a consolidation of power and internal strength that contributed to a cultural flourishing through the early eighth century.[521] Aldfrith was the first Anglo-Saxon king to mark his coinage with his name. In so doing, Northumbria separated itself from its southern counterparts whose own royal issues lacked the name of the issuer.[522] It is not altogether surprising that the impetus arose under the reign of Aldfrith, who was famed for his learning and remained friends with such individuals as the Irish scholar and priest Adomnán. This background gave the king a certain access to the learned culture of the ecclesiastical and in particular monastic spheres. It opened the possibility that Aldfrith possessed a familiarity with the Roman motifs used by the Church and deployed by bishops as a sign of power and direct, privileged access both to the Christian centre of Rome and to the divine. More importantly, this action made his affiliations clear. It signalled a tie with Rome and the accepted Christian tradition rather than Ireland, where native coins were not used and where he had spent much of his life. This act marked the coins as unequivocally Northumbrian as well as tying the kingdom and Aldfrith

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[521] Aldfrith's role in this change of direction, perhaps exacerbated by the perception of him as an Irish outsider, may have contributed to Bede's preference for Ecgfrith. Yorke, Barbara. *Rex Doctissimus: Bede and King Aldfrith of Northumbria.* Jarrow Lectures, Jarrow: St. Paul's Church, 2009. p. 7

[522] Metcalf, D.M. 'The Coinage of King Aldfrith of Northumbria (685-705) and Some Contemporary Imitations', *British Numismatic Journal,* 2006. p. 147

himself into traditions dating back to Rome.[523] The image of a crouched lion

similarly blended Roman precedents with Hiberno-Saxon traditions and imagery that

can be found paralleled in contemporary manuscript illuminations.[524] While those

who engaged with the objects may not have been literate, the symbols along with

the iconography showed it to be a Northumbrian issue. For the Northumbrian king

this act worked to reaffirm a relationship between the kingdom with its unique

culture and the Christian tradition represented through Rome.

fig. 55. Silver sceat of Aldfrith. 685-704 CE© The Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge. Note the similarity with the Ecternacht lion below in the body shape and position of the mouth and tongue.

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[523] Naismith. *Money and Power in Anglo-Saxon England.* p. 49
[524] Gannon. *Iconography of Early Anglo-Saxon Coinage.* p. 126

fig. 56. Lion of St. Mark in Echternach Gospels, MS lat. 9389, late 7th/early 8th century, *Bibliothéque Nationale,* Paris, ff 75

For the majority of the striking period of the coinage of Aldfrith the silver content remained around 90% and the weight hovered between 1.20 and 1.25g.[525] The concentration of finds in the East Riding of Yorkshire, along the Humber Estuary and down the North Sea coast indicates that the coins functioned primarily as money in transactions along trade routes accessible by sea and, furthermore, that at these

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[525] Metcalf. 'The Coinage of King Aldfrith of Northumbria (685-705) and Some Contemporary Imitation'. p. 153

landing sites in the North Sea region economic exchange centred upon the reliability of coinage regardless of its exact origin.[526] The fact that the coins were imitated in kingdoms south of the Humber goes further to show the high regard held for the coins of Aldfrith.[527] The concentration on ensuring the equivalence of Primary phase Northumbrian sceattas with foreign issues, as well as the finds of Northumbrian and foreign coins at trading sites throughout the network, suggests that kings and bishops issuing coinage in this period minted primarily to support and engage in the North Sea trading network.[528] Aldfrith and other issuers of early sceattas worked to support and increase ongoing economic exchange between their territories and foreign merchants at beach landing sites started by the trading communities along the North Sea corridor.[529] In spite of their success in economic exchanges at landing places the coins could not permeate the full range of the social hierarchy and thus failed significantly to permeate further into the landscape than coastal meeting points and their immediate hinterlands. The reliability of Primary phase sceattas reflected more on Aldfrith's personal success, his focus on supporting existing trading networks and his ability to maintain the standards of his coinage than on Northumbria as a kingdom and as a community.

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[526] Metcalf. 'The Coinage of King Aldfrith'. p. 150-151. See also: Loveluck. *Northwestern Europe.* p. 190

[527] Metcalf. 'The Coinage of King Aldfrith'. p. 154

[528] Loveluck. *Northwestern Europe.* p. 189

[529] McCormick, Michael. 'Where do Trading Towns Come From? Early Medieval Venice and the Northern *Emporia' Heirs of the Roman West: Post-Roman Towns, Trade and Settlement in Europe and Byzantium Vol. I,* ed Joachim Henning. Berlin: W. de Gruyter 2007. p. 45

fig. 57. Primary series sceattas in Northumbria, primarily local coinage but with a small proportion of foreign issue. Information taken from the database compiled for this thesis.

The aftermath of Aldfrith's reign indicates the inability of the king to ensure an unbroken tradition of royally inscribed coinage. At the present time, no coins have been found from the four Northumbrian kings who reigned in the three decades following Aldfrith's death struck either with or without a royal inscription.[530] This of course does not mean that monetary exchange did not occur along the trade routes of Northumbria. Several foreign sceat series have been found at North Ferriby during the apparent hiatus between Northumbria coin issues.[531] When coin striking resumed under Eadberht (737-758) its impact and importance began to spread among the trading sites and filtered into the wider Northumbrian landscape.

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[530] Pirie, Elizabeth J. E. *Coins of the Kingdom of Northumbria c. 700-867 in the Yorkshire Collections.* Llanfyllin: Galata Print, 1996. p. 25
[531] Booth. p. 84
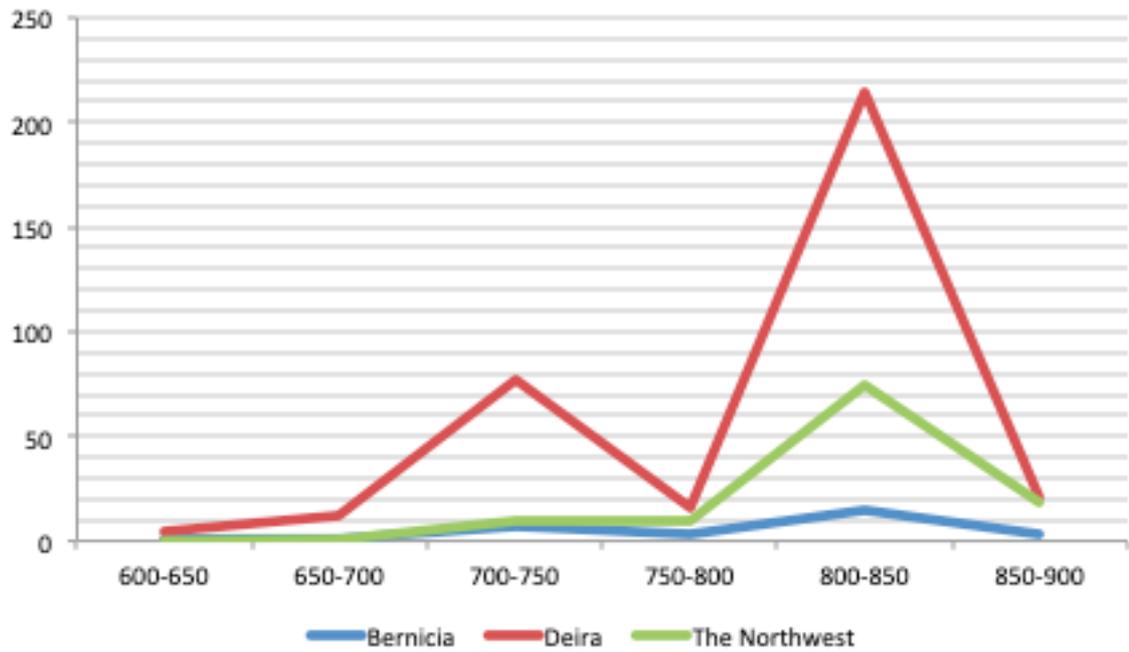
fig. 58. Northumbrian coins found throughout the kingdom by date. Information taken from the database compiled for this thesis.
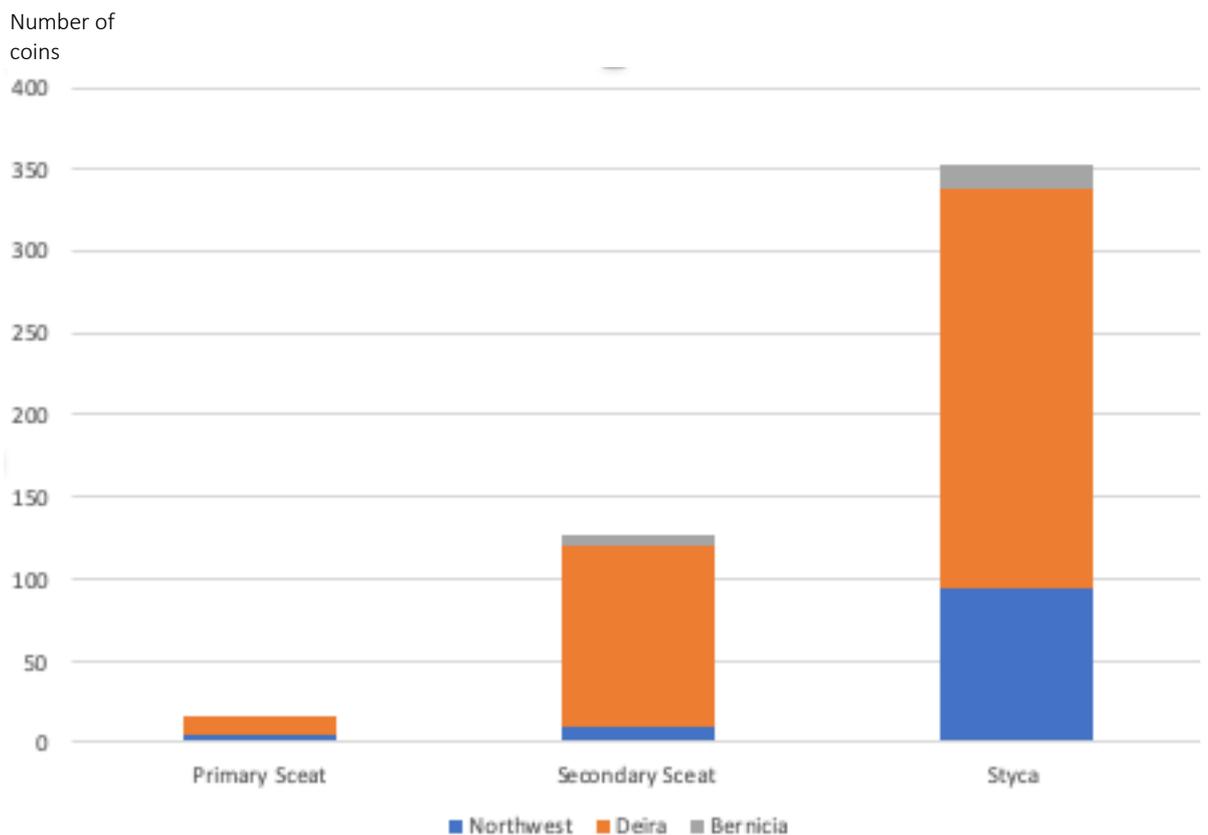
fig. 59. A graphic representation of the sceat and styca data from the thesis database

The graph above represents the pattern of coin loss over time

throughout Northumbria using information from the present research database.

The pattern shown here follows a model posited by Abramson of Northumbrian monetisation through three phases based on the metal used for coinage.[532] Using this model, he argued that monetisation and fiscal efficacy increased in the kingdom overall as the denomination and inherent value of the coinage fell.[533] Coin use and its presence as an everyday item could only filter through society once it ceased to be used only by elite members of society for high value trade. Through all of these phases the Deiran region shows significantly higher numbers of coins with the Northwest region a distant second with examples concentrated around the Solway Firth.[534] Bernicia, in turn, shows very little coin use and that primarily confined to Bamburgh and the coastal monasteries.[535] This attests to the role of monasteries and their royal abbots and abbesses in promoting early trade and communication in Bernicia.[536] Unlike Deira and to a lesser extent the Northwest, Northumbrian coinage did not feature as significantly in Bernician expressions of the larger shared identity.

In Northumbria, coins gained traction in the early ninth century as the high-silver sceat fell out of use in favour of the base-metal styca. At this point, rates of coin loss increased dramatically indicating a corresponding rise in the presence and use of coins throughout the landscape. The later styca coinage contained little inherent material value, yet they remained the main coin used in economic transactions through Northumbria's existence as an independent entity. While

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[532] Abramson. '*Where There's Muck, there's Brass'*. p. 63

[533] Abramson. '*Where There's Muck, There's Brass'.* p. 300

[534] At least this is true when discussing specifically Northumbrian coinage. When including foreign issues, the Northwest shows significantly more phase one examples than Deira. This likely relates to the region's ties in trade over the Irish Sea as well as the preexisting Christian establishments therein.

[535] Data taken from the present research database

[536] Cramp, Rosemary. 'Northumbria and Ireland' in *Sources of Anglo-Saxon Culture*, ed. p. Szarmach, Kalamazoo, Mich: Medieval Institute Publications, Western Michigan University, 1986. p. 192

different regions interacted with them more or less frequently, their abundance

within the kingdom allowed them to be incorporated into an idea of Northumbria

and Northumbrians.

fig. 60. Distribution of Y-series sceattas. Information taken from database compiled for this thesis.

The pattern seen above indicates the trend of increasing interaction with and

the availability of coinage throughout Northumbria over time. Towards the middle

of the eighth century, the number of Deiran finds markedly increased with

corresponding, though more modest, rise in finds seen in both the Northwest and

Bernicia. This first peak in the data tracks the Northumbrian series Y sceattas, which

began during the reign of Eadberht. As the purity of the metal decreased from 75%

down to 50% silver content the coins themselves began to impact more on the

communities and individuals in settlements at which trade was engaged in on more

modest levels than at the larger trading sites and settlements.[537] As the intrinsic

value fell, with their accepted value shifting more to a fiduciary understanding of

shared acceptance of a given value for the coins, their psychological importance

grew. Northumbria's coinage became distinct in the fact that it functioned off a

shared trust rather than silver content. As the silver content decreased the

distribution of Northumbrian coins in the southern kingdoms began to increase in

both volume and spread.[538] Thus, as the coins came to act as a physical

manifestation of the kingdom and the territory it controlled; if foreign traders and

merchants wanted to enter into the Northumbrian trading sphere they had to have

the kingdom's coinage.

fig. 61. Series Y base silver sceat of Eadberht, 738-757 CE. © The Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge

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[537] Cramp. 'Northumbria and Ireland'. p. 87
[538] Naismith. *Money and Power in Anglo-Saxon England.* p. 207

fig. 62. Copper alloy styca of Eanred, 810-841 CE © The Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge

As coinage shifted to the copper styca coinage this message and its physical representation reached a much larger audience. Decades of political turmoil in the late eighth century exacerbated by intensive Viking raiding in the ninth led to a breakdown in the extent of trade and with it the abundance of coinage.[539] This break, though, opened the way for the base-metal styca that allowed for coins to reach more levels of the social hierarchy and penetrate into different environs.[540] In this period, patterns of coin loss and distribution rose throughout Northumbria. Even in Bernicia where the number of coins remained relatively low, this period saw coins outside of the main monastic hubs to which they had been confined in the previous phases. Stycas became one of the most successful coin types of the period precisely through the fact that when judged on their metal content the coins were essentially worthless.[541] Unlike prior issues, these coins came to define the cultural and geographic region of Northumbria. More people of diverse backgrounds were now more likely to engage with coins and in so doing these everyday objects became

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[539] Abramson. 'Where There's Muck'. p. 65
[540] Abramson. '*where There's Muck, there's Brass'*. p. 65
[541] Naylor. 'The Circulation of Early Medieval Coinage'. p. 58

incorporated into their sense of self. Particularly in Deira and the Northwest, they

shaped and were shaped by these objects.
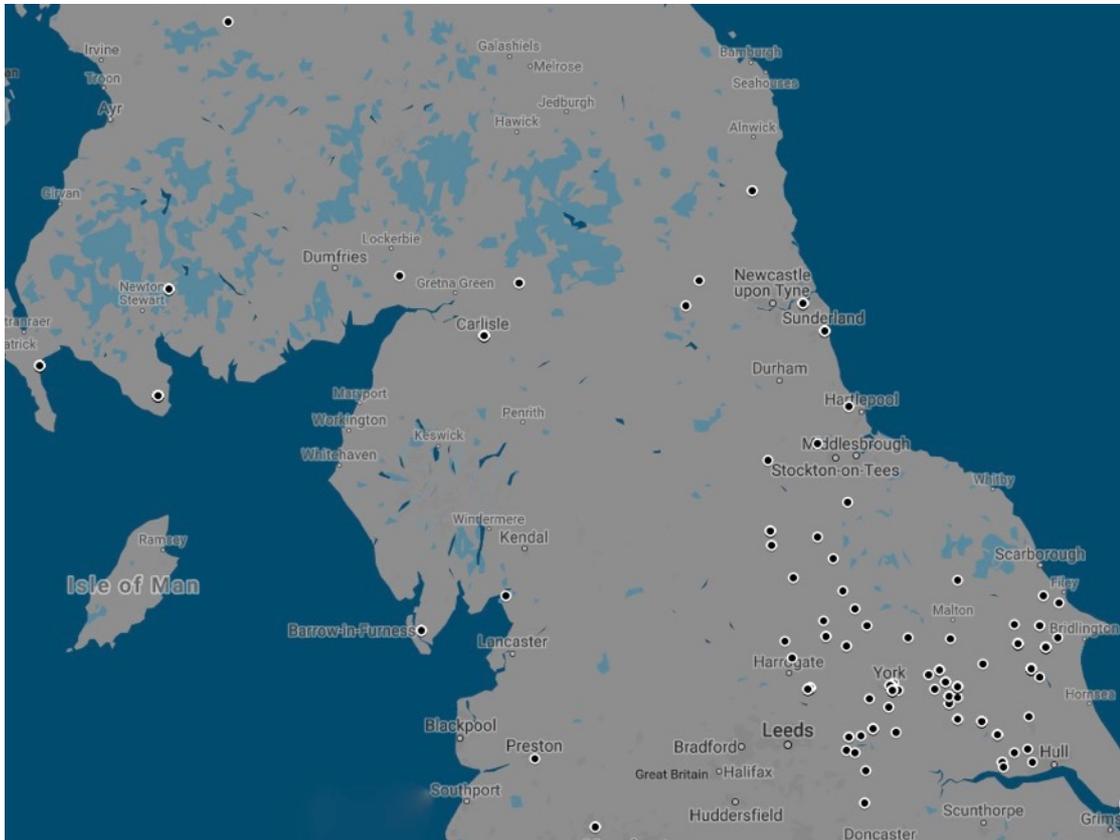
*fig. 6*3. Styca distribution in Northumbria. Information taken from database compiled for this thesis

Moreover, Southumbrian and continental traders recognised the intrinsically

Northumbrian economy of the styca coinage. While Primary phase sceattas had

been built around being interchangeable with foreign coinage, stycas only

functioned within the northern kingdom. In the mid-eighth century the amount of

Northumbrian coinage in the south increased dramatically, as did its spread through

the landscape of the southern kingdoms.[542] In order to trade in Northumbria,

merchants needed to have the appropriate coinage. Unfortunately, once outside of

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[542] Naismith. *Money and Power in Anglo-Saxon England.* p. 207

the kingdom's boundaries the base-metal discs lacked intrinsic value. The increase

of both single-find and hoards of stycas shows their inherent dichotomy.

Functioning on the fiduciary system present in Northumbria where people agreed on

a set value for the coins, traders and merchants required stycas – they were

essential. Outside of this bubble, the coins were rubbish that one would not fret

over the loss of.   In spite of this, by trading in these coins foreign merchants

recognised and bowed to the strength of the cultural cohesion of Northumbria.

7.2b Anglo-Saxon Stonework and Monumental Sculpture

Sculpture sits in an interesting position in society.   In this period of

Northumbria, prior to the later influence of Scandinavian settlers in the southern

region and Hiberno-Norse influences from Ireland, these objects followed wholly

ecclesiastic themes.[543] Elite patrons commissioned these objects and ensured that

they represented clear messages, both religious and political in nature.   At the same

time these were public works of art. To be more specific, these objects were display

pieces viewable by a certain audience. In different settings this audience could be

rather small, including only elite individuals or members of a particular monastery,

or for sculptures intended for placement along paths in a larger estate – examples of

such can be seen with the Roman-style sculptures at the holdings of the archbishop

of York at Easby, Otley and Masham – the audience could spread to the people

travelling in that landscape.[544]

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[543] Fuglesong, Signe Horn. 'The Relationship between Scandinavian and English Art from Late Eighth-
to the mid-Twelfth Century' in *Sources of Anglo-Saxon Culture*, ed. p. Szarmach, Kalamazoo, Mich:
Medieval Institute Publications, Western Michigan University, 1986. p. 217
[544] Lang. 'Monuments from Yorkshire in the Age of Alcuin'. p. 109

The craftspeople working on the pieces also affected the message and iconographic style of the final pieces, though to a lesser extent than the patrons of the sculptures. Craftspeople from a variety of different cultural backgrounds worked together, knew of contemporary traditions and drew influence from artistic styles in metalworking and manuscript illumination.[545] The majority of the Northumbrian populace could not possess and interact with these items to the same degree as they could with coins, but their individual interpretation of sculpture could vary widely. Regardless of the intended message, different audiences interacted and understood these objects in different ways. In effect, these items represent a fusion of meanings and interpretations. They marked a physical and psychological link between the intentions of the original patron, the background and influences of the stoneworkers and the public's engagement and reception of the finished object.

Monumental stonework, both in architecture and in the landscape, spread throughout Northumbria as high-status individuals founded or endowed monastic institutions starting in the mid-seventh century. In Bede's *Historia Abbatum*, one of Benedict Biscop's earliest missions in travelling to the continent is to bring back masons trained in the style of architecture he saw in the monasteries where he was trained.[546] Biscop and other abbots imitated and adapted specific religious iconography.[547] By reproducing that style in the Northumbrian monasteries, the institutions signalled their union with and importance in the network of Christianity centred on Rome in a way that an elite ecclesiastic audience would recognise.[548] In

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[545] Fuglesong. 'The Relationship between Scandinavian and English Art'. p. 198
[546] Bede. *Historia Abbatum.* Ch. 5
[547] Bailey, Richard. *England's Earliest Sculpture*s. Toronto, Ont.: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1996. p. 41
[548] Bailey. *England's Earliest Sculptures.* p. 33

addition to signalling these intellectual links, stonework of this sort brought a

physical representation of continental locations into the Northumbrian landscape.[549]

Church founders in early Northumbria sought to bring the Christian tradition north

for reasons of both faith and display of power, wealth and respectablility to other

elite individuals within the kingdom as well as those beyond Northumbria's borders.

In an effort to recreate the religious settings found on the Continent, thus displaying

active involvement in contemporary Christian art and design, these men and women

put as much thought into the internal decoration and exterior design as they did in

setting the monastic rules. Alongside bringing the sculptural traditions to

Northumbria, both Biscop and Wilfrid worked to furnish their foundations in the

appropriate continental manner.[550] On an island at the periphery of the world,

'open to the boundless ocean' as Bede described it, the references to Roman and

Classical traditions brought a very real evocation of the sacred centre to what

otherwise might seem to be the Christian frontier.

This physicality took root in monastic holdings throughout the kingdom. In

this way the sculptural footprint differed greatly from coinage. In the present

database, monumental stonework is represented fairly evenly throughout

Northumbria when one considers the entire period reflected in this study. There are

30 unique institutions with Anglo-Saxon sculpture in Bernicia between 600 and 900

CE, 43 in Deira and 33 in the Northwest. The situation changes somewhat when one

looks at the earliest places where sculpture flourished. If one confines the date-

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[549] Bailey, Richard. 'St Wilfrid: A European Anglo-Saxon' in *Wilfrid: Abbot, Bishop, Saint, Papers from the 1300th Anniversary Conferences,* ed. N. J. Higham. Donington: Shaun Tys, 2013. p. 119
[550] Cramp, Rosemary. 'Sequence of Ornament' in *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture, Vol I: County Durham and Northumberland*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1979. p. 9

range to the period between 600 and 750 CE, both Bernicia and the Northwest show about half of their overall total number of unique locations, with 14 and 17 respectively. Deira, though, drops to less than a quarter with only six unique locations at which extant early sculpture has been found. This may reflect that there were fewer early religious sites in this region than in the other two regions, or chalk and clay present in the region proved to be ill-suited for monumental sculpture.[551] Even along the North Yorkshire moors where better quality stone was available and well-documented monasteries were present, early sculpture proves sparse and imported ready-made from around Whitby.[552] It would seem that there was a preference in early Deira for different forms of communication and identity signalling that did not favour the extensive use of sculpture.

Different foundations chose to emphasise unique elements in their carvings through time, as discussed in previous chapters. The varieties of interlace and plant-scrolls popular at different foundations preserve patron and craftsperson choice. Plant-scrolls flourished in Northumbria, evoking early Mediterranean traditions and patterns common in the Near East.[553] In the hands of the people crafting the objects, though, these traditional forms were combined with Insular practices and preferences and formed new styles. Masons experimented freely with scroll-patterns and geometric designs, showing knowledge of contemporary manuscript designs as well as metalworking patterns.[554] The styles developed at Hexham show a keen awareness of fine metalwork. Here scrollwork designs took a distinct finely

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[551] Lang, James. 'Topography and Distribution of Anglian-Period Sculpture' in *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture, Vol.III: York and East Yorkshire.* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991.
[552] Lang. 'Topography and Distribution of Anglian Period Sculpture'.
[553] Cramp. 'Sequence of Ornament'. p. 15
[554] Cramp. 'Sequence of Ornament'. p. 16

cut pattern with delicately executed detail known from embossed metalwork.[555] At

the same time, Jarrow and Wearmouth developed a style that blended continental

and Irish traditions brought together by the different cultural backgrounds of its

inhabitants that came to influence later Northumbrian artistic styles.[556] The

interlace patterns developed at Wearmouth blended finely-stranded knot work and

simple patterns common in manuscripts such as the Book of Durrow and on

sculptures crafted in Pictland.[557]

More than knotwork alone, specific motifs permeated media of various

material. A clay mould was found at Hartlepool showing a calf, head turning back

and blowing a trumpet.[558] It has been argued that this mould represented the

symbol of the evangelist St. Luke. In its design, it shows affinity with manuscript

illuminations from both the Lindisfarne Gospels and the Book of Durrow. The

inclusion of the trumpet shows similarity to the Lindisfarne Gospels, wherein the

angel of St. Mark and the lion of St. Matthew also appear with trumpets.[559] The calf

of St. Luke in the Lindisfarne Gospels, however, is shown arching above the

evangelist with a halo and large wings. The Hartlepool example eschews the halo

and wings and stands in a more naturalistic manner. In this way, its form and

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[555] Cramp. 'Sequence of Ornament'. p. 15
[556] Cramp. *Wearmouth and Jarrow Monastic Site*s. p. 348
[557] Cramp. 'Sequence of Ornament'. p. 17
[558] Daniels. *Anglo-Saxon Hartlepool.* p. 127
[559] Cramp, Rosemary. 'The Artistic Influence of Lindisfarne Within Northumbria' in *St. Cuthbert and his Community to 1200, eds.* Gerald Bonner, David Rollason, Clare Stancliffe. Woodbridge: Boydell 1989. p. 220. Cramp continues suggesting that the mould shows some evidence of rim which might indicate the use of a motif piece. These pieces have yet to be found in Northumbria. If such pieces were used this would indicate both the cultural diffusion of Insular tradition found in Pictish and Irish monasteries and show this tradition travelling between different crafts and their respective production centres.

stippled design show some relationship to the image of the calf from the carpet page

preceding the Gospel of St. Luke in the Book of Durrow.

fig. 64. The calf of the Evangelist St. Luke in the Book of Durrow. *Trinity College Library, Dublin, MS 57, ff. 124v. © The Board of Trinity College, Dublin*

fig. 65. St, Luke with the winged calf in the Lindisfarne Gospels. *British Library Cotton MS Nero D* IV, ff. 137r © The British Library Board

fig. 66. Clay mould of apocalyptic calf with trumpet from Hartlepool. *Museum of Hartlepool.* © Hartlepool Borough Council.

fig. 67. Detail of opening of Gospel of Mark in Book of Durrow. *Trinity College Library, Dublin, MS 57, ff. 85v. © The Board of Trinity College, Dublin*

fig. 68. Architectural Fragment Monkwearmouth 17 *© : Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture, University of Durham*

fig. 69. Inhabited scroll from Jarrow, note the blend of knotwork similar to the example from Monkwearmouth with the bird forms. Jarrow 19© : *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture,* University of Durham

fig. 70. Part of Cross-shaft. Note the similarity between the bird forms from Jarrow. York Minster 1A © : *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture,* University of Durham

fig. 71. Detail image from Lindisfarne Gospel. British Library Cotton MS Nero D IV f. 10v © The British Library Board

In deploying these forms, different areas signalled their affiliation with particular traditions and foundations. As discussed in previous chapters, the bishops of York in particular took styles directly from Rome to promote their archiepiscopal efforts. What becomes apparent in sculptural traditions of the Northwestern region is the significance of the overland trade routes.[560] The fact that the communities of the Northwest had an active stone working tradition present at episcopal and monastic sites such as Kirkmadrine and Whithorn before the Northumbrian

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[560] Cramp, Rosemary. 'Topography and Distribution of Anglian-Period Sculpture' in *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture, Vol. II: Cumberland, Westmoreland and Lancashire-North-of-the-Sands.* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988

expansion likely increased the effectiveness of the geographic connections between the two regions.[561] Before being incorporated into the kingdom communities in the Northwest already expressed and advertised their identity through the medium of stone sculpture in a way that resonated with Deira. Opposed to these two, Bernicia never developed a tradition of stonework as active or widespread as the other two regions.[562] While the coastal trade linked the region closely within the Irish Sea trade zone, and the influences that this brought, the ecclesiastic trends displayed in sculptural motifs looked firmly inland. Strong stylistic links emerge at sites from Dumfriesshire to Lancashire with Deira to the south.[563] The sea routes and the networks developed through this trade were significant, but the sculptural tradition promoted the regions connection to and importance within the larger Northumbrian community.

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[561] Troop. 'Northumbria in the West'. p. 91.

[562] The fact that the early bishoprics in Bernicia largely followed a more monastic model and that by the mid-eighth century they were superseded by the archbishopric of York likely helped to inhibit the impetus to develop a widespread tradition of public sculpture. Before the late-ninth century in both the Northwest and Deira monumental sculpture primarily existed on episcopal land.

[563] Troop. 'Northumbria in the West'. p. 91.

figs. 72 & 73. Early ninth century Irton Cross-shaft and detail of lower panel of interlace. Irton 1A © : *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture,* University of Durham

fig. 74. Early ninth century Otley Cross-shaft. Otley 2D *© : Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture,* University of Durham

*fig. 7*5. Early seventh century gilt bronze sword pommel found on a beach. Note the similarities between the interlace design on the face of the pommel and the later designs on the cross-shafts above *© :* Beverley Treasure House, East Riding of Yorkshire Council 2016

The blending of intention, execution and interpretation brought these

connections to life. Their size amplified the messages included both from the

intention of the patron and from the artistic invention of the stoneworkers. When

encountered, a third interpretation of the object entered as the monuments

prompted the active participation of the viewer in order to bring the truly complete

the work. At Hexham, the crypts took the architectural presence of the holy land

and created a dramatic experience to draw the viewers into the imagined landscape

inspired by the divine. Stephen of Ripon, in a piece of the formal artistic modesty,

described the establishment thusly:

> My feeble tongue will not permit me to enlarge here upon the depth of the foundations in
> the earth, and its crypts of wonderfully dressed stone, and the manifold building above
> ground, supported by various columns and many side aisles, and adorned with walls of
> notable length and height, surrounded by various winding passages with spiral stairs leading
> up and down; for our holy bishop, being taught by the Spirit of God, thought out how to
> construct these buildings; nor have we heard of any other house on this side of the Alps built
> on such a scale.[564]

Here the twisting, carefully sculpted and ornamented passageways brought visitors

into chambers of rich reliquaries.[565] In this one can see an almost theatrical,

multisensory experience that brought together the layout and design of the

chambers with the enlivening aspect of the flames that lit the passageways to bring

the audience to the sacred. The incorporation of the viewer into this sacred space

continued in a different sense on the more public standing crosses and monumental

sculpture. In all regions, frontal-facing figures far outnumber other poses. In looking

out at the viewer and gesturing to them the sculptor invited the audience into the

narrative invoked in the stone. In coming face-to-face with the religious figures,

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[564] Stephen of Ripon. *Vita Wilfridi.* Ch. XXII
    *…cuius profunditatem in terra cum domibus mire politis lapidibus fundatam et super terram
    multiplicem domum columnis variis et porticibus multis suffultam mirabileque longitudine et
    altiudine murorum ornatam et liniarum variis anfractibus viarum, aliquando sursum,
    aliquando deorsum per cocleas circumductam, non est meae parvitatis hoc sermone
    explicare, quod sanctus pontifex noster, a spiritu Dei doctus, opera facere excogitavit, neque
    enim ullam domum aliam citra Alpes montes talem aedificatam audivimus.*
[565] Bailey. 'A European Anglo-Saxon'. p. 118-119

those who viewed the monuments could see Christian stories transported into the

Northumbrian landscape.
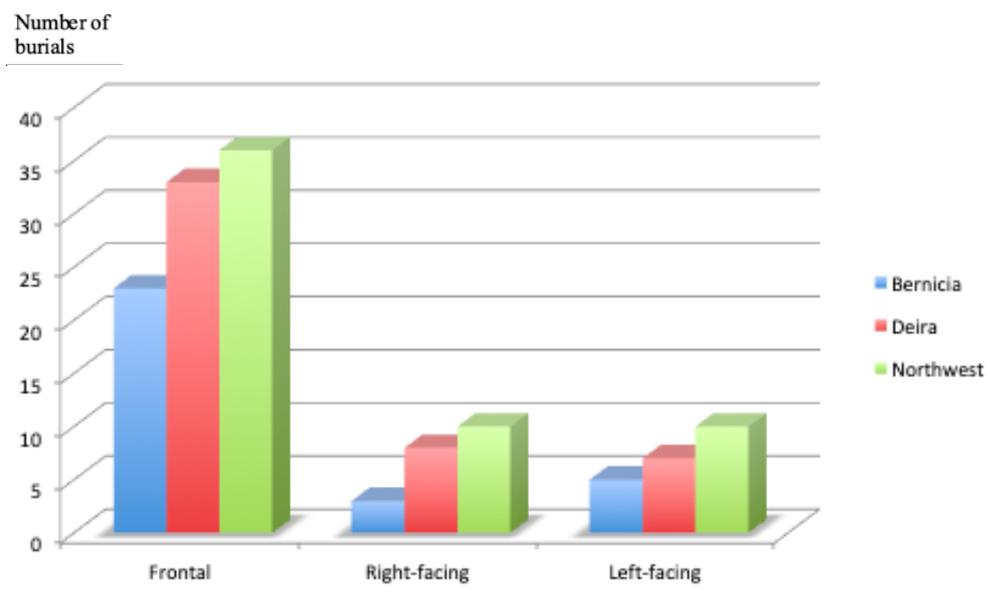
fig. 76. Graph of position of figures in monumental sculpture. Information taken from database compiled for this thesis
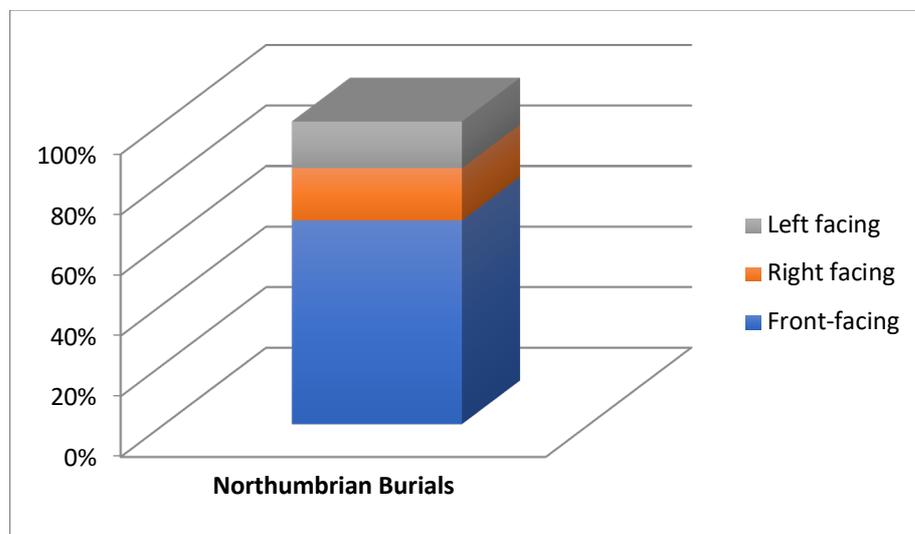
fig. 77 Percentile representation of the previous figure compiled from the thesis database

7.2c Manuscripts and Illumination

Even more than sculpture, manuscripts and illuminations emerged and

remained confined to a highly elite, specialised audience. Rather than including

public art, like the monumental crosses and slabs that the public could engage with

directly, manuscripts were made in monastic settings and travelled within

ecclesiastic circles both within and outside of the kingdom of Northumbria. Within

these settings, though, scribes and illuminators could gain fame for high-quality work

and consistent skill. In *De Abbatibus*, Æthelwulf devotes a chapter the early scribe

Ultan.

> *He was a blessed priest of the Irish race, and he could ornament books with fair marking, and by this art he accordingly made the shape of the letters beautiful one by one, so that no modern scribe could equal him;. . .He taught the brothers, so that they might seize the light above, and be zealous to serve God at all times, while they might have this present body.*[566]

Ultan's hand is later taken from the tomb and used as a mediator for sacred healing

when one brother lay near death.

Father Ultan may not have been widely known outside of the monastic

memory preserved by Æthelwulf, but in his tale one can see the respect scribes

could garner through their work. The priest laboured to beautify the manuscripts

produced by the monastery and served as a teacher to the brothers. Through this

art, he channelled the divine to such a degree that his hand acted as a touchstone

for sacred healing for the brothers. In spite of this, Ultan's legacy seems to be

confined to this northern daughter house of Lindisfarne. In the priest's story,

though, the networks that scribes and illuminators worked within can be glimpsed.

In Æthelwulf's description of Ultan teaching the brothers to 'seize the light above'

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[566] Æthelwulf. *De Abbatibus.* Ch. VIII
> *E quibus est Vltan preclaro nominee dictus.*
> *Presbitr iste fuit Scottorum gente beautus,*
> *comptis qui potuit notis ornare libellos,*
> *atque apicum speciem uiritim sic reddit amoenam*
> *hac arte, ut nullus possit se aequare modernus*
> *scriptor; . . .*
> *Instituit fratres, rapiant ut lumina celsa,*
> *atque deo student cunctis seruire diebus,*
> *corpore quo possint presentem capere uitam.*

the physical references used by illuminators emerge.[567] In large initial letters and carpet pages, the coloured panels took reference from the stained-glass windows at monasteries such as Wearmouth and Jarrow.[568] In ornamenting texts, scribes and illuminators took hold of the light in the same way that church windows did, filtering it through colour and translated it to parchment for dissemination through the Christian landscape.

From their places of production, manuscripts could travel widely. Requests for manuscripts abound in early medieval epistles. In writing to his distant brothers in York from the Carolingian court in Tours, Alcuin repeatedly asked that manuscripts be sent to him.[569] In one letter, amidst a request for various items, Alcuin asks for 'some of the rarer learned books' from his native land, likening them to flowers from York that may allow the fruit of paradise in his present setting of Tours .[570] Even beyond Northumbrian transplants, Continental desire for Northumbrian manuscripts increased in the mid-eighth century as Bede's fame increased in the decades following his death.[571] This rise in demand subtly changed the way the monasteries of Wearmouth and Jarrow expressed their communal identity. Unlike other Northumbrian scribes, early scribes at Jarrow produced manuscripts such as the Codex Amiantinus in a formal Uncial script. The script was rigid in form and took time to carefully set out.

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[567] Æthelwulf. Ch. VIII. Campbell notes that this passage alludes to Matt. XI:12

[568] Brown, Michelle p. 'Bede's Life in Context' in *The Cambridge Companion to Bede*, ed. Scott DeGregorio, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010. p. 15

[569] Dodwell, Charles Reginald. *The Pictorial Arts of the West, 800-1200.* London: Yale University Press, 1993. p. 71

[570] Alcuin. *Letters*. Letter 8

[571] Brown. 'Bede's Life in Context'. p. 15

As the fame of the monastery grew through the early eighth century, the expression of the scriptorium's, and through it the monastery's, identity shifted over time. By 746 Insular miniscule became more common in works produced in the scriptorium.[572] It had been developed at the monastery as a practical form of the script common on the Continent and they used it in places where other scriptorium would choose either Insular miniscule or majuscule.[573] It served as a physical and visible link between the monasteries and the continental Christian Church, adapted to their own purposes. The exacting script worked well in normal circumstances, but in the face of continental demand for the works of Bede it took too much time to produce. The Insular scripts followed a more flowing, cursive-style style. In reducing the amount of time needed to clearly set out each letter, scribes were better able to produce high-quality manuscripts quickly.

In choosing a script to use in a text, particularly one written as a divine offering or as a gift for an elite member of the secular or sacred hierarchy, a scribe made a conscious choice of how to express the identity of the scriptorium. The change of script shows how an institutions identity shifted and evolved over time in response to external and internal influences and developments. As the script at Jarrow evolved it also catalysed developments in Insular scripts deployed in other Northumbrian scriptoria.[574] In the evolution of scripts, scribes from different Northumbrian and external monasteries show their awareness of the styles common in their extended network and how they interacted with each other.

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[572] Parkes, M.B. *The Scriptorium of Wearmouth-Jarrow,* Jarrow Lectures, Jarrow: St. Paul's Parish Church Council, 1982. p. 4-5

[573] Parkes. *The Scriptorium of Wearmouth-Jarrow.* p. 4

[574] Brown, Michelle p*. A Guide to Western Historical Scripts from Antiquity to 1600.* London: British Library, 1990. p. 50

In its evolving choice of scripts, Wearmouth and Jarrow's identity as an Insular monastery took a more obvious physical form in its texts and could be seen blending into the Roman and Continental influences on which the monasteries were built. Underneath the obvious Romanising trends evident in the Codex Amiatinus, though, the manuscript shows the scriptorium's openness to Insular manuscript tradition.[575] In copying and arranging the manuscript, the scribes show a blend of Insular and Italian traditions. While most of the more noticeable and more religio-cultural aspects are undeniably in origin, the underlying structure of the physical object drew from Insular traditions common at other less Italian-influenced northern monasteries.[576] Where aspects of the manuscript related to the religious identity of monastery of origin, the scribes displayed deft hands at employing Italian models in their work. The aspects they deemed important as a show of the religious disposition and achievement of the scriptorium display Italian practices with some Insular or idiosyncratic adaptations.[577] For the more habitual aspects of constructing the manuscript, though, and in the way the scribes arranged the words on the folios, the scribes followed practices found in many Insular manuscripts.

Just as Northumbrian scribes from different monasteries interacted with the work of and influenced each other, they also remained intricately linked with secular artisans. Monasteries acted as centres of production for items ranging from manuscripts and fine metalwork to more practical, everyday items.[578] In this shared

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[575] Gameson, Richard. *Codex Amiatinus: Making and Meaning.* Jarrow, St. Paul's Parish Church Council 2017. p. 51

[576] Gameson. *Codex Amiatinus.* p. 51

[577] Gameson. *Codex Amiatinus.* p. 13, 23. As Gameson discusses, while the scripts are derived from Italian sources, the particular forms show local adaptation. Similarly, the hierarchy of scripts shown in throughout the manuscript is unique to the monastery of Wearmouth and Jarrow

[578] Cramp. *Wearmouth and Jarrow.* p. 344

space, scribes took inspiration from traditional motifs and iconography present on metalwork and adapted it for the production and ornamentation of manuscripts.[579] The carpet pages of manuscripts in particular show this influence. Much like Anglo-Saxon metalwork, scribes filled these illuminations with visual riddles and twisting animal forms.[580] In a similar way, the parchment, ink and pigments used in the codices tended to be produced locally by the secular and religious members of the monastic communities.[581] In spite of the lack of access to the completed works, Northumbrian manuscripts and the scribes who produced them were embedded in the shared sense of Northumbria. In the rearing of cattle, the collection of whelks and other flora and fauna used for pigments and the production of styli and wax tablets, the tenants of monastic estates played an important part in the creation of ornate, highly decorative Insular manuscripts. Through this we see the literal fulfilment of the riddle with which this chapter began. The finished product brought together these pieces and people of Northumbria, executed in a way to fill a religious purpose, and came to spread far beyond the kingdom.

7.2d Metalwork

It is in metal dress accessories that all levels of society met. In its ubiquity and wide range, the craft of smiths were everyday items for households and crucial tools for other craftspeople and labourers throughout Northumbria.

> Se smiþ secgð hwanon sylan scear oþþe culter þe na gade hæfþ buton of cræfte minon hwanon fiscere ancgel oþþe sceowyrhton æl oþþe seamere nædl nis hit of minon geweorce. .

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[579] Karkov, Catherine. *Anglo-Saxon Art.* Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2011. p. 33
[580] Karkov. *Anglo-Saxon Art.* p. 33
[581] Turner, Semple & Turner. *Northumbrian Monasteries.* p. 3

. eala treowwyrhta forhwi swa sprycst þu þonne ne furþon an þyrl þu ne miht don butan minum cræfte

[The smith speaks: Whence does the ploughman get his cutter, ploughshare or goad but through my craft? Whence does the fisherman get his hook, the cobbler his awl or the tailor his needle without my work?. . .Oh carpenter, why do you speak so when you could not even drill a hole but with my craft?][582]

 Metal smithing and its products had a place in most aspects of life. Regardless of the type of metal being worked, these artisans gained considerable respect through their craft. The only artisan other than Ultan to be praised by name in *De Abbatibus* is a brother named Cwicwine. He served as the metalworker for the community. The standard accolades for generosity and religiosity, with Cwicwine praising God throughout the night long after others had retired, fill his chapter but it his craft that Æthelwulf returns to throughout. After the matins had been sung 'the hammer rang on the anvil as the metal was struck, and as it flew and smote the empty air, it decked the table of the brothers by beating out vessel'.[583] In this chapter, the loud and largely individual craft is translated into art. Importantly, it is not the high-status art objects made by some smiths that is being discussed here. It is comparatively humble crafts. Cwicwine's piety is expressed through his ability to shape vessels for his brothers to eat and cook with. His hands likely created the tools needed to shear sheep, plough the land and put ink to parchment. This man filled the same role as the somewhat prickly labourer in Ælfric's *Colloquy*. In the crafting of these utilitarian items, a smith could gain as much renown as one who could produce the trailing filigree that shone brightly on elite jewellery, highly decorative religious vessels and the bindings of some manuscripts.

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[582] *'Colloquy of Occupations',* Lns 193-196, 204-205.
[583] Æthelwulf. *De Abbatibus.* Ch. X

Given the ubiquity of metal craft in contemporary life, one might expect most settlements engaged in smithing to some modest extent. Evidence for this, however, is not abundant.[584] This dearth does not necessarily mean that smithing never took place in smaller settlements. Smithing has long been thought of as one of the itinerant crafts, though it appears that a peripatetic lifestyle was only one of many potential scenarios for a smith.[585] For the majority of smiths, though, large-scale itinerancy would have been largely impractical. The raw materials and specialised vessel and toolset required for the craft made such an arrangement rather complicated. It has been argued that the presence of a smith indicated the importance of a settlement.[586] On a smaller scale, individuals who knew the art of smithing, though it may not have been their main or only work, likely served and travelled between several local settlements.[587] These part-time metalworkers filled everyday needs in small rural communities. While large-scale itinerancy may not have been feasible, ideas and methods could travel widely. Through their work they were deeply embedded in their local societies and bridged the distance between the

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[584] Alcock. 'Kings and Warriors, Craftmen and Priests'. p. 93

[585] Ashby, Steven. '"With Staff in Hand, and Dog at Heel"?: What did it mean to be an "Itinerant" Artisan?', in *Everyday Products in the Middle Ages: Crafts, Consumption and the Individual in Northern Europe, c. AD 800-1600,* eds. Gitte Hansen, Stephen p. Ashby and Irene Baug, Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2015. p. 14. Given the materials required for smithing, both in terms of raw material and tools of the trade, large-scale itinerant metalworking would have been somewhat impractical. On a smaller scale, though, it is likely that smiths may served and travelled between several local communities.

[586] Coatesworth, Elizabeth and Pinder, Michael. *The Art of the Anglo-Saxon Goldsmith: Fine Metalwork in Anglo-Saxon England, its Practice and Practicioners.* Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 2002. p. 233. Coatesworth supports her position through the law codes. Code 63 of Ine of Wessex taken from the Attenborough translation states: 'If a nobleman moves his residence, he may take with him his reeve, his smith and his children's nurse.' This indicates the importance of the smith's work for a settlement as he is deemed essential for the nobleman's household to run. At the same time, it indicates that the smith is largely sedentary. Rather than travelling from place to place, they would have a base of operations and travel only locally.

[587] Ashby. '"With Staff in Hand"'. p. 19

small settlements that filled the rural world. In this way, they acted to reinforce and disseminate the culture from which these crafts emerged.

Though extant evidence is scarce, some settlements show signs of intensive metalworking. Crucibles and moulds have been found at several large Northumbrian monasteries as well as settlements such as the Mote of Mark that show signs of intensive metalworking specialisation. This site, located within three kilometres of a copper mine, was positioned on a headland surrounded by rocky outcroppings and only accessible by sea at high tide.[588] This made the Mote of Mark both rather defensible from external threats overland and sea and conveniently located for the raw materials necessary for large-scale metalworking. Archaeological work at the site has uncovered over 165 crucible fragments and 482 mould fragments. Together, this represents no fewer than 24 individual crucibles and over 100 moulds for a variety of artefacts.[589] The degree of specialisation found here can be seen when placed against the fragments of moulds and crucibles found at monastic centres at which metalworking would also be practiced widely. While such evidence has been recovered at Whithorn, Hartlepool and Jarrow, even when combined the extant material from these sites is dwarfed by the number found at the Mote of Mark. While monasteries acted as centres of craftworking and trade, they did not necessarily focus on any one craft in particular.

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[588] Alcock. *Kings and Warriors.* p. 94

[589] Lloyd Laing and Longley, David. *The Mote of Mark: A Dark Age Hillfort in South-West Scotland.* Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2006. p. 26; Longley, David. 'The Mote of Mark: The Archaeological Context of the Decorative Metalwork' in *Pattern and purpose in insular art: proceedings of the Fourth International Conference on Insular Art, held at the National Museum & Gallery, Cardiff 3-6 September 1998,* eds. Mark Redknap, Nancy Edwards, Susan Youngs, Alan Lane and Jeremy Knight, Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2001. p. 79

Metalwork was ubiquitous in everyday life, from cooking vessels to decorative mounts and fittings. More than that, though, Northumbrians relied on the material to fasten outerwear and secure elements of clothing and bags. The fact that they visibly adorned the person gave these objects significant psychological and symbolic importance. These marked deliberate choices and displays of cultural identity by the individual wearing the objects or, in the case of burial costume, by the family of the deceased.[590] Even those that seem humble or insignificant show a series of relationships between the craftsperson, the wearer and the viewer and an intricate and deliberate choice of style and decoration intrinsic to the object and its function in the social play.[591] These individuals and their connections represent wide-ranging networks that spread throughout Northumbria. Through the repetition of style and decorative elements and the choice of the wearers to display these items, each person within the web of connections helped to spread and reinforce a shared Northumbrian identity.

Strap fittings are artefacts that have been found widely throughout Northumbria and that would have been visible to others. Given this visibility these items tended to incorporate decorative elements echoed in manuscript illuminations and monumental stonework. Unlike those media, strap fittings spread among the Northumbrians regardless of their position within the social hierarchy though the level of ornamentation varied depending on the individual. In this way, a wide

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[590] Lucy. *The Anglo-Saxon Way of Death.* p. 178

[591] Herman, Melissa. 'All that Glitters: The Role of Pattern, Reflection and Visual Perception in Early Anglo-Saxon Art' in *Sensory Perception in the Medieval West*, eds. Simon Thomson and Michael D.J. Blintley, Turnhout: Brepols, 2016. p. 160

segment of society had access to a major element of Northumbrian cultural identity

allowing them to both effect the expression of it and to be affected by it.

fig. 78. Ninth century silver Thomas's Class A1 strap end, Trewhiddle style, with a zoomorphic terminal and a palmette design between the rivets. Found near Markington with Wallerthwaite. © York Museum Trusts

fig. 79. Detail of panel from the Incipit of the Gospel of Matthew in the Lindisfarne Gospels. Note the similarity between the interlace beast decorating the strap end above. British Library Cotton MS Nero D IV f. 27r © The British Library Board

In its portable artefact footprint, strap ends bring the sense of a unified Northumbrian identity to the forefront in a way unlike other examples of metalwork and in a way that reverberates more than other individual media. From the mid-eighth century the vast majority of the strap ends found over all three regions within the kingdom that are included in the database represent the Thomas A type with Trewhiddle decoration and a palmette design. Furthermore, where the subtype is evident, over half of the type A brooches included are examples of subtype A1. In the ninth century, the Trewhiddle style of decoration gained a level of ubiquity throughout the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms.[592] Northumbria, like the other kingdoms, engaged with this style actively throughout the period considered in this study.

Within this general trend that stretched over a large portion of southern Britain in the early medieval period, different kingdoms and cultural centres continued to influence the designs used. Regional identities continued to be expressed through the motifs included in the design and rendering of the zoomorphic style.[593] In Northumbria, strap ends tend to show their audience held a marked preference for terminals with comma-shaped ears, palmette designs at the apex and intricately entwined zoomorphic beasts comparable to those found in Northumbrian illuminated manuscripts and monumental stonework.[594] The longevity of this style,

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[592] Gabor, Thomas. *A Survey of Late Anglo-Saxon and Viking-age Strap-Ends from Britain.* Unpublished PhD thesis, University of London, 2000. p. 52-53
[593] Gabor. *A Survey of Strap-Ends*. p. 53
[594] Gabor, Thomas. 'Reflections on a '9th-century' Northumbrian Metalworking Tradition: A Silver Hoard from Poppleton, North Yorkshire, *Medieval Archaeology,* Vol. 50, Iss 1, 2006. p. 163. Gabor notes that in this Northumbria took part in a distinctly Northern identity, with similar motifs showing backwards-turning beasts with elongated heads echoed on fine golden finger-rings found in Selkirk, Scotland.

in a manner not unlike that of the use of styca coinage, also indicates the strength of the Northumbrian cultural identity. Artisans working north of the Humber continued to produce strap ends of this type long after it had fallen out of style in the southern kingdoms.[595] Unlike the more symmetrical designs preferred south of the Humber, Northumbrian examples emphasise the interlace designs echoed in other media.
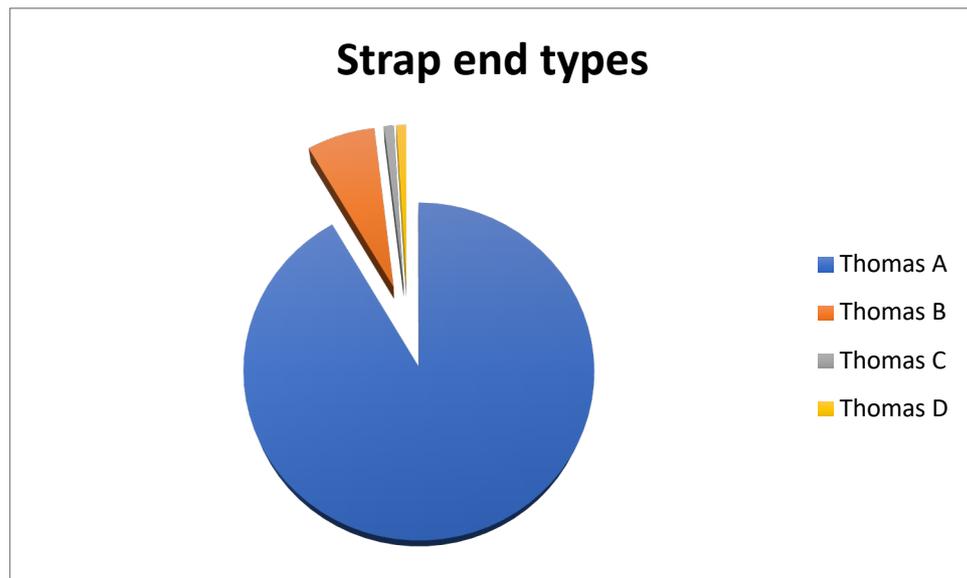
fig. 80. Chart of Strap end types found in Northumbria. Information taken from database compiled for this thesis

These ubiquitous crafts and the near universal appearance of the type A style, executed in fine metals with inlaid gems and the more common copper alloy, brought individuals from different social and hierarchical spheres from settlements separated by vast distances into a distinct cultural identity that stretched from the Humber estuary in the South to the Firth of Clyde in the North. In eschewing the symmetrical designs common south of the Humber, Northumbrian artisans and their audience displayed a localised identity more inclined to the visual riddles of intricate

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[595] Gabor. 'Reflections on a 9th-century Northumbrian Metalworking Tradition'. p. 157

interlace-entwined beasts. The predominance of which can be seen in the various media produced by Northumbrian metalworkers, illuminators and stonemasons throughout the period considered in this study.

While different spheres within Northumbria emerge when looking at stonework, the series of coinage within the kingdom, or illumination and manuscript traditions, the footprint that emerges from the metalwork and the styca coinage shows these different social circles coming together as Northumbrians. This shared sense of identity was heightened by the trade and communication routes over both land and sea that connected the different regions. Trends and iconographic traditions travelled along these lines as people and groups exchanged both material goods and idea, spreading knowledge and stylistic preferences throughout the kingdom and drawing the far-flung communities and settlements together. The external expression of this identity and the strength thereof is best seen in its late coinage as well as how merchants interacted with this different economic sphere. It is In this interaction and the appearance of southern coinage that one can also see the integrity of the kingdom begin to weaken.

8. There and Back Again:
Key Findings and Conclusions

> *Once a book of the week's hymns written out by St. Columba with his own hand fell into the water. . . The book remained in the water from Christmas to Easter, until it was found on the river bank by some women out walking. They took it to a priest called Éogenán, a man of Pictish origin to whom it had belonged. The book was still in its satchel, which was not merely sodden but had rotted. When Éogenán opened the satchel, however, he found the book unharmed, as clean and dry as if it had never fallen into the water but had remained in its book case.*[596]

The passage above relates quite the miracle and it is not the only one of its type that occurs in Adomnan's telling of the life of Columba, let alone in other early medieval hagiography. A book written by the saint falls into a river and remains there for an extended period. After a group of women find and return the satchel containing the book to the local priest, in spite of its perishable material, the work is found to be no worse for the less than hospitable resting place it had been in. This type of miracle speaks to the importance of longevity in the face of impermanence and decay. Vellum, hide and textiles are all vulnerable to the passage of time while also being a significant part of life. These materials touched the life of every Northumbrian whether male or female, high-born or low, and were steeped in the culture and ideology of the people who made and used it.[597] Unfortunately, most of

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[596] Adomnan. *Vita Sancti Columbae.* II.8

> *Alio in tempore, hymnorum liber septimaniorum sancti Columbae manu descriptis, de cuiusdam pueri de ponte elapse humeria, cum pelliceo in quo inerat sacculo, in quodam partis Laginorum fluvio submerses cecidit. Quividelicet libellus, a Natalitio Domini usque as Paschalium consummationem dierum in aquis permanens, postea in ripa fluminis a feminis quibusdam ibidem deambulantibus repertus, ad quondam Iogenanum presbyterum, gente Pictum, cuius prius juris reat, in eodem, non solum madefacto, sed etiam putrefacto, portratur sacculo. Quem scilicet sacculum idem Iogenanus asperiens, suum incorruptum labellum invenit, et ita nitidum et siccum, ac si in scrinio tanto permansisset tempore, et nunquam in aquas cecidisset.*

[597] Both Alcuin and Boniface discuss the exchange of textiles in several of their letters often seeming to give equal worth to gifts of books and gifts of garments particularly when thanking female correspondents. Garver, Valerie. *Women and Aristocratic Culture in the Carolingian World.* Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2009, p. 234. See also: Story, Joanna. *Charlemange: Empire and Society.*

these materials lacked the otherworldly protection granted to Éogenán's hymnbook and have long since rotted away. In their absence, it is necessary for historians, archaeologists and the rest of the interrelated academic disciplines within the broad spectrum of medieval studies to approach the period in an integrated, interdisciplinary manner. Facing an imbalance of surviving materials, visibility and bias inherent in different sources, it is essential to bring together methodology and source bases to approach an fully developed image of the cultures and peoples present.

Through the preceding chapters, this study wound its way through the various landscapes, settlements and items of mobile material culture found within the Anglo-Saxon kingdom of Northumbria over nearly three centuries' worth of time and social and cultural development from 600 CE to 867 CE. It entered into monasteries and mead halls. It ventured into the complicated and novel arrangement that grew as York developed into a more influential, polyfocal settlement. In an entirely different setting at the other end of Northumbria, the defended hill and promontory centres found in the North and West, including the specialised metalworking site of the Mote of Mark and Dunbar provided vital information about the iconography and lifestyle present in the north. The purpose of this was to bring together the powerful and the mundane and to find the threads that held the kingdom of Northumbria and its different regions and the people throughout it together.

Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2005, p. 200 describing the networks of merchants and the exchange of textiles from the viewpoint of secular powers.

Over the course of this journey through the kingdom, a nuanced and complex image of the society present in Northumbria in this period was sought. The intent was to approach and consider the different identities and cultural differences that developed in different regions and among different hierarchical communities. In order to provide a fully rounded study and move towards an accurate representation, it was vital to include those in power - whether secular, ecclesiastic or both as the case often was to varying degrees – as well as the crucial evidence of the less influential, though no less interesting or important, individuals whose work both allowed their communities to function and helped drive, adapt and spread new cultural traditions.

It is significantly easier to gain access to the ideological expression of the powerful people of the past through sources both textual and physical. It was those privileged communities, including those on the upper end of the social hierarchy and the men and women in monasteries, that provided the demand for manuscripts and formed the original intended audience of the majority of the extant literary and epigraphic works from this period.[598] Elite assemblages with their more exciting 'peacock-like' nature also tend to draw the lion's share of attention over more

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[598] Mayr-Harting, Henry, *The Venerable Bede, The Rule of St. Benedict and Social Class,* Jarrow Lectures, Jarrow: St. Paul's Parish Church Council, 1976. p. 1-2. Mayr-Harting discusses the importance of the inclusion and free mixing of people from different ranks of society set forth in the Rule of St. Benedict. This rule provided the basis on which Biscop made the rules for his foundations at Wearmouth and Jarrow. See also: Wood, Ian. 'Introduction'. p. xviii and xxi-xxii. Wood introduces the possibility that Bede himself may have been socially distant from many of the elite individuals he writes about in *Historia Abbatum* and *Vita Sancti Cuthberti.* He goes on to say that the anonymous *Vita Ceolfridi* was intended by the author to be read aloud. Taken together these suggest that while it is highly unlikely that social class disappeared in monastic settings there may have been a greater diversity of class living in close proximity to each other and engaged in similar tasks. This being the case, non-elite free men and women among the inhabitants of the monastery would have been included in the intended audience for some text due to their inclusion in the privileged religious community for which authors wrote certain texts.

domestic and less flashy items found from the majority of the population. In order

to be able to include the majority of the kingdom's population it was essential to

take an interdisciplinary approach. By bringing texts, art, metalwork and stonework

together, the blindspots inherent in each different evidence type could be balanced

by the strengths provided by another. The variety also helped to suggest and allow

for different routes into the influences and minds of the craftspeople that worked on

the items, the people for whom these things were intended and the wider audience

that may have come into contact with it.

8.2 Methodology

The kingdom of Northumbria covered a large geographic area, encompassing

a variety of landscapes and seascapes. Not unlike the adaptations of subspecies

occurring in the natural world, these differences prompted regionally distinct

identities to develop. At the same time the inclusion and active involvement in the

networks of the overarching kingdom allowed for the development of a shared

Northumbrian identity.[599] This regional distinction can best be seen in Bernicia. The

most striking example of it here was the slow and limited adoption of coinage as

suggested by the material footprint. At the same time, the shared iconography

found on monumental stonework and the similar motifs found on strap-ends and in

the illuminations found in manuscripts such as the Lindisfarne Gospels indicate a

shared Northumbrian tradition.

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[599] Cubitt. 'Monastic Memory and Identity in Early Anglo-Saxon England'. p. 253

Styca coinage helped to unite and demarcate Northumbria as from the mid-eighth century coins can be found throughout the wider Northumbrian landscape. These coins appear throughout the Northumbrian landscape in all three regions, though coin use in what appears to be the more culturally conservative Bernician northeast lagged behind the Northwest and Deira. Hoards of these coins found outside the kingdom indicate that foreign merchants recognised this and felt compelled to keep caches of a denomination of coinage that would be relatively worthless in their own territories in order to be able to conduct trade with Northumbrians and within the kingdom of Northumbria. The strands among others discussed in the preceding chapters indicate that there was a strong sense of Northumbrian-ness felt throughout the three regions, though it could be expressed in different ways and varying media. Furthermore, even on the macro level, one can see that this Northumbrian identity stretched beyond the privileged few who sat at the top of the social hierarchy.

Over both of these layers of study, the general trends found at the macro level and the regional complexities developed through evidence from key regional sites at the micro level, I attempted to give comparable weight to the historical and archaeological sources wherever possible in order to avail myself of the different strengths offered by the different evidence pools. From the beginning of the study, the complementary aspects of archaeology and history came to offer an unexpected window onto the active cultural developments within Northumbria that would not necessarily be evident from objects and the texts when examined separately. The complementary nature of the evidence resulted in the highlighting of textual vignettes throughout the chapters of the thesis. These sketches helped to bring life

to the topics at hand. At the same time, it enhanced the value of the integrated use of material culture and textual sources. Together these source bases served to emphasis the points at hand and anchored the physical evidence in the living world that produced and used it. They helped to keep one aware that Northumbria was filled with living, breathing individuals who interacted with and appreciated these material objects. Far from a sterile petri dish, early medieval Northumbria was a vibrant conglomeration of communities and identities held together by shared cultural trends and a unifying overarching political identity and material footprint in the use of certain objects and art styles shared in common.

The two-scale approach described above provided the best potential for exploring the use of a shared Northumbrian identity. By examining the identities that emerged at both regional and micro-regional levels, the interplay of the two could be accessed and the comparative adherence to and value of Northumbrian-ness throughout the kingdom could be tested. Each person within a community adhered to a number of different layers of identity that could be accessed depending on the social group or activity he or she engaged with at the any one time.[600] Alongside this, the communication of identity could be further differentiated depending upon an individual's social sphere, gender, status and occupation. Additionally, the relative geography of a settlement and the strength and ease of that community's links to larger networks of trade, travel and external communication compounded by the pre-existing cultural backgrounds present therein helped to shape the character of the shared identities as they developed

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[600] Frazer. 'Introduction: Identities in Early Medieval Britain'. p. 3

within the different regions.[601] By opening up a window on the varying ways that an individual may express their layered identities through this scaled approach their regional and hierarchical idiosyncrasies were brought to the fore.

The micro-regional aspect of the study proved to be crucial in order to delve into the more widespread aspects of the potential kingdom-wide Northumbrian identity. Without this inroad into the more intimate identities that developed in different settlements and the individual regions the characters and cultures of communities and individuals outside of the privileged groups would have been largely inaccessible. This perspective made it possible to access the ability of and degree to which the majority of the inhabitants of the Northumbria tapped into the overarching trends of identity, culture and social expression. This active involvement in the shared Northumbrian identity came to light through the similarities between iconography and artistic style found on strap ends and in manuscript illumination, the presence of Northumbrian coinage in the wider landscape and the use and style of strap-ends and other personal ornamentation.

In the absence of this micro-scale approach, in the fourth chapter we may not have appreciated the humble jet disc with a hand-carved runic inscription of three characters, found at the monastery in Whitby, the same place as a fine bone comb inscribed with both runic and Latin characters.[602] These two items speak of the mixture of backgrounds among the inhabitants of the monastery. Both items suggest literacy, one incorporating both the perceived to be a more rarefied, learned and Christian language and a native runic script, while the jet disc bears runes alone.

[601] Woolf. 'Community, Identity and Kingship in Early England'. p. 103
[602] Page, Raymond I. *An Introduction to English Runes*. p. 35 & 102

These items suggest a difference of social standing between the two individuals. Yet it is not necessarily the language of the scripts on the two items that indicates this, but rather the execution. The fine bone comb's inscription suggests the work of a skilled artisan while the other object seems to have been the work of an unskilled individual. It also indicates that access to the written word was available to men and women within these communities regardless of their social background. Likewise, the swift adoption of a Northumbrian material expression of identity in the Northwest emerged through examination of the iconography used on stone monuments and large number of coin finds. Analysis of the rural settlement remains and the evidence of exchange networks highlighted the somewhat surprising degree to which the Bernician region proved to be resistant to the developing trends of communicating Northumbrian-ness through the period. Between these two extremes of looking at the evidence, the degree to which different communities blended influences in response to the shifting cultural trends came forward through the regional studies. In the Northwest, the small monastic community on Ardwall Island brought together Anglo-Saxon building styles in the late-seventh and early-eighth centuries; while retaining a distinctly Irish-inflected religiosity while at the same time the rural settlement at New Bewick 17 km south of Yeavering incorporated Anglo-Saxon portable goods with traditional 'Anglo-Saxon' building styles.[603] Finally, without this dual-scaled approach there may not have been a place in the narrative for a focused examination of York and the unique way in which this rather singular Northumbrian settlement changed the expression and aspect of

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[603] Thomas. 'An Early Christian Cemetery and Chapel on Ardwall Isle, Kirkcudbright'. p. 162; Loveluck. 'The Romano-British to Anglo-Saxon Transition'. p. 138

the identities present there, particularly among the non-elite actors whose active

involvement in external networks and in the local militia helped amplify their

presence in both textual and material sources.

8.3 Key Findings

The approach described above led to some interesting conclusions. Most

importantly the patterns found at both the macro- and micro-regional levels indicate

that an overarching Northumbrian identity existed throughout the three regions.

Moreover, access to and the penetration of this shared identity dramatically

changed over the period between 600 CE and 867 CE. By the mid-seventh century,

the material evidence shows that a sense of Northumbrian-ness existed primarily

among privileged spheres of power and influence, opening up to those within the

hierarchy of the Church through the links between family members within both the

religious and secular spheres. This can be seen in the iconography and stylistic

decisions made in stone decoration and sculpture found on land held by monastic

houses and those lands within the control of the bishops, and after 734, the

archbishops of York. The differences in these choices provide an idea of the level to

which the different regions and religious houses within Northumbria sought to

incorporate contemporary traditions emerging in the southern kingdoms of England,

and from the Continent and Rome.

Stylistic choices such as the Roman-influenced Easby and Masham columns

and continental elements found in the stonework at Jarrow and Hexham show the

desire to align their individual communities to different traditions and communicate

their links to the wider religious world.[604] These highly selective and specific

iconographical references would have been immediately recognisable to privileged

visitors whose rank or position allowed them access to view the monuments.[605]

Choices of this type helped a community to communicate how it saw itself to the

wider network. It gave the ethos and ideology a physical form that could be

interpreted and interacted with and further disseminated through the surrounding

landscape.[606] Motifs and symbols on monumental stonework and on portable

material items helped to ground communities and individuals, giving an additional

touchstone to a particular identity. Furthermore it provided a message to viewers

on the position these communities held in relationship to the social and religious

networks both within Northumbria and beyond its borders, stretching to the heart of

the Christian world. Influences and traditions could both mingle and clash as

ideologies, identities and individual communities such a York sought to assert

intellectual and cultural dominance.

Along the same lines as this, the evidence of high-status feasting culture

found at both secular halls and on religious land serve to underline this shared

identity. This can be seen from similar drinking vessels and animal remains found at

sites such as Jarrow, Dunbar, York, Whithorn and Whitby.[607] Despite warning against

overindulgence in such feasting behaviour and luxuriousness of dress and habits

received from religious authorities from Bede to Alcuin and beyond, it proved to be a

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[604] For the Easby and Masham columns discussed in the Gender, Authority and Legitimacy chapter see Lang. 'Monuments from Yorkshire in the Age of Alcuin'. p. 118. See also: Bailey. *England's Earliest Sculptors*. p. 33 discussing the Jarrow and Hexham stylistic links with the continent.

[605] Bailey. *England's Earliest Sculptors.* p. 41

[606] Troop. 'Northumbria in the West'. p. 87

[607] These shared ideas can also be seen in the depiction of the treatment of dolphin meat seen in the illuminations of the *Vita Sancti Cuthberti* shown in the Settlements and Society chapter (*fig.* 35).

persistent concern. This activity was deeply ingrained in the culture of the people whether they were living within or outside of religious life. It served as one of the key tools available to help build, maintain and strengthen social ties and lines of hierarchy within a community and its larger network.[608]

These motifs and stylistic habits were not reserved for highly privileged, specialised audiences alone. As we saw in the Networks and Affiliation chapter, craftspeople and artisans in both secular and religious settings working in a variety of media from stone, to the pigments used in manuscript illumination and the copper alloy and silver of personal ornamentation showed an awareness of the contemporary practices and habits found in other artistic traditions. Stylistic choices found within different media could and did serve as inspiration either to directly refer to motifs and iconography or merely as a show of shared influences and preferences. The effect allowed the stylistic culture developing within communities and regions separated from each other by distances, both geographic and social, to bleed into one another. The media used, the motifs and styles chosen, and the degree to which these common traits appeared varied depending upon the gender, social status and profession of individuals. By examining these similar threads, and how these elements effected their display, one can follow the trend of similarities and differences backwards to an overarching shared identity.

As York developed, it provided fertile ground for the development and maintenance for a localised strand of a common Northumbrian identity. In this distinct setting within the kingdom, as a royal and arch-episcopal centre aided by the

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[608] Woolf. 'Community, Identity and Kingship in Early England'. p. 104

diversity of the population and the settlement's unique structure, the Northumbrian

identity seems to have been present from an early point. Social identity is an

inherently reflexive and adaptive process requiring individuals and communities to

place themselves within a large skein.[609] This made York perfectly suited for these

concerns to come to the fore. Living in a settlement that drew in large communities

from the kingdom, as well as from external regions to it, provided the free

inhabitants of the settlement an opportunity to define a shared sense of identity in

relation to those external groups attracted to York for both intellectual and

mercantile purposes. The role the people of York played in the militia proved to be

an additional force motivating the adoption of such views. This mixture occasionally

resulted in rather violent confrontations aligning those who viewed themselves as

Northumbrians against clearly defined external groups visiting the kingdom's shores.

It is this sort of hostility that resulted in the scene described towards the beginning

of Altfrid's *Vita Sancti Liudgeri.* Drunken violence provoked the local free militia to

come together and attack Frisians in the settlement thus prompting the Frisian

inhabitants of York - including students at the religious school such as Liudger - to

flee.[610] This example in particular allowed for physical and textual evidence to come

together, enhancing the on-going process of identity formation occurring in

Northumbria. The complexity of the 'urban' environment and the active nature of

the trading centre, which brought in merchants and traders from the surrounding

communities as well as from kingdoms south of Northumbria's borders as well as

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[609] Crick, Julia C. 'Posthumous Obligation and Family Identity' in *Social Identities in Medieval Britain, eds.* William O. Frazer and Andrew Tyrell, London: Leicester University Press, 2001. p. 194-195
[610] Altfrid. *Vita Sancti Liudgeri.* Book I, Ch. 11-12

from the continent also made coin usage common in York from the second quarter

of the eighth century.

Beyond the trading centres in Northumbria, the presence and usage of coins

is particularly telling. The degree to which this sense of Northumbrian-ness

penetrated the communities and peoples living in the rural landscape can be seen

with the highest clarity through the evidence provided by the kingdom's coinage.

These items acted as physical manifestations of a distinct Northumbrian identity. In

order to conduct trade in Northumbria, merchants and traders needed to respect

and obtain the appropriate coinage.

Even as numismatic expression of a Northumbrian identity began to flourish,

the people, both elite and non-elite, in different regions availed themselves of this

resource to different degrees. This suggests communities in the separate regions

thought about coins in different ways and attached more or less importance and

vitality to the metal discs as suited the prevailing view. For the first main phase and

the Primary series of the second phase of coin use in Northumbria, the currency

remained largely confined to Deira and the southern shores of the Humber and

stretching down the North Sea coast in the case of the Primary series sceatta.[611]

More than this though, coins largely remained within the East Riding of Yorkshire

and along the Humber estuary.[612] These coins were used in distinct ways and

intended for use by particular groups. The gold York thrymsa may have acted in

large part as a feature of high-status gift exchange or as a largely symbolic and

ideologically important act by the Northumbrian king to signal power and status as a

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[611] Loveluck. Northwestern Europe. p. 190

[612] See *figs.* 58 and 61 for maps of the distributions of the York thrymsas and primary phase sceatta.

significant ruler with imperial intentions.[613] At the same time the high value of the

coinage made it impractical for most trade. The messages encoded in the items

acted on a more personal level rather than being all encompassing.

By the end of the seventh century, Aldfrith intended his Primary series

sceatta to function as reliable and trustworthy currency to be used in external trade

with merchants from the surrounding kingdoms as well as continental powers.

Great care was taken to ensure this consistency of metal content and weight. For

this series, the sceatta coins maintained a dependably high silver percentage

hovering around 90% and weighed between 1.20 and 1.25 g throughout the run.[614]

Aldfrith wanted his coins to be seen one of the most rigorously reliable currencies in

the period and went so far as to have them minted in his name. This communicated

the message that Aldfrith had the power to maintain the high quality of his coinage.

His power and authority as the king of Northumbria was unimpeachable. The fact

that he had lived most of his life before his half-brother Ecgfrith's death outside of

the kingdom's borders likely helped influence his desire to broadcast his legitimacy

as its ruler. It helped consolidate and solidify the king's personal power as well as

reasserting Northumbria's position in the political world after the catastrophic loss at

Nechtansmere.

All the same, the Primary series sceatta were intended to be trade currency

and thus they were fully intended to be completely interchangeable with foreign

issue sceatta from the same period. By the second half of the eighth century and

into the ninth century access to a cohesive and distinct Northumbrian identity

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[613] Naismith. 'Gold Coinage and its Use in the Post-Roman West', p. 297

[614] Metcalf. 'The Coinage of King Aldfrith of Northumbria (685-705) and Some Contemporary Imitations'. p. 153

stretched to those below the individuals at the top of the social hierarchy as the wide-spread and considerable level of the material footprint of the kingdom's copper alloy styca coinage indicates. As the metal content of sceatta diminished, the issues spread further through Deira. More tellingly, the coins began appearing in Bernicia and the Northwest. The Northwest saw examples of the coins found along trade routes and influential sites such as Whithorn from the region's southern reaches up to the northern coast of the Solway Firth. Bernicia, on the other hand remained largely resistant to the spreading form of Northumbrian currency. The few examples that emerge largely remained confined to monastic sites such as Jarrow with its active trading element and Hartlepool near the Deiran border. It is with the Y series sceatta and the subsequent issues of the copper alloy styca coinage that non-elite individuals in the wider rural settlements began to fully embrace the currency. By the first half of the ninth century, stycas appeared with remarkable frequency and at numerous sites throughout the Northwest and Deira.[615] Even in Bernicia some of the coins have been found at a handful of non-monastic sites though the number of finds remained low.

Surprising similarities shared between the Northwest and Deira became apparent time and again through the thesis. The coin footprint through the eighth and ninth centuries showed this in terms of number and spread of finds, but it can also be found in other media. Iconographic similarities found on stone monuments between sites in Yorkshire and sites throughout the Northwest proved to have higher rates of borrowings and shared influences as discussed in the Networks and

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[615] See *figs.* 62, 63 and 67

Affiliations chapter. Bernicia in large part proved conservative in its stylistic choices. Though Bernicia and Deira had been politically united for a longer period of time, and in spite of the fact that Bernicia shared many of the close ties with several northern British and Irish cultures also found in the Northwest, it remained particularly distinct in the media and styles most commonly used to express the regional Bernician element of the overarching Northumbrian identity.

In many aspects, Bernicia's choice of cultural expression and the styles and structures used in its settlements share significant similarities with kingdoms and cultures such as Pictland and Dalriada rather than the rest of Northumbria or the southern Anglo-Saxon kingdoms. Bernicia and the communities within it largely showed a pointed conservatism and preference for tradition. Many factors may have helped to influence this. The majority of the territory within Bernicia, like Pictland and Dalriada, had never been part of the former Roman territories in Britain. This marked a clear contrast between the region and Deira to the south. Even in the northwest, Carlisle had acted as an influential Roman settlement, and outposts north of Hadrian's Wall stretched up to Bewcastle.[616] Evidence of considerable trade with the Roman Empire is also found in Whithorn.[617] Both the Northwest and Deira therefore had significant contact with a Roman past and the practices related thereto.[618] This gave those two regions a share in a separate aspect of identity that informed their sense of Northumbrian-ness that Bernicians largely

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[616] Orton, Fred and Wood, Ian with Lees, Clare A. *Fragments of History: Rethinking the Ruthwell and Bewcastle Monument.* p. 19

[617] Hill. *Whithorn and St. Ninian: The Excavation of a Monastic Town, 1984-1991.* p. 293-296

[618] Cramp, Rosemary. 'Introduction' in *Past, Present and Future: The Archaeology of Northern England*, eds. Catherine Brooks, Robin Daniels and Anthony Harding, West Sussex: Roger Booth Associates, 2002. p. 123

seemed disinterested in.[619] After the defeat of Ecgfrith at Nectansmere in 685 these aspects may have intensified under a period of Pictish overlordship in northern Bernicia. Northumbria had reasserted by the second quarter of the eighth century, but the relationship between the kingdom's northern region and territories to its North and West remained strong.

A final aspect in the dissimilarity of Bernicia to the rest of Northumbria may lie in its trade and communication routes. The stylistic similarities between the Vale of York in Deira and the Northwest follow old Roman and newer Northumbria exchange routes over the land rather than sea routes. The strength of these connections reverberated through coin find and other portable goods. In the East, Bernicia's position on the North Sea may have incentivised the use of the 'coastal highway' provided by the North Sea.[620] The sea routes provided quicker travel times than may have been possible over more inhospitable land routes in the region.[621] This in turn would have amplified influences and affiliations along these routes. In correlation with the other aspects discussed a preference for the maritime North Sea network may have helped to strengthen and emphasise the region's distinct blend of Northumbrian identity

The external perception of Northumbria and a Northumbrian identity came out with particular clarity through the evidence provided by the coins in this thesis.

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[619] It is interesting that even as Bernician monasteries looked towards Rome, many of the influences drawn up by Benedict Biscop and other Bernician aristocrats founding religious houses and constructing shrines for saints such as Cuthbert pointed inclined toward Francia. Deiran monasteries, Wilfrid and other York primates on the other hand sought to promote their direct links with Papal authority and the heart of Christendom in Rome.

[620] Fergusson, Christopher. 'Re-Evaluating Early Medieval Northumbrian Contacts and the "Coastal Highway"' in *Early Medieval Northumbria: Kingdoms and Communities, AD 450-1100,* eds. p. David A and T. Sam, Turnhout: Brepolis, 2012. p. 284-285

[621] Fergusson. 'Re-Evaluating Early Medieval Northumbrian Contacts'. p. 285

During the height of its power foreign merchants and powers respected and took pains to adhere to Northumbrian currency. The styca coinage that became the chief denomination by the end of the eighth century demarcated Northumbrian territory and the people within it. It also happened to be an early example of fiduciary currency in Britain. That is to say, the objects were essentially worthless when judged on terms of the actual metal content found in the coins as discussed in the Networks and Affiliations chapter. These coins gained valued through collective assent. A styca was deemed worth a certain amount simply because people considered it to be so and trusted that they could exchange them for that value. Beyond the borders of Northumbria, these coins lost all value and could not be exchanged for goods, services or other currencies. Yet there have been hoards of styca coinage found in southern Britain.[622] By the latter half of the ninth century, though, foreign silver coinage begins to appear with more frequency and at more sites in the Northwest and Deira.

After decades of political turmoil, the external perception of Northumbria began to shift. The collective trust that had granted the copper alloy styca coinage its accepted value began to ebb. Foreign merchants no longer felt the overwhelming necessity to possess Northumbrian coinage in order to conduct trade within its borders. The fiduciary curtain began to fall away, and the silver pennies found to the south began to carry more weight in the kingdom. Northumbria no longer cast the aura of power and authority that compelled foreigners to keep styca coinage in order to gain access to the goods and services available therein. This is not to say

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[622] Naylor. 'The Circulation of Early Medieval Coinage'. p. 58

that Northumbria ceased to be influential beyond its borders. Rather it was no longer seen to be the political and economic authority that it had once been. The fame of Northumbrian holy figures continued rise through the ninth century and beyond, even as large portions of the kingdom fell under the power of foreign rulers. Bede's reputation continued to rise in the continent through the ninth and tenth centuries, going so far as to be included in several later martyrologies.[623] Likewise, the early Anglo-Saxon kings of England took pains to try to us the relics of Northern saints to allay tensions after they gained power over former Northumbrian territories. Saints' relics acted as powerful ideological tools that, when properly handled could help to recontextualise events and identities in a new light.[624] Æthelstan visited the shrine of Cuthbert on his journey to Scotland in 934 and made an offering of vestments and high-quality manuscripts and had the remains of holy figures such as Ceolfrith, Aidan, Hild and Wilfrid removed from their resting places and translated to Glastonbury in the south.[625] Even after Northumbria ceased to function as an independent entity, English kings worked to curry favour with the people living in the north by performing rituals of respect at northern shrines and through the possession of northern relics. By moving these holy remains south, powers sought to bring a region that both was perceived as and considered itself distinct from the new united English kingdom into a new collective identity that would be more amenable to southern control.

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[623] Rollason, David. 'The Cult of Bede' in *The Cambridge Companion to Bede*, ed. Scott DeGregorio, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010. p. 196

[624] Wormald, Patrick. 'Corruption, Decline and the 'Real World' of the Early English Church: Aristocrats as Abbots' in *The Times of Bede 625-865: Studies in Early English Christian Society and its Historian*, ed. Stephen Baxter and Patrick Wormald, Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 2006. p. 257

[625] Foot, Sarah. 'Remembering, Forgetting and Inventing: Attitudes to the Past in England at the End of the First Viking Age' in *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, Vol. 9 1999. p. 192-193

The identities that grew in Northumbria may have been rooted in the landscape, but the people of the kingdom brought it to life. The strength and tenacity of these complementary identities grew from the kingdom's ability to bring together people and influences from the different regions that together made the kingdom, as well as those from beyond Northumbria's borders. This mixture of people and influences, and the tapestry woven together from the three distinct regions, strengthened this shared sense of Northumbrian-ness. Through this the Northumbrian identity could be clearly distinguished and appreciated by foreign kingdoms and merchants. Even after the kingdom diminished and fragmented after 867, echoes of this kingdom identity remained and fuelled a distinctive sense of identity among those living in the region that evolved and reverberated through fractious times with Normans and English kings through the Medieval, Early Modern periods and into the present time.

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Appendix A:
List of Optimal Sites

A.1: Bernicia

Administrative Sites
- *Yeavering*
- *Milfield*
- *Bamburgh*
- *Dunbar*
- *Doonhill*

Monastic Settlements
- *Wearmouth*
- *Jarrow*
- *Auldhame*
- *Hartlepool*

Wider Rural Settlement Hierarchy
- *Thirlings*
- *Sprouston*
- *Simy Folds*
- *New Berwick*

A.2: Deira

Central Estate Sites
- *Driffield*
  - *Skerne*
  - *Cottam*

Monastic Settlements
- *Beverley*
- *Whitby*

Wider Rural Settlement Hierarchy
- *Fimber*
- *Thwing*
- *North Ferriby*
- *South Newbald*

A.3: Northwest

Administrative Centres
- *Carlisle*
- *Birdoswald*

Monastic Settlements
- *Whithorn*

- *Ardwall Isle*
- *Dacre*

Wider Rural Settlement Hierarchy
- *Mote of Mark*
- *Brougham*
- *Luce Sands*

Appendix B: Coins

B1: Coins of Bernicia

Site	Artefact Type	Latitude	Longitude	Approximate Date	Coin Date	Class/Subclass	Motif	Colour/Reverse Motif	Obverse Inscription	Reverse Inscription	Wear	Ascribed Culture	Material	Denomination (Coin)	Ruler/Issuer (Coins)
Corbridge	Coin	54.970615 N	2.032773 W	700-900			Radiate Crowned Bust	Stylised Zoomorphic			Hardly worn / Extremely		Copper alloy			
Durham	Coin	54.7761 N	1.5733 W	700-750	737-758	N178	Cross in pelleted circle	Fantastic quadruped	EDTBERehtVr		Slightl	Northumbrian	Silver	Sceat	Eadberht
Hart	Coin	54.707699 N	1.2693599 W	750-800	756-764	N179	Central Cross	Fantastic Quadruped with long tail	ALCHRE[D]			Northumbrian	Base Silver	Styca	Alchred
Hartlepool	Coin	54.694676 N	1.1823376 W	700-750	735-758		Cross	Archbishop standing left	E[OT]BERBhTV	E[CG]BERHT A		Northumbrian	Silver	Sceatta	Eadberht of Northumbria and Archbishop Ecgberht of York
Hartlepool	Coin	54.694676 N	1.1823376 W	700-750	735-758	F	Cross-in-annulet	Stag right, cross under tail, trique	EOTBERHTVS			Northumbrian	Silver	Sceatta	Eadberht of Northumbria
Jarrow	Coin	54.980341 N	1.4718461 W	800-850	841-850	IIAii	Passion cross of five Pellets	Cross with pellets	+EDLREDRE	+F:O:R:DRED		Northumbrian	Copper alloy	Styca	Æthelred II
Jarrow	Coin	54.980341 N	1.4718461 W	750-800	790-796	Ia	Cross within Square	Boss within Annulet of Pellets	+AEDILRED	+CEOLBAED		Northumbrian	Silver	Styca	Æthelred I
Jarrow	Coin	54.980341 N	1.4718461 W	800-850	841-850	IIAi	Cross	Cross	+EDLREDRE	+LEOFDEGN		Northumbrian	Copper alloy	Styca	Æthelred II
Jarrow	Coin	54.980341 N	1.4718461 W	700-750			Standing frontal figure, head to right, holding two long crosses. Possible boat	Fantastic bird, right, pecking at berries				Mercian	Silver	Sceatta	
Jarrow	Coin	54.980341 N	1.4718461 W	800-850	810-841	Ia	Pellet in Annulet of Pellets	Pellet-in-Annulet	EANR+EDREX	+EADVINI		Northumbrian	Silver	Styca	Eanred
Jarrow	Coin	54.980341 N	1.4718461 W	700-750	737-758	Bi	Pellet Radiating Three Curves	Stylised stag, left	EOTBEREhTVS			Northumbrian	Silver	Sceatta	Eadberht
Jarrow	Coin	54.980341 N	1.4718461 W	700-750	737-758	Bi	Cross	Stylised stag, left	EOTBEREhTVS			Northumbrian	Silver	Sceatta	Eadberht
Jarrow	Coin	54.980341 N	1.4718461 W	800-900		Illegible	Illegible	Illegible	Illegible	Illegible					
Jarrow	Coin	54.980341 N	1.4718461 W	750-800	778-780	Bi	Cross	Pellet in Circle of Pellets	AEDILR+Ed	+EANBALD		Northumbrian	Silver	Sceatta	Æthelred I and Eanbald I, archbishop of York
Jarrow	Coin	54.980341 N	1.4718461 W	800-850	843-850	IICiii	Cross	Rosette of Pellets	+EDILREDRE	+EORDRED		Northumbrian	Copper alloy	Styca	Æthelred II
Jarrow	Coin	54.980341 N	1.4718461 W	700-750	720-740		Cross in front of Profile bust, right	Celtic Cross with Rosette of Pellets	[...]NIA			Southumbrian	Silver	Sceatta	
Jarrow	Coin	54.980341 N	1.4718461 W	800-850	830-835	Ib	Pellet-in-Annulet	Pellet-in-Annulet	EAN+BAD	+EADVLF		Northumbrian	Copper alloy	Styca	Eanbald II, Archbishop of York
Stillington and Whitton	Coin	54.600753 N	1.413314 W	800-850	840-844	N188	Cross		EDIL[,...]EX	+VNEMVN	Very w	Anglo-Saxon	Copper alloy	Styca	Æthelred II
Thirston	Coin	55.284766 N	1.702411 W	800-900			Cross with pellet in each angle		Illegible		Very w	Anglo-Saxon	Copper alloy	Styca	Anonymous
Walworth	Coin	55.55672242 N	1.64588148 W	800-850	820-867		Cross	Ring and pellet	HIBL:OOO[,]O SHVVV[,]		Slightly worn / Very fine	Northumbrian	Copper alloy	Styca	Anonymous
Wearmouth	Coin	54.913146 N	1.3750264 W	800-850	810-841	IICii	Cross	Cross	+EANREDREX	+VVULF[RE]D		Northumbrian	Copper alloy	Styca	Eanred
Wearmouth	Coin	54.913146 N	1.3750264 W	800-850	810-841	IICi	Cross	Illegibile	[+]EANRE[DRE]	Illegible		Northumbrian	Copper alloy	Styca	Eanred
Wearmouth	Coin	54.913146 N	1.3750264 W	800-850	843-855	IIDii	Cross	Rosette of Pellets	+[EDII]IOIIII	+VIDIIVID		Northumbrian	Copper alloy	Styca	
Wearmouth	Coin	54.913146 N	1.3750264 W	800-850	810-841	Ia	Round pellet in annular of pellets	Round pellet in annulet of pellets	EANREDREX	+EADVINI		Northumbrian	Silver	Styca	Eanred
Wearmouth	Coin	54.913146 N	1.3750264 W	800-850	830-835	Ib	Cross	Cross	XHERRED	XHERRED			Copper alloy	Styca	Eanred
Wearmouth	Coin	54.913146 N	1.3750264 W	800-850	843-855	IIA	Pellet	Cross	+EVDED	+EVDLIVV			Copper alloy	Styca	
Yeavering	Coin	55.569283 N	2.1201038 W	600-650	630-640		Contemporary copy					Merovingian	Copper alloy	Triens	

Appendix B2: Coins of Deira

B2.1

#	Site	Artefact Type	Latitude	Longitude	Approximate Date	Coin Date	Class/Sub class	Decorative Motif	Colour / Reverse Type	Inscription	Reverse Inscription	Ascribed Culture	Material	Denomination(Coins)	Ruler/Issuer(Coins)
18	Aislaby	Coin	54.254892 N	0.819593 W	650-700	680-690	E2	Bust right	Beaded standard				Copper alloy	Sceat copy	
19	Aldborough	Coin	54.09191819 N	1.38228997 W	800-850	810-840	N186	Pellet in ring of pellets	Pellet in ring of pellets	EANRED REX	Illegible		Copper alloy	Styca	Eanred of Northumbria
20	Aldborough	Coin	54.09191819 N	1.38228997 W	850-900	854-867		Cross	Cross	Illegible	VVLFRED		Copper alloy	Styca	Archbishop Wulfhere of York
21	Aldborough	Coin	54.489404 N	1.675793 W	800-850	840-844	N188	Cross	Cross of five pellets	+ETHILRED RI	EANRED		Copper alloy	Styca	Æthelred II of Northumbria
23	Aldwark	Coin	54.074851 N	1.301551 W	800-850	837-854	N196	Cross	Croos	VIGMVND	COENRED		Copper alloy	Styca	Archbishop Wigmund of York
24	Aldwark	Coin	54.074851 N	1.301551 W	800-850	840-849		Pellet in beaded circle	Pellet in beaded circle	+EDILREDREX	EARDVVLF		Copper alloy	Styca	Æthelred II of Northumbria
25	Allerthorpe	Coin	53.922274 N	0.813768 W	800-850	810-840		Cross	Cross	+EANRED REX	+MONNE		Copper alloy	Styce	Eanred of Northumbria
26	Allerthorpe	Coin	53.922274 N	0.813768 W	800-850	810-840		Cross	Cross	Illegible	+EADVINI		Copper alloy	Styca	Eanred of Northumbria
27	Allerthorpe	Coin	53.922274 N	0.813768 W	800-850	810-840		Cross	Cross	+EANRED REX	+HVAETRED		Silver	Styca	Eanred of Northumbria
28	Allerthorpe	Coin	53.922274 N	0.813768 W	700-750	700-760	E	Quilled crescent	Standard			Frisian	Silver	Sceat	
39	Askham Richard	Coin	53.91654399 N	1.20979159 W	800-850	848-855	N191	Star	Cross of five pellets	OSBREHT REX	EANVVLE		Copper alloy	Styca	Osberht of Northumbria
40	Askham Richard	Coin	53.907353 N	1.179521 W	700-750	710-720	G3a, N43	Diademed bust right with braided hair and round collar. Cross pommee in front	Beaded standard with cross pommee saltire in each corner				Silver	Sceat	Anonymous
42	Bagby	Coin	54.210062 N	1.2992620 W	800-850	830-867	N186	Cross	Ring-and-dot	XHAIREH	X MONNE		Copper alloy	Styca (imitation)	
46	Barmby Moor	Coin	53.938509 N	0.819401 W	700-750	737-757	G10	Cross	Beast right	EOT.BERFhTVS			Silver	Sceat	Eadberht of Northumbria
47	Barmby Moor	Coin	53.940306 N	0.81935 W	750-800	765-774	N193	Ring-and-dot	Beast right	[--]	Illegible		Silver	Styca	Alhred of Northumbria
48	Barmby Moor	Coin	53.931557 N	0.843967 W	800-850	841-844		Cross	Cross of five pellets	+AILRED REX	+EANRED		Copper alloy	Styca	Æthelred II of Northumbria
49	Barmby Moor	Coin	53.941219 N	0.820848 W	800-900	840-867		Cross	Cross						

B2.2

Site	Artefact Type	Latitude	Longitude	Approximate Date	Coin Date	Class/Sub class	Decorative Motif	Colour/ Reverse Type	Inscription	Reverse Insciption	Ascribed Culture	Material	Denomination(Coins)	Ruler/Issuer(Coins)
Barmby Moor	Coin	53.941189 N	0.817801 W	800-850	837-841	N 196	Cross	Cross	+VIGMVND If	+IDILVEARD		Copper alloy	Styca	Archbishop Wigmund of York
Barmby Moor	Coin	53.939377 N	0.816329 W	650-700	685-704	Y, N 176	Boss of pellets	Fantastic quadruped left, raised foreleg and three-pronged tail	+ALDFRIDUS			Silver	Sceat	Aldfrith of Northumbria
Barmby Moor	Coin	53.931557 N	0.843967 W	800-850	837-854		Cross	Cross	+VIGMVND	+HVNLAF		Copper alloy	Styca	Archbishop Wigmund of York
Barmby Moor	Coin	53.939377 N	0.816329 W	800-850	810-841		Cross pattee	Cross pattee	EANRED REX	FORDRED		Copper alloy	Styca	Eanred of Nothumbria
Beningborough	Coin	54.019842 N	1.200204 W	700-750	705-710		Radiate bust right on cuvered lines on either side of beaded line	Beaded standard below tufa		TOTII		Silver	Sceat	
Beningbrough	Coin	54.01078392 N	1.18969617 W	700-750	720-750	E	Quilled porcupine	Right angles, saltires and trefoil with annulet inside standard			Frisian	Silver	Sceat	
Beningbrough	Coin	54.01749682 N	1.20027971 W	800-850	828-839	N 589	SAXON monograph	Cross pattee	ECGBEO[RHT	BEO]RNE]HEARD	West Saxon	Silver	Penny	Ecgberht of Wessex
Birkin	Coin	53.73329 N	1.19883 W	800-850	840-855	N 188	Pellet		EDILRED	EA[RD]VVLF		Copper alloy	Styca	Æthelred II of Northumbria
Bishop Burton	Coin	53.845042 N	0.498802 W	700-750	675-750	E	Quilled crescent right, pellets in field	Beaded standard				Silver	Sceat	
Bishop Burton	Coin	53.845042 N	0.498802 W	700-750	737-758	Y, N 177	Cross	Stylised stag	EADBERHTVS			Silver	Sceat	Eadberht of Northumbria
Bolton	Coin	53.96271 N	0.81262 W	800-850	796-840		Pellet in border of pellets	Pellet in border of pellets	+EANBALD A	+EADVVLF		Base Silver	Styca	Archbishop Eanbald II of York
Bolton	Coin	53.958217 N	0.812748 W	800-850	844-849		Pellet in border of pellets	Pellet in border or pellets	+AEILR[E]D R	+EANR[E]D R		Copper alloy	Styca	Æthelred II of Northumbria
Bolton	Coin	53.96271 N	0.81262 W	800-850	844-849		Cross	Cross	+EDRERILC	+EADVINI		Copper alloy	Styca	Æthelred II of Northumbria
Borrowby	Coin	54.302023 N	1.343806 W	800-850	844-848	N 190	Pellet in ring of pellets	three crosses arranged triangularly	EDILRED REX	EANRED		Copper alloy	Styca	Æthelred II of Northumbria

B2.3

#	Site	Artefact Type	Latitude	Longitude	Approximate Date	Coin Date	Class/Sub class	Decorative Motif	Colour/ Reverse Type	Inscription	Reverse Inscription	Ascribed Culture	Material	Denomination(Coins)	Ruler/Issuer(Coins)
92	Brantingham	Coin	53.740098 N	0.591472 W	800-850	810-841	N 186	Central pellet	Central pellet	EANRED RED	EADWINE		Base Silver	Styca	Eanred of Northumbria
93	Brantingham	Coin	53.749084 N	0.591172 W	800-850	837-854		Central cross with pellet in each corner	Central cross	+VIGMVND IF	+COENRED		Copper alloy	Styca	Archbishop Wigmund of York
101	Brompton	Coin	54.225927 N	0.55351 W	800-850	810-841	N 186	Cross	Cross	EANRED REX	+MONNE		Copper alloy	Styca	Eanred of Northumbria
102	Brough with St.	Coin	54.38876 N	1.67967 W	900-950	910-920	N 554		Cross pattee	SCIITRIM	EDORA(CECI)		Silver	Half-penny	
103	Brough with St.	Coin	54.39326145 N	1.68271129 W	700-750	675-750	X31, N 116 crosses	Radiate Wodan flanked by crosses	Fantastic beast right. Gaping jaws biting forked tail. Prominent member and claws,				Silver	Sceat	
107	Burythorpe	Coin	54.094784 N	0.807323 W	800-850	810-841	N 186	Pellet	Pellet	EANRED REX	EADVINI		Copper alloy	Styca	Eanred of Northumbria
108	Buttercrambe	Coin	54.026135 N	0.903935 W	700-750	700-715	D2c, N 163	Radiate bust right, V behind	Cross pommee, pellets in angles				Silver	Sceat	
109	Buttercrambe	Coin	54.02099138 N	0.89185902 W	700-750	695-740	D2c, N 163	Radiate bust right	Cross with pellets in angles. Rosette below			Frisian	Silver	Sceat	
110	Buttercrambe	Coin	54.020991 N	0.891859 W	700-750	695-740	D2c, N 163	Radiate bust right	Cross pattee, pellets in angles, rosette below				Silver	Sceat	
111	Buttercrambe	Coin	54.02707086 N	0.89810913 W	700-750	675-750		Radiate bust right	Cross pattee, pellets in each angle		+AVAQ[-]A		Silver	Sceat	
112	Buttercrambe	Coin	54.027097 N	0.901009 W	700-750	695-740	D2c, N 163	Radiate bust right	Cross, pellets in angles				Silver	Sceat	
113	Buttercrambe	Coin (hoard)	54.026317 N	0.904083 W	700-750	700-710	G3, N45	Quilled crescent right, Pellet anf zigzag motif below	Pellet-in-annulet with four lines in standard			Frisian	Silver	Sceat	
114	Buttercrambe	Coin (hoard)	54.026317 N	0.904083 W	700-750	700-720	D2c, N 169	Radiate bust right	Cross with pellet in each corner in standard			Frisian	Silver	Sceat	

B2.4

Site	Artefact Type	Latitude	Longitude	Approximate Date	Coin Date	Class/Sub class	Decorative Motif	Colour/ Reverse Type	Inscription	Reverse inscription	Ascribed Culture	Material	Denomination(Coins)	n(Coins)	Ruler/Issuer(Coins)
115 Buttercrambe	Coin (hoard)	54.026317 N	0.904083 W	700-750	700-720	D2c, N 169	Radiate bust right	Cross with pellet in each corner in standard			Frisian	Silver	Sceat		
116 Buttercrambe	Coin (hoard)	54.026317 N	0.904083 W	700-750	700-720	D2c, N 169	Radiate bust right	Cross with pellet in each corner in standard			Frisian	Silver	Sceat		
117 Buttercrambe	Coin (hoard)	54.026317 N	0.904083 W	700-750	700-720	D2c, N 169	Radiate bust right	Cross with pellet in each corner in standard			Frisian	Silver	Sceat		
118 Buttercrambe	Coin (hoard)	54.026317 N	0.904083 W	700-750	675-750	E	Plumed bird, triple-pronged tail, cross pommee under head	Pellet-in-annulet in beaded standard				Silver	Sceat		
119 Buttercrambe	Coin (hoard)	54.026317 N	0.904083 W	700-750	700-720	D2c, N 169	Radiate bust right	Cross with pellet in each corner in standard			Frisian	Silver	Sceat		
120 Buttercrambe	Coin (hoard)	54.026317 N	0.904083 W	700-750	700-720	D2c, N 169	Radiate bust right	Cross with pellet in each corner in standard			Frisian	Silver	Sceat		
121 Buttercrambe	Coin (hoard)	54.026317 N	0.904083 W	700-750	700-720	D2c, N 169	Radiate bust right	Cross with pellet in each corner in standard			Frisian	Silver	Sceat		
122 Buttercrambe	Coin (hoard)	54.026317 N	0.904083 W	700-750	700-720	D2c, N 169	Radiate bust right	Cross with pellet in each corner in standard			Frisian	Silver	Sceat		
123 Buttercrambe	Coin (hoard)	54.026317 N	0.904083 W	700-750	700-720	D2c, N 169	Radiate bust right	Cross with pellet in each corner in standard			Frisian	Silver	Sceat		
124 Buttercrambe	Coin (hoard)	54.026317 N	0.904083 W	700-750	700-720	D2c, N 169	Radiate bust right	Cross with pellet in each corner in standard			Frisian	Silver	Sceat		
125 Buttercrambe	Coin (hoard)	54.026317 N	0.904083 W	700-750	700-720	D2c, N 169	Radiate bust right	Cross with pellet in each corner in standard			Frisian	Silver	Sceat		

B2.5

	Site	Artefact Type	Latitude	Longitude	Approximate Date	Coin Date	Class/Sub class	Decorative Motif	Colour/Reverse Type	Inscription	Reverse Inscription	Ascribed Culture	Material	Denomination (Coins)	Ruler/Issuer (Coins)
126	Buttercrambe	Coin (hoard)	54.026317 N	0.904083 W	700-750	700-720	D2c, N 169	Radiate bust right	Cross with pellet in each corner in standard			Frisian	Silver	Sceat	
127	Buttercrambe	Coin (hoard)	54.026317 N	0.904083 W	700-750	700-720	D2c, N 169	Radiate bust right	Cross with pellet in each corner in standard			Frisian	Silver	Sceat	
128	Buttercrambe	Coin (hoard)	54.026317 N	0.904083 W	700-750	700-715	D8Z, N 50	Pellet-in-annulet with four straight line angles in beaded standard	Cross pommee with pellets in angles, chevrons in margin				Silver	Sceat	
129	Buttercrambe	Coin (hoard)	54.026317 N	0.904083 W	650-700	695-700	B1a17b, N 1	Pearl diademed head right, beaded border	Bird of cross, annulets at either end of the bar. Beaded border				Silver	Sceat	
133	Carthorpe	Coin	54.239952 N	1.522779 W	700-750	690-760	E	Quilled crescent	Annulet in ring of pellets in standard			Frisian	Silver	Sceat	
134	Carthorpe	Coin	54.241743 N	1.521224 W	700-750		E	Quilled porcupine right	Pellet in annulet within beaded standard. Lines and angles surrounding		TOTII	Frisian	Silver	Sceat	
135	Carthorpe	Coin	54.239053 N	1.522789 W	800-850	810-835	N 186	Cross	Cross	+EANRED RE> +HER[RED]			Base Silver	Styca	Eanred of Northumbria
158	Catterick	Coin	54.336476 N	1.624706 W	850-900	848-867	N 191	Pellet in ring of pellets	Cross	OSBERTHREX +MONNE			Copper alloy	Styca	Osberht of Northumbria
159	Catterick	Coin	54.34431 N	1.629557 W	850-900	848-855	N 191	Pellet in ring of pellets	Cross with pellets in angles	OSBREHT RE> +EANVVLF			Copper alloy	Styca	Osberht of Northumbria
160	Catterick	Coin	54.331098 N	1.629368 W	800-850	840-848	N 190	Pellet	Pellet	AEDILRED R EANRED			Copper alloy	Styca	Æthelred II of Northumbria
161	Catterick	Coin	54.336476 N	1.624706 W	800-850	840-844	N 188	Ringed cross	ringed pellet	[+]EDILRED R +EA[RD]VVLF			Copper alloy	Styca	Æthelred II of Northumbria
162	Catterick	Coin	54.331098 N	1.629368 W	800-850	830-835	N 186	Cross	Cross	EANRED REX FORDRED			Copper alloy	Styca	Eanred of Northumbria
163	Catterick	Coin	54.34431 N	1.629557 W	800-850	837-854	N 196	Cross	Cross	+VIGMVND A [+]COENRED			Copper alloy	Styca	Archbishop Wigmund of York
176	Church Fenton	Coin	53.823129 N	1.219145 W	800-850	790-867		Cross	Cross	+M•NNE			Copper alloy	Styca	

B2.6

	Site	Artefact Type	Latitude	Longitude	Approximate Date	Coin Date	Class/Sub class	Decorative Motif	Colour/Reverse Type	Inscription	Reverse Inscription	Ascribed Culture	Material	Denomination(Coins)	Ruler/Issuer(Coins)
187	Cottam	Coin	54.08079308 N	0.5188166 W	800-850	837-854	N196	Cross	Cross	VIGMUN[D]	[C]OENRE[D]		Copper alloy	Styca	Archbishop Wigmund
188	Cottam	Coin	54.072843 N	0.50431840 W	800-850	841-844	N187	Cross	Cross	+[AEDIL]RED	+A[LGHE]RE		Copper alloy	Styca	Æthelred II of Northumbria
189	Cottam	Coin	54.07162 N	0.50386 W	800-850	841-849	Uncertain	Cross with pellet in each quadrant	Cross	EDELREDREX MONNE+			Copper alloy	Styca	Æthelred II of Northumbria
190	Cottam	Coin	54.07162 N	0.50386 W	800-850	840-844	N188	Cross and pellets	Cross and pellets	EDILRED [RE]X +EANRED			Copper alloy	Styca	Æthelred II of Northumbria
191	Cottam	Coin	54.08079308 N	0.5188166 W	800-850	810-841	N186	Large pellet, pellet circle		EANREDR[EX] EADV+INE			Silver	Styca	Eanred of Northumbria
192	Cottam	Coin	54.072843 N	0.50431840 W	800-850	841-844	N188	Cross	Cross	+EDILRED RE +VIHTRED			Copper alloy	Styca	Æthelred II of Northumbria
193	Cottam	Coin	54.08079308 N	0.5188166 W	800-850	810-841	N186	Double cross	Crossed crosslet with single pellet right	EA[N]RED	[+VVL.]FRED		Copper alloy	Styca	Eanred of Northumbria
194	Cottam	Coin	54.08079308 N	0.5188166 W	850-900	849-867	N191.9	Cross	Cross	IVNHOV	+IOV+VIVV		Copper alloy	Styca	Anonymous
195	Cottam	Coin	54.08079308 N	0.5188166 W	800-850	837-855		Pellet in circle	Cross	EDILR[EDE][EX]	[+EAN]RED		Copper alloy	Styca	Æthelred II of Northumbria
196	Cottam	Coin	54.08079308 N	0.5188166 W	800-850	837-855	N187/N11	Cross in circle	Pellet in circle	ED[IL]REDRE] +EARDVVLF			Copper alloy	Styca	Æthelred II of Northumbria
197	Cottam	Coin	54.08079308 N	0.5188166 W	900-950	928-932	Islamic coin			CALIPH [AL-MUQTA]D[IR]/ EMIR [NAS]F		Samarid Dyn.	Silver	Dirham	al-Muqtadir
198	Cottam	Coin	54.072843 N	0.50431840 W	800-850	790-835	N186	Cross	Cross	[+]EANRE[....]	[HVVA]ETRED		Silver	Styca	Eanred of Northumbria
199	Cottam	Coin	54.08079308 N	0.5188166 W	800-850	841-844	N187/N11	Pellet cross	Pellet cross	EDILRE[DRE] [FOR]DRED]			Copper alloy	Sceat	Æthelred II of Northumbria
200	Cottam	Coin	54.072843 N	0.50431840 W	800-850	837-850	N196	Cross	Cross	+VIGVMND +COENRED			Copper alloy	Styca	Archbishop Wigmund of York
201	Cottam	Coin	54.08079308 N	0.5188166 W	800-850	810-841	N186	Pellet with circular border	Pellet with circular border	EANREDREX +VILHEAH			Silver	Styca	Eanred of Northumbria
202	Cottam	Coin	54.072843 N	0.50431840 W	700-900								Copper alloy	Styca	
203	Cottam	Coin	54.072843 N	0.50431840 W	850-900	858-862		Bust right	Beaded cross	+AE[THELBEA [+VV]LFEA/RD [MON]ET[A]			Silver	Penny	Æthelbert of Wessex
204	Cottam	Coin	54.08079308 N	0.5188166 W	700-750	737-758	N177	Cross	Beast right with motifs above and below	E[A]DBEREhTVS			Silver	Sceat	Eadberht of Northumbria
205	Cottam	Coin	54.068637 N	0.481044 W	700-750	715-750	E4, Porcup: Spiked crescent		Standard	Illegible	Illegible		Silver	Sceat	

B2.7

	Site	Artefact Type	Latitude	Longitude	Approximate Date	Coin Date	Class/Sub class	Decorative Motif	Colour/Reverse Type	Inscription	Reverse Inscription	Ascribed Culture	Material	Denomination (Coins)	Ruler/Issuer (Coins)
206	Cottam	Coin	54.07162 N	0.50386 W	800-850	841-849		Cross pattee	Rosette	[E]DIL[RED]	VV[LFRED]		Copper alloy	Styca	Æthelred II of Northumbria
350	Dalton	Coin	53.8905075 N	0.530871 W	680-710			Radiate bust right	Large O off-centre with angular linear features				Copper alloy and	Sceat	Anonymous
351	Dalton	Coin	53.8905075 N	0.530871 W	779-808			Cross	Cross	[L]FVALDVS[]	Illegible		Silver	Sceat	Ælfwald of Northumbria
383	Driffield	Coin	54.08695 N	0.507895 W	800-850	830-841	N 186	Ringed pellet	Cross	+E [ ]X	+MONNE	Anglo-Saxon	Copper alloy	Styca	Eanred of Northumbria
384	Driffield	Coin	54.077237 N	0.534413 W	800-850	844-849	N 190	Cross and four pellets in ring of pellets	Pellet surrounded by four pellets	+EDELRED REX	+MONNE	Anglo-Saxon	Copper alloy	Styca	Æthelred II of Northumbria
385	Driffield	Coin	54.077832 N	0.497523 W	800-850	810-841	N 186	Cross	Cross	+EANRED REX	+MONNE	Anglo-Saxon	Copper alloy	Styca	Eanred of Northumbria
386	Driffield	Coin	54.08695 N	0.507895 W	800-850	843-850		Pellet in ring	Pellet in ring	EDILRED REX	FORDRED		Copper alloy	Styca	Æthelred II of Northumbria
387	Driffield	Coin	54.08695 N	0.507895 W	800-850	841-844	N 188	Ringed star	Cross	+EDELRED REX	+LEOFDEGN	Anglo-Saxon	Copper alloy	Styca	Æthelred II of Northumbria
388	Driffield	Coin	54.077237 N	0.534413 W	800-850	841-844	N 187	Cross in ring of pellets	Cross in ring of pellets	+AEDILRED	+ALDHERE	Anglo-Saxon	Copper alloy	Styca	Æthelred II of Northumbria
389	Driffield	Coin	54.071996 N	0.534413 W	700-750	710-725	J 85, N128	Diademed bust, right in ring of pellets. Cross in front of mouth	Bird sitting on cross, flanked by annulets, within ring of pellets				Silver	Sceat	
390	Driffield	Coin	54.071996 N	0.534413 W	700-750	710-760	QIIIb	Bird on nest, left with plant	Crested quadruped standing left with leg raised. Tail divided in three strands. Jaws agape.				Silver	Sceat	
391	Driffield	Coin	54.077237 N	0.534413 W	800-850	841-844	N 187	Cross in ring of pellets	Pellet surrounded by four pellets	+EDILRED RE	+MONNE	Anglo-Saxon	Copper alloy	Styca	Æthelred II of Northumbria
392	Driffield	Coin	54.08695 N	0.507895 W	800-850	810-841	N 186	Cross	Cross	+EANRED R[EX]	+MONNE	Anglo-Saxon	Copper alloy	Styca	Eanred of Northumbria
393	Driffield	Coin	54.077237 N	0.534413 W	800-850	844-849	N 190	Pellet within four pellets in ring of pellets	Pellet in ring of pellets	+EDILOEDR	EVRDMLF	Anglo-Saxon	Copper alloy	Styca	Æthelred II of Northumbria

B2.8

#	Site	Artefact Type	Latitude	Longitude	Approximate Date	Coin Date	Class/Sub class	Decorative Motif	Colour/Reverse Type	Inscription	Reverse Inscription	Ascribed Culture	Material	Denomination(Coins)	Ruler/Issuer(Coins)
394	Driffield	Coin	54.077237 N	0.534413 W	800-850	841-844	N187	Cross	Ringed pellet surrounded by four pellets	+EDILRED REX	+EANRED	Anglo-Saxon	Copper alloy	Styca	Æthelred II of Northumbria
395	Driffield	Coin	54.077237 N	0.534413 W	800-850	844		Cross	Pellet surrounded by four pellets in ring of pellets	+REDVULF REX	+FORDRED	Anglo-Saxon	Copper alloy	Styca	Redwulf of Northumbria
396	Driffield	Coin	54.08696901 N	0.50942346 W	800-850	840-848	N188	Cross	Cross of pellets	+AEDILRED	+ALDHERE		Copper alloy	Styca	Æthelred II of Northumbria
397	Driffield	Coin	54.077832 N	0.497523 W	800-850	810-841	N186	Ringed pellet	ringed pellet	+EANRED REX	+WILHEAH	Anglo-Saxon	Copper alloy	Styca	Eanred of Northumbria
398	Driffield	Coin	54.077832 N	0.497523 W	800-850	820-841	N186	Cross	ringed pellet	+EANRED REX	+MONNE	Anglo-Saxon	Copper alloy	Styca	Eanred of Northumbria
399	Driffield	Coin	54.077832 N	0.497523 W	800-850	810-841	N186	Cross	Cross	+EANREDR	+GADVTEL[S]	Anglo-Saxon	Copper alloy	Styca	Eanred of Northumbria
400	Driffield	Coin	54.077237 N	0.534413 W	700-750		E	Quilled crescent	Annulet in box, symbols in corners			Frisian	Silver		
401	Driffield	Coin	54.077237 N	0.534413 W	800-850	810-841	N186	Cross	Cross in ring of pellets	+EANRED	+HERRED	Anglo-Saxon	Copper alloy	Styca	Eanred of Northumbria
402	Driffield	Coin	54.073359 N	0.499212 W	800-850	837-850	N196	Cross		[VIG]MV[N]D []PP			Copper alloy	Styca	Archbishop Wigmund of York
403	Driffield	Coin	54.077237 N	0.534413 W	800-850	844-849	N190	Pellet in ring of pellets	Ring of pellets	+EDILRED X	+MONNE	Anglo-Saxon	Copper alloy	Styca	Æthelred II of Northumbria
404	Driffield	Coin	54.08695 N	0.507895 W	800-850	841-844	N187	Cross in ring of pellets	Cross in ring of pellets	+ADILRED RX	+CVNHEARD	Anglo-Saxon	Base Silver	Styca	Æthelred II of Northumbria
405	Driffield	Coin	54.077237 N	0.534413 W	800-850	810-841		Cross	Cross	+EARED REX	VIH[EA]RD	Anglo-Saxon	Copper alloy	Styca	Eanred of Northumbria
406	Driffield	Coin	54.08695 N	0.507895 W	800-850	841-844	N187	Cross in ring of pellets	Cross in ring of pellets	+EDILRED REX	+CVNIMVND	Anglo-Saxon	Copper alloy	Styca	Æthelred II of Northumbria
407	Driffield	Coin	54.08695 N	0.507895 W	800-850	841-844	N188	Ringed star	Pellet in ring of pellets	+EDIL[RED R]REX	+MONNE	Anglo-Saxon	Copper alloy	Styca	Æthelred II of Northumbria
408	Driffield	Coin	54.08695 N	0.507895 W	800-850	841-844	N187	Cross in ring of pellets	Cross in ring of pellets	+EDILRED REX	EADRED	Anglo-Saxon	Copper alloy	Styca	Æthelred II of Northumbria
409	Driffield	Coin	54.077237 N	0.534413 W	800-850	810-841	N186	Cross in ring of pellets	Cross	+EANRED RED	+MONNE		Copper alloy	Styca	Eanred of Northumbria

B2.9

#	Site	Artefact Type	Latitude	Longitude	Approximate Date	Coin Date	Class/Sub class	Decorative Motif	Colour/Reverse Type	Inscription	Reverse Inscription	Ascribed Culture	Material	Denomination(Coins)	Ruler/Issuer(Coins)
410	Driffield	Coin	54.08695 N	0.507895 W	800-850	841-844	N 187	Cross	Cross	[E]DILR[ED REX]	Illegible	Anglo-Saxon	Copper alloy	Styca	Æthelred II of Northumbria
411	Driffield	Coin	54.077832 N	0.497523 W	800-850	810-841	N 186	Pellet in ring of pellets	Ringed cross	EANRD REX	BRODR	Anglo-Saxon	Copper alloy	Styca	Eanred of Northumbria
412	Driffield	Coin	54.077832 N	0.497523 W	750-800	789-796	Y, N 185	Cross	Pellet in beaded ring	+AEDRED	+CEOBALD	Anglo-Saxon	Silver	Sceat	Æthelred I of Northumbria
413	Driffield	Coin	54.08695 N	0.507895 W	800-850	841-844	N 187	Cross	Ring of pellets	+EDERE[DRE X]	+EAN[RED]	Anglo-Saxon	Copper alloy	Styca	Æthelred II of Northumbria
414	Driffield	Coin	54.08695 N	0.507895 W	800-850	810-830	N 186	Pellet in ring of pellets	Ringed cross	+EANRED RE	+TIDWINE	Anglo-Saxon	Copper alloy	Styca	Eanred of Northumbria
415	Driffield	Coin	54.077237 N	0.534413 W	800-850	841-844	N 187	Cross in ring of pellets	Cross in ring of pellets	+EDREFILR	+LEOFDEGN	Anglo-Saxon	Copper alloy	Styca	Æthelred II of Northumbria
416	Driffield	Coin	54.08696901 N	0.50942346 W	700-750	737-758	N 177	Annulet of pellets	Fantastic beast, right. Looped tail enclosing cross pattee with triquetra below	EOTBERHTVS			Silver	Sceat	Eadberht of Northumbria
417	Driffield	Coin	54.08695 N	0.507895 W	800-850	844	N 189	Cross in ring of pellets	Cross in ring of pellets	+REDVLF REX	+ALGHERE	Anglo-Saxon	Copper alloy	Styca	Redwulf of Northumbria
418	Driffield	Coin	54.077832 N	0.497523 W	800-850	837-854	N 196	Cross	Pellet	+WIGMVNDI PER	+EDILWE[RD]	Anglo-Saxon	Copper alloy	Styca	Wigmund, Archbishop of York
419	Driffield	Coin	54.077237 N	0.534413 W	700-750	710-720	G, N 43	Diademed bust, right. Cross in front of face			Standard	Anglo-Saxon	Silver	Sceat	
420	Driffield	Coin	54.077237 N	0.534413 W	700-750	710-725	J 36, N 134		Two birds within two rings of pellets			Anglo-Saxon	Silver	Sceat	
421	Driffield	Coin	54.080793 N	0.518817 W	800-850	843-850		Pellet in ring of pellets	Cross in ring	ADILRED REX	EARDVV[F]		Copper alloy	Styca	Æthelred II of Northumbria
422	Driffield	Coin	54.077237 N	0.534413 W	800-850	834-854	N 196	Cross in ring of pellets	Cross in ring of pellets	+WIGMVND IREP	+COENRED	Anglo-Saxon	Copper alloy	Styca	Archbishop Wigmund of York
536	Dunnington	Coin	53.96542 N	0.97870 W	840-848			Cross	Ring-and-dot	EDILRED REX	+EARDVVLF		Copper alloy	Styca	Æthelred II of Northumbria
537	Dunnington	Coin	53.96542 N	0.97870 W	849-867		N 191	Pellet	Cross	BOSBERH	+EVOL		Copper alloy	Styca	Osberht of Northumbria
538	Dunnington	Coin	53.96542 N	0.97870 W	837-854		N 196	Cross	Cross	VIGMVND IRI	+EDILVEA[R]D		Copper alloy	Styca	Archbishop Wigmund of York

B2.10

	Site	Artefact Type	Latitude	Longitude	Approximate Date	Coin Date	Class/Sub class	Decorative Motif	Colour/ Reverse Type	Inscription	Reverse Inscription	Ascribed Culture	Material	Denomination (Coins)	Ruler/Issuer (Coins)
543	Easingwold	Coin	54.10148368 N	1.20232024 W	800-850	840-844	N 188	Cross, pellets in corners	Cross, pellets in corners	+EDILRE[---]	+MONNE		Copper alloy	Styca	Æthelred II of Northumbria
544	Easingwold	Coin	54.10148368 N	1.20232024 W	700-750	720-750	E53, N150	Quilled porcipine	Pelleted annulet in standard				Silver	Sceat	
553	Elloughton	Coin	53.739959 N	0.572069 W	800-850	843-855		Cross	Cross	PRDEPN?E			Copper alloy	Styca	
604	Everingham	Coin	53.872471 N	0.777153 W	800-850	844-849	N 188	Ringed cross	ringed pellet	EDILREDREX	EARDVVLF		Copper alloy	Styca	Æthelred II of Northumbria
605	Everingham	Coin	53.872471 N	0.777153 W	800-850	841-844	N 187	Cross, pellets in corners	Cross, pellets in corners	EDILRE[...]	LEOFDEGN		Base Silver	Styca	Æthelred II of Northumbria
606	Everingham	Coin	53.872471 N	0.777153 W	800-850	841-844	N 187	Pellets	Cross	VIIRV			Base Silver	Styca	Æthelred II of Northumbria
607	Everingham	Coin	53.872471 N	0.777153 W	700-750	738-757	Y, N178	Cross	Beast left	EOBEREhTVF			Silver	Sceat	Eadberht
619	Fangfoss	Coin	53.967646 N	0.858213 W	700-750	737-758	Y	Around tribrach/ Formalised, heraldic quadruped with horns and manes, standing left, foreleg and backleg raised, tail lopped, pointing down, enclosing cross pattee, triqleetra below line border	Beaded standard enclosing three saltaires pommees and one trefoil in angles, around central pellet in annulet, pellets within and ou	EOTBERERHTV		Anglo-Saxon	Silver	Sceat	Anonymous
620	Fangfoss	Coin	53.958515 N	0.843221 W	700-750	710-720	N 43	Diademed bust right, braided hair, showing circular collar of tunic, long cross pommee before					Silver	Sceat	Anonymous
621	Fangfoss	Coin	53.96764618 N	0.85821261 W	800-850	810-840	N 186	Cross	Cross	EANRED REX	MONNE		Copper alloy	Styca	Eanred of Northumbria
622	Fangfoss	Coin	53.95851455 N	0.84322112 W	800-900	810-900	Unidentifia	Illegible	Cross	Illegible	+(BRX)[>](R)[...]		Copper alloy	Styca	Anonymous

B2.11

Site	Artefact Type	Latitude	Longitude	Approximate Date	Coin Date	Class/Sub class	Decorative Motif	Colour/Reverse Ty	Inscription	Reverse Inscription	Ascribed Culture	Material	Denomination(Coins)	Ruler/Issuer(Coins)
623 Fangfoss	Coin	53.958515 N	0.843221 W	800-850	840-844	N 188	Inscription around simple cross with a pellet in the third quadrant / inscription around simple cross		EDILRED REX	EANRED		Copper alloy	Styca	Æthelred II of Northumbria
624 Fangfoss	Coin	53.95866026 N	0.85845812 W	850-950		Islamic coii Illegible			Illegible			Silver	Dirham	Uncertain
628 Farlington	Coin	54.10146372 N	1.05311908 W	700-750	695-710	E4, N45	Quilled porcupine left	Ring-and-dot in beaded standard				Silver	Sceat	
638 Folkton	Coin	54.18339624 N	0.38259597 W	850-900	848-858	N 196	Cross	Cross	VIGMVND AR IDILVLARD			Copper alloy	Styca	Archbishop Wigmund of York
640 Fridaythorpe	Coin	54.019681 N	0.673627 W	800-850	830-867		Cross	Cross				Copper alloy	Styca	
641 Fulford	Coin	53.9289617 N	1.06182807 W	600-650	620-650	V, York Gro	Facing figure holding two crosses	Cross in beaded border		[ ]NOAT:[]		Gold	Thrysma	
642 Fulford	Coin	53.938000 N	1.073000 W	600-650	620-650	sutherland	Standing figures holding two crosses	Cross within beaded border	NOAP		Anglo-Saxon	Gold	Thrymsa	Anonymous
662 Hackforth	Coin	54.331098 N	1.629368 W	800-850	830-835	N 186	Cross	Cross	EANRED REX	FORDRED		Copper alloy	Styca	Eanred of Northumbria
663 Hackforth	Coin	54.331098 N	1.629368 W	800-850	840-848	N 190	Pellet	Pellet	AEDILRED R	EANRED		Copper alloy	Styca	Æthelred II of Northumbria
681 Heslington	Coin	53.994484 N	1.04336 W	650-700	680-710	'bird type'						Silver	Uncertain	
682 Heslington	Coin	53.994484 N	1.04336 W	800-850	820-870		Central cross/Central cross	Central cross/Central cross	[.VIG]MVND IREP/ +COENR[ED]			Copper alloy	Uncertain	Archbishop Wigmund of York
685 Holme upon Sp	Coin	53.856125 N	0.760905 W	700-750	737-758	Y, N 177	Cross	Beast right	EADBERHT VF		Anglo-Saxon	Silver	Sceat	Eadberht of Northumbria
686 Holme upon Sp	Coin	53.856125 N	0.760905 W	650-850	640-867		Cross, pellet in each angle	Cross	+[ERDRE---EX [---]M[-]EX[---]			Copper alloy	Styca	
687 Holme upon Sp	Coin	53.856125 N	0.760905 W	750-800	774-779		Cross	Cross	+EDELRED RE +[--]ODER		Anglo-Saxon	Copper alloy	Styca	Æthelred I of Northumbria
692 Humanby	Coin	54.15986694 N	0.37211869 W	850-900	852-874	N 423	Diademed bust right	Three lines	BVGRED RE[X MON//BERHIA/[ETA]		Mercian	Silver	Penny	Burgred of Mercia
693 Humanby	Coin	54.16011538 N	0.3718792 W	800-850	840-844	N 188	Pellet	Cross	EDILRED REX	MONNE		Copper alloy	Styca	Æthelred II of Northumbria
700 Hutton Rudby	Coin	54.43904433 N	1.30074501 W	850-900	849-867							Copper alloy	Styca	Osberht of Northumbria
701 Kellington	Coin	53.71945164 N	1.17257405 W	800-900								Copper alloy	Styca	

B2.12

#	Site	Artefact Type	Latitude	Longitude	Approximate Date	Coin Date	Class/Sub class	Decorative Motif	Colour/Reverse Type	Inscription	Reverse Inscription	Ascribed Culture	Material	Denomination (Coins)	Ruler/Issuer (Coins)
707	Kilham	Coin	54.068445 N	0.397277 W	800-850	810-841	N 186	Cross	Cross	EANRED	+MONNE		Copper alloy	Styca	Eanred of Northumbria
708	Kilham	Coin	54.06146063 N	0.416063 W	850-900	841-867		Pellet	Pellet	+EDILRED RE) +EARDVLF			Copper alloy	Styca	Æthelred II of Northumbria
709	Kilham	Coin	54.068445 N	0.397277 W	800-850	844-849	N 190	Ringed star	motif	EDELRED REX [ ]OFDE[ ]			Copper alloy	Styca	Æthelred II of Northumbria
710	Kilham	Coin	54.068445 N	0.397277 W	700-750	695-740	E	Highly stylised bust, right 'porcupine'	Altar bearing inscription		ToT|X^	Frisian	Silver	Sceat	Anonymous
711	Kilham	Coin	54.06146063 N	0.416063 W	800-850	810-841		Ringed pellet	Cross	+EANRED RE) +MONNE			Copper alloy	Styca	Eanred of Northumbria
712	Kilham	Coin	54.06146063 N	0.401652 W	800-850	841-844	N 190	Ringed cross	Five pellets	+EDILRED [RE [+EAR]DVV[LF]			Copper alloy	Styca	Æthelred II of Northumbria
713	Kilham	Coin	54.06146063 N	0.401652 W	800-850	844-849	N 190	Ringed cross	Ringed cross	EDILRED REX +EARDVVLF			Copper alloy	Styca	Æthelred II of Northumbria
714	Kilham	Coin	54.06146063 N	0.416063 W	800-850	844-849	N 190	Ringed star	motif	+EDELRED RE [ ]OFDE[ ]			Copper alloy	Styca	Æthelred II of Northumbria
715	Kilham	Coin	54.06146063 N	0.401652 W	800-850	844-849	N 190	Cross	Cross	EDILRE[ED RE E[....]			Copper alloy	Styca	Æthelred II of Northumbria
716	Kilham	Coin	54.06146063 N	0.416063 W	800-850	841-849	N 187	Cross	ringed pellet	EDILRED REX EANRED			Copper alloy	Styca	Æthelred II of Northumbria
717	Kilham	Coin	54.068445 N	0.397277 W	700-750	710-725	G3a, N 43	Diademed bust, right, cross in front of face	Square containing three crosses, ring-and-dot				Silver	Sceat	
718	Kilham	Coin	54.068445 N	0.397277 W	700-750	710-760	O40	Standing figure, cross on each side	Fantastic beast head turned, pellets in field				Silver	Sceat	
719	Kilham	Coin	54.06671 N	0.401652 W	700-750	734-758	Y, N 178	Cross	Fantastic animal left, right leg raised, cross in loop of tail, triquetta below	EOTBREHTVF			Silver	Sceat	Eadberht of Northumbria
720	Kilham	Coin	54.06146063 N	0.416063 W	700-750	737-758	Bi		Fantastic quadruped	EOTBERhTVF			Silver	Sceat	Eadberht of Northumbria
721	Kilham	Coin	54.06146063 N	0.401652 W	800-850	844-849	N 190	Ringed cross	Five pellets	EDILRED [RE) [+EAR]DV[LF]			Copper alloy	Styca	Æthelred II of Northumbria

B2.13

#	Site	Artefact Type	Latitude	Longitude	Approximate Date	Coin Date	Class/Sub class	Decorative Motif	Colour/Reverse Type	Inscription	Reverse Inscription	Ascribed Culture	Material	Denomination (Coins)	Ruler/Issuer (Coins)
722	Kilham	Coin	54.068445 N	0.397277 W	800-850	841-844	N 187	Cross	ringed pellet	EDREL	EANRED		Copper alloy	Styca	Æthelred II of Northumbria
736	Kingston upon	Coin	53.77396153 N	0.42341746 W	700-750	732-766		Standing figure holding cross and crozier			ECBERHT		Silver	Sceat	Eadberht of Northumbria
737	Kirby Grindalyt	Coin	54.12134013 N	0.60847452 W	700-750	737-758	Y, N 178	Y-figure	Quadruped left	EOTBEREHTVS			Base Silver	Sceat	Eadbert of Northumbria
738	Kirk Deighton	Coin	53.9445967 N	1.3539938 W	700-750	675-750	X31, N 116	Radiate Wodan head, chevron beard, flanked by cross pommee	Fantastic beast right. Gaping jaws biting forked tail. Prominent member and claws.				Silver	Sceat	
739	Kirk Deighton	Coin	53.9445967 N	1.3539938 W	800-900			Pellet	Cross of five pellets	+OCGBLA			Copper alloy	Styca	
752	Langtoft	Coin	54.08022003 N	0.47297834 W	700-750	737-758	N 178	Quadruped left	Cross pattee	EDTBEREhTVr			Silver	Sceat	Eadberht of Northumbria
757	Leconfield	Coin	53.885082 N	0.466406 W	800-850	844-849		Cross	Cross	EDILRDERX	+EARDVVLF		Copper alloy	Styca	Æthelred II of Northumbria
759	Levisham	Coin	54.30332381 N	0.72138814 W	700-750	675-750	E4, N 49	Plumed bird right	Pellet in annulet in beaded standard				Silver	Sceat	
760	Levisham	Coin	54.29888009 N	0.72613582 W	700-750	710-725	J 37, N 135	Whorl of four birds forming a cross around a cross pommee	Two diademed heads with braided hair, facing each other. Trident long cross pommee between				Silver	Sceat	
771	Little Smeaton	Coin	53.654257 N	1.235886 W	800-850	837-854	N 196	Cross	Cross	+VIGMVND A EDILVEARD			Copper alloy	Styca	Archbishop Wigmund of York
772	Little Smeaton	Coin	53.654257 N	1.235886 W	800-850	840-844	N 188	Cross	Cross, pellets in angles	+EDILREDRD [EJANR[ED]			Copper alloy	Styca	Æthelred II of Northumbria
773	Londesborough	Coin	53.898491 N	0.679446 W	810-840		N 186	Legend around cross/ Legend around cross			EANRED REX/ VVLFRED		Copper alloy	Styca	Eanred of Northumbria
777	Malton	Coin	54.198057 N	0.55302858 W	700-750	675-775	D2c, N 163		Cross, pellets in angles				Silver	Sceat	
779	Manfield	Coin	54.52035 N	1.65315 W	700-750	700-710			Beaded standard with pellet in annulet				Silver	Sceat	
786	Market Weight	Coin	53.808844 N	0.628655 W	800-850	841-844	N 187	Cross	Pellet in two concentric annulets	+EDELRED R	+LEOFDEGN		Copper alloy	Styca	Æthelred II of Northumbria

B2.14

	Site	Artefact Type	Latitude	Longitude	Approximate Date	Coin Date	Class/Sub class	Decorative Motif	Colour/Reverse Type	Inscription	Reverse Inscription	Ascribed Culture	Material	Denomination (Coins)	Ruler/Issuer(Coins)
787	Market Weight	Coin	53.808844 N	0.628655 W	750-800	789-796	Y, N 185	Cross surrounded by ring of pellets	Cross in triangular calvary	ED+LRED	CVDCLI		Copper alloy	Styca	Æthelred I of Northumbria
788	Market Weight	Coin	53.808844 N	0.628655 W	800-850	810-841	N 186	Pellet in Annulet	Cross	+EANR[ED....]	+HERRED		Copper alloy	Styca	Eanred of Northumbria
789	Market Weight	Coin	53.808844 N	0.628655 W	800-850	844	N 189	Cross	Cross	+RED[VLF] BX +HVA[ETNOTH]			Copper alloy	Styca	Redwulf of Northumbria
790	Market Weight	Coin	53.808844 N	0.628655 W	800-850	810-841	N 186	Cluster of Pellets	Cross	+EAN[RED RE] [ETHEL]VEAD			Copper alloy	Styca	Eanred of Northumbria
791	Market Weight	Coin	53.808844 N	0.628655 W	800-850	844-849	N 190	Cross in annulet	Pellet in ring of pellets	+EDILRED RE	+EARDVVLF		Copper alloy	Styca	Æthelred II of Northumbria
792	Market Weight	Coin	53.808844 N	0.628655 W	850-900	850-867		Illegible	Pellet in ring of pellets	Illedible	Illegible		Copper alloy	Styca	
793	Market Weight	Coin	53.808844 N	0.628655 W	800-850	810-841	N 186	Ringed pellet	Cross in ring of pellets	+EANRED RE>	+MONNE		Copper alloy	Styca	Eanred of Northumbroa
794	Market Weight	Coin	53.808844 N	0.628655 W	800-850	841-844	N 187	Cross in ring of pellets	Cross	+EDILRED RE>	+COENRED		Copper alloy	Styca	Æthelred II of Northumbria
795	Market Weight	Coin	53.808844 N	0.628655 W	800-850	844-849	N 190	Pellet in ring of pelets	Pellet in ring of pelets	+EDILRED	+CEOBALD		Copper alloy	Styca	Æthelred II of Northumbria
836	Markington	Coin	54.07746 N	1.57202 W	800-850	790-867		Illegible	Illegible				Copper alloy	Styca	
838	Melbourne	Coin	53.886743 N	0.857375 W	650-700	680-700	A2a, N 40	Radiate head right	Standard containing inscription	[TIC]	TOTII		Silver	Sceat	
845	Naburn	Coin	53.888836 N	1.103808 W	800-850	840-848	N 188 / N 1	Cross with pellet in each angle	Pellet in ring of pellets	EDEL(RED)	+OE[...]DVV		Copper alloy	Styca	Æthelred II of Northumbria
846	Newbald	Coin	53.803522 N	0.634903 W	850-900	849-867	N 191	Cross	Pellet rosette	EDL	OEII		Copper alloy	Styca	Osberht of Northumbria
847	Newbald	Coin	53.803522 N	0.634903 W	800-850	810-840		Cross	Cross	[+EDRED REX] +EAVV[-]			Copper alloy	Styca	Eanred of Northumbria
848	Newbald	Coin			700-750	734-766	N 192	Mitre'd standing figure, holding two long crosses	Cross pattee	ECGBERhT|A ETBERHTVI			Silver	Sceat	Eadberht of Northumbria and Archbishop Ecberht of York
849	Newbald	Coin	53.803522 N	0.634903 W	800-850	810-841	N 186	Cross	Cross	EANHEDREX	EARRDVVLF		Base Silver	Styca	Eanred of Northumbria
850	Newbald	Coin	53.803522 N	0.634903 W	800-850	844-850	N 190	Pellet with inner border	Pellet with central inner border	EDILREDRE	EARDVVLF		Copper alloy	Styca	Æthelred II of Northumbria

B2.15

Site	Artefact Type	Latitude	Longitude	Approximate Date	Coin Date	Class/Sub class	Decorative Motif	Colour/Reverse Type	Inscription	Reverse Inscription	Ascribed Culture	Material	Denomination(Coins)	Ruler/Issuer(Coins)
851	Newbald	Coin	53.803522 N	0.634903 W	700-750	734-766	N 192	Mitre'd standing figure, holding two long crosses	Cross pattee	ECGBERhTJA	EDTBEREhTVI		Silver	Styca	Eadberht of Northumbria and Archbishop Ecgberht of York
852	Newbald	Coin	53.803522 N	0.634903 W	700-750	737-758	N 177	Cross with inner beaded border, pellets in each corner	Heraldric quadruped with horns and mane standing right, forleg raised. Trquetra below	EOTBERHTVS			Silver	Sceat	Eadberht of Northumbria
853	Newbald	Coin	53.803522 N	0.634903 W	700-750	734-766	N 192	Pellet with central inner border	Mitre'd stranding figure holding two crosses	EDTBEREhTVI	ECGBERhTJAR		Silver	Sceat	Eadberht of Northumbria and Archbishop Ecberht of York
857	Newthorpe	Coin	53.79203533 N	1.27740699 W	800-850	841-849	N 187	Cross, pellets in corner	Cross, pellets in corners	+EDILRED RE	+FORDRED		Copper alloy	Styca	Æthelred II of Northumbria
859	Nidd	Coin	54.030634 N	1.546551 W	800-850	810-867		Cross	Cross	Illegible	Illegible		Copper alloy	Styca	
860	North Cave	Coin	53.767752 N	0.651235 W	700-750	710-740	J85, N128	Bird right on cross pommee	Head right				Silver	Sceat	
861	North Cave	Coin	53.767752 N	0.651235 W	700-750	700-765	E4, N45	Diademed bust, porcupine right	Annulet in beaded standard		TOTII		Silver	Sceat	
870	North Duffield	Coin	53.823089 N	0.964523 W	700-750	700-720	E4, N45	Quilled crescent right	Pellet and four lines in beaded standard				Silver	Sceat	
890	Norton-le-Clay	Coin	54.13597776 N	1.38622647 W	800-850	844-849	N 190	Ringed pellet	Cross with pellet in angles	ED|IL|REDRE) +EARDVVLF			Copper alloy	Styca	Æthelred II of Northumbria
892	Nunburnholme	Coin	53.938667 N	0.746274 W	700-750	737-758		Mitre'd figure holding two crosses	Cross in ring of pellets	ECGBERHT R	EOTBEREHTVS		Silver	Sceat	Archbishop Ecgberht and Eadberht of Northumbria
893	Nunburnholme	Coin	53.938667 N	0.746274 W	750-800	789-796	N 191.8	Cross in ring of pellets	Pellet in ring of pellets	+AEDIREDR	+CEOLBALD		Silver	Sceat	Æthelred I of Northumbria
918	Pickering	Coin	54.25502102 N	0.78735396 W	850-900	850-867		Cross	Cross	ED[-----]D	Illegible		Copper alloy	Styca	

B2.16

	Site	Artefact Type	Latitude	Longitude	Approximate Date	Coin Date	Class/Sub class	Decorative Motif	Colour/ Reverse Type	Inscription	Reverse Inscription	Ascribed Culture	Material	Denomination (Coins)	Ruler/Issuer (Coins)
920	Pocklington	Coin	53.937666 N	0.77479 W	700-750	737-758	Y Bi, N178	Cross in ring of pellets	Fantastic maned quadruped left, foreleg raised, tail ending in tuft. Beaded border	EOTBEREHTVS			Silver	Sceat	Eadberht of Northumbria
921	Pocklington	Coin	53.94009431 N	0.79802777 W	800-850	837-841	II C	Cross	Cross	[—]NRED REX +MONNE			Copper alloy	Styca	Eanred of Northumbria
922	Pocklington	Coin	53.937666 N	0.77479 W	750-800	737-758	N177	Cross	Fantastic maned quadruped right, raised foreleg and curving tail. Cross below tail, triquetra between legs		SVEREBTOE (EOTBERETVS)		Silver	Sceat	Eadberht of Northumbria
923	Pocklington	Coin	53.94009431 N	0.79802777 W	750-800	765-774	N 179	Cross pattee	Horned quadruped standing right, foreleg raised, pointed tail with cross pattee below	ALCHDER			Base Silver	Sceat	Alred of Northumbria
924	Pocklington	Coin	53.938051 N	0.773713 W	700-750	700-715	D 2c						Silver	Sceat	
933	Poppleton	Coin	53.97065154 N	1.14539536 W	700-750	700-715	D 2c, N 163	Radiate bust right	Cross pommee, pellets in each corner				Copper alloy	Sceat	
934	Preston	Coin	53.756611 N	0.198915 W	650-700	680-710	Series B	Bird right	Diademed bust right with cross				Silver	Sceat	Anonymous
935	Preston	Coin	53.76592922 N	0.18062918 W	900-950	919-921	N 532	Drawn bow right	Hammer surmounted by three pellets	+RACIIOT	+RBACIIOIT	hiberno-norse	Silver	Penny	Ragnald I, King of York
936	Preston	Coin	53.756611 N	0.198915 W	800-850	850	N 191	Pellet	Cross pattee, narrow arms	EAN[R]E	+.OSBERCHT		Copper alloy	Styca	Osberht of Northumbria
939	Reighton	Coin	54.151965 N	0.262083 W	700-750	700-765	E2	Plumed bird	Beaded standard, flanked by cross and annulets				Copper alloy	Sceat copy	
944	Riccall	Coin	53.83150907 N	1.05691084 W	800-900			Ring-and-dot	Three crosses	+RD[—]			Copper alloy	Styca	
945	Riccall	Coin	53.83150907 N	1.05691084 W	800-900			Ring-and-dot	Star	+E[—]			Copper alloy	Styca	
946	Riccall	Coin	53.83431341 N	1.07306148 W	750-800	789-796	Y, N 185.1	Ring-and-dot	Ring-and-dot	[EDILR]EDRE EA[NBALD]			Copper alloy	Styca	Æthelred I of Northumbria

B2.17

Site	Artefact Type	Latitude	Longitude	Approximate Date	Coin Date	Class/Sub class	Decorative Motif	Colour/Reverse Type	Inscription	Reverse Inscription	Ascribed Culture	Material	Denomination (Coins)	Ruler/Issuer (Coins)
947 Riccall	Coin	53.83150907 N	1.05691084 W	800-850	840-844	N 188	Ring-and-dot	Ring-and-dot	+EDILRED RE +EARDVV[LF]			Copper alloy	Styca	Æthelred II of Northumbria
948 Roos	Coin	53.746788 N	0.043478 W	700-750	737-758	Y, N 177	Fantastic quadruped left, one foreleg and one back leg raised. Tail over back	Cross potent		[E]OTBEREHTV(S]R		Silver	Sceat	Eadberht of Northumbria
949 Rowley	Coin	53.77531069 N	0.52959334 W	800-850	837-854	N 196	Cross	Cross	VIGMVND AREP / COENRED			Copper alloy	Styca	Archbishop Wigmund of York
950 Rowley	Coin	53.77531069 N	0.52959334 W	700-750	737-785	N 177	Cross	Fantastic quadruped left	EDTBEREhTVr			Silver	Sceat	Eadberht of Northumbria
953 Rudston	Coin	54.096364 N	0.334754 W	750-800	789-796	N 185.1	Ring-and-dot	Ringed cross	AEDILRED	EANBALDT		Silver	Styca	Æthelred I of Northumbria
954 Rudston	Coin	54.1053473 N	0.33439417 W	800-850	796-830	N 194	Cross	Cross	EANBALD	EDILVEARD		Silver	Styca	Eanbaldd II of York
959 Rufforth with K	Coin	53.95228715 N	1.17863973 W	700-750	734-766	N 192	Legend around pellet with central inner border / Mitre'd stranding figure holding two crosses		EDTBEREhTVi ECGBERhT]AR			Silver	Styca	Ecgberht of York
961 Ryther	Coin	53.843771 N	1.165201 W	800-850	844	N 189	Pellet in ring of pellets	Cross	+R[E]DVVLF R [-]D[-]			Copper alloy	Styca	Redwulf of Northumbria
962 Ryther	Coin	53.84583088 N	1.15512833 W	850-900	848-855	N 191	Pellet in ring of pellets	Pellet in ring of pellets	OS[--]	[MO]NNE		Copper alloy	Styca	Osberht of Northumbria
963 Ryther	Coin	53.843771 N	1.165201 W	800-850	841-844	N 187	Cross in ring of pellets	three concentric rings	+ADELD[--R]E EARDVVLF			Copper alloy	Styca	Æthelred II of Northumbria
964 Ryther	Coin	53.843771 N	1.165201 W	800-850			Cross in ring of pellets	Ringed cross	Illegible	Illegible		Copper alloy	Styca	
965 Ryther	Coin	53.843771 N	1.165201 W	800-850	837-854	N 196	Cross, pellets in angles	Cross of five pellets	+VIGMVND IF COENR[ED]			Copper alloy	Styca	Archbishop Wigmund of Northumbria
966 Ryther	Coin	53.84668452 N	1.15381915 W	700-750	700-715	D2c, N 163 inscription	Radiate bust right, runic inscription	Cross pommee, pellets in angles, surrounded by angled lines and an annulet	[ae]p[a]		Frisian	Silver	Sceat	
1072 Sancton	Coin	53.843974 N	0.635107 W	750-800	774-779		Cross	Cross	+EDILRED[--]-[--]DERH[--]			Base Silver	Styca	Æthelred I of Northumbria
1100 Sancton	Pierced coin	53.850194 N	0.62882402 W	550-650								Copper alloy		

B2.18

	Site	Artefact Type	Latitude	Longitude	Approximate Date	Coin Date	Class/Sub class	Decorative Motif	Colour / Reverse Type	Inscription	Reverse Inscription	Ascribed Culture	Material	Denomination(Coins)	Ruler/Issuer(Coins)
1129	Sand Hutton	Coin	54.026701 N	0.926819 W	650-700	680-710	B1	Diademed head right, beaded ouroboros surrounding	Plumed bird perched on cross, flanked by annulets. Beaded ouroboros surrounding.				Silver	Sceat	
1131	Saxton	Coin	53.82798 N	1.27527 W	800-850	840-848	N188	Cross	Cross	EDILRED REX			Copper alloy	Styca	Æthelred II of Northumbria
1132	Saxton	Coin	53.827975 N	1.2752777 W	700-750	700-765	E	Quilled porcupine right	Standard with three saltire crosses			Frisian	Base Silver	Sceat	
1133	Saxton	Coin	53.82798 N	1.27527 W	800-850	810-841	N186	Cross	Cross	EANRED			Copper alloy	Styca	Eanred of Northumbria
1150	Seamer Moor	Pierced coin	54.242446 N	0.42395800 W	600-700								Copper alloy		
1224	Sheriff Hutton	Coin	54.08688324 N	1.03147082 W	800-850	844-848	N190	Cross	Ringed cross	EVILRED	EDILVEL[—]		Copper alloy	Styca	Æthelred II of Northumbria
1225	Sheriff Hutton	Coin	54.081995 N	0.980423 W	700-750	710-740	R3	Draped and diademed bust right. Ruinic inscription	Pellet cross on Celtic cross encompassing four rosettes	Illegible			Silver	Sceat	
1226	Sheriff Hutton	Coin	54.081995 N	0.980423 W	700-750	690-750			Saltire in beaded border				Silver	Sceat	
1227	Sherriff Hutton	Coin	54.081995 N	0.980423 W	700-750	737-758	Y, N178	Pellet tribrach	Heraldic lion with mane left. Foreleg raised	EOTBEREhTVf			Silver	Sceat	Eadberht of Northumbria
1228	Skerne and Wansford	Coin	53.980401 N	0.400383 W	800-850	840-844	N188	Cross	Cross	EDILRED RED	+MONNE		Copper alloy and Base Silver	Styca	Æthelred II of Northumbria
1229	Skidby	Coin	53.76632566 N	0.5299073 W	800-850	810-841	N186	Cross	Pellet	EANR[—]	Illegible		Copper alloy	Styca	Eanred of Northumbria
1233	Skirpenbeck	Coin	54.00272 N	0.860304 W	700-750	710-715	E4, N45	Radiate bust, quilled crescent right.	Annulet and four lines in beaded standard				Silver	Sceat	
1234	Skirpenbeck	Coin	54.008068 N	0.855581 W	700-750	700-765	E6, N49	Plumed bird right, three-prongs tail. Cross pommee below	Pellet in annulet in beaded standard				Silver	Sceat	
1235	Skirpenbeck	Coin	54.008068 N	0.855581 W	800-850	840-848	N191.9	Cross, pellet in each angle		+AEDLRED			Copper alloy	Styca	Æthelred II of Northumbria

B2.19

	Site	Artefact Type	Latitude	Longitude	Approximate Date	Coin Date	Class/Sub class	Decorative Motif	Colour / Reverse Type	Inscription	Reverse Inscription	Ascribed Culture	Material	Denomination (Coins)	Ruler/Issuer (Coins)
1236	Skirpenbeck	Coin	54.003636 N	0.862110 W	800-850	844-848		Cross	Cross in ring of pelleted	EDLRED REX	EARVVLF		Silver	Styca	Æthelred II of Northumbria
1237	Skirpenbeck	Coin	54.008068 N	0.855581 W	849-867	850-900	N 191.9	Cross	Cross	+OSBERTH	Illegible		Copper alloy	Styca	Osberht of Northumbria
1238	Skirpenbeck	Coin	54.003636 N	0.862110 W	700-750	675-750		Fantastic beast in flight, head over back. Three	Radiate Wodan, cross either side, pellet above face				Silver	Sceat	
1239	Skirpenbeck	Coin	54.003636 N	0.862110 W	650-700	685-867	N 116/N 11	Unidentifia Ringed pellet	Cross	VEX ∃TH	+AXDERD		Copper alloy	Styca	
1240	Skirpenbeck	Coin	54.008068 N	0.857229 W	765-766	750-800	Y3	Cross pattee	Cross pattee	ECGBERhT AF	AL+HR D+		Silver	Sceat	Archbishop Ecgberht of York and Alchred of Northumbria
1241	Skirpenbeck	Coin	54.003636 N	0.862110 W	800-850	810-867		Cross with pellets	Cross, lobed terminals	Illegible			Copper alloy	Styca	
1242	Skirpenbeck	Coin	54.003636 N	0.862110 W	675-750	675-750	E	Quilled crescent coiled right, pellet on body	Annulet in beaded standard. Cross on both sides				Silver	Sceat	
1271	Snape with Tho	Coin	54.259956 N	1.585488 W	700-750	737-758	Y, N 177	Cross	Quadruped right with raised foreleg and long tail. Cross beneathe tail	EOTBEREHTVS			Silver	Sceat	Eadberht of Northumbria
1272	South Milford	Coin	53.775775 N	1.264029 W	800-850	840-848		Ringed pellet	Ringed cross	+EDILRED RE	+EARDVVLF		Copper alloy	Styca	Æthelred II of Northumbria
1273	South Milford	Coin	53.77048412 N	1.28081146 W	700-750		R7	Radiate bust	Cross saltire with three pellets in beaded standard	[RHY]			Base Silver	Sceat	
1274	Spofforth	Coin	53.9663659 N	1.44252842 W	600-650	640-660	Sutherland V; York Group		Ringed cross with expanding arms. Border of alternating crosses and figure of eights				Gold	Thrysma	
1275	Spofforth	Coin	53.9663659 N	1.44252842 W	800-850	840-844	N 188	Cross	Cross	EDILRED REX	[-]VV[-]E[-]D		Copper alloy	Styca	Æthelred II of Northumbria
1276	Spofforth	Coin	53.968786 N	1.443121 W	850-900	850-855		Cross	Pellet	+EADLHEX	+ENANX		Copper alloy	Styca	Æthelred II of Northumbria

B2.20

	Site	Artefact Type	Latitude	Longitude	Approximate Date	Coin Date	Class/Sub class	Decorative Motif	Colour/ Reverse Type	Inscription	Reverse Inscription	Ascribed Culture	Material	Denomination n(Coins)	Ruler/Issuer(Coins)
1277	Spofforth	Coin	53.9663659 N	1.44252842 W	800-900	790-875		Pellet in ring of pellets	Pellet in ring of pellets	[--]E[-]VL[-]	VVL[--]		Copper alloy	Styca	
1278	Spofforth	Coin	53.964519 N	1.443468 W	800-850	837-854	N 196	Cross	Cross	+VIGMVND	+EDELHELM		Copper alloy	Styca	Archbishop Wigmund of York
1279	Spofforth	Coin	53.964758 N	1.446604 W	800-850	830-867		Cross	Cross	Illegible	+[MO]NNE		Copper alloy	Styca	
1280	Spofforth	Coin	53.96549009 N	1.44360709 W	800-850	810-835	N 186	Pellet in ring of pellets	Pellet in ring of pellets	EANRED REX	EADVINI		Copper alloy	Styca	Eanred of Northumbria
1281	Spofforth	Coin	53.968786 N	1.443121 W	800-850	840-844	N 188	Cross	Ring of pellets	+EDILRED [RE	+EANRED		Copper alloy	Styca	Æthelred II of Northumbria
1284	Spofforth with	Coin	53.962801 N	1.445167 W	600-650	650-660	sutherland	Standing figure facing, holding crosses in both hands	Ringed cross, bordered by crosses and figures of eight on their sides (infinity symbol)				Gold	Thrysma	
1285	Spofforth with	Coin	53.962836 N	1.445155 W	850-900	848-855	N 191	Cross in circle of pellets	ringed pellet	OSBERCHT Rt VNIBERHT			Copper alloy	Styca	Osberht of Northumbria
1286	Spofforth with	Coin	53.964591 N	1.443619 W	800-900					--]arsalahu b	Illegible	Arabic	Silver	Dirham	
1287	Spofforth with	Coin	53.96459841 N	1.44514321 W	800-850	790-867				Illegible	Illegible		Copper alloy	Styca	
1288	Spofforth with	Coin	53.962836 N	1.452788 W	800-850	840-844	N 188	Cross pellets in angles		EDILRED REX			Copper alloy	Styca	Æthelred II of Northumbria
1289	Spofforth with	Coin	53.962836 N	1.452788 W	800-850	840-844	N 188	Cross	Cross	AEDELRED RE LEOFD[EGN]			Copper alloy	Styca	Æthelred II of Northumbria
1290	Spofforth with	Coin	53.964605 N	1.446667 W	800-850	837-854	N 196	Cross	Cross	+VIGMVND I+	+COENRED		Copper alloy	Styca	Archbishop Wigmund of Northumbria
1291	Spofforth with	Coin	53.96369968 N	1.44515514 W	800-850	830-867		Ringed pellet	Cross	[--] REX	+MONNE		Copper alloy	Styca	
1293	Stainton	Coin	54.36164828 N	1.85298691 W	700-750	737-758		Cross	Fantastic quadruped left, raised foreleg	EOTBEREHTVS			Silver	Sceat	Eadberht of Northumbria
1294	Stamford Bridg	Coin	53.989000 N	0.912544 W	800-850	810-840	N 178	Ring of pellets	Ring of pellets	EANREDREX	+EADVINI		Copper alloy	Styca	Eanred of Northumbria
1295	Stapleton	Coin	53.66638938 N	1.23277579 W	850-900	848-855	N 191	Cross, pellets in corners	Cross, pellets in corners	OSBEBIHTBI	VINIBERH		Copper alloy	Styca	Osberht of Northumbria
1296	Stapleton	Coin	53.658741 N	1.234292 W	800-850	840-844	N 187	Cross	Annulet	+EDELRED RE MONNE			Copper alloy	Styca	Æthelred II of Northumbria

B2.21

	Site	Artefact Type	Latitude	Longitude	Approximate Date	Coin Date	Class/Sub class	Decorative Motif	Colour / Reverse Type	Inscription	Reverse Inscription	Ascribed Culture	Material	Denomination (Coins)	Ruler/Issuer (Coin)
1380	Stutton with Hi	Coin	53.856068 N	1.314313 W	700-750	690-760	E4	Quilled crescent right, pellets and cross pommee below	Pellet in annulet in beaded standard with pellets in corners				Silver	Sceat	
1386	Thormanby	Coin	54.16794 N	1.248634 W	850-900	862-867	N191	Pellet in ring of pellets	Cross	OSBAEHT REX +MONNE			Copper alloy	Styca	Osberht of Northumbria
1393	Thwing	Coin	54.115162 N	0.395198 W	800-850	810-840	N186	Cross	Cross	EANDRED RE +MONNE			Silver	Styca	Eanred of Northumbria
1394	Thwing	Coin	54.119735 N	0.401142 W	850-900	858-862	N190	Ring-and-dot	Ring-and-dot	+EDILRED RE EARDVVLF			Copper alloy	Styca	Æthelred II of Northumbria
1395	Thwing	Coin	54.115162 N	0.395198 W	700-750	737-758	N192	Mitre'd figure holding two crosses/	Cross inside circle of dots	ECGBERHT A| EOTBEREHTVS			Silver	Styca	Eadberht of Northumbria and Archbishop Ecgberht of York
1396	Thwing	Coin	54.118524 N	0.41144 W	750-800	789-796	Y3, N 183	Cross saltire	Beaded triangle shrine surmounted by cross				Base Silver	Styca	Æthelred II of Northumbria
1397	Thwing	Coin	54.114998 N	0.382965 W	700-750	675-750	E4, N 45	Quilled crescent right enclosing four bars	Annulet in beaded standard, V-shape above				Silver	Sceat	
1476	Upper Popplet	Coin	53.97004845 N	1.14780113 W	700-750	700-715	D2c	Quilled crescent right	Cross pommee with pellets at each angle			Frisian	Copper alloy	Sceat	Anonymous
1479	Weaverthorpe	Coin	54.121504 N	0.540317 W	800-850	840-848	N190	Ringed cross	Ring-and-dot	EDILRED REX EARDVVLF			Copper alloy	Styca	Æthelred II of Northumbria
1483	West Tanfield	Coin	54.20672053 N	1.58194246 W	750-800	765-774	N193	Cross pattee	Horned quadruped right, forleg raised, pointed tail. Cross pattee below.	ALCHDER+			Base Silver	Styca	Alchred of Northumbria
1484	Wetwang	Coin	54.017301 N	0.621809 W	700-750	710-760	N	Two standing figures	Fantastic beast facing				Silver	Sceat	
1490	Wilberfoss	Coin	53.95009974 N	0.90440546 W	850-900	850-867	N 191.8		Ring-and-dot	EDI+NX	LVN+PER		Copper alloy	Styca	
1491	Wilberfoss	Coin	53.948917 N	0.888209 W	650-750	650-765	E6, N 49	Plumed bird, right, triple-pronged tail, claws	Pellet in annulet in beaded standard. Crosses and pellets in margin				Silver	Sceat	
1493	Willerby	Coin	54.201213 N	0.445524 W	900-950	905-910	N 551	Branching ornament	Cross	SCI PE // TRII +EBORACE CI			Silver	Penny	

B2.22

	Site	Artefact Type	Latitude	Longitude	Approximate Date	Coin Date	Class/Sub class	Decorative Motif	Colour/Reverse Type	Inscription	Reverse Inscription	Ascribed Culture	Material	Denomination (Coins)	Ruler/Issuer (Coins)
1494	Willerby	Coin	54.187835 N	0.453689 W	800-850	810-840	N186	Cross	Cross	EANRED REX	VVLFRED		Copper alloy	Styca	Eanred of Northumbria
1498	Yapham	Coin	53.94908007 N	0.79776943 W	800-850	840-844	N188	Cross	Cross	EDILRED REX	FORDRED		Silver	Styca	Æthelred II of Northumbria
1499	Yapham	Coin	53.9403952 N	0.82848798 W	800-850	840-844	N188	Cross of five pellets	Cross	EDILRED REX	EANRED		Copper alloy	Styca	Æthelred II of Northumbria
1500	Yapham	Coin	54.94938106 N	0.82823619 W	800-850	810-841	N186	Cross	Cross	EDILRED REX	MONNE		Copper alloy	Styca	Eanred of Northumbria
1501	Yapham	Coin	53.94938106 N	0.82823619 W	800-850	810-841	N186	Pellet	Pellet	EANRED REX	EADVINI		Base Silver	Styca	Eanred of Northumbria
1502	Yapham	Coin	53.9403952 N	0.82848798 W	800-850	810-841	N186	Cross	Cross	EANRED REX	EADVINI		Silver	Styca	Eanred of Northumbria
1503	Yapham	Coin	53.94908007 N	0.79776943 W	650-700	680-710	N126	Diademed bust right with cross	Bird on cross				Silver	Sceat	
1504	Yapham	Coin	53.94938106 N	0.82823619 W	800-850	840-844	N188	Cross	Cross	EDILRED REX	LEOFDEGN		Copper alloy	Styca	Æthelred II of Northumbria
1505	Yapham	Coin	53.94908007 N	0.79776943 W	700-750	710-720	N43	Diademed bust right with cross	Beaded standard				Silver	Sceat	
1506	Yapham	Coin	53.9403952 N	0.82848798 W	800-850	840-844	N188	Ring-and-dot	Ring-and-dot	EDILRED RED	+EARDVVLF		Copper alloy	Styca	Æthelred II of Northumbria
1507	Yapham	Coin	53.9403952 N	0.82848798 W	850-900	852-874	N425	Diademed bust right	Three lines between two lines with crooks	BVRGRED RE MO[N]//DV[DA]//ET[A]			Silver	Penny	Burgred of Mercia
1508	Yapham	Coin	53.9403952 N	0.82848798 W	800-850	840-844	N188	Ringed cross	Ring-and-dot	EDILRED REX	+EARDVVULF		Copper alloy	Styca	Æthelred II of Northumbria
1509	Yapham	Coin	53.94024572 N	0.81325781 W	800-850	840-844	N188	Cross	Cross	EDILRED REX	MONNE		Copper alloy	Styca	Æthelred II of Northumbria
1510	Yapham	Coin	54.94938106 N	0.82823619 W	800-850	844-848	N190	Cross	Cross	EDFLRED REC	BRODER		Copper alloy	Styca	Æthelred II of Northumbria
1511	Yapham	Coin	53.9403952 N	0.82848798 W	700-750	710-725	N135	Two diademed heads facing each other, cross pommee between	Whorl of birds				Silver	Sceat	
1512	Yapham	Coin	53.94908007 N	0.79776943 W	700-750	720-750	E	Quilled crescent					Silver	Sceat	
1513	Yapham	Coin	54.94938106 N	0.82823619 W	800-850	840-844	N188	Ring-and-dot	Ring-and-dot	AEDILRED	CEONRAED		Base Silver	Styca	Æthelred II of Northumbria

B2.23

	Site	Artefact Type	Latitude	Longitude	Approximate Date	Coin Date	Class/Sub class	Decorative Motif	Colour / Reverse Type	Inscription	Reverse Insciption	Ascribed Culture	Material	Denomination(Coins)	Ruler/Issuer(Coins)
1514	Yapham	Coin	53.94938106 N	0.82823619 W	700-750	675-750	E4, N45	Quilled crescent right enclosing four bars, inverted V-shape above	Annulet in beaded standard				Silver	Sceat	
1515	Yapham	Coin	53.9403952 N	0.82848798 W	800-900								Copper alloy	Styca	
1516	Yapham	Coin	53.94938106 N	0.82823619 W	700-750	710-725	N128	Plumed bird right on cross pommee, annulets on limbs	Diademed bust right				Silver	Sceat	
1517	Yapham	Coin	53.94938106 N	0.82823619 W	800-850	830-835		Cross, pellet in each corner	Cross	+EANRED RE	+MONNE		Base Silver	Styca	Eanred of Northumbria
1518	Yapham	Coin	53.9403952 N	0.82848798 W	800-850	840-844	N 188	Cross	Cross	EDILRED REX	FORDRED		Copper alloy	Styca	Æthelred II of Northumbria
1532	York	Coin	53.927207 N	1.191315 W	700-750	700-720	E, N 49	Plumed bird', cross under head and under tail	Standard with pellet in annulet in centre				Silver	Sceat	
1539	York [Aldwark]	Coin	53.960867 N	1.0767865 W	700-750	737-758							Silver	Sceat	Eadberht
1540	York [Aldwark]	Coin	53.960867 N	1.0767865 W	700-750	737-758							Silver	Sceat	Eadberht
1541	York [Aldwark]	Coin	53.960867 N	1.0767865 W	700-750	737-758							Silver	Sceat	Eadberht
1542	York [Aldwark]	Coin	53.960867 N	1.0767865 W	700-750	737-758							Silver	Sceat	Eadberht
1543	York [Aldwark]	Coin	53.960867 N	1.0767865 W	700-750	737-758							Silver	Sceat	Eadberht
1544	York [Aldwark]	coin	53.960867 N	1.0767865 W	800-850	810-840							Copper alloy	Styca	Eanred
1545	York [Aldwark]	Coin	53.960867 N	1.0767865 W	800-850	840-848							Copper alloy	Styca	Æthelred II
1546	York [Aldwark]	Coin	53.960867 N	1.0767865 W	800-850	840-848							Copper alloy	Styca	Æthelred II
1547	York [Aldwark]	Coin	53.960867 N	1.0767865 W	850-900	852-874							Copper alloy	Penny	Burgred of Mercia
1549	York [Barbican Baths]	Coin	53.953359 N	1.0742551 W	700-800	737-758							Silver	Sceat	Eadberht
1550	York [Barbican Baths]	Coin	53.953359 N	1.0742551 W	700-800	737-758							Silver	Sceat	Eadberht

B2.24

	Site	Artefact Type	Latitude	Longitude	Approximate Date	Coin Date	Class/Subclass	Decorative Motif	Colour/Reverse Type	Inscription	Reverse Inscription	Ascribed Culture	Material	Denomination (Coins)	Ruler/Issuer (Coins)
1563	York [Bedern Chapel]	Coin	53.961813 N	1.0792286 W	800-850	810-840							Base Silver	Styca	Eanred
1564	York [Bedern Chapel]	Coin	53.961813 N	1.0792286 W	800-850	810-840							Base Silver	Styca	Eanred
1566	York [Blake Street]	Coin	53.960863 N	1.0844624 W	800-850	840-848							Copper alloy	Styca	Æthelred II
1567	York [Blake Street]	Coin	53.960863 N	1.0844624 W	800-850	810-840							Copper alloy	Styca	Eanred
1570	York [Coppergate]	coin	53.957902 N	1.0804005 W	800-850	840-848							Copper alloy	Styca	Æthelred II
1571	York [Coppergate]	Coin	53.957902 N	1.0804005 W	800-850	840-848							Copper alloy	Styca	Æthelred II
1572	York [Coppergate]	Coin	53.957902 N	1.0804005 W	800-850	840-848							Copper alloy	Styca	Æthelred II
1573	York [Coppergate]	Coin	53.957902 N	1.0804005 W	800-850	840-848							Copper alloy	Styca	Æthelred II
1574	York [Coppergate]	Coin	53.957902 N	1.0804005 W	800-850	840-848							Copper alloy	Styca	Æthelred II
1575	York [Coppergate]	Coin	53.957902 N	1.0804005 W	800-850	810-840							copper alloy	Styca	Eanred
1576	York [Coppergate]	Coin	53.957902 N	1.0804005 W	800-850	810-840							Copper alloy	Styca	Eanred
1577	York [Coppergate]	Coin	53.957902 N	1.0804005 W	800-850	810-840							Copper alloy	Styca	Eanred
1578	York [Coppergate]	Coin	53.957902 N	1.0804005 W	800-850	810-840							Copper alloy	Styca	Eanred
1579	York [Coppergate]	Coin	53.957902 N	1.0804005 W	850-900	843-877								Obolos	Charles the Bald
2167	York [Fossbank]	Coin	53.966424 N	1.0734511 W	800-850	806-808							Copper alloy	Styca	Ælfwald
2172	York [Minster]	Coin	53.961478 N	1.0824367 W	800-850	810-840							Base Silver	Styca	Eanred
2173	York [Minster]	Coin	53.961478 N	1.0824367 W	800-850	810-840							Base Silver	Styca	Eanred
2174	York [Minster]	Coin	53.961478 N	1.0824367 W	800-850	810-840							Base Silver	Styca	Eanred
2175	York [Minster]	Coin	53.961478 N	1.0824367 W	800-850	810-840							Base Silver	Styca	Eanred
2176	York [Minster]	Coin	53.961478 N	1.0824367 W	700-750	700-725							Silver	Sceatta	Eanred
2177	York [Minster]	Coin	53.961478 N	1.0824367 W	700-750	737-758							Silver	Sceatta	Eadberht

B2.25

	Site	Artefact Type	Latitude	Longitude	Approximate Date	Coin Date	Class/Subclass	Decorative Motif	Colour/Reverse Type	Inscription	Reverse Insciption	Ascribed Culture	Material	Denomination(Coins)	Ruler/Issuer(Coins)
2178	York [Minster]	Coin	53.961478 N	1.0824367 W	750-800	790-796							Copper-alloy	Styca	Æthelred I
2179	York [Minster]	Coin	53.961478 N	1.0824367 W	800-850	840-848							Copper-alloy	Styca	Æthelred II
2180	York [Minster]	Coin	53.961478 N	1.0824367 W	800-850	840-848							Copper-alloy	Styca	Æthelred II
2181	York [Minster]	Coin	53.961478 N	1.0824367 W	800-850	840-848							Copper-alloy	Styca	Æthelred II
2182	York [Minster]	Coin	53.961478 N	1.0824367 W	800-850	840-848							Copper-alloy	Styca	Æthelred II
2183	York [Minster]	Coin	53.961478 N	1.0824367 W	850-900	849-867							Copper-alloy	Styca	Osberht
2184	York [Minster]	Coin	53.961478 N	1.0824367 W	850-900	849-867							Copper-alloy	Styca	Osberht
2185	York [Minster]	Coin	53.961478 N	1.0824367 W	800-900								Copper-alloy	Styca	
2186	York [Minster]	Coin	53.961478 N	1.0824367 W	800-900								Copper-alloy	Styca	
2187	York [Minster]	Coin	53.961478 N	1.0824367 W	800-900								Copper-alloy	Styca	
2191	York [Sheldergate]	Coin	53.955268 N	1.0833696 W	800-850	837-854							Copper-alloy	Styca	Wulfhere, Archbishop of York
2192	York [Sheldergate]	Coin	53.955268 N	1.0833696 W	800-850	840-848							Copper-alloy	Styca	Æthelred II
2193	York [Sheldergate]	Coin	53.955268 N	1.0833696 W	700-750	737-758							Silver	Sceat	Eadberht
2194	York [Sheldergate]	Coin	53.955268 N	1.0833696 W	850-900	852-874							Copper alloy	Penny	Burgred of Mercia
2198	York [Wellington]	Coin	53.953633 N	1.0710607 W	700-750	774-779							Silver	Sceat	Æthelred I
2199	York [Wellington]	coin	53.953633 N	1.0710607 W	800-850	810-850							Copper alloy	Styca	Eanred
2200	York [Wellington]	Coin	53.953633 N	1.0710607 W	800-850	840-848							Copper alloy	Styca	Æthelred II
2201	York [Wellington]	Coin	53.953633 N	1.0710607 W	800-850	840-848							Copper alloy	Styca	Æthelred II
2202	York [Wellington]	Coin	53.953633 N	1.0710607 W	800-850	840-848							Copper alloy	Styca	Æthelred II
2203	York [Wellington]	Coin	53.953633 N	1.0710607 W	800-850	840-848							Copper alloy	Styca	Æthelred II
2204	York [Wellington]	Coin	53.953633 N	1.0710607 W	800-850	840-848							Copper alloy	Styca	Æthelred II
2205	York [Wellington]	Coin	53.953633 N	1.0710607 W	800-850	840-848							Copper alloy	Styca	Æthelred II

B2.26

	Site	Artefact Type	Latitude	Longitude	Approximate Date	Coin Date	Class/Sub class	Decorative Motif	Colour / Reverse Type	Inscription	Reverse Inscription	Ascribed Culture	Material	Denomination (Coins)	Ruler/Issuer (Coins)
2206	York [Wellington	Coin	53.953633 N	1.0710607 W	800-850	840-848							Copper alloy	Styca	Æthelred II
2207	York [Wellington	Coin	53.953633 N	1.0710607 W	800-850	840-848							Copper alloy	Styca	Æthelred II
2208	York [Wellington	Coin	53.953633 N	1.0710607 W	800-850	840-848							Copper alloy	Styca	Æthelred II
2209	York [Wellington	coin	53.953633 N	1.0710607 W	800-850	840-848							Copper alloy	Styca	Æthelred II
2210	York [Wellington	Coin	53.953633 N	1.0710607 W	800-850	840-848							Copper alloy	Styca	Æthelred II
2211	York [Wellington	Coin	53.953633 N	1.0710607 W	800-850	840-848							Copper alloy	Styca	Æthelred II
2212	York [Wellington Row]	Coin	53.953633 N	1.0710607 W	700-750	737-758							Silver	Sceat	Eadberht
2213	York [Wellington Row]	Coin	53.953633 N	1.0710607 W	700-750	774-779							Silver	Sceat	Æthelred I

Appendix B3: Coins of the Northwest

B3.1

	Sites	Artefact Type	Latitude	Longitude	Approximate Date	Coin Date	Class/Subcl	Motif	Rever Motif	Inscription	Reverse Inscript	Ascribed Culture	Material	Denomination (Coins)	Ruler/Issuer (Coins)	Mint (Coins)	Notes
24	Arnside	Coin	54.203808 N	2.8327550 W	800-850	819-822	II	Cross within Circle of Pellets	Cross within Circle of Pellets	[HLVDOVI]/I [PAP]IA		Carolingian	Silver	Denier	Louis the Pious	Pavia	
25	Arnside	Coin	54.203808 N	2.8327550 W	800-850	841-843	II Cii	Cross	Cross	+EDILRED RE	+EORDRED	Northumbrian	Copper alloy	Styca	Æthelred II		
32	Barrow-in-Furness	Coin	54.108967 N	3.2188940 W	800-1000			Illegible	Illegible	Illegible	Illegible		Copper alloy	Styca			
50	Barrow-in-Furness	Coin	54.108967 N	3.2188940 W	600-650	620-640	Dronrijp	Diademed bust, left	Cross on horizontal base with pellet below	AAC|LIC	VAVVAAVAc	Frankish	Gold		Merovingia Anonymous		Probably Austrasia or Frisia
51	Barrow-in-Furness	Coin	54.108967 N	3.2188940 W	800-1000	870-892	N 191	Diamond of Four Pellets	Illegible	Illegible	Illegible		Copper alloy	Styca	Eanred of Northumbria		
54	Barrow-in-Furness	Coin	54.108967	3.2188940 W	850-900					al-Mu'tamid alallah		Abbasid	Silver	Dirham	Abbas Caliph al-	Armenia	
55	Barrow-in-Furness	Coin	54.108967 N	3.2188940 W	800-850	835-845	N 191.9	Pellets	Cross	Blundered	Blundered		Copper alloy	Styca	Anonymous	Northumbria	
63	Carlisle	Coin	54.894746 N	2.9384868 W	800-850	841-849	II Ci	Pellet-in-Annulet	Pellet-in-Annulet	+EDIREDREX	+EARDUULF	Northumbrian	Copper alloy	Styca	Æthelred II	York	Found in grave (153)
70	Carlisle	Coin	54.893378 N	2.9363069 W	800-850	830-855		Illegible	Cross	Illegible	OERDRED	Northumbrian	Copper alloy	Styca	Eanred	York	
75	Carlisle	Coin	54.894746 N	2.9384868 W	800-850	841-849	II Ci	Cross	Cross	+EDILRED REX	+EAcNRED	Northumbrian	Copper alloy	Styca	Æthelred II	York	
86	Carlisle	Coin	54.894746 N	2.9384868 W	800-850	810-842	I A	Rosette of Pellets	Rosette of Pellets	+EANREDREX	EADUIcNI	Northumbrian	Silver	Styca	Eanred	York	
87	Carlisle	Coin	54.894746 N	2.9384868 W	750-800	778-780		Cross	Pellet in Annulet of Pellets	AEDILRrED	+EAcNcBA I	Northumbrian	Silver	Sceat	Æthelred I and	York	
92	Carlisle	Coin	54.894746 N	2.9384868 W	800-850	841-849	II Ci	Cross	Cross	+EOILREDRE	VEcNDELBE	Northumbrian	Copper alloy	Styca	Æthelred II	York	
98	Carlisle	Coin	54.894746 N	2.9384868 W	800-850	844-849	II Dii	Cross in Circle of Pellets	Central Pellet-in-Annulet	+EDIL`I..REDRE	+EcVRD(V)V	Northumbrian	Copper alloy	Styca	Æthelred II	York	
103	Carlisle	Coin	54.893069 N	2.9363069 W	800-850	810-830		Cross in Circle of Pellets	Cross	Illegible	+[...]	Northumbrian	Copper alloy	Styca	Wulfhere, Arch	York	
106	Carlisle	Coin	54.894746 N	2.9384868 W	800-850	837-855	II A	Pellet-in-Annulet	Cross	+HVAETREI	+MERPINI	Northumbrian	Copper alloy	Styca	Hwaetred and Merwine		Irregular, double reverse. Coins with similar lettering have been found elsewhere in Carlisle as well as Bamburgh
108	Carlisle	Coin	54.894746 N	2.9384868 W	800-850	841-849	II Cii		Cross	+EDI^LRED RD	+VE.NDE^LE	Northumbrian	Copper alloy	Styca	Æthelred II	York	
112	Carlisle	Coin	54.894746 N	2.9384868 W	800-850	841-849	II Ci	Pellet-in-Annulet	Pellet-in-Annulet	+EDILREDREX	+EARDUULF	Northumbrian	Copper alloy	Styca	Æthelred II	York	
117	Carlisle	Coin	54.894746 N	2.9384868 W	800-850	844-849	II Ci	Rosette of Pellets	Rosette of Pellets	+EDI^LREDRE	+EAcNREDRE	Northumbrian	Copper alloy	Styca	Æthelred II	York	
118	Carlisle	Coin	54.894746 N	2.9384868 W	850-900	849-855	II Ciii	Cross	Cross of Five Pellets	+OSBEBCHTE	+EA(N)IUUL	Northumbrian	Copper alloy	Styca	Osberht	York	

B3.2

	Sites	Artefact Type	Latitude	Longitude	Approxim ate Dat	Coin Date	Class/Subcl	Motif	Rever Motif	Inscription	Reverse Inscript	Ascribed Culture	Material	Denomina tion(Coins)	Ruler/Issuer(Coins)	Mint(Coins)	Notes
128	Carlisle	Coin	54.894746 N	2.9384868 W	800-850	841-849	II Ci	Cross	Pellet	+EDILRED X	+MO-cNNE	Northumbrian	Copper alloy	Styca	Æthelred II	York	Found in grave (153)
132	Carlisle	Coin	54.893378 N	2.9363069 W	850-900	854-865		Pellet	Pellet	+EJ...JED	+HERRED	Northumbrian	Copper alloy	Styca	Eanred	York	
137	Carlisle	Coin	54.894746 N	2.9384868 W	800-850	841-849	II Ci	Pellet-in-Annulet	Cross of Five Pellet-in-Annulet Annulets	+EDILREDRE	+EARDUULF	Northumbrian	Copper alloy	Styca	Æthelred II	York	
138	Carlisle	Coin	54.894746 N	2.9384868 W	850-900	850-900	II Di	Cross of Five Pellets	Pellet in Circle of Pellets	+ENTII(.)cN	+IEVDDVIcN	Northumbrian	Copper alloy	Styca		York	
144	Carlisle	Coin	54.894746 N	2.9384868 W	800-850	844-849	II Cii	Cross	Illegible	+ED*LRED	(+)EDIVE...	Northumbrian	Copper alloy	Styca	Æthelred II	York	
146	Carlisle	Coin	54.894746 N	2.9384868 W	850-900	849-855	II Ci	Cross	Pellet-in-Annulet	OSBERTCHTBE	VI(N)IB(E)RH	Nothumbrian	Copper alloy	Styca	Osberht	York	
152	Chapelton	Coin	55.712146 N	4.0968320 W	800-850	840		Cross	Cross			Northumbrian	Copper alloy	Styca		York	
162	Cotton Edmunds	Coin	53.17934751 N	2.80943649 W	800-850	825-828	N 586	Cross	Five-limbed cross	HECBEARHT RI SWEFHERD		Wessex	Silver	Penny	Egbert of Wess	Canterbury	
167	Dutton	Coin	53.28844676 N	2.60148549 W	700-750	710-725	J37. N 135	whorl of four birds around cross	Two disdemed heads on either side of a trident with cross pommee				Copper alloy	Sceat			
179	Hoddom	Coin	54.123 N	2.656 W	800-850	819-822	II	Circle of Pellets, enclosing Cross			[HILVDOVL]/IC (PAP)JA	Carolingian	Silver	Denier	Lous the Pious	Pavia	Fragment from coin cut either into halves or quarters
180	Hoddom	Coin	54.123 N	2.656 W	800-850	841-844	II Cii	Cross	Cross	+EDILRED RE	+EORDRED	Northumbrian	Copper alloy	Styca	Æthelred II	York	
186	Luce Sands	Coin	54.844792 N	4.9040222 W	800-850	808-841						Northumbrian	Copper alloy	Styca	Eanred	York	
187	Luce Sands	Coin	54.844792 N	4.9040222 W	800-850	808-841		Cross in Circle of Pellets	Cross in Circle of Pellets	EANRED RE+	+EORDRED	Northumbrian	Copper alloy	Styca	Eanred	York	
188	Luce Sands	Coin	54.844792 N	4.9040222 W	800-850	841-844						Northumbrian	Copper alloy	Styca	Æthelred II	York	
189	Luce Sands	Coin	54.844792 N	4.9040222 W	800-850	837-854						Northumbrian	Copper alloy	Styca	Wigmund, Arct	York	
190	Luce Sands	Coin	54.844792 N	4.9040222 W	800-850	808-841						Northumbrian	Copper alloy	Styca	Eanred	York	
191	Luce Sands	Coin	54.844792 N	4.9040222 W	800-850	841-844						Northumbrian	Copper alloy	Styca	Æthelred II	York	
192	Luce Sands	Coin	54.844792 N	4.9040222 W	800-850	808-841						Northumbrian	Copper alloy	Styca	Eanred	York	
193	Luce Sands	Coin	54.844792 N	4.9040222 W	750-800	789-798						Northumbrian	Copper alloy	Styca	Æthelred I	York	
195	Luce Sands	Coin	54.844792 N	4.9040222 W	800-850	841-844						Northumbrian	Copper alloy	Styca	Æthelred II	York	
196	Luce Sands	Coin	54.844792 N	4.9040222 W	800-850	844-849						Northumbrian	Copper alloy	Styca	Æthelred II	York	
198	Luce Sands	Coin	54.844792 N	4.9040222 W	800-850	837-854						Northumbrian	Copper alloy	Styca	Wigmund, Arct	York	
204	Meols	Coin	53.400194 N	3.1567246 W	650-700	690-710	N 45	'Porcupine'	Geometric			Frisian	Copper alloy	Sceat		York	
207	Meols	Coin	53.400194 N	3.1567246 W	800-850	840-844	II Ciii	Cross	Cross	+EDFLRED RE	FORDRED	Northumbria	Copper alloy	Styca	Æthelred II	York	

B3.3

1	Sites	Artefact Type	Latitude	Longitude	Approximate Date	Coin Date	Class/Subcl	Motif	Rever Motif	Reverse Inscription	Inscription	Ascribed Culture	Material	Denomination (Coins)	Ruler/Issuer (Coins)	Mint (Coins)	Notes
236	Meols	Coin	53.400194 N	3.1567246 W	800-850	840-848	II Ciii					Northumbrian	Copper alloy	Styca	Æthelred II		
243	Meols	Coin	53.400194 N	3.1567246 W	700-750	715-750	N45	'Porcupine'	Geometric			Frisian	Copper alloy	Sceat			
265	Meols	Coin	53.400194 N	3.1567246 W	850-900	844	II Ciii	Illegible	Cross			Nothumbrian	Copper alloy	Styca	Redwulf		
538	Stainton	Coin	54.148226 N	3.1528375 W	900-950	939-941	N537	Raven	Cross		+ANLAF CVNVI AEDELFERD MINETI		Silver	Penny	Anlaf Guthfrith: York		
539	Stainton	Coin	54.148226 N	3.1528375 W	900-950	939-946	N688	Cross pattee	Three crosses and a trefoil		+[E]DMVND[R[[...]AR MO		Silver	Penny			
540	Stainton	Coin	54.148226 N	3.1528375 W	900-950	939-946	N691	Cross pattee	Three cross and a rosette		+EADMVND RE EADR EDHD		Silver	Penny	Edmund of England		
543	Stainton	Coin	54.148226 N	3.1528375 W	900-950	939-46	N698	Crowned bust right	Cross pattee	+EADVN REX BARBEMoNoRDDIG			Silver	Penny	Edmund I of En Norwich		
544	Stainton	Coin	54.148226 N	3.1528375 W	900-950	924-939	N672	Cross pattee	Cross pattee	+EDELSTAND R SIGEFERD MONIE LEGE			Silver	Penny	Æthelstan of En Chester		
547	Stainton	Coin	54.148226 N	3.1528375 W	900-950	924-939	N680	Rosette	Rosette	+ED.EL.ST[AN f +E.O.FER[MVND S[CROB			Silver	Halfpenny	Æthelstan of En y	Shrewsbur	
550	Stainton	Coin	54.148226 N	3.1528375 W	900-950	939-946	N691	Cross pattee	Three crosses and a rosette	+EADMVND RE oPELD CESM			Silver	Penny	Edmund of England		
551	Stainton	Coin	54.148226 N	3.1528375 W	900-950	924-939	N672	Cross pattee	Cross	+EDELSTAN RE +VVLFSTAN M OLEGE			Silver	Penny	Æthelstan of En Chester		
556	Stainton	Coin	54.148226 N	3.1528375 W	900-950	924-939		Crowned bust left	Cross	+EDELST[AN]R +ELFGICMODOL			Silver	Penny	Æthelstan of England		
557	Stainton	Coin	54.148226 N	3.1528375 W	900-950	939-946	N688	Cross pattee	Three crosses and trefoil	+E[AD]M[V]ND GoD[...]			Silver	Penny	Edmund of England		
560	Talnotrie	Coin	55.015871 N	4.3678535 W	800-850	814-840						Carolingian	Silver	Denier	Louis the Pious Pavia		Part of a hoard deposited between 870-880
561	Talnotrie	Coin	55.015871 N	4.3678535 W	850-900	852-874						Mercian	Silver	Penny	Burgred of Mercia		Part of a hoard deposited between 870-880
563	Talnotrie	Coin	55.015871 N	4.3678535 W	850-900	854-874						Mercian	Silver	Penny	Burgred of Mercia		Part of a hoard deposited between 870-880
564	Talnotrie	Coin	55.015871 N	4.3678535 W	800-900							Arabic	Silver	Dirham			Part of a hoard deposited between 870-880
568	Talnotrie	Coin	55.015871 N	4.3678535 W	850-900	852-874						Mercian	Silver	Penny	Burgred of Mercia		Part of a hoard deposited between 870-880
571	Talnotrie	Coin	55.015871 N	4.3678535 W	850-900	846-862						Arabic	Silver	Dirham	al-Mutawakkil		Part of a hoard deposited between 870-880
577	Talnotrie	Coin	55.015871 N	4.3678535 W	800-900							Northumbrian	Copper alloy	Styca			Part of a hoard deposited between 870-880
578	Talnotrie	Coin	55.015871 N	4.3678535 W	850-900	852-874						Mercian	Silver	Penny	Burgred of Mercia		Part of a hoard deposited between 870-880
580	Talnotrie	Coin	55.015871 N	4.3678535 W	800-850	844						Northumbrian	Copper alloy	Styca	Redwulf	York	Part of a hoard deposited between 870-880
581	Talnotrie	Coin	55.015871 N	4.3678535 W	850-900	849-867						Northumbrian	Copper alloy	Styca	Osbert	York	Part of a hoard deposited between 870-880
583	Talnotrie	Coin	55.015871 N	4.3678535 W	800-850	841-844						Northumbrian	Copper alloy	Styca	Æthelred II	York	Part of a hoard deposited between 870-880
584	Talnotrie	Coin	55.015871 N	4.3678535 W	850-900	854-867						Northumbrian	Copper alloy	Styca	Wulfhere, Arch	York	Part of a hoard deposited between 870-880

B3.4

	Sites	Artefact Type	Latitude	Longitude	Approxim ate Date	Coin Date	Class/Subcl	Motif	Rever Motif	Inscription	Reverse Inscript	Ascribed Culture	Material	Denomina tion(Coins)	Ruler/Issuer(Coins)	Mint(Coins)	Notes
585	Talnotrie	Coin	55.015871 N	4.3678535 W	800-900								Northumbrian Copper alloy	Styca			Part of a hoard deposited between 870-880
586	Tiverton	Coin	53.14423343 N	2.67422046 W	750-800	769-798		Beaded lines	Voided tribrach	AMD//BEARHE E[-]/[--]/-]L/Nk		Kent	Silver	Penny	Eadberht Præn	Canterbury	
590	Whithorn	Coin	54.733798 N	4.4183144 W	800-850	837-850	I Aii	Cross	Cross	+VIGMVNDI*R	+COE]NR]EC	Northumbrian Copper alloy		Styca	Wigmund, Arc?	York	
593	Whithorn	Coin	54.733798 N	4.4183144 W	800-850	810-830	I A	Pellet-in-Annulet	Pellet-in-Annulet	+EANREDREX	+VILHEAH	Northumbrian Silver		Styca	Eanred	York	
595	Whithorn	Coin	54.733798 N	4.4183144 W	800-850	810-830	I A	Annulet around Boss within Circle of Pellets	Boss within Circle of Pellets	*EANREDREX	EADV+INI	Northumbrian Silver		Styca	Eanred	York	
596	Whithorn	Coin	54.733798 N	4.4183144 W	800-850	810-830	I A	Boss within Circle of Pellets, Wite-line Border	Passion Cross within Wire-line Border	+EANREDREX	DAEXBERCT	Northumbrian Silver		Styca	Eanred	York	
600	Whithorn	Coin	54.733798 N	4.4183144 W	800-850	841-844	II Ci	Cross	Cross	+VIGMVNDIR	+HVNLAF	Northumbrian Copper alloy		Styca	Wigmund, Arc?	York	
607	Whithorn	Coin	54.733798 N	4.4183144 W	800-850	810-830	I A	Boss within Circle	Boss-in-Annulet	+EANREDREX	+EADVINI	Northumbrian Silver		Styca	Eanred	York	
620	Whithorn	Coin	54.733798 N	4.4183144 W	810-830	810-830	I A	Cross	Pellets	+EANREDREX	+VILHEAH	Northumbrian Silver		Styca	Eanred	York	
621	Whithorn	Coin	54.733798 N	4.4183144 W	800-850	837-841	II Ci	Cross	Cross	+EANREDREX	+MONNE	Northumbrian Copper alloy		Styca	Eanred	York	
634	Whithorn	Coin	54.733798 N	4.4183144 W	800-850	810-830	I A	Cross	Cross	+EANREDREX	+HVAETRED	Northumbrian Silver		Styca	Eanred	York	
644	Whithorn	Coin	54.733798 N	4.4183144 W	800-850	810-830	I A	Pellet	Pellet	+EANREDREX	+TIDVINI	Northumbrian Silver		Styca	Eanred	York	
647	Whithorn	Coin	54.733798 N	4.4183144 W	700-750	737-758	I Ai	Cross	Stylized stag, right	*EADBERhTVf		Northumbrian Silver		Sceatta	Eadberht	York	This coin is struck from the same obverse and probably the same reverse as a coin recovered in East Yorkshire
651	Whithorn	Coin	54.733798 N	4.4183144 W	800-850	830-835		Cross	Cross	EAHREDREX	HEARDVVLl	Northumbrian Copper alloy		Styca	Eanred	York	
655	Whithorn	Coin	54.733798 N	4.4183144 W	700-750	737-758	Rigold Series Y	Cross in Circle of Pellets	Archbishop Holding Two Crosses	*EOTBERT* Eh	ECGBERhTR	Northumbrian Silver		Sceatta	Eadberht and A	York	
656	Whithorn	Coin	54.733798 N	4.4183144 W	750-800	790-796	I A	Cross in Circle of Pellets	Cross in Circle of Pellets	+AEFIL[RED]R	+TIDVVLF	Northumbrian Silver		Styca	Æthelred I	York	
657	Whithorn	Coin	54.733798 N	4.4183144 W	800-850	844-849	II Cii	Rosette of Pellets	Cross	+EDILRE[DR]ED	[+D]IHTRD	Northumbrian Copper alloy		Styca	Æthelred II	York	
664	Whithorn	Coin	54.733798 N	4.4183144 W	750-800	790-796	I A	Cross within Square	Boss within Circle of Pellets	+AEDILRED	+CEOLBAED	Northumbrian Silver		Styca	Æthelred I	York	
669	Whithorn	Coin	54.733798 N	4.4183144 W	850-900			Cross	Cross, Pellets	+ERIIOIlII	+DIVDVAE	Northumbrian Copper alloy		Styca	Uncertain		
673	Whithorn	Coin	54.733798 N	4.4183144 W	800-850	830-835	I A	Cross	Cross	EANREDREX	+DAEGBERC	Northumbrian Copper alloy		Styca	Eanred	York	
676	Whithorn	Coin	54.733798 N	4.4183144 W	800-850	810-830	I A	Cross	Cross	EANREDREx	CyN*VVLF	Northumbrian Silver		Styca	Eanred	York	Runic Y

B3.5

#	Sites	Artefact Type	Latitude	Longitude	Approximate Date	Coin Date	Class/Subcl	Motif	Rever Motif	Obverse Inscription	Reverse Inscript	Ascribed Culture	Material	Denomination (Coins)	Ruler/Issuer (Coins)	Mint (Coins)	Notes
678	Whithorn	Coin	54.733798 N	4.4183144 W	800-850	841-843	IB	Cross	Cross	+AEDILRED ẞ	+ALGHERE	Northumbrian	Copper alloy	Styca	Æthelred II	York	
684	Whithorn	Coin	54.733798 N	4.4183144 W	850-900		IIDI	Rosette of Pellets	Pellet	+VEIIRV	+EVOIII	Northumbrian	Copper alloy	Styca	Uncertain		
685	Whithorn	Coin	54.733798 N	4.4183144 W	800-850	841-844	IAi	Cross	Cross	(+)EDEL[REDRE	(+)MO[NNE]	Northumbrian	Copper alloy	Styca	Æthelred II	York	
690	Whithorn	Coin	54.733798 N	4.4183144 W	800-850	830-835	IA	Cross	Cross	+EANREDREX	+DAEGBERC	Northumbrian	Copper alloy	Styca	Eanred	York	
691	Whithorn	Coin	54.733798 N	4.4183144 W	800-850	796-835	IA	Cross	Cross	.EA*NBA*LD	EDI*L*AVBt	Northumbrian	Silver	Styca	Eanbald II, Arch York		
697	Whithorn	Coin	54.733798 N	4.4183144 W	750-800	765-774	Rigold Series Y	Cross	Stylized stag, right above cross and pellet	+ALCH RED		Northumbrian	Silver	Sceatta	Alchred	York	
699	Whithorn	Coin	54.733798 N	4.4183144 W	800-850	844-849	IICii	Pellet within Circle of Pellets	Cross	+EDILREDRE;	+EANRED	Northumbrian	Copper alloy	Styca	Æthelred II	York	
700	Whithorn	Coin	54.733798 N	4.4183144 W	800-850	837-841	IICi	Cross	Cross	+VIFN[VND]AR	+EDILVEARD	Northumbrian	Copper alloy	Styca	Wigmund, Arch York		
703	Whithorn	Coin	54.733798 N	4.4183144 W	700-750	737-758	IBii	Cross	Stylized stag, left, above Triquetra and Cross	*EOTBEREhTVT		Northumbrian	Silver	Sceatta	Eadberht	York	Struck from the same obverse, and perhaps the same reverse, as a coin found in York. The reverse of the York coin is too damaged to confidently identify with this reverse.
706	Whithorn	Coin	54.733798 N	4.4183144 W	750-800	757-760		Pellet within Circle of Pellets	Passion Cross within Square, trefoil flanking inscription	BEOXXaRED'[rt EFE		East Anglian	Silver	Penny	Beonna		
721	Whithorn	Coin	54.733798 N	4.4183144 W	800-850	844-849	IICii	Pellet-in-Annulet	Passion Cross	+EDILR[ED]REE	+EA*RDVVF	Northumbrian	Copper alloy	Styca	Æthelred II	York	
742	Whithorn	Coin	54.733798 N	4.4183144 W	800-850	796-835	IA	Cross	Cross	+EANBALDAR	+EDILVARD	Northumbrian	Silver	Styca	Eanbald II, Arch York		
761	Whithorn	Coin	54.733798 N	4.4183144 W	800-850	810-830	IA	Cross	Cross	EANREDREx	CyNVVLF	Northumbrian	Silver	Styca	Eanred	York	Runic Y
765	Whithorn	Coin	54.733798 N	4.4183144 W	800-850	844-849	IICii	Cross	Pellet-in-Annulet	+EDILREDREX	[+]EANRED	Northumbrian	Copper alloy	Styca	Æthelred II	York	
770	Whithorn	Coin	54.733798 N	4.4183144 W	750-800	790-796	IA	R within Circle of Pellets	Boss within Circle of Pellets	+AEDILRED	+CEOLBALD	Northumbrian	Silver	Styca	Æthelred I	York	
783	Whithorn	Coin	54.733798 N	4.4183144 W	800-850	830-835		Cross	Asterisk	EN[...]	[...]	Northumbrian	Copper alloy	Styca	Eanred	York	
793	Whithorn	Coin	54.733798 N	4.4183144 W	800-850	810-830	IA	Pellet-in-Annulet	Pellet-in-Annulet	+EANREDREX	+VILHEAH	Northumbrian	Silver	Styca	Eanred	York	
797	Whithorn	Coin	54.733798 N	4.4183144 W	800-850	810-830	IA	Boss within Circle of Pellets	Boss within Circle of Pellets	+EANREDREX	+EADVINI	Northumbrian	Silver	Styca	Eanred	York	
798	Whithorn	Coin	54.733798 N	4.4183144 W	800-850	837-841	IICi	[Cross]	Cross	[+EANREDREX]	+MONNE	Northumbrian	Copper alloy	Styca	Eanred	York	
802	Whithorn	Coin	54.733798 N	4.4183144 W	800-850	837-841	IICi	Evangelistic Cross	Cross	+EANREDRE	LADVTEIS	Northumbrian	Copper alloy	Styca	Eanred	York	
806	Whithorn	Coin	54.733798 N	4.4183144 W	800-850	841-844	IICi	Cross	Cross	+EDILREDRE	+LEOEDEGN	Northumbrian	Copper alloy	Styca	Æthelred II	York	
807	Whithorn	Coin	54.733798 N	4.4183144 W	800-850	844-849	IAii	Cross	Cross	+EDFLREDRE	+EANRED	Northumbrian	Copper alloy	Styca	Æthelred II	York	

B3.6

	Sites	Artefact Type	Latitude	Longitude	Approxim ate Date	Coin Date	Class/Subcl	Motif	Rever Motif	Inscription	Reverse Inscript	Ascribed Culture	Material	Denomina tion(Coins)	Ruler/Issuer(Coins)	Mint(Coins)	Notes
832	Whithorn	Coin	54.733798 N	4.4183144 W	800-850	810-830	I A	Evangelistic Cross within Circle of Pellets	Cross in Annulet of Pellets	E*A*NREDR*E*	+HVA.ETREE	Northumbrian	Silver	Styca	Eanred	York	
833	Whithorn	Coin	54.733798 N	4.4183144 W	800-850	810-830	I A	Boss within Circle of Pellets	Boss within Circle of Pellets	*EANREDREX	EADV+INI	Northumbrian	Silver	Styca	Eanred	York	
834	Whithorn	Coin	54.733798 N	4.4183144 W	800-850	837-841	II Ciii	Cross	Cross	+EANREDREX	+MONNE	Northumbrian	Copper alloy	Styca	Eanred	York	
849	Whithorn	Coin	54.733798 N	4.4183144 W	750-800	790-796	I A	Cross	Cross	+AEFILREDR	+CVDHEARE	Northumbrian	Silver	Styca	Æthelred I	York	
850	Whithorn	Coin	54.733798 N	4.4183144 W	800-850	841-844	I Ai	Cross	Passion Cross	+EDELREDREX	+MONNE	Northumbrian	Copper alloy	Styca	Æthelred II	York	Struck from dies very similar to a coin found in North Yorkshire
853	Whithorn	Coin	54.733798 N	4.4183144 W	700-750	737-758	I Aii	Boss within Circle of Pellets	Stylized stag, right, above triquetra	EOTBERHTVS		Northumbrian	Silver	Sceatta	Eadberht	York	
854	Whithorn	Coin	54.733798 N	4.4183144 W	800-850	844-849	II Ci	Pellet		+E[DILR]EDX	+MONNE	Northumbrian	Copper alloy	Styca	Æthelred II	York	
856	Whithorn	Coin	54.733798 N	4.4183144 W	800-850	830-835	1 A	Cross	Cross	*EANREDREX	+EADVINI	Northumbrian	Silver	Styca	Eanred	York	
862	Whithorn	Coin	54.733798 N	4.4183144 W	800-850	810-830	I A	Pellet-in-Annulet	Pellet-in-Annulet	+EANREDREX	+VILHEAH	Northumbrian	Silver	Styca	Eanred	York	
865	Whithorn	Coin	54.733798 N	4.4183144 W	700-750	737-758	I Aii	Circle of Pellets, Evangelistic Cross	Stylized stag, right, above triquetra	[E]O[TBERTVS]		Nothumbrian	Silver	Sceatta	Eadberht	York	
870	Whithorn	Coin	54.733798 N	4.4183144 W	700-750	715-730	Rigold Series J	Bust, right, within Border of Pellets	Bird perched on Cross, flanked by Annulets, Trefoil of Pellets on either side			Southumbrian	Silver	Sceatta			
874	Whithorn	Coin	54.733798 N	4.4183144 W	800-850	844-849	II Ci	Cross	Evangelistic Cross	EDIL*REDR	EVDDVVL*F	Northumbrian	Copper alloy	Styca	Æthelred II	York	
880	Whithorn	Coin	54.733798 N	4.4183144 W	750-800	778-780	Rigold Series Y	Pellet in Circle of Pellets	Cross in Annulet of Pellets	+AEDILRED	EANBALDA	Northumbrian	Silver	Sceatta	Æthelred I and J	York	
883	Whithorn	Coin	54.733798 N	4.4183144 W	800-850	841-843	II Cii	[Cross]	[Cross]	+[EDILRED]REX	+VEND[EFB[	Northumbrian	Copper alloy	Styca	Æthelred II	York	
884	Whithorn	Coin	54.733798 N	4.4183144 W	700-750	737-758	I Aii	Evangelistic Cross within Circle of Pellets	Stylized stag, right, above Cross and Triquetra	EOTBERHTVS		Northumbrian	Silver	Sceatta	Eadberht	York	Struck from the same dies as a coin found in East Yorkshire
891	Whithorn	Coin	54.733798 N	4.4183144 W	800-850	844-849		Pellet-in-Annulet	Cross			Northumbrian	Copper alloy	Styca	Æthelred II	York	
892	Whithorn	Coin	54.733798 N	4.4183144 W	800-850	844-849	I Aii	Passion Cross	Cross	+EDFLREDRE	+FORDRED	Northumbrian	Copper alloy	Styca	Æthelred II	York	
902	Whithorn	Coin	54.733798 N	4.4183144 W	850-900	849-855	II Ci	Cross within Circle of Pellets	Passion Cross	XO[S]B[RE]HE	[V]N[I[B]ER	Northumbrian	Copper alloy	Styca	Osberht	York	
904	Whithorn	Coin	54.733798 N	4.4183144 W	800-850	843-849	I B	Pellet	Pellet	+AEL[RE]DR	+EANRED	Northumbrian	Copper alloy	Styca	Æthelred II	York	
910	Whithorn	Coin	54.733798 N	4.4183144 W	800-850	810-830	I A	Boss within Circle of Pellets	Boss within Circle of Pellets	+EANREDREX	+EADVINI	Northumbrian	Silver	Styca	Eanred	York	

Appendix C:
Sculpture and Stonework

C1: Sculpture and Stonework of Bernicia

C1.1a

Sites	Sculpture	Latitude	Longitude	Approximate Date	Iconography, Face A	Iconography, Face A cont'd	Iconography, Face B
Aycliffe	Triangular Panel	54.594198 N	1.5635310 W	700-800			
Bamburgh	Arm of Chair	55.607386 N	1.7190226 W	775-825	(i)Two ribbon-like features cross eachother with extensions which link and form tiangular twists (ii)Two confronted beasts w/ bear-like heads whose bodies cross twice in a twist and curve away to the left		
Billingham	Recumbant Grave-Marker	54.609957 N	1.2862230 W	700-750	Incised cross	Alpha symbol, presumable there was also an Omega	
Birtley	Memorial Stone or Grave-Marker	55.096269 N	2.1942754 W	700-800	Cross with rectangular hooked ends		
Bolam	'Legs Cross'	54.598160 N	1.6811217 W	825-875			
Bywell	Impost	54.947232 N	1.9250331 W	675-725			
Coquet Island	Slab	55.333683 N	1.5396813 W	675-725	Carved cross		
Dalton-le-Dale	Part of cross-shaft	54.825634 N	1.366166 W	775-825	(i) Single, quarter-length figure. Right hand raised in blessing. (ii) Two figures under an arch. Haloes joined and faces close together. Both bearded and with short hair.		
Edlingham	Part of cross-shaft	55.367666 N	1.8216937 W	725-775			
Escomb	Socket	54.666528 N	1.7084940 W	700-750			
Escomb	Upright Pillar	54.666528 N	1.7084940 W	675-725			
Escomb	Fragment of Plain Cross-Shaft	54.666528 N	1.7084940 W	600-800			
Escomb	Part of cross-shaft	54.666528 N	1.7084940 W	825-850	(ii) Bird shown frontal, neck curving to peck at a berry bunch. Parrot-like head		
Escomb	Sundial and Beast's Head	54.666528 N	1.7084940 W	700-800	Trapozoidal shaped dial below serpent-like creature with reptilian head seen from above. Fish's tail with grooved moulding.		
Escomb	Part of Plain Cross-Shaft	54.666528 N	1.7084940 W	600-800			
Escomb	Slab or Grave-Marker	54.666528 N	1.7084940 W	775-825	Cross in relief. Central boss, and a boss below the cross-head on either side		
Escomb	Fragment of Cross-Shaft or Impost	54.666528 N	1.7084940 W	700-800			
Falstone	Incomplete House-Shaped Memorial	55.181015 N	2.4349452 W	750-850			
Great Farne Island	Incomplete Cross-Shaft	55.616214 N	1.6570410 W	750-850	(iii) Ribbon animal composition		
Greatham	Baluster Shaft Fragment	54.640226 N	1.2392101 W	675-725			

C1.1b

Sites	Sculpture	Iconography, Face B	Iconography, Face C	Iconography, Face D	Inscription	Column1
Aycliffe	Triangular Panel					Continental
Bamburgh	Arm of Chair					Hiberno-Saxon; Hexhi Jarrow
Billingham	Recumbant Grave-Marker				Latin in Insular majuscules with seriffed terminals: || ORAT EPRO || F.- // -.]INIB° ||	
Birtley	Memorial Stone or Grave-Marker				Anglo-Saxon capitals: O. || R. // P. || E.	
Bolam	'Legs Cross'					
Bywell	Impost					
Coquet Island	Slab					
Dalton-le-Dale	Part of cross-shaft					
Edlingham	Part of cross-shaft					
Escomb	Socket					
Escomb	Upright Pillar					
Escomb	Fragment of Plain Cross-Shaft					
Escomb	Part of cross-shaft					
Escomb	Sundial and Beast's Head					
Escomb	Part of Plain Cross-Shaft					
Escomb	Slab or Grave-Marker					
Escomb	Fragment of Cross-Shaft or Impost				Anglo-Saxon on the left panel and runes of the right panel. Both in Insular majuscules (r) +EO[-] // TAARE[FT]AER // HROETHBERHT[E] // BECUNAEFTAER // EOM?GEBID?DDERSAUL[E] (l) +[-] // aetaerroe[-] // tac[be]cunae[f]taere[o-] // geb[i]daed?e[r]saule	
Falstone	Incomplete House-Shaped Memorial					
Great Farne Island	Incomplete Cross-Shaft		(ii)Ribbon animal composition			
Greatham	Baluster Shaft Fragment					

C1.2a

Sites	Sculpture	Latitude	Longitude	Approximate Date	Iconography, Face A	Iconography, Face A cont'd
Hart	Incomplete Cross-Head	54.707699 N	1.2692599 W	825-850	Lamb facing right with head turned back. Halo with two sunken roundels. A leonine figure with three pairs of wings faces the lamb with a nimbus and book. Below is a frontal figure, with halo/wings. The head may be horned. To the right is a book	
Hart	Four Fragments of Columns or Baluster Shafts	54.707699 N	1.2692599 W	800-850		
Hartlepool	Complete Recumbent Grave-Marker	54.414243 N	1.105359 W	650-750	Cross carved in low relief. Flat, flightly bevelled border	
Hartlepool	Complete Recumbent Grave-Marker	54.414243 N	1.105359 W	700-800	Alpha and Omega	
Hartlepool	Moulding	54.694676 N	1.1823376 W	650-700		
Hartlepool	Curved moulding	54.694676 N	1.1823376 W	750-800		
Hartlepool	Incomplete Recumbent Grave-Marker	54.414243 N	1.105359 W	650-750	Outline cross	
Hartlepool	Complete Recumbent Grave-Marker	54.414243 N	1.105359 W	650-750	Incised cross. Lightly incised border.	
Hartlepool	Sill stone	54.694676 N	1.1823376 W	750-800		
Hartlepool	Complete Recumbent Grave-Marker	54.414243 N	1.105359 W	650-750	Cross carved in low relief. Bevelled border	
Hartlepool	Complete Recumbent Grave-Marker	54.414243 N	1.105359 W	650-750	Cross carved in shallow relief. Wide, flat relief border	
Hartlepool	Incomplete Recumbent Grave-Marker	54.414243 N	1.105359 W	700-800	Incised border with arcs in each corner. Crpss with central roundel and smi-circular terminals. Two smaller crosses inscribed at either side	
Hartlepool	Namestone	54.694676 N	1.1823376 W	650-750	Incised cross with Alpha and Omega in upper quadrants. Deep incised line border	
Hartlepool	Complete Recumbent Grave-Marker	54.414243 N	1.105359 W	650-750	Deeply incised cross	
Hartlepool	Incomplete Recumbent Grave-Marker	54.414243 N	1.105359 W	650-750		
Hexham	Incomplete Cross-Shaft	54.971474 N	2.1030691 W	750-800		
Hexham	Three Fragments of Panels	54.971474 N	2.1030691 W	675-700 (or Roman)		Putti picking berry bunch. Putto drawing a bow.
Hexham	Impost	54.971474 N	2.1030691 W	750-850		Cock, horned goat biting at a leaf
Hexham	Baluster Impost or Frieze	54.971474 N	2.1030691 W	675-700		

C1.2b

Sites	Sculpture	Iconography, Face B	Iconography, Face C	Iconography, Face D	Inscription	Column1
Hart	Incomplete Cross-Head					
Hart	Columns or Baluster Shafts					
Hartlepool	Complete Recumbent Grave-Marker				Latin inscription in Anglo-Saxon capitals: (upper left/right) ORA||PRO (lower left) UER //M[UN]D (lower right) [TO]RHT // [S]UID	
Hartlepool	Complete Recumbent Grave-Marker				Runes: hildi | ?ry?	
Hartlepool	Moulding					
Hartlepool	Curved moulding					
Hartlepool	Incomplete Recumbent Grave-Marker				Runes: hild | diy?	
Hartlepool	Complete Recumbent Grave-Marker				Anglo-Saxon capitals: [·A.E]||[ALEVB]	
Hartlepool	Sill stone					
Hartlepool	Complete Recumbent Grave-Marker				Latin inscription, in Anglo-Saxon capitals: (upper left/right) OR[A]||[·]// [E·]||[·] (lower left/right) OR[A]||TEPRO // [·]||[·..]D[·..] // [·E·]||[·U]D	
Hartlepool	Complete Recumbent Grave-Marker				Anglo-Saxon capitals: ED[·]||[·]	
Hartlepool	Incomplete Recumbent Grave-Marker				Latin in Anglo-Saxon capitals: || -EQ[VI]ES[C][T]| // -CO||	
Hartlepool	Namestone				Insular script: [–]bba	
Hartlepool	Complete Recumbent Grave-Marker				Insular majuscule: (lower left/right) BERCHT||GYD	
Hartlepool	Incomplete Recumbent Grave-Marker				Insular majuscules: [·,]||UGUID	
Hexham	Incomplete Cross-Shaft					
Hexham	Three Fragments of Panels					
Hexham	Impost					
Hexham	Baluster Impost or Frieze					

C1.3a

Sites	Sculpture	Latitude	Longitude	Approximate Date	Iconography, Face A	Iconography, Face A cont'd
Hexham	'Acca's Cross'	54.971474 N	2.1030691 W	725-750		
Hexham	Round-Headed Grave-Marker	54.971474 N	2.1030691 W	775-900	Cross set out in an incised circle at an angle from the top of the stone	
Hexham	Animal Impost	54.971474 N	2.1030691 W	675-725	Running animal carved in high relief. It has a round eye, a pig-like ear and a tusk.	
Hexham	Frieze	54.971474 N	2.1030691 W	675-700		
Hexham	Stone Seat	54.971474 N	2.1030691 W	675-700		
Hexham	Pilaster Base or Impost	54.971474 N	2.1030691 W	675-775		
Hexham	Part of Cross-Head	54.971474 N	2.1030691 W	750-800		
Hexham	Baluster Impost or Frieze	54.971474 N	2.1030691 W	675-700		
Hexham	String-Course or Impost	54.971474 N	2.1030691 W	750-850	Crucifixion scene in relief. Head turned right, with small dished halo. Long curling hair extends to shoulder. He wears a knee-length robe. Below are two frontal figures. On the left, holding cup and sponge. The right figure thrusts a spear into Christ's side. Both wear long straight tunics.	
Hexham	Central Part of Cross-Shaft	54.971474 N	2.1030691 W	725-775		
Hexham	Fragments of Animal Frieze	54.971474 N	2.1030691 W	675-700	Head and part of the body of a fish. Jaws agape. Body conveyed by herring-bone effect.	
Hexham	Possible Part of Cross-Shaft	54.971474 N	2.1030691 W	750-800		
Hexham	Frieze	54.971474 N	2.1030691 W	675-700		
Hexham	Fragment	54.971474 N	2.1030691 W	750-900		
Hexham	Cross-Arm	54.971474 N	2.1030691 W	700-750		
Hexham	Impost	54.971474 N	2.1030691 W	675-700 (or Roman)		
Hexham	Animal Impost or Frieze	54.971474 N	2.1030691 W	700-750	Animal in movement. Its mane is sketchily indicated by diagonal lines.	
Hexham	Cross-Base	54.971474 N	2.1030691 W	775-825		
Hexham	Architectural Fragment	54.971474 N	2.1030691W	675-700 (or Roman)		
Hexham	Fragment of Animal Frieze	54.971474 N	2.1030691 W	750-850		Small coiled serpant
Hexham	Part of Shaft or Pilaster	54.971474 N	2.1030691 W	675-725		

C1.3b

Sites	Sculpture	Iconography, Face B	Iconography, Face C	Iconography, Face D	Inscription	Column1
Hexham	'Acca's Cross'				Latin in Anglo-Saxon capitals: A[-] //S[C-]// [.N..-]// [FILI-I-]	
Hexham	Round-Headed Grave-Marker				Saxon capitals:	
Hexham	Animal Impost					
Hexham	Frieze					
Hexham	Stone Seat					
Hexham	Pilaster Base or Impost					
Hexham	Part of Cross-Head					
Hexham	Baluster Impost or Frieze					
Hexham	String-Course or Impost					
Hexham	Central Part of Cross-Shaft					
Hexham	Fragments of Animal Frieze					
Hexham	Possible Part of Cross-Shaft					
Hexham	Frieze					
Hexham	Fragment					
Hexham	Cross-Arm					
Hexham	Impost					
Hexham	Animal Impost or Frieze					
Hexham	Cross-Base					
Hexham	Architectural Fragment					
Hexham	Fragment of Animal Frieze					
Hexham	Part of Shaft or Pilaster					

C1.4a

	Sites	Sculpture	Latitude	Longitude	Approximate Date	Iconography, Face A	Iconography, Face A cont'd	Iconography, Face B
72	Hexham	Part of Animal Frieze	54.971474 N	2.1030691 W	675-725	Running cow or calf with oval eye.		
73	Hexham	Part of Block Impost	54.971474 N	2.1030691 W	675-750			
74	Hexham	String-Course or Impost	54.971474 N	2.1030691 W	750-850			
75	Hexham	Eight Fragments of One Carved Panel	54.971474 N	2.1030691 W	675-700	Robed figure		
76	Hexham	Panel	54.971474 N	2.1030691 W	675-700 (or Roman)			
77	Hexham	Centre of Cross-Head	54.971474 N	2.1030691 W	775-800			
78	Hexham	Part of Baluster Impost or Frieze	54.971474 N	2.1030691 W	675-700			
79	Hexham	Frieze	54.971474 N	2.1030691 W	675-700			
80	Hulne Priory	Lower Part of Cross-Shaft	55.434917 N	1.7423729 W	800-850			
81	Hurworth	Grave-Cover or Cross-Base	54.486208 N	1.5245482 W	825-875			
82	Hurworth	Part of Cross-Base	54.486208 N	1.5245482 W	800-875			
83	Jarrow	Part of Baluster Frieze	54.980257 N	1.4718572 W	675-825			
84	Jarrow	Incomplete Cross-Shaft	54.980257 N	1.4718572 W	750-800			
85	Jarrow	Architectural Feature or Furniture	54.980257 N	1.4718572 W	675-725			
86	Jarrow	Fragment of Decorative Architectural Strip	54.980257 N	1.4718572 W	600-800			
87	Jarrow	Architectural Panel	54.980257 N	1.4718572 W	685			
88	Jarrow	Fragment of Grave-Marker	54.980257 N	1.4718572 W	675-725	Carved cross		

C1.4b

Sites	Sculpture	Iconography, Face B	Iconography, Face C	Iconography, Face D	Inscription
72	Hexham	Part of Animal Frieze				
73	Hexham	Part of Block Impost				
74	Hexham	String-Course or Impost				
75	Hexham	Eight Fragments of One Carved Panel				
76	Hexham	Panel				
77	Hexham	Centre of Cross-Head				
78	Hexham	Part of Baluster Impost or Frieze				
79	Hexham	Frieze				
80	Hulne Priory	Lower Part of Cross-Shaft				
81	Hurworth	Grave-Cover or Cross-Base				
82	Hurworth	Part of Cross-Base				
83	Jarrow	Part of Baluster Frieze				
84	Jarrow	Incomplete Cross-Shaft				
85	Jarrow	Architectural Feature or Furniture				
86	Jarrow	Fragment of Decorative Architectural Strip				Latin inscription in Anglo-Saxon capitals: +DEDICATIOBASILICASE // SCIPAVLI VIIII KLMAI // CE[OL]FRIDIABBEIVSI_]EM[Q] // Q: EC[C]LESDOAVCTORE // CO[ND]ITORISANNOIIII
87	Jarrow	Architectural Panel				
88	Jarrow	Fragment of Grave-Marker				

C1.5a

1	Sites	Sculpture	Latitude	Longitude	Approximate Date	Iconography, Face A	Iconography, Face A cont'd
89	Jarrow	Grave-Marker or Architectural Feature	54.980257 N	1.4718572 W	675-725	Deeply carved cross	
90	Jarrow	Two Fragments	54.980257 N	1.4718572 W	675-725	Head and neck of a bird with round eye and slightly curved beak	
91	Jarrow	Cross-Slab	54.980257 N	1.4718572 W	675-725	Sunken carved cross outlined by raised roll moulding	
92	Jarrow	Building Stone	54.980257 N	1.4718572 W	700-800		
93	Jarrow	Centre of Cross-Head and Cross-Arm	54.980257 N	1.4718572 W	700-750		
94	Jarrow	Incomplete Architectural Sculpture	54.980257 N	1.4718572W	700-750	Two bird perched naturalistically on the uppermost volute of the plant scroll. The left bird is shown in profile, grasping the branch in its claw, and peaking at fruit. The right bird is nearly frontal, gripping the branch with both claws.	
95	Jarrow	Part of Impost or Slab	54.980257 N	1.4718572 W	675-725		
96	Jarrow	Incomplete Architectural Sculpture	54.980257 N	1.4718572 W	700-750	On the far left the snout and front paw of a beast grips and graws the stea. A man in profile faces the creature, reaching out with his left arm, and the right arm upraised. He is bare-footed, and his hair falls in a lock behind his ear. He wears a short kirtle, folded at the waist and passing over his shoulder.	
98	Jarrow	Fragment of Upright Slab	54.980257 N	1.4718572 W	675-725		
99	Jarrow	Part of Baluster Frieze Reused as Grave-Stone	54.980257 N	1.4718572 W	675-725		
100	Jarrow	Fragment of Upright Slab	54.980257 N	1.4718572 W	675-725		
101	Jarrow	Architectural Fragment	54.980257 N	1.4718572 W	675-725		
102	Jarrow	Lower Part of Grave-Marker	54.980257 N	1.4718572 W	675-725	Cross in relief	
103	Jarrow	Impost or Part of Furnishing	54.980257 N	1.4718572 W	650-800		
104	Jarrow	Part of Baluster Frieze	54.980257N	1.4718572 W	675-750		
105	Jarrow	Three Pieces of Baluster Frieze	54.980257 N	1.4718572 W	675-725		
106	Jarrow	Upper Fragment of Cross-Shaft	54.980257 N	1.4718572 W	700-750	Two confronted quadruped with tails turned over their backs in the act of gnawing plants	
107	Lindisfarne	Upper part of cross-shaft	55.669547 N	1.8028377 W	700-800	Two crouching animals enmeshed in interlace	
108	Lindisfarne	Part of Round-Headed Grave-Marker	55.669547 N	1.8028377 W	700-750	Double-incised border which dows not meet the cross-arms. Incised cross with deeply sunk roundels in arms and at the centre.	
109	Lindisfarne	Part of Round-Headed Grave-Marker	55.669547 N	1.8028377 W	700-800	Incised frame. Incised cross with double incised cross-base enclosign two triquetra knots.	
110	Lindisfarne	Almost Complete of Round-Headed Grave-Marker	55.669547 N	1.8028377 W	650-750	Incised cross mitred into double outlined frame. Centre of the cross is a circle with an inset centre	

C1.5b

	Sites	Sculpture	Iconography, Face B	Iconography, Face C	Iconography, Face D	Inscription
89	Jarrow	Grave-Marker or Architectural Feature				
90	Jarrow	Two Fragments				
91	Jarrow	Cross-Slab				capitals: [INHO]||[CSI.-// GVLA||R[-// NOVI || TAR[E-// DITVR	MUN[DO-
92	Jarrow	Building Stone				Anglo-Saxon capitals: HELMGYT
93	Jarrow	Centre of Cross-Head and Cross-Arm				
94	Jarrow	Incomplete Architectural Sculpture				
95	Jarrow	Part of Impost or Slab				
96	Jarrow	Incomplete Architectural Sculpture				
98	Jarrow	Fragment of Upright Slab				Latin in Anglo-Saxon capitals: -BERCHTI: // -E]DVERI: // -C], CRVCEM:
99	Jarrow	Part of Baluster Frieze Reused as Grave-Stone				
100	Jarrow	Fragment of Upright Slab				Seriffed Anglo-Saxon capitals: IN[,]-// [,]-
101	Jarrow	Architectural Fragment				
102	Jarrow	Lower Part of Grave-Marker				DIV|	R[-]
103	Jarrow	Impost or Part of Furnishing				
104	Jarrow	Part of Baluster Frieze				
105	Jarrow	Three Pieces of Baluster Frieze				
106	Jarrow	Upper Fragment of Cross-Shaft				
107	Lindisfarne	Upper part of coss-shaft	(ii) Two interlaced ribbon animals with rounded heads, open jaws and round eyes.			
108	Lindisfarne	Part of Round-Headed Grave-Marker		Incised cross with deeply sunk roundels in arms and at the centre.		Inscriptions on Faces A and C in seriffed Runes: (I): aud || [- (ii): -] || lac
109	Lindisfarne	Part of Round-Headed Grave-Marker				Anglo-Saxon capitals: [ED] ||	[E-] // HA || RD
110	Lindisfarne	Almost Complete of Round-Headed Grave-Marker				Lower quadrants contain Anglo-Saxon capitals: +OS || GY?

C1.6a

	Sites	Sculpture	Latitude	Longitude	Approximate Date	Iconography, Face A	Iconography, Face A cont'd
111	Lindisfarne	Part of Plain Round-Headed Grave-Marker	55.669547 N	1.8028377 W	700-800		
112	Lindisfarne	Round-Headed Grave-Marker	55.669547 N	1.8028377 W	700-800	Double-incised inner frame surrounded by broader outer freme of interlace wich also fills the foot of the cross. Incised cross with extended stem terminating in a semi-circular foot	
113	Lindisfarne	Incomplete cross-shaft or piece of furniture	55.669547 N	1.8028377 W	700-800		
114	Lindisfarne	Fragment	55.669547 N	1.8028377 W	700-900		
115	Lindisfarne	Cross-Base	55.669547 N	1.8028377 W	775-850		
117	Lindisfarne	Upper Half of Round-Headed Grave-Marker	55.669547 N	1.8028377 W	700-800	Incised cross with circular centre. Roundels at the centre and ends of the arms, each enclosing four triquetras in relief	
118	Lindisfarne	Incomplete Cross-Shaft	55.669547 N	1.8028377 W	775-825	Ribbon animal in profile, with lentoid eye and squared muzzle.	
119	Lindisfarne	Part of a Grave-Cover	55.669547 N	1.8028377 W	800-900	Outlined border. In the centre is a cross in relief. The arms break the border to touch the edges of the slab. Stafford Knot in the arm-tip that pass through a free ring and cross at the centre through another free ring.	
120	Lindisfarne	Part of Plain Round-Headed Grave-Marker	55.669547 N	1.8028377 W	700-800		
121	Lindisfarne	Fragment of Cross-head	55.669547 N	1.8028377 W	775-850		
122	Lindisfarne	Complete Round-headed Grave-Marker	55.669547 N	1.8028377 W	650-750	Incised cross with triple-incised outline	
123	Lindisfarne	Round-Headed Grave Marker	55.669547 N	1.8028377 W	700-800	Incised border. Incised cross with large round centre.	
124	Lindisfarne	Probably part of a cross-shaft	55.669547 N	1.8028377 W	750-800		
125	Lindisfarne	Part of Round-Headed Grave-Marker	55.669547 N	1.8028377 W	700-750	Double-incised frame enclosing parts of two arms and central roundel of incised cross. Ends of cross-arms are inset from the frame	
126	Lindisfarne	Part of Round-Headed or Circular Grave-Marker	55.669547 N	1.8028377 W	700-800	Fine double-outlined border, possibly enclosing interlace	
127	Lindisfarne	Round-Headed Grave-Marker	55.669547 N	1.8028377 W	700-800	Double-incised frame and an incised cross with the roundels enclosing triquetra ornament.	
128	Lindisfarne	Upper Part of Round-Headed Grave-Marker	55.669547 N	1.8028377 W	750-800	Double-incised frame. Rectangular sinking in centre flanked with an incised outline cross on either side	
129	Lindisfarne	Part of Round-Headed Grave-Marker	55.669547 N	1.8028377 W	650-750	Incised frame outlines shape of each quadrant between cross-arms. Lower quadrants show the fram elaborated by semicircular indenteations in outer couners. Double-outline cross with circular centre enclosing relief cross.	

C1.6b

	Sites	Sculpture	Iconography, Face B	Iconography, Face C	Iconography, Face D	Inscription
111	Lindisfarne	Part of Plain Round-Headed Grave-Marker				
112	Lindisfarne	Round-Headed Grave-Marker				quadrants in Anglo-Saxon capitals: (i) [.a]m || wini (ii) [-A-] || UINI
113	Lindisfarne	Incomplete cross-shaft or piece of furniture				
114	Lindisfarne	Fragment				
115	Lindisfarne	Cross-Base				
117	Lindisfarne	Upper Half of Round-Headed Grave-Marker				Illegible inscription
118	Lindisfarne	Incomplete Cross-Shaft			Crouching animal in profile enmeshed in tail and ear extensions	
119	Lindisfarne	Part of a Grave-Cover				
120	Lindisfarne	Part of Plain Round-Headed Grave-Marker				
121	Lindisfarne	Fragment of Cross-head				
122	Lindisfarne	Complete Round-headed Grave-Marker				Anglo-Saxon capitals: A[ED] || [B]E // [R]E || VHT
123	Lindisfarne	Round-Headed Grave Marker				Illegible
124	Lindisfarne	Probably part of a cross-shaft				
125	Lindisfarne	Part of Round-Headed Grave-Marker				Lower left quadrant in Anglo-Saxon capitals: [HA] || -
126	Lindisfarne	Part of Round-Headed or Circular Grave-Marker				Traces in Anglo-Saxon capitals within the border: - [.- LI -] -
127	Lindisfarne	Round-Headed Grave-Marker				Badly worn and of uncertain script: [P .-] || [UNI] // [ha-] ||
128	Lindisfarne	Upper Part of Round-Headed Grave-Marker				
129	Lindisfarne	Part of Round-Headed Grave-Marker				Left upper quadrant in runes: -]in[.] || Lower quadrants in Anglo-Saxon capitals: BEAN || N[AH] // || [P]AVS.I[L.]

C1.7a

	Sites	Sculpture	Latitude	Longitude	Approximate Date	Iconography, Face A	Iconography, Face A cont'd
130	Lindisfarne	Part of Grave-Cover	55.669547 N	1.8028377 W	650-750		
131	Monkwearmouth	String-Course	54.912437 N	1.3822736 W	675-700	(i) Two creatures (ii) Two figures (iii) A single running animal (iv) Two possible forms	
132	Monkwearmouth	Fragment	54.912437 N	1.3822736 W	600-900		Uncertain interlace with raised rooved edging
133	Monkwearmouth	Fragment	54.912437 N	1.3822736 W	675-700		
134	Monkwearmouth	Architectural Fragment	54.912437 N	1.3822736 W	675-700		
135	Monkwearmouth	Furniture	54.912437 N	1.3822736 W	675-700	Crouched lion in an architectural 'cage'	Standing lion carved in high relief.
136	Monkwearmouth	Window	54.912437 N	1.3822736 W	675-700		
137	Monkwearmouth	Part of Impost, Cross-Shaft or Piece of Furniture	54.912437 N	1.3822736 W	700-800		
138	Monkwearmouth	Grave-Marker or -Cover	54.912437 N	1.3822736 W	700-725	Standing cross in high relief with raised flat-band moulding and a block base	
139	Monkwearmouth	Animal-Head Terminal	54.912437 N	1.3822736 W	700-800	Head of a mammal or reptile with a short squared-off snot, lentoid eyes and slit mouth outline by grooves.	
140	Monkwearmouth	Corner Fragment	54.912437 N	1.3822736 W	600-900		
141	Monkwearmouth	Fragment	54.912437 N	1.3822736 W	675-750		
142	Monkwearmouth	Incomplete Panel	54.912437 N	1.3822736 W	675-725		Ribbon animal whose body tapers to a point and extends into a thin tail.
143	Monkwearmouth	Part of Panel or Frieze	54.912437 N	1.3822736 W	800-900	Two figures in relief in motion. Between the two is a bent sword with a short guard, round tip and pommel. The left figure raises a shield and extends his right arm. The right figure thrusts a spear under the shield. Both wear knee-length garments	
144	Monkwearmouth	Fragment of Cross-Arm	54.912437 N	1.3822736 W	700-750		
145	Monkwearmouth	Thirty-Five Baluster Shafts	54.912437 N	1.3822736 W	675-700		
146	Monkwearmouth	Fragment	54.912437 N	1.3822736 W	675-700		
147	Monkwearmouth	Capitals	54.912437 N	1.3822736 W	675-725	Relief spiral which comes to a V-shaped point in the centre	
148	Monkwearmouth	Incomplete Grave-Marker	54.912437 N	1.3822736 W	675-725	Double grooved moulding border. Double outline cross arm placed centrally with a square in the end of the cross-arm.	
149	Monkwearmouth	Fragment	54.912437 N	1.3822736 W	675-700		
150	Monkwearmouth	Fragment	54.912437 N	1.3822736 W	600-900		
151	Monkwearmouth	End Fragment of Curving Strip	54.912437 N	1.3822736 W	675-725		
152	Monkwearmouth	Pair of Door Jambs	54.912437 N	1.3822736 W	675-700	On upper stone: the necks of two reptilian creatures whose heads curve inwards and whose jaws interlace symmetrically	On lower stone: The ribbon bodies follow the line of the edge of the stone, loop inwards at the base, cross in the centre and twist together. The terminals are fish-tails

C1.7b

Sites	Sculpture	Iconography, Face B	Iconography, Face C	Iconography, Face D	Inscription
					Traces
Lindisfarne	Part of Grave-Cover				
Monkwearmouth	String-Course				
Monkwearmouth	Fragment				
Monkwearmouth	Fragment				
Monkwearmouth	Architectural Fragment				
Monkwearmouth	Furniture				
Monkwearmouth	Window				
Monkwearmouth	Part of Impost, Cross-Shaft or Piece of Furniture				
Monkwearmouth	Grave-Marker or -Cover				// PUL || CRO // REQV || IESCIT (ii) COR || PORE // HERE || BERI // CHT || PRB'
Monkwearmouth	Animal-Head Terminal				
Monkwearmouth	Corner Fragment				
Monkwearmouth	Fragment				
Monkwearmouth	Incomplete Panel				
Monkwearmouth	Part of Panel or Frieze				
Monkwearmouth	Fragment of Cross-Arm				
Monkwearmouth	Thirty-Five Baluster Shafts				
Monkwearmouth	Fragment				
Monkwearmouth	Capitals				
Monkwearmouth	Incomplete Grave-Marker				in Anglo-Saxon capitals: (i) eo || - (ii) [?ID] || -
Monkwearmouth	Fragment				
Monkwearmouth	Fragment				
Monkwearmouth	End Fragment of Curving Strip				
Monkwearmouth	Pair of Door Jambs				

C1.8a

	Sites	Sculpture	Latitude	Longitude	Approximate Date	Iconography, Face A	Iconography, Face A cont'd
153	Monkwearmouth	Corner of Cross-Arm or -Base	54.912437 N	1.3822736 W	700-800		
154	Monkwearmouth	Fragment	54.912437 N	1.3822736 W	675-700		
155	Norham	Cross-Arm	55.718121 N	2.1591517 W	825-850		
156	Norham	Fragment of Cross-Shaft	55.718121 N	2.1591517 W	800-900		
157	Norham	Fragment of Cross-Arm	55.718121 N	2.1591517 W	800-900		
158	Norham	Fragment of Cross-Shaft	55.718121 N	2.1591517 W	825-850	Frontal haloed angel with right arm turned slightly and extended behind a column. Two fingers raised in blessing.	
160	Norham	Fragment	55.718121 N	2.1591517 W	800-900		
161	Norham	Fragment of Cross-Arm	55.718121 N	2.1591517 W	825-850	(i) Round-headed animal with pointed ear seen in profile, bending its head to eat a scroll. It has a wing with a curling tip, and its tongue extends and passes through its prancing front legs to join with its tail.	
162	Norham	Part of cross-shaft	55.718121 N	2.1591517 W	800-900	(i) Hooded or draped bust (ii) to haloed figures, the one on the right holding a wand or staff (iii) Three heads	
163	Norham	Part of cross-shaft	55.718121 N	2.1591517 W	825-850		
164	Norham	Incomplete Cross-Arm	55.718121 N	2.1591517 W	825-850		
165	Norham	Fragment of Cross-Arm	55.718121 N	2.1591517 W	825-850		
166	Norham	Part of cross-shaft	55.718121 N	2.1591517 W	825-875		
167	Nunnykirk	Cross-Shaft	55.227730 N	1.866030 W	800-825	In the medallion stand two affronted animals with canine heads. Their jaws are open, biting at a berry bunch, their tails hook around the scroll to join the berry bunch.	
168	Rothbury	Slab	55.309358 N	1.9117510 W	800-850	The remains of a figure: a bare foot poised with the toes on the ground and the heel balanced on a roundel.	
169	Rothbury	Incomplete Cross-Shaft and - Head (1: Cross-Shaft)	55.309358 N	1.9117510 W	800-850	Crucifixion scene. A naturalistic arm remains, pierced through the palm with a nail. In the upper arm, an mustachioed angel appears to be grasping the remaining portion of Christ's halo. The body is winged and clothed in heavy drapery	

C1.8b

Sites	Sculpture	Iconography, Face B	Iconography, Face C	Iconography, Face D	Inscription
Monkwearmouth	Corner of Cross-Arm or -Base				
Monkwearmouth	Fragment				
Norham	Cross-Arm				
Norham	Fragment of Cross-Shaft				
Norham	Fragment of Cross-Arm				
Norham	Fragment of Cross-Shaft				
Norham	Fragment				
Norham	Fragment of Cross-Arm				Latin in Anglo-Saxon capitals in upper and lower bands: (i) |[H] - (ii) HIS?INCACI[SO] - (iii) [On the back in Anglo-Saxon capitals and runes] mHRI+NHMEI -
Norham	Part of cross-shaft				
Norham	Part of cross-shaft				
Norham	Incomplete Cross-Arm				
Norham	Fragment of Cross-Arm				
Norham	Part of cross-shaft				
Nunnykirk	Cross-Shaft				
Rothbury	Slab		Frontal figure holding thongs or whips. In the right arm, a left-facing mustachioed figure holds a circlet in each hand. The right arm is extended and unnaturally large. The figure's head is half-turned and upward looking.		
Rothbury	Incomplete Cross-Shaft and -Head (1: Cross-Shaft)				

C1.9a

Sites	Sculpture	Latitude	Longitude	Approximate Date	Iconography, Face A	Iconography, Face A cont'd
170 Rothbury	Incomplete Cross-Shaft and - Head (2: Cross-head)	55.309358 N	1.9117510 W	800-850	Christ in Majesty framed by a semiarchitectural figure. His face is youthful and he lacks a beard or mustache. He wears a plain unpleated under-tunic with round neck and is clother in a pallium. In his left hand he hold a book. On the base there is an Ascension scene.	
171 Seaham	Two Window-Heads	54.847527 N	1.3427740 W	600-900		
172 Simonburn	Part of Chamfered Impost	55.055820 N	2.2019063 W	700-750		
173 Simonburn	Part of Chamfered Baluster Impost or Frieze	55.055820 N	2.2019063 W	700-750		
174 Simonburn	Part of Cross-Slab	55.055820 N	2.2019063 W	700-750		
175 Simonburn	Centre of Cross-Head	55.055820 N	2.2019063 W	775-825		
176 Simonburn	Cross-Shaft	55.055820 N	2.2019063 W	775-825		
177 St. Andrew Auckland	Fragment of a Cross-Shaft	54.649044 N	1.5706926 W	775-825		
178 St. Andrew Auckland	Four Parts of a Cross	54.649044 N	1.5706926 W	775-825	(i)Winged/haloed figure, possibly holding book (ii)two frontal figures set closely together, both haloed and the left is winged. Both wear long tight sleeved undergarment, w/ embroidery. The male wears shawl-like over-garment, the female wears a cloak and holds a trilobed rod	(iii)Three haloed figures, the central one is tonsured and frontal, the others turn toward him.
179 Staindrop	Fragment of Cross-Shaft or Architectural Feature	54.581335 N	1.7972900 W	800-850		
180 Stamfordham	Part of cross-shaft	55.043351 N	1.8826017 W	750-800		
183 Tynemouth	'The Monk's Stone'	55.018646 N	1.4166139 W	800-900	(i)Hunting scene with a leaping animal above and a horseman below. (ii) Two rearng beasts at the base and another animal above.	

C1.9b

Sites	Sculpture	Iconography, Face B	Iconography, Face C	Iconography, Face D	Inscription	Column1
170 Rothbury	Incomplete Cross-Shaft and Head (2: Cross-head)		Two scenes are juxtaposed on different planes: Healing of the blind man by Christ; and the healing of the woman with an issue of blood. Christ's figure is placed at an angle to divide the two scenes. The blind is mustachioed and is swathed in a robe.	A crowd of eighteen figures convey a massed group. They have no mustaches and their hair is filleted. Below is a scene in Hell, in which small animals and humans struggle in the coils of reptiles. Each reptile has a canine-type head with prominent ears and blunt jaws.		
171 Seaham	Two Window-Heads					
172 Simonburn	Part of Chamfered Impost					
173 Simonburn	Part of Chamfered Baluster Impost or Frieze					
174 Simonburn	Part of Cross-Slab					
175 Simonburn	Centre of Cross-Head					
176 Simonburn	Cross-Shaft					
177 Auckland	Fragment of a Cross-Shaft					
178 St. Andrew Auckland	Four Parts of a Cross	(i) Right-facing quadruped. (ii)Bird with parrot-like beak facing left pecking a triangular, veined leaf (iii) Quadruped facing right with back-turned canine head biting triangular leaf.	Two identical, half-turned figures, closely set. Merged haloes. Each tonsured with long beard. Both hold scrolls. (ii)Two figures with hands and haloes touching	(i)Canine quadruped facing left, back-turned head biting at berry bunch (ii) Bird faces right, back-turned head reaching to a berry bunch (iii) Quadruped indentical to first (iv) An moustached archer, wearing a cap with close-cropped hair wearing ankle-length tunic w/ tight sleeves	Latin in Anglo-Saxon capitals: PAS AND around a haloed, bearded figure bound to a cross. Two haloed figures flank the cross	Shows influence of Southern Kingdoms wi... earlier sculptures in Breedon and Peterborough parallels Figures paralleled in m... and sculptures from Hoddom to Otley
179 Staindrop	Fragment of Cross-Shaft or Architectural Feature					
180 Stamfordham	Part of cross-shaft					
		Divided into two panel by fine roll moulding. (i) Two ribbon animals with coiled back heads disposed saltire fashion against a background of interlace. (ii) Three pairs of confronted beasts, the lower two separated from those above by a horizontal twist. Their extremities are interlaced				
183 Tynemouth	'The Monk's Stone'		Two affronted beasts below two human figures set above the tree-scroll			

Appendix C2:

Sculpture and Stonework of Deira

C2.1a

Sites	Sculpture	Latitude	Longitude	Date	Iconography, Face A	Iconography, Face B	Iconography, Face C	Iconography, Face D
Aysgarth	Cross-Head	54.292122 N	1.9812229 W	800-925	Free-armed cross with wedge-shaped limbs and widely curving arm-pits. In the centre is an eroded boss encircled by a ring			
Barningham	Grave-Cover	54.488870 N	1.8702992 W	775-900				
Cotherstone	Cross-Shaft	54.577010 N	1.9875914 W	800-900	Two confronted beasts with canine heads, pricked ears and gaping jaws. Their bodies are serpentine and intertwine in a series of double twists	Single creature with canine head with closed jaws and thick serpentine body which forms interlaced loops		Single creature with canine head with closed jaws and thick serpentine body which forms interlaced loops
Crayke	Fragment	54.128201 N	1.1430294 W	775-800				
Crayke	Cross-Arm Fragment	54.128201 N	1.1430294W	775-800	Double cusped cross-arm			

C2.1b

Sites	Sculpture	Plant-Scroll/Motif, Face A	Plant-Scroll/Motif, Face B	Plant-Scroll/Motif, Face C	Plant-Scroll/Motif, Face D
Aysgarth	Cross-Head	Tangled scroll seems to have formed a medallion around the boss		Plain edge moulding. A prominent domed boss in the centre	
Barningham	Grave-Cover	Plain edge moulding			
Cotherstone	Cross-Shaft				
Crayke	Fragment	Flat-band edge moulding continues along the shallow arm-pit. Lying close against the curve is a triple split leaf, the uppermost element has a curled tip. To the left is a ridge node.		Flat-band edge moulding continues along the shallow arm-pit. Lying close against the curve is a triple split leaf, the uppermost element has a curled tip. To the left is a ridge node.	
Crayke	Cross-Arm Fragment	Plain and flat-band moulding, sharply cut at the corners. The panel within is filled with a plant-scroll terminating in a pendant leaf flowers. The stalk has split stems, the off-shoots terminating in single oval leaflets.		Plain and flat-band edge moulding. Within is a very open plant-scroll with a fleshy, humped sectioned stem. A ridged node marks a split stem, one shoot tapering to a plain half-moon leaf with pointed tip. The principal shoot hangs down with a curled shoot near its junction; the other fills the corner with a half moon leaf	

C2.2a

Sites	Sculpture	Latitude	Longitude	Date	Iconography, Face A	Iconography, Face B	Iconography, Face C	Iconography, Face D
8 Croft on Tees	Part of Shaft	54.483630 N	1.5554477 W	775-825	(ii) Four profile animals, arranged symmetrically in two pairs. Te left-hand animal of each pair is upright, whilst the right-hand animals are on their backs. The upper pair are winged bipeds with round heads and open jaws from which issue a long tongue		Rearing quadruped with a canine head, upraised wing and short lifted tail with a volute tip. The beast bites a leaf. Its pair on the right is nearly identical, only with folded wings, and its leg interlace with the scroll in an 'Anglian lock'. In the middle register is an equine creature, with a long neck and a tail with a large pointed leaf terminal. It is disposed vertically, the legs in an 'Anglian knot' with the scroll. On the right, a rearing quadruped, adorsed with its companion. Its canine head bites a leaf. Below, in the left hand scroll is a bird with a round body, long neck and parrot-like ehad. It swallows the tip of a shootlet. Its wing is raised and pointed.	
9 Cundall / Aldborough	Shaft	54.151986 N	1.3538361 W	775-825	(i) the frontal bust of an Angel with slightly dished halo. (iv) Depiction of Samson carrying off the gates of Gaza over his shoulders, advancing right. The gates are arches with subconical capitals and splayed bases. (vi) A figure stands on the left in front of the half-profile of a kneeling figure with curved drapery. Within the porch stands a robed figure in half-profile with long hair falling upon the shoulder		(i)Frontal bust of an angel with dished halo and large wings. It holds a wand or blossom from a broad sleeved arm. (iii) A contoured beast staggering down the steps of the boxed moulding. Its tail has a voluted tip and its head is viewed from above. (v) Quadruped stepping down the steps with volute tipped tail. The beast has an S-form with circular eyes and broad snub jowl.	
10 Danby Wiske	Shaft Fragment	54.379083 N	1.4811391 W	700-825				(iii) Large biped facing left and feeding on a berry bunch. Its tail tapers and hangs down.

C2.2b

Sites	Sculpture	Plant-Scroll/Motif, Face A	Plant-Scroll/Motif, Face B	Plant-Scroll/Motif, Face C	Plant-Scroll/Motif, Face D	Inscription, Face A
8 Croft on Tees	Part of Shaft	Broad rolled edge moulding, with narrower roll moulding subdividing the face into two panels. (i) Bush vine rising from a central inverted palmette form. The central stem is vertical and rolled, with a pair of pendant scrolls disposed symetrically. The upper pair terminate inpointed leaves with flanking circular leaves. The lower pair spring diagonally upwards with the same terminals. At the top the central stem splits into two berry bunches, each grasped by a pair of confronted birds	Double edge moulding. Within the panel is part of a plant-scroll, only one and a half registers survive. The scrolls issue from a ridged node. The lower shootlet forms a scroll with a curved pointed leaf terminal. Frim the centre of the node, a straight stem grows with an expanded oval tip and an ellipse incised within it. The upper shoot grew upwards into another scroll. From this are two pendant, pointed leavesm veined and with volute tips, interlaced with the strand.	Broad rolled edge moulding outside a thinner roll moulding framing the panel. The panel is filled with a tree-scroll of three registers, springing from a central stock with curved sides and medial beading, topped with a ridged nodes from which the paired scrolls grow. At the tope, a pair of pointed leaves from a shootlet fill the spandrel. The scroll terminates in rosette berry bunches with pointed leaves on the shootlets. The lowest right scroll has almost a 'Byzantine blossom'. The scroll is inhabited by beasts and birds.	Double edge moulding	
9 Cundall / Aldborough	Shaft	Double roll moulding. (iii) Delicate, open planit springing from central stock in the middle of the base. It has long medallion shoots with long pointed berry bunch as pendant terminals. An elegant canine beast whose tail forms part of the medallion stands on its hind legs and grasps the shoot to dees. Above is a pair of birds. (v) Plant-scroll occupied by a bird facing right abova a pair of confronted canine-type quadrupeds.	Double roll moulding (ii) Plant-scroll medallion rising from a central stack with two registers and shootlets bearing a pendant terminal pointed lobed leaf. A large rounded berry bunch occupies the upper medallion. (iv) Inhabited plant-scroll with a large rearing deer-like creature facing left. It feeds from round berry bunches and pointed lobed leaves. (vi) Animal within a medallion scroll growing from a central stock. The lower pair are confronted quadrupeds.	Double roll edge moulding. (ii) Bush vine growing from a pot-like stock. The central shoot sprouts into four leaves ad the central stem is flanked by roundels of shootlets with volute tips. (iv) Bush vine with a thicker stem sprouting from a scrolly stock. The central stem ends in four scrollets each bearing a single rounded berry. The flanking shoots are densely organised with pattern F symmetrical loops. (vi and viii) bush vine stemming from shallow stock with erupting scrolls.	Double roll edge moulding. (ii) Two registers of plant-scroll with pointed leaves and twin lobes. (v) One medallion of inhabited scroll. A bird, facing right feeds on a berry, contained in a roundel. (vi) Plant-scroll beneath a rearing quadruped whose legs are held in an 'Anglian lock'. It has pricked earsand feeds from a large berry cluster. (vii) A medallion plant-scroll, the upper register containing pendant and pointed berry bunches flanked by upright shoots tipped with oval bunches.	
10 Danby Wiske	Shaft Fragment					

C2.3a

#	Sites	Sculpture	Latitude	Longitude	Date	Iconography, Face A	Iconography, Face B	Iconography, Face C	Iconography, Face D
11	Easby	Incomplete Cross-Shaft and -Head	54.471283 N	1.1096446 W	775-825	(i) a bust of Christ, facing frontally. In his left hand, he holds a book and he raises his right hand in blessing. (ii) Frontal, seated Christ. His right hand is raised from the wrist with outward palm. At head level he is flanked by two figures with smaller haloes in half profile. (iii) Within the arched panel, three Apostle busts.		(i) Broken bust-length figure that may have been an Apostle. It holds a book in its left hand.	
12	Filey	Part of Grave-Cover	54.214367 N	0.28860254 W	700-800				
13	Gilling East	Fragment	54.183287 N	1.0576136 W	700-800	Encircled equal-armed cross carved in relief with wide curved arm-pits and cusped arms.			
14	Gilling West	Grave-Marker or Architectural Panel	54.442795 N	1.7255030 W	800-900	Free-armed cross with wide curved arm-pits and slightly convex tips. Within the plain cross is a raised lorgnette cross with circular terminals and centre			
15	Gilling West	Part of a Cross-Head	54.440991 N	1.7224313 W	800-900			Free-armed cross with wide curved arm-pits and slightly convex tips. Within the plain cross is a raised lorgnette cross with circular terminals and centre	
17	Hackness	Marker	54.300928 N	0.51246233 W	675-800				
18	Hackness	Part of Cross-Shaft	54.300928 N	0.51246233 W	675-825	(ii) Frontally placed figure, with hair hanging in a plait over the shouder. (iii) Pair of confronted animals			

C2.3b

Sites	Sculpture	Plant-Scroll/Motif, Face A	Plant-Scroll/Motif, Face B	Plant-Scroll/Motif, Face C	Plant-Scroll/Motif, Face D	Inscription, Face A
11 Easby	Incomplete Cross-Shaft and -Head		(i)Organic plant-scroll consisting of two plants, each with its root in the corner of the panel. The left-hand one climbs to a fymmetrical loop with a semi-pendant triple-leaf terminal. The main stem continues into a crozier-like loop whose upturned tip has a leaf flower. (iii) Plant-scroll forming a medallion and terminating in two entangled scrolls.	(ii) Inhabited plant-scroll, alternating birds and beasts, each occupying a scroll. The legs of the birds are held in an 'Anglian lock' with the tendrils of the scrolls.	(i) Single medallion plant-scroll growing from a stubby stalk in the middle of the lower edge. The shootlets are loosely entangled and have split leaf or leaf flower terminals. (iii) Simple plant-scroll erupting in an S-formation from a ridged node. The shootlets are tipped with small triangular berry bunches.	
12 Filey	Part of Grave-Cover	Broad, plain edge moulding				
13 Gilling East	Fragment	Double rolled edge moulding enclosing two registers of interlaced medallion scroll with hooked leaf terminal in the spandrel				
14 Gilling West	Grave-Marker or Architectural Panel	Broad edge moulding with a narrow moulding around the carved cross				
15 Gilling West	Part of a Cross-Head					
17 Hackness	Marker					
18 Hackness	Part of Cross-Shaft	(i) S-shaped spiral scroll, within each volute is a pendant triangular berry bunch. (iv) A pair of scrolls, arranged like an Ionic capital. A crescent motif lies at the centre, below symmetrical pelta-like elements	(ii) Plant-scroll whose concentric steams are bound across a trumpet-shaped node		(ii) S-shaped spiral scroll with half-moon leaves in the interstices.	

C2.3c

	Sites	Sculpture	Inscription, Face A	Inscription, Face B	Inscription, Face C	Inscription, Face D
11	Easby	Incomplete Cross-Shaft and -Head				
12	Filey	Part of Grave-Cover				
13	Gilling East	Fragment				
14	Gilling West	Grave-Marker or Architectural Panel				
15	Gilling West	Part of a Cross-Head				
17	Hackness	Marker		(i) Latin script in Latin: OEDIL[B]V[. .] // [BEA]TA:[.-] // [EMPE]R[-] // [. .OLA-] // [:] // [-] // [LE-EM] // V[-S.] // [-ND-] // [-R]V (iii) Five lines of cyptic characters similar to Ogham script	(ii) Runic script followed by three Latin capitals: •emc[-]rŒ // gn[-] Œ [.] (three indecipherable runic line) // [ORA]	
18	Hackness	Part of Cross-Shaft				(i) Latin script in Latin: [-A] // [SE]MPE[R] // TE[M]E[NT // [M]E[MO]R[ES] // [.]O[LM]VS[:]T[V] // [..TE]M[A]TE<[R]> // [AMA]NT[IS] // [SI]M[A] (iii) Latin script in Latin: [.TREL-OS] // [A. .A.IS]SA // OEDILBVR]G[AOR] // [ATEP.-]

C2.4a

	Sites	Sculpture	Latitude	Longitude	Date	Iconography, Face A	Iconography, Face B	Iconography, Face C	Iconography, Face D
19	Hackness	Part of Grave-Cover	54.300928 N	0.51246233 W	675-725	Linear, symmetrical design of four interlaced animals, joined by their necks in a central register of interlace carved in low relief. The creatures include two ribbon snakes with domed heads and elliptical eyes, and two qudrupeds in profile with back-turned heads biting at their own backs.			
20	Hackness	Architectural Fragments	54.300928 N	0.51246233 W	700-800				
21	Hartlepool	Curved moulding	54.694676 N	1.1823376 W	650-700				
22	Hauxwell	Cross-Shaft and - Base	54.332839 N	1.7468419 W	775-825	On the lower surviving cross arm is the rounded terminal of a lorgnette with a domed boss, surrounded by interlace.		Between two looped elements is a profile quadruped with a slender body, arched back, striding forelegs, and backward-looking head on a long neck. The tail ends in a trilobated swelling.	
23	Hovingham	Part of Cross-Shaft	54.172779 N	0.98125550 W	800-900				
24	Hovingham	Feature	54.172779 N	0.98125550 W	800-900	Cusped free-armed cross cut in high relief			

C2.4b

Sites	Sculpture	Latitude	Longitude	Date	Plant-Scroll/Motif, Face A	Plant-Scroll/Motif, Face B	Plant-Scroll/Motif, Face C	Plant-Scroll/Motif, Face D
19 Hackness	Part of Grave-Cover	54.300928 N	0.51246233 W	675-725	Narrow, flat perimeter moulding.			
20 Hackness	Architectural Fragments	54.300928 N	0.51246233 W	700-800	Large free ring, intersected symmetrically by four other rings of equal size. The spandrels are filled by triangles. The segments of the four other rings are filled by symmetrical acanthus-like spray			
21 Hartlepool	Curved moulding	54.694676 N	1.1823376 W	650-700				
22 Hauxwell	Cross-Shaft and - Base	54.332839 N	1.7468419 W	775-825	Narrow rolled edge moulding	Narrow plain edge moulding	Narrow edge moulding	Narrow edge moulding
23 Hovingham	Part of Cross-Shaft	54.172779 N	0.98125550 W	800-900	Broad, flat edge moulding which develops into a pair of semicircular arches. Within the arches are mirror image runs of spiral scroll, each volute having a pendant leaf filling the triangular space. S come of the scrolls contain rosette berry bunches.	Broad plain edge moulding which develops into an arch at the top containing a circular terminal	Broad, flat edge moulding which develops into a pair of semicircular arches. Within the arches traces of a plant-scroll remain	Broad plain edge mouldinging which develops into an arch at the top containing a circular terminal
24 Hovingham	Feature	54.172779 N	0.98125550 W	800-900				

C2.5a

	Sites	Sculpture	Latitude	Longitude	Date	Iconography, Face A	Iconography, Face B	Iconography, Face C	Iconography, Face D
25	Hovingham	Slab from Composite Shrine	54.172779 N	0.98125550 W	775-825	(i)Standing nimbed angel facing right with inclined head, holding a wand with a fleur-de-lys terminal in its left hand. (ii) Damaged figure, facing left in half profile sitting on a folding X-shaped stool. A chaliced-shaped object sits in fron of the shin. (iii) Standing, inclined figure with nimbed head facing right. The right arm is raised from the elbow. (iv) Standing nimbed figure. (v) Damaged standing figure. (vi) Worn standing figure half-profile facing right. The head is hooded, and it may holding a swaddled child. (vii) Seated nimbed figure on X-shaped stool. (viii) Standing angel, facing left, its right arm extended towards the seated figure.			
26	Hunmanby	Cross-Head	54.181786 N	0.317532 W	700-900	Free-armed cross with widely curving armpits. In the centre are two concentric raised rings within which is a hollowed boss.			
27	Hunmanby	Part of Cross-Shaft	54.181786 N	0.317532 W	800-825				
28	Ingleby Arncliffe	Shaft Fragment	54.396175 N	1.3053399 W	800-900				
29	Arncliffe	Fragment	54.396175 N	1.3053399 W	800-900				
30	Irton	Cross-Shaft, -Head and -Base	54.243000 N	0.450800 W	800-850				
31	Kirby Hill	Impost	54.111782 N	1.4003506 W	775-825				

C2.5b

Sites	Sculpture	Plant-Scroll/Motif, Face A	Plant-Scroll/Motif, Face B	Plant-Scroll/Motif, Face C	Plant-Scroll/Motif, Face D	Inscription, Face A
25 Hovingham	Slab from Composite Shrine	Plain moulding. Inhabited plant-scroll along the base. Alternate circular scrolls occupied by pecking birds and uninhabited volutes containing a single pendant leaf-flower with a rounded berry bunch.				
26 Hunmanby	Cross-Head					
27 Hunmanby	Part of Cross-Shaft	Spiral scroll containing a berry cluster				
Ingleby		Flat-band moulding flanks an inner roll moulding				
28 Arncliffe	Shaft Fragment					
29 Arncliffe	Fragment	Coil of plant-scroll with a curling tendril				
30 Irton	Cross-Shaft, -Head and -Base					
31 Kirby Hill	Impost				Two registers of plant-scroll. Between the scrolls is a node from which springs the scroll stems on either side of an upright stem crowned with a worn berry or bud.	

C2.6a

	Sites	Sculpture	Latitude	Longitude	Date	Iconography, Face A	Iconography, Face B	Iconography, Face C	Iconography, Face D
32	Kirby Knowle	Shaft-Fragment	54.283746 N	1.2903359 W	775-850				
33	Kirby Knowle	Shaft-Fragment	54.283746 N	1.2903359 W	700-825				
34	Kirby Misperton	Part of Cross-Shaft	54.205351 N	0.80874017 W	800-900	(i) Interlocking profile animals and interlace. The beasts and diagonal with right-angle bends, and have elongated think necks and limbs, and open jaws with the tongue passing between fangs.			
35	Kirkbymoorside	Unknown Type of Monument	54.270313 N	0.93124965 W	825-875				
36	Kirkdale	Grave-Cover	54.262508 N	0.96369230 W	800-825	Incised diagonal turned into a cross with expanded terminals.			
37	Kirkdale	Grave-Cover	54.262508 N	0.96369230 W	775-825	Superimposed cross with plant-scroll running on the stem.			
38	Lastingham	Part of Chair	54.304940 N	0.88424718 W	700-800	Three-dimensional animal head with projecting jaws. Its incised eyes are round at the front, and taper to a point towards the back		Three-dimensional animal head with projecting jaws. Its incised eyes are round at the front, and taper to a point towards the back	

C2.6b

Sites	Sculpture	Plant-Scroll/Motif, Face A	Plant-Scroll/Motif, Face B	Plant-Scroll/Motif, Face C	Plant-Scroll/Motif, Face D	Inscription, Face A
32 Kirby Knowle	Shaft-Fragment					
33 Kirby Knowle	Shaft-Fragment	Two stems sprout from the node of a plant-scroll. These enclose two crossing stems which curve round and upward. Framed by the stems is the remains of a berry bunch.				
34 Kirby Misperton	Part of Cross-Shaft	Wide outer edge moulding, plain and flat with inner plain moulding dividing the face into three panels	Broad outer and narrow inner moulding forming a concave arc at the base		Broad outer and narrow inner moulding forming a concave arc at the base	
35 Kirkbymoorside	Unknown Type of Monument	Broad, flat moulding		Flat perimeter moulding		
36 Kirkdale	Grave-Cover	Broad border made of a meander pattern, changing to chevrons at one end.	A row of triangular 'tassels' which taper and terminate in a pellet. Broad, flat moulding at the base	A row of triangular 'tassels' which taper and terminate in a pellet. Broad, flat moulding at the base	A row of triangular 'tassels' which taper and terminate in a pellet. Broad, flat moulding at the base	
37 Kirkdale	Grave-Cover	Broad, plain moulding. On the cross-stem: Sprial scrolls containing small berry bunches. Drop leaves fill the spandrels, often trefoil in form. Above the cross arms are fourfold spiral scrolls arranged around a single pellet.				
38 Lastingham	Part of Chair		Raised lead motif with sharply pointed tip and bilobate base.		Simple scroll with nodes and small rounded berry bunches	

C2.7

#	Sites	Sculpture	Latitude	Longitude	Date	Plant-Scroll/Motif, Face A	Plant-Scroll/Motif, Face B	Plant-Scroll/Motif, Face C	Plant-Scroll/Motif, Face D
39	Lastingham	Part of Cross-Head	54.304940 N	0.88424718 W	700-800	Flat, double perimeter moulding interrupter by the central roundel. The roundel has a flat plaing rim and contains a radial marigold design		Double plain moulding on the perimeter.	
40	Lastingham	Architectural Feature	54.304940 N	0.88424718 W	675-725	Broad, flat edge moulding.	Single flat-band moulding enclosing a flat strand forming a run of zig-zags interspersed with pellets	Broad, flat edge moulding.	
41	Lastingham	Part of Cross-Head	54.304940 N	0.88424718 W	775-825	Outer cable moulding and slender roll moulding within. Slender plant-scroll around the central circular boss. It forms a miniature spiral scroll with stems interlaced. It terminates in loose loops and two pairs of pendant triangular berry branches.	Edge moulding of an outer and inner roll. The arm-ends show four triangular motifs arranged in a saltire		Edge moulding of an outer and inner roll. The arm-ends show four triangular motifs arranged in a saltire
42	Lastingham	Architectural Feature	54.304940 N	0.88424718 W	700-800	Double inner moulding on each side. Broad flat outer moulding. Within are three volutes of plant-scroll, half-way between simple and spiral forms. A short triangular berry-bunch hangs within each volute.			
43	Lastingham	Fragment	54.304940 N	0.88424718 W	700-900	Two plain, flat mouldings	Flat, plain edge moulding flanking interlace	Two plain, flat mouldings	
44	Lastingham	Fragment	54.304940 N	0.88424718 W	600-900	Flat-band moulding.	A band of zig-zags with pellets regularly interspersed between flat-band moulding		
45	Lastingham	Architectural Feature	54.304940 N	0.88424718 W	800-900	Double edge moulding with inner moulding on the right-hand edge. The panel within contains a row of four large circular pellets in low relief.			

C2.8a

#	Sites	Sculpture	Latitude	Longitude	Date	Iconography, Face A	Iconography, Face B	Iconography, Face C	Iconography, Face D
47	Leake	Cross-Head	54.310069 N	1.3359932 W	700-825	Free-armed cross with widely-curving arm-pits and shallow squared ends to the arm-tips. In the centre is a very shallow boss surrounded by a modelled ring.			
48	Leven	Part of Cross-Shaft	53.892091 N	0.31853752 W	800-900				
49	Lythe	Finial	54.506997 N	0.68878124 W	675-725	A gabled finial		A gabled finial	
50	Lythe	Door Jamb	54.506997 N	0.68878124 W	775-825				
51	Marrick	Fragment	54.374761 N	1.8968279W	700-900				
52	Masham	Cross-Arm and Part of -Head	54.222428 N	1.6548808 W	775-825				

C2.8b

	Sites	Sculpture	Plant-Scroll/Motif, Face A	Plant-Scroll/Motif, Face B	Plant-Scroll/Motif, Face C	Plant-Scroll/Motif, Face D
47	Leake	Cross-Head				
48	Leven	Part of Cross-Shaft				
49	Lythe	Finial				
50	Lythe	Door Jamb	Rolled narrow edge moulding			
51	Marrick	Fragment	Plain edge moulding			
52	Masham	Cross-Arm and Part of -Head	Double-edge moulding. In the cross-arm is a plant-scroll with pointed leaves with twin lobes in the upper corners. The strands form a kind of tight medallion scroll with shootlets bearing triangular berry bunches.	Double edge moulding.		

C2.9a

Sites	Sculpture	Latitude	Longitude	Date	Iconography, Face A	Iconography, Face B	Iconography, Face C	Iconography, Face D
53 Masham	Columnar Shaft	54.222428 N	1.6548808 W	775-825	(i) Single figure seated on a throne facing outward and wearing a long robe. (ii, iii, iv) Pairs of standing figures in long narrow robes reaching the ankle in each. (v, vi, vii) Pairs of figures whose feet face right towards the single figure.	(i) Two standing figures. The left-hand figure reaches down towards the other. (ii) Backward-looking quadruped with slender limbs. Behind it stands a tall human figure with his hand on the beast's head. (iii) A pair of confronted birds with folded wings, their tails linking to form a crescent-shaped feature containing a figure, possibly an urn. (iv) Large seated figure at the top left, in profile, wearing a long garment and playing a lyre. Before him sits another figure on a smaller chair, holding a triangular instrument. At their feet are two small figures, one perhaps at a desk. (v) A standing figure facing left with a round-headed arch over his shoulder. From his wrist, a short drape hangs, and his garment reaches his shins. (vi) Two seated figures in high chairs shown in profile. (vii) A pair of standing figures	(i) Two standing figures. (ii) A pair of standing figures. (iv) Frontal figure seated on a chair or throne with long posts topped with oval finials. In front are three squat, bulbous features in a line. (v) Frontal standing figure that may have had a halo.	(i) Quadruped walking left. It has a long neck, hook-shaped head and a small curling pigtail. At the base of its neck is a small wing. (ii) Quadruped facing right in profile. It has stumpy wing, and an attenuated neck that coils into a scroll. (iii) Quadruped facing left. The head is raised and filiform extensions crown it. (iv) Pair of confronted creatures with wings and bird-like heads. The appear to have been quadrupeds. (v-vi) Dingle beasts confronting as mirror images. They are quadrupeds with spindly angular legs. One foreleg is raised through a delicate leafless plant. (vii) Rampant beast facing right, one claw raised whilst the other is enmeshed in looping extensions with berry-bearing shoots. The head is griffin-like.
54 Masham	Shaft Fragment	54.222428 N	1.6548808 W	700-825				
55 Masham	Part of Cross-Arm	54.222428 N	1.6548808 W	775-825	Cusped cross-arm.			

C2.9b

#	Sites	Sculpture	Plant-Scroll/Motif, Face A	Plant-Scroll/Motif, Face B	Plant-Scroll/Motif, Face C	Plant-Scroll/Motif, Face D
1						
53	Masham	Columnar Shaft		Semicircular arches whose capitals are sub-triangular. The spandrels contain ovoid-shaped fillers. These include a human heads	Semicircular arches whose capitals are sub-triangular. The spandrels contain ovoid-shaped fillers. They are a combination of oval forms and triple leaves. (iii) Foliate form, badly damaged, symmetrically disposed around a central stem. (vi) Foliate motif like a palmette with central stem with half-moon leaves arranged symmetrically.	Semicircular arches whose capitals are sub-triangular. The spandrels contain delicate dprays blossoming from thin vertical stems.
54	Masham	Shaft Fragment	Broad pellet run edge moulding and narrow inner moulding			Broad pellet run edge moulding
55	Masham	Part of Cross-Arm		Double edge moulding. Within is a heart-shaped plant-scroll, with pointed leaf and embracing shootlets.		Double edge moulding

C2.10a

Sites	Sculpture	Latitude	Longitude	Date	Iconography, Face A	Iconography, Face B	Iconography, Face C	Iconography, Face D
56 Melsonby	Part of Shaft	54.471471 N	1.6913650 W	775-825		(i) Long-limbed quadruped raising its right foreleg in salute. The long neck curves with parallel ribbed bands. The line of the neck and back are curvilinear, and the creature raises a wing. It has a feline head, small ears, a mane, and a slanting eye. In its mouth it holds a serpent. (ii) A pair of sprawling lizard-like bipeds viewed from above. Their heads touch and are shown in profile. Their tails are entwined in an open loop with bulbous tassel-like terminals. (iii) A pair of affronted canines with back-turned heads bite the tails of the creatures above. Their ears are long. One wears a collar, and the other a strap across its shoulder.		Three panels containing pairs of frontal human faces with lentoid eyes. One face may have been bearded, another nimbed and one with long hair
57 Melsonby	Part of Shaft	54.471471 N	1.6913650 W	775-825				
58 Middleton	Architectural Feature	53.933730 N	0.562340 W	700-825	Cross carved in high relief. The centre shows a depression which may have been a circular setting for an applique or crystal.			
59 North Otterington	Cross-Head	54.300734 N	1.4452450 W	700-800	Cross with semi-circular arm-pits and convex arm tips.		Cross with semi-circular arm-pits and convex arm tips.	
60 Northallerton	Shaft Fragment	54.342038 N	1.4369984 W	800-850				

C2.10b

	Sites	Sculpture	Plant-Scroll/Motif, Face A	Plant-Scroll/Motif, Face B	Plant-Scroll/Motif, Face C	Plant-Scroll/Motif, Face D
56	Melsonby	Part of Shaft		Rolled edge moulding.	Bold rolled moulding containing a run of deeply cut plant-scroll. It is a simple scroll with triple ridged nodes from which emerge a pendant shootlet with a drop leaf. Some of the shootlets bear trilobed berry clusters.	Roll moulding, expanding at intervals to divide the face into a series of oval or figure-of-eight shaped panels.
57	Melsonby	Part of Shaft	Rolled edge moulding containing a run of deeply cut plant-scroll. It is a simple scroll with triple ridged nodes from which emerge a pendant shootlet with a drop leaf. Some of the shootlets bear trilobed berry clusters.	Rolled edge moulding.		
58	Middleton	Architectural Feature	Plain roll moulding perimeter. Marigold petals radiate from the central setting in low relief.			
59	North Otterington	Cross-Head				
60	Northallerton	Shaft Fragment	Double edge moulding. The upper half is filled with a diagonal key fret. Below is a plant-scroll with a narrow nodding seed-pod on a stalk.			

C2.11a

	Sites	Sculpture	Latitude	Longitude	Date	Iconography, Face A	Iconography, Face B	Iconography, Face C	Iconography, Face D
61	Northallerton	Shaft Fragment	54.342038 N	1.4369984 W	700-800				
62	Northallerton	Part of Cross-Head	54.342038 N	1.4369984 W	700-800	Free-armed cross with widely-curving arm-pits and wedge-shaped limbs.		Free-armed cross with widely-curving arm-pits and wedge-shaped limbs.	
64	Patrington	Part of Cross-Shaft	53.682417 N	0.010423490 W	700-800				
65	Stonegrave	Lower Part of Cross-Shaft	54.191779 N	0.99611492 W	800-900				
66	Wensley	Shaft Fragment	54.301029 N	1.8601328 W	775-825				

C2.11b

	Sites	Sculpture	Plant-Scroll/Motif, Face A	Plant-Scroll/Motif, Face B	Plant-Scroll/Motif, Face C	Plant-Scroll/Motif, Face D
61	Northallerton	Shaft Fragment	A run of vertical zig-zag. Medallion plant-scroll, with a pair of nodding leaf flowers or seed pods with narrow triangular leaves on stems serving as sepals in the upper half-medallion. Within the lower medallion are two long triangular berry bunches arranged on a diagonal axis. The spandrel contains a triple leaf spray, veined.	Edge moulding with a more slender inner moulding, both in high relief. A panel of tree-scroll with vertical axial stem. Three pairs of scrolls survive, each with rosette berry bunch at its centre and surmounted by a frondy split leaf attached to the main stem.	Double modelled edge moulding containing a spiral scroll in a double fleshy strand.	
62	Northallerton	Part of Cross-Head	Outer edge moulding with an inner moulding of pellets. Within these, in relief, is a 'spine-and-boss' cruciform moulding, which has adominant ring in the centre of the cross-head. Within the roundel are five symmetrically placed small bosses with domed topes. Between the bosses, a filiform narrow strand forms another cross.		Outer edge moulding with an inner moulding of 'zig-zag'. Within these, in relief, is a 'spine-and-boss' cruciform moulding, which has a dominant ring in the centre of the cross-head. Within the roundel are five symmetrically placed small bosses with domed tops. Between the bosses, a filiform narrow strand forms another cross.	
64	Patrington	Part of Cross-Shaft	Broad edge moulding that may have been cabled. There may have been inner moulding at each side, flanking a pair of crossing stems terminating in rounded berry bunches.	Bold, cabled edge moulding framing a plant-scroll stemming from the lower left-hand corner. The scroll is simple with a drop leaf and terminating in a flamboyant leaf-flower		
65	Stonegrave	Lower Part of Cross-Shaft	Broad, flat edge moulding along the base and sides, and flat inner moulding.	Flat, plain edge moulding with thin, plain inner moulding	Wide, flat edge moulding with inner flat moulding	
66	Wensley	Shaft Fragment	Double rolled edge moulding framing a tapering panel of open tangled plant-scroll which has buds and off-shoots. The curling off-shoots interlace.	Double rolled edge moulding containing deeply cut plant-scroll with stem and a tight bud in the spandrel.		Double rolled edge moulding containing a panel of deeply cut plant-scroll with a narrow modelled stem. Offshoots bear tightly closed buds and paired leaves supporting triple fruit.

C2.12a

Sites	Sculpture	Latitude	Longitude	Date	Iconography, Face A	Iconography, Face B	Iconography, Face C	Iconography, Face D
67 Wensley	Shaft Fragment		1.8601328 W	800-850				
68 Wensley	Shaft Fragment	54.301029 N	1.8601328 W	700-900				
69 Wensley	Part of Grave-Marker	54.301029 N	1.8601328 W	750-850	Incised cross with widely curved arm-pits and splayed arms. At its centre is a squared recess. Above each of the lateral arms is a bird with slender legs, lobed feet, wedge-shaped tail and long-pointed wings. Below each arm is a quadruped with elongated body. The head is thrown back with a squared jowl. The tail forms a Stafford knot with a volute on the tip.			
70 Wensley	Shaft Fragment	54.301029 N	1.8601328 W	775-825	Cross carved in low relief with perimetre moulding. The arm-pits are wide curves and the arms splayed			
71 Wensley	Part of Grave-Marker	54.301029 N	1.8601328 W	750-825				
72 West Tanfield	Shaft Element	54.191817 N	1.6367447 W	800-900				
73 West Tanfield	Shaft Fragment	54.191817 N	1.6367447 W	800-850	Two panels containing mirror image single profile animals. Each is loosely interlaced by a well-modelled circular stem which may be a body extension from the animal. The roundel on the left-hand beast passes under the wing and over the loins. The creatures are winged quadrupeds, slightly rearing.			Animal in profile facing left.

C2.12b

Sites	Sculpture	Plant-Scroll/Motif, Face A	Plant-Scroll/Motif, Face B	Plant-Scroll/Motif, Face C	Plant-Scroll/Motif, Face D	Inscription, Face A
67 Wensley	Shaft Fragment	Broad rolled edge moulding				
68 Wensley	Shaft Fragment	Double rolled edge moulding	Double rolled edge moulding	Double rolled edge moulding	Double rolled edge moulding	
69 Wensley	Part of Grave-Marker	Narrow, finely rolled edge moulding.				Insular decorative capitals: [D]ON[FR. .]
70 Wensley	Shaft Fragment	Double rolled edge moulding containing a loose tangled plant-scroll. The nodes of the stem are ridged and at the right is a seed pod with flanking petals. The shootlets carry elliptical split leaves.	Narrow doule rolled edge moulding containing an open simple plant-scroll with a triple leaf within each scroll.		Narrow double rolled edge moulding containing a tangled plat-scroll with worn cone-shaped berry bunch.	
71 Wensley	Part of Grave-Marker	Triple edge moulding				Insular decorative capitals: [EAT]		[BER] // [EH]		[CT]
72 West Tanfield	Shaft Element	Plain edge moulding	Flat edge moulding framing a panel of vertical axial moulding flanked by herringbone pattern	Plain edge moulding	Flat edge moulding framing a panel of vertical axial moulding flanked by herringbone pattern	
73 West Tanfield	Shaft Fragment	Double edge moulding. Inner moulding divides the face into frames.		Narrow edge moulding	Narrow transverse moulding	

C2.13a

	Sites	Sculpture	Latitude	Longitude	Date	Iconography, Face A	Iconography, Face B	Iconography, Face C	Iconography, Face D
74	West Witton	Plaque	54.291189 N	1.9077901 W	700-825	Free-armed cross carved in low relief with equal arms. The arm-pits are widely curved and the arms splayed. The cross is filled with interlace			
75	Whitby	Corner Fragment of Slab	54.488113 N	0.60756559 W	600-900				
76	Whitby	Shaft	54.488113 N	0.60756559 W	675-725				
77	Whitby	Cross-Arm Fragment	54.488113 N	0.60756559 W	675-725				
78	Whitby	Cross-Arm Fragment	54.488113 N	0.60756559 W	675-725				
79	Whitby	Architectural Fragment or Part of Shrine	54.488113 N	0.60756559 W	700-900				
80	Whitby	Part of Cross-Head	54.488113 N	0.60756559 W	700-900				
81	Whitby	Part of Grave-Marker or -Cover	54.488113 N	0.60756559 W	700-900				
82	Whitby	Cross-Arm	54.488113 N	0.60756559 W	700-800				
83	Whitby	Slab Fragment	54.488113 N	0.60756559 W	775-825	(i) Well-modelled quadruped carved in deep relief with rounded haunches.		Cross incised in low relieg with grooved edge moulding	
84	Whitby	Fragment	54.488113 N	0.60756559 W	700-825				
85	Whitby	Slab	54.488113 N	0.60756559 W	600-900				
86	Whitby	Part of Cross-Head	54.488113 N	0.60756559 W	700-900				
87	Whitby	Cross-Arm	54.488113 N	0.60756559 W	675-725				

C2.13b

	Sites	Sculpture	Plant-Scroll/Motif, Face A	Plant-Scroll/Motif, Face B	Plant-Scroll/Motif, Face C	Plant-Scroll/Motif, Face D	Inscription, Face A
74	West Witton	Plaque					
75	Whitby	Corner Fragment of Slab	Two panels outlined by incised mouldings.				
76	Whitby	Shaft					
77	Whitby	Cross-Arm Fragment	Narrow incised edge moulding	Two deeply incised edge moulding			
78	Whitby	Cross-Arm Fragment	Smooth incised roll moulding				
79	Whitby	Architectural Fragment or Part of Shrine	Face divided by cable moulding into two panels on either side with a broader plain panel in the centre.			Cable moulding framing a plain face.	Display script similar to that of Lindisfarne Gospel: - [AB| .. R .. EOP] - // - [- AA] - // - [- F .] - // -
80	Whitby	Part of Cross-Head	Narrow edge moulding				
81	Whitby	Part of Grave-Marker or -Cover	Double incised mouldings				
82	Whitby	Cross-Arm	Cable moulding outside two rows of aligned pellet fillers. The slab is divided into two panels by a plain moulded framed, between which is a single row of pellet fillers runs. (I) Tree-scroll to the left of the seed pod of a quadruped. The stem of this tree, trailing across the beast's back and falling down its flank				
83	Whitby	Slab Fragment					
84	Whitby	Fragment					Latin in Mixed script, resembling Insular display: - [V|VB[VR. } - // - [.IS ETIA .]
85	Whitby	Slab	Fine roll moulding enclosign a plain panel				
86	Whitby	Part of Cross-Head					
87	Whitby	Cross-Arm	Fine roll moulding		Fine roll moulding		

C2.14a

	Sites	Sculpture	Latitude	Longitude	Date	Iconography, Face A	Iconography, Face B	Iconography, Face C	Iconography, Face D
88	Whitby	Cross-Head Fragment	54.488113 N	0.60756559 W	775-825	The remnant of a deep boss surrounded by a bold ring of cable patterning to which a rectangular bar is attached			
89	Whitby	Cross-Arm Fragment	54.488113 N	0.60756559 W	675-725				
90	Whitby	Fragment of Grave-Marker or -Cover	54.488113 N	0.60756559 W	600-900				
91	Whitby	Part of Slab	54.488113 N	0.60756559 W	800-900	Incised asymmetrical cross with forked terminals flanked by inscription			
92	Whitby	Cross-Arm Fragment	54.488113 N	0.60756559 W	675-725				
93	Whitby	Part of Cross-Arm	54.488113 N	0.60756559 W	700-900				
94	Whitby	Shaft	54.488113 N	0.60756559 W	675-725				
95	Whitby	Cross-Arm Fragment	54.488113 N	0.60756559 W	675-725				
96	Whitby	Fragment of Architectural Panel	54.488113 N	0.60756559 W	775-825				
97	Whitby	Fragment of Grave-Marker or -Cover	54.488113 N	0.60756559 W	700-900				
98	Whitby	Part of Cross-Shaft and -Head	54.488113 N	0.60756559 W	675-725	Cross with widely curving arm-pits and shallow squared tips.			
99	Whitby	Cross-Base	54.488113 N	0.60756559 W	700-900				
100	Whitby	Cross-Arm Fragment	54.488113 N	0.60756559 W	675-725				
101	Whitby	Shaft	54.488113 N	0.60756559 W	700-800				
102	Whitby	Cross-Head Fragment	54.488113 N	0.60756559 W	700-800	Wide curving arm-pits with gentle convex tip			
103	Whitby	Upper Part of Stele	54.488113 N	0.60756559 W	700-825				
104	Whitby	Cross-Arm	54.488113 N	0.60756559 W	675-725	Cross-arm with widely splayed terminal			

C2.14b

	Sites	Sculpture	Plant-Scroll/Motif, Face A	Plant-Scroll/Motif, Face B	Plant-Scroll/Motif, Face C	Plant-Scroll/Motif, Face D	Inscription, Face A
88	Whitby	Cross-Head Fragment	Fine cable moulding and roll moulding	Cable edge moulding on the arris and an inner square-sectioned roll moulding		Cable edge moulding on the arris and an inner square-sectioned roll moulding	
89	Whitby	Cross-Arm Fragment	Plain incised edge moulding		Plain incised edge moulding		
90	Whitby	Fragment of Grave-Marker or -Cover					
91	Whitby	Part of Slab					Irregular script derived from Insular half-uncial: VI[D] // BVRG
92	Whitby	Cross-Arm Fragment	Broad outer moulding and inner roll moulding.				
93	Whitby	Part of Cross-Arm					Display script similar to Barberini Gospels: -[. VG C . C-] // -[-[. C-] // [-]
94	Whitby	Shaft	Narrow double edge moulding				
95	Whitby	Cross-Arm Fragment	Double edge moulding. The outer is flat-band and the inner a roll.				
96	Whitby	Fragment of Architectural Panel					Insular display script mixing uncial and half-uncial forms: -[. .EAED .]- // -[A]BINFANTI]- // -[. T]RIXQVEV[A]-
97	Whitby	Fragment of Grave-Marker or -Cover	Double rolled edge moulding				
98	Whitby	Part of Cross-Shaft and -Head	Double roll moulding. At the base of the shaft, the inner moulding forms a chevron				
99	Whitby	Cross-Base	Bold columnar feature on a broad band at the base terminating at the top in a worn boss-shaped feature	Bold columnar feature on a broad band at the base terminating at the top in a worn boss-shaped feature	Bold columnar feature on a broad band at the base terminating at the top in a worn boss-shaped feature	Bold columnar feature on a broad band at the base terminating at the top in a worn boss-shaped feature	
100	Whitby	Cross-Arm Fragment	Plain modelled edge moulding				
101	Whitby	Shaft					
102	Whitby	Cross-Head Fragment					
103	Whitby	Upper Part of Stele	Plain edge moulding	Narrow double edge moulding	Narrow double edge moulding	Narrow double edge moulding	
104	Whitby	Cross-Arm	Double rolled edge moulding				Insular decorative capitals: [EO . .ND]

C2.15a

	Sites	Sculpture	Latitude	Longitude	Date	Iconography, Face A	Iconography, Face B	Iconography, Face C	Iconography, Face D
105	Whitby	Cross-Arm	54.488113 N	0.60756559 W	700-900				
106	Whitby	Corner Fragment of Slab	54.488113 N	0.60756559 W	600-900				
107	Whitby	Cross-Arm	54.488113 N	0.60756559 W	675-725				
108	Whitby	as Mold	54.488113 N	0.60756559 W	600-800				
109	Whitby	Cross-Shaft Fragment	54.488113 N	0.60756559 W	800-900				
110	Whitby	Part of Panel	54.488113 N	0.60756559 W	600-900				
111	Whitby	Shaft	54.488113 N	0.60756559 W	600-800				
112	Whitby	Part of Cross-Shaft and -Head	54.488113 N	0.60756559 W	675-725	Cross-head with widely curving arm-pits and squared tips to the expanding arms		Cross-head with widely curving arm-pits and squared tips to the expanding arms	
113	Whitby	Incomplete Cross-Head	54.488113 N	0.60756559 W	700-900	Cross-head with straight-tipped arms and widely curving arm-pits.			
114	Whitby	fragment	54.488113 N	0.60756559 W	700-800	Fan-shaped fragment			
115	Whitby	Cross-Arm	54.488113 N	0.60756559 W	700-900				
116	Whitby	Plain Cross-Base	54.488113 N	0.60756559 W	675-725				
117	Whitby	Shaft	54.488113 N	0.60756559 W	675-725				
118	Whitby	Fragment	54.488113 N	0.60756559 W	675-725				
119	Whitby	Part of Grave-Cover	54.488113 N	0.60756559 W	700-900	Long-stemmed cross in high relief			
120	Whitby	Cross-Arm Fragment	54.488113 N	0.60756559 W	700-800				
121	Whitby	Cross-Arm	54.488113 N	0.60756559 W	675-725	Cusped free-armed cross with a square tip			
122	Whitby	Cross-Arm Fragment	54.488113 N	0.60756559 W	700-900				
123	Whitby	Part of Cross-Head	54.488113 N	0.60756559 W	675-750	Single name flanked by serifed crosses			
124	Whitby	Cross-Arm	54.488113 N	0.60756559 W	675-725	Cusped cross-arm tip			
125	Whitby	Part of Grave-Marker or -Cover	54.488113 N	0.60756559 W	700-900	Central grooved stem of an incised cross			

C2.15b

#	Sites	Sculpture	Plant-Scroll/Motif, Face A	Plant-Scroll/Motif, Face B	Plant-Scroll/Motif, Face C	Plant-Scroll/Motif, Face D	Inscription, Face A
105	Whitby	Cross-Arm					Mixed Capitals and Insular half-uncials: RHT
106	Whitby	Corner Fragment of Slab	Inner roll moulding and an outer band enclosing a plain panel				
107	Whitby	Cross-Arm					Latin in Roman script, mixing uncial and half-uncial: HIC[:RE] - // PV -
108	Whitby	as Mold					
109	Whitby	Cross-Shaft Fragment	Plain outer roll moulding marked by an inner incised line below a transverse moulding which supports ther terminal loops of interlace.				Uncertain language and script, perhaps a mixture of Runic and Roman characters; [+ A - OLP]
110	Whitby	Part of Panel	Roll moulding				
111	Whitby	Shaft	Double stranded pair of chevrons.	Single stranded pair of chevrons	Double stranded pair of chevrons.	Single stranded pair of chevrons	
112	Whitby	Part of Cross-Shaft and -Head	Double roll moulding				
113	Whitby	Incomplete Cross-Head					
114	Whitby	fragment	Incised edge moulding				
115	Whitby	Cross-Arm					
116	Whitby	Plain Cross-Base					
117	Whitby	Shaft	Narrow double edge moulding	Narrow double edge moulding	Narrow double edge moulding		
118	Whitby	Fragment	Step pattern type 2 in a double outline.		Edged by a double strand		
119	Whitby	Part of Grave-Cover					
120	Whitby	Cross-Arm Fragment					
121	Whitby	Cross-Arm	Double edge moulding				
122	Whitby	Cross-Arm Fragment	Bold cable edge moulding framing a tapering panel				
123	Whitby	Part of Cross-Head					Uncial script: [+]AHHAE+ (or) [+]ABBAE+
124	Whitby	Cross-Arm					
125	Whitby	Part of Grave-Marker or -Cover	Roll moulding and triple incised edge moulding				

C2.16a

A	B	C	D	E	Iconography, Face A	Iconography, Face B	Iconography, Face C	Iconography, Face D
126 Whitby	Part of Cross-Shaft and -Head	54.488113 N	0.60756559 W	675-725				
127 Wycliffe	Architectural Feature	54.524755 N	1.8207452 W	800-825				
128 Wycliffe	Feature	54.524755 N	1.8207452 W	800-825				
129 Wycliffe	Upper Part of Cross-Shaft and Lower Arm	54.518494 N	1.8423995 W	700-825				
130 Wycliffe	Part of Cross-Shaft	54.52475N	1.8207452 W	775-800				
131 Yarm	Part of Cross-Shaft	54.507896 N	1.3559567 W	800-850				
132 York (City Walls)	Part of Cross-Head	53.957054 N	1.0916779 W	700-800				
133 York (Minister)	Fragment of Stele	53.964162 N	1.0808535 W	675-725				
134 York (Minister)	Fragment of Grave-Marker or Stele	53.964162 N	1.0808535 W	675-825	Half-roun expanded terminal of an incised cross survives, deeply incised.			
135 York (Minister)	Fragment of Grave-Marker or Stele	53.964162 N	1.0808535 W	675-825	Incised cross with straight arms and lightly curved arm-pits. Above each arm, an incised cross with seriffed terminals			

C2.16b

	Sites	Sculpture	Plant-Scroll/Motif, Face A	Plant-Scroll/Motif, Face B	Plant-Scroll/Motif, Face C	Plant-Scroll/Motif, Face D	Inscription, Face A
126	Whitby	Part of Cross-Shaft and -Head	Modelled edge moulding				
127	Wycliffe	Architectural Feature	Deep roll and cable moulding on one side, large pellets on the other.				
128	Wycliffe	Feature	Deep pelleted border				
129	Wycliffe	Upper Part of Cross-Shaft and Lower Arm	Single roll moulding				Old English in Anglo-Saxon capitals: [BADA] // -[T.] // -[EF]TE // [R:BER]E // HT[VINI]: // B[ECVN] // [AEFTER...]
130	Wycliffe	Part of Cross-Shaft	Two volutes of interlaced medallion-scroll springing from a double root. The centre of the volute is filled with pendant leaves and flowers, and where the double crossing strands intersect to form a new colute there are long triandular veined leaves.		Two volutes of bold plant-scroll encircling a six-petalled rosette with indented petals. Single triangular leaves sprout from each volute.		
131	Yarm	Part of Cross-Shaft	Broad rolled edge moulding with inner cable moulding.				Old English in Insular half-uncial: -[PR]- // [.]BE[RE]HC // T+SÄC+ // ALLA+SI[G]N // VM[A]EFTER // HiSBREODERA // [S]S[ETAE]+[:]
132	York (City Walls)	Part of Cross-Head	Double roll moulding on the edge of the arm pits. In the centre is a flat, circular boss surrounded by a ring of pellets.		Double roll moulding on the edge of the arm pits. In the centre is a flat, circular boss		
133	York (Minster)	Fragment of Stele	Double edge moulding, the outer band slightly broader than the inner.				
134	York (Minster)	Fragment of Grave-Marker or Stele					Latin in Roman capitals: +H[[C-]|	|| // [CES.]ITE || ||[V]VLFH/E[R-] // [M...R]A || [Q]V || [ESCVNT]
135	York (Minster)	Fragment of Grave-Marker or Stele	Plain edge moulding containing narrower plain moulding framing a panel.				Tall narrow capitals: +LEO[B]|	DEIH

C2.17a

	Sites	Sculpture	Latitude	Longitude	Date	Iconography, Face A	Iconography, Face B	Iconography, Face C	Iconography, Face D
136	York (Minister)	Cross-Arm	53.964162 N	1.0808535 W	800-900	Carved cross in relief			Roughly incised cross
137	York (Minister)	Part of Grave-Marker	53.964162 N	1.0808535 W	775-900	Incised cross with curved arm-pits and widely splayed arms which meet the edge mouldings			
138	(Minister)	Fragment of Stele	53.964162 N	1.0808535 W	675-725				
140	York (Minister)	Part of Cross-Shaft	53.964162 N	1.0808535 W	700-825				
141	(Minister)	Fragment of Stele	53.964162 N	1.0808535 W	675-725				
142	York (Minister)	Fragment of Grave-Marker	53.964162 N	1.0808535 W	675-725	Incised cross with circular junction and half-round expanded termingal on the arms		Incised cross with circular junction and half-round expanded termingal on the arms	
143	York (Minister)	Part of Cross-Shaft	53.964162 N	1.0808535 W	700-800	Narrow incised cross with rounded arm-pits		One arm survives of a cross in relief	
144	(Minister)	Shaft	53.964162 N	1.0808535 W	700-800				

C2.17b

1	Sites	Sculpture	Plant-Scroll/Motif, Face A	Plant-Scroll/Motif, Face B	Plant-Scroll/Motif, Face C	Plant-Scroll/Motif, Face D	Inscription, Face A
136	York (Minister)	Cross-Arm	Double edge moulding. The outer one is cabled and slim, while the inner is plaing. Broad, leaved-plant-scroll with spear-shaped leaf with serrated edges. Ther terminating cosists of a bilobate, cupped clossom, flanked by broad pointed leaves with serrated edges.		Double edge moulding		
137	York (Minister)	Part of Grave-Marker	Plain double edge moulding				
138	(Minister)	Fragment of Stele	Plain rolled edge moulding				
140	York (Minister)	Part of Cross-Shaft	Narrow edge mouldings. Simple, mirror image plant-scrolls flank a plain tapering strip that divides the face. One-and-a-half volutes survive. The left side shows a bird with wings outstretched, biting at a shoot. Two nodding blossoms fill the space above one wing, two buds above the other. Shoots below terminate in a variety of leaves and flower forms. Below, the head and long neck of an animal in profile survive, loosely entangled in a looping offshoot.	Narrow edge moulding flanking tight-woven interlace.	Plain moulding on one side. Lightly incised calligraphic interlacing terminal with a pointed lead and the upper part of a bird with turned head and raised wing. The lower left corner shows parts of a circular medallion containing a sketch for an animal's neck.		
141	(Minister)	Fragment of Stele	Plain rolled edge moulding				
142	York (Minister)	Fragment of Grave-Marker	Double edge moulding		Double edge moulding		
143	York (Minister)	Part of Cross-Shaft	Incised double moulding	Narrow double edge moulding containing the remains of a plant-scroll with a idged node and pendant paired leaves with a bud			
144	(Minister)	Shaft	Roughly cut double edge moulding	Roughly cut double edge moulding			

C2.18a

Sites	Sculpture	Latitude	Longitude	Date	Iconography, Face A	Iconography, Face B	Iconography, Face C	Iconography, Face D
145	York (Minister)	Fragment of Stele	53.964162 N	1.0808535 W	675-725				
146	(Minister)	Fragment of Stele	53.964162 N	1.0808535 W	675-725				
147	York (Minister)	Part of Stele	53.964162 N	1.0808535 W	675-725	Incised, tapering cross. The base has a narrow arris, and the foot consists of a semicircular terminal containing six-petalled half marigold			
148	(Minister)	Fragment of Stele	53.964162 N	1.0808535 W	675-725				
149	(Minister)	Part of Stele	53.964162 N	1.0808535 W	675-725				
150	(Minister)	Part of Stele	53.964162 N	1.0808535 W	675-725				
151	York (Minister)	Fragment of Grave-Marker or Stele	53.964162 N	1.0808535 W	675-825	Seriffed end of incised cross remains			
152	York (Minister)	Part of Grave-Marker	53.964162 N	1.0808535 W	775-900	Incised cross with splayed arms and narrow curved arm-pits.		Primitive incised cross with a circle place at the intersection and the ends are expanded triangles	
153	York (St. Leonard's Place)	Part of Cross-Shaft	53.962400 N	1.0854649 W	800-900				
154	Leonard's Place	Part of Cross-Shaft	53.962400 N	1.0854649 W	675-825				

C2.18b

	Sites	Sculpture	Plant-Scroll/Motif, Face A	Plant-Scroll/Motif, Face B	Plant-Scroll/Motif, Face C	Plant-Scroll/Motif, Face D	Inscription, Face A
145	York (Minster)	Fragment of Stele	Double edge moulding. Half-way up the face, a horizontal band is incised. There is a saltire in each panel.	Double edge moulding			
146	(Minster)	Fragment of Stele					
147	York (Minster)	Part of Stele	Double plain edge moulding	Double plain edge moulding	Double plain edge moulding	Double plain edge moulding	
148	(Minster)	Fragment of Stele					
149	(Minster)	Part of Stele	Double edge moulding				
150	(Minster)	Part of Stele	Plain edge moulding				
151	York (Minster)	Fragment of Grave-Marker or Stele	Double, lightly modelled edge moulding				Latin in Roman capitals: | | PROA[NI] | | [· A .·]
152	York (Minster)	Part of Grave-Marker	Narrow plain edge moulding	Plain edge moulding	Plain edge moulding	Plain edge mould	
153	York (St. Leonard's Place)	Part of Cross-Shaft	Double flat edge moulding flanking an inhabited scroll of a large open spiral type, without leaves. The lower scroll terminated in a rosette berry bunch and forms asymmetrical loops lower down.	Double flat edge moulding	Double flat edge moulding flanking a panel of four pairs of linked plant-scrolls each terminating in a rosette berry bunch. The scrolls are linked vertically and horizontally by plain nodes with protruding pointed leaves in high relief.	Double flat edge moulding	
154	Leonard's Place	Part of Cross-Shaft	Flat, plain edge moulding				Latin in Roman capitals: [D .·] // ADM[.] // [M]ORI // [AM] // SCO // RV[M]

C2.19a

Sites	Sculpture	Latitude	Longitude	Date	Iconography, Face A	Iconography, Face B	Iconography, Face C	Iconography, Face D
155	York (St. Martin-cum-Gregory)	Part of Cross-Shaft	53.957008 N	1.0855828 W	800-900				
156	York (St. Mary Bishophill Junior)	Part of Cross-Shaft	53.956155 N	1.0916974 W	825-875	Two standing figures, facing each other in half-profile. The left-hand figure wears a shin-length gown with a belt and hood. A horn hangs at the waist. The right figure wears similar dress with a cloak and wide collar, and carries a short sword on the hip.			An undulating ribbon beast interlaced in an open mesh of filiform strands
157	York (St. Mary Bishophill Junior)	Centre of Cross-Head	53.956155 N	1.0916974 W	700-825				
158	York (the Mount)	Centre of Cross-Head	53.953483 N	1.0948032 W	700-800				

C2.19b

	Sites	Sculpture	Plant-Scroll/Motif, Face A	Plant-Scroll/Motif, Face B	Plant-Scroll/Motif, Face C	Plant-Scroll/Motif, Face D	Inscription, Face A
155	York (St. Martin-cum-Gregory)	Part of Cross-Shaft	Continuous plant-scroll, of which two large and deeply cut scrolls remain. There are no leaves, but the node is swollen and the spiral terminates in a roundel with an incised circle within it.				
156	York (St. Mary Bishophill Junior)	Part of Cross-Shaft	Flat, plain edge moulding.	Flat, plain edge moulding containing a panel of three medallions of a plant-scroll, with wedge-shaped offshoot leaves and pairs of interlaced round berry bunches within each medallion			
157	York (St. Mary Bishophill Junior)	Centre of Cross-Head				Plain edge moulding.	Latin in Roman capitals with Insular-influenced variants: [S]AL[VE]P // R[OME]R[ITIS // PRSALME // T[VI]|S]
158	York (the Mount)	Centre of Cross-Head	A small central boss within a pair of rings		The central boss lacks the inner ring and is flat. A 'bead moulding' bordered the arm pits.		

Appendix C3:

Sculpture and Stonework of the Northwest

C3.1a

	Sites	Sculpture	Latitude	Longitude	Date	Iconography Face A	Iconography Face B	Iconography Face C	Iconography, Face D
1									
2	Addingham	Part of Cross-Shaft	54.737863 N	2.6615993 W	800-850			Faint traces of a sword and floriated cross	
3	Addingham	Cross-incised Slab	54.737863 N	2.6615993 W	500-700				
4	Aldingham	Part of Cross-Shaft	54.129828 N	3.0987297 W	800-900	Haloed head			
5	Ardwall Island	Cross-slab	54.820644 N	4.2223013 W	800-900	Incised long-stemmed cross with central hollow			
6	Ardwall Island	Part of Cross-Arm	54.820644 N	4.2223013 W	600-800	Rectilinear arm expansion			
7	Ardwall Island	Part of Cross-Shaft	54.820644 N	4.2223013 W	800-900				
8	Ardwall Island	Part of Cross-Head	54.820644 N	4.2223013 W	700-800	T-shaped cross arm			
9	Ardwall Island	Part of Cross-Head and -Shaft	54.820644 N	4.2223013 W	700-800	Central roundel boss defined by shallow ring			
10	Ardwall Island	Incised Slab	54.820644 N	4.2223013 W	600-700	Graffiti of two human figures, one with robe and cowl, both apparently holding a crozier in outstretched arms.			
11	Ardwall Island	Cross-slab	54.820644 N	4.2223013 W	600-700	Incised long-stemmed cross of low-armed form			
12	Ardwall Island	Gable finial	54.820644 N	4.2223013 W	700-800	Narrow groove			
13	Ardwall Island	Cross-slab	54.820644 N	4.2223013 W	800-900	Incised linear cross with extended stem. Quatrefoil circle encloses cross-head			
14	Ardwall Island	Part of Cross-Head	54.820644 N	4.2223013 W	700-800	Expanded, t-shaped cross arm			
15	Ardwall Island	Portable altar	54.820644 N	4.2223013 W	600-700	Incised linear cross with a large flowing 'S' on it. Four incised low-arm crosses mark the corners.			

C3.1b

	Sites	Sculpture	Parallels	Additional Notes
2	Addingham	Part of Cross-Shaft		
3	Addingham	Cross-incised Slab		
4	Aldingham	Part of Cross-Shaft		
5	Ardwall Island	Cross-slab		Local stone
6	Ardwall Island	Part of Cross-Arm		Local gritstone. Western British form of free-standing cross.
7	Ardwall Island	Part of Cross-Shaft		Local stone
8	Ardwall Island	Part of Cross-Head	Hexham; Whitby	local gritstone
9	Ardwall Island	Part of Cross-Head and - Shaft	Hexham; Whitby	local gritstone
10	Ardwall Island	Incised Slab	Burness Point, Orkney; Balwarraugh Keeill, Maughhold in Man	local gritstone
11	Ardwall Island	Cross-slab		local gritstone
12	Ardwall Island	Gable finial	co. Kerry	Local gritstone. This seems to be the tip of an exclusively Irish class of stone gable finials
13	Ardwall Island	Cross-slab		Local stone. May have been associated with 'unused grave' in chapel
14	Ardwall Island	Part of Cross-Head	Hexham; Whitby	local gritstone
15	Ardwall Island	Portable altar	A similar portable altar was buried with St. Cuthbert, as well as one buried with Bishop Acca of Hexham	Local slaty stone. Buried with XXII.

C3.2a

#	Sites	Sculpture	Latitude	Longitude	Date	Iconography Face A	Iconography Face B	Iconography Face C	Iconography, Face D
16	Ardwall Island	Incised Slab	54.820644 N	4.2223013 W	600-700	(i) Human figure facing viewer's left. (ii) three saltire-set circular cross-heads within rings arranged in a triangle. (iii) quadruped, left.			
17	Ardwall Island	Cross-slab	54.820644 N	4.2223013 W	600-700	Incised cross of simple type grooved out by knife cuts.			
18	Ardwall Island	Part of Cross-Head	54.820644 N	4.2223013 W	700-800				
19	Ardwall Island	Worked stone	54.820644 N	4.2223013 W	700-800	Shallow, pocked groove			
20	Ardwall Island	Worked stone	54.820644 N	4.2223013 W	600-700	Incised groove, possibly cross-arm			
21	Ardwall Island	Cross-slab	54.820644 N	4.2223013 W	600-700	Incised cross of a simple type. Upper terminals forked			
22	Ardwall Island	Cross-slab Pillar	54.820644 N	4.2223013 W	750-800	Incised circle containing cross with expanding arms set saltire-wise.			
23	Ardwall Island	Worked stone	54.820644 N	4.2223013 W	700-800	Pocked groove			
24	Ardwall Island	Plaque	54.820644 N	4.2223013 W	600-700	Incised Latin cross			
25	Beckermet	Lower Part of Cross-Shaft and -Base	54.440728 N	3.5202888 W	825-850				
26	Bewcastle	Cross-Head	55.064865 N	2.6810765 W	700-750				

C3.2b

	Sites	Sculpture	Inscription, Face A	Parallels	Additional Notes
16	Ardwall Island	Incised Slab		Physgall Cave, Whithorn; Hoddom, Dumfries free-standing Anglian cross	Combination of motif may harken to Pictish art (Class II) and thus might have been used for the grave of an exiled Pict.
17	Ardwall Island	Cross-slab		Physgyll Cave, Whithorn; Isle of Man	local gritstone
18	Ardwall Island	Part of Cross-Head		Hexham; Whitby	local gritstone
19	Ardwall Island	Worked stone			local gritstone
20	Ardwall Island	Worked stone			Local slaty stone
21	Ardwall Island	Cross-slab		Physgall Cave, Whithorn; Isle of Man	Local slaty stone
22	Ardwall Island	Cross-slab Pillar	Anglo-Saxon name in 'barbarous half-uncials': CUDGAR		Local stone
23	Ardwall Island	Worked stone			local gritstone
24	Ardwall Island	Plaque	Capital letters: MM	Staplegorton, Dumfries; Teampull Fraing, Skye	Local slaty stone
25	Beckermet	Lower Part of Cross-Shaft and -Base	Perhaps Latin written in an Insular Majuscule script		
26	Bewcastle	Cross-Head			

C3.3a

	Sites	Sculpture	Latitude	Longitude	Date	Iconography Face A	Iconography Face B	Iconography Face C	Iconography, Face D
1									
28	Bewcastle	Cross-Shaft and -Base	55.064865 N	2.6810765 W	700-750	(ii) Robed man holding haloed lamb. (iv)Christ, forward-facing, with a raised right arm, holding a scroll in his left hand. (vi) Standing figure, half-turned, holding a long rod, extending left arm in front of a front-facing bird. Unlike the robed figures above, he wears an overgarment of a cloak-like type with a double 'frilled' feature at the neck. His undergarment in pleated at the front and extended to the lower calf. His full sleeves taper at the wrist.	(i) Fragmentary runic inscription.		
29	Brigham	Part of Cross-Shaft	54.672177 N	2.4899612 W	775-800				
30	Capernwray Hall	Part of Cross-Head	54.144512 N	2.6964958 W	700-900				
31	Carlisle	Cross-Arm	54.930144 N	2.9394119 W	700-800				
32	Carlisle	Part of Cross-Head	54.930144 N	2.9394119 W	775-825				
33	Carlisle	Part of Cross-Head	54.930144 N	2.9394119 W	700-800	Six-petalled rosette in relief			

C3.3b

#	Sites	Sculpture	Plant-Scrolls/Motif, Face A	Plant-Scrolls/Motif, Face B	Plant-Scrolls/Motif, Face C
28	Bewcastle	Cross-Shaft and -Base	Fine roll moulding, enclosing a frontal figure	(iii)Complex plant trail springing from a single root. Two composite plant forms, in which two tiers of flowers are framed with a bell-shaped sheath. The volute above contains a sundial attached like a large leaf to the stem. (v) Complex medallion scroll springing from two globular roots framing a type of fluer-de-lys.	(i) Simple inhabited scroll springing from a single root. (ii & iii) tiny squirrel-like creatures shown in profile each with its tail curled over its back and nibbling on sheathed berry bunches. (iv & v) Two thrush-like birds The upper-most bird's claws brace against the main stem and its half-open beak is poised to peck at the stamens or seeds. The lower bird faces forward, perched on the volute, turning its head to peak at a sheathed berry bunch. (vi & vii) Two bipeds in profile. Each grasps the steam of a sheathed berry bunch in its paws. (viii) At the base of the scroll, a canine-like quadruped leaps up to grasp at a fruit bunch in its front paws.
29	Brigham	Part of Cross-Shaft			
30	Capernwray Hall	Part of Cross-Head	Roll moulding border and circular cable moulding surrounding a group of seven flat-topped bosses.	Roll moulding border enclosing two raised horizontal mouldings	Roll moulding border. At the centre of the head are two concentric circular mouldings surrounding a flat boss. The outer circle was cabled
31	Carlisle	Cross-Arm		Small bush scroll surrounded by fine roll moulding, terminating in a round berry	Heart-shaped medallion-scroll, terminating in two curving, pointed leaves, with two flanking buds or berries
32	Carlisle	Part of Cross-Head	Two rounded berry bunches enclosed by a volute from which sprout three pointed leaves	Cat's cradle motif	Raised spine surrounded by disorganized chevrons
33	Carlisle	Part of Cross-Head			

C3.3c

	Sites	Sculpture	Plant-Scrolls/Motif, Face D	Inscription, Face A	Inscription, Face B
1					
28	Bewcastle	Cross-Shaft and -Base	(ii) Complex plant trail springing from a ridged root and terminating in a plant knot. From the lowest volute hangs berry bunches. (iv) Twenty-five rows of alternate four sunken, four raised chequers. (vii) Medallion plant scroll with two rounded roots.	Runic inscriptions on all sides, two in Latin and the rest in Anglo-Saxon: 'This token of victory Hwaetred, ...gaer and ... set up in memory of ...Icfri ...'	
29	Brigham	Part of Cross-Shaft			
30	Capernwray Hall	Part of Cross-Head	Roll moulding border enclosing three raised horizontal moulding		
31	Carlisle	Cross-Arm	Small bush scroll	Mostly worn	
32	Carlisle	Part of Cross-Head	Cat's cradle motif		
33	Carlisle	Part of Cross-Head		Anglo-Saxon: 'Sigf[...] set this up in memory of [Su]itberh[t]'	

C3.4a

	Sites	Sculpture	Latitude	Longitude	Date	Iconography Face A	Iconography Face B	Iconography Face C	Iconography, Face D
34	Dacre	Part of Cross-Arm	54.631625 N	2.8380203 W	775-825				
35	Dacre	Part of Cross-Shaft	54.631625 N	2.8380203 W	800-825	Large, lion-like winged creature on with large round eyes above the head and body of a serpent			
43	Gressingham	Part of Cross-Head	54.123168 N	2.6563558 W	800-900				
44	Gressingham	Part of Shaft	54.123168 N	2.6563558 W	800-900				
45	Gressingham	Part of Shaft	54.078511 N	2.6563558 W	800-900				
46	Halton	Fragment	54.078511 N	2.7611126 W	800-925	(i) Half-length winged and haloed figure beneath an arch decorated with pellets within a frame and with slab capitals. The figure may have held a book. The figure has an animal head with almond-shaped eyes and a stubby muzzle. (ii) Within an arched frame there is the remains of a haloed human head	(i) The haloed head and shoulders of a figure carrying a book. The head has pricked ears, and appears to face left.	(i) The head and shoulders of a haloed bird-headed figure facing to the right holding a book. (ii) Haloed three-quarters length figure turned to the left.	(i)A haloed forward-facing bust of a figure holding a book across his chest.
47	Halton	Part of Shaft	54.075776 N	2.7671759 W	800-900				

C3.4b

	Sites	Sculpture	Plant-Scrolls/Motif, Face A	Plant-Scrolls/Motif, Face B	Plant-Scrolls/Motif, Face C	Plant-Scrolls/Motif, Face D
34	Dacre	Part of Cross-Arm	Roll moulding			
35	Dacre	Part of Cross-Shaft	One complete and two incomplete volutes of inhibited scroll with leaves and flower sprays	Key pattern attached by two strands of spiral scroll, two volutes of which survive. Each volute is filled by a rosette berry bunch	The remains of a quadruped climb a scoll	Straight line key pattern developing into a
43	Gressingham	Part of Cross-Head	At the centre of the cross-head is a bold circular moulding containing six bosses surrounding a seventh	Parallel horizontal moulding set within a moulding frame.		Parallel horizontal moulding set within a
44	Gressingham	Part of Shaft	Roll moulding outer border and a narrower inner moulding. Single-stemmed spiral scroll. A three-pellet fruit cluster terminates the surviving spiral and a pointed veined leaf drops to the left from this spiral.	Single border moulding. Single-stemmed spiral scroll with a pellet placed between the border and the split of the main stem and spiralling offshoots. The spirals terminate with a round leaf or fruit. A pointed and veined lead drops from the upper spiral.	non moulding outer border and a narrower inner moulding. Single-stemmed spiral scroll terminating in a rosette fruit cluster, and the upper volute carries a veined and pointed drop-leaf.	Single border moulding. Within are two v terminating in a single round leaf or fruit. veined leaf in the upper left corner and a c leaf emerging to the right from the upper pellet fills the space to the left between th border.
45	Gressingham	Part of Shaft	stemmed spiral scroll. The two volutes at the bottom of the shaft terminate in a fruit rosette. The second volute from the base drops a pointed leaf, with pellets at its base.			
46		Fragment	Medallion scroll with interlacing stems			
47	Halton	Part of Shaft	Lateral cable moulding	Two arched panels flanked laterally by cable moulding. (ii) Medallion scroll, the main strands crossing to terminate in pointed leaves to right and left, subsidiary strands dropping into the medallion below.	Two arched panels flanked laterally by cable moulding.	Two arched panels flanked laterally by cab medallion scroll whose stems cross at the or berry bunches falling to the left and rig stem topped by a heart-shaped leave.

C3.5a

	Sites	Sculpture	Latitude	Longitude	Date	Iconography Face A	Iconography Face B	Iconography Face C	Iconography, Face D
48	Halton	Part of Shaft	54.075776 N	2.7671759 W	800-900	(i) A haloed figure seen in profile facing right. His head is inclined and he wears a short garment revealing bare legs below. To the right is a smaller figure, possibly cowled, whose body emerges from a tub-like feature. The standing figure reaches down towards his companion, who reaches up towards him. (ii) Three haloed figures. The central figure faces forward while the other two are half-turned inwards. The left-hand figure grasps a scroll or key, the right holds a bokk. The central figure holds a book and raises his hand in blessing.	(i) A naked archer, with one knee slightly raised, shoots up towards a bird set within a scroll.		
49	Halton	Part of Shaft	54.075776 N	2.7671759 W	800-900				
50	Halton	Fragment of Shaft	54.075776 N	2.7671759 W	800-900	(i) A flock of animals, probably sheep			
51	Halton	Upper Arm of Cross-head	54.075776 N	2.7671759 W	700-900				

C3.5b

Sites	Sculpture	Plant-Scrolls/Motif, Face A	Plant-Scrolls/Motif, Face B	Plant-Scrolls/Motif, Face C	P
48 Halton	Part of Shaft	Two panels set with arched frames flanked laterally by cable moulding.	Two panels set with arched frames flanked laterally by cable moulding.		
49 Halton	Part of Shaft	Double-moulding border containing a single-stemmed, somewhat angular, spiral scroll with side shoots emerging from the bottom of the curve on the main stem and then running parallel to it before spiralling away are the top of the curve. The main stem terminates in a series of waving fronds, ending in fruit pellets.			
50 Halton	Fragment of Shaft	Vertical cable-moulding border flanking two panels. The lower panel has an arched frame formed of pellets flanked by a narrow border.			
51 Halton	Upper Arm of Cross-head	Border moulding	Relief border in which is set a key pattern forming a St Andrew's cross with pellets set between crossing lines.		

C3.6a

Sites	Sculpture	Latitude	Longitude	Date	Iconography Face A	Iconography Face B	Iconography Face C	Iconography, Face D
52 Halton	Part of Shaft	54.075776 N	2.7671759 W	775-900	(i)A haloed human figure, probably seated, dressed in a full-length outfit. He holds a book in his left hand across his chest and holds a rod with an expanded terminal in his right. The figure has a short 'Classical' hairstyle.(ii) The badly worn remains of a haloed figure. (iii) Seated forward-facing haloed figure. He holds an opened book across his knees. Crouched before him is a small figure, covering his or her face. (iv) The badly worn remains of a single human figure			
53 Halton	Fragment	54.075776 N	2.7671759 W	800-900	Head and shoulders of a forward-facing haloed figure set beneath an arch with a narrow horrizontal border carrying pellets.			
54 Halton	Part of Shaft	54.075776 N	2.7671759 W	800-900	(i) The remains of a seated figure. He hold a book in his left hand, and grasps a double rod in his right. (ii) A forward-facing haloed figure with classically curling hair.			
56 Heversham	Fragment	54.243806 N	2.7733603 W	775-800				
57 Heversham	Part of Cross-Shaft	54.243806 N	2.7733603 W	775-800				
58 Heysham	Lintel	54.047884 N	2.9010662 W	800-900				
59 Heysham	Lintel	54.047884 N	2.9010662 W	800-900				

C3.6b

	Sites	Sculpture	Plant-Scrolls/Motif, Face A	Plant-Scrolls/Motif, Face B	Plant-Scrolls/Motif, Face C
52	Halton	Part of Shaft			
53	Halton	Fragment	Cabled moulding border		
54	Halton	Part of Shaft	Two panels, the lower with an arched frame, flanked laterally by cable moulding	Two panels, the lower with an arched frame, flanked laterally by cable moulding. (i) A central-stemmed bush or tree scroll with two curving side shoots.	
56	Heversham	Fragment	Flat-band moulding and one strand of scroll		
57	Heversham	Part of Cross-Shaft	Four volutes of fine medallion scroll, terminating in counterpoised berry bunches. A canine-like quadruped straddles the volute. A medallion with counterpoised berry bunches. A couching canine-like quadruped	Tendrilled scoll from which sprouts a round berry bunch with drop leaf and spiral tendril	Three volutes of tightly wound, spiral scroll filled with large oval berry bunches
58	Heysham	Lintel	Three raised concentric semi-circles		
59	Heysham	Lintel	Single relief moulding following the contour of the arch		

442

C3.7a

	Sites	Sculpture	Latitude	Longitude	Date	Iconography Face A	Iconography Face B	Iconography Face C	Iconography, Face D
60	Heysham	Part of Shaft	54.047884 N	2.9010662 W	750-900	Gabled structure with in-turned eaves carrying two long-stemmed crosses, with a third cross possible. Arched moulding forms a central doorway in which is set a human figure whose half-profile head and body are swathed in fabric. Three arched windows are set above the doorway, each filled with a forward-facing human head and neck with classica fringed hair. Flanking the doorway are four taller arched niches, paired vertically. Each niche contains full-length human figures, facing inwards.		(ii) A seated, haloed figure holding a book in his left hand whilst his right hand is raised across the volume.	
61	Heysham	Grave-Cover	54.047884 N	2.9010662 W	800-900	Full-length relief cross with a single step base			
62	Heysham	Socket-stone	54.047884 N	2.9010662 W	800-900				
63	Heysham	Cross Arm	54.047884 N	2.9010662 W	800-900				
64	Heysham	Part of Cross-Head	54.047884 N	2.9010662 W	700-800				
65	Heysham	Part of Shaft or Architectural Feature	54.047884 N	2.9010662 W	800-900				
66	Heysham	Architectural Fragment or Part of Chair	54.047884 N	2.9010662 W	650-800	A bird's head with a rectangular body surrounded by relief moulding. The is formed of a flat boss with a central hole.			

C3.7b

	Sites	Sculpture	Plant-Scrolls/Motif, Face A	Plant-Scrolls/Motif, Face B	Plant-Scrolls/	Plant-Scrolls/Motif, Face D
60	Heysham	Part of Shaft	Incomplete panel flanked laterally by cable moulding with a narrower inner roll moulding.	Incomplete panel flanked by cable moulding and a narrower inner lateral border containing a single-stemmed spiral scroll plant, each side-shoot springing from a ridged node. Each spiral has a pointed drop leaf which is linked to the end of the spiral.	(i) Broad border. (ii) Panel flanked laterally by both a cable moulding and a narrower inner border. Within this is an arched frame, with slab capitals.	(i) Cable moulding outer border and an inner narrower frame (ii) A panel flanked laterally by a cable moulding and an inner frame containing two and a half volutes of spiral scroll whose main stem spring from a cup shape in the lower left corner. The spirals separate from the main stem and spiral. Drop-leaves emerge from the centre of the spiral. At the bottom of the panel, curving over the top of the cup and then across the main stem, is a side-shoot terminating in a round scooped leaf. In the lower right is a vertical shoot leading to an upward-pointed veined and serrated leaf.
61	Heysham	Grave-Cover				
62	Heysham	Socket-stone				
63	Heysham	Cross Arm	Border moulding enclosing a quatrefoil decoration formed by a neat narrow strand.		moulding enclosing a quatrefoil	
64	Heysham	Part of Cross-Head	Circular moulding enclosing six pellets set around a seventh. In the lower arm are the remains of border moulding, together with zigzag ornament.			
65	Heysham	Part of Shaft or Architectural Feature	Two volutes of a single-stemmed spiral scroll. A large leaf or fruit form is discernable within one volute and there is a bud-like leaf on a stalk to the lower right between volutes.			
66	Heysham	Architectural Fragment or Part of Chair		A central raised flat moulding		

C3.8

	Sites	Sculpture	Latitude	Longitude	Date	Iconography Face A	Iconography Face B	Iconography Face C	Iconography, Face D
67	Hoddom	Fragment of Cross-slab	55.041563 N	3.3054297 W	800-900	Incised equal-armed cross, with semicircular armpits and squared terminals.			
68	Hoddom	Cross-slab in two pieces	55.041563 N	3.3054297 W	600-700	Carves cross in relief with wedge-shaped arms that taper sharply towards a large round centre.			
69	Hoddom	Cross-slab	55.041563 N	3.3054297 W	800-900	Equal-armed white cross in relief aginst a red background. Decorative face has been formed of two contrasting colour bands in the sandstone.			
70	Hoddom	Cross-slab	55.041563 N	3.3054297 W	800-900	Incised equal-armed cross with wide curved arm-pits and cusped terminals.			
71	Hoddom	Cross-incised stone	55.041563 N	3.3054297 W	600-700	Asymmetrical incised cross			
72	Hoddom	Fragment of Cross-slab	55.041563 N	3.3054297 W	800-900	Tapering narrow central cross-shaft set out by double grooved edge mouldings			
73	Hoddom	Cross-shaft	55.041563 N	3.3054297 W	800-900				
74	Hoddom	Fragment of Cross-slab	55.041563 N	3.3054297 W	700-900	Incised cross with wedge-shaped arms.			
75	Hoddom	Fragment of a Cross-Slab	55.041563 N	3.3054297 W	725-775				
76	Hornby	Socket-stone or Lower Part of Shaft	54.110693 N	2.6362737 W	700-900				

C3.9a

	Sites	Sculpture	Latitude	Longitude	Date	Iconography Face A	Iconography Face B	Iconography Face C	Iconography Face D
77	Hornby	Cross-shaft and Part of - head	54.110693 N	2.6362737 W	750-850	Two fish below five roundels, placed three above two. The two roundels are flanked by mouldings representing the sides of the basket in which they are contained. Springing from the upper roundel is the stem of a tree whose upper termination is formed by a rosette set between two branching stems. Two the left of the tree stands a haloed figure, clothed in a long garment and half-turned to the left. He has classically modelled hair reaching down to the back of the neck, and his head is bowed. Another haloed figure stands to the right, holding a book in his left hand and point towards it with his right.		A haloed figure with wings holds a book across its chest in the cross-head.	
78	Hornby	Part of Cross-shaft and - head	54.110693 N	2.6362737 W	800-900	The worn remains of a haloed human figure.			
79	Isel	Fragment of Slab or Grave-Cover	54.688661 N	3.2999389 W	700-900				
80	Kendal	Part of Cross-Shaft	54.323070 N	2.7456346 W	775-825				
81	Kirkby Stephen	Fragment	54.474956 N	2.3487165 W	750-800				
82	Kirkmadrine	Headstone	54.796940 N	4.9611570 W	800-900	Near the top, a Maltese cross with a slight central boss. Curved horn-like objects spring from the angles between the arms. Below this are two crosses each with a central boss and expanded arms.			

C3.9b

	Sites	Sculpture	Plant-Scrolls/Motif, Face A	Plant-Scrolls/Motif, Face B	Plant-Scrolls/Motif, Face C	Plant-Scrolls/Motif, F	Inscription, Face C
77	Hornby	Cross-shaft and Part of-head			Zig-zag moulding flanks the figure within, each resultant triangle is filled with a small pellet.		Illegible
78	Hornby	Part of Cross-shaft and -head	Roll moulding border with two rows of horizontal zig-zag patterns set one above the other/ The shaft is flanked laterally by a narrow arched moulding within a double roll moulding fram.	Four parallel mouldings set one above the other. The shaft is flanked by single roll-moulding borders. Within these is a spiral scroll with a central rosette fruit element.	Three runs of zig-zag pattern, each triangle is filled with a small pellet, The shaft has a double border.	Four horizontal mouldings set one above the other. The shaft shows the remains of a scroll.	Roman capitals: [. .]OED[H]
79	Isel	Fragment of Slab or Grave-Cover	Cable moulding edge				
80	Kendal	Part of Cross-Shaft	One complete and two incomplete medallions of crossing scroll. Two grape bunches and two tightly curled tendrils tipped by small, pointed, paired leaves serve as infill between the medallions		Two volutes of simple scroll with three counterpoised, oval berry bunches, triple-pointed leaves are suspended from the upper volute	...with split stems form volutes, one complete and two incomplete. Each volute contains a rosette berry bunch and large pointed leaves	
81	Kirkby Stephen	Fragment	Five petals of a deep-cut rosette attached to a stem which curls to the left with a rounded internal leaf emerging from a cup-like node. A stiff, round bud and another strand spring from the node with a pendant leaf and berries				
82	Kirkmadrine	Headstone					

C3.10a

	Sites	Sculpture	Latitude	Longitude	Date	Iconography Face A	Iconography Face B	Iconography Face C	Iconography, Face D
83	Kirkmadrine	Headstone	54.796940 N	4.9611570 W	700-900	Near the top of the headstone is a cross with a large square centre and angular T-shaped head and arms, The short shaft rises from a large square base divided into four by disgonal lines, each compartment containing a small incised cross.			
85	Knells	Grave-Cover	54.936624 N	2.9145897 W	775-800	Two birds affronted with displayed wings and open beaks. The righthand bird has a plumed tail			
86	Laggangarn	Cross-slab	55.007655 N	4.7813761 W	700-800	Incised Latin cross surrounded by four smaller crosses on each stone.			
87	Laggangarn	Cross-slab	55.007655 N	4.7813761 W	700-800	Incised Latin cross surrounded by four smaller crosses on each stone.			
88	Lancaster	Fragment of Shaft	54.051262 N	2.8049101 W	800-900				
89	Lancaster	Part of Shaft	54.050363 N	2.8048927 W	800-900				
90	Lancaster	Shaft	54.050363 N	2.8048927 W	750-850				
91	Lancaster	Part-of Cross-arm	54.051262 N	2.8049101 W	700-800				

448

C3.10b

Sites	Sculpture	Plant-Scrolls/Motif, Face A	Plant-Scrolls/Motif, Face B	Plant-Scrolls/Motif, Face C	Inscription, Face A
83 Kirkmadrine	Headstone				
85 Knells	Grave-Cover	Grooved moulding			Anglo-Saxon capitals: '[-]MV[N.-]'
86 Laggangarn	Cross-slab				
87 Laggangarn	Cross-slab				
88 Lancaster	Fragment of Shaft	Spiral scroll terminating in a berry bunch of four pellets/	Three parallel horizontal mouldings	A roll-moulding border enclosing three parallel horizontal mouldings	
89 Lancaster	Part of Shaft	moulding border. At the centre of the spiral is a large heart-shaped leaf.			
90 Lancaster	Shaft	Double roll moulding border enclosing four complete interlaced medallion scrolls: the upper medallion formed by tangled interlace whose loose ends are marked by swollen terminals, whilst the other medallions contain fruit forms.	Single-stemmed spiral scroll, flanked by a single roll-moulding border. The side-shoots break from the main stem at the bottom of the curve and run parallel with the main stem.	Double roll-moulding border containing a single-stemmed spiral scroll, each spiral terminating in rounded berry bunches. The space between the stem an border are filled with a variety of foliate/fruit forms: triangular scooped leaf, round berry on the end of a short	
91 Lancaster	Part-of Cross-arm	the arm in a swollen terminal with a scooped centre. Around this sprine moulding is an irregular zig-zag form.		A central moulding terminating in a half-round terminal surrounded by bosses.	

C3.11a

	Sites	Sculpture	Latitude	Longitude	Date	Iconography Face A	Iconography Face B	Iconography Face C	Iconography, Face D
92	Lancaster	Part of Cross-shaft and Three Arms of-head	54.050363 N	2.8048927 W	750-800				
93	Lancaster	Fragment	54.050363 N	2.8048927 W	800-900				
94	Lancaster	Shaft and Lower Arm of Cross	54.051262 N	2.8049101 W	800-900				
95	Lancaster	Part of Shaft	54.050363 N	2.8048927 W	800-900				
96	Lancaster	Part of Cross-Head	54.050363 N	2.8048927 W	800-900	The centre of the cross-head holds a circular relief moulding containing five small bosses forming a cruciform shape. This motif overlies a flat-carved human figure		A flat boss, possibly ring-encircled at the centre of the cross-head set over a flat-carved human figure clad in a kirtle.	
97	Lancaster	Cross-shaft with Lower arm of-head	54.050363 N	2.8048927 W	750-900				
98	Lowther	Fragment	54.607053 N	2.7477210 W	775-800				
99	Lowther	Part of Cross-Shaft	54.607053 N	2.7477210 W	775-825				

C3.11b

Sites	Sculpture	Plant-Scrolls/Motif, Face A	Plant-Scrolls/Motif, Face B	Plant-Scrolls/Motif, Face C
92 Lancaster	Part of Cross-shaft and Three Arms of -head	Arris moulding surrounding a low flat boss set within a ring. Smaller bosses are set in the upper and right arms of the cross.		Border moulding. Formed by an incised line. Within this is a low relief circlar moulding. Inside the circle is set an incised equal-armed cross. This cross also has a circle on which is carved a minature version of the cross.
93 Lancaster	Fragment	Two rosette berry-bunches terminating a trumpet-spiral shoot facing back towards two stems.		
94 Lancaster	Shaft and Lower Arm of Cross	Double roll-moulding border. (ii) Single-stemmed spiral scroll terminating in a berry bunch.	Horizontal roll moulding separates the head and shaft. (ii) Spiral scroll with no evidence of fruit or foliate elements	Double roll-moulding border. (ii) Double-stemmed scroll with an elaborate medallion. At the centre is an oval or long triangular berry bunch enclosed within two stems.
95 Lancaster	Part of Shaft	Double/parallel stemmed scroll flanked laterally by a double roll-moulding border. Three spiralling offshoots are visible.	Double roll-moulding border flanks interlace pattern.	Double/parallel stemmed scroll flanked laterally by a double roll-moulding border. At the bottom the side shoot runs parallel to the main stems before curling away to end in a trilobed fruit cluster. There is a triangular dropped leaf.
96 Lancaster	Part of Cross-Head	Roll moulding outer border with additional inner border.		
97 Lancaster	Cross-shaft with Lower arm of -head	Roll-moulding border. Single-stemmed scroll with two and a half spiralling side-shoots terminating in berry bunches.	Roll-moulding border. Single-stemmed spiral scroll terminating in some form of split leaf.	Roll-moulding border with inner moulding. Single-stemmed spiral scroll terminating in berry bunches. A veined pointed leaf drops from the upper spiral and there are traces of an additional foliate tendril.
98 Lowther	Fragment	Single roll-moulding, enclosing a single volute terminating in a rosette berry bunch		
99 Lowther	Part of Cross-Shaft	Double roll-moulding enclosing three curving strands with triangular leaves. Four complete interlaces medallions of of a scroll	Split-stemmed trail with four and a half side tendrils, each one composed of a central volute enclosing a small berry bunch	Double roll-moulding. Five volutes of spiral scroll, each containing a rounded or fan-shaped berry bunch

C3.11c

	Sites	Sculpture	Plant-Scrolls/Motif, F	Inscription, Face A	Inscription, Face B	Inscription, Face C
92	Lancaster	Part of Cross-shaft and Three Arms of -head		Old English in runes: gibidæþfo|ræcynibal|þcupbere[.]		
93	Lancaster	Fragment				
94	Lancaster	Shaft and Lower Arm of Cross	border with horizontal moulding separating the shaft and head. (ii) Single-stemmed spiral	(i)Latin in Roman capitals: [+] ORA[T.]	PANIM[.]	CYNICA[.]	(i) Latin in Roman capitals: [-]	[H]OC [[O]PV[.]	(i) Latin in Roman capitals: [. .E]RF[. . .]	[. E]RPE	[. . AR]AT
95	Lancaster	Part of Shaft	Double roll-moulding border flanks interlace pattern.			
96	Lancaster	Part of Cross-Head	Single-stemmed spiral scroll, with a veined and pointed leaf springing			
97	Lancaster	Cross-shaft with Lower arm of -head	upwards to the left and a half-moon veined leaf	Latin in Anglo-Saxon capitals: ORATE	PANIM	A:HARD	-		
98	Lowther	Fragment				
99	Lowther	Part of Cross-Shaft	Flat band and inner roll-mounding			

C3.12a

Sites	Sculpture	Latitude	Longitude	Date	Iconography Face A	Iconography Face B	Iconography Face C	Iconography, Face D
100 Lowther	Part of Cross-Shaft	54.607053 N	2.7477210 W	750-800	At the top, a bird-like creature turns back to bite a berry bunch or flower. A cat-like quadruped faces right, poised to snap at a berry bunch. Below another quadruped, canine in features, faces left, also reaching to bite at a berry bunch. Plants sprout between its front and back legs.	Three serpentine creatures with interlaced extremeties		
101 Penrith	Lower Part of Cross-Shaft	54.664543 N	2.7518776 W	775-825				
102 Ribchester	Lower arm of cross-head	53.810988 N	2.5360480 W	800-900				
103 Ruthwell	Ruthwell Cross	55.000387 N	3.4075725 W	700-750	(i)Forward facing haloed figure holding lamb. (ii) Forward facing haloed Christ supported by two docile canines. (iii) Saint's Paul and Anthony breaking bread in the desert. (iv) Mounted figure riding left lead by man. Flight into Egypt scene		(head) Whale, eagle and dragon on each arm, facing encircled triangle (i) Archer with drawn bow pointing upwards (ii) Mary and Martha facing each other. (iii) forward-facing Christ with crouched facing Christ with crouched Mary Magdalen, bathing his feet with her hair. (iv) Haloed Christ healing standing blind man. (v) The Annunciation scene. Forward-facing haloed and winged figure appearing to haloed, forward-facing woman. (vi) Crucifixion scene with sun and moon over either side of the cross	
104 St. Ninian's Cave, Glasserton	Wedge-shaped Pillar	54.698028 N	4.3606834 W	800-900	Incised equal-armed cross in a circle. Below this is a smaller cross of the same type with a long shaft reaching to the base of the stone.			

C3.12b

Sites	Sculpture	Plant-Scrolls/Motif, Face A	Plant-Scrolls/M...	Plant-Scrolls/Motif,...	Plant-Scrolls/Motif, F...	Inscription, Face...	Inscription, Face...	Inscription...
100 Lowther	Part of Cross-Shaft	Three medallions of a double-stranded medallion scroll	Three colutes of simple scroll	Two complete medallions formed by simple crossing strands				
101 Penrith	Lower Part of Cross-Shaft	A medallion plant-scroll pf which one complete and one nearly complete medallion survive	Double roll-moulding					
102 Ribchester	Lower arm of cross-head	Roll-moulding frame						
103 Ruthwell	Ruthwell Cross	Inhabited vine-scroll on base	Inhabited vine-scroll with bird pecking at berries. Surrounding this is runic inscription	Inhabited vine-scroll with bird pecking at berries. Surrounding this is runic inscription		Inscription in Laton describing figural scene	Inscription in runic telling Dream of the Rood poem	Inscription in Latin describing figural scenes
104 St. Ninian's Cave, Glasserton	Wedge-shaped Pillar							

C3.13a

	Sites	Sculpture	Latitude	Longitude	Date	Iconography Face A	Iconography Face B	Iconography Face C	Iconography, Face D
105	St. Ninian's Cave, Glasserton	Votive Cross	54.698028 N	4.3606834 W	600-700	Incised cross on a waterworn boulder. The cross has flattened, slightly forked ends.			
106	St. Ninian's Cave, Glasserton	Stone Slab	54.698028 N	4.3606834 W	700-800	In the centre of the slab is a carefully cut double circle, within which are four smaller circles, each containing an equal-armed cross with forked ends.			
107	Urswick	Part of Cross-Shaft	54.159269 N	3.1224816 W	800-900	Two frontal figures with heads turned to face each other, separated by a shafted cross (A1). The figure on the left extends his arm across the shaft of the cross to the figure on the left.			
109	Wetheral	Horizontal Cross-Arm	54.883286 N	2.6904792 W	700-900				
110	Whithorn	Stone Vessel	54.732626 N	4.417588 W	700-800	Incomplete stone vessel carved in relief with a hollow at the top, surrounded by a zig-zag pattern above two arched panels. One panel shows a cross, and the other a head.			
111	Whithorn	Part of Cross-Shaft	54.732626 N	4.417588 W	800-900	(ii) Two draped, standing figures wearing crescentic headdresses. Each appears to be holding something in their right hand.			

C3.13b

	A	B	J	K	L	S	Y
105	St. Ninian's Cave, Glasserton	Votive Cross					
106	St. Ninian's Cave, Glasserton	Stone Slab					
107	Urswick	Part of Cross-Shaft	Subdivided into three sections by roll moulding. Pattern C knots above a unit of patter D. Closed circuit pattern D with long loops interspersed with U-bends at lower terminal register.	Flat-band moulding enclosing a double twist pattern	Inhabited scroll emerging from a pot or urn. A creature's rounded head is enclosed in the volute. Another bend of the plant trail encloses the long profile of a creature with a rounded head and beak-like jaws. Above the trail evolves into bush-scroll. Two figures, a male wearing a knee-length tunic and a female stand below two bird-like creatures	Anglo-Saxon in runes: 'Tunwine put up cross in memory of his lord(son?) Torhtred. Pray for the soul' Maker's signature is partially broken away.	
109	Wetheral	Horizontal Cross-Arm	Flat-band moulding		Flat-band moulding	Inscription in Anglo-Saxon capitals and Insular majuscule. '[...]//[NIMJA//[...]'	
110	Whithorn	Stone Vessel					This type of coarse sandstone is not found locally, and it seems to have been imported from eastern Northumbria as a finished object
111	Whithorn	Part of Cross-Shaft					

C3.14

Sites	Sculpture	Latitude	Longitude	Date	Iconography Face A	Plant-Scrolls/Motif, F	Inscription, Face A
112 Whithorn	'St. Peter' Stone Pillar	54.733566 N	4.417588 W	600-700	Incised cross with curved expanded arms set within a double circle. The cross is formed of sour segments of circles which intersect near the centre of the enclosing circle. The right hand line of the top arms of the cross serves as the upright of a capital R. The cross and circle are set on a small stem with a flat base and curved sides. On the stem is cut a capital T.		Latin in a script seen in Merovingian Gaul: LOCI // PETRI APU // STOLI
113 Whithorn	Incised Slab	54.732626 N	4.417588 W	650-750	The surface of the slab is nearly flat and nearly circular. Within this is an incised linear cross, possibly originally symmetrical		
114 Whithorn	Circle design	54.732626 N	4.417588 W	750-800	Paving stone with three compass-drawn circles		
115 Whithorn	Incised Slab	54.732626 N	4.417588 W	800-900	Three incised crosses. Two smaller crosses flank a central larger cross. The central cross has expanded ends to the head and arms and rectangular panels imitated from jewelled ornaments of earlier elaborate crosses. The arrangment may represent a Crucifixion scene of Christ between two thieves, though figural images are not included.		
116 Whithorn	Part of Cross-Shaft	54.732626 N	4.417588 W	800-900			
117 Whithorn	Marigold design	54.732626 N	4.417588 W	800-900	Slab with a hexafoil design of six interlocking circles equidistant around a central point and forming a 'marigold' cross, within a circle.		

457

C3.15

Sites	Sculpture	Latitude	Longitude	Date	Iconography Face A	Plant-Scrolls/Motif, Face B	Plant-Scrolls/Motif, Face C	Additional Notes
118 Whithorn	Marigold design	54.732626 N	4.417588 W	750-850	Paving slab with cross of five circles at one end, faintly incised. Four interlocking circles, equidistant around a central point and linked by a fifth circle of the same diameter, forming a cross-of-arcs			
119 Whithorn	Incised Slab	54.732626 N	4.417588 W	650-750	Slab in three fragments with an uneven surface. The surviving face shows a faintly incised cross within a circle.			
120 Whithorn	Circle design	54.732626 N	4.417588 W	750-800	Paving stone with two concentric compass-drawn circles			
121 Whithorn	Arciform Cross	54.732626 N	4.417588 W	700-800	Lower part of a flat tapering slab, decorated with the remains of an incised cross-of-arcs carved throughout in double outline.			This type of arciform cross is known from sites in Ireland, Scotland and the Isle of Man
122 Whithorn	Circle design	54.732626 N	4.417588 W	750-800	Rectilinear slab in two fragments. The face is covered by a series of intersecting compass-drawn circles of the same diameter, irregularly spaced but in places forming a chain.			
124 Whithorn	Circle design	54.732626 N	4.417588 W	750-800	Slab with compass-drawn designs. Incomplete three-quarter circle, with part of a divergent outer circle.			
125 Whithorn	Arciform Cross	54.732626 N	4.417588 W	750-800	Outer fragment of a cross-of-arcs, showing incised circumference and part of one arm. The surviving edge is chamfered.			
126 Whithorn	Part of Cross-Shaft	54.732626 N	4.417588 W	700-900	Carves cross in relief set in a sunken circle. The cross has expanded arms.		Incised spiral set within a circle	
127 Workington	Part of Cross-Shaft and -Head	54.546738 N	3.593006 W	700-900		springing from a single root.		

Appendix D:

Metal and Metalworking Paraphenalia

D1: Metal and Metalworking Paraphernalia of Bernicia

D1.1a

#	Site	Artefact Type	Latitude	Longitude	Approximate Date	Class/Subclass	Graphing Description	Motif	Colour/Reverse Motif	Ascribed Culture
2	Auldhame	Inkwell	56.049681 N	2.6552211 W	600-800		Yellow spiral trails		Blue and green	
3	Auldhame	Pin	56.049681 N	2.6552211 W	600-800	Wedge-shaped				
4	Auldhame	Pin	56.049681 N	2.6552211 W	600-800	Ball-shaped		Concentric circles		
5	Auldhame	Pin	56.049681 N	2.6552211 W	600-800					
7	Bamburgh	Mount	55.608277 N	1.715842 W	600-700			Interlace and zoomorphic		Anglo-Saxon
8	Bamburgh	Mount	55.60828 N	1.71584 W	700-900			Filigree scrolls		Potential Irish origin
9	Bamburgh	Mount	55.608277 N	1.715842 W	700-800			Geometric		Anglo-Saxon
11	Barrasford	Knife	55.055023 N	2.1267646 W	600-700					
12	Barrasford	Shield-boss	55.055023 N	2.1267646 W	600-700					
13	Barrasford	Sword	55.055023 N	2.1267646 W	600-700					
14	Belsay	Brooch	55.087404 N	1.907539 W	600-650	Cruciform		Florid		Anglo-Saxon
15	Benwell	Brooch	54.977349 N	1.6656277 W	600-700	Square-headed				
16	Binchester	Axe	54.677014 N	1.6778531 W	600-700	Francisca				
44	Binchester	Brooch	54.677014 N	1.6778531 W	600-800	Cruciform		Zoomorphic		Anglo-Saxon
45	Binchester	Brooch	54.677014 N	1.6778531 W	500-700	S-shaped		Zoomorphic		Frankish
49	Binchester	Pin	54.677014 N	1.6778531 W	600-800	Thistle-shaped				Anglo-Saxon
52	Cambois	Brooch	55.132683 N	1.5953865 W	800-900	Disc	Bird holding twig in beak			
53	Cambois	Brooch	55.132683 N	1.5953865 W	800-900	Disc				
54	Cambois	Brooch	55.132683 N	1.5953865 W	800-900	Disc				
58	Capheaton	Finger-ring	55.116338 N	1.9412085 W	600-800					
59	Capheaton	Hanging-bowl	55.116338 N	1.9412085 W	600-800		Annular escutcheons	Key pattern		
63	Darlington	Brooch	54.530106 N	1.5592698 W	600-700	Great Square-headed	Florid	Outward-facing mask surrounded by bird-heads. Two bell's eye circlets in the central panel. Zoomorphic designs of beaked animals		
64	Darlington	Brooch	54.530106 N	1.5592698 W	600-700	Cruciform		Knops cast into head-plate. Zoomorphic head with round nostrils and triangular tonue.		
65	Darlington	Brooch	54.530106 N	1.5592698 W	600-700	Small-long	Cross-potent			
66	Darlington	Brooch	54.530106 N	1.5592698 W	600-700	Circular		Triangular foot		
67	Darlington	Brooch	54.530106 N	1.5592698 W	600-700	Circular				

D1.1b

1	Site	Artefact Type	Material	Surface Treatment	Notes	Parallels
2	Auldhame	Inkwell	Glass		Likely of Insular production	
3	Auldhame	Pin	Copper alloy		Head reminiscent of a stylus but too thin	South Newbald, Yorkshire
4	Auldhame	Pin	Copper alloy			
5	Auldhame	Pin				
7	Bamburgh	Mount	Gold			
8	Bamburgh	Mount	Gold			
9	Bamburgh	Mount	Copper alloy	Gilded		
11	Barrasford	Knife	Iron		Associated with barrow burial	
12	Barrasford	Shield-boss	Silver		Associated with barrow burial	
13	Barrasford	Sword	Iron		Associated with barrow burial	
14	Belsay	Brooch	Copper alloy			
15	Benwell	Brooch	Copper alloy		Associated with burial	
16	Binchester	Axe	Iron			
44	Binchester	Brooch	Copper alloy			Similar, but more elaborate, objects have been found in Suffolk
45	Binchester	Brooch	Copper alloy		Associated with burial. A type of brooch uncommon in Britain, that was far more common in Frankish and Lombardic contexts	
49	Binchester	Pin	Iron			Parallels have been found in AE in Cambridgeshire
52	Cambois	Brooch	Copper alloy	Enamel inlaid	Associated with grave	May be from same mould as Hyde Abbey, Winchester brooch
53	Cambois	Brooch	Copper alloy		Associated with cist burial	
54	Cambois	Brooch	Copper alloy		Associated with cist burial	
58	Capheaton	Finger-ring			Associated with barrow burial	
59	Capheaton	Hanging-bowl	Copper alloy		Associated with barrow buria	
63	Darlington	Brooch	Copper alloy	Tinned	Greenbank cemetary grave goods. The Florid sub-type of Square-headed brooches became very popular around the Humber.	
64	Darlington	Brooch	Copper alloy		Greenbank cemetary grave good.	Londesborough, E. Yorks and Benwell, Northumberland
65	Darlington	Brooch	Copper alloy		Greenbank cemetary grave goods	Nunburnholme, E. Yorks and many southern sites
66	Darlington	Brooch	Copper alloy		Greenbank cemetary grave goods. Now lost	
67	Darlington	Brooch	Copper alloy		Greenbank cemetary grave goods. Now lost	

D1.2a

	Site	Artefact Type	Latitude	Longitude	Approximate Date	Class/Subclass	Graphing Description	Motif	Colour/Reverse Motif	Ascribed Culture
68	Darlington	Brooch	54.530106 N	1.5592698 W	600-700	Cruciform		Knops cast into head-plate. Two bird-heads one of whose beak curves down towards an upward-facing bird-head on each lappet. Zoomorphic head with triangular tongue		
69	Darlington	Brooch	54.530106 N	1.5592698 W	600-700	Great Square-headed	Florid	Outward-facing mask surrounded by bird-heads. Two bell's eye circlets in the central panel.		
70	Darlington	Brooch	54.530106 N	1.5592698 W	600-700	Small-long	Cross-potent	Zoomorphic designs of beaked animals		
71	Darlington	Buckle	54.530106 N	1.5592698 W	600-700			Punched ornament, probably had triangular foot		
72	Darlington	girdle hanger	54.530106 N	1.5592698 W	600-700					
73	Darlington	Hooked bands	54.530106 N	1.5592698 W	600-700					
74	Darlington	Key	54.530106 N	1.5592698 W	600-700	One-way tumbler				Roman (?)
75	Darlington	Necklace	54.530106 N	1.5592698 W	600-700		String of beads			
79	Darlington	Scabbard	54.54508 N	1.74163 W	550-650	Pyramidal	Fish-scale			Anglo-Saxon
80	Darlington	Shield-boss	54.530106 N	1.5592698 W	600-700					
81	Darlington	Shield-boss	54.530106 N	1.5592698 W	600-700					
82	Darlington	Spearhead	54.530106 N	1.5592698 W	600-700	C3	Leaf-shaped blade			Anglo-Saxon
83	Darlington	Spearhead	54.530106 N	1.5592698 W	600-700	E3	Straight-sided angular blade			Anglo-Saxon
84	Darlington	Spearhead	54.530106 N	1.5592698 W	600-700					Anglo-Saxon
85	Darlington	Spearhead	54.530106 N	1.5592698 W	600-700					Anglo-Saxon
87	Darlington	Sword	54.530106 N	1.5592698 W	600-700					
88	Darlington	Sword	54.530106 N	1.5592698 W	600-700					
92	Denton	Pin	54.5568089 N	1.67680542 W	700-900	Bi-Conical				
93	Denton	Strap End	54.556809 N	1.676805 W	800-900	Thomas Type A1	Trewhiddle Style	Abstract zoomorphic		Anglo-Saxon
96	Durham	Pin	54.7761 N	1.5733 W	700-900	Polyhedral				
97	Durham	Pin	54.74512996 N	1.5510367 W	700-900	Polyhedral				
98	East Boldon	Buckle	54.942370 N	1.4395725 W	600-700		Chevrons			
99	Ford	Brooch	55.635494 N	2.128636 W	600-650	Cruciform				Anglo-Saxon
100	Ford	Brooch	55.635494 N	2.128636 W	550-625	Cruciform				Anglo-Saxon
102	Galewood	Brooch	55.585162 N	2.1411622 W	600-800					
103	Galewood	Brooch	55.585162 N	2.1411622 W	600-800					
104	Galewood	Spearhead	55.585162 N	2.1411622 W	600-800					
105	Galewood	Spearhead	55.585162 N	2.1411622 W	600-800					

D1.2b

	Site	Artefact Type	Material	Surface Treatment	Notes	Parallels
68	Darlington	Brooch	Copper alloy		Greenbank cemetary grave goods	Londesborough, E. Yorks and Benwell, Northumberland
					Greenbank cemetary grave goods. This brooch is not produced with the same degree of quality as the other brooch of this type found in Darlington cemetary. The Florid sub-type of Square-headed brooches became very popular around the Humber.	
69	Darlington	Brooch	Copper alloy		Greenbank cemetary grave goods	
70	Darlington	Brooch	Copper alloy		Greenbank cemetary grave goods	Nunburnholme, E. Yorks and many southern sites
71	Darlington	Buckle	Copper alloy		Greenbank cemetary grave goods. Now lost	
72	Darlington	girdle hanger	Copper alloy		Greenbank cemetary grave goods. Now lost	
73	Darlington	Hooked bands	Iron		Greenbank cemetary grave goods.	
74	Darlington	Key	Iron		Greenbank cemetary grave goods. Potentially reused Roman item	
75	Darlington	Necklace	Amber, glass and stone		Greenbank cemetary grave goods. Now lost	
79	Darlington	Scabbard	Silver and Gem	Gilded		
80	Darlington	Shield-boss			Greenbank cemetary grave goods. Now lost	
81	Darlington	Shield-boss			Greenbank cemetary grave goods. Now lost	
82	Darlington	Spearhead	Iron		Greenbank cemetary grave goods	Common on Angklo-Saxon sites
83	Darlington	Spearhead	Iron		Greenbank cemetary grave goods	Common on Anglo-Saxon sites
84	Darlington	Spearhead	Iron		Greenbank cemetary grave goods	
85	Darlington	Spearhead	Iron			
87	Darlington	Sword	Iron		Greenbank cemetary grave goods. Now lost	
88	Darlington	Sword	Iron		Greenbank cemetary grave goods. Now lost	
92	Denton	Pin	Copper alloy			
93	Denton	Strap End	Copper alloy			
96	Durham	Pin	Copper alloy			
97	Durham	Pin				
98	East Boldon	Buckle	Copper alloy and go	Garnet inlaid		
99	Ford	Brooch	Copper alloy	Gilded		
100	Ford	Brooch	Copper alloy			
102	Galewood	Brooch	Copper alloy		Associated with burial	
103	Galewood	Brooch	Copper alloy		Associated with burial	
104	Galewood	Spearhead	Iron		Associated with burial	
105	Galewood	Spearhead	Iron		Associated with burial	

D1.3a

#	Site	Artefact Type	Latitude	Longitude	Approximate Date	Class/Subclass	Graphing Description	Motif	Colour/Reverse Motif	Ascribed Culture
108	Great Tosson	Buckle	55.299410 N	1.9646921 W	600-800					
109	Great Tosson	Spearhead	55.299410 N	1.9646921 W	600-800					
116	Grindon	Strap End	53.085017 N	1.8695210 W	800-900	Thomas Type A1		Zoomorphic		
121	Hartlepool	Buckle pin	54.694676 N	1.1823376 W	700-725					
125	Hartlepool	Crucible	54.694676 N	1.1823376 W	700-800					
126	Hartlepool	Crucible	54.694676 N	1.1823376 W	700-800					
127	Hartlepool	Crucible	54.694676 N	1.1823376 W	700-800					
128	Hartlepool	Crucible	54.694676 N	1.1823376 W	700-800					
129	Hartlepool	Crucible	54.694676 N	1.1823376 W	700-800					
130	Hartlepool	Crucible	54.694676 N	1.1823376 W	700-800					
131	Hartlepool	Crucible	54.694676 N	1.1823376 W	700-800					
132	Hartlepool	Crucible	54.694676 N	1.1823376 W	700-800					
133	Hartlepool	Crucible	54.694676 N	1.1823376 W	700-800					
134	Hartlepool	Die	54.694676 N	1.1823376 W	650-750	Plano-convex counter		Two faces survive, values four and five		
136	Hartlepool	Latchlifter	54.694676 N	1.1823376 W	650-700					
138	Hartlepool	Mould	54.694676 N	1.1823376 W	650-750	Circular				
139	Hartlepool	Mould	54.694676 N	1.1823376 W	650-750	Round		Fantastic beast right, head turned over back with trumpet in mouth. Naturalistically depicted		Insular
140	Hartlepool	Mould	54.694676 N	1.1823376 W	650-750	Round				
141	Hartlepool	Mould	54.694676 N	1.1823376 W	650-750	Round				
142	Hartlepool	Mould	54.694676 N	1.1823376 W	650-750					
143	Hartlepool	Mould	54.694676 N	1.1823376 W	650-750					
144	Hartlepool	Mould	54.694676 N	1.1823376 W	650-750					
145	Hartlepool	Mould	54.694676 N	1.1823376 W	650-750	Trapezoid		Ribbon beaked animal devolving into Pattern F knot		Insular
146	Hartlepool	Mould	54.694676 N	1.1823376 W	650-750	Round		Free-armed cross, pattern E knot on arms		
166	Hartlepool	Pin	54.694676 N	1.1823376 W	750-800	Flat				
167	Hartlepool	Pin	54.694676 N	1.1823376 W	650-750					
168	Hartlepool	Pin	54.694676 N	1.1823376 W	700-750	Flat		Grooved decoration		
169	Hartlepool	Pin	54.694676 N	1.1823376 W	700-800	Flat		Double ring-and-dot		
170	Hartlepool	Pin	54.694676 N	1.1823376 W	700-800	Spiral				
173	Hartlepool	Slag	54.694676 N	1.1823376 W	650-750					
174	Hartlepool	Slag	54.694676 N	1.1823376 W	650-700					
175	Hartlepool	Slag	54.694676 N	1.1823376 W	650-700					
176	Hartlepool	Slag	54.694676 N	1.1823376 W	650-700					
205	Hepple	Earscoop	55.294219 N	2.0331037 W	600-700					

D1.3b

	Site	Artefact Type	Material	Surface Treatment	Notes	Parallels
108	Great Tosson	Buckle	Copper alloy		Associated with cist burial	
109	Great Tosson	Spearhead	Iron		Associated with cist burial	
116	Grindon	Strap End	Copper alloy			
121	Hartlepool	Buckle pin	Copper alloy			
125	Hartlepool	Crucible	Clay		Melted bronze	
126	Hartlepool	Crucible	Clay		Melted gunmetal	
127	Hartlepool	Crucible	Clay		Melted silver	
128	Hartlepool	Crucible	Clay		Melted gunmetal	
129	Hartlepool	Crucible	Clay		Melted silver	
130	Hartlepool	Crucible	Clay		Melted silver	
131	Hartlepool	Crucible	Clay		Melted bronze	
132	Hartlepool	Crucible	Clay			
133	Hartlepool	Crucible	Clay			
134	Hartlepool	Die	Antler			
136	Hartlepool	Latchlifter	Iron		Found in boundary ditch	Norton-Cleveland cemetary
138	Hartlepool	Mould	Clay			
139	Hartlepool	Mould	Clay			Echternach Gospel, Book of Durrow, Codex Amiantus
140	Hartlepool	Mould	Clay			
141	Hartlepool	Mould	Clay			
142	Hartlepool	Mould	Clay			
143	Hartlepool	Mould	Clay			
144	Hartlepool	Mould	Clay			
145	Hartlepool	Mould	Clay			Lindisfarne Gospel
146	Hartlepool	Mould	Clay			Whitby
166	Hartlepool	Pin	Copper alloy		Made from a rolled sheet of metal	
167	Hartlepool	Pin	Bone		Common monastic find	
168	Hartlepool	Pin	Copper alloy			
169	Hartlepool	Pin	Copper alloy			York
170	Hartlepool	Pin	Copper alloy			Lumley Street
173	Hartlepool	Slag	fuel ash		Hearth lining and guel ash slag, charcoal	
174	Hartlepool	Slag	fuel ash		Fuel ash slag and smithing slag	
175	Hartlepool	Slag	fuel ash		Hearth lining and smithing slag	
176	Hartlepool	Slag	Iron		Iron-rich fuel ash slag	
205	Hepple	Earscoop	Copper alloy		Associated with burial	

D1.4a

#	Site	Artefact Type	Latitude	Longitude	Approximate Date	Class/Subclass	Graphing Description	Motif	Colour/Reverse Motif	Ascribed Culture
206	Hepple	Knife	55.294219 N	2.0331037 W	600-700					
207	Hepple	Knife	55.294219 N	2.0331037 W	600-700					
212	Hepple	Workbox	55.294219 N	2.0331037 W	600-700					
213	Horsley	Dress Component	54.97959014 N	1.93903486 W	800-899			Devolved zoomorphic		
218	Howick Heugh	Knife	55.445226 N	1.6278571 W	600-700					
219	Howick Heugh	Knife	55.445226 N	1.6278571 W	600-700					
220	Howick Heugh	Knife	55.445226 N	1.6278571 W	600-700					
221	Howick Heugh	Knife	55.445226 N	1.6278571 W	600-700					
222	Howick Heugh	Knife	55.445226 N	1.6278571 W	600-700					
227	Humshaugh	Scabbard	55.03345595 N	2.12669641 W	600-650	Pyramidal		Low relief		Anglo-Saxon
249	Jarrow	Binding strip	54.980341 N	1.4718461 W	700-900	Spade-shaped				
254	Jarrow	Buckle	54.980341 N	1.4718461 W	800-1000	Trapezoidal				
279	Jarrow	Crucible	54.980341 N	1.4718461 W	800-900	Dish-shaped				
280	Jarrow	Crucible	54.980341 N	1.4718461 W	800-900				Opaque white	
281	Jarrow	Crucible	54.980341 N	1.4718461 W	800-900	Dish-shaped				
282	Jarrow	Crucible	54.980341 N	1.4718461 W	800-900	Dish-shaped				
283	Jarrow	Crucible	54.980341 N	1.4718461 W	700-900	Dish-shaped				
284	Jarrow	Crucible	54.980341 N	1.4718461 W	800-900	Dish-shaped				
285	Jarrow	Crucible	54.980341 N	1.4718461 W	800-900	Dish-shaped			Dark red	
286	Jarrow	Crucible	54.980341 N	1.4718461 W	700-900	Dish-shaped				
287	Jarrow	Crucible	54.980341 N	1.4718461 W	700-800					
288	Jarrow	Crucible	54.980341 N	1.4718461 W	700-800	Dish-shaped	Glass melting			
289	Jarrow	Crucible	54.980341 N	1.4718461 W	700-900	Jar	Glass melting			
290	Jarrow	Crucible	54.980341 N	1.4718461 W	700-800	Lidded				
291	Jarrow	Crucible	54.980341 N	1.4718461 W	700-900	Dish-shaped				
292	Jarrow	Crucible	54.980341 N	1.4718461 W	700-900	Dish-shaped				
300	Jarrow	Fastening	54.980341 N	1.4718461 W	700-900					
410	Jarrow	Hooked Fastening	54.980341 N	1.4718461 W	600-900	Triangular				
411	Jarrow	Hooked tag	54.980341 N	1.4718461 W	600-900					
413	Jarrow	Key Ring	54.980341 N	1.4718461 W	800-900					
414	Jarrow	Knife	54.980341 N	1.4718461 W	700-900	Whittle tang				
415	Jarrow	Knife	54.980341 N	1.4718461 W	700-900					
416	Jarrow	Knife	54.980341 N	1.4718461 W	700-900					
417	Jarrow	Knife	54.980341 N	1.4718461 W	600-800	Whittle tang				
420	Jarrow	Leather-working tool	54.980341 N	1.4718461 W	700-900					
427	Jarrow	Mould/Former	54.980341 N	1.4718461 W	700-900					
428	Jarrow	Mount	54.980341 N	1.4718461 W	700-900	Ornamental		Interlinked Arcs		

D1.4b

Site	Artefact Type	Material	Surface Treatment	Notes	Parallels
Hepple	Knife	Iron		Associated with burial	
Hepple	Knife	Iron		Associated with burial	
Hepple	Workbox	Copper alloy		Associated with burial	
Horsley	Dress Component	Copper alloy			
Howick Heugh	Knife	Iron		Associated with burial	
Howick Heugh	Knife	Iron		Associated with burial	
Howick Heugh	Knife	Iron		Associated with burial	
Howick Heugh	Knife	Iron		Associated with burial	
Howick Heugh	Knife	Iron		Associated with burial	
Humshaugh	Scabbard	Silver and Gem	Gilded		
Jarrow	Binding strip	Iron			
Jarrow	Buckle	Iron			
Jarrow	Crucible	Clay	Yellow lead glaze		
Jarrow	Crucible	Iron-rich clay			
Jarrow	Crucible	Clay	Yellow lead glaze		
Jarrow	Crucible	Iron-rich clay	Black lead glaze		
Jarrow	Crucible	Iron-rich clay			
Jarrow	Crucible	Clay	Pale yellow/olive green glaze		
Jarrow	Crucible	Iron-rich clay			
Jarrow	Crucible	Clay with quartz	Yellow lead glaze		
Jarrow	Crucible	Clay with quartz			
Jarrow	Crucible	Clay	Yellow lead glaze		
Jarrow	Crucible	Clay with quartz and haematite			
Jarrow	Crucible	Clay with quartz			
Jarrow	Crucible	Clay	Green lead glaze		
Jarrow	Crucible	Clay	Green lead glaze		
Jarrow	Fastening	Lead		Possible window fixing	
Jarrow	Hooked Fastening	Silver			
Jarrow	Hooked tag	Silver			
Jarrow	Key Ring	Copper alloy			
Jarrow	Knife	Iron			
Jarrow	Knife	Iron			
Jarrow	Knife	Iron			
Jarrow	Knife	Iron			
Jarrow	Leather-working tool	Copper alloy			
Jarrow	Mould/Former	Sandstone			
Jarrow	Mount	Copper alloy			

D1.5a

	Site	Artefact Type	Latitude	Longitude	Approximate Date	Class/Subclass	Graphing Description	Motif	Colour/Reverse Motif	Ascribed Culture
429	Jarrow	Mount	54.980341 N	1.4718461 W	700-900	Ornamental				
430	Jarrow	Mount	54.980341 N	1.4718461 W	700-900	Ornamental				
446	Jarrow	Pin	54.980341 N	1.4718461 W	700-900					
447	Jarrow	Pin	54.980341 N	1.4718461 W	700-900	Ring-headed				
448	Jarrow	Pin	54.980341 N	1.4718461 W	700-900	Lozenge-headed				
449	Jarrow	Pin	54.980341 N	1.4718461 W	600-900	Rivet				
450	Jarrow	Pin	54.980341 N	1.4718461 W	700-900	Cuboid-facetted		Ring-and-dot		
511	Jarrow	Strap Fitting	54.980341 N	1.4718461 W	700-800					
512	Jarrow	Strap-end	54.980341 N	1.4718461 W	700-800	Thomas Type A				
522	Jarrow	Tuyere	54.980341 N	1.4718461 W	700-900					
577	Jarrow	Workshop debris	54.980341 N	1.4718461 W	700-900					
578	Jarrow	Workshop debris	54.980341 N	1.4718461 W	700-900					
579	Jarrow	Workshop debris	54.980341 N	1.4718461 W	700-900					
580	Jarrow	Workshop debris	54.980341 N	1.4718461 W	700-900					
581	Jarrow	Workshop debris	54.980341 N	1.4718461 W	700-900					
582	Jarrow	Workshop debris	54.980341 N	1.4718461 W	700-900					
583	Jarrow	Workshop debris	54.980341 N	1.4718461 W	700-900					
584	Jarrow	Workshop debris	54.980341 N	1.4718461 W	700-900					
585	Kylow	Brooch	55.653483 N	1.890322 W	800-900	Ansate				
587	North Shields	Pin	55.04 N	1.53 W	600-900	Onion shaped		Notched cruciform		
589	Quayside	Buckle	54.9784 N	2.03316 W	800-900	Marshall Late Saxon type 1B		Vinescroll		
590	Quayside	Buckle	54.9784 N	2.03316 W	800-900			Zoomorphic		
601	Thirston	Pin	55.28476592 N	1.702041078 W	700-900	Bi-Conical				
602	Thirston	Pin	55.284766 N	1.702411 W	700-900	Globular		Ring and dot		
603	Ulgham	Mount	55.22165 N	1.624286 W	700-800			Interlace		Irish
604	Ulgham	Pin	55.221697 N	1.640005 W	800-900	Globular		Ring and dot		
605	Ulgham	Strap End	55.22165 N	1.624286 W	800-900	Thomas Type A2		Zoomorphic		
607	Walworth	Pin	54.56566284 N	1.63033835 W	700-800	Curvilinear		Ring and dot		
614	Wearmouth	Brooch	54.913146 N	1.3750264 W	700-900	Ring		Incised lines		
615	Wearmouth	Buckle	54.913146 N	1.3750264 W	800-1000	D-shaped				
629	Wearmouth	Finger Ring	54.913146 N	1.3750264 W	700-900					
630	Wearmouth	Finger Ring	54.913146 N	1.3750264 W	600-900			Punched marks		
691	Wearmouth	Hooked clasp	54.913146 N	1.3750264 W	600-900	Bag/Garter				
692	Wearmouth	Hooked tag	54.913146 N	1.3750264 W	700-900					
693	Wearmouth	Hooked tag	54.913146 N	1.3750264 W	700-900		white trails			
697	Wearmouth	Mount	54.913146 N	1.3750264 W	600-800				Blue	

D1.5b

	Site	Artefact Type	Material	Surface Treatment	Notes	Parallels
429	Jarrow	Mount	Copper alloy		Possible book fitting	
430	Jarrow	Mount	Copper alloy		Possibly from book or casket	
446	Jarrow	Pin	Copper alloy			
447	Jarrow	Pin	Copper alloy			
448	Jarrow	Pin	Lead			
449	Jarrow	Pin	Silver	Gilt		
450	Jarrow	Pin	Copper alloy			
511	Jarrow	Strap Fitting	Copper alloy			
512	Jarrow	Strap-end	Copper alloy			
522	Jarrow	Tuyere	Clay with quartz			
577	Jarrow	Workshop debris	Mica			
578	Jarrow	Workshop debris	Mica			
579	Jarrow	Workshop debris	Jet			
580	Jarrow	Workshop debris	Jet			
581	Jarrow	Workshop debris	Jet			
582	Jarrow	Workshop debris	Jet			
583	Jarrow	Workshop debris	Jet			
584	Jarrow	Workshop debris	Jet			
585	Kylow	Brooch	Copper alloy	Inlaid with Enamel		
587	North Shields	Pin	Copper alloy			
589	Quayside	Buckle	Copper alloy			
590	Quayside	Buckle	Copper alloy			
601	Thirston	Pin	Copper alloy			
602	Thirston	Pin	Copper alloy			
603	Ulgham	Mount	Copper alloy	Gilded		
604	Ulgham	Pin	Copper alloy			
605	Ulgham	Strap End	Copper alloy			
607	Walworth	Pin	Copper alloy			
614	Wearmouth	Brooch	Copper alloy			
615	Wearmouth	Buckle	Iron			
629	Wearmouth	Finger Ring	Copper alloy		Possibly from a burial	
630	Wearmouth	Finger Ring	Copper alloy			
691	Wearmouth	Hooked clasp	Copper alloy			
692	Wearmouth	Hooked tag	Copper alloy		Associated with grave of SK 67/14	
693	Wearmouth	Hooked tag	Copper alloy		Associated with grave 67/7	
697	Wearmouth	Mount	Glass			

D1.6a

	Site	Artefact Type	Latitude	Longitude	Approximate Date	Class/Subclass	Graphing Description	Motif	Colour/Reverse Motif	Ascribed Culture
698	Wearmouth	Mount	54.913146 N	1.3750264 W	600-800	Piano-convex	white feathered trails		Blue glass	
699	Wearmouth	Mount	54.913146 N	1.3750264 W	700-800	Millefiori	Eight white 'T' shapes	Red cross with blue centre		Hiberno-Saxon
700	Wearmouth	Mount	54.913146 N	1.3750264 W	700-900		white trails		Dark blue	
701	Wearmouth	Mount	54.913146 N	1.3750264 W	700-900	Ornamental				
702	Wearmouth	Mount	54.913146 N	1.3750264 W	700-900	Casket		Ring-and-dot		
703	Wearmouth	Mount	54.913146 N	1.3750264 W	700-900	Domed	white and yellow feathered trails		Dark blue	
709	Wearmouth	Pin	54.913146 N	1.3750264 W	600-900	Rivet				
710	Wearmouth	Pin	54.913146 N	1.3750264 W	600-900	Rivet				
711	Wearmouth	Pin	54.913146 N	1.3750264 W	600-900	Rivet				
712	Wearmouth	Pin	54.913146 N	1.3750264 W	600-900	Rivet				
713	Wearmouth	Pin	54.913146 N	1.3750264 W	800-900	Lense				
714	Wearmouth	Pin	54.913146 N	1.3750264 W	600-900	Rivet				
715	Wearmouth	Pin	54.913146 N	1.3750264 W	700-900	Wire	Shroud pin			
723	Wearmouth	Strap-end	54.913146 N	1.3750264 W	700-800	thomas Type A		Incised V's		
742	Widdrington Station	Pin	55.22174 N	1.65572 W	800-900	Domed				
746	Yeavering	Buckle	55.569283 N	2.1201038 W	600-650		Large			Frankish
747	Yeavering	Buckle	55.569283 N	2.1201038 W	650-700	D-shaped	Small			
748	Yeavering	Buckle	55.569283 N	2.1201038 W	600-650	D-shaped	Small			
752	Yeavering	Drawknife	55.569283 N	2.1201038 W	600-650					
753	Yeavering	Fastenings	55.569283 N	2.1201038 W	650-700	Purse-attachment				
754	Yeavering	Fastenings	55.569283 N	2.1201038 W	650-700	Door or belt				
755	Yeavering	Fastenings	55.569283 N	2.1201038 W	650-700	Door or belt				
756	Yeavering	Fastenings	55.569283 N	2.1201038 W	650-700	Door or belt				
757	Yeavering	Filigree wire	55.569283 N	2.1201038 W	600-650	Decorative inlay				
759	Yeavering	girdle hanger	55.569283 N	2.1201038 W	650-700			Interlinked S-hooks		
768	Yeavering	Key	55.569283 N	2.1201038 W	600-700	Slide				
769	Yeavering	Knife	55.569283 N	2.1201038 W	650-700	Whittle tang				
770	Yeavering	Knife	55.569283 N	2.1201038 W	600-650	Whittle tang	Shouldered			
771	Yeavering	Knife	55.569283 N	2.1201038 W	600-650	Whittle tang				
772	Yeavering	Knife	55.569283 N	2.1201038 W	600-650	Whittle tang	Shouldered			

D1.6b

	Site	Artefact Type	Material	Surface Treatment	Notes	Parallels
698	Wearmouth	Mount	Glass			
699	Wearmouth	Mount	Glass			
700	Wearmouth	Mount	Glass			
701	Wearmouth	Mount	Copper alloy			
702	Wearmouth	Mount	Silver			
703	Wearmouth	Mount	Glass and terracotta			
709	Wearmouth	Pin	Copper alloy			
710	Wearmouth	Pin	Copper alloy			
711	Wearmouth	Pin	Copper alloy			
712	Wearmouth	Pin	Copper alloy			
713	Wearmouth	Pin	Copper alloy			
714	Wearmouth	Pin	Copper alloy			
715	Wearmouth	Pin	Copper alloy		Associated with Infant burial 66/58	
723	Wearmouth	Strap-end	Copper alloy			
742	Widdrington Station	Pin	Copper alloy			
746	Yeavering	Buckle	Iron	Silver inlaid	Found in demolition debris of Great Enclosure by the eastern cemetary	Similar to Frankish-type buckle from Kent
747	Yeavering	Buckle	Iron		Grave group BZ	
748	Yeavering	Buckle	Iron		Found by E wall of A3	
752	Yeavering	Drawknife	Iron		Demolition debris D2. Only woodworking tool found at Yeavering	Exact parallel found in Lagore
753	Yeavering	Fastenings	Iron		Grave group BZ. Catch of purse, attaching to belt	
754	Yeavering	Fastenings	Iron		Found in demolition debris of A4, E edges of N & S door jambs	
755	Yeavering	Fastenings	Iron		Found in demolition debris of A4, E edges of N & S door jambs	
756	Yeavering	Fastenings	Iron		Found in demolition debris of A4, E edges of N & S door jambs	
757	Yeavering	Filigree wire	Gold		Found in post hole of A4. Prised from original setting, perhaps brooch	Such filigree wire found through Early Medieval Western Europe, from Germanic sites through to the Celtic fringes
759	Yeavering	girdle hanger	Bronze and Iron		Found in A4, above demolition, E wall	
768	Yeavering	Key	Iron			
769	Yeavering	Knife	Iron			Paralleled on contemporary Celtic sites.
770	Yeavering	Knife	Iron			Paralleled on contemporary Celtic sites.
771	Yeavering	Knife	Iron			Paralleled on contemporary Celtic sites.

Appendix D2:

Metal and Metalworking Paraphernalia of Deira

D2.1

#	Site	Artefact Type	Latitude	Longitude	Approximate Date	Class/Subclass	Decorative Motif	Inscription	Ascribed Culture	Material	Additional Notes	Parallels
2	Acklam	Pin	54.04464186 N	0.79134792 W	700-800	Faceted				Copper alloy		
15	Acomb	Brooch	53.9645937 N	1.13571865 W	600-650	Composite disc	Filigree annulets, beaded gold wire			Gold, garnet, glass	From high status grave assemblage, Treasure case: 2016T392	Kent
17	Ainderby Steeple	Strap End	54.32149425 N	1.4649522 W	700-800	Faceted	Ring-and-dot			Copper alloy		
22	Aldborough	Pin	54.088408	1.3779044 W	700-800	Biconical, banded				Copper alloy		
29	Allerthorpe	Strap End	53.922274	0.813768 W	800-900	Thomas B4	Zoomorphic design, incised lunate ears, drilled eyes and nostrils		anglo-Scandinavian	Copper alloy		Fishergate, York; Norwich, Northur Dundee
30	Alne	Bracelet	54.084901 N	1.225706 W	700-900	Penannular						
31	Alne	Pin	54.084901 W	1.225706 W	700-900	Faceted	Ring-and-dot			Copper alloy		
32	Alne	Strap End	54.082128 N	1.241808 W	800-900	Thomas A2	Zoomorphic terminal, crescent			Copper alloy		
33	Alne	Strap End	54.082128 N	1.241808 W	800-900	Thomas A2	Zoomorphic terminal, crescents			Copper alloy		
34	Alne	Stylus	54.084901 N	1.225706 W	700-900					Copper alloy		
35	Anlaby	Strap End	53.744834 N	0.431423 W	750-950	Thomas B4	Multiple zoomorphic heads, heads on terminals bear D-shaped ears and incised ovate eyes			Copper alloy		
36	Anlaby	Strap End	53.744834 N	0.431423 W	750-950	Thomas B	Incised geometric decoration with a zoomorphic terminal			Copper alloy		
37	Arncliffe	Box	54.141003 N	2.102062 W	650-750	Repoussee pellets				Copper alloy		
38	Askham Richarc Buckle		53.916443 N	1.194568 W	600-800	D-shaped				Copper alloy		
41	Askham Richarr Pin		53.91654399 N	1.20979159 W	700-900	Polyhedral	Four ring and dot motifs			Copper alloy		
44	Bainton	Pin	53.96436376 N	0.55343494 W	800-900	Globular				Copper alloy	Flat-topped pin, cmmon in Anglo-Scandinavian epriod	
54	Barmby Moor	Strap End	53.939377 N	0.816329 W	800-900	Thomas A1	Animal design, canine marked with dots			Copper alloy		

D2.2

Site	Artefact Type	Latitude	Longitude	Approximate Date	Class/Subclass	Decorative Motif	Inscription	Ascribed Culture	Material	Additional Notes	Parallels
55	Barmby Moor Strap End	53.939377 N	0.816329 W	800-900	Thomas A1	Zoomorphic terminal, protruding eyes, rounded snout			Copper alloy		
56	Barmby Moor Strap End	53.931557 N	0.843967 W	850-900	Thomas A2	Stylised zoomorphic terminal, diamond lattice design			Copper alloy		
57	Barmby Moor Strap Fitting	53.931557 N	0.843967 W	700-900	Disc-shaped	Interlace			Copper alloy		
58	Barton-le-Stree Pin	54.174606 W	0.883161 W	700-800	Polyhedral	Ring-and-dot			Copper alloy		
59	Barton-le-Stree Pin	54.162153 N	0.897281 W	700-900	Biconical, banded				Copper alloy		
60	Barton-le-Street Strap End	54.149087 N	0.90438 W	800-900	Thomas, A1 Trewhiddle	Zoomorphic terminal			Copper alloy		
61	Bempton Pin	54.130313 N	0.195646 W	800-900	Globular	Ring-and-dot			Copper alloy		
65	Beningbrough Pin	54.028273 W	1.1964154 W	800-900	Kite	Three ring-and-dot motifs		anglo-Scandinavian	Copper alloy		York
66	Birdsall Book fitting	54.076357 N	0.739255 W	700-800	Circular mount	Chip-carved interlace			Copper alloy		
67	Birdsall Pin	54.076357 N	0.739255 W	800-900	Disc	Interlace knot pattern			Copper alloy		
68	Birdsall Pin	54.076357 N	0.739255 W	800-900	Faceted	Ring-and-dot			Copper alloy		
69	Birdsall Strap Fitting	54.076357 N	0.739255 W	800-900		Zoomorphic terminal with comma-shaped ears			Copper alloy		
70	Birdsall Strap Fitting	54.076357 N	0.739255 W	800-900		Zoomorphic terminal with comma-shaped ears			Copper alloy		
71	Birdsall Strap Fitting	54.076357 N	0.739255 W	800-900		Zoomorphic terminals			Copper alloy		
76	Bishop Burton Pin	53.845042 N	0.498802 W	800-900	Polyhedral				Copper alloy	Flat-topped	
78	Bishop Wilton Shears	53.996808 N	0.76237607 W	600-700					Iron	Associated with barrow burial	
79	Bishop Wilton Spearhead	53.996808 N	0.76237607 W	600-700					Iron	Associated with barrow burial	
83	Bolton Strap Fitting	53.958367 N	0.827984 W	800-900		Zoomorphic terminal			Copper alloy		
84	Boroughbridg e Brooch	54.08744 N	1.385414 W	700-900	Ansate				Copper alloy	English copy of Frankish style	
85	Boroughbridge Hanging Bowl	54.07045721 N	1.40400221 W	600-800	Mount	Zoomorphic terminal with raised ovate ears and squared snot			Copper alloy		

D2.3

Site	Artefact Type	Latitude	Longitude	Approximate Date	Class/Subclass	Decorative Motif	Inscription	Ascribed Culture	Material	Additional Notes	Parallels
87 Boroughbridge	Pin	54.092894 W	1.397565 W	700-800	Globular				Copper alloy	Flat-topped	
88 Boroughbridge	Strap End	54.028495 N	1.2019300 W	800-900	Globular				Copper alloy		
89 Boroughbridge	Strap End	54.072558 N	1.293941 W	700-800		Zoomorphic		Anglo-Carolingian	Copper alloy		
91 Bosall	Brooch	54.004901 N	0.901441 W	700-900	Ansate	Fan-shaped terminal			Copper alloy		
95 Brantingham	Strap End	53.73991918 N	0.57631588 W	750-950	Thomas Type A2	Zoomorphic terminal with curvilinear design flanking central spine			Copper alloy		
98 Bridlington	Strap Fitting	54.0819 N	0.1923 W	800-900	Irregular oval shape	Twisted rope pattern with and ring and dot motif on either side of the ridge			Copper alloy	These remains are coming from a site which is producing early-medieval cremation debris dating from the 5th - 7th Century.	
100 Brimham	Box	54.063794 N	1.653446 W	700-900	Shrine Mount	Watch Spring spirals		Irish	Copper alloy	Possible Book Shrine piece	Komnes, Norway; Clonard, Co Meath
104 Burdale	Strap End	54.050172 N	0.667309 W	700-900		Zoomorphic terminal, interlace			Copper alloy		
105 Burton Leonard	Pin	54.07084403 N	1.48804417 V W	700-900	Disc	Ringed cross of five Ring-and-dot motifs			Copper alloy		
106 Burton Leonard	Strap End	54.072309 N	1.494445 W	800-900	Thomas A1, Trewhiddle	Palmette			Copper alloy		
131 Buttercrambe	Strap End	54.02690512 N	0.8996401 W	800-900	Thomas A2	Zoomorphic terminal, mouse-like, geometric pattern			Copper alloy		
132 Buttercrambe	Strap End	54.02555203 N	0.89225683 W	800-900	Thomas A2	Zoomorphic terminal, rounded snout			Copper alloy		Meols
136 Carthorpe	Pendant	54.24174334 N	1.52122396 W	600-700	Oval	cabochon-cut stone			Gold and garnet	Treasure case: 20151609	
137 Carthorpe	Pin	54.242678 W	1.53042 W	700-900	Polyhedral	Cross, ring-and-dot			Copper alloy		northamptonshire
138 Carthorpe	Strap End	54.245344 N	1.522717 W	800-900	Thomas A1, Trewhiddle	Zoomorphic terminal			Copper alloy and silver		

D2.4

	Site	Artefact Type	Latitude	Longitude	Approximate Date	Class/Subclass	Decorative Motif	Inscription	Ascribed Culture	Material	Additional Notes	Parallels
139	Carthorpe	Strap End	54.245344 N	1.522717 W	800-900	Thomas A1, Trew	Zoomorphic terminal, L-shaped ears, palmete			Copper alloy		
140	Carthorpe	Strap End	54.248064 N	1.528824 W	800-900	Thomas B	Zoomorphic terminal, zig-zag ridge			Copper alloy		Anglo-Saxon cemetery at Fonaby, Lincolnshire
148	Catterick	Brooch	54.384199 N	1.6550658 W	500-700	Annular	Circles flanked by vertical lines			Copper alloy	Male grave assemblage	
149	Catterick	Brooch	54.336476 N	1.624706 W	850-950	Trefoil	Interlace			Copper alloy		
150	Catterick	Brooch	54.384199 N	1.6550658 W	500-700	Annular	Trefoils			Copper alloy	Grave assemblage	
151	Catterick	Brooch	54.384199 N	1.6550658 W	500-700	Annular				Copper alloy	Female grave assemblage	
152	Catterick	Brooch	54.384199 N	1.6550658 W	500-700	Annular				Copper alloy	Female grave assemblage	
153	Catterick	Brooch	54.384199 N	1.6550658 W	600-650	Cruciform				Copper alloy	Associated with grave	
154	Catterick	Brooch	54.384199 N	1.6550658 W	600-650	Square-headed				Copper alloy	Associated with grave	
155	Catterick	Brooch	54.384199 N	1.6550658 W	600-650	Square-headed				Copper alloy	Associated with grave	
156	Catterick	Buckle	54.384199 N	1.6550658 W	600-700					Iron	Child grave assemblage	
157	Catterick	Buckle	54.384199 N	1.6550658 W	500-700	Ovoid				Iron	Female grave assemblage	
164	Catterick	Knife	54.384199 N	1.6550658 W	500-700					Iron	Female grave assemblage	
165	Catterick	Knife	54.384199 N	1.6550658 W	500-700					Iron	Male grave assemblage	
166	Catterick	Knife	54.384199 N	1.6550658 W	500-700					Iron	Female grave assemblage	
167	Catterick	Latch lifter	54.384199 N	1.6550658 W	500-700		Spiral-twisted stem			Iron	Grave assemblage	
168	Catterick	Necklet	54.384199 N	1.6550658 W	600-700					Iron	Child grave assemblage	
170	Catterick	Pin	54.384199 N	1.6550658 W	500-700	Ring-headed				Copper alloy	Male grave assemblage	
171	Catterick	Pin	54.384199 N	1.6550658 W	500-700					Bone	Female grave assemblage	
172	Catterick	Ring	54.384199 N	1.6550658 W	500-700	Suspension				Iron	Male grave assemblage	
173	Catterick	Ring	54.384199 N	1.6550658 W	500-700					Iron	Grave assemblage	
174	Catterick	Spearhead	54.384199 N	1.6550658 W	500-700					Iron	Child grave assemblage	

D2.5

	Artefact Type	Latitude	Longitude	Approximate Date	Class/Subclass	Decorative Motif	Inscription	Ascribed Culture	Material	Additional Notes	Parallels
Site											
175 Cawood	Pin	53.83626989 N	1.10584207 W	700-800	Faceted	Incised cross, ring-and-dot			Copper alloy		
179 Cottam	Buckle	54.08079308 N	0.5188166 W	800-900	Plate	Trewhiddle-style decoration		Anglo-Saxon	Copper alloy		
180 Cottam	Buckle	54.072843 N	0.50431840 W	700-900					Iron		
181 Cottam	Casting run-o	54.072843 N	0.50431840 W	700-900					Copper alloy		
207 Cottam	Finger Ring	54.072843 N	0.50431840 W	800-900		Ring-and-dot			Copper alloy		
208 Cottam	girdle hanger	54.072843 N	0.50431840 W	700-900					Iron		
220 Cottam	Key	54.072843 N	0.50431840 W	700-900	Slide				Iron		
221 Cottam	Key	54.072843 N	0.50431840 W	700-900	Slide				Iron		
222 Cottam	Knife	54.072843 N	0.50431840 W	700-900	C				Iron		
223 Cottam	Knife	54.072843 N	0.50431840 W	700-900	C				Iron		
224 Cottam	Knife	54.072843 N	0.50431840 W	700-900	C				Iron		
225 Cottam	Knife	54.072843 N	0.50431840 W	700-900	C				Iron		
226 Cottam	Knife	54.072843 N	0.50431840 W	700-900	C				Iron		
227 Cottam	Knife	54.072843 N	0.50431840 W	700-900	C				Iron		
228 Cottam	Knife	54.072843 N	0.50431840 W	700-900	C				Iron		
229 Cottam	Knife	54.072843 N	0.50431840 W	700-900	C				Iron		
230 Cottam	Knife	54.072843 N	0.50431840 W	700-900	C				Iron		
231 Cottam	Knife	54.072843 N	0.50431840 W	700-900	C				Iron		
232 Cottam	Knife	54.072843 N	0.50431840 W	850-950	A				Iron		
233 Cottam	Knife	54.072843 N	0.50431840 W	850-950	A				Iron		
234 Cottam	Knife	54.072843 N	0.50431840 W	700-900	C				Iron		
235 Cottam	Knife	54.072843 N	0.50431840 W	700-900					Iron		
236 Cottam	Knife	54.072843 N	0.50431840 W	700-900					Iron		
237 Cottam	Knife	54.072843 N	0.50431840 W	700-900					Iron		
238 Cottam	Knife	54.072843 N	0.50431840 W	700-900					Iron		
239 Cottam	Knife	54.072843 N	0.50431840 W	700-900	A				Iron		
240 Cottam	Knife	54.072843 N	0.50431840 W	700-900					Iron		
241 Cottam	Knife	54.072843 N	0.50431840 W	700-900	A				Iron		
242 Cottam	Knife	54.072843 N	0.50431840 W	700-900					Iron		
243 Cottam	Knife	54.072843 N	0.50431840 W	700-900	A				Iron		
244 Cottam	Knife	54.072843 N	0.50431840 W	700-900					Iron		
245 Cottam	Knife	54.072843 N	0.50431840 W	700-900	A				Iron		
246 Cottam	Knife	54.072843 N	0.50431840 W	700-900	A				Iron		
247 Cottam	Knife	54.072843 N	0.50431840 W	700-900	A				Iron		

D2.6

#	Site	Artefact Type	Latitude	Longitude	Approximate Date	Class/Subclass	Decorative Motif	Inscription	Ascribed Culture	Material	Additional Notes	Parallels
248	Cottam	Knife	54.072843 N	0.50431840 W	700-900	A				Iron		
249	Cottam	Knife	54.072843 N	0.50431840 W	700-900	A				Iron		
250	Cottam	Knife	54.072843 N	0.50431840 W	700-900	A				Iron		
251	Cottam	Knife	54.072843 N	0.50431840 W	700-900	A				Iron		
252	Cottam	Knife	54.072843 N	0.50431840 W	700-900	A				Iron		
253	Cottam	Knife	54.072843 N	0.50431840 W	700-900	A				Iron		
254	Cottam	Knife	54.072843 N	0.50431840 W	700-900	A				Iron		
255	Cottam	Knife	54.072843 N	0.50431840 W	700-900					Iron		
256	Cottam	Knife	54.072843 N	0.50431840 W	700-900	A				Iron		
257	Cottam	Knife	54.072843 N	0.50431840 W	700-900					Iron		
258	Cottam	Knife	54.072843 N	0.50431840 W	700-900	A				Iron		
259	Cottam	Knife	54.072843 N	0.50431840 W	700-900	A				Iron		
260	Cottam	Knife	54.072843 N	0.50431840 W	700-900	A				Iron		
261	Cottam	Knife	54.072843 N	0.50431840 W	700-900	A				Iron		
262	Cottam	Knife	54.072843 N	0.50431840 W	700-900	A				Iron		
263	Cottam	Knife	54.072843 N	0.50431840 W	700-900	A				Iron		
264	Cottam	Metalworking	54.072843 N	0.50431840 W	700-900					Copper alloy		
265	Cottam	Metalworking	54.072843 N	0.50431840 W	700-900					Copper alloy		
266	Cottam	Metalworking	54.072843 N	0.50431840 W	700-900					Lead alloy		
272	Cottam	Pin	54.072843 N	0.50431840 W	700-900	Globular				Copper alloy		
273	Cottam	Pin	54.072843 N	0.50431840 W	700-900	Globular				Copper alloy		
274	Cottam	Pin	54.072843 N	0.50431840 W	700-900	Globular				Copper alloy		
275	Cottam	Pin	54.078769 N	0.500546 W	800-900	Polyhedral	Ring-and-dot			Copper alloy	Flattened top	
276	Cottam	Pin	54.072843 N	0.50431840 W	700-900	Globular				Copper alloy		
277	Cottam	Pin	54.07161953 N	0.50386012 W	700-900	Polyhedral				Copper alloy		
278	Cottam	Pin	54.072843 N	0.50431840 W	700-900	Sub-spherical				Iron		
279	Cottam	Pin	54.072843 N	0.50431840 W	700-900	Sub-spherical				Iron		
280	Cottam	Pin	54.08079308 N	0.5188166 W	650-850	Biconical				Copper alloy		
281	Cottam	Pin	54.08079308 N	0.5188166 W	700-800	Polyhedral				Copper alloy		
282	Cottam	Pin	54.072843 N	0.50431840 W	700-900	Discoid				Copper alloy		
283	Cottam	Pin	54.072843 N	0.50431840 W	700-900	Spherical				Iron		
284	Cottam	Pin	54.08079308 N	0.5188166 W	750-850	Cuboid	Ring-and-dot, repeating			Copper alloy		
285	Cottam	Pin	54.072843 N	0.50431840 W	700-900	Spherical				Iron		
286	Cottam	Pin	54.072843 N	0.50431840 W	700-900	Spherical				Iron		
287	Cottam	Pin	54.072843 N	0.50431840 W	700-900	Sub-spherical				Iron		

D2.7

Site	Artefact Type	Latitude	Longitude	Approximate Date	Class/Subclass	Decorative Motif	Inscription	Ascribed Culture	Material	Additional Notes	Parallels
288 Cottam	Pin	54.072843 N	0.50431840 W	700-900	Spherical				Iron		
289 Cottam	Pin	54.072843 N	0.50431840 W	700-900	Spherical				Iron		
290 Cottam	Pin	54.08079308 N	0.5188166 W	650-850	Cuboid	Ring-and-dot			Copper alloy		
291 Cottam	Pin	54.072843 N	0.50431840 W	700-900	Sub-spherical				Iron		
292 Cottam	Pin	54.072843 N	0.50431840 W	700-900	Biconical				Copper alloy		
293 Cottam	Pin	54.072843 N	0.50431840 W	700-900	Biconical				Copper alloy		
294 Cottam	Pin	54.08079308 N	0.5188166 W	650-850	Biconical, banded				Copper alloy		
295 Cottam	Pin	54.07199562 N	0.53441289 W	800-900	Biconical, banded				Copper alloy		
296 Cottam	Pin	54.08079308 N	0.5188166 W	650-850	Globular	Ring-and-dot			Copper alloy		
297 Cottam	Pin	54.08079308 N	0.5188166 W	650-750	Biconical, banded				Copper alloy		
298 Cottam	Pin	54.072843 N	0.50431840 W	700-900					Copper alloy		
299 Cottam	Pin	54.072843 N	0.50431840 W	700-900					Copper alloy		
300 Cottam	Pin	54.072843 N	0.50431840 W	700-900					Copper alloy		
301 Cottam	Pin	54.072843 N	0.50431840 W	700-900					Copper alloy		
302 Cottam	Pin	54.08079308 N	0.5188166 W	650-850	Biconical				Copper alloy		
303 Cottam	Pin	54.08079308 N	0.5188166 W	650-850	Globular				Copper alloy		
304 Cottam	Pin	54.08079308 N	0.5188166 W	650-850	Cuboid, corners cut	Ring-and-dot			Copper alloy		
305 Cottam	Pin	54.08079308 N	0.5188166 W	650-850	Cuboid, corners cut	Ring-and-dot			Copper alloy		
306 Cottam	Pin	54.072843 N	0.50431840 W	700-900	Biconical				Iron		
307 Cottam	Pin	54.072843 N	0.50431840 W	700-900	Biconical				Iron		
308 Cottam	Pin	54.072843 N	0.50431840 W	700-900	Biconical				Iron		
309 Cottam	Pin	54.072843 N	0.50431840 W	700-900	Biconical				Iron		
310 Cottam	Pin	54.07199562 N	0.53441289 W	700-800	Biconical				Copper alloy		
311 Cottam	Pin	54.08079308 N	0.5188166 W	650-850	Biconical. Banded				Copper alloy		
312 Cottam	Pivoting Knife	54.072843 N	0.50431840 W	700-900					Iron		
315 Cottam	Ring	54.072843 N	0.50431840 W	700-900					Iron		
316 Cottam	Ring	54.072843 N	0.50431840 W	700-900					Iron		
317 Cottam	Ring	54.072843 N	0.50431840 W	700-900					Iron		
318 Cottam	Shears	54.072843 N	0.50431840 W	700-900					Iron		
321 Cottam	Slag	54.072843 N	0.50431840 W	700-900					Fuel ash		
322 Cottam	Spearhead	54.072843 N	0.50431840 W	700-900					Iron		
327 Cottam	Strap End	54.072843 N	0.50431840 W	700-900		St Andrew's cross flanked by paired grooves			Iron		

D2.8

Site	Artefact Type	Latitude	Longitude	Approximate Date	Class/Subclass	Decorative Motif	Inscription	Ascribed Culture	Material	Additional Notes	Parallels
328 Cottam	Strap End	54.089778 N	0.518497 W	750-950	Thomas A1, Trewhiddle	Zoomorphic terminal of forward facing animal, worn and crudely portrayed			Copper alloy		
329 Cottam	Strap End	54.080793 N	0.518817 W	750-950	Thomas A1, Trewhiddle	Zoomorphic terminal of forward facing animal. Central panel bears possible serpitine beast			Copper alloy and enamel		
330 Cottam	Strap Fitting	54.08079308 N	0.5188166 W	800-900	Lozenge-shaped	Undecorated			Copper alloy		
331 Cottam	Strap-End	54.072843 N	0.50431840 W	800-900	Thomas A1	Two pairs of parallel concentric arcs. Two lunate incisions in centre			Copper alloy		
332 Cottam	Strap-End	54.072843 N	0.50431840 W	800-900					Copper alloy		
333 Cottam	Strap-End	54.072843 N	0.50431840 W	800-900	Thomas A1	Two pairs of parallel arcs within linear border			Copper alloy		
337 Cottam	Vessel Suspen	54.072843 N	0.50431840 W	700-900					Iron		
339 Cottingham	Strap End	53.782081 N	0.41397800 W	800-900	Thomas A	Zoomorphic terminal, rounded eyes and snub snot			Copper alloy		
346 Crayke	Sword	54.13352 N	1.151613 W	800-900	Upper guard			anglo-Scandinavian	Copper alloy		Berderkesa, Germany
347 Cropton	Buckle	54.290833 N	0.818566 W	600-700	Lyre-shaped	Double moulding around floral and zoomorphic designs. Possible griffins		Visigothic	Copper alloy		
348 Cropton	Hanging Bowl	54.28533593 N	0.80796992 W	600-800	Mount	Zoomorphic terminal with lentoid eyes and semi-circular snot			Copper alloy		
352 Deighton	Pin	53.95615 W	1.372106 W	700-800	Biconical	Chi-rho, Ring-and-dot			Copper alloy		

D2.9

#	Site	Artefact Type	Latitude	Longitude	Approximate Date	Class/Subclass	Decorative Motif	Inscription	Ascribed Culture	Material	Additional Notes	Parallels
353	Deighton	Strap End	53.87949975 N	1.05837185 W	750-950	Thomas Type A1, Trewhiddle style	Forward facing animal on terminal. Central panel bears indistinct interlace beast.			Copper alloy		
354	Drax	Scabbard	53.741217 N	0.965945 W	600-650	Pyramid	Inverted U-shape with curling arms			Silver	Treasure case: 2001T628	
368	Driffield	Bodkin	53.996334 N	0.45011539 W	600-800					Iron	Young female grave assemblage	
369	Driffield	Bracelet	53.996334 N	0.45011539 W	600-800					Copper alloy	Grave assemblage	
370	Driffield	Brooch	53.996334 N	0.45011539 W	600-800	Cruciform				Copper alloy	Grave assemblage	
371	Driffield	Brooch	53.996334 N	0.45011539 W	600-800	Penannular				Copper alloy	Female grave assemblage	
372	Driffield	Brooch	53.996334 N	0.45011539 W	600-800	Penannular				Copper alloy	Grave assemblage	
373	Driffield	Brooch	53.996334 N	0.45011539 W	600-800	Penannular				Copper alloy	Young female grave assemblage	
374	Driffield	Brooch	53.996334 N	0.45011539 W	600-800	Penannular				Copper alloy	Grave assemblage	
375	Driffield	Buckle	53.996334 N	0.45011539 W	600-800					Silver	Grave assemblage	
376	Driffield	Buckle	53.996334 N	0.45011539 W	600-800					Iron	Young female grave assemblage	
377	Driffield	Buckle	53.996334 N	0.45011539 W	600-800					Copery alloy and Iron	Female grave assemblage	
378	Driffield	Buckle	53.996334 N	0.45011539 W	600-800					Iron	Grave assemblage	
379	Driffield	Buckle	53.996334 N	0.45011539 W	600-800					Iron	Grave assemblage	
380	Driffield	Buckle	53.996334 N	0.45011539 W	600-800					Iron	Grave assemblage	

D2.10

	Site	Artefact Type	Latitude	Longitude	Approximate Date	Class/Subclass	Decorative Motif	Inscription	Ascribed Culture	Material	Additional Notes	Parallels
381	Driffield	Buckle	53.996334 N	0.45011539 W	600-800					Copper alloy	Grave assemblage	
425	Driffield	Ferrule	53.996334 N	0.45011539 W	600-800					Iron	Grave assemblage	
426	Driffield	girdle hanger	53.996334 N	0.45011539 W	600-800					Iron	Young female grave assemblage	
427	Driffield	Hairpin	53.996334 N	0.45011539 W	600-800					Copper alloy	Grave assemblage	
428	Driffield	Hairpin	53.996334 N	0.45011539 W	600-800					Copper alloy	Young female grave assemblage	
429	Driffield	Hairpin	53.996334 N	0.45011539 W	600-800					Copper alloy	Female grave assemblage	
436	Driffield	Knife	53.996334 N	0.45011539 W	600-800					Iron	Grave assemblage	
437	Driffield	Knife	53.996334 N	0.45011539 W	600-800					Iron	Grave assemblage	
438	Driffield	Knife	53.996334 N	0.45011539 W	600-800					Iron	Grave assemblage	
439	Driffield	Knife	53.996334 N	0.45011539 W	600-800					Iron	Male grave assemblage	
440	Driffield	Knife	53.996334 N	0.45011539 W	600-800					Iron	Male grave assemblage	
441	Driffield	Knife	53.996334 N	0.45011539 W	600-800					Iron	Female grave assemblage	
442	Driffield	Knife	53.996334 N	0.45011539 W	600-800					Iron	Grave assemblage	
443	Driffield	Knife	53.996334 N	0.45011539 W	600-800					Iron	Grave assemblage	
444	Driffield	Knife	53.996334 N	0.45011539 W	600-800					Iron	Grave assemblage	
445	Driffield	Necklace	53.996334 N	0.45011539 W	600-800					Amber and glass beads	Young female grave assemblage	

D2.11

Site	Artefact Type	Latitude	Longitude	Approximate Date	Class/Subclass	Decorative Motif	Inscription	Ascribed Culture	Material	Additional Notes	Parallels
446 Driffield	Necklace	53.996334 N	0.45011539 W	600-800					Amber beads, paste beads, bone bead, bone disc	Young female grave assemblage	
447 Driffield	Pin	54.08696901 N	0.50942346 W	700-800	Globular				Copper alloy		
448 Driffield	Pin	54.077237 N	0.534413 W	700-900	Irregular				Lead and Iron		
449 Driffield	Pin	54.08695 N	0.507895 W	700-900	Faceted	Ring-and-dot			Copper alloy		
450 Driffield	Pin	54.077237 N	0.534413 W	700-900	Kite				Copper alloy		
451 Driffield	Pin	54.08695 N	0.507895 W	700-900	Faceted	Ring-and-dot			Copper alloy		
452 Driffield	Pin	54.08695 N	0.507895 W	700-900	Faceted	Ring-and-dot			Copper alloy		
453 Driffield	Pin	54.08695 N	0.507895 W	700-900	Polyhedral	Ring-and-dot			Copper alloy		
454 Driffield	Pin	54.08695 N	0.507895 W	700-900	Biconical, banded				Copper alloy		
455 Driffield	Pin	54.08695 N	0.507895 W	700-800	Mallet, banded				Copper alloy		
456 Driffield	Pin	54.08695 N	0.507895 W	700-900	Biconical, banded				Copper alloy		
457 Driffield	Pin	54.08695 N	0.507895 W	700-900	Biconical, banded				Copper alloy		
458 Driffield	Pin	54.077237 N	0.534413 W	700-900	Oblate				Copper alloy		
459 Driffield	Pin	54.077237 N	0.534413 W	700-900	Globular				Copper alloy		
460 Driffield	Pin	54.08695 N	0.507895 W	700-900	Faceted	Ring-and-dot			Copper alloy		
461 Driffield	Pin	54.077237 N	0.534413 W	800-900	Polyheadral	Ring-and-dot			Copper alloy		
462 Driffield	Pin	54.077237 N	0.534413 W	700-800	Globular				Copper alloy		
463 Driffield	Pin	54.08695 N	0.507895 W	700-900	Biconical, banded				Copper alloy		
464 Driffield	Pin	54.077237 N	0.534413 W	700-900	Oblate				Copper alloy		
465 Driffield	Pin	53.996334 N	0.45011539 W	600-800					Bone	Grave assemblage	
466 Driffield	Pin	54.077237 N	0.534413 W	800-900	Kite	Ring-and-dot			Copper alloy		
467 Driffield	Pin	54.077237 N	0.534413 W	700-900	Globular				Copper alloy		
468 Driffield	Pin	54.077237 N	0.534413 W	700-900	Faceted				Copper alloy		
469 Driffield	Pin	54.077237 N	0.534413 W	700-900	Globular	Ring-and-dot			Copper alloy		
470 Driffield	Pin	54.08696901 N	0.50942346 W	700-800	Biconical, banded				Copper alloy		
471 Driffield	Pin	54.08696901 N	0.50942346 W	700-800	Biconical, banded				Copper alloy		

D2.12

	Site	Artefact Type	Latitude	Longitude	Approximate Date	Class/Subclass	Decorative Motif	Inscription	Ascribed Culture	Material	Additional Notes	Parallels
472	Driffield	Pin	54.08695 N	0.507895 W	700-900	Faceted	Recessed ring-and-dot			Copper alloy		
473	Driffield	Pin	54.08696901 N	0.50942346 W	700-800	Biconical				Copper alloy		
474	Driffield	Pin	54.08696901 N	0.50942346 W	700-800	Biconical				Copper alloy		
475	Driffield	Pin	54.077237 N	0.534413 W	700-900	Faceted	Ring-and-dot			Copper alloy		
476	Driffield	Pin	54.077237 N	0.534413 W	700-900	Faceted	Ring-and-dot			Copper alloy		
477	Driffield	Pin	54.077237 N	0.534413 W	700-900	Faceted	Ring-and-dot			Copper alloy		
478	Driffield	Pin	54.077237 N	0.534413 W	700-900	Faceted	Ring-and-dot			Copper alloy		
479	Driffield	Pin	54.077237 N	0.534413 W	700-900	Polyhedral	Ring-and-dot			Copper alloy		
480	Driffield	Pin	54.077237 N	0.534413 W	700-900	Polyhedral, faceted	Ring-and-dot			Copper alloy		
481	Driffield	Pin	54.077237 N	0.534413 W	700-900	Faceted	Ring-and-dot			Copper alloy		
482	Driffield	Pin	54.077237 N	0.534413 W	700-900	Biconical, banded				Copper alloy		
483	Driffield	Pin	54.077237 N	0.534413 W	700-900	Faceted	Ring-and-dot			Copper alloy		
484	Driffield	Pin	54.077237 N	0.534413 W	800-900	Biconical				Copper alloy		
485	Driffield	Pin	54.077237 N	0.534413 W	700-900	Biconical, banded				Copper alloy		
486	Driffield	Pin	54.077237 N	0.534413 W	800-900	Biconical				Copper alloy		
487	Driffield	Pin	54.077237 N	0.534413 W	700-900	Biconical, banded				Copper alloy		
488	Driffield	Pin	54.077237 N	0.534413 W	700-900	Biconical, banded				Copper alloy		
489	Driffield	Pin	54.08695 N	0.507895 W	700-800	Oblate				Copper alloy		
490	Driffield	Pin	54.077237 N	0.534413 W	700-900	Biconical				Copper alloy		
491	Driffield	Pin	54.08696901 N	0.50942346 W	700-800	Globular	Ring-and-dot			Copper alloy		
492	Driffield	Pin	54.077237 N	0.534413 W	700-900	Biconical				Copper alloy		
493	Driffield	Pin	54.077237 N	0.534413 W	800-900	Club	Ring-and-dot			Copper alloy		
494	Driffield	Pin	54.077237 N	0.534413 W	700-900	Mallet				Copper alloy		
495	Driffield	Pin	54.08695 N	0.507895 W	700-900	Globular				Copper alloy		
496	Driffield	Pin	54.08695 N	0.507895 W	700-900	Faceted	Ring-and-dot, cabled			Copper alloy		
497	Driffield	Pin	54.077237 N	0.534413 W	850-900	Disc	Eight hour-glass holes, with seven drilled indentations			Copper alloy		

D2.13

Site	Artefact Type	Latitude	Longitude	Approximate Date	Class/Subclass	Decorative Motif	Inscription	Ascribed Culture	Material	Additional Notes	Parallels
498 Driffield	Pin	54.08696901 N	0.50942346 W	700-800	Faceted	Ring-and-dot			Copper alloy		
499 Driffield	Pin	54.08696901 N	0.50942346 W	700-800	Faceted	Ring-and-dot			Copper alloy		
500 Driffield	Pin	54.077237 N	0.534413 W	700-900	Globular, faceted				Copper alloy		
501 Driffield	Ring	53.996334 N	0.45011539 W	600-800					Ivory	Young female grave assemblage	
502 Driffield	Shears	53.996334 N	0.45011539 W	600-800					Iron	Young female grave assemblage	
503 Driffield	Shears	53.996334 N	0.45011539 W	600-800					Iron	Female grave assemblage	
504 Driffield	Shield boss	53.996334 N	0.45011539 W	600-800					Iron	Male grave assemblage	
505 Driffield	Shield-boss	53.996334 N	0.45011539 W	600-800					Iron	Male grave assemblage	
506 Driffield	Spear	53.996334 N	0.45011539 W	600-800					Iron	Male grave assemblage	
507 Driffield	Spearhead	53.996334 N	0.45011539 W	600-800					Iron	Male grave assemblage	
508 Driffield	Spearhead	53.996334 N	0.45011539 W	600-800					Iron	Grave assemblage	
509 Driffield	Spearhead	53.996334 N	0.45011539 W	600-800					Iron	Grave assemblage	
510 Driffield	Spearhead	53.996334 N	0.45011539 W	600-800					Iron	Grave assemblage	
511 Driffield	Spearhead	53.996334 N	0.45011539 W	600-800					Iron	Grave assemblage	
513 Driffield	Strap End	54.077237 N	0.534413 W	800-900	Thomas	Zoomorphic terminal			Copper alloy		
514 Driffield	Strap End	54.077237 N	0.534413 W	800-900	Thomas A				Copper alloy		
515 Driffield	Strap End	54.077237 N	0.534413 W	800-900	Thomas A1	Zoomorphic with palmette			Copper alloy		
516 Driffield	Strap End	54.077237 N	0.534413 W	700-900	Thomas A2	Crescent lines			Copper alloy		

D2.14

Site	Artefact Type	Latitude	Longitude	Approximate Date	Class/Subclass	Decorative Motif	Inscription	Ascribed Culture	Material	Additional Notes	Parallels
517 Driffield	Strap End	54.077237 N	0.534413 W	800-900	Thomas A2	Schematised zoomorphic terminal			Copper alloy		
518 Driffield	Strap End	54.077237 N	0.534413 W	800-900	Thomas				Copper alloy		
519 Driffield	Strap End	54.077237 N	0.534413 W	800-900	Thomas A1, Trewhiddle	Crested zoomorphic with dot marks			Copper alloy		
520 Driffield	Strap End	54.077237 N	0.534413 W	800-900	Thomas A2				Copper alloy		
521 Driffield	Strap End	54.077237 N	0.534413 W	800-900	Thomas A2				Copper alloy		
522 Driffield	Strap End	54.077237 N	0.534413 W	700-900	Thomas A2				Copper alloy		
523 Driffield	Strap End	54.077237 N	0.534413 W	800-900	Thomas A				Copper alloy		
524 Driffield	Strap End	54.077237 N	0.534413 W	800-900	Thomas A1, Trewhiddle	Zoomorphic terminal, devolved animal motif			Lead		
525 Driffield	Strap End	54.077237 N	0.534413 W	800-900	Thomas A1	Palmette, crouching animal with round eye, dot marked. Zoomorphic terminal			Copper alloy		
526 Driffield	Strap End	54.077237 N	0.534413 W	800-900	Thomas A1, Trewhiddle	Zoomorphic design, interlace			Copper alloy		
527 Driffield	Strap End	54.077237 N	0.534413 W	800-900	Thomas A1, Trewhiddle	Zoomorphic with oval nostrils			Copper alloy		
531 Driffield	Vessel	54.077237 N	0.534413 W	600-900	Body sherd				Ceramic		
532 Driffield	Vessel	54.077237 N	0.534413 W	600-900	Body sherd				Ceramic		
533 Driffield	Vessel	54.077237 N	0.534413 W	600-900	Body sherd				Ceramic		
534 Driffield	Vessel	54.077237 N	0.534413 W	600-900	Rim and body sherd				Ceramic		
538 Dunnington	Pin	53.96542 N	0.97870 W	750-900	Sub-circular in plan				Copper alloy		
539 Dunnington	Pin	53.96542 N	0.97870 W	720-850	Biconical				Copper alloy		
540 Dunnington	Pin	53.96542 N	0.97870 W	720-850	Biconical				Copper alloy		
541 Dunnington	Strap End	53.96542 N	0.97870 W	800-900	Thomas A2	Front incised with cross-hatched design. Traces of accurate animal head on missing terminal remain at edges			Copper alloy		

D2.15

	Site	Artefact Type	Latitude	Longitude	Approximate Date	Class/Subclass	Decorative Motif	Inscription	Ascribed Culture	Material	Additional Notes	Parallels
544	Easingwold	Strap End	54.084901 N	1.225706 W	800-900	Thomas A1, Trewhiddle	Zoomorphic terminal, dragon of fantastic beast			Copper alloy		
545	Easingwold	Strap End	54.084901 N	1.225706 W	800-900	Thomas A1, Trewhiddle	Zoomorphic terminal, palmette and speckled animal			Copper alloy		
546	Easingwold	Strap End	54.084901 N	1.225706 W	800-900	Thomas A1, Trewhiddle	Zoomorphic terminal, palmette			Copper alloy		
547	Easingwold	Strap End	54.121441 N	1.1918740 W	800-900	Thomas A1, Trewhiddle	Zoomorphic terminal, oval ears			Copper alloy		
548	East Tanfield	Strap End	54.214854 N	1.539936 W	800-900		Zoomorphic terminal			Copper alloy		
549	Ellerker	Strap End	53.74908357 N	0.5911716 W	750-950	Thomas A1, Trewhiddle	Zoomorphic terminal with interlace on central panel			Copper alloy		
550	Ellerker	Strap End	53.758069 N	0.590871 W	750-950	Thomas A2	Zoomorphic terminal of forward facing animal with curvilinear scroll panels			Copper alloy	Can be compared to Thomas Class A2 strap ends	
551	Elloughton	Buckle	53.739959 N	0.572069 W	800-900				Anglo-Saxon	Copper alloy		
553	Elloughton	Pin	53.71525855 N	0.54381123 W	800-900	Faceted	Raised ring			Copper alloy		
554	Elloughton	Pin	53.71525855 N	0.54381123 W	700-900					Copper alloy		
555	Elloughton	Pin	53.71525855 N	0.54381123 W	800-900	Faceted	Three rings			Copper alloy		
556	Elloughton	Pin	53.739959 N	0.572069 W	800-850	Biconical			Anglo-Saxon	Copper alloy	This type of pin declined in use after the Viking conquest of Yorkshire 867	
557	Elloughton	Pin	53.739959 N	0.572069 W	800-850	Polyhedral	Ring-and-dot		Anglo-Saxon	Copper alloy		
558	Elloughton	Pin	53.71525855 N	0.54381123 W	800-900	Faceted	Diamond field surrounded by triangular panels			Copper alloy		
559	Elloughton	Pin	53.71525855 N	0.54381123 W	800-900	Faceted	Ring surrounded by six rings			Copper alloy		
560	Elloughton	Pin	53.71525855 N	0.54381123 W	800-900	Biconical, banded				Copper alloy		
561	Elloughton	Pin	53.71525855 N	0.54381123 W	800-900	Biconical, banded				Copper alloy		
562	Elloughton	Pin	53.71525855 N	0.54381123 W	800-900	Biconical, banded				Copper alloy		

D2.16

Site	Artefact Type	Latitude	Longitude	Approximate Date	Class/Subclass	Decorative Motif	Inscription	Ascribed Culture	Material	Additional Notes	Parallels
563	Elloughton	Pin	53.71525855 N	0.54381123 W	800-900	Biconical, banded				Copper alloy		
564	Elloughton	Pin	53.71525855 N	0.54381123 W	800-900	Biconical				Copper alloy		
565	Elloughton	Pin	53.71525855 N	0.54381123 W	800-900	Biconical				Copper alloy		
566	Elloughton	Pin	53.71525855 N	0.54381123 W	800-900	Biconical, banded				Copper alloy		
567	Elloughton	Pin	53.71525855 N	0.54381123 W	800-900	Biconical, banded				Copper alloy		
568	Elloughton	Pin	53.71525855 N	0.54381123 W	800-900	Biconical				Copper alloy		
569	Elloughton	Pin	53.71525855 N	0.54381123 W	800-900	Biconical				Copper alloy		
570	Elloughton	Pin	53.71525855 N	0.54381123 W	800-900	Biconical, banded				Copper alloy		
571	Elloughton	Pin	53.71525855 N	0.54381123 W	800-900	Biconical				Copper alloy		
572	Elloughton	Pin	53.71525855 N	0.54381123 W	800-900	Biconical				Copper alloy		
573	Elloughton	Pin	53.71525855 N	0.54381123 W	800-900	Biconical				Copper alloy		
574	Elloughton	Pin	53.71525855 N	0.54381123 W	800-900	Biconical				Copper alloy		
575	Elloughton	Pin	53.71525855 N	0.54381123 W	800-900	Biconical				Copper alloy		
576	Elloughton	Pin	53.71525855 N	0.54381123 W	800-900	Biconical				Copper alloy		
577	Elloughton	Pin	53.71525855 N	0.54381123 W	800-900	Biconical				Copper alloy		
578	Elloughton	Pin	53.71525855 N	0.54381123 W	800-900	Biconical				Copper alloy		
579	Elloughton	Pin	53.71525855 N	0.54381123 W	800-900	Faceted	Ring			Copper alloy		
580	Elloughton	Pin	53.71525855 N	0.54381123 W	800-900	Faceted	Raised ring			Copper alloy		
581	Elloughton	Strap End	53.739959 N			Thomas A4			Anglo-Saxon	Copper alloy	Strap ends of this type were seen as being a southern type and this find from north of the Humber is an interesting extension to the distribution.	
582	Elloughton	Strap End	53.739959 N	0.431423 W	800-900	Thomas A	Obscured by corrosion		Anglo-Saxon	Copper alloy		
583	Elloughton	Strap End	53.739959 N	0.431423 W	800-900	Thomas A2	Simplified animal headterminal, with incised net-like design			Copper alloy		
584	Elloughton	Strap End	53.739959 N	0.431423 W	800-900	Thomas A2	Geometric panel inlaid with niello. Animal terminal is highly simplified		Anglo-Saxon	Copper alloy		
585	Elloughton	Strap End	53.739959 N	0.431423 W	800-900	Thomas A			Anglo-Saxon	Copper alloy		
586	Elloughton	Strap End	53.739959 N	0.431423 W	750-900	Thomas A1, Trewhiddle	Obscured by wear and corrosion		Anglo-Saxon	Copper alloy		

D2.17

| | Artefact | | | Approximate | | | | | | | |
Site	Type	Latitude	Longitude	Date	Class/Subclass	Decorative Motif	Inscription	Ascribed Culture	Material	Additional Notes	Parallels
587 Elloughton	Strap End	53.739959 N	0.431423 W	800-900	Thomas D	Chevrons decorate each side		Anglo-Saxon	Copper alloy		
588 Elloughton	Strap End	53.739959 N	0.431423 W	750-850	Thomas C			Anglo-Saxon	Copper alloy		
589 Elloughton	Strap End	53.739959 N	0.431423 W	800-900		Zoomorphic terminal		Anglo-Saxon	Copper alloy		
590 Elloughton	Strap End	53.739959 N	0.572069 W	800-900	Thomas A2	Undecorated with animal head terminal			Copper alloy		
591 Elloughton	Strap End	53.739959 N	0.431423 W	800-900	Thomas A	Knot motif		Anglo-Saxon	Copper alloy		
592 Elloughton	Strap End	53.739959 N	0.431423 W	800-920	Thomas D, Variant	Trewhiddle-style animal		Anglo-Saxon	Copper alloy		
593 Elloughton	Strap End	53.739959 N	0.431423 W	800-900	Thomas B1	Highly stylised animal head		Anglo-Saxon	Copper alloy		
594 Elloughton	Strap End	53.739959 N	0.431423 W	800-900	Thomas A2	Ladder-like geometric decoration		Anglo-Saxon	Copper alloy		
595 Elloughton	Strap End	53.739959 N	0.431423 W	800-900	Thomas A1, Trewhiddle	Animal head terminal with incised dot eyes			Copper alloy		
596 Elloughton	Strap End	53.739959 N	0.431423 W	750-900	Thomas A	Obscured or lost		Anglo-Saxon	Copper alloy		
597 Elloughton	Strap End	53.739959 N	0.431423 W	800-900	Thomas A1, Trewhiddle	The main panel bears an animal executed in an angular manner, the tail, nose and crest being square ended.		Anglo-Saxon	Copper alloy		
598 Elloughton	Strap End	53.739959 N	0.431423 W	800-900	Thomas A5	Zoomorphic terminal is made up of two, enamel filled, curved lines		Anglo-Saxon	Copper alloy and silver		
599 Elloughton	Strap End	53.739959 N	0.431423 W	800-900	Thomas B4			Anglo-Saxon	Copper alloy		
600 Elloughton	Strap End	53.739959 N	0.431423 W	800-900	Thomas A1	Lost due to corrosion		Anglo-Saxon	Copper alloy		
602 Everingham	Brooch	53.877453 N	0.737457 W	600-700	Cruciform				Copper alloy		
607 Everingham	Pin	53.856125 N	0.760905 W	700-800	Balloon	Spiral grooves			Copper alloy		
608 Everingham	Pin	53.865819 N	0.754745 W	600-800	Balloon				Copper alloy		
609 Everingham	Scabbard	53.872471 N	0.777153 W	600-700	Pyramid mount				Copper alloy		

D2.18

	Site	Artefact Type	Latitude	Longitude	Approximate Date	Class/Subclass	Decorative Motif	Inscription	Ascribed Culture	Material	Additional Notes	Parallels
610	Everingham	Strap End	53.872471 N	0.777153 W	800-900		Zoomorphic terminal, crescents		anglo-Scandinavian	Copper alloy		
615	Everthorpe	Finger Ring	53.767580 N	0.63606886 W	600-700					Copper alloy	Associated with male grave	
616	Everthorpe	Knife	53.767580 N	0.63606886 W	600-700					Iron	Associated with male grave	
617	Everthorpe	Pendant	53.767580 N	0.63606886 W	600-700		Herringbone			Glass and silver	Associated with female grave	
624	Fangfoss	Dress Pin	53.958217 N	0.812748 W	700-900	Polygonal-headed	Each facet drilled with round hole			Copper alloy		
625	Fangfoss	Pin	53.95866026 N	0.85845812 W	800-900	Biconical, banded				Copper alloy		
626	Fangfoss	Strap End	53.958217 N	0.812748 W	800-900		Zoomorphic termial, Trewhiddle			Copper alloy		
628	Farlington	Strap End	54.10020476 N	1.04175831 W	700-900	Thomas A1, Trewhiddle	Zoomorphic termina;, palmette and fantastic quadruped with pointed ears			Copper alloy		
631	Fimber	Brooch	54.033648 N	0.6363691 W	600-800	Penannular				Copper alloy	Associated with grave	
633	Fimber	Pin	54.033648 N	0.6363691 W	600-700					Bone	Associated with grave	
635	Fimber	Vessel	54.033648 N	0.6363691 W	600-700	Cup				Clay	Associated with grave	
636	Finghall	Brooch	54.30346458 N	1.71259939 W	700-900	Ansate	Cross with bent arms, four-petalled flower			Copper alloy		
643	Garton Slack	Knife	54.036242 N	0.55094073 W	600-800					Iron	Associated with barrow burial	
644	Garton Slack	Sharpening stone	54.036242 N	0.55094073 W	600-800					Iron	Associated with barrow burial	
645	Grassington	Cauldron	54.092603 N	2.007609 W	800-900					Copper alloy	Associated with possible grave	
646	Grassington	Cauldron	54.092603 N	2.007609 W	800-900					Copper alloy	Associated with possible grave	
647	Grassington	Cauldron	54.092603 N	2.007609 W	800-900					Copper alloy	Associated with possible grave	
650	Grassington	Key	54.272351 N	2.004572 W	700-800				anglo-Scandinavian	Iron		
651	Grassington	Key	54.272351 N	2.004572 W	700-800				anglo-Scandinavian	Iron		
652	Grassington	Key	54.272351 N	2.004572 W	700-800				anglo-Scandinavian	Iron		
655	Grassington	Seax	54.092603 N	2.007609 W	700-800					Iron		

D2.19

	Site	Artefact Type	Latitude	Longitude	Approximate Date	Class/Subclass	Decorative Motif	Inscription	Ascribed Culture	Material	Additional Notes	Parallels
659	Grindale	Finger Ring	54.125100 N	0.269099 W	750-900		Incised with U-shapes lying on their sides and joined by short vertical grooves. Ground decorated with punched dots		Viking	Silver and copper alloy		
660	Habton	Sword	54.17518668 N	0.83902259 W	800-900	Upper guard			anglo-Scandinavian	Copper alloy		Bederkesa, Germany
663	Halsham	Strap End	53.782459 N	0.071640 W	750-950	Thomas A1, Trewhiddle style	Forward facing zoomorphic terminal.			Copper alloy		
665	Hawnby	Brooch	54.296617 N	1.1933149 W	600-700	Penannular				Silver	Associated with female barrow burial	
666	Hawnby	Brooch	54.296617 N	1.1933149 W	600-700	Penannular				Silver	Associated with female barrow burial	
667	Hawnby	Brooch	54.296617 N	1.1933149 W	600-700	Penannular				Silver	Associated with female barrow burial	
668	Hawnby	Brooch	54.296617 N	1.1933149 W	600-700	Penannular				Silver	Associated with female barrow burial	
669	Hawnby	Brooch	54.296617 N	1.1933149 W	600-700	Annular				Copper alloy	Associated with male barrow burial	
670	Hawnby	Escutcheon b	54.296617 N	1.1933149 W	600-700	Penannular				Copper alloy	Associated with female barrow burial	
671	Hawnby	Girdle	54.296617 N	1.1933149 W	600-700		Cross pattern			Leather, garnet ar	burial	
672	Hawnby	Hairpin	54.296617 N	1.1933149 W	600-700					Gold	Associated with female barrow burial	
673	Hawnby	Hairpin	54.296617 N	1.1933149 W	600-700					Silver	Associated with female barrow burial	
674	Hawnby	Hanging Bowl	54.296617 N	1.1933149 W	600-700		Dots and diamond shapes			Copper alloy	Associated with female barrow burial	Decoration paralleled in the Book of Du... and the Lindisfarne Gospels
675	Hawnby	Knife	54.296617 N	1.1933149 W	600-700					Iron	Associated with male barrow burial	

D2.20

#	Site	Artefact Type	Latitude	Longitude	Approximate Date	Class/Subclass	Decorative Motif	Inscription	Ascribed Culture	Material	Additional Notes	Parallels
677	Hawnby	Workbox	54.296617 N	1.1933149 W	600-700	Circular				Copper alloy	Associated with male barrow burial	
679	Hemingbrough	Strap Fitting	53.762055 N	0.985153 W	800-900		floral design			Copper alloy		
682	Heslington	Strap Fitting	53.94484 N	1.04336 W	800-900	Group 3 Y	Backward-facing animal on terminal, beast in central panel			Copper alloy		
683	Holderness	Pendant	53.755219 N	0.102124 W	600-650	Pectoral Cross			Anglo-Saxon	Gold and Gem		
687	Hotham	Strap End	53.803522 N	0.634903 W	750-950	Thomas Type A1, Trewhiddle style	Zoomorphic terminal of forward facing animal.			Copper alloy		
688	Howden	Pin	53.74313652 N	0.87946962 W	700-900	Polyhedral	Ring			Copper alloy		
689	Howden	Strap Fitting	53.744111 N	0.863416 W	880-950	Arc and Step	Zoomorphic			Copper alloy		
690	Huddleston wit Pin	Pin	53.80559948 N	1.29571459 W	700-800	Faceted	Ring-and-dot			Copper alloy		
693	Humanby	Finger Ring	54.160205 N	0.371853 W	800-900		Transverse ribs			Silver	Treasure case: 2010T514	
694	Humanby	Strap Fitting	54.134784 N	1.879058 W	800-900		Zoocorphic terminal, comma-shaped ears			Copper alloy		
695	Humanby	Strap Fitting	54.134784 N	1.879058 W	700-900		Openwork interlace			Copper alloy		
696	Humbleton	Pin	53.78802733 N	0.14964597 W	700-900	Biconical	Ring-and-dot			Copper alloy		
697	Hunsingore	Brooch	53.97752243 N	1.33519147 W	700-800	Ansate	Cross with ring-and-dot in each corner		Merovingian	Copper alloy		
701	Kellington	Crozier	53.71743074 N	1.17670507 W	700-800				Hiberno-Saxon	Silver		
702	Kellington	Pin	53.713753 N	1.155837 W	700-900	Spherical	Ring-and-dot			Copper alloy		
703	Kellington	Pin	53.71967934 N	1.1717058 W	600-700	Spiral				Copper alloy		Caerwent; Binbrook, Lincolnshire
704	Kellington	Strap Fitting	53.713753 N	1.155837 W	800-900		Zoomorphic terminal			Copper alloy		
722	Kilham	Pin	54.07003762 N	0.3816562 W	800-900	Globular	Ring-and-dot			Copper alloy	Flat-topped pins became more common in Anglo-Scandinavian period	
723	Kilham	Pin	54.06671 N	0.401652 W	800-900	Faceted	Ring-and-dot			Copper alloy		
724	Kilham	Pin	54.06671 N	0.401652 W	800-900	Faceted	Ring-and-dot			Copper alloy		
725	Kilham	Pin	54.060004 N	0.438579 W	800-900	Faceted	Four ring-and-dot			Copper alloy		
726	Kilham	Pin	54.060004 N	0.438579 W	800-900	Faceted	Ring-and-dot			Copper alloy		
727	Kilham	Pin	54.06671 N	0.401652 W	700-900	Balloon				Copper alloy		

D2.21

#	Site	Artefact Type	Latitude	Longitude	Approximate Date	Class/Subclass	Decorative Motif	Inscription	Ascribed Culture	Material	Additional Notes	Parallels
728	Kilham	Scabbard	54.068445 N	0.397277 W	600-699	Pyramidal	Each face is defined by a finely incised line, with the field divided into three by two incised lines, inlaid with niello			Silver		
729	Kilham	Strap End	54.071918 N	1.940367 W	800-900	Thomas A	Zoomorphic terminal, bulbous snout and protruding eyes. Incised decoration			Copper alloy		
730	Kilham	Strap End	54.08841 N	0.41152 W	750-950	Thomas A1, Trewhiddle style	Crude, forward facing zoomorphic terminal			Copper alloy		
731	Kilham	Strap End	54.061461 N	0.412549 W	800-900	Thomas A1	Zoormorphic terminal, interlace zoomorphic design			Copper alloy		
740	Kirk Deighton	Pendant	53.95359739 N	1.37037677 V	600-700		cabochon-cut stone			Gold and garnet	Treasure case: 2003T143	
741	Kirk Deighton	Pin	53.94445967 N	1.35399938 W	700-800	Faceted	Ring-and-dot			Copper alloy		
742	Kirk Deighton	Pin	53.94807387 N	1.41197938 V	800-900	Polyhedral	Ring-and-dot			Copper alloy		
743	Kirk Deighton	Pin	53.950797 W	1.379805 W	700-800	Biconical	Ring-and-dot			Copper alloy	Flat-topped	
746	Kirk Smeaton	Strap End	53.634571 N	1.249853 W	700-800	Wythren	Grooved			Copper alloy		
747	Kirkby Wharfe	Pin	53.857975 N	1.242823 W	700-900	Polyhedral	Ring-and-dot			Copper alloy		
749	Knapton Schoo	Pin	53.960308 N	1.144956 W	700-900	Balloon	Pectoral cross pendant made from gold cloisonné work inlaid with garnets.			Silver		
750	Langtoft	Buckle	54.08022003 N	0.47297834 V	850-950	Sub-rectangular wit circular ears	Forward-facing animal with prominent semi-			Copper alloy		
752	Langtoft	Pin	54.08022003 N	0.47297834 V	700-900	Biconical				Copper alloy		
753	Langtoft	Pin	54.0890094 N	0.45736609 V	750-850	Globular	Cross			Copper alloy		
754	Lantoft	Pin	54.08022003 N	0.47297834 V	700-900	Irregular				Copper alloy		
755	Lea Green	Axe	54.092603 N	2.007609 W	700-800	T-shaped			anglo-Scandinavian	Iron		
757	Leconfield	Jewellery	53.879027 N	0.456815 W	800-900	Thor's Hammer	Ring and dot			Silver		
761	Lewisham	Pin	54.298929 W	0.730744 W	700-800	Faceted	Ring-and-dot			Copper alloy		

D2.22

Site	Artefact Type	Latitude	Longitude	Approximate Date	Class/Subclass	Decorative Motif	Inscription	Ascribed Culture	Material	Additional Notes	Parallels
762 Lilla Howe	Brooch	54.376055 N	0.63291412 W	850-950					Gold and gemstone	May have been associated with a grave or a hoard	
763 Lilla Howe	Ring	54.376055 N	0.63291412 W	850-950					Gold	May have been associated with a grave or a hoard	
764 Lilla Howe	Ring	54.376055 N	0.63291412 W	850-950					Gold	May have been associated with a grave or a hoard	
765 Lilla Howe	Ring	54.376055 N	0.63291412 W	850-950					Gold	May have been associated with a grave or a hoard	
766 Lilla Howe	Strap End	54.376055 N	0.63291412 W	850-950		Interlace			Silver	May have been associated with a grave or a hoard	
767 Lilla Howe	Strap End	54.376055 N	0.63291412 W	850-950		Interlace			Silver	May have been associated with a grave	
768 Lilla Howe	Strap End	54.376055 N	0.63291412 W	850-950		Two roundels of gold-ornamented rolls and filigree surrounded by dots			Silver and gold	May have been associated with a grave or a hoard	
769 Lilla Howe	Strap End	54.376055 N	0.63291412 W	850-950		Two roundels of gold-ornamented rolls and filigree surrounded by dots			Silver and gold	May have been associated with a grave or a hoard	
773 Londesborough	Pin	53.897547766 N	0.68358494 W	750-850	Spherical				Copper alloy and iron		
774 Long Marston	Strap Fitting	53.951176 N	1.232177 W	800-900		Zoomorphic terminal, herringbone design			Copper alloy		
775 Long Marston	Strap End	53.946893 N	1.2293100 W	850-900	Thomas A1, Trewhiddle	Zoomorphic terminal, pellet in elipse. Crouched quadruped (canine), backwards-looking			Copper alloy		
780 Market Weighton	Belt plate	53.857945 N	0.67874630 W	600-700					Copper alloy	Associated with female burial	
781 Market Weighton	Brooch	53.857945 N	0.67874630 W	600-700	Cruciform				Copper alloy	Associated with female burial	
782 Market Weighton	Brooch	53.857945 N	0.67874630 W	600-700	Cruciform				Copper alloy	Associated with female burial	

D2.23

	Site	Artefact Type	Latitude	Longitude	Approximate Date	Class/Subclass	Decorative Motif	Inscription	Ascribed Culture	Material	Additional Notes	Parallels
783	Market Weighton	Brooch	53.857945 N	0.67874630 W	600-700	Cruciform				Copper alloy	Associated with female burial	
784	Market Weighton	Buckle	53.857945 N	0.67874630 W	600-700					Iron	Associated with male burial	
795	Market Weighton	girdle hanger	53.857945 N	0.67874630 W	600-700					Iron	Associated with female burial	
796	Market Weighton	girdle hanger	53.857945 N	0.67874630 W	600-700					Iron	Associated with female burial	
798	Market Weighton	Knife	53.857945 N	0.67874630 W	600-700					Iron	Associated with male burial	
799	Market Weighton	Pin	53.808844 N	0.628655 W	700-900	Balloon	Ring-and-dot			Copper alloy		
800	Market Weighton	Pin	53.808844 N	0.628655 W	800-900	Biconical, banded				Copper alloy		
801	Market Weighton	Pin	53.808844 N	0.628655 W	700-900	Balloon				Silver		This type commonly found at Abbey si
802	Market Weighton	Pin	53.808844 N	0.628655 W	700-900	Balloon				Copper alloy		
803	Market Weighton	Pin	53.808844 N	0.628655 W	700-900	Balloon				Copper alloy		
804	Market Weighton	Pin	53.808844 N	0.628655 W	700-900	Balloon				Copper alloy		
805	Market Weighton	Pin	53.808844 N	0.628655 W	700-900	Balloon				Copper alloy		
806	Market Weighton	Pin	53.808844 N	0.628655 W	700-900	Balloon				Copper alloy		
807	Market Weighton	Pin	53.808844 N	0.628655 W	700-900	Mallet				Copper alloy		
808	Market Weighton	Pin	53.808844 N	0.628655 W	700-900	Mallet				Copper alloy		
809	Market Weighton	Pin	53.808844 N	0.628655 W	700-800	Oblate				Copper alloy		
810	Market Weighton	Pin	53.808844 N	0.628655 W	800-900	Faceted	Ring-and-dot			Copper alloy		
811	Market Weighton	Pin	53.808844 N	0.628655 W	800-900	Faceted	Ring-and-dot			Copper alloy		
812	Market Weighton	Pin	53.808844 N	0.628655 W	800-900	Faceted	Ring-and-dot			Copper alloy		
813	Market Weighton	Pin	53.808844 N	0.628655 W	800-900	Faceted	Ring-and-dot			Copper alloy		
814	Market Weighton	Pin	53.808844 N	0.628655 W	800-900	Faceted	Ring-and-dot			Copper alloy		
815	Market Weighton	Pin	53.808844 N	0.628655 W	800-900	Faceted	Ring-and-dot			Copper alloy		
816	Market Weighton	Pin	53.808844 N	0.628655 W	800-900	Faceted	Ring-and-dot			Copper alloy		
819	Market Weighton	Ring	53.857945 N	0.67874630 W	600-700					Antler	Associated with female burial	
820	Market Weighton	Seax	53.857945 N	0.67874630 W	600-700					Iron	Associated with male burial	
821	Market Weighton	Spear-head	53.857945 N	0.67874630 W	600-700					Iron	Associated with male burial	
822	Market Weighton	Strap End	53.808844 N	0.628655 W	800-900	Thomas A2	Zoomorphic terminal, marked by saltire cross			Copper alloy		
823	Market Weighton	Strap End	53.808844 N	0.628655 W	800-900	Thomas				Copper alloy		

D2.24

	Site	Artefact Type	Latitude	Longitude	Approximate Date	Class/Subclass	Decorative Motif	Inscription	Ascribed Culture	Material	Additional Notes	Parallels
824	Market Weighton	Strap End	53.808844 N	0.628655 W	800-900	Thomas				Copper alloy		
825	Market Weighton	Strap End	53.808844 N	0.628655 W	800-900	Thomas A	Leaf			Copper alloy		
826	Market Weighton	Strap End	53.808844 N	0.628655 W	800-900	Thomas B1	Zoomorphic with long nose, annulet eyes			Copper alloy		
827	Market Weighton	Strap End	53.808844 N	0.628655 W	800-900	Thomas	Zoomorphic, chevrons marking nose			Copper alloy		
828	Market Weighton	Strap End	53.85794484 N	0.6786463 W	750-950	Thomas B4	Multi-headed zoomorphic terminal			Copper alloy		
829	Market Weighton	Strap End	53.808844 N	0.628655 W	800-900	Thomas A2	Zoomorphic with incised crescents			Copper alloy		
830	Market Weighton	Strap End	53.85794484 N	0.6786463 W	850-950	Thomas Type A1, Trewhiddle style	Zoomorphic			Copper alloy		
831	Market Weighton	Strap End	53.85760633 N	0.6484776 W	750-950	Thomas Class E, Aspatria	Five ring and dot motifs					
832	Market Weighton	Strap End	53.808844 N	0.628655 W	800-900	Thomas A2	Borre style ring-chain, zoomorphic terminal		anglo-Scandinavian	Copper alloy		
833	Market Weighton	Wrist clasps	53.857945 N	0.67874630 W	600-700						Associated with female burial	
834	Market Weighton	Wrist clasps	53.857945 N	0.67874630 W	600-700						Associated with female burial	
836	Maunby	Scabbard	54.26470848 N	1.42884031 W	600-650	Pyramid				Copper alloy		
838	Middleton	Strap End	53.920331 N	0.631095 W	800-900		Zoomorphic terminakl, floral decoration			Copper alloy		
839	Milby	Strap Fitting	54.10168093 N	1.37920875 W	600-700					Copper alloy		
840	Millington	Strap End	53.96674261 N	0.76677304 W	750-950	Thomas A2	Zoomorphic terminal with curvilinear design comprised of crescent shapes flanking a central row of shallowly incised V-shapes.			Copper alloy		
841	Morton-on-Swale	Strap End	54.32160077 N	1.48954943 W	800-900	Thomas A1	Zoomorphic terminal, mouse-like			Copper alloy		

D2.25

#	Site	Artefact Type	Latitude	Longitude	Approximate Date	Class/Subclass	Decorative Motif	Inscription	Ascribed Culture	Material	Additional Notes	Parallels
842	Moulton	Pin	54.41292536 N	1.64403921 W	700-800	Faceted	Multiple ring-and-dot motifs			Copper alloy		
843	Myton-on-Swal	Bucket	54.092573 N	1.336412 W	600-900		Bird-head suspension hook			Copper alloy		
853	Newbald	Pin	53.806357 N	0.623421 W	700-900	Balloon	Ring-and-dot			Copper alloy		
854	Newbald	Pin	53.803522 N	0.634903 W	600-800	Cuboid				Copper alloy		
855	Newbald	Stylus	53.79453669 N	0.63519448 W	700-900					Copper alloy		
857	Nidd	Brooch	54.030984 N	1.544104 W	800-900		Rosette surrounded by acanthus leaves		Carolingian	Copper alloy		
861	North Cave	Pin	53.777075 N	0.681287 W	800-900	Triangular				Copper alloy		
862	North Cave	Pin	53.777075 N	0.681287 W	700-900	Faceted				Copper alloy		
863	North Cave	Pin	53.782466 N	0.681118 W	800-900	Faceted				Copper alloy		
864	North Cave	Pin	53.777075 N	0.681287 W	700-800	Disc	Zoomorphic surrounded by interlace			Copper alloy		
865	North Cave	Pin	53.777075 N	0.681287 W	700-900	Biconical				Copper alloy		
866	North Cave	Pin	53.782466 N	0.681118 W	800-900	Faceted	Ring-and-dot			Copper alloy		
867	North Cave	Strap End	53.777075 N	0.681287 W	700-800		Zoomorphic design, interlaced			Copper alloy		
868	North Dalton	Strap End	53.95592 N	0.599449 W	800-900	Thomas A2	Rounded terminal			Copper alloy		
870	North Duffield	Pin	53.822166 N	0.964758 W	600-800	Globular				Copper alloy		
871	North Duffield	Pin	53.822712 N	0.964517 W	600-800	Globular				Copper alloy		
872	North Duffield	Pin	53.822579 N	0.965766 W	600-800	Globular				Copper alloy		
873	North Duffield	Pin	53.823206 N	0.965538 W	800-900	Biconical, banded				Copper alloy		
874	North Duffield	Pin	53.823206 N	0.965538 W	800-900	Biconical, banded				Copper alloy		
875	North Duffield	Pin	53.82325398 N	0.96485284 W	700-900	Faceted	Ring-and-dot			Copper alloy		
876	North Duffield	Strap End	53.822435 N	0.964676 W	800-900	Thomas A1, Trewhiddle	Zoomorphic terminal			Copper alloy		
878	North Ferriby	Buckle	53.720029 N	0.507805 W	600-750	D-shaped	None			Copper alloy		
879	North Milford	Strap End	53.841201 N	1.234007 W	800-900	Thomas A, Trewhiddle	Zoomorphic terminal			Copper alloy		
882	North Newbald	Brooch	53.819539 N	0.62071040 W	600-900	Penannular				Copper alloy	Associated with grave	
883	North Newbald	Key	53.819539 N	0.62071040 W	600-900					Iron	Associated with grave	
884	North Newbald	Key	53.819539 N	0.62071040 W	600-900					Iron	Associated with grave	
885	North Newbald	Knife	53.819539 N	0.62071040 W	600-900					Iron	Associated with grave	

D2.26

	Site	Artefact Type	Latitude	Longitude	Approximate Date	Class/Subclass	Decorative Motif	Inscription	Ascribed Culture	Material	Additional Notes	Parallels
886	North Newbald	Knife	53.819539 N	0.62071040 W	600-900					Iron	Associated with grave	
887	North Newbald	Scramaseax	53.819539 N	0.62071040 W	600-900					Iron	Associated with grave	
890	Norton-on-Den	Buckle	54.137623 N	0.777009 W	800-900	Sub-annular	Zoomorphic terminal with rounded eyes and snub nose			Copper alloy		
893	Occaney Beck	Brooch	54.053662 N	1.4638153 W	600-700	Penannular	Stylised bird's heads			Copper alloy	Associated with male burial	
894	Occaney Beck	Brooch	54.053662 N	1.4638153 W	600-700	Penannular	Stylised bird's heads			Copper alloy	Associated with male burial	
895	Ottringham	Vessel	53.71521124 N	0.0922261 W	650-850	Sherd				Ceramic		
896	Overton	Strap End	54.00249708 N	1.16086957	800-900		Interlace or ring-and-dot			Copper alloy		
908	Painsthorpe Wold	Brooch	54.013262 N	0.74555843 W	600-700	Penannular				Copper alloy	Associated with female barrow burial	
912	Painsthorpe W	girdle hanger	54.013262 N	0.74555843 W	600-700					Iron	Associated with female barrow burial	
913	Painsthorpe W	Workbox	54.013262 N	0.74555843 W	600-700					Copper alloy	Associated with female barrow burial. Contained iron need, knife and thread	
915	Pickering	Brooch	54.251055 N	0.795145 W	600-800	Cruciform	Ring-and-dot			Copper alloy	Possibly from disturbed grave	
916	Pickering	Brooch	54.24136559 N	0.74925327 W	700-900	Ansate	Embossed Borre chain/Interlace style			Copper alloy	English copy of Frankish style	
918	Pocklington	Brooch	53.9275 N	0.7777 W	800-950	Trefoil				Copper alloy		
926	Pocklington	Strap End	53.93834137 N	0.73242062 W	800-900	Thomas A1, Trewhiddle	Zoomorphic terminal, Bird-like zoomorphic design			Copper alloy		
927	Pocklington	Strap End	53.958367 N	0.827984 W	700-900	Thomas C				Copper alloy		
928	Pocklington	Strap End	53.93834137 N	0.73242062 W	800-900		Zoomorphic terminal squared snot, zoomorphic decoartion			Copper alloy		
929	Pocklington	Strap End	53.93834137 N	0.73242062 W	800-900	Thomas A1	Zoomorphic terminal, zoomorphic design			Copper alloy		

D2.27

# Site	Artefact Type	Latitude	Longitude	Approximate Date	Class/Subclass	Decorative Motif	Inscription	Ascribed Culture	Material	Additional Notes	Parallels
931 Poppleton	Brooch	53.97747054 N	1.14246556 W	700-900	Ansate	Five crosses			Copper alloy		
936 Preston	Pin	53.756611 N	0.198915 W	700-800	Circular	Incised concentric rings. Ring-and-dot			Copper alloy		
937 Ravensworth	Pin	54.466290 N	1.7855948 W	700-800	Faceted	Ring-and-dot			Copper alloy		
939 Ribblehead	Strap End	54.210592 N	2.371691 W	800-900	Thomas A1, Trewhiddle	Zoomorphic terminal, rectangular ears			Copper alloy		
940 Ribblehead	Strap End	54.210592 N	2.371691 W	800-900	Thomas	Zoomorphic terminal			Copper alloy		
941 Ricall	Strap End	53.83150907 N	1.05691084 W	800-900	Thomas A1	Zoomorphic terminal, mouse-like			Copper alloy		
942 Riccall	Brooch	53.82814367 N	1.04281106 W	600-700	Composite disc	Thumb-knot, lattice pattern, T-shape collets in cruciform arrangement			Copper alloy, shell, garnet	Treasure case: 2002T170	Kent
950 Rowley	Pin	53.77531069 N	0.52959334 W	700-900	Globular	Cross hatching			Copper alloy		
951 Rowley	Strap End	53.80263428 N	0.5590074 W	750-950	Thomas Type A1, Trewhiddle style	Zoomorphic terminal and a crouched quadruped, possibly dragonesque, on central panel			Copper alloy		
954 Rudston	Pin	54.06941241 N	0.33583282 W	700-900	Globular				Copper alloy		
955 Rudston	Pin	54.081028 N	0.330782 W	800-900	Faceted	Ring-and-dot			Copper alloy		
956 Rudston	Pin	54.10597333 N	0.38025712 W	650-850	Biconical	Ring-and-dot			Copper alloy		
957 Rudston	Vessel	54.08737988 N	0.3511389 W	850-950	Sherd			anglo-Scandinavian	Ceramic		
959 Rufforth with K	Pin	53.95228715 N	1.17863973 W	700-900	Sword belt mount	Ring and dot			Copper alloy		
966 Ryther	Pin	53.843771 N	1.165201 W	700-800	Globular				Copper alloy		
967 Ryther	Pin	53.843771 N	1.165201 W	700-800	Globular				Copper alloy		
968 Ryther	Pin	53.843771 N	1.165201 W	700-800	Globular				Copper alloy		
969 Ryther	Pin	53.843771 N	1.165201 W	700-800	Globular				Copper alloy		
970 Ryther	Pin	53.84434 W	1.165554 W	700-800	Faceted				Copper alloy		
971 Ryther	Pin	53.84434 W	1.165554 W	700-800	Cuboid	Ring-and-dot			Copper alloy		
972 Ryther	Pin	53.84434 W	1.165554 W	700-800	Globular				Copper alloy		
973 Ryther	Pin	53.84434 W	1.165554 W	700-800	Globular				Copper alloy		
974 Ryther	Pin	53.84434 W	1.165554 W	700-800	Globular				Copper alloy	Flat-topped	
975 Ryther	Pin	53.84434 W	1.165554 W	700-800	Biconical, banded				Copper alloy		
976 Ryther	Pin	53.84794267 N	1.15251696 W	700-800	Cylindrical	Ring-and-dot			Copper alloy		

D2.28

	Site	Artefact Type	Latitude	Longitude	Approximate Date	Class/Subclass	Decorative Motif	Inscription	Ascribed Culture	Material	Additional Notes	Parallels
977	Ryther	Pin	53.84434 W	1.165554 W	700-800	Faceted	Ring-and-dot			Copper alloy		
978	Ryther	Pin	53.84434 W	1.165554 W	700-800	Biconical, banded				Copper alloy		
979	Ryther	Pin	53.84434 W	1.165554 W	700-800	Faceted	Ring-and-dot			Copper alloy		
980	Ryther	Pin	53.84434 W	1.165554 W	700-800	Globular	Multiple ring-and-dot motifs			Copper alloy		
981	Ryther	Pin	53.846063 N	1.165201 W	700-800	Faceted	Ring-and-dot			Copper alloy		
982	Ryther	Pin	53.846063 N	1.165201 W	700-800	Faceted	Ring-and-dot			Copper alloy		
983	Ryther	Strap End	53.844324 N	1.1657524 W	800-900	Thomas A	Zoomorphic terminal			Copper alloy		
984	Ryther	Strap End	53.843771 N	1.165201 W	700-800		Zoomorphic terminal			Copper alloy		
985	Ryther	Strap End	53.844324 N	1.1657524 W	800-900	Thomas A1, Trewhiddle				Copper alloy		
995	Saltburn-on-Sea	Brooch	54.575532 N	0.99444296 W	500-700	Annular				Copper alloy	Associated with burial	
996	Saltburn-on-Sea	Brooch	54.575532 N	0.99444296 W	500-700	Penannular				Copper alloy	Associated with adult burial	
997	Saltburn-on-Sea	Brooch	54.575532 N	0.99444296 W	500-700	Penannular				Copper alloy	Associated with adult burial	
998	Saltburn-on-Sea	Brooch	54.575532 N	0.99444296 W	500-700	Cruciform				Copper alloy	Associated with adult burial	
999	Saltburn-on-Sea	Brooch	54.575532 N	0.99444296 W	500-700					Copper alloy	Associated with child burial	
1000	Saltburn-on-Sea	Bucket	54.575532 N	0.99444296 W	500-700					Copper alloy and ¿	Associated with burial	
1001	Saltburn-on-Sea	Buckle	54.575532 N	0.99444296 W	500-700					Iron	Associated with cremation	
1003	Saltburn-on-Sea	Knife	54.575532 N	0.99444296 W	500-700					Iron	Associated with burial	
1004	Saltburn-on-Sea	Knife	54.575532 N	0.99444296 W	500-700					Iron	Associated with burial	
1005	Saltburn-on-Sea	Knife	54.575532 N	0.99444296 W	500-700					Iron	Associated with burial	
1006	Saltburn-on-Sea	Necklace	54.575532 N	0.99444296 W	500-700					Crystal, amber an	Associated with burial	
1007	Saltburn-on-Sea	Necklace	54.575532 N	0.99444296 W	500-700					Amber and glass	Associated with adult burial	
1008	Saltburn-on-Sea	Necklace	54.575532 N	0.99444296 W	500-700					Glass and amber	Associated with child burial	
1009	Saltburn-on-Sea	Necklace	54.575532 N	0.99444296 W	500-700					Amber, glass, jet		
1010	Saltburn-on-Sea	Necklace	54.575532 N	0.99444296 W	500-700					Amber, glass, jet		
1011	Saltburn-on-Sea	Necklace	54.575532 N	0.99444296 W	500-700					Amber, glass, jet		

D2.29

Site	Artefact Type	Latitude	Longitude	Approximate Date	Class/Subclass	Decorative Motif	Inscription	Ascribed Culture	Material	Additional Notes	Parallels
1012	Saltburn-on-Sea	Necklace	54.575532 N	0.99444296 W	500-700					Amber, glass, jet		
1013	Saltburn-on-Sea	Necklace	54.575532 N	0.99444296 W	500-700					Amber, glass, jet		
1014	Saltburn-on-Sea	Necklace	54.575532 N	0.99444296 W	500-700					Amber, glass, jet		
1015	Saltburn-on-Sea	Spear	54.575532 N	0.99444296 W	500-700					Iron	Associated with burial	
1017	Saltburn-on-Sea	Vessel	54.575532 N	0.99444296 W	500-700	Cremation urn				Clay		
1018	Saltburn-on-Sea	Vessel	54.575532 N	0.99444296 W	500-700	Cremation urn				Clay		
1019	Saltburn-on-Sea	Vessel	54.575532 N	0.99444296 W	500-700	Cremation urn				Clay		
1020	Saltburn-on-Sea	Vessel	54.575532 N	0.99444296 W	500-700	Cremation urn				Clay		
1021	Saltburn-on-Sea	Vessel	54.575532 N	0.99444296 W	500-700	Cremation urn				Clay		
1022	Saltburn-on-Sea	Vessel	54.575532 N	0.99444296 W	500-700	Cremation urn				Clay		
1023	Saltburn-on-Sea	Vessel	54.575532 N	0.99444296 W	500-700	Cremation urn				Clay		
1024	Saltburn-on-Sea	Vessel	54.575532 N	0.99444296 W	500-700	Cremation urn				Clay		
1025	Saltburn-on-Sea	Vessel	54.575532 N	0.99444296 W	500-700	Cremation urn				Clay		
1026	Saltburn-on-Sea	Vessel	54.575532 N	0.99444296 W	500-700	Cremation urn				Clay		
1027	Saltburn-on-Sea	Vessel	54.575532 N	0.99444296 W	500-700	Cremation urn				Clay	Associated with adult burial	
1028	Saltburn-on-Sea	Vessel	54.575532 N	0.99444296 W	500-700	Cremation urn				Clay		
1029	Saltburn-on-Sea	Vessel	54.575532 N	0.99444296 W	500-700	Cremation urn				Clay		
1030	Salton	Pin	54.210829 N	0.912852 W	800-900	Biconical, banded	Incised cross			Copper alloy		
1046	Sancton	Belt	53.843799 N	0.63498616 W	550-650					Copper alloy	Associated with burial	
1047	Sancton	Brooch	53.843799 N	0.63498616 W	550-650	Annular				Copper alloy	Associated with burial	
1048	Sancton	Brooch	53.843799 N	0.62882402 W	550-650	Cruciform				Copper alloy	Associated with burial	
1049	Sancton	Brooch	53.850194 N	0.63498616 W	550-650	Disc	Ring ornament			Copper alloy	Associated with cremation	
1050	Sancton	Brooch	53.843799 N	0.62882402 W	550-650	Cruciform				Copper alloy	Associated with burial	
1051	Sancton	Brooch	53.850194 N	0.62882402 W	550-650	Annular				Copper alloy	Associated with cremation	
1052	Sancton	Brooch	53.850194 N	0.62882402 W	550-650	Annular				Copper alloy	Associated with cremation	
1053	Sancton	Brooch	53.850194 N	0.62882402 W	550-650	Annular				Copper alloy	Associated with cremation	

D2.30

	Site	Artefact Type	Latitude	Longitude	Approximate Date	Class/Subclass	Decorative Motif	Inscription	Ascribed Culture	Material	Additional Notes	Parallels
1054	Sancton	Brooch	53.850194 N	0.62882402 W	550-650	Annular				Copper alloy	Associated with cremation	
1055	Sancton	Brooch	53.850194 N	0.62882402 W	550-650	Annular				Copper alloy	Associated with cremation	
1056	Sancton	Brooch	53.850194 N	0.62882402 W	550-650	Penannular				Copper alloy	Associated with cremation	
1057	Sancton	Brooch	53.850194 N	0.62882402 W	550-650	Annular				Copper alloy	Associated with cremation	
1058	Sancton	Brooch	53.850194 N	0.62882402 W	550-650	Annular				Copper alloy	Associated with cremation	
1059	Sancton	Brooch	53.850194 N	0.62882402 W	550-650	Annular				Copper alloy	Associated with cremation	
1060	Sancton	Brooch	53.850194 N	0.62882402 W	550-650	Annular				Copper alloy	Associated with cremation	
1061	Sancton	Brooch	53.843799 N	0.6349816 W	550-650					Copper alloy	Associated with cremation	
1062	Sancton	Brooch	53.843799 N	0.6349816 W	550-650					Copper alloy	Associated with cremation	
1063	Sancton	Brooch	53.843799 N	0.6349816 W	550-650					Copper alloy	Associated with cremation	
1064	Sancton	Brooch	53.850194 N	0.62882402 W	550-650	Cruciform				Copper alloy	Associated with cremation	
1065	Sancton	Brooch	53.850194 N	0.62882402 W	600-700	Trefoil				Copper-alloy	Associated with cremation	
1066	Sancton	Brooch	53.843799 N	0.6349816 W	550-650	Annular				Copper alloy	Associated with burial	
1067	Sancton	Brooch	53.843799 N	0.6349816 W	550-650	Annular				Copper alloy	Associated with burial	
1068	Sancton	Brooch	53.843799 N	0.6349816 W	550-650	Annular				Copper alloy	Associated with burial	
1069	Sancton	Brooch	53.850194 N	0.62882402 W	550-650	Cruciform				Copper alloy	Associated with cremation	

D2.31

Site	Artefact Type	Latitude	Longitude	Approximate Date	Class/Subclass	Decorative Motif	Inscription	Ascribed Culture	Material	Additional Notes	Parallels
			0.6349816								
1070 Sancton	Brooch	53.843799 N	W	550-650	Annular				Copper alloy	Associated with burial	
1083 Sancton	Knife	53.850194 N	0.62882402 V	500-600					Iron and bone	Associated with cremation	
1084 Sancton	Knife	53.850194 N	0.62882402 V	550-650					Iron	Associated with cremation	
1085 Sancton	Knife	53.850194 N	0.62882402 V	550-650					Iron	Associated with cremation	
1086 Sancton	Knife	53.850194 N	0.62882402 V	550-650					Iron	Associated with cremation	
1087 Sancton	Knife	53.843799 N	0.6349816 V	550-650					Flint	Associated with burial	
1088 Sancton	Knife	53.843799 N	0.6349816 V	550-650					Iron	Associated with burial	
1089 Sancton	Knife	53.850194 N	0.62882402 V	500-600					Iron	Associated with cremation	
1090 Sancton	Knife	53.850194 N	0.62882402 V	550-650					Iron	Associated with cremation	
1091 Sancton	Necklace	53.843799 N	0.6349816 V	550-650	Bead				Amber (one glass)	Associated with burial	
1092 Sancton	Necklace	53.843799 N	0.6349816 V	550-650	Bead				Glass and amber	Associated with burial	
1093 Sancton	Necklace	53.843799 N	0.6349816 V	550-650	Bead				Glass	Associated with burial	
1094 Sancton	Necklace	53.843799 N	0.6349816 V	550-650	Bead				Amber	Associated with burial	
1095 Sancton	Necklace	53.843799 N	0.6349816 V	550-650	Bead				Amber	Associated with burial	
1098 Sancton	Pendant	53.850194 N	0.62882402 V	500-600					Crystal and coppe	Associated with cremation	
1100 Sancton	Pin	53.843799 N	0.6349816 V	550-650	Disc				Copper alloy	Associated with cremation	
1101 Sancton	Shears	53.850194 N	0.62882402 V	500-600					Copper alloy	Associated with cremation	
1102 Sancton	Shears	53.850194 N	0.62882402 V	500-600					Iron	Associated with cremation	
1103 Sancton	Shears	53.850194 N	0.62882402 V	500-600					Iron	Associated with cremation	
1105 Sancton	Spear	53.843799 N	0.6349816 V	550-650					Iron	Associated with burial	
1106 Sancton	Spearhead	53.843799 N	0.6349816 V	550-650					Iron	Associated with burial	
1120 Sancton	Wrist clasps	53.850194 N	0.62882402 V	550-650					Copper alloy	Associated with cremation	
1121 Sancton	Wrist-clasps	53.843799 N	0.6349816 V	550-650					Copper alloy	Associated with burial	
1122 Sancton	Wrist-clasps	53.843799 N	0.6349816 V	550-650					Copper alloy	Associated with burial	
1123 Sancton	Wrist-clasps	53.850194 N	0.62882402 V	500-600					Copper alloy	Associated with cremation	
1124 Sancton	Wrist-clasps	53.850194 N	0.62882402 V	500-600					Copper alloy	Associated with cremation	
1125 Sancton	Wrist-clasps	53.850194 N	0.62882402 V	500-600					Copper alloy	Associated with cremation	
1126 Sancton	Wrist-clasps	53.843799 N	0.6349816 V	550-650					Copper alloy	Associated with burial	
1127 Sancton	Wrist-clasps	53.843799 N	0.6349816 V	550-650					Copper alloy	Associated with burial	
1129 Sand Hutton	Pin	54.228658 N	1.407862 W	700-800	Globular	Twisted and grooved design			Copper alloy		
1133 Saxton	Pin	53.828053 N	1.2748218 W	700-900	Globular	Ring-and-dot			Copper alloy		

D2.32

Site	Artefact Type	Latitude	Longitude	Approximate Date	Class/Subclass	Decorative Motif	Inscription	Ascribed Culture	Material	Additional Notes	Parallels
Saxton with											
1134 Scarthingwell	Strap End	53.820785 N	1.275394 W	700-800	Globular				Copper alloy		
1141 Seamer Moor	Brooch	54.242446 N	0.42395800 W	600-700	Annular	Zoomorphic heads			Silver	Associated with burial	
1142 Seamer Moor	Buckle	54.242446 N	0.42395800 W	600-700					Iron	Associated with burial	
1143 Seamer Moor	Buckle	54.242446 N	0.42395800 W	600-700					Copper alloy	Associated with burial	
1144 Seamer Moor	Girdle-hangar	54.242446 N	0.42395800 W	600-700					Copper alloy	Associated with burial	
1145 Seamer Moor	Knife	54.242446 N	0.42395800 W	600-700					Bone	Associated with burial	
1146 Seamer Moor	Pendant	54.242446 N	0.42395800 W	600-700		Filigree			Gold and garnet	Associated with burial	
1147 Seamer Moor	Pendant	54.242446 N	0.42395800 W	600-700					Gold and Gem	Associated with burial	
1148 Seamer Moor	Pendant	54.242446 N	0.42395800 W	600-700					Gold and Gem	Associated with burial	
1150 Seamer Moor	Pin	54.242446 N	0.42395800 W	600-700					Gold and garnet	Associated with burial	
1151 Seamer Moor	Pin	54.242446 N	0.42395800 W	600-700					Gold and garnet	Associated with burial	
1152 Seamer Moor	Ring	54.242446 N	0.42395800 W	600-700					Silver	Associated with burial	
1153 Seamer Moor	Ring	54.242446 N	0.42395800 W	600-700					Jet	Associated with burial	
1154 Seamer Moor	Ring	54.242446 N	0.42395800 W	600-700					Gold	Associated with burial	
1155 Seamer Moor	Ring	54.242446 N	0.42395800 W	600-700					Gold	Associated with burial	
1160 Selby	Buckle	53.789155 N	1.0658240 W	800-900	Sub-triangular	Zoomorphic terminal			Copper alloy		
1162 Selby	Pin	53.798432 N	1.155838 W	700-800	Biconical	Punched dots			Copper alloy	Flat-topped	
1163 Selby	Pin	53.785131 N	1.082569 W	800-900	Kite	Five Ring-and-dot motifs		hiberno-norse	Copper alloy		Ireland, Eastern Britain, sites of the Irish trade routes
1164 Selby	Pin	53.798432 N	1.155838 W	700-800	Biconical, banded				Copper alloy		
1165 Selby	Pin	53.798432 N	1.155838 W	700-800	Biconical, banded				Copper alloy		
1166 Selby	Pin	53.785131 N	1.082569 W	700-900	Faceted	Ring-and-dot			Copper alloy		
1167 Selby	Pin	53.798432 N	1.155838 W	800-900	Kite	Three ring-and-dot motifs		hiberno-norse	Copper alloy		Ireland, Eastern Britain, sites of the Irish trade routes
1168 Selby	Pin	53.798432 N	1.155838 W	700-800	Biconical, banded				Copper alloy		
1169 Selby	Pin	53.798432 N	1.155838 W	700-800	Polyhedral	Ring-and-dot			Copper alloy		
1170 Selby	Pin	53.798432 N	1.155838 W	700-800	Biconical				Copper alloy	Flat-topped	
1171 Selby	Strap Fitting	53.785131 N	1.082569 W	800-900		Zoomorphic terminal			Copper alloy		
1172 Sessay	Buckle	54.295866 N	1.3135356 W	600-800	Rectangular	Triquetra			Copper alloy		
1173 Sessay	Hanging Bowl	54.159757 N	1.297052 W	600-700	Mount	Zoomorphic, ring-and-dot			Copper alloy		

D2.33

	Site	Artefact Type	Latitude	Longitude	Approximate Date	Class/Subclass	Decorative Motif	Inscription	Ascribed Culture	Material	Additional Notes	Parallels
1174	Sewerby	Brooch	54.103684 N	0.15856319 W	500-700	Annular				Copper alloy		
1175	Sewerby	Brooch	54.103684 N	0.15856319 W	500-700	Annular				Copper alloy		
1176	Sewerby	Brooch	54.103684 N	0.15856319 W	500-700	Annular				Copper alloy		
1177	Sewerby	Brooch	54.103684 N	0.15856319 W	500-700	Annular				Copper alloy		
1178	Sewerby	Brooch	54.103684 N	0.15856319 W	500-700	Annular				Copper alloy		
1179	Sewerby	Brooch	54.103684 N	0.15856319 W	500-700	Annular				Copper alloy		
1180	Sewerby	Brooch	54.103684 N	0.15856319 W	500-700	Annular				Copper alloy		
1181	Sewerby	Brooch	54.103684 N	0.15856319 W	500-700	Annular				Copper alloy		
1182	Sewerby	Brooch	54.103684 N	0.15856319 W	500-700	Annular				Copper alloy		
1183	Sewerby	Brooch	54.103684 N	0.15856319 W	500-700	Annular				Copper alloy		
1184	Sewerby	Brooch	54.103684 N	0.15856319 W	500-700	Annular				Copper alloy		
1185	Sewerby	Brooch	54.103684 N	0.15856319 W	500-700	Annular				Copper alloy		
1186	Sewerby	Brooch	54.103684 N	0.15856319 W	500-700	Annular				Copper alloy		
1187	Sewerby	Brooch	54.103684 N	0.15856319 W	500-700	Annular				Copper alloy		
1188	Sewerby	Brooch	54.103684 N	0.15856319 W	500-700	Annular				Copper alloy		
1189	Sewerby	Brooch	54.103684 N	0.15856319 W	500-700	Annular				Copper alloy		

D2.34

Site	Artefact Type	Latitude	Longitude	Approximate Date	Class/Subclass	Decorative Motif	Inscription	Ascribed Culture	Material	Additional Notes	Parallels
1190 Sewerby	Brooch	54.103684 N	0.15856319 W	500-700	Annular				Copper alloy		
1191 Sewerby	Brooch	54.103684 N	0.15856319 W	500-700	Annular				Copper alloy		
1192 Sewerby	Brooch	54.103684 N	0.15856319 W	500-700	Annular				Copper alloy		
1193 Sewerby	Brooch	54.103684 N	0.15856319 W	500-700	Annular				Copper alloy		
1194 Sewerby	Brooch	54.103684 N	0.15856319 W	500-700	Annular				Copper alloy		
1195 Sewerby	Brooch	54.103684 N	0.15856319 W	500-700	Annular				Copper alloy		
1196 Sewerby	Brooch	54.103684 N	0.15856319 W	500-700	Annular				Copper alloy		
1197 Sewerby	Brooch	54.103684 N	0.15856319 W	500-700	Annular				Copper alloy		
1198 Sewerby	Brooch	54.103684 N	0.15856319 W	500-700	Annular				Copper alloy		
1199 Sewerby	Brooch	54.103684 N	0.15856319 W	500-700	Cruciform				Copper alloy		
1200 Sewerby	Brooch	54.103684 N	0.15856319 W	500-700	Cruciform				Copper alloy		
1201 Sewerby	Brooch	54.103684 N	0.15856319 W	500-700	Cruciform				Copper alloy		
1202 Sewerby	Brooch	54.103684 N	0.15856319 W	500-700	Cruciform				Copper alloy		
1203 Sewerby	Brooch	54.103684 N	0.15856319 W	500-700	Cruciform				Copper alloy		
1204 Sewerby	Brooch	54.103684 N	0.15856319 W	500-700	Cruciform				Copper alloy		
1205 Sewerby	Brooch	54.103684 N	0.15856319 W	500-700	Pennanular				Iron		

D2.35

	Site	Artefact Type	Latitude	Longitude	Approximate Date	Class/Subclass	Decorative Motif	Inscription	Ascribed Culture	Material	Additional Notes	Parallels
1206	Sewerby	Brooch	54.103684 N	0.15856319 W	500-700	Cruciform				Copper alloy		
1207	Sewerby	Brooch	54.103684 N	0.15856319 W	500-700	Cruciform				Copper alloy		
1208	Sewerby	Brooch	54.103684 N	0.15856319 W	500-700	Penannular				Silver		
1209	Sewerby	Brooch	54.103684 N	0.15856319 W	500-700	Annular				Iron		
1210	Sewerby	Brooch	54.103684 N	0.15856319 W	500-700	Square-head				Copper alloy	Associated with female grave	
1211	Sewerby	Brooch	54.103684 N	0.15856319 W	500-700	Small-long				Copper alloy		
1212	Sewerby	Brooch	54.103684 N	0.15856319 W	500-700	Annular				Iron		
1213	Sewerby	Brooch	54.103684 N	0.15856319 W	500-700	Small-long				Copper alloy		
1214	Sewerby	Brooch	54.103684 N	0.15856319 W	500-700	Small-long				Copper alloy		
1215	Sewerby	Brooch	54.103684 N	0.15856319 W	500-700	Small-long				Copper alloy		
1216	Sewerby	Brooch	54.103684 N	0.15856319 W	500-700	Penannular				Iron		
1217	Sewerby	Brooch	54.103684 N	0.15856319 W	500-700	Square-head				Copper alloy	Associated with female grave	
1220	Sewerby	Pin	54.103684 N	0.15856319 W	500-700	Ring-headed				Iron		
1221	Sewerby	Pin	54.103684 N	0.15856319 W	500-700	Ring-headed				Iron		
1222	Sherburn	Pin	54.170796 N	0.527813 W	700-800	Biconical, banded				Copper alloy		
1230	Skipton	Spear	54.13497 N	2.03887 W	600-900	Swanton E2				Iron		
1242	Skirpenbeck	Pin	54.00387583 N	0.8877364 W	700-800	Globular, four knops				Copper alloy		
1243	Skirpenbeck	Pin	54.00359 N	0.857229 W	650-750	Faceted				Silver	Treasure case: 2016T102	
1244	Skirpenbeck	Pin	54.00387583 N	0.8877364 W	700-800	Biconical, banded				Copper alloy		
1245	Skirpenbeck	Pin	53.99502997 N	0.9032639 W	700-800	Spherical	Ring-and-dot			Copper alloy		
1246	Skirpenbeck	Pin	53.99502997 N	0.90322639 W	700-800	Polyhedral	Ring-and-dot			Copper alloy		

D2.36

	Site	Artefact Type	Latitude	Longitude	Approximate Date	Class/Subclass	Decorative Motif	Inscription	Ascribed Culture	Material	Additional Notes	Parallels
1247	Skirpenbeck	Pin	53.99502997 N	0.90322639 W	700-800	Faceted	Ring-and-dot			Copper alloy		
1248	Skirpenbeck	Pin	53.99502997 N	0.90322639 W	700-800	Faceted	Three ring-and-dot motifs			Copper alloy		
1249	Skirpenbeck	Pin	53.99502997 N	0.90322639 W	700-800	Faceted	Ring-and-dot			Copper alloy		
1250	Skirpenbeck	Pin	53.99502997 N	0.90322639 W	700-800	Faceted	Ring-and-dot			Copper alloy		
1251	Skirpenbeck	Pin	53.99502997 N	0.90322639 W	700-800	Spherical				Copper alloy		
1252	Skirpenbeck	Pin	53.99502997 N	0.90322639 W	700-800	Faceted	Ring-and-dot			Copper alloy		
1253	Skirpenbeck	Pin	53.99502997 N	0.90322639 W	700-800	Faceted	Ring-and-dot			Copper alloy		
1254	Skirpenbeck	Pin	53.99502997 N	0.90322639 W	700-800	Faceted	Ring-and-dot			Copper alloy		
1255	Skirpenbeck	Pin	53.99502997 N	0.90322639 W	700-800	Faceted	Ring-and-dot			Copper alloy		
1256	Skirpenbeck	Pin	53.99502997 N	0.90322639 W	700-800	Globular				Copper alloy		
1257	Skirpenbeck	Pin	53.99502997 N	0.90322639 W	700-800	Globular				Copper alloy		
1258	Skirpenbeck	Pin	54.00359 N	0.857229 W	650-750	Biconical				Silver	Treasure Case: 2016T103	
1259	Skirpenbeck	Pin	53.99502997 N	0.90322639 W	700-800	Faceted	Four ring-and-dot motifs			Copper alloy		
1260	Skirpenbeck	Pin	54.00387583 N	0.8877364 W	700-800	Globular, two knops				Copper alloy		
1261	Skirpenbeck	Pin	53.99488987 N	0.88797588 W	700-900	Polyhedral	Four ring-and-dot motifs			Copper alloy		
1262	Skirpenbeck	Pin	53.99502997 N	0.90322639 W	700-800	Biconical, banded				Copper alloy		
1263	Skirpenbeck	Pin	53.99502997 N	0.90322639 W	700-800	Biconical, banded				Copper alloy		
1264	Skirpenbeck	Pin	53.99502997 N	0.90322639 W	700-800	Biconical, banded				Copper alloy		
1265	Skirpenbeck	Strap End	54.003636 N	0.862110 W	800-900	Thomas Type A1, Trewhiddle style	Zoomorphic terminal in the form of a dog			Copper alloy		
1268	Snape	Finger Ring	54.255529 N	1.605487 W	800-900		Ladder pattern and diagonal cross			Copper alloy		
1269	Snape	Strap End	54.25691 N	1.588189 W	800-900					Copper alloy		
1281	Spofforth	Pin	53.965377 N	1.446261 w	700-800	Polyhedral	Ring-and-dot			Copper alloy		
1282	Spofforth	Strap End	53.965559 N	1.442996 W	800-900	Thomas A1, Trewhiddle	Zoomorphic terminal, rounded eyes snub nose.			Copper alloy		
1296	Stapleton	Pin	53.663225 N	1.232697 W	700-800	Faceted	Ring-and-dot			Copper alloy		
1297	Stapleton	Pin	53.661437 N	1.234243 W	700-800	Polyhedral	Ring-and-dot			Copper alloy		
1311	Staxton	Brooch	54.198379 N	0.43489948 W		Annular				Copper alloy	Associated with burial.	
1312	Staxton	Brooch	54.198379 N	0.43489948 W		Annular				Copper alloy	Associated with burial.	
1313	Staxton	Brooch	54.198379 N	0.43489948 W		Annular				Copper alloy	Associated with burial.	

D2.37

Site	Artefact Type	Latitude	Longitude	Approximate Date	Class/Subclass	Decorative Motif	Inscription	Ascribed Culture	Material	Additional Notes	Parallels
1314	Staxton	Brooch	54.198379 N	0.43489948 W		Annular				Copper alloy	Associated with burial.	
1315	Staxton	Brooch	54.198379 N	0.43489948 W		Annular				Copper alloy	Associated with burial.	
1316	Staxton	Brooch	54.198379 N	0.43489948 W		Annular				Copper alloy	Associated with burial.	
1317	Staxton	Brooch	54.198379 N	0.43489948 W		Annular				Copper alloy	Associated with burial.	
1318	Staxton	Brooch	54.198379 N	0.43489948 W		Annular				Copper alloy	Associated with burial.	
1319	Staxton	Brooch	54.198379 N	0.43489948 W		Annular				Copper alloy	Associated with burial.	
1320	Staxton	Brooch	54.198379 N	0.43489948 W		Annular				Copper alloy	Associated with burial.	
1321	Staxton	Brooch	54.198379 N	0.43489948 W		Square-headed brooch				Copper alloy	Associated with female burial.	
1322	Staxton	Brooch	54.198379 N	0.43489948 W		Annular				Copper alloy	Associated with burial.	
1323	Staxton	Brooch	54.198379 N	0.43489948 W		Annular				Copper alloy	Associated with female burial.	
1324	Staxton	Brooch	54.198379 N	0.43489948 W		Penannular				Copper alloy	Associated with female burial.	
1325	Staxton	Brooch	54.198379 N	0.43489948 W		Annular				Copper alloy	Associated with female burial.	
1326	Staxton	Brooch	54.198379 N	0.43489948 W		Cruciform				Copper alloy	Associated with burial.	
1327	Staxton	Brooch	54.198379 N	0.43489948 W	500-700		Star			Copper alloy	Associated with female burial	
1328	Staxton	Brooch	54.198379 N	0.43489948 W		Penannular				Copper-alloy	Associated with female burial.	
1329	Staxton	Brooch	54.198379 N	0.43489948 W		Radiate				Copper alloy	Associated with burial.	
1330	Staxton	Brooch	54.198379 N	0.43489948 W		Square-headed				Copper alloy	Associated with female burial.	

D2.38

	Site	Artefact Type	Latitude	Longitude	Approximate Date	Class/Subclass	Decorative Motif	Inscription	Ascribed Culture	Material	Additional Notes	Parallels
1331	Staxton	Brooch	54.198379 N	0.43489948 W						Copper alloy	Associated with female burial	
1332	Staxton	Brooch	54.198379 N	0.43489948 W						Iron	Associated with burial.	
1333	Staxton	Brooch	54.198379 N	0.43489948 W		Annular	Star			Iron	Associated with female burial.	
1334	Staxton	Bucket	54.198379 N	0.43489948 W						Wood and copper	Associated with female burial.	
1335	Staxton	Buckle	54.198379 N	0.43489948 W						Copper alloy	Associated with burial.	
1336	Staxton	Buckle	54.198379 N	0.43489948 W						Copper alloy	Associated with female burial.	
1337	Staxton	Buckle	54.198379 N	0.43489948 W		Circular				Iron	Associated with female burial.	
1338	Staxton	Buckle	54.198379 N	0.43489948 W		Circular				Iron	Associated with female burial.	
1339	Staxton	Girdle-hangar	54.198379 N	0.43489948 W						Copper alloy	Associated with burial.	
1340	Staxton	Girdle-hangar	54.198379 N	0.43489948 W						Copper alloy	Associated with burial.	
1341	Staxton	Girdle-hangar	54.198379 N	0.43489948 W						Copper alloy	Associated with burial.	
1342	Staxton	Girdle-hangar	54.198379 N	0.43489948 W						Copper alloy	Associated with female burial.	
1343	Staxton	Girdle-hangar	54.198379 N	0.43489948 W						Copper alloy	Associated with female burial	
1344	Staxton	Girdle-hangar	54.198379 N	0.43489948 W						Copper alloy	Associated with female burial	
1345	Staxton	Girdle-hangar	54.198379 N	0.43489948 W						Copper-alloy	Associated with female burial.	
1346	Staxton	Girdle-hangar	54.198379 N	0.43489948 W						Copper-alloy	Associated with female burial.	
1347	Staxton	Key	54.198379 N	0.43489948 W						Iron	Associated with female burial.	
1348	Staxton	Key	54.198379 N	0.43489948 W						Iron	Associated with female burial.	
1349	Staxton	Knife	54.198379 N	0.43489948 W						Amber and blue g	Associated with burial.	
1350	Staxton	Knife	54.198379 N	0.43489948 W						Amber and blue g	Associated with female burial.	
1351	Staxton	Knife	54.198379 N	0.43489948 W						Iron	Associated with burial.	
1352	Staxton	Knife	54.198379 N	0.43489948 W						Iron	Associated with female burial.	
1353	Staxton	Knife	54.198379 N	0.43489948 W						Iron	Associated with burial.	
											Associated with female burial. Four of the blue glass beads are	
1354	Staxton	Necklace	54.198379 N	0.43489948 W		Bead				Amber (80), Blue	bugle-shaped	
1355	Staxton	Necklace	54.198379 N	0.43489948 W		Bead				Amber	Associated with female burial.	
1356	Staxton	Necklace	54.198379 N	0.43489948 W		Bead				Amber (83 beads)	Associated with female burial.	
1357	Staxton	Necklace	54.198379 N	0.43489948 W		Bead				Copper alloy	Associated with burial.	
1358	Staxton	Pin	54.198379 N	0.43489948 W						Copper alloy	Associated with female burial.	
1359	Staxton	Ring	54.198379 N	0.43489948 W						Ivory	Associated with female burial	

D2.39

	Site	Artefact Type	Latitude	Longitude	Approximate Date	Class/Subclass	Decorative Motif	Inscription	Ascribed Culture	Material	Additional Notes	Parallels
1360	Staxton	Spear	54.198379 N	0.43489948 W						Iron	Associated with burial.	
1361	Staxton	Spear	54.198379 N	0.43489948 W						Iron	Associated with burial.	
1362	Staxton	Spear	54.198379 N	0.43489948 W						Iron	Associated with burial.	
1364	Staxton	Stap-end	54.198379 N	0.43489948 W						Copper alloy	Associated with female burial.	
1366	Staxton	Wrist-clasps	54.198379 N	0.43489948 W						Copper alloy	Associated with female burial.	
1367	Staxton	Wrist-clasps	54.198379 N	0.43489948 W						Copper alloy	Associated with female burial.	
1368	Staxton	Wrist-clasps	54.198379 N	0.43489948 W						Copper-alloy	Associated with female burial.	
1369	Staxton	Wrist-clasps	54.198379 N	0.43489948 W						Copper alloy	Associated with female burial.	
1370	Staxton	Wrist-clasps	54.198379 N	0.43489948 W						Copper alloy	Associated with female burial.	
1371	Stillington	Strap End	54.103442 N	1.114648 W	800-900	Thomas A1	Zoomorphic terminal. Strap-work animal interlace			Copper alloy		
1372	Stockton-on-the-Forest	Strap End	53.9921586 N	0.98566866 W	700-900	Thomas A	Zoomorphic terminal			Copper alloy		
1374	Stonegrave	Pin	54.191628 W	0.975014 W	700-900	Faceted	Ring-and-dot			Copper alloy		
1375	Stonegrave	Scabbard	54.191628 N	0.975014 W	600-650	Pyramid				Copper alloy		
1376	Stonegrave	Strap End	54.191804 N	0.99918 W	800-900	Trewhiddle	Zoomorphic terminal			Copper alloy		
1377	Strensall with T	Vessel	54.04125659 N	1.05472033 V	700-900				Anglo-Saxon	Ceramic		
1380	Sutton Bank	Pin	54.235631 N	1.212915 W	600-800	Globular				Copper alloy		
1383	Thirsk	Brooch	54.235412 N	1.3434649 W	600-800	Cruciform				Copper alloy		
1384	Thirsk	Pin	54.23370768 W	1.34182158 V	700-900	Polyhedral	Ring-and-dot			Copper alloy		
1386	Thormanby	Hanging Bowl	54.15948 N	1.251115 W	700-800	Mount	Human face mask, champleve panel		Irish	Copper alloy		Arnside, Cumbria
1388	Thorton le Dale	Pin	54.247053 N	0.701458 W	700-800	Biconical, banded				Copper alloy		
1389	Thorton-le-Stre	Bracelet	54.268895 N	1.367364 W	600-900					Copper alloy		
1390	Thorton-le-Stre	Pin	54.264431 W	1.360938 W	700-900	Polyhedral				Copper alloy		
1391	Thwing	Brooch	54.115365 N	0.41049 W	700-850	Ansate	Symmetrical with trevoil terminals			Copper alloy		
1397	Thwing	Hair Pin	54.114957 N	0.379907 W	700-920	Lozenge-shaped	Each side decorated with ring and dot			Copper alloy		
1398	Thwing	Pin	54.115162 N	0.395198 W	700-900	Globular	Circles			Copper alloy		

D2.40

1	Site	Artefact Type	Latitude	Longitude	Approximate Date	Class/Subclass	Decorative Motif	Inscription	Ascribed Culture	Material	Additional Notes	Parallels
1399	Thwing	Strap End	54.115162 N	0.395198 W	800-900	Thomas A	Zoomorphic terminal, circular eyes, narrow snout			Copper alloy		
1400	Thwing	Strap End	54.116067 N	0.395623 W	800-900	Thomas B1	Banded, incised decoration with zoomorphic tip			Copper alloy		
1402	Tockwith	Strap End	53.956911 N	1.346187 W	800-900	Thomas A1, Trewhiddle	Zoomorphic terminal, arched ears. Palmette			Copper alloy		
1403	Tockwith	Strap End	53.956911 N	1.346187 W	800-900	Thomas A	Zoomorphic terminal			Copper alloy		
1404	Tollerton	Strap End	54.07661831 N	1.22352161 W	800-900	Thomas A1, Trewhiddle	Zoomorphic terminal			Copper alloy		
1405	Towthorpe	Vessel	54.04572574 N	1.05156442 W	700-900	Coarse-ware				Ceramic	Local quartz	Fishergate
1406	Towton	Pin	53.835456 W	1.278787 W	700-800	Polyhedral	Ring-and-dot			Copper alloy		
1407	Towton	Strap Fitting	53.84052 N	1.268974 W	800-900		Zoomorphic, two animal heads with comma-shaped ears facing each other, zoomorphic terminal			Copper alloy		
1408	Uncleby	Brooch	54.024152 N	0.7469094 W	600-700	Annular	Transverse lines			Copper alloy	Associated with barrow burial	
1409	Uncleby	Brooch	54.024152 N	0.7469094 W	600-700	Annular	Transverse lines			Copper alloy	Associated with barrow burial	
1410	Uncleby	Brooch	54.024152 N	0.7469094 W	600-700	Annular	Transverse lines			Copper alloy	Associated with barrow burial	
1411	Uncleby	Brooch	54.024152 N	0.7469094 W	600-700	Annular	Transverse lines			Copper alloy	Associated with barrow burial	
1412	Uncleby	Brooch	54.024152 N	0.7469094 W	600-700	Annular				Copper alloy	Associated with barrow burial	
1413	Uncleby	Brooch	54.024152 N	0.7469094 W	600-700	Annular				Copper alloy	Associated with barrow burial	
1414	Uncleby	Brooch	54.024152 N	0.7469094 W	600-700	Annular	Confronted zoomorphic terminals			Silver and garnet	Associated with barrow burial	

D2.41

	Site	Artefact Type	Latitude	Longitude	Approximate Date	Class/Subclass	Decorative Motif	Inscription	Ascribed Culture	Material	Additional Notes	Parallels
1415	Uncleby	Brooch	54.024152 N	0.74690994 W	600-700	Annular				Copper alloy	Associated with barrow burial	
1416	Uncleby	Brooch	54.024152 N	0.74690994 W	600-700	Annular				Copper alloy	Associated with barrow burial	
1417	Uncleby	Brooch	54.024152 N	0.74690994 W	600-700	Annular	Confronted zoomorphic terminals			Copper alloy	Associated with barrow burial	
1418	Uncleby	Brooch	54.024152 N	0.74690994 W	600-700	Annular	Confronted zoomorphic terminals			Copper alloy	Associated with barrow burial	
1419	Uncleby	Brooch	54.024152 N	0.74690994 W	600-700	Annular	Confronted zoomorphic terminals			Copper alloy	Associated with barrow burial	
1420	Uncleby	Brooch	54.024152 N	0.74690994 W	600-700	Safety pin	Rings			Copper alloy	Associated with barrow burial	
1421	Uncleby	Buckle	54.024152 N	0.74690994 V	600-700		Transverse lines			Copper alloy	Associated with barrow burial	
1422	Uncleby	Buckle	54.024152 N	0.74690994 V	600-700		Interlace			Copper alloy	Associated with barrow burial	
1425	Uncleby	Ear-ring	54.024152 N	0.74690994 V	600-700					Silver	Associated with barrow burial	
1426	Uncleby	Ear-ring	54.024152 N	0.74690994 V	600-700					Silver	Associated with barrow burial	
1427	Uncleby	Girdle-hangar	54.024152 N	0.74690994 V	600-700					Iron	Associated with barrow burial	
1428	Uncleby	Girdle-hangar	54.024152 N	0.74690994 V	600-700					Silver	Associated with barrow burial	
1429	Uncleby	Knife	54.024152 N	0.74690994 V	600-700					Iron	Associated with barrow burial	
1430	Uncleby	Knife	54.024152 N	0.74690994 V	600-700					Iron	Associated with barrow burial	
1431	Uncleby	Knife	54.024152 N	0.74690994 V	600-700					Iron	Associated with barrow burial	
1432	Uncleby	Knife	54.024152 N	0.74690994 V	600-700					Iron	Associated with barrow burial	
1433	Uncleby	Knife	54.024152 N	0.74690994 V	600-700					Iron	Associated with barrow burial	
1434	Uncleby	Knife	54.024152 N	0.74690994 V	600-700					Iron	Associated with barrow burial	
1435	Uncleby	Knife	54.024152 N	0.74690994 V	600-700					Iron	Associated with barrow burial	
1436	Uncleby	Knife	54.024152 N	0.74690994 V	600-700					Iron	Associated with barrow burial	
1437	Uncleby	Knife	54.024152 N	0.74690994 V	600-700					Iron	Associated with barrow burial	
1438	Uncleby	Necklace	54.024152 N	0.74690994 V	600-700	Bead				glass and paste	Associated with barrow burial	
1439	Uncleby	Necklace	54.024152 N	0.74690994 V	600-700	Bead				Glass	Associated with barrow burial	
1440	Uncleby	Necklace	54.024152 N	0.74690994 V	600-700	Bead				Glass	Associated with barrow burial	
1441	Uncleby	Pendant	54.024152 N	0.74690994 V	600-700					Silver	Associated with barrow burial	
1442	Uncleby	Pendant	54.024152 N	0.74690994 V	600-700		Filigree scrollwork			Gold	Associated with barrow burial	
1443	Uncleby	Pin	54.024152 N	0.74690994 V	600-700					Silver	Associated with barrow burial	
1444	Uncleby	Ring bowl	54.024152 N	0.74690994 V	600-700		Interlace			Copper alloy	Associated with barrow burial	

D2.42

	Site	Artefact Type	Latitude	Longitude	Approximate Date	Class/Subclass	Decorative Motif	Inscription	Ascribed Culture	Material	Additional Notes	Parallels
1445	Uncleby	Scramaseax	54.024152 N	0.74690994 W	600-700					Iron	Associated with barrow burial	
1446	Uncleby	Scramaseax	54.024152 N	0.74690994 W	600-700					Iron	Associated with barrow burial	
1447	Uncleby	Scramaseax	54.024152 N	0.74690994 W	600-700					Iron	Associated with barrow burial	
1448	Uncleby	Scramaseax	54.024152 N	0.74690994 W	600-700					Iron	Associated with barrow burial	
1449	Uncleby	Sharpener	54.024152 N	0.74690994 W	600-700					Steel	Associated with barrow burial	
1450	Uncleby	Sharpener	54.024152 N	0.74690994 W	600-700					Steel	Associated with barrow burial	
1451	Uncleby	Sharpener	54.024152 N	0.74690994 W	600-700					Steel	Associated with barrow burial	
1452	Uncleby	Sharpener	54.024152 N	0.74690994 W	600-700					Steel	Associated with barrow burial	
1453	Uncleby	Sharpener	54.024152 N	0.74690994 W	600-700					Steel	Associated with barrow burial	
1454	Uncleby	Sharpener	54.024152 N	0.74690994 W	600-700					Steel	Associated with barrow burial	
1455	Uncleby	Sharpener	54.024152 N	0.74690994 W	600-700					Steel	Associated with barrow burial	
1456	Uncleby	Sharpener	54.024152 N	0.74690994 W	600-700					Steel	Associated with barrow burial	
1457	Uncleby	Sharpener	54.024152 N	0.74690994 W	600-700					Steel	Associated with barrow burial	
1458	Uncleby	Sharpener	54.024152 N	0.74690994 W	600-700					Steel	Associated with barrow burial	
1459	Uncleby	Sharpener	54.024152 N	0.74690994 W	600-700					Steel	Associated with barrow burial	
1460	Uncleby	Sharpener	54.024152 N	0.74690994 W	600-700					Steel	Associated with barrow burial	
1461	Uncleby	Sharpener	54.024152 N	0.74690994 W	600-700					Steel	Associated with barrow burial	
1462	Uncleby	Sheath	54.024152 N	0.74690994 W	600-700					Wood	Associated with barrow burial	
1469	Uncleby	Workbox	54.024152 N	0.74690994 W	600-700					Copper alloy	Associated with barrow burial	
1470	Uncleby	Workbox	54.024152 N	0.74690994 W	600-700					Copper alloy	Associated with barrow burial	
1471	Uncleby	Workbox	54.024152 N	0.74690994 W	600-700					Copper alloy	Associated with barrow burial	
1472	Uncleby	Workbox	54.024152 N	0.74690994 W	600-700					Copper alloy	Associated with barrow burial	
1473	Uncleby	Workbox	54.024152 N	0.74690994 W	600-700					Copper alloy	Associated with barrow burial	
1474	Upper Poppleton	Brooch	53.97004845 N	1.14780113 W	700-900	Ansate	Five crosses			Copper alloy		
1476	Walkington	Brooch	53.820636 N	0.487977 W	867-950	Quadrangular	Central cross, terminating in Borre-style animal heads		Viking	Copper alloy		
1477	Walkington Hill	Pin	54.04887197 N	1.47823379 W	700-800	Disc	Incised cross saltire			Copper alloy		
1479	Weaverthorpe	Strap End	54.097731 N	0.507508 W	800-900	Thomas B5	Zoomorphic terminal, four-strand interlace			Copper alloy		
1480	Well	Strap End	54.225892 N	1.611904 W	800-900	Thomas A1, Trewhiddle	Zoomorphic terminal			Copper alloy		
1481	West Tanfield	Brooch	54.20982754 N	1.59166259 W	700-900	Ansate	Moulded rings			Copper alloy		

D2.43

Site	Artefact Type	Latitude	Longitude	Approximate Date	Class/Subclass	Decorative Motif	Inscription	Ascribed Culture	Material	Additional Notes	Parallels
1484 Wharram	Finger Ring	54.049808 N	0.666175 W	700-800		Scroll- and knot-work			Silver	Treasure case: 2007T376	River Witham pins and Suffolk
1485 Wheldrake	Strap End	53.88786568 N	0.98210886 W	750-950	Thomas A1, Trewhiddle	Forward facing animal on terminal. Central panel bears indistinct interlace beast. Area between rivet holes has trilobite design		Anglo-Saxon	Copper alloy		
1487 Wighill	Strap End	53.90921454 N	1.2836523 9 W	800-900	Thomas A1, Trewhiddle	Zoomorphical terminal, palmette			Copper alloy		
1488 Wilberfoss	Brooch	53.948917 N	0.888209 W	700-800	Ansate			Carolingian	Copper alloy		
1491 Wilberfoss	Sword	53.948917 N	0.888209 W	600-700	Ovoid	Three grooves			Copper alloy		
1494 Willerby	Pin	54.195549 N	0.45173 W	700-800	Faceted	Ring-and-dot			Copper alloy		
1495 Womersley	Pendant	53.664805 N	1.1993729 W	600-700		Filligree			Gold and garnet	Associated with burial	
1496 Wrelton	Pin	54.26393686 N	0.82547613 W	700-800	Faceted	Ring-and-dot			Copper alloy		
1518 Yapham	Pin	53.9403952 N	0.82848798 W	700-900	Biconical	Ring-and-dot			Copper alloy		
1519 Yapham	Pin	53.94938106 N	0.82823619 W	700-900	Biconical				Copper alloy		
1520 Yapham	Pin	53.9403952 N	0.82848798 W	700-900	Polyhedral	Ring-and-dot			Copper alloy		
1521 Yapham	Pin	53.94938106 N	0.82823619 W	800-900	Polyhedral	Ring-and-dot			Copper alloy	Flat-topped	
1522 Yapham	Pin	53.94938106 N	0.82823619 W	800-900	Polyhedral	Ring-and-dot			Copper alloy	Flat-topped	
1523 Yapham	Strap End	53.9403952 N	0.82848798 W	800-900	Thomas D Class	Incised inverted fan shaped decoration above a panel of interlaced, stylised beasts or birds.			Copper alloy		
1524 Yapham	Strap End	53.9403952 N	0.82848798 W	800-900	Thomas A1, Trewhiddle style	Zoomorphic terminal with incised chevrons along brow. Interlace on the central panel			Copper alloy		
1525 Yapham	Strap End	53.9403952 N	0.82848798 W	800-900	Thomas A	Zoomorphic terminal			Copper alloy		
1526 Yapham	Strap Fitting	53.958766 N	0.800158 W	800-900	Elongated lozenge-shape with well-rounded edges	Ring-and-dot			Copper alloy		

D2.44

1	Site	Artefact Type	Latitude	Longitude	Approximate Date	Class/Subclass	Decorative Motif	Inscription	Ascribed Culture	Material	Additional Notes	Parallels
1529	Yeddingham	Pin	54.20508814 N	0.62689669 V	700-800	Globular	Twisted and grooved designs			Copper alloy	Flat-topped	
1530	York	Brooch	53.926611 N	1.071627 W	700-900	Penannular	Two Insular creatures in psuedo filigree, forming a simple knot		Insular	Copper alloy	Kevin Leahy: 'The depiction of animals' heads viewed from above is not common, there is something similar on Clunie Castle but it is much simplified. The motive is best paralleled on the brooch from Bettystown Co. Meath (the Tara brooch' where the same animals appear on the blanking plate of a psuedo penannular brooch.'	
1533	York	Pin	53.962029 N	1.0883600 W								
1534	York	Strap End	53.965784 N	1.070788 W	800-900	Thomas A1, Trewhiddle	Zoomorphic terminal			Copper alloy		
1535	York	Strap End	53.956178 N	1.094745 W	800-900	Thomas A1, Trewhiddle	Zoomorphic terminal, comma-shaped ears. Floral motif			Silver	Part of dispersed hoard	
1536	York	Strap End	53.956178 N	1.094745 W	800-900	Thomas A1, Trewhiddle	Zoomorphic terminal, comma-shaped ears. Floral motif			Silver	Part of dispersed hoard	
1537	York	Strap-End	53.962029 N	1.0883600 W								
1547	York [Barbican Baths]	Brooch	53.953359 N	1.0742551 W	700-800		Cruciform			copper alloy		
1550	York [Barbican Baths]	Pin	53.953359 N	1.0742551 W	700-800							
1551	York [Barbican Baths]	Pin	53.953359 N	1.0742551 W	700-800							

D2.45

	Site	Artefact Type	Latitude	Longitude	Approximate Date	Class/Subclass	Decorative Motif	Inscription	Ascribed Culture	Material	Additional Notes	Parallels
1552	York [Barbican Baths]	Pin	53.953359 N	1.0742551 W	700-800							
1553	York [Barbican Baths]	Pin	53.953359 N	1.0742551 W	700-800							
1554	York [Barbican Baths]	Pin	53.953359 N	1.0742551 W	700-800							
1555	York [Barbican Baths]	Pin	53.953359 N	1.0742551 W	700-800							
1556	York [Barbican Baths]	Pin	53.953359 N	1.0742551 W	700-800							
1557	York [Barbican Baths]	Pin	53.953359 N	1.0742551 W	700-800							
1558	York [Barbican Baths]	Pin	53.953359 N	1.0742551 W	700-800							
1559	York [Barbican Baths]	Pin	53.953359 N	1.0742551 W	700-800							
1560	York [Barbican Baths]	Pin	53.953359 N	1.0742551 W	700-800							
1561	York [Barbican Baths]	Pin	53.953359 N	1.0742551 W	700-800							
1564	York [Blake Stree]	Metalwork	53.960863 N	1.08446624 W	700-800					Copper alloy		
1567	York [Castle Yar]	Hanging-bow	53.955176 N	1.0810511 W	600-800		Interlace			Copper alloy	Associated with burial	

D2.46

Site	Artefact Type	Latitude	Longitude	Approximate Date	Class/Subclass	Decorative Motif	Inscription	Ascribed Culture	Material	Additional Notes	Parallels
1579	York [Coppergate]	finger ring	53.957902 N	1.0804005 W	700-900							
1583	York [Coppergate]	Sword pommel	53.957902 N	1.0804005 W	700-900							
1588	York [Coppergate]	Helmet (1)	53.957908 N	1.0806760 W	750-800	Crested	Decorative eyebrows ending in zoomorphic head. Edge binding ending in zoomorphic head. Crest has an animal-head terminal.	Inside frame: IN NOMINE : DNI : NOSTRI : IHV : SCS : SPS : DI : ET : OMNIBVS : DECEMVS : AMEN : OSHERE : XPI; Subsidiary: IN NOMINE : DNI : NOSTRI : IHV : SCS : SPS : OMNIBVS : DECEMVS : AMEN : OSHERE	Hiberno-Saxon	Iron with copper alloy decorative pieces		Animal heads similar to ones found in Dundreddan, Dumfries; St. Ninian's Isl hoard; Hunterstone, West Kilbride; Ca
1589	York [Coppergate]	Helmet Cheek	53.957908 N	1.0806760 W	750-800					Iron	Deposited in the Coppergate pit when nearly a century after its construction	
1590	York [Coppergate]	Helmet Mail (	53.957908 N	1.0806760 W	750-800					Iron	Deposited in the Coppergate pit when nearly a century after its construction	
1591	York [Coppergate]	Helmet nasal	53.957908 N	1.0806760 W	750-800		Confronted, interlocking bipeds. Hindquarters form pattern A interlace. Triquetras above each head			Copper alloy		
1599	York [Fishergate]	Auger	53.953517 N	1.0769121 W	700-900	Spoon				Iron		
1600	York [Fishergate]	Auger	53.953517 N	1.0769121 W	750-800	Spoon				Iron		
1601	York [Fishergate]	Auger	53.953517 N	1.0769121 W	700-750	Spoon				Iron		
1637	York [Fishergate]	Belt fitting	53.953517 N	1.0769121 W	700-900	Loop				Iron		
1638	York [Fishergate]	Belt fitting	53.953517 N	1.0769121 W	750-800					Iron		
1639	York [Fishergate]	Belt fitting	53.953517 N	1.0769121 W	750-800					Iron		
1640	York [Fishergate]	Binding strip	53.953517 N	1.0769121 W	700-900					Iron		
1641	York [Fishergate]	Binding strip	53.953517 N	1.0769121 W	700-900					Iron		
1642	York [Fishergate]	Binding strip	53.953517 N	1.0769121 W	700-900					Iron		
1643	York [Fishergate]	Binding strip	53.953517 N	1.0769121 W	800-850					Copper alloy		
1645	York [Fishergate]	Bracelet	53.953517 N	1.0769121 W	700-900					Iron		

D2.47

	Site	Artefact Type	Latitude	Longitude	Approximate Date	Class/Subclass	Decorative Motif	Inscription	Ascribed Culture	Material	Additional Notes	Parallels
1579	York [Copper gate]	finger ring	53.957902 N	1.0804005 W	700-900							
1583	York [Copper gate]	Sword pommel	53.957902 N	1.0804005 W	700-900							
1588	York [Coppergate]	Helmet (1)	53.957908 N	1.0806760 W	750-800	Crested	Decorative eyebrows ending in zoomorphic head. Edge binding ending in zoomorphic head. Crest has an animal-head terminal.	Inside frame: IN NOMINE : DNI : NOSSTRI : IHV : SCS : SPS : DI : ET : OMNIBVS : DECEMVS : AMEN : OSHERE : XPI; Subsidiary: IN NOMINE: DNI : NOSTRI : IHV : SCS : SPS : OMNIBVS : DECEMVS : AMEN : OSHERE	Hiberno-Saxon	Iron with copper alloy decorative pieces		Animal heads similar to ones found in Dundreddan, Dumfries; St. Ninian's Island hoard; Hunterstone, West Kilbride; Caithness
1589	York [Copperga	Helmet Cheek	53.957908 N	1.0806760 W	750-800					Iron	Deposited in the Coppergate pit when nearly a century after its construction	
1590	York [Copperga	Helmet Mail (	53.957908 N	1.0806760 W	750-800					Iron	Deposited in the Coppergate pit when nearly a century after its construction	
1591	York [Copperga	Helmet nasal	53.957908 N	1.0806760 W	750-800		Confronted, interlocking bipeds. Hindquarters form pattern A interlace. Triquetras above each head			Copper alloy		
1599	York [Fishergate	Auger	53.953517 N	1.0769121 W	700-900	Spoon				Iron		
1600	York [Fishergate	Auger	53.953517 N	1.0769121 W	750-800	Spoon				Iron		
1601	York [Fishergate	Auger	53.953517 N	1.0769121 W	700-750	Spoon				Iron		
1637	York [Fishergate	Belt fitting	53.953517 N	1.0769121 W	700-900	Loop				Iron		
1638	York [Fishergate	Belt fitting	53.953517 N	1.0769121 W	750-800					Iron		
1639	York [Fishergate	Belt fitting	53.953517 N	1.0769121 W	750-800					Iron		
1640	York [Fishergate	Binding strip	53.953517 N	1.0769121 W	700-900					Iron		
1641	York [Fishergate	Binding strip	53.953517 N	1.0769121 W	700-900					Iron		
1642	York [Fishergate	Binding strip	53.953517 N	1.0769121 W	700-900					Iron		
1643	York [Fishergate	Binding strip	53.953517 N	1.0769121 W	800-850					Copper alloy		
1645	York [Fishergate	Bracelet	53.953517 N	1.0769121 W	700-900					Iron		

519

D2.48

	Site	Artefact Type	Latitude	Longitude	Approximate Date	Class/Subclass Decorative Motif	Inscription	Ascribed Culture	Material	Additional Notes	Parallels
1646	York [Fishergate]	Brooch			700-750	Colchester			Copper alloy		
1647	York [Fishergate]	Brooch	53.953517 N	1.0769121 W	700-750	T-shaped			Copper alloy		
1648	York [Fishergate]	Brooch	53.953517 N	1.0769121 W	700-900	Penannular			Copper alloy		
1649	York [Fishergate]	Buckle	53.953517 N	1.0769121 W	750-800	Oval-shaped			Iron		
1650	York [Fishergate]	Buckle	53.953517 N	1.0769121 W	750-800	D-shaped			Iron		
1744	York [Fishergate]	Crucible	53.953517 N	1.0769121 W	700-900	Rim and Body fragments			Fired Clay		
1745	York [Fishergate]	Crucible	53.953517 N	1.0769121 W	700-900	Base fragment			Fired Clay		
1746	York [Fishergate]	Crucible	53.953517 N	1.0769121 W	800-850	Body and Base fragments			Fired Clay		
1747	York [Fishergate]	Crucible	53.953517 N	1.0769121 W	750-800	Base fragment			Fired Clay		
1748	York [Fishergate]	Crucible	53.953517 N	1.0769121 W	750-800	Body fragment			Fired Clay		
1749	York [Fishergate]	Crucible	53.953517 N	1.0769121 W	800-850	Body fragment			Fired Clay		
1750	York [Fishergate]	Crucible	53.953517 N	1.0769121 W	700-900	Body fragment			Fired Clay		
1751	York [Fishergate]	Crucible	53.953517 N	1.0769121 W	700-900	Body fragment			Fired Clay		
1752	York [Fishergate]	Crucible	53.953517 N	1.0769121 W	700-900	Body fragment			Fired Clay		
1753	York [Fishergate]	Crucible	53.953517 N	1.0769121 W	750-800	Base fragment			Fired Clay		
1754	York [Fishergate]	Crucible	53.953517 N	1.0769121 W	800-850	Body fragment			Fired Clay		
1755	York [Fishergate]	Crucible	53.953517 N	1.0769121 W	750-800	Body fragment			Fired Clay		
1756	York [Fishergate]	Crucible	53.953517 N	1.0769121 W	750-800	Body fragment			Fired Clay		
1757	York [Fishergate]	Crucible	53.953517 N	1.0769121 W	750-800	Body fragment			Fired Clay		
1758	York [Fishergate]	Crucible	53.953517 N	1.0769121 W	700-750	Rim fragment			Fired Clay		
1759	York [Fishergate]	Dress Pin	53.953517 N	1.0769121 W	700-900				Copper alloy		
1760	York [Fishergate]	Dress Pin	53.953517 N	1.0769121 W	700-900	Subglobular			Copper alloy		
1761	York [Fishergate]	Dress Pin	53.953517 N	1.0769121 W	750-800				Copper alloy		
1762	York [Fishergate]	Dress Pin	53.953517 N	1.0769121 W	700-750				Copper alloy		
1763	York [Fishergate]	Dress Pin	53.953517 N	1.0769121 W	700-750				Copper alloy		
1764	York [Fishergate]	Dress Pin	53.953517 N	1.0769121 W	800-850	Conical			Copper alloy		
1765	York [Fishergate]	Dress Pin	53.953517 N	1.0769121 W	750-800	Pentagonal			Copper alloy		
1766	York [Fishergate]	Dress Pin	53.953517 N	1.0769121 W	750-800	Pentagonal			Copper alloy		
1767	York [Fishergate]	Dress Pin	53.953517 N	1.0769121 W	750-800	Biconical			Copper alloy		
1768	York [Fishergate]	Dress Pin	53.953517 N	1.0769121 W	800-850	Globular			Copper alloy		
1769	York [Fishergate]	Dress Pin	53.953517 N	1.0769121 W	800-850	Subrectangular			Copper alloy		
1770	York [Fishergate]	Dress Pin	53.953517 N	1.0769121 W	800-850				Copper alloy		
1771	York [Fishergate]	Dress Pin	53.953517 N	1.0769121 W	800-850				Copper alloy		

D2.49

	Site	Artefact Type	Latitude	Longitude	Approximate Date	Class/S (subcl)	Decorative Motif	Inscription	Ascribed Culture	Material	Additional Notes	Parallels
1772	York (Fishergate	Dress Pin	53.953517 N	1.0769121 W	700-900	Conical				Copper alloy		
1773	York (Fishergate	Dress Pin	53.953517 N	1.0769121 W	700-900	Spiral				Copper allow		
1774	York (Fishergate	Ear-ring	53.953517 N	1.0769121 W	700-900					Copper alloy		
1775	York (Fishergate	Ferrule	53.953517 N	1.0769121 W	750-800					Iron		
1776	York (Fishergate	Finger-ring	53.953517 N	1.0769121 W	750-800	Subcircu	Twisted to form coils			Copper alloy		
1781	York (Fishergate	girdle hanger	53.953517 N	1.0769121 W	750-800					Iron	Two keys and corroded object attached to figure-eight chain links	
1841	York (Fishergate	Hair Pin	53.953517 N	1.0769121 W	700-750		Hand holding small ovoid. Diagonal groove across back of hand			Copper alloy		
1865	York (Fishergate	Key	53.953517 N	1.0769121 W	800-850	Slide key				Iron		
1866	York (Fishergate	Key	53.953517 N	1.0769121 W	750-800	Slide key				Iron		
1867	York (Fishergate	Key	53.953517 N	1.0769121 W	700-900					Copper alloy		
1868	York (Fishergate	Knife	53.953517 N	1.0769121 W	750-800					Iron		
1869	York (Fishergate	Knife	53.953517 N	1.0769121 W	750-800					Iron		
1870	York (Fishergate	Knife	53.953517 N	1.0769121 W	750-800					Iron		
1871	York (Fishergate	Knife	53.953517 N	1.0769121 W	750-800					Iron		
1872	York (Fishergate	Knife	53.953517 N	1.0769121 W	700-900	C1				Iron		
1873	York (Fishergate	Knife	53.953517 N	1.0769121 W	750-800					Iron		
1874	York (Fishergate	Knife	53.953517 N	1.0769121 W	700-900	C1				Iron		
1875	York (Fishergate	Knife	53.953517 N	1.0769121 W	750-800	C1				Iron		
1876	York (Fishergate	Knife	53.953517 N	1.0769121 W	700-900	C2				Iron		
1877	York (Fishergate	Knife	53.953517 N	1.0769121 W	800-850	C1				Iron		
1878	York (Fishergate	Knife	53.953517 N	1.0769121 W	700-900					Iron		
1879	York (Fishergate	Knife	53.953517 N	1.0769121 W	700-750	C1				Iron		
1880	York (Fishergate	Knife	53.953517 N	1.0769121 W	750-800	C1				Iron		
1881	York (Fishergate	Knife	53.953517 N	1.0769121 W	750-800	C1				Iron		
1882	York (Fishergate	Knife	53.953517 N	1.0769121 W	750-800	A2				Iron		
1883	York (Fishergate	Knife	53.953517 N	1.0769121 W	800-850	C2				Iron		
1884	York (Fishergate	Knife	53.953517 N	1.0769121 W	700-900					Iron		
1885	York (Fishergate	Knife	53.953517 N	1.0769121 W	800-850	C2				Iron		
1886	York (Fishergate	Knife	53.953517 N	1.0769121 W	700-900	D				Iron		
1887	York (Fishergate	Knife	53.953517 N	1.0769121 W	800-850					Iron		
1888	York (Fishergate	Knife	53.953517 N	1.0769121 W	800-850					Iron		
1889	York (Fishergate	Knife	53.953517 N	1.0769121 W	800-850					Iron		

D2.50

	Site	Artefact Type	Latitude	Longitude	Approximate Date	Class/S ubclis	Decorative Motif	Inscription	Ascribed Culture	Material	Additional Notes	Parallels
1890	York (Fishergate)	Knife	53.953517 N	1.0769121 W	800-850					Iron		
1891	York (Fishergate)	Knife	53.953517 N	1.0769121 W	800-850					Iron		
1892	York (Fishergate)	Knife	53.953517 N	1.0769121 W	800-850	C1				Iron		
1893	York (Fishergate)	Knife	53.953517 N	1.0769121 W	700-900	D				Iron		
1894	York (Fishergate)	Knife	53.953517 N	1.0769121 W	700-900	D				Iron		
1895	York (Fishergate)	Knife	53.953517 N	1.0769121 W	750-800	D				Iron		
1896	York (Fishergate)	Knife	53.953517 N	1.0769121 W	750-800					Iron		
1907	York (Fishergate)	Mould	53.953517 N	1.0769121 W	700-900					Sandstone		
1908	York (Fishergate)	Mould	53.953517 N	1.0769121 W	700-900					Fired Clay	Bears textile impression	
1909	York (Fishergate)	Mould	53.953517 N	1.0769121 W	800-850					Fired Clay		
1910	York (Fishergate)	Mould	53.953517 N	1.0769121 W	700-900					Fired Clay		
1930	York (Fishergate)	Pendant	53.953517 N	1.0769121 W	700-900	Subcircular				Copper alloy		
1935	York (Fishergate)	Pin	53.953517 N	1.0769121 W	800-850	Subrectangular				Bone	Cattle long bone shaft	
1936	York (Fishergate)	Pin	53.953517 N	1.0769121 W	800-850					Iron		
1937	York (Fishergate)	Pin	53.953517 N	1.0769121 W	800-850					Iron		
1938	York (Fishergate)	Pin	53.953517 N	1.0769121 W	700-900	Subglobular				Lead		
1939	York (Fishergate)	Pin	53.953517 N	1.0769121 W	700-900					Bone	Pig's fibula	
1940	York (Fishergate)	Pin	53.953517 N	1.0769121 W	700-900					Bone		
1941	York (Fishergate)	Pin	53.953517 N	1.0769121 W	700-900					Bone		
1942	York (Fishergate)	Pin	53.953517 N	1.0769121 W	700-900					Bone		
1943	York (Fishergate)	Pin	53.953517 N	1.0769121 W	700-900					Bone		
1944	York (Fishergate)	Pin	53.953517 N	1.0769121 W	750-800					Bone	Pig's fibula	
1945	York (Fishergate)	Pin	53.953517 N	1.0769121 W	750-800					Bone	Pig's fibula	
1946	York (Fishergate)	Pin	53.953517 N	1.0769121 W	750-800					Bone		
1947	York (Fishergate)	Pin	53.953517 N	1.0769121 W	750-800					Bone		
1948	York (Fishergate)	Pin	53.953517 N	1.0769121 W	750-800					Bone		
1949	York (Fishergate)	Pin	53.953517 N	1.0769121 W	750-800					Bone		
1950	York (Fishergate)	Pin	53.953517 N	1.0769121 W	750-800					Bone		
1951	York (Fishergate)	Pin	53.953517 N	1.0769121 W	750-800					Bone		
1952	York (Fishergate)	Pin	53.953517 N	1.0769121 W	700-900					Iron		
1953	York (Fishergate)	Pin	53.953517 N	1.0769121 W	700-900					Iron		
1954	York (Fishergate)	Pin	53.953517 N	1.0769121 W	700-900					Iron		
1955	York (Fishergate)	Pin	53.953517 N	1.0769121 W	700-900					Iron		
1956	York (Fishergate)	Pin	53.953517 N	1.0769121 W	750-800					Iron		
1957	York (Fishergate)	Pin	53.953517 N	1.0769121 W	700-750	Subrectangular				Bone	Pig's fibula	
1958	York (Fishergate)	Pin	53.953517 N	1.0769121 W	750-800					Iron		

D2.51

	Site	Artefact Type	Latitude	Longitude	Approximate Date	Class/S ubcl	Decorative Motif	Inscription	Ascribed Culture	Material	Additional Notes	Parallels
1959	York [Fishergate]	Pin	53.953517 N	1.0769121 W	750-800					Iron		
1960	York [Fishergate]	Pin	53.953517 N	1.0769121 W	700-750					Iron		
1961	York [Fishergate]	Pin	53.953517 N	1.0769121 W	700-750					Iron		
1962	York [Fishergate]	Pin	53.953517 N	1.0769121 W	700-750					Iron		
1963	York [Fishergate]	Pin	53.953517 N	1.0769121 W	700-900	Faceted				Iron		
1964	York [Fishergate]	Pin	53.953517 N	1.0769121 W	800-850					Bone	Pig's fibula	
1965	York [Fishergate]	Pin	53.953517 N	1.0769121 W	700-900	Globular				Lead		
1966	York [Fishergate]	Pin	53.953517 N	1.0769121 W	750-800	Chamfered				Bone	Cattle long bone shaft	
1967	York [Fishergate]	Pin	53.953517 N	1.0769121 W	800-850					Bone		
1982	York [Fishergate]	Ring	53.953517 N	1.0769121 W	700-900					Copper alloy		
1983	York [Fishergate]	Ring	53.953517 N	1.0769121 W	800-850	Annular				Iron		
1984	York [Fishergate]	Ring	53.953517 N	1.0769121 W	700-900	Annular				Iron		
1985	York [Fishergate]	Ring	53.953517 N	1.0769121 W	700-900	Subcircular				Iron		
2037	York [Fishergate]	Shear	53.953517 N	1.0769121 W	700-900					Iron		
2057	York [Fishergate]	Slag	53.953517 N	1.0769121 W	750-800					Copper alloy		
2063	York [Fishergate]	Spoon	53.953517 N	1.0769121 W	700-900					Bone		
2077	York [Fishergate]	Strap-End	53.953517 N	1.0769121 W	700-750		Zoomorphic terminal, crescents and cross-hatching			Copper alloy		
2118	York [Fishergate]	Vessel	53.953517 N	1.0769121 W	700-900	Body fragment				Glass		
2119	York [Fishergate]	Vessel	53.953517 N	1.0769121 W	700-900	Funnel				Glass		
2120	York [Fishergate]	Vessel	53.953517 N	1.0769121 W	750-800	Body fragment				Glass		
2121	York [Fishergate]	Vessel	53.953517 N	1.0769121 W	750-800	Body frag Applied trails				Glass		
2122	York [Fishergate]	Vessel	53.953517 N	1.0769121 W	700-900	Plate				Glass		
2123	York [Fishergate]	Vessel	53.953517 N	1.0769121 W	750-800	Body fragment				Glass		
2124	York [Fishergate]	Vessel	53.953517 N	1.0769121 W	750-800	Bowl				Glass		
2125	York [Fishergate]	Vessel	53.953517 N	1.0769121 W	700-900	Body fragment				Glass		
2126	York [Fishergate]	Vessel	53.953517 N	1.0769121 W	750-800	Beaker				Glass		
2127	York [Fishergate]	Vessel	53.953517 N	1.0769121 W	800-850	Bowl	Clear reticella trails containing alternating thick and thin opaque white trails			Glass		
2128	York [Fishergate]	Vessel	53.953517 N	1.0769121 W	750-800	Body fragment				Glass		
2129	York [Fishergate]	Vessel	53.953517 N	1.0769121 W	750-800	Body frag Applied trail				Glass		
2130	York [Fishergate]	Vessel	53.953517 N	1.0769121 W	700-750	Body frag Thin horizontal red trail				Glass		

D2.52

	Site	Artefact Type	Latitude	Longitude	Approximate Date	Class/Subclass	Decorative Motif	Inscription	Ascribed Culture	Material	Additional Notes	Parallels
2131	York [Fishergate]	Vessel	53.953517 N	1.0769121 W	800-850	Body fraj trails	Opaque white combed			Glass		
2132	York [Fishergate]	Vessel	53.953517 N	1.0769121 W	700-750	Base fragment				Glass		
2133	York [Fishergate]	Vessel	53.953517 N	1.0769121 W	700-750	Neck fragment				Glass		
2134	York [Fishergate]	Vessel	53.953517 N	1.0769121 W	700-900	Body fraj Applied horizontal trails				Glass		
2135	York [Fishergate]	Vessel	53.953517 N	1.0769121 W	700-900	Rim fragment				Glass		
2136	York [Fishergate]	Vessel	53.953517 N	1.0769121 W	700-750	Fragment				Glass		
2137	York [Fishergate]	Vessel	53.953517 N	1.0769121 W	700-900	Body fraj marvered trails	Horizontal opaque yellow trails			Glass		
2138	York [Fishergate]	Vessel	53.953517 N	1.0769121 W	750-800	Rim fragment				Glass		
2139	York [Fishergate]	Vessel	53.953517 N	1.0769121 W	700-900	Rim frag: White horizontal trails				Glass		
2140	York [Fishergate]	Vessel	53.953517 N	1.0769121 W	750-800	Body fraj Applied horizontal trail				Glass		
2141	York [Fishergate]	Vessel	53.953517 N	1.0769121 W	800-850	Rim fragment				Glass		
2142	York [Fishergate]	Vessel	53.953517 N	1.0769121 W	800-850	Flask				Glass		
2143	York [Fishergate]	Vessel	53.953517 N	1.0769121 W	700-750	Bowl	Opaque white combed marvering			Glass		
2144	York [Fishergate]	Vessel	53.953517 N	1.0769121 W	800-850	Body fragment				Glass		
2145	York [Fishergate]	Vessel	53.953517 N	1.0769121 W	800-850	Palm cup				Glass		
2146	York [Fishergate]	Vessel	53.953517 N	1.0769121 W	700-900	Bowl	Opaque white spiral and horizontal marvered trails			Glass		
2147	York [Fishergate]	Vessel	53.953517 N	1.0769121 W	750-800	Jug				Glass		
2148	York [Fishergate]	Vessel	53.953517 N	1.0769121 W	700-750	Body fragment				Glass		
2149	York [Fishergate]	Vessel	53.953517 N	1.0769121 W	700-900	Beaker				Glass		
2150	York [Fishergate]	Vessel	53.953517 N	1.0769121 W	750-800	Bottle				Glass		
2151	York [Fishergate]	Vessel	53.953517 N	1.0769121 W	700-900	Beaker				Glass		
2152	York [Fishergate]	Vessel	53.953517 N	1.0769121 W	750-800	Base fragment				Glass		
2153	York [Fishergate]	Vessel	53.953517 N	1.0769121 W	700-900	Body fragment				Glass		
2154	York [Fishergate]	Vessel	53.953517 N	1.0769121 W	700-900	Body fragment				Glass		
2155	York [Fishergate]	Vessel	53.953517 N	1.0769121 W	700-900	Body fragment				Glass		
2168	York [Jewbury]	Pin	53.961524 N	1.0755007 W	700-900		Ring-and-dot			Copper alloy		
2169	York [Micklegate]	Knife	53.957381 N	1.0861662	700-900						Associated with burial	
2170	York [Micklegate]	Knife	53.957381 N	1.0861662	700-900						Associated with burial	

D2.53

	Site	Artefact Type	Latitude	Longitude	Approximate Date	Class/Subclass	Decorative Motif	Inscription	Ascribed Culture	Material	Additional Notes	Parallels
2187	York [Minster]	Finger ring	53.961478 N	1.0824367 W	800-900							
2188	York [Minster]	Pendant	53.961478 N	1.0824367 W	800-900							
2196	York [The Moun	Shears	53.952607 N	1.0978699 W	600-700					Iron	Associated with cremation. Cemetery set in old Roman cemetery	
2213	Youlton	Pin	54.065072 N	1.245174 W	800-900	Kite			hiberno-norse	Copper alloy		Ireland, Eastern Britain, sites of the Irish trade routes
2214		Auger	54.072843 N	0.50431840 W	700-900	Spoon				Iron		York

Appendix D3:

Metal and Metalworking Paraphernalia
of the Northwest

D3.1

	Sites	Artefact Type	Latitude	Longitude	Approximate Date	Class/Subcl	Motif	Additional Info	Ascribed Culture	Material	Parallels	Notes
2	Ardwall Island	Knife	54.820644 N	4.2223013 W	700-800					Flint		
3	Ardwall Island	Pin	54.820644 N	4.2223013 W	700-800	Disc			Irish	Iron	Dublin, Caerwent, Carraig Aille II (in iron); Ervey Co. Meath, Lakefield Lake co. Cavan, Standhill co. Sligo(in bronze)	Head type made be disc or spiral, but most of the head is missing
4	Ardwall Island	Pin	54.820644 N	4.2223013 W	700-800					Iron		Head is broken off so the type is uncertain, but may be disc or spiral.
5	Ardwall Island	Portable altar	54.820644 N	4.2223013 W	650-675							Associated with male burial
6	Ardwall Island	Pin	54.820644 N	4.2223013 W	700-800	Ring		Penannular	Irish	Copper alloy		
12	Ardwall Island	Fastener	54.820644 N	4.2223013 W	700-800					Copper alloy		Fastened leather to leather, leather to wood, or metal to wood
13	Ardwall Island	Strip (House-shaped shrine)	54.820644 N	4.2223013 W	700-800	Angle	Triangle		Irish	Copper alloy	A similar motif style Romano-British Richborough strap-end , Craig Aille II bracelet	May be a fragment or a reliquary or shrine such as the Lough Erne shrine
18	Ardwall Island	Rolled strip	54.820644 N	4.2223013 W	700-800					Lead		
22	Arnside	Bracelet	54.203808 N	2.8327550 W	850-950					Silver		
26	Baddiley	Dress Fastener	53.04492 N	2.586156 W	600-800	Sub-rectangular	Nine ring-and-dot motifs			Copper alloy		
36	Barrow-in-Furne	Dress Pin	54.108967 N	3.2188940 W	700-800			Interlace		Copper alloy		Appears to be a decorative plate, possibly a box fitting, reused as an improvised head for a dress pin or stylus
38	Barrow-in-Furne	Arm Ring	54.129900 N	3.1023540 W	800-900				Gotland	Silver		
39	Barrow-in-Furne	Brooch	54.108967 N	3.2188940 W	700-900	Ansate		None		Copper alloy		
46	Barrow-in-Furne	Brooch	54.108967 N	3.2188940 W	850-950	Tortoise		Highly stylised zoomorphic (Type P51)	Viking	Copper alloy and iron		Brooch associated with femal burial(The Cumwhitton Burial). This included a weaving chest, glass boods and L-shaped keys
48	Barrow-in-Furne	Die stamp	54.104302 N	3.2518244 W	600-800	Pressblech	Triskeles, interlace		Irish	Copper alloy		
52	Barrow-in-Furne	Hanging Bowl	54.108967 N	3.2188940 W	800-900			Figurative	Irish	Copper alloy		Similar anthropomorphic mounts have been found on Irish bowls and buckets in Norway
57	Bickerton	Pin	53.089151 N	2.718018 W	800-900	Ovoid				Tin alloy		
60	Burton	Strap End	53.263234 N	3.007569 W	800-900	Thomas A1	Zoomorphic terminal			Copper alloy		
65	Carlisle	Pin	54.893378 N	2.9363069 W	750-850	Biconical-headed				Copper alloy		
68	Carlisle	Pin	54.894746 N	2.9329310 W	600-900					Copper alloy		Associated with burial
71	Carlisle	Strap Runner	54.894746 N	2.9329310 W	800-900	Semi-cylindrical		Central boss with raised design of square dots in grid pattern		Copper alloy		

D3.2

	Sites	Artefact Type	Latitude	Longitude	Approximate Date	Class/Subcl	Motif	Additional info	Ascribed Culture	Material	Parallels	Notes
73	Carlisle	Buckle	54.894746 N	2.9329310 W	600-900					Copper alloy		Associated with male burial
74	Carlisle	Pin	54.894746 N	2.9329310 W	600-900					Copper alloy		Associated with female burial
78	Carlisle	Pin	54.894746 N	2.9329310 W	600-900	Ring				Copper alloy		Associated with burial
80	Carlisle	Pin	54.894746 N	2.9329310 W	600-900					Copper alloy		Associated with burial
81	Carlisle	Pin	54.894746 N	2.9329310 W	600-900					Copper alloy		Associated with female burial
82	Carlisle	Buckle	54.894746 N	2.9329310 W	600-900					Copper alloy		Associated with male burial
83	Carlisle	Knife	54.894746 N	2.9384868 W	600-900	Tanged				Iron		Associated with burial
85	Carlisle	Strip	54.892473 N	2.9384868 W	700-800	Buckle pin		Flat, tapering strip		Copper alloy		
88	Carlisle	Pin	54.894746 N	2.9329310 W	600-900					Copper alloy		Associated with female burial
89	Carlisle	Pin	54.893378 N	2.9363069 W	750-850	Biconical-headed				Copper alloy		
90	Carlisle	Pin	54.894746 N	2.9329310 W	600-900					Copper alloy		Associated with female burial
93	Carlisle	Buckle	54.894746 N	2.9329310 W	600-900					Copper alloy		Associated with male burial
96	Carlisle	Pin	54.894746 N	2.9329310 W	600-900					Copper alloy		Associated with female burial
99	Carlisle	Finger ring	54.892473 N	2.9384868 W	700-800	Oval				Copper alloy		
105	Carlisle	Pin	54.894746 N	2.9329310 W	600-900					Copper alloy		Associated with burial
107	Carlisle	Pin	54.894746 N	2.9329310 W	600-900					Copper alloy		Associated with female burial
109	Carlisle	Pin	54.893378 N	2.9363069 W	600-800	Spiral-headed				Silver		
110	Carlisle	Buckle	54.894746 N	2.9329310 W	600-900					Copper alloy		Associated with male burial
111	Carlisle	Pin	54.894746 N	2.9329310 W	600-900					Copper alloy		Associated with female burial
116	Carlisle	Pin	54.894746 N	2.9329310 W	600-900					Copper alloy		Associated with burial
119	Carlisle	Pin	54.894746 N	2.9329310 W	600-900					Copper alloy		Associated with female burial
125	Carlisle	Knife	54.894746 N	2.9384868 W	600-900					Iron		Associated with burial
127	Carlisle	Knife	54.894746 N	2.9384868 W	600-900	Folding				Iron		Associated with burial
130	Carlisle	Pin	54.894746 N	2.9329310 W	600-900					Copper alloy		Associated with burial
131	Carlisle	Pin	54.894746 N	2.9329310 W	600-900					Copper alloy		Associated with female burial
133	Carlisle	Terminal	54.892473 N	2.9384868 W	800-900	Circular		Upper surface decorated with concentric grooves		Bone		
135	Carlisle	Pin	54.893378 N	2.9363069 W	750-850	Cube-headed		Ring-and-dot		Copper alloy		
140	Carlisle	Pin	54.894746 N	2.9329310 W	600-900					Copper alloy		Associated with female burial
142	Carlisle	Key	54.893378 N	2.9363069 W	700-900	Lever		Ring-and-dot		Leaded Gunmetal		Anglo-Saxon reuse of Roman key, hanging loop added
151	Chapelton	Knife	55.712146 N	4.0968320 W	600-900							
155	Chapelton	Knife	55.712146 N	4.0968320 W	600-900					Iron		
157	Church Lawton	Strap End	53.096379 N	2.277726 W	800-900	Thomas A2	Zoomorphic terminal			Copper alloy	Meols, Wirral	

D3.3

Sites	Artefact Type	Latitude	Longitude	Approximate Date	Class/Subcl	Motif	Additional info	Ascribed Culture	Material	Parallels	Notes
158 Church Lawton	Strap End	53.0995551 N	2.26878334 W	800-900	Thomas A1, Trewhiddle	Zoomorphic terminal, drop-shaped ears. Long-necked animal motif			Copper alloy and silver		Treasure case: 2013746
159 Church Minshull	Strap End	53.142416 N	2.516471 W	850-900	Thomas A2	Foliage motif			Copper alloy		
160 Church Minshull	Strap End	53.142657 N	2.501973 W	850-900	Thomas A2	Zoomorphic terminal, four-spoked wheel with symmetrical foliage on either side			Copper alloy		
163 Cumwhitton	Brooch	54.8648 N	2.775387 W	900-925	Tortoise	Stylized zoomorphic			Copper alloy		Part of Cumwhitton burial grave goods
165 Cumwhitton	Brooch	54.8648 N	2.775387 W	900-925	Tortoise	Stylised zoomorphic			Copper alloy		Part of Cumwhitton burial grave goods
168 Ebnal	Pin	53.03141788 N	2.74804549 W	700-800	Discoid	Triquetra knot surrounded by three triangular decorations. Lozenge motifs			Copper alloy	Found on many sites in Eastern and North-eastern UK	
169 Faddiley	Pendant	53.067174 N	2.625633 W	750-850	Equal-armed cr	Tendrilled scroll			Copper alloy and gold		
175 Hoddom	Pin	54.123 N	2.656 W	700-900	Polyhedral shap	Ring and dot			Copper alloy		
176 Hoddom	Pin	54.175 N	2.765 W	800-900	Wrythen-heade	Spiral			Copper alloy		
182 Huxley	Brooch	53.152343 N	2.752075 W	700-800		Two lozenge-shaped areas of meander motifs			Copper alloy		
183 Huxley	Strap End	53.15298207 N	2.75189207 W	800-900	Thomas A1	Zoomorphic terminal, drop shapped ears			Copper alloy		
184 Liverpool	Pin	53.408371 N	2.9915726 W	800-900	Disc-headed	Ring and dot		Anglo-Saxon	Copper alloy		

D3.4

#	Sites	Artefact Type	Latitude	Longitude	Approximate Date	Class/Subcl	Motif	Additional Info	Ascribed Culture	Material	Parallels	Notes
194	Luce Sands	Brooch	54.851128 N	4.9159598 W	600-700	Penannular				Copper alloy		
197	Luce Sands	Brooch	54.850305 N	4.912842 W	600-700	Penannular				Copper alloy		
199	Marbury cum Qu	Pin	53.018147 N	2.635731 W	800-900	Faceted	Ring-and-dot			Copper alloy		
200	Meols	Buckle Plate	53.400194 N	3.1567246 W	900-1000	Sub-triangular		Double roundel next to a panel of three lines of alternating lines of chevrons and dots then a second, larger roundel with a rivet at its apex.	Anglo-Scandin	Copper alloy		Concentric roundel on a waisted plait above zoomorphic snout terminal represents common Irish Sea metalwork style
201	Meols	Pin	53.400194 N	3.1567246 W	800-1000	Baluster-headed			Hiberno-Norse	Copper alloy		
202	Meols	Knife	53.400194 N	3.1567246 W	700-900			Angle back blade	Anglo-Saxon	Iron		
205	Meols	Buckle	53.400194 N	3.1567246 W	800-900	Zoomorphic		The buckle plate has a series of pecked lines forming a diamond or chevron pattern	Anglo-Saxon	Copper alloy		
206	Meols	Buckle	53.400194 N	3.1567246 W	800-900	Zoomorphic		Very stylized heads bite expanded bar with protruding lappets at the snout tips	Anglo-Saxon	Copper alloy		
208	Meols	Pin	53.400194 N	3.1567246 W	800-1000	Baluster-headed		Cuboid head with lozenge-shaped motif	Hiberno-Norse	Copper alloy		
209	Meols	Pin	53.400194 N	3.1567246 W	800-900	Disc-headed		Shows a single perforation	Anglo-Saxon	Copper alloy		This type of pin had a northerly distribution and occurred throughout the Irish Sea region
210	Meols	Pin	53.400194 N	3.1567246 W	700-800	Globular-headed		Undecorated	Hiberno-Saxon	Copper alloy		
211	Meols	Buckle	53.400194 N	3.1567246 W	800-900	Single head		Zoomorphic. The shoulders are decorated with single dot motifs.	Anglo-Saxon	Copper alloy		Bears superficial resemblence to early Anglo-Saxon buckle group, such as Hawkes's Type IIIa. Similar buckles have been found in eastern Yorkshire, and remained popular in the Irish Sea region, as evident by a similar find in Dublin.
213	Meols	Pin	53.400194 N	3.1567246 W	700-800	Polyhedral-headed		Head has thirteen facets	Anglo-Saxon	Copper alloy		
214	Meols	Pin	53.400194 N	3.1567246 W	700-900	Loop-headed		Simple and undecorated	Hiberno-Norse	Copper alloy		

D3.5

Sites	Artefact Type	Latitude	Longitude	Approxim ate Date	Class/Subcl	Motif	Additional Info	Ascribed Culture	Material	Parallels	Notes
215 Meols	Strap End	53.400194 N	3.1567246 W	800-900	Thomas A1		Sub-rectangular with a flattened animal-head terminal with ears separated by a central ridge. There was at least one panel of decorative interlace seemingly in a Y-shape into three fields, two of which may have been zoomorphic representations.	Anglo-Saxon	Brass		
216 Meols	Pin	53.400194 N	3.1567246 W	700-800	Disc-headed		Expanded arm cross decoration	Anglo-Saxon			Expanded-arm cross decoration are found on pins in East Yorkshire as well as further north in Cumbria.
217 Meols	Bell	53.400194 N	3.1567246 W	900-1000	Hexagonal pyramidal		Panels are slightly concave, with a square attachment loop atop a collar at the apex	Hiberno-Norse	Copper alloy		This type of bell is characteristic of Danelaw and Irish Sea regions, with further examples being found in Scotland and Iceland.
218 Meols	Pin	53.400194 N	3.1567246 W	700-900	Wythern heads		Decorated with spiral grooves wrapping around the head, originating from the top of the pin.	Anglo-Saxon	Copper alloy		
219 Meols	Pin	53.400194 N	3.1567246 W	700-900	Wythern heads		Decorated with spiral grooves wrapping around the head, originating from the top of the pin.	Anglo-Saxon	Copper alloy		
220 Meols	Strap End	53.400194 N	3.1567246 W	800-900	Thomas A2		Zoomorphic animal-head terminal backed by two curved incisions representing ears and a panel of incised decoration consisting of intersecting curved lines and a dot		Copper alloy		
221 Meols	Pin	53.400194 N	3.1567246 W	700-800	Polyhedral-headed		Elongated cuboid head with collar, each facet decorated with ring and dot motifs.	Anglo-Saxon	Copper alloy		

D3.6

	Sites	Artefact Type	Latitude	Longitude	Approximate Date	Class/Subcl	Motif	Additional info	Ascribed Culture	Material	Parallels	Notes
222	Meols	Pin	53.400194 N	3.1567246 W	900-1000	Polyheadra-headed		Cuboid head above a collar with a design of punched dots.	Hiberno-Norse	Copper alloy		
223	Meols	Strap End	53.400194 N	3.1567246 W	800-900	Thomas A2		Stylized zoomorphic terminal with incised decoration		Copper alloy		
224	Meols	Pin	53.400194 N	3.1567246 W	700-800	Globular-headed		Decorated with dots in no particular order	Anglo-Saxon	Copper alloy		
225	Meols	Buckle	53.400194 N	3.1567246 W	800-900	Zoomorphic		Very stylized head with ridge snouts biting bar	Anglo-Saxon	Copper alloy		
226	Meols	Strap End	53.400194 N	3.1567246 W	700-800	Thomas B4		Opposed animal heads on either end with triangular ears.		Copper alloy		Opposed heads are seen in Scandinavian strap end mounts. Triangular ear shape associated with Irish metalwork and shire mounts. Similar examples are found in Orkney, Northumberland and East Yorkshire.
227	Meols	Strap End	53.400194 N	3.1567246 W	800-900	Thomas B1		Rectangular-shaped terminal with stylized nostrils below two ears with bevelled edges and transverse banding. Double-cross motif on the spine.		Copper alloy		
229	Meols	Pin	53.400194 N	3.1567246 W	900-1000	Polyheadral-headed		Punched dot motif	Hiberno-Norse	Copper alloy		
230	Meols	Pin	53.400194 N	3.1567246 W	600-800	Biconical headed		Flattened top with dominant lower cone and a pronounced collar	Anglo-Saxon	Copper alloy		
231	Meols	Pin	53.400194 N	3.1567246 W	700-800	Globular-headed		Undecorated	Hiberno-Saxon	Copper alloy		Moulds for globular-headed pins have been found at many sites in the south-western region of Scotland
232	Meols	Pin	53.400194 N	3.1567246 W	900-1000	Baluster-headed		Lozenge-shaped motif in a square field with a pronounced collar.	Hiberno-Norse	Copper alloy		
233	Meols	Pin	53.400194 N	3.1567246 W	700-900	Biconical-headed		Slight collar	Anglo-Saxon	Copper alloy		

D3.7

Sites	Artefact Type	Latitude	Longitude	Approximate Date	Class/Subcl	Motif	Additional info	Assumed Culture	Material	Parallels	Notes
234 Meols	Pin	53.400194 N	3.1567246 W	700-800	Polyhedral-headed		Dodecahedral head decorated with punched dots. The shank has transverse grooves.	Anglo-Saxon	Copper alloy		
235 Meols	Strap End	53.400194 N	3.1567246 W	800-1000	Thomas A		Zoomorphic piece with opposed scrolls that may represent a snout and ears or be a rendering of interlace		Brass		
237 Meols	Buckle	53.400194 N	3.1567246 W	800-900	Single head		Dolphin-styled head terminal back by raised ridges biting frame.	Anglo-Saxon	Copper alloy		
238 Meols	Strap End	53.400194 N	3.1567246 W	800-900	Thomas B1		Animal-head terminal backed by two ears and transverse grooves in relief.		Copper alloy		Cresent of fan-shaped motif has parallels on Pictish art on stone and metal, but it also appears in East Yorkshire
239 Meols	Knife	53.400194 N	3.1567246 W	600-800			Short tang. Blade tapers to a point.	Anglo-Saxon	Iron		
240 Meols	Pin	53.400194 N	3.1567246 W	700-800	Polyhedral-headed		Nine facets decorated with ring and dot motifs. There is a slight collar.	Anglo-Saxon	Copper alloy		
241 Meols	Pin	53.400194 N	3.1567246 W	700-900	Loop-headed		Decorated with four vertical ridges. The ring is bevelled	Hiberno-Norse	Copper alloy		
242 Meols	Dagger Guard	53.400194 N	3.1567246 W	500-900		Ring and dot	Ring and dot decoration with larger ring and dot in the centre		Bone		
244 Meols	Strap End	53.400194 N	3.1567246 W	800-900	Thomas A2		Ring and dot motif. The terminal, which probably would have been zoomorphic, is now lost		Copper alloy		Ring and Dot Type strap ends were common in southern and eastern areas, but there is evidence of some circulation in the Irish Sea region
245 Meols	Knife	53.400194 N	3.1567246 W	600-800			Narrow, slender blade with sloping shoulders, forming a reverse S-shape. Blade tapers to a point	Anglo-Saxon	Iron		

D3.8

	Sites	Artefact Type	Latitude	Longitude	Approxim ate Date	Class/Subclass	Motif	Additional info	Ascribed Culture	Material	Parallels	Notes
246	Meols	Brooch	53.400194 N	3.1567246 W	600-700	Annular		Brooch with two holes, one larger and in line with the inner rim. The second, smaller hole interrupts the decorative pattern and is likely a later modification.	Scandinavian	Copper alloy		The closest parallels to this object are found in Southern and Eastern Britain.
247	Meols	Pin	53.400194 N	3.1567246 W	700-800	Globular-headed		Two punched ring and dot motifs in facets	Anglo-Saxon	Copper alloy		
248	Meols	Pin	53.400194 N	3.1567246 W	900-1000	Polyhedral-headed		Bevelled ring. The head was decorated with a cross-hatched design	Hiberno-Norse	Copper alloy		
249	Meols	Strap End or Buckle Plate	53.400194 N	3.1567246 W	800-900	Thomas B5		The terminal is missing. There is incised interlace of a four-strand single-bordered pattern in the decorative panels.		Copper alloy		Resembles a type of strap end found in both the Danelaw and the Irish Sea region. On the other hand it may be a buckle plate given its similarities to examples found in Whithorn and Dublin.
250	Meols	Pin	53.400194 N	3.1567246 W	600-800	Biconical heads		Slight collar	Anglo-Saxon	Copper alloy		
252	Meols	Pin	53.400194 N	3.1567246 W	700-900	Biconical-headed		Slight collar	Anglo-Saxon	Copper alloy		
253	Meols	Pin	53.400194 N	3.1567246 W	600-800	Biconical headed		Pronounced collar	Anglo-Saxon	Copper alloy		
254	Meols	Pin	53.400194 N	3.1567246 W	700-800	Disc-headed		File-finished geometric interlace with a central boss and a double bordered roundel above the shanks.	Anglo-Saxon	Silver		
255	Meols	Knife	53.400194 N	3.1567246 W	700-900			Angle back blade	Anglo-Saxon	Iron		
256	Meols	Strap End	53.400194 N	3.1567246 W	800-900	Thomas B4		Round-eared zoomorphic terminal		Copper alloy		Comparable to an example from a Viking grave at Cronk Mooar, Isle of Man
257	Meols	Pin	53.400194 N	3.1567246 W	700-800	Polyhedral-headed		Nine facets decorated with ring and dot motifs	Anglo-Saxon	Copper alloy		
258	Meols	Pin	53.400194 N	3.1567246 W	700-800	Polyhedral-headed		Head has thirteen facets, each decorated with one to four ring and dot motifs.	Anglo-Saxon	Copper alloy		
259	Meols	Pin	53.400194 N	3.1567246 W	700-800	Globular-headed		Undecorated	Hiberno-Saxon	Copper alloy		

D3.9

Sites	Artefact Type	Latitude	Longitude	Approximate Date	Class/Subcl	Motif	Additional Info	Ascribed Culture	Material	Parallels	Notes
260 Meols	Pin	53.400194 N	3.1567246 W	900-1000	Polyhedral-headed		Decorated on one side with a quatrefoil knot. The other side shows a small incised cross in a lozenge-shaped field.	Hiberno-Norse	Brass-like copper alloy		This type is frequently found in Dublin
261 Meols	Strap End	53.400194 N	3.1567246 W	800-900	Thomas A				Copper alloy		
262 Meols	Strap End	53.400194 N	3.1567246 W	800-900	Thomas A2		Stylised zoomorphic animal-head terminal		Copper alloy		
263 Meols	Buckle or Brooch pin	53.400194 N	3.1567246 W	800-900	Zoomorphic		Fronted by a simple zoomorphic head defined by two rounded ears	Anglo-Saxon	Copper alloy		
264 Meols	Pin	53.400194 N	3.1567246 W	900-1000	Polyhedral-headed		Square head with diagonal hatched design	Hiberno-Norse	Copper alloy		
266 Meols	Pin	53.400194 N	3.1567246 W	600-800	Watch-winder head		Smaller, flatter head with vertical groove decorations	Anglo-Saxon	Copper alloy		
267 Meols	Pin	53.400194 N	3.1567246 W	700-900	Loop-headed		Decorated with vertical grooves, and a flat panel below the loop. The bevelled ring was cross-hatched	Hiberno-Norse	Silver		
268 Meols	Strap End	53.400194 N	3.1567246 W	800-1000	Thomas Class F		Split-end with a single rivet bordered by a split triangular panel of incised hatching. The central panel was divided laterally and contained a ring-knot or ring-chain	Irish or Hiberno-Norse	Copper alloy		
269 Meols	Pin	53.400194 N	3.1567246 W	900-1000	Polyhedral-headed		Bears narrow panels of incised cross-hatched lines	Hiberno-Norse	Copper alloy		
270 Minthorpe	Strap End	54.199 N	2.832 W	800-900	Thomas A2		Curvilinear and geometric patterns		Copper alloy		This type of strap ends dominate the cheaper end of the strap end market
271 Mote of Mark	Mould	54.867604 N	3.8011656 W	600-700	Pin				Clay		
272 Mote of Mark	Mould	54.867604 N	3.8011656 W	600-700	Other				Clay		
273 Mote of Mark	Crucible	54.867604 N	3.8011656 W	700-800	Small				Clay		
274 Mote of Mark	Crucible	54.867604 N	3.8011656 W	600-700	Small				Clay		
275 Mote of Mark	Mould	54.867604 N	3.8011656 W	700-800	Other				Clay		

D3.10

Sites	Artefact Type	Latitude	Longitude	Approxim ate Date	Class/Subcl	Motif	Additional Info	Ascribed Culture	Material	Parallels	Notes
276 Mote of Mark	Mould	54.867604 N	3.8011656 W	600-700	Other				Clay		
277 Mote of Mark	Mould	54.867604 N	3.8011656 W	600-700	Curved				Clay		
278 Mote of Mark	Mould	54.867604 N	3.8011656 W	600-700	Other				Clay		
279 Mote of Mark	Mould	54.867604 N	3.8011656 W	600-700	Misc.				Clay		
281 Mote of Mark	Mould	54.867604 N	3.8011656 W	700-800	Stud						
282 Mote of Mark	Mould	54.867604 N	3.8011656 W	700-800	Other						
283 Mote of Mark	Mould	54.867604 N	3.8011656 W	600-700	Other				Clay		
284 Mote of Mark	Crucible	54.867604 N	3.8011656 W	700-800	Small				Clay		
285 Mote of Mark	Crucible	54.867604 N	3.8011656 W	600-700	Small				Clay		
286 Mote of Mark	Mould	54.867604 N	3.8011656 W	600-700	Rectilinear				Clay		
287 Mote of Mark	Mould	54.867604 N	3.8011656 W	700-800	De. Curvilinear						
288 Mote of Mark	Mould	54.867604 N	3.8011656 W	600-700	Other				Clay		
290 Mote of Mark	Tuyere	54.867604 N	3.8011656 W	600-700					Ceramic		
291 Mote of Mark	Mould	54.867604 N	3.8011656 W	700-800	Other				Clay		
292 Mote of Mark	Mould	54.867604 N	3.8011656 W	600-700	Other				Clay		
293 Mote of Mark	Mould	54.867604 N	3.8011656 W	600-700	Other				Clay		
294 Mote of Mark	Crucible	54.867604 N	3.8011656 W	700-800	Small				Clay		
295 Mote of Mark	Crucible	54.867604 N	3.8011656 W	800-900	Small				Clay		
296 Mote of Mark	Mould	54.867604 N	3.8011656 W	600-700	Other				Clay		
297 Mote of Mark	Mould	54.867604 N	3.8011656 W	650-750	Other				Clay		
298 Mote of Mark	Mould	54.867604 N	3.8011656 W	600-700	De. Curvilinear				Clay		
299 Mote of Mark	Mould	54.867604 N	3.8011656 W	700-800	Other				Clay		
300 Mote of Mark	Mould	54.867604 N	3.8011656 W	600-700	Strap				Clay		
302 Mote of Mark	Mould	54.867604 N	3.8011656 W	600-700	Other				Clay		
303 Mote of Mark	Mould	54.867604 N	3.8011656 W	600-700	Other				Clay		
306 Mote of Mark	Mould	54.867604 N	3.8011656 W	600-700	Other				Clay		
308 Mote of Mark	Crucible	54.867604 N	3.8011656 W	700-800	Small				Clay		
310 Mote of Mark	Mould	54.867604 N	3.8011656 W	700-800	Other				Clay		
311 Mote of Mark	Mould	54.867604 N	3.8011656 W	600-700	Other				Clay		
312 Mote of Mark	Mould	54.867604 N	3.8011656 W	600-700	Other				Clay		
314 Mote of Mark	Mould	54.867604 N	3.8011656 W	700-800	Other				Clay		
315 Mote of Mark	Mould	54.867604 N	3.8011656 W	600-700	Other				Clay		
317 Mote of Mark	Crucible	54.867604 N	3.8011656 W	700-800	Small				Clay		
318 Mote of Mark	Crucible	54.867604 N	3.8011656 W	600-700	Small				Clay		
319 Mote of Mark	Mould	54.867604 N	3.8011656 W	700-800	Curved						
320 Mote of Mark	Mould	54.867604 N	3.8011656 W	700-800	Other				Clay		

D3.11

Sites	Artefact Type	Latitude	Longitude	Approximate Date	Class/Subcl	Motif	Additional info	Ascribed Culture	Material	Parallels	Notes
Mote of Mark	Mould	54.867604 N	3.8011656 W	600-700	Other				Clay		
Mote of Mark	Mould	54.867604 N	3.8011656 W	600-700	Other				Clay		
Mote of Mark	Mould	54.867604 N	3.8011656 W	600-700	Other				Clay		
Mote of Mark	Mould	54.867604 N	3.8011656 W	600-800	Ingot			Celtic	Sandstone		
Mote of Mark	Mould	54.867604 N	3.8011656 W	600-700	Other				Clay		
Mote of Mark	Crucible	54.867604 N	3.8011656 W	700-800	Small				Clay		
Mote of Mark	Mould	54.867604 N	3.8011656 W	600-700	Rectilinear				Clay		
Mote of Mark	Mould	54.867604 N	3.8011656 W	600-700	Other				Clay		
Mote of Mark	Mould	54.867604 N	3.8011656 W	650-750	Other				Clay		
Mote of Mark	Mould	54.867604 N	3.8011656 W	700-800	Other				Clay		
Mote of Mark	Mould	54.867604 N	3.8011656 W	650-750	Rectilinear						
Mote of Mark	Mould	54.867604 N	3.8011656 W	600-700	Other				Clay		
Mote of Mark	Mould	54.867604 N	3.8011656 W	600-700	Other				Clay		
Mote of Mark	Mould	54.867604 N	3.8011656 W	600-700	Strap				Clay		
Mote of Mark	Mould	54.867604 N	3.8011656 W	600-700	Other				Clay		
Mote of Mark	Mould	54.867604 N	3.8011656 W	700-800	Other				Clay		
Mote of Mark	Ferrule	54.867604 N	3.8011656 W	800-900					Iron		
Mote of Mark	Mould	54.867604 N	3.8011656 W	600-700	Other				Clay		
Mote of Mark	Mould	54.867604 N	3.8011656 W	700-800	Stud						
Mote of Mark	Mould	54.867604 N	3.8011656 W	600-700	Other				Clay		
Mote of Mark	Crucible	54.867604 N	3.8011656 W	600-700	Large				Clay		
Mote of Mark	Mould	54.867604 N	3.8011656 W	700-800	Other						
Mote of Mark	Mould	54.867604 N	3.8011656 W	600-700	Other				Clay		
Mote of Mark	Crucible	54.867604 N	3.8011656 W	700-800	Small				Clay		
Mote of Mark	Crucible	54.867604 N	3.8011656 W	600-700	Small				Clay		
Mote of Mark	Mould	54.867604 N	3.8011656 W	700-800	Other				Clay		
Mote of Mark	Mould	54.867604 N	3.8011656 W	600-700	Other				Clay		
Mote of Mark	Mould	54.867604 N	3.8011656 W	600-700	Curved				Clay		
Mote of Mark	Mould	54.867604 N	3.8011656 W	600-700	Other				Clay		
Mote of Mark	Mould	54.867604 N	3.8011656 W	800-900	Other				Clay		
Mote of Mark	Mould	54.867604 N	3.8011656 W	700-800	Other						
Mote of Mark	Mould	54.867604 N	3.8011656 W	600-700	Other				Clay		
Mote of Mark	Crucible	54.867604 N	3.8011656 W	700-800	Small						
Mote of Mark	Mould	54.867604 N	3.8011656 W	600-700	Rectilinear				Clay		
Mote of Mark	Mould	54.867604 N	3.8011656 W	600-700	Other				Clay		
Mote of Mark	Mould	54.867604 N	3.8011656 W	700-800	Other				Clay		

D3.12

Sites	Artefact Type	Latitude	Longitude	Approximate Date	Class/Subcl	Motif	Additional info	Ascribed Culture	Material	Parallels	Notes
361	Mote of Mark	Mould	54.867604 N	3.8011656 W	600-700	Other				Clay		
362	Mote of Mark	Mould	54.867604 N	3.8011656 W	600-700	Other				Clay		
363	Mote of Mark	Crucible	54.867604 N	3.8011656 W	700-800	Small						
364	Mote of Mark	Pin	54.867604 N	3.8011656 W	600-700	Dome-headed		Large domed pin head with circular partial perforation.	Northumbrian Jet			
365	Mote of Mark	Crucible	54.867604 N	3.8011656 W	800-900	Small				Clay		
366	Mote of Mark	Knife	54.867604 N	3.8011656 W	600-700	Class A				Iron		
367	Mote of Mark	Mould	54.867604 N	3.8011656 W	600-700	Other				Clay		
368	Mote of Mark	Mould	54.867604 N	3.8011656 W	650-750	Other				Clay		
369	Mote of Mark	Mould	54.867604 N	3.8011656 W	700-800	Other				Clay		
371	Mote of Mark	Mould	54.867604 N	3.8011656 W	600-700	Strap				Clay		
372	Mote of Mark	Mould	54.867604 N	3.8011656 W	600-700	Other				Clay		
374	Mote of Mark	Mould	54.867604 N	3.8011656 W	600-700	Other				Clay		
376	Mote of Mark	Mould	54.867604 N	3.8011656 W	600-700	Pin				Clay		
377	Mote of Mark	Mould	54.867604 N	3.8011656 W	600-700	Other				Clay		
378	Mote of Mark	Crucible	54.867604 N	3.8011656 W	700-800	Small				Clay		
379	Mote of Mark	Mould	54.867604 N	3.8011656 W	800-900	Pin				Clay		
380	Mote of Mark	Mould	54.867604 N	3.8011656 W	700-800	Other				Clay		
381	Mote of Mark	Mould	54.867604 N	3.8011656 W	700-800	Other				Clay		
382	Mote of Mark	Mould	54.867604 N	3.8011656 W	600-700	Curved				Clay		
383	Mote of Mark	Mould	54.867604 N	3.8011656 W	600-700	Other				Clay		
384	Mote of Mark	Mould	54.867604 N	3.8011656 W	700-800	Other						
386	Mote of Mark	Mould	54.867604 N	3.8011656 W	600-700	Other				Clay		
387	Mote of Mark	Crucible	54.867604 N	3.8011656 W	700-800	Small				Clay		
388	Mote of Mark	Crucible	54.867604 N	3.8011656 W	600-700	Small				Clay		
389	Mote of Mark	Mould	54.867604 N	3.8011656 W	700-800	Other				Clay		
390	Mote of Mark	Mould	54.867604 N	3.8011656 W	600-700	Other				Clay		
391	Mote of Mark	Mould	54.867604 N	3.8011656 W	600-700	Other				Clay		
394	Mote of Mark	Mould	54.867604 N	3.8011656 W	600-700	Other				Clay		
396	Mote of Mark	Mould	54.867604 N	3.8011656 W	600-800	Ingot			Celtic	Sandstone		
397	Mote of Mark	Mould	54.867604 N	3.8011656 W	600-700	Stud				Clay		
398	Mote of Mark	Mould	54.867604 N	3.8011656 W	600-700	Other				Clay		
399	Mote of Mark	Crucible	54.867604 N	3.8011656 W	700-800	Small				Clay		
400	Mote of Mark	Mould	54.867604 N	3.8011656 W	650-750	Stud						
402	Mote of Mark	Mould	54.867604 N	3.8011656 W	600-700	Other				Clay		
404	Mote of Mark	Mould	54.867604 N	3.8011656 W	650-750	Other				Clay		

D3.13

Sites	Artefact Type	Latitude	Longitude	Approximate Date	Class/Subcl	Motif	Additional Info	Ascribed Culture	Material	Parallels	Notes
405	Mote of Mark	Mould	54.867604 N	3.8011656 W	700-800	Other				Clay		
406	Mote of Mark	Mould	54.867604 N	3.8011656 W	600-700	De. Rectilinear				Clay		
407	Mote of Mark	Mould	54.867604 N	3.8011656 W	600-700	Other				Clay		
408	Mote of Mark	Mould	54.867604 N	3.8011656 W	600-700	Other				Clay		
410	Mote of Mark	Mould	54.867604 N	3.8011656 W	650-750	De. Curvilinear				Clay		
412	Mote of Mark	Mould	54.867604 N	3.8011656 W	600-700	Other				Clay		
413	Mote of Mark	Mould	54.867604 N	3.8011656 W	700-800	Other				Clay		
414	Mote of Mark	Mould	54.867604 N	3.8011656 W	650-750	Pin						
415	Mote of Mark	Mould	54.867604 N	3.8011656 W	600-700	Other				Clay		
416	Mote of Mark	Mould	54.867604 N	3.8011656 W	600-700	Other				Clay		
417	Mote of Mark	Crucible	54.867604 N	3.8011656 W	800-900	Flat-bottomed				Clay		
418	Mote of Mark	Crucible	54.867604 N	3.8011656 W	600-700	Large				Clay		
419	Mote of Mark	Mould	54.867604 N	3.8011656 W	700-800	Other						
420	Mote of Mark	Mould	54.867604 N	3.8011656 W	600-700	Other				Clay		
421	Mote of Mark	Crucible	54.867604 N	3.8011656 W	700-800	Small				Clay		
422	Mote of Mark	Crucible	54.867604 N	3.8011656 W	600-700	Small				Clay		
423	Mote of Mark	Mould	54.867604 N	3.8011656 W	700-800	Other				Clay		
424	Mote of Mark	Mould	54.867604 N	3.8011656 W	600-700	Other				Clay		
425	Mote of Mark	Mould	54.867604 N	3.8011656 W	600-700	Curved				Clay		
426	Mote of Mark	Mould	54.867604 N	3.8011656 W	700-800	Other				Clay		
427	Mote of Mark	Mould	54.867604 N	3.8011656 W	600-700	Other				Clay		
429	Mote of Mark	Mould	54.867604 N	3.8011656 W	800-900	Other				Clay		
430	Mote of Mark	Mould	54.867604 N	3.8011656 W	700-800	Other						
431	Mote of Mark	Mould	54.867604 N	3.8011656 W	600-700	Other				Clay		
432	Mote of Mark	Crucible	54.867604 N	3.8011656 W	700-800	Small				Clay		
434	Mote of Mark	Mould	54.867604 N	3.8011656 W	650-750	Plain						
435	Mote of Mark	Mould	54.867604 N	3.8011656 W	600-700	Rectilinear				Clay		
436	Mote of Mark	Mould	54.867604 N	3.8011656 W	600-700	Other				Clay		
437	Mote of Mark	Mould	54.867604 N	3.8011656 W	600-700	Stud				Clay		
438	Mote of Mark	Mould	54.867604 N	3.8011656 W	700-800	Other				Clay		
439	Mote of Mark	Mould	54.867604 N	3.8011656 W	650-750	Other						
440	Mote of Mark	Mould	54.867604 N	3.8011656 W	600-700	Other				Clay		
441	Mote of Mark	Mould	54.867604 N	3.8011656 W	700-800	Pin						
442	Mote of Mark	Mould	54.867604 N	3.8011656 W	600-700	Other				Clay		
443	Mote of Mark	Crucible	54.867604 N	3.8011656 W	700-800	Small				Clay		
444	Mote of Mark	Anvil	54.867604 N	3.8011656 W	600-800					Iron		

D3.14

	Sites	Artefact Type	Latitude	Longitude	Approxim ate Date	Class/Subcl	Motif	Additional Info	Ascribed Culture	Material	Parallels	Notes
445	Mote of Mark	Knife	54.867604 N	3.8011656 W	600-700	Class A				Iron		
446	Mote of Mark	Mould	54.867604 N	3.8011656 W	600-700	Other				Clay		
447	Mote of Mark	Mould	54.867604 N	3.8011656 W	650-750	Other				Clay		
448	Mote of Mark	Mould	54.867604 N	3.8011656 W	600-700	De. Curvilinear				Clay		
449	Mote of Mark	Mould	54.867604 N	3.8011656 W	700-800	Other				Clay		
451	Mote of Mark	Mould	54.867604 N	3.8011656 W	600-700	Other				Clay		
453	Mote of Mark	Mould	54.867604 N	3.8011656 W	600-700	Other				Clay		
455	Mote of Mark	Mould	54.867604 N	3.8011656 W	600-700	Pin				Clay		
456	Mote of Mark	Mould	54.867604 N	3.8011656 W	600-700	Other				Clay		
457	Mote of Mark	Crucible	54.867604 N	3.8011656 W	700-800	Small				Clay		
458	Mote of Mark	Mould	54.867604 N	3.8011656 W	700-800	Other				Clay		
459	Mote of Mark	Mould	54.867604 N	3.8011656 W	600-700	Other				Clay		
460	Mote of Mark	Mould	54.867604 N	3.8011656 W	600-700	Curved				Clay		
461	Mote of Mark	Mould	54.867604 N	3.8011656 W	600-700	Other				Clay		
462	Mote of Mark	Mould	54.867604 N	3.8011656 W	600-700	Misc.				Clay		
464	Mote of Mark	Mould	54.867604 N	3.8011656 W	700-800	Other						
465	Mote of Mark	Mould	54.867604 N	3.8011656 W	600-700	Other				Clay		
466	Mote of Mark	Crucible	54.867604 N	3.8011656 W	700-800	Small				Clay		
467	Mote of Mark	Crucible	54.867604 N	3.8011656 W	600-700	Small				Clay		
468	Mote of Mark	Mould	54.867604 N	3.8011656 W	700-800	Other				Clay		
470	Mote of Mark	Mould	54.867604 N	3.8011656 W	600-700	Other				Clay		
471	Mote of Mark	Mould	54.867604 N	3.8011656 W	700-800	Other				Clay		
472	Mote of Mark	Mould	54.867604 N	3.8011656 W	600-700	Other				Clay		
473	Mote of Mark	Mould	54.867604 N	3.8011656 W	600-700	Other				Clay		
474	Mote of Mark	Mould	54.867604 N	3.8011656 W	600-700	Other				Clay		
475	Mote of Mark	Crucible	54.867604 N	3.8011656 W	700-800	Small				Clay		
476	Mote of Mark	Mould	54.867604 N	3.8011656 W	600-700	Other				Clay		
477	Mote of Mark	Mould	54.867604 N	3.8011656 W	650-750	Other				Clay		
479	Mote of Mark	Mould	54.867604 N	3.8011656 W	700-800	Other				Clay		
480	Mote of Mark	Mould	54.867604 N	3.8011656 W	600-700	In. Rectilinear				Clay		
481	Mote of Mark	Mould	54.867604 N	3.8011656 W	600-700	Other				Clay		
482	Mote of Mark	Mould	54.867604 N	3.8011656 W	600-700	Other				Clay		
487	Mote of Mark	Mould	54.867604 N	3.8011656 W	600-700	Other				Clay		
489	Mote of Mark	Mould	54.867604 N	3.8011656 W	700-800	Other				Clay		
490	Mote of Mark	Mould	54.867604 N	3.8011656 W	600-700	Other				Clay		
491	Mote of Mark	Axe/Hammer	54.867604 N	3.8011656 W	600-800	Bearded				Iron		

D3.15

Sites	Artefact Type	Latitude	Longitude	Approximate Date	Class/Subcl	Motif	Additional Info	Ascribed Culture	Material	Parallels	Notes
Mote of Mark	Mould	54.867604 N	3.8011656 W	600-700	De. Curvilinear				Clay		
Mote of Mark	Mould	54.867604 N	3.8011656 W	600-700	Other				Clay		
Mote of Mark	Mould	54.867604 N	3.8011656 W	700-800	Other						
Mote of Mark	Mould	54.867604 N	3.8011656 W	600-700	Other				Clay		
Mote of Mark	Crucible	54.867604 N	3.8011656 W	700-800	Small				Clay		
Mote of Mark	Mould	54.867604 N	3.8011656 W	600-700	Rectinlinear				Clay		
Mote of Mark	Crucible	54.867604 N	3.8011656 W	600-700	Small				Clay		
Mote of Mark	Mould	54.867604 N	3.8011656 W	700-800	Other				Clay		
Mote of Mark	Mould	54.867604 N	3.8011656 W	600-700	Other				Clay		
Mote of Mark	Mould	54.867604 N	3.8011656 W	600-700	Curved				Clay		
Mote of Mark	Mould	54.867604 N	3.8011656 W	700-800	Other				Clay		
Mote of Mark	Mould	54.867604 N	3.8011656 W	600-700	Other				Clay		
Mote of Mark	Mould	54.867604 N	3.8011656 W	600-800	Ingot			Celtic	Sandstone		
Mote of Mark	Mould	54.867604 N	3.8011656 W	700-800	Other						
Mote of Mark	Mould	54.867604 N	3.8011656 W	600-700	Other						
Mote of Mark	Crucible	54.867604 N	3.8011656 W	700-800	Small						
Mote of Mark	Mould	54.867604 N	3.8011656 W	600-700	Other				Clay		
Mote of Mark	Mould	54.867604 N	3.8011656 W	650-750	Other				Clay		
Mote of Mark	Mould	54.867604 N	3.8011656 W	600-700	Stud				Clay		
Mote of Mark	Mould	54.867604 N	3.8011656 W	700-800	Other				Clay		
Mote of Mark	Mould	54.867604 N	3.8011656 W	600-700	Other				Clay		
Mote of Mark	Mould	54.867604 N	3.8011656 W	600-700	Other				Clay		
Mote of Mark	Knife	54.867604 N	3.8011656 W	600-700	Class A				Iron		
Mote of Mark	Mould	54.867604 N	3.8011656 W	600-700	Other				Clay		
Mote of Mark	Mould	54.867604 N	3.8011656 W	650-750	Other				Clay		
Mote of Mark	Mould	54.867604 N	3.8011656 W	700-800	Other				Clay		
Mote of Mark	Mould	54.867604 N	3.8011656 W	600-700	Other				Clay		
Mote of Mark	Mould	54.867604 N	3.8011656 W	600-700	Other				Clay		

D3.16

#	Sites	Artefact Type	Latitude	Longitude	Approxim ate Date	Class/Subcl	Motif	Additional info	Ascribed Culture	Material	Parallels	Notes
526	Mouldsworth	Pommel	53.232263 N	2.759498 W	700-800		Confronted beasts, one winged. Tails forming interlace patternings. Zoomorphic side projections, bearing teeth			Silver		From Kevin Leahy: The interlace/knot work is not typical of the net-like interlace usually see on metalwork but there are parallels on high crosses. The fretted 'Greek key' motif on the other side is also unusual but again there are parallels in Crawfor
527	Natland	Strap End	54.182927 N	2.7220739 W	850-950	Thomas Class F		Zoomorphic	Irish	Copper alloy		
528	Nether Kellet	Strap End	54.859638 N	2.8739 W	700-900	Thomas A		Speckled beasts set against niello background		Copper alloy		
529	Newton	Strap End	54.395 N	3.483333 W	800-900	Thomas A2		Zoomorphic		Copper alloy		This type of strap ends dominate the cheaper end of the strap end market
530	Papcastle	Strap End	54.529 N	2.676 W	800-900	Thomas A1, Trewhiddle-style		Chevron above angular wolf-like beast	Anglo-Saxon	Copper alloy		
531	Roosecote	Strap End	53.6001 N	2.8446 W	800-900	Thomas A1		Counter-relief animal decoration	Anglo-Saxon	Copper alloy		
532	Seascale	Strap End	53.7902 N	2.8857 W	850-950	Thomas E3			Viking	Iron		
533	Shap	Strap End	53.5586 N	3.0666 W	800-900	Thomas A		Raised cross	Anglo-Saxon	Copper alloy		
535	Sound	Strap End	53.03245819 N	2.56063656 W	800-900	Thomas A1, Trewhiddle	Zoomorphic terminal, psaltire cross on snout. Quadruped left			Copper alloy		
536	Spurstow	Pin	53.103919 N	2.649691 W	700-900	Globular	Ring-and-dot			Copper alloy		
537	Spurstow	Pin	53.103927 N	2.648198 W	700-900	Biconical				Copper alloy		
553	Stainton	Bracelet	54.148226 N	3.1528375 W	900-950					Silver		
559	Stapeley	Pin	53.05281 N	2.491379 W	700-900	Spherical	Ring-and-dot			Copper alloy		

D3.17

	Sites	Artefact Type	Latitude	Longitude	Approximate Date	Class/Subcl	Motif	Additional Info	Ascribed Culture	Material	Parallels	Notes
570	Talnotrie	Finger ring	55.015871 N	4.3678535 W	800-900			Flat inner face and slightly-ribbed outer face		Gold		Part of a hoard deposited between 870-880
572	Talnotrie	Pin	55.015871 N	4.3678535 W	800-900	Disc-headed		Pair of pins, originally linked with a geometric cruciform decoration in the Trewhiddle style	Anglo-Saxon	Silver		Part of a hoard deposited between 870-880
575	Talnotrie	Pin	55.015871 N	4.3678535 W	800-900	Globular-headed		Divided into quadrants filled with triquetra scrolls of filagree work. Dark red globular settings where the dividing ridges meet.	Anglo-Saxon	Copper alloy		
582	Talnotrie	Strap End	55.015871 N	4.3678535 W	800-900	Thomas A		Animal-head terminal with comma-shaped ears. Central panel with Trewhiddle-style animal	Anglo-Saxon	Silver		Part of a hoard deposited between 870-880. These types of strap ends with comma-shaped ears tends to show a northernly distribution
587	Wesham	Vat	54.859638 N	2.8739 W	750-1000					Lead alloy		
591	Whithorn	Crucible	54.733798 N	4.4183144 W	700-800	Small		Bronze		Clay		
599	Whithorn	Pin	54.733798 N	4.4183144 W	700-800					Iron		
602	Whithorn	Dress Pin	54.733798 N	4.4183144 W	750-850	Ball-headed				Iron		
606	Whithorn	Key	54.733798 N	4.4183144 W	600-700	Sliding bolt				Iron		
609	Whithorn	Buckle	54.733798 N	4.4183144 W	600-700	D-ring				Iron		
615	Whithorn	Throat mount from a Knife Scabbard	54.733798 N	4.4183144 W	650-750			Relief borders and interlace design, rectangular in section, folded into an ovoid ring and soldered at the rear		Silver		
617	Whithorn	Key	54.733798 N	4.4183144 W	700-800	Barrel padlock				Iron		
622	Whithorn	Crucible	54.733798 N	4.4183144 W	700-800					Silver and copper alloy		
627	Whithorn	Brooch	54.733798 N	4.4183144 W	600-700	Penannular		Tapered from the centre to out-turned spiral terminals		Iron		
631	Whithorn	Knife	54.733798 N	4.4183144 W	600-700	Class A				Iron		
633	Whithorn	Mould	54.733798 N	4.4183144 W	600-700	Bi-partite		Stick pin mould with traces of copper alloy		Ceramic		
635	Whithorn	Buckle	54.733798 N	4.4183144 W	700-800	D-ring				Iron		

D3.18

Sites	Artefact Type	Latitude	Longitude	Approximate Date	Class/Subcl	Motif	Additional Info	Ascribed Culture	Material	Parallels	Notes
638 Whithorn	Pin or Nail			800-900			Large head and thick tapering shank		Iron		
642 Whithorn	Pin	54.733798 N	4.4183144 W	750-850	Ball-headed		Ball-headed pin with six radial grooves. Filing mark extend around the shank		Silver		
645 Whithorn	Pin	54.733798 N	4.4183144 W	750-850			Club-headed		Iron		
648 Whithorn	Pin	54.733798 N	4.4183144 W	750-850	Ball-headed		Club headed pin, transverse groove round shank. Bi-convexhead with faint transverse line above the middle. Collared neck.		Iron		
654 Whithorn	Pin	54.733798 N	4.4183144 W	800-850	Club-headed				Copper alloy		
661 Whithorn	Strip	54.733798 N	4.4183144 W	800-900					Copper alloy		
662 Whithorn	Knife	54.733798 N	4.4183144 W	700-800	Class A				Iron		
667 Whithorn	Mould	54.733798 N	4.4183144 W	600-700			Mould with traces of lead alloy		Ceramic		
670 Whithorn	Binding strip	54.733798 N	4.4183144 W	650-750					Copper alloy		
671 Whithorn	Pin	54.733798 N	4.4183144 W	600-800	Club-headed		Brocken pin with flattened club head and tapered neck		Bone		
675 Whithorn	Knife	54.733798 N	4.4183144 W	600-700	Class C				Iron		
681 Whithorn	Finger ring	54.733798 N	4.4183144 W	750-850			Plain circular finger ring of ovoid section		Silver		
687 Whithorn	Mould	54.733798 N	4.4183144 W	600-700	Bi-partite		Stick pin mould		Ceramic		
689 Whithorn	Strap End	54.733798 N	4.4183144 W	800-900	Pendant		May have had a stylized animal head. Straight sided, tapering at the base.	Northumbrian	Copper alloy		
694 Whithorn	Pin	54.733798 N	4.4183144 W	800-900	Ball-headed		Miscast ball-headed pin. Head and neck undecorated	Hiberno-Norse	Leaded bronze		
696 Whithorn	Strap End	54.733798 N	4.4183144 W	840-845	Pendant		Two taper plates with two rivet holes for strap attachment. Roughly incised Latin cross on the front plate.	Northumbrian	Copper alloy		
702 Whithorn	Pin	54.733798 N	4.4183144 W	600-700	Cube-headed		Angled cuboid head with a tapering shank		Lead alloy		This type of head is unknown in Scotland

D3.19

Sites	Artefact Type	Latitude	Longitude	Approximate Date	Class/Subcl	Motif	Additional Info	Ascribed Culture	Material	Parallels	Notes
704 Whithorn	Mould	54.733798 N	4.4183144 W	650-750	Bi-partite		Pebble with incised X on one face. Rosette mould on the opposed face		Sandstone		
707 Whithorn	Pin	54.733798 N	4.4183144 W	650-700			Sub-rectangular shank at the hip where it is broken. Decorated down the central axis on larger flat surfaces of point with incised vertical line overstamped with vertical row of punched stabs with a flat-diamond shape		Copper alloy		
708 Whithorn	Buckle Plate	54.733798 N	4.4183144 W	900-1000	Sub-triangular		Concentric roundel on a waisted plait above zoomorphic snout terminal	Anglo-Scandin	Copper alloy		
709 Whithorn	Knife	54.733798 N	4.4183144 W	700-800	Class C				Iron		
710 Whithorn	Pin	54.733798 N	4.4183144 W	600-700					Iron		
712 Whithorn	Strip	54.733798 N	4.4183144 W	600-700	Decorated	Animal head			Copper alloy		
713 Whithorn	Crucible	54.733798 N	4.4183144 W	700-800	Small		Leaded Brass		Clay		
714 Whithorn	Brooch	54.733798 N	4.4183144 W	650-750	Penannular		Plain butted terminals		Iron		
715 Whithorn	Buckle	54.733798 N	4.4183144 W	600-700	D-ring				Iron		
716 Whithorn	Crucible	54.733798 N	4.4183144 W	650-750	Small		Silver		Clay		
717 Whithorn	Brooch	54.733798 N	4.4183144 W	600-700	Pennanular				Iron		
726 Whithorn	Dress Pin	54.733798 N	4.4183144 W	700-800	Club-headed				Iron		
727 Whithorn	Crucible	54.733798 N	4.4183144 W	600-700					Bronze		
738 Whithorn	Filigree	54.733798 N	4.4183144 W	800-900		Stafford knot			Copper alloy		
739 Whithorn	Stylus	54.733798 N	4.4183144 W	600-800		Fish-spine			Copper alloy		
741 Whithorn	Pin	54.733798 N	4.4183144 W	700-800					Iron		
745 Whithorn	Pin	54.733798 N	4.4183144 W	800-850	Club-headed		Club headed, tin plated pin with hipped shank. Ovoid-sectioned shank with slight transverse groove midway down		Leaded bronze		
747 Whithorn	Mould	54.733798 N	4.4183144 W	600-700			Mould with traces of leaded brass		Ceramic		

D3.20

Sites	Artefact Type	Latitude	Longitude	Approxim ate Date	Class/Subcl	Motif	Additional Info	Ascribed Culture	Material	Parallels	Notes
754 Whithorn	Mould	54.733798 N	4.4183144 W	600-700	Bi-partite		Stick pin mould with traces of lead and bronze		Ceramic		
755 Whithorn	Strip	54.733798 N	4.4183144 W	800-900	Decorated				Copper alloy		
759 Whithorn	Strip	54.733798 N	4.4183144 W	800-900					Copper alloy		
760 Whithorn	Pin	54.733798 N	4.4183144 W	800-900	Round-headed		Round-headed pin with Type 3 trilobate decoration.	Hiberno-Norse	Copper alloy		
771 Whithorn	Speculum	54.733798 N	4.4183144 W	700-800	Cylindrical	Transverse lines			Copper alloy		
773 Whithorn	Binding strip	54.733798 N	4.4183144 W	650-750					Copper alloy		
775 Whithorn	Knife	54.733798 N	4.4183144 W	600-700	Class C				Iron		
776 Whithorn	Key	54.733798 N	4.4183144 W	700-800	Sliding bolt				Iron		
779 Whithorn	Stylus	54.733798 N	4.4183144 W	600-800					Copper alloy		
785 Whithorn	Pin	54.733798 N	4.4183144 W	800-900	Round-headed		Round-headed pin with ring-and-dot in each division	Hibern-Norse	Copper alloy		
795 Whithorn	Knife	54.733798 N	4.4183144 W	700-800	Class D				Iron		
803 Whithorn	Crucible	54.733798 N	4.4183144 W	700-800	Small		Copper alloy		Clay		
804 Whithorn	Pin	54.733798 N	4.4183144 W	600-700					Iron		
808 Whithorn	Knife	54.733798 N	4.4183144 W	700-800	Class A				Iron		
809 Whithorn	Mould	54.733798 N	4.4183144 W	600-700	Bi-partite		Mould with traces of copper alloy		Ceramic		
814 Whithorn	Dress Pin	54.733798 N	4.4183144 W	700-800	Club-headed				Iron		
817 Whithorn	Pin	54.733798 N	4.4183144 W	750-850	Club-headed		Club-headed		Iron		
819 Whithorn	Belt guide	54.733798 N	4.4183144 W	800-900			Incompletely finished		Iron		
823 Whithorn	Brooch	54.733798 N	4.4183144 W	650-750	Penannular		Plain butted terminal		Iron		
827 Whithorn	Mould	54.733798 N	4.4183144 W	600-700	Bi-partite		Mould with traces of leaded brass		Ceramic		
828 Whithorn	Crucible	54.733798 N	4.4183144 W	650-750	Small		Brass		Clay		
829 Whithorn	Buckle	54.733798 N	4.4183144 W	750-850	Quadrilateral				Iron		
830 Whithorn	Mould	54.733798 N	4.4183144 W	600-700	Bi-partite		Stick pin mould with traces of copper alloy		Ceramic		
831 Whithorn	Pin	54.733798 N	4.4183144 W	700-800					Iron		
835 Whithorn	Sickle	54.733798 N	4.4183144 W	600-700					Iron		
836 Whithorn	Pin	54.733798 N	4.4183144 W	600-700	Cube-headed		Broken pin with cubed-headed		Lead		This type of head is very uncommon in Scotland

D3.21

	Sites	Artefact Type	Latitude	Longitude	Approxim ate Date	Class/Subcl	Motif	Additional info	Ascribed Culture	Material	Parallels	Notes
838	Whithorn	Strap End	54.733798 N	4.4183144 W	840-845	Pendant		Terminates in a stylized relief animal head consisting of two ear with lunate opening, two triangular eyes and a well-defined snout. Split in the upper end to receive the belt.	Northumbria n	Leaded bronze		Typical example of the Whitby form
841	Whithorn	Buckle	54.733798 N	4.4183144 W	600-700	D-ring				Iron		
847	Whithorn	Strip	54.733798 N	4.4183144 W	800-900	Decorated	Cross			Leaded Brass		
855	Whithorn	Key	54.733798 N	4.4183144 W	700-800	Barrel padlock				Iron		
859	Whithorn	Pin	54.733798 N	4.4183144 W	800-900	Round-headed		Round-headed pin with trilobate head decoration	Hiberno-Norse	Copper alloy		
868	Whithorn	Knife	54.733798 N	4.4183144 W	600-700	Class C				Iron		
869	Whithorn	Dress Pin	54.733798 N	4.4183144 W	800-900					Iron		
873	Whithorn	Stylus	54.733798 N	4.4183144 W	600-800					Copper alloy		
876	Whithorn	Buckle	54.733798 N	4.4183144 W	700-800	D-ring				Iron		
877	Whithorn	Pin or Nail	54.733798 N	4.4183144 W	800-900			Large head and thick tapering shank		Iron		
878	Whithorn	Brooch	54.733798 N	4.4183144 W	700-800	Pennanular				Iron		
887	Whithorn	Pin	54.733798 N	4.4183144 W	600-800	Club-headed		Broken pin with club head, shank expands from neck to mid-section		Bone		
894	Whithorn	Pin	54.733798 N	4.4183144 W	800-850	Club-headed		Club-headed pin, ovoid-sectioned shank with shallow transverse groove in the mid-section		Copper alloy		
895	Whithorn	Pin	54.733798 N	4.4183144 W	600-700					Iron		
897	Whithorn	Knife	54.733798 N	4.4183144 W	700-800	Class A				Iron		
903	Whithorn	Strap End	54.733798 N	4.4183144 W	840-845	Pendant		Stylized animal head. Lobed butt end, curving split upper plates. The upper plate is decorated with an incised line following the curve of each side	Northumbria n	Copper alloy		
905	Whithorn	Dress Pin	54.733798 N	4.4183144 W	700-800	Club-headed				Iron		
906	Whithorn	Buckle	54.733798 N	4.4183144 W	750-850	Square				Iron		