

TITLE OF THESIS

**The settlement of East and West Flegg in Norfolk from
the 5th to 11th centuries**

By

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ABSTRACT

The thesis explores the *-by* and English place names on Flegg and considers four key themes. The first examines the potential ethnicity of the *-bys* and concludes the names carried a distinct Norse linguistic origin. Moreover, it is acknowledged that they emerged within an environment where a significant Scandinavian population was present. It is also proposed that the cluster of *-by* names, which incorporated personal name specifics, most likely emerged following a planned colonisation of the area, which resulted in the takeover of existing English settlements.

The second theme explores the origins of the *-by* and English settlements and concludes that they derived from the operations of a Middle Saxon productive site of Caister. The complex tenorial patterns found between the various settlements suggest that the area was a self sufficient economic entity. Moreover, it is argued that royal and ecclesiastical centres most likely played a limited role in the establishment of these settlements. The third element of the thesis considers the archaeological evidence at the *-by* and English settlements and concludes that a degree of cultural assimilation occurred. However, the presence of specific Scandinavian metal work finds suggests that a distinct Scandinavian culture may have survived on Flegg. The final theme considers the economic information recorded within the folios of Little Domesday Book. It is argued that both the *-by* and English communities enjoyed equal economic status on the island and operated a diverse economy.

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The Great Estuary, Flegg and river connections to Norfolk (Late Roman Period)

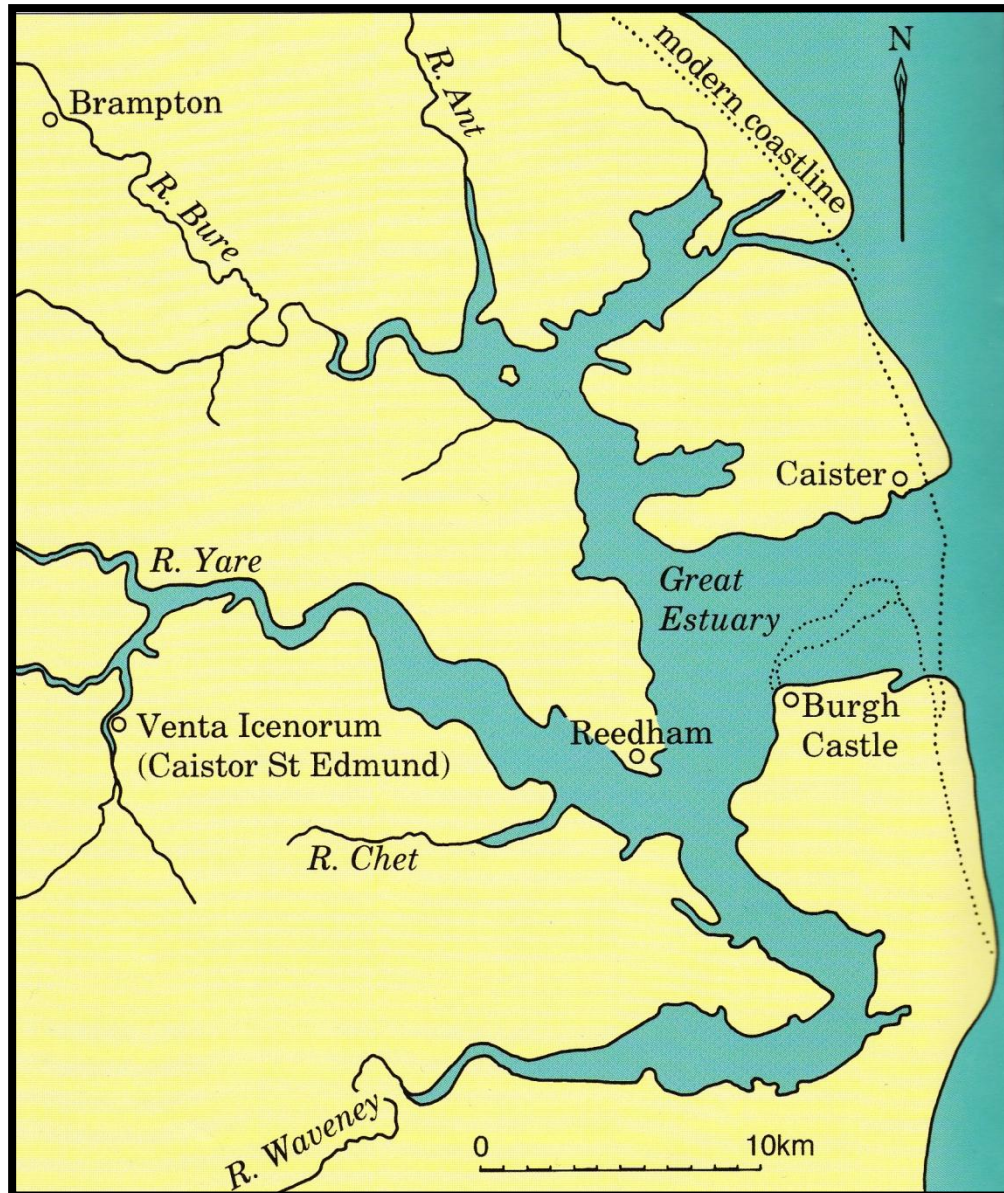


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The Location of Flegg in Norfolk

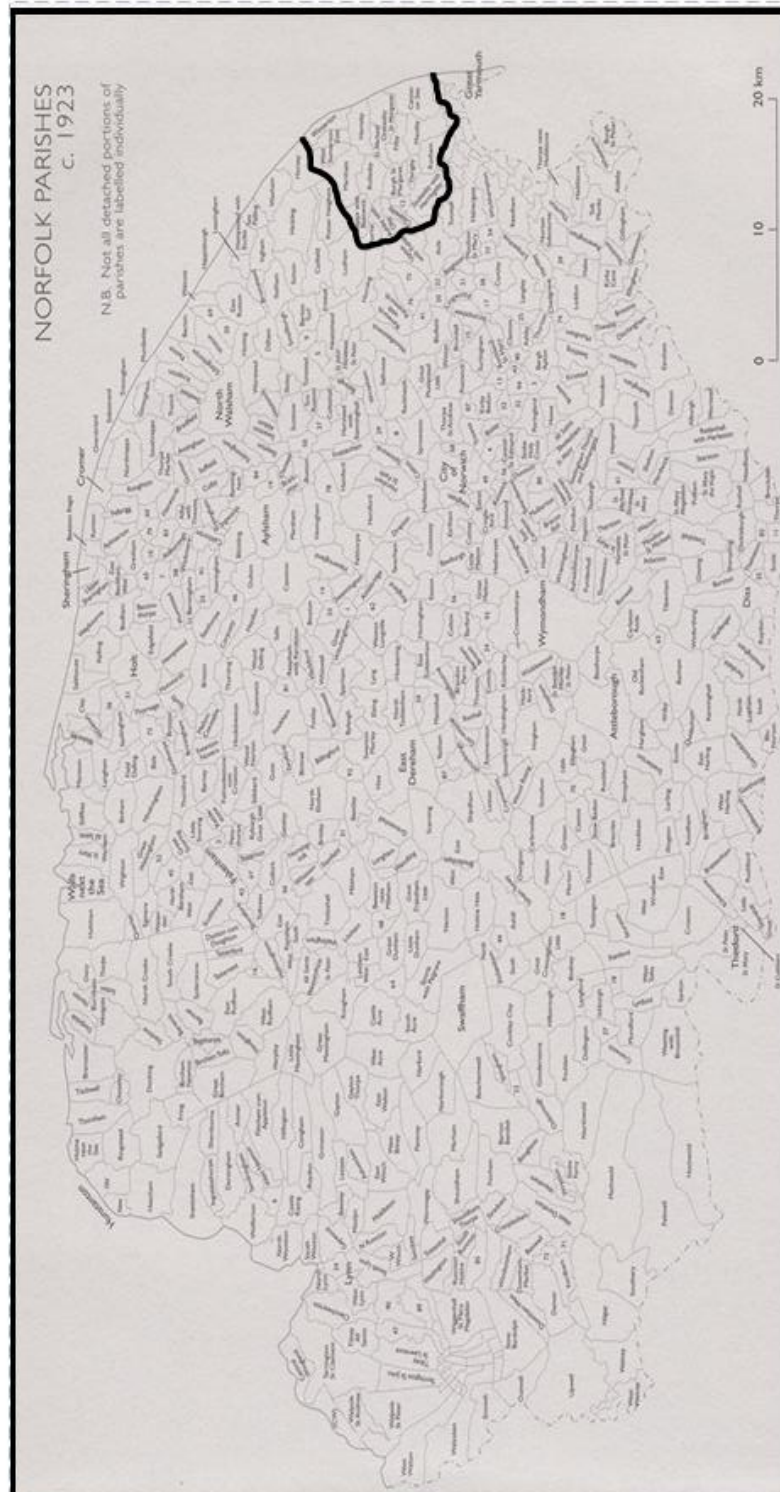


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Abbreviations

The following are a list of abbreviations used within the main body of the thesis

Amb.	Ambiguous
Pers.n.	Personal name
P.n.	Place name
ME.	Middle English
ODan.	Old Danish
OE.	Old English
ON.	Old Norse
OScand.	Old Scandinavian
OSwed.	Old Swedish
OWScand.	Old West Scandinavian
S.	Sawyer charter number
Scand.	Scandinavian

Chapter One

The Settlement of East and West Flegg in Norfolk from the 5th to 11th centuries

1.1. Introduction

Current debates about Scandinavian settlement in England have inevitably focused upon *–by* settlements within a regional framework such as the Danelaw.¹ The thesis rejects this model as being too simplistic in explaining the complexities of Scandinavian settlement in England. Instead I have adopted a micro-perspective approach, and focused upon a series of factors to account for the emergence of settlements within a clearly defined geographical area. Little Domesday Book recorded a total of twenty-three settlements in Norfolk carrying a Scandinavian suffix *–by*. On Flegg a total of twenty-seven settlements were recorded with a cluster of fourteen place names incorporating the element *–by*. The thesis explores the reasons for the emergence of this cluster through evaluation of a series of settlement models. It is argued in the thesis that Flegg witnessed a planned Viking colonisation of the area due to its strategic location on the east coast of Norfolk. Flegg's island status enabled access to a marine estuary which connected the hinterland of Norfolk via the Rivers Yare and Bure to the North Sea. It has been proposed that this factor inevitably influenced the emergence of some *–by*

¹ The origin of the Danelaw can be traced back to the treaty signed between King Alfred and King Guthrum. "First as to the boundaries between us, [they shall run] up the Thames, then up the Lea, and along the Lea to its source, then in a straight line to Bedford and then up the Ouse to Watling Street." from F.L. Attenborough, *The Laws of the Earliest English Kings*, trans. ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), p. 9. In essence the Danelaw comprised of the counties of Norfolk, Suffolk, Essex, Cambridgeshire, Buckinghamshire, Middlesex, and the modern counties of Lincolnshire, Leicestershire, Northamptonshire, Nottinghamshire, Derbyshire and Yorkshire.

settlements on the island. In the eleventh century Herman the Archdeacon explained that Ælfwen a devout recluse living at St. Benet of Hulme was set to inherit an estate at Ormesby. A monastic origin for the formation of settlements upon Flegg during the Viking period was explored and subsequently rejected.² The productive sites of Caister and Burgh Castle and Middle Saxon multiple estates in Norfolk were also explored as potential catalysts for the development of settlements upon Flegg. The thesis acknowledges that a number of place names emerged on Flegg before the period of Viking settlement, and that a variety of factors influenced the development of settlements within the area.

1.2 Research questions

This thesis has three interconnected research questions:

1. What were the social, political and economic factors which encouraged the growth of settlements on Flegg? The thesis places significant emphasis on factors which enabled the *-by* communities to become established on Flegg. However, the relationship between the *-by* and English communities has also been considered in this opening research question.
2. What economic role did the *-by* and English settlements play in the economy of Flegg at the time of Little Domesday Book? Key to success for the second research question is a synthesis of the key social and

² Tom Licence, *Herman the Archdeacon and Goscelin of Saint-Bertin: Miracles of St. Edmund*, trans. by Tom Licence (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), p. 27.

economic factors which encouraged the development of both settlement types across the Anglo-Saxon period.

3. What was the social status of the English and *-by* settlements on Flegg by the time of Little Domesday Book? For this final research question an understanding of the economic position of both *-by* and English communities is discussed. Moreover, analysis of the factors which encouraged the economic development of the *-by* and English communities has also been considered.

1.3 Methodology

To answer the three research questions posed in the Introduction, the thesis is broken down into four inter-connected chapters.

In Chapter Three the thesis presents one model for the emergence of *-by* settlements on Flegg. In this traditional model, the thesis hypothesises that the corpus of *-by* place names represented new settlements established by the Vikings on vacant marginal land. The viability of this model will be challenged in light of the debates in the literature review and presentation of alternative models in Chapter Four. The final element of this chapter discusses and interprets the soil quality on Flegg which enabled debates about the status of Viking settlements to be considered.

In Chapter Four the thesis initially explores the various debates on the origin of multiple estates, and examines the complex tenurial patterns recorded in Little

Domesday Book for the estates on Flegg.³ To account for these complex tenurial patterns three additional models have been hypothesised. The first model in Chapter Four theorises that specific *-by* and English settlements were established by the monastery of St. Benet of Hulme. In essence these communities on Flegg were exploited by the religious order to provide the appropriate sustenance for the ecclesiastical community. The second model speculates that the settlements upon Flegg emerged as outliers of the Middle Saxon multiple estates of Mileham and Walsham. More significantly, during the course of the ninth and tenth centuries these communities became estranged from their respective estate centre. The final model in Chapter Four hypothesises that specific settlements on Flegg were connected to the productive sites of Caister and Burgh Castle, and became alienated during the upheavals of the Viking invasions. In the thesis Chapter Four plays an important role as a counter-balance to the model proposed in Chapter Three.

In Chapter Five the thesis explores the viability of the four models presented in the previous chapters, through analysis of the archaeological evidence recovered at the English and *-by* settlements. Examination of the archaeological material also enables the thesis to present a chronology for the emergence of settlement upon Flegg; and in very broad terms the scale of cultural assimilation between the various populations in the area.

In Chapter Six the thesis focuses on a detailed analysis of the data recorded in Little Domesday Book for the *-by* and English settlements. This has enabled an effective assessment as to the economic role and social status of settlements

³ The term multiple estates refer to manors which held multiple *vills* and numerous outlying dependencies, described as *sokes* in the Northern Danelaw. Dawn Hadley, *The Northern Danelaw: Its social structure, c800-1100* (London: Leicester University Press, 2000), p. 24. The term estate is used to describe a settlement belonging to a particular lord with a defined *caput* and outlying dependencies.

on Flegg to be determined. Moreover, the thesis also considers the origin, economic status and distribution patterns of freemen and sokemen, as part of the wider discussion on the status of settlements. The thesis also outlines the various debates about the purpose of Domesday Book to establish the limits upon which the material can be analysed. Chapters Three to Five are intrinsically linked to this final section of the thesis. In essence the conclusions drawn from the toponymy of place names, tenurial ties and archaeological material effectively influenced the economic and social status of the settlements on Flegg as recorded in Little Domesday Book.

Chapter Two

2.1 Literature Review

2.1.1 Introduction

The literature review for the thesis on ‘The settlements of East and West Flegg’ has paid particular attention to the origin of *-by* place names. However, the thesis acknowledges that any discussion as to the origin of *-by* names cannot be fully explored without consideration of English settlements. Judith Jesch outlined a fundamental problem when looking at the issue of ethnicity, in that ‘the nature of the association between material culture and any form of ethnic consciousness is a complex matter.’¹ The inherent complexity of this concept has shaped the structure of this literature review. In order for a comprehensive analysis to be considered, the review considers three inter-related themes. The first theme explores the debate about ethnicity and settlement names. The second considers the origin of *-by* place names. The third theme discusses the survival of Old Norse in the Danelaw and implications for settlement density. In the final theme the literature review considers Danish legal influences within the Danelaw.

In order for the first theme to be fully explored, the literature review has considered the opinions of Judith Jesch,² Gillian Fellows-Jensen,³ and Lesley

¹ Judith Jesch, *The Viking Diaspora* (London: Routledge, 2015), p. 75.

² Judith Jesch, ‘Scandinavian Wirral’, in *Wirral and its Viking Heritage*, ed. by Victor Watts (Nottingham: English Place Name Society, 2000), pp. 1-10 (p. 3).

³ Gillian Fellows-Jensen has written extensively on *-by* place names, particular references will be added as and when appropriate when I consider her interpretation on the ethnicity of settlements.

Abrams and David N. Parsons.⁴ These four historians have all argued that language groups could be identified at specific –by settlements. The counter arguments have focused on the work by Peter Sawyer⁵ and Dawn Hadley,⁶ who both noted that ethnic labels could not be easily apportioned to settlements. In essence these two historians suggested that the concept of ethnic identity and affiliation to specific social groups was too fluid.

2.1.2 Explanation of ethnic identity

The concept of a group consciousness based on a common linguistic heritage, the ‘*donsk tunga*’, has been found in many literary works from across the Scandinavian world. This evidence has been used by historians to suggest that a broad ethnic label could be applied to all Scandinavians. Jesch noted that in Snorri Sturluson’s thirteenth-century work the *Edda*, he used the phrase to identify all the areas where a common language was spoken. In various Icelandic sagas the adjective *norrœnn* was often employed to separate Norwegians from Icelanders. More significantly it was often applied to people who shared a common language to separate them from other individuals. In England the adjective *norrœnn* was used to distinguish Norwegian and Danish in northern dialects. She further explained that in Snorri Sturluson’s history of the kings of Norway the author declared that many place names in Northumbria were given in the Norse tongue.⁷ Jesch concluded from her analysis of literary sources that broad distinctions could be made between Old English and Old Norse. Moreover, the literary sources also implied there was a

⁴ Lesley Abrams and David N. Parsons, ‘Place-names and the History of Scandinavian Settlement in England’, in *Land, Sea and Home: Settlement in the Viking period*, ed. by John Hines, Alan Lane and Mark Rednap (Leeds: Maney Publishing, 2004), pp. 379-432 (p. 393).

⁵ Peter. H. Sawyer, *From Roman Britain to Norman England*, 2nd edn (London: Routledge, 1998), p. 162.

⁶ Hadley, *The Northern Danelaw*, p. 332.

⁷ Jesch, *The Viking Diaspora*, pp. 75-77.

general awareness of differences *within* the overarching linguistic unity of the Scandinavians.⁸

An Irish document, the '*Three Fragments*', and Welsh chronicles have also been employed, in collaborative support, to apportion an ethnic label for *-by* settlements.⁹ These sources described how Æthelflæd 'Lady of the Mercians' granted land to Ingimund and his followers on the Wirral, after their expulsion from Dublin.¹⁰ Jesch noted that an ethnic origin could be applied to Ingimund and his followers from the sources and the place names created on the Wirral. She suggested that a general Hiberno-Norse community could be assumed for the colonists as places names betrayed Irish influences.¹¹ In essence she was supportive of the idea that broad ethno-linguistic origins could be conferred upon specific groups within definable geographical areas. Documented evidence for changes in place names has also shown that specific ethnic groups influenced the nomenclature of settlements. In the case of York its name changed from the British spelling Eburakon, to the Old English and Old Norse names Eoforwic and Jórdvík. In essence, settlements experienced a refashioning and re-interpretation of names by different groups of people.¹²

Local studies of place names have revealed the presence of different ethno-linguist groups and influences upon naming habits. On the Wirral; Old Norse, Old Irish and Old English place names have been identified in the cases of Irby

⁸ Jesch, *The Viking Diaspora*, pp. 75-77.

⁹ The Irish source mentioned in the text referred to the *Three Fragments* found in the *Annals of Ireland*. J.O'Donnovan Irish Archaeological and Celtic Society, (Dublin, 1860). The Welsh Chronicle noted in the thesis is referenced as *Annales Cambriae, s.a. 902; Igmunt, Brut y Tywsogion s.a. 900: Igmond*. Discussed by Frederick Threlfall Wainwright, 'North-West Mercia AD 871-924', in *Wirral and its Viking Heritage*, ed. by Paul Cavill, Stephen E. Harding and Judith Jesch (Nottingham: English Place-Name Society, 2000), pp. 19-42 (pp. 38-39).

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 20-21.

¹¹ Judith Jesch, 'Scandinavian Wirral', pp. 2-3.

¹² Abrams and Parsons, 'Place-names and the History of Scandinavian Settlement in England', p. 393.

(*Old Norse*), *Noctorum (Old Irish)* and *Liscard (Old Irish)* and Denhall (Old English). In these cases, Irish, Norse and Old English influences upon the local vocabulary can be assumed.¹³ Evidence for mixed communities can also be found in cases where place names described specific social groups. In the case of Denhall, it derived from Old English, and was most likely given by an English-speaking population for a *spring* frequented or occupied by Danes.¹⁴ The Wirral material cannot be used as irrefutable proof that distinct ethno-linguistic groups named specific settlements. However, it can be assumed that different languages were often present within distinct geographical areas and they influenced naming habits.

A cultural infusion in naming habits can be identified from analysis of specific names which carried both Old Norse and English elements. Fellows-Jensen noted that *-bys* which carried an English personal name element were most likely borne by English owners or tenants, within a region where the Scandinavians were in a majority.¹⁵ The presence of appellative *-by* forms which denoted a church, such as Kirby, was invariably assigned to pre-existing English settlements.¹⁶ Archaeological evidence has shown that in many cases the fabric of these buildings pre-dated the Norman period. In essence the building existed prior to the arrival of the Vikings within the area.¹⁷ Although these place name specifics referred to older settlements, she was confident they were coined by Scandinavian settlers. Moreover, Fellows-Jensen argued

¹³ Jesch, 'Scandinavian Wirral', p. 3.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p.3.

¹⁵ Gillian Fellows-Jensen, *Scandinavian Settlement Names in the East Midlands* (Copenhagen: I commission hos Akademisk forlag, 1978), p. 17.

¹⁶ Gillian Fellows-Jensen, 'Scandinavian settlements in the Danelaw in light of place-names of Denmark', in *Proceedings of the Eighth Viking Congress*, ed. by Hans Bekker-Nielsen, Peter Foote and Olaf Olsen (Viborg: Odense University Press, 1981), pp. 133-147 (p. 138).

¹⁷ Gillian Fellows-Jensen, 'Light thrown by Scandinavian Place-Names on the Anglo-Saxon Landscape', in *Place-Names, language and the Anglo-Saxon Landscape*, ed. by Nicholas J. Higham and Martin J. Ryan (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2011), pp. 69-84 (p. 72).

the suffix *-by* 'did not enter into the vocabulary of standard or dialectal English except in the fossilised compound *by-law*.'¹⁸ She also noted that pre-existing communities could be detected at settlements which carried distinctive Old English appellative forms such as Eppleby, Huby, Swainby, Ashby and Wilby.¹⁹ The presence of appellative *-by* forms encouraged Fellows-Jensen to conclude that Norse speakers must have been present within an English landscape. Fellows-Jensen's acknowledgement that specific place names betrayed both Old English and Old Norse elements has supported Jesch's arguments for a mixed linguistic heritage.

Analysis of place names in *-by* which betrayed Old Norse personal names has been the cornerstone for debate about the ethnicity of settlers. Fellows-Jensen acknowledged the ethnicity of settlers could be assumed from these place name specifics. The sheer number of place names in the Danelaw which carried a distinctive Scandinavian personal name represented the presence of a population of Scandinavian origin. More significantly she argued the sheer volume and variety of names found must have reflected the customs of a community of some considerable size and not just the influence of a small elite minority.²⁰ Analysis of distribution patterns have also been employed to show the presence of substantial Scandinavian populations. Analysis of personal names in *-by* which carried a distinctive Norse element over those which incorporated a pure English prefix, found a ratio of approximately 2:1 in Lincolnshire and a ratio 7:3 in Yorkshire. More significantly in the East Midlands large concentrations of *-bys* with personal and appellative specifics could be

¹⁸ Gillian Fellows-Jensen, 'The Vikings relationship with Christianity in the British Isles: The evidence of place-names containing the element *kirkja*', in *Proceedings of the Tenth Viking Congress*, ed. by James E. Knirk (Oslo: Harald Lych & Co, 1987), pp. 295- 306 (p. 298).

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 298.

²⁰ Gillian Fellows-Jensen, 'The Vikings in England: a review', in *Anglo-Saxon England 4*, ed. by Peter Clemose (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1975), pp. 181-206 (p. 193).

found *clustered* in certain areas. The presence of these clusters was significant as these communities would not have appeared in an average mixed local population. Instead the *-bys* arose in a predominantly Norse speaking rather than an Anglo-Scandinavian environment.²¹

It cannot be completely substantiated that only Norse speakers penned settlement names. However, the sheer weight of names which betrayed a distinct Norse personal element, suggests that naming habits were influenced by a distinctive linguistic heritage.

The arguments that *-by* settlements with personal name specifics, represented communities with only a distinct Nordic population, has not been widely accepted. Sawyer noted that a number of *-bys* with personal name qualifiers, have been found in Lincolnshire, at settlements with a pre-Viking history. In essence these communities were already established and were inhabited by an English population.²² He also argued that *-by* name qualifiers could not be realistically associated with a Scandinavian or person of Scandinavian decent. He also suggested that many place names which incorporated the element *-by* such as Denby, meaning the *-by* of the Dane(s) must have been given coined by an English population. As to why an English population utilised an obvious Scandinavian word, Sawyer noted that over time the English inhabitants of a region would have become accustomed to its meaning through the concept of the term *by-laws* meaning the law of the village.²³ However, Sawyer acknowledged that the presence of over 700 English place names, which

²¹ Abrams and Parsons, 'Place-names and the History of Scandinavian Settlement in England', pp. 395-398.

²² Sawyer, *From Roman Britain to Norman England*, p. 162.

²³ Peter H. Sawyer, *The Age of the Vikings*, 2nd edn (London: Edward Arnold Press, 1971), p. 155.

included the element *-by*, proved beyond doubt, the importance of Scandinavian influence on the nomenclature of England.²⁴

Sawyer has presented an unconvincing argument against a Norse heritage for personal name qualifies in *-by*. It can be argued that a Norse population may still have influenced the renaming of settlements regardless of its heritage or English population. His assumption that *-by* names arose in an environment where populations were exposed to terms such as bylaw can be challenged as too simplistic. Most damaging for Sawyer's argument, has been his own admission that the sheer volume of *-by* place names must have been influenced by a distinct Scandinavian nomenclature. It must also be realised his position on the linguistic origin of *-by* names was directly influenced by his conclusion on the numbers of Scandinavian settlers in England.

Sawyer's position as to the problems with the apportionment of ethnic labels to settlements has gained support from other historians. Most notably Hadley dismissed the concept that place names which carried a Scandinavian name only contained people of Scandinavian decent. She argued this hypothesis was misleading as it demanded all sorts of assumption about ethnic separateness which could not be substantiated. She noted that Scandinavian motifs on numerous stone sculptures found at English place names presented a picture of diverse populations.²⁵ Hadley also argued that many place names carried two distinct name formations which often blurred the apportionment of an ethnic label. In the case of Bleasby (Nottinghamshire) it was recorded in different sources as *Blasebi/Blisetune*, which reflected both Scandinavian and English influences. In reality she suggested that different names for the same

²⁴ Sawyer, *The Age of the Vikings*, p. 155.

²⁵ Hadley, *The Northern Danelaw*, p. 332.

place circulated locally, and revealed the fallacy of using place-names in any discussion on ethnic separateness and identity.²⁶

Critics of ethnic segregation have taken the argument to its logical conclusion, and stressed that 'it is possible to show that Danish identity was not a given, but was socially and culturally constructed in the process of settlement, deployed at certain times and places in particular contexts.'²⁷ In many ways the inevitable social contact between Scandinavians and indigenous English population across the ninth and tenth centuries eroded the existence of distinct ethnic groups within the Danelaw. Hadley in particular argued that 'after a century and a half of intermarriage and social mixing, the Scandinavian settlers irrespective of their numbers could barely have maintained a completely separate existence and identity.'²⁸ Hadley's argument for the inevitable interaction of populations has been accepted by the thesis. However, her silence over the potential initial segregation of populations at the start of the Viking incursions is damaging to her overall argument.

In conclusion the thesis adopts the position that distinct Norse place names must have been initially coined by Norse speakers. For settlements which betrayed assimilation of Old English and Old Norse elements, they must have arisen within an environment when these languages were becoming more inter-changeable. The arguments raised about the ethnicity of settlement names have invariably looked at regional patterns. As outlined in the thesis' introduction, local level investigations may prove more fruitful in understanding the emergence of clusters of *-by* names within the landscape.

²⁶ Dawn Hadley, 'Viking and Native: re-thinking Identity in the Danelaw', *Early Medieval Europe*, 2 (2002), 45-70 (p. 57).

²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 46.

²⁸ Hadley, *The Northern Danelaw*, p. 119.

2.1.3 The *-by* as new or existing settlements

The debate as to the origin of *-by* names as either new settlements, established on vacant land or English settlements taken over and simply renamed, has proved contentious. For settlements which carried an Old English prefix a general consensus has been reached that they represented pre-existing communities which were re-fashioned by the Viking colonisers. Frank Stenton,²⁹ Kenneth Cameron,³⁰ Margaret Gelling³¹ and Richard Bailey³² all acknowledged the *-bys* established on less favourable soils alongside those which carried a personal name element, most likely represented new settlements. In contrast historians such as Sawyer³³ and Hadley³⁴ have concluded that *-bys* represented the alienation of outlying communities from pre-existing Middle Saxon multiple estates. Later work undertaken by Fellows-Jensen also concluded that specific *-by* names may once have been older English settlements. The debate about the origin of *-by* settlements has been central for the establishment of the thesis' first model outlined in Chapter Three.

Discussions about the history of *-bys* in the Danelaw have focused on interpretation of the specifics employed for personal and appellative place names. For place names where a Danish personal name was compounded with a native English word *-tun*, it may have represented the replacement of an

²⁹ Frank Stenton, *Anglo-Saxon England*, 3rd edn (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1971), p. 524.

³⁰ Kenneth Cameron, 'Scandinavian Settlement in the Territory of the Five Boroughs: The Place-Name Evidence', in *Place Name Evidence for the Anglo-Saxon Invasion and Scandinavian Settlements* (Nottingham: English Place Name Society, 1975), pp. 115-147 (pp. 115-147).

³¹ Margaret Gelling, *Sign posts to the past*, 3rd edn (Chichester: Phillimore, 1997), p. 226.

³² Richard Bailey, *Viking Age sculpture in Northern England* (London: Collins, 1980), p. 38.

³³ A number of references have been made to Peter Sawyer and Dawn Hadley and these will be identified as and when used.

Englishman by a Dane in an existing village. In contrast where *-bys* were formed in a compound with a Danish personal name it represented the foundation of new settlements.³⁵ In a series of articles looking at place names in the territories of the five boroughs, Cameron considered geological evidence to support his claims that *-bys* represented new settlements. He acknowledged that the Danes may have settled in communities without changing or modifying their names, and in a few cases pre-existing English settlements were taken over and re-named such as Darby and Bleasby. However, he concluded that many of the *-bys* occupied less favourable river tributary sites or small patches of favourable glacial sand and gravel formation.³⁶ Cameron also found across his survey that English sites predominately occupied and dominated the favourable soils. From his work he was convinced that 'names in *-by* in terms of the Geological Drift Map.....suggested that the Danes came as colonists, developing virgin land and establishing new settlements.'³⁷ A similar pattern was also identified in Cumbria where English and Anglo- Scandinavian hybrid names in *-tun* were located on better soils, whilst the Scandinavian place names in *-by* were found on less attractive sites. To account for this pattern it was suggested that the sudden growth in population within the area 'demanded the development of new settlements, and fresh land exploitation, on less attractive sites at a time when Scandinavian speakers were living in the area.'³⁸

Cameron's conclusions also raised the concept that a considerable amount of virgin and vacant land existed in pre-Viking Anglo-Saxon England. Moreover, his arguments have also suggested that a degree of land under utilisation was

³⁵ Stenton, *Anglo-Saxon England*, p. 524.

³⁶ Cameron, 'Scandinavian settlement in the territory of the Five Boroughs', pp. 116-128.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 126.

³⁸ Bailey, *Viking Age sculpture in Northern England*, p. 38.

a common feature within the Anglo-Saxon landscape. Although Cameron's theories for settlement formation in the five boroughs proved highly influential, his concept of 'virgin' land has not been widely accepted. Instead terms such as 'disused' or 'less favourable land' have been employed to describe the Anglo-Saxon environment. Gelling argued that this land had once been intensively farmed by the Romans, was then abandoned during the early Anglo-Saxon period, and then re-occupied during Viking period. It was this second best land which Vikings settlers occupied and named their villages.³⁹ The concept of second best land has also been used to explain the presence of *-bys* on marshlands. Across the Anglo-Saxon period these regions were abandoned, and it was upon these desolate 'fenland' areas the Danes chose for their settlements.⁴⁰ In Fellows-Jensen comprehensive review of place names in Yorkshire she argued that many of the *-bys* were established on the 'best available' land; which was often sandwiched between existing English villages. She also noted that in Yorkshire there was little evidence to suggest that these settlements had once been older Anglian communities.⁴¹ The thesis rejects the concept that remote areas such as Flegg consisted of virgin land; instead the area may have been used less intensively during the Early and Middle Anglo-Saxon periods.

In her later work Fellows-Jensen revised her early conclusions about the origin of specific *-bys*. In the East Midlands she noted that many settlements which incorporated an Old English specific were likely to have been older established communities. Around Ancaster (Lincolnshire) she noted that a number of

³⁹ Gelling, *Sign posts to the past*, p. 226.

⁴⁰ Karl Inge Sandred, 'The Scandinavians in Norfolk: some observations on the Place-Names in *-by*', *English Place-Name Society Journal*, 19 (1985-86), 5-28 (p. 6).

⁴¹ Gillian Fellows-Jensen, *Scandinavian settlement names in Yorkshire* (Copenhagen: I Commission hos Akademisk Forlag, 1972), p. 250.

settlements carried a high tax assessment. In essence these settlements were probably well established communities with an Anglian heritage, prior to their takeover by the Vikings.⁴² Fellows-Jensen also noted that many *-bys* may have represented older English settlements which carried the suffix *byrigg*. She noted across a number of settlements in Lincolnshire, place names had clearly abandoned the Old English suffix in favour of the Scandinavian *-by* form.⁴³

Fellows-Jensen was also adamant that in cases where Old English appellatives and adjectives forms incorporated the suffix *-by*; they almost certainly represented the re-naming of existing settlements by the Vikings.⁴⁴ The most common forms often incorporated place names representing plants or topographical features such as Ashby (OE *æsc*), and Welby (OE *wilig*). For Fellows-Jensen the *-bys* appeared in the landscape following the break-up of older estates into small independent units. These settlements may well have been older English communities, but their original names had not been recorded in writing, because the unit in question had earlier been administered from and assessed together with the estate centre.⁴⁵

For place names which incorporated the Norse term *Kirkja*, Fellows-Jensen argued these place names referred to a settlement with a church. The 'quasi-appellative name Kirkby....would seem to have been imposed upon pre-

⁴² Fellows-Jensen, 'Place-name evidence for Scandinavian settlement in the Danelaw: A Reassessment', in *The Vikings Proceedings of the Symposium of the Faculty of Arts of Uppsala University*, ed. by Thorsten Andersson and Karl Inge Sandred (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell International, 1978), pp. 89-99 (pp. 90-97).

⁴³ Gillian Fellows-Jensen, *The Vikings and their victims: The verdict of names* (London: Viking Society for Northern Research, 1994), p. 23.

⁴⁴ Gillian Fellows-Jensen, 'In the steps of the Vikings', in *Vikings and the Danelaw: Select Papers from the Proceedings of the Thirteenth Viking Congress*, ed. by James Campbell, Richard Hall, Judith Jesch and David. N. Parsons (Oxford: Oxbow books, 2001), pp. 279-288 (p. 282).

⁴⁵ Gillian Fellows-Jensen, 'Scandinavian settlement in Yorkshire- through the rear-view mirror', in *Scandinavian Settlements in Northern Britain: Thirteen Studies of Place-Names in their Historical Context*, ed. by Barbary E. Crawford (London: Leicester University Press, 1997), pp. 170-187 (pp. 179-180).

existing English settlements from above by Danish authorities in connection with the introduction of a parochial organisation.’⁴⁶ Other types of place name specifics have also been used to show the fragmentation of multiple estates. In the case of Barnby place names, they most likely referred to a Norse appellative *barn* to mean a ‘child’. In these specific cases they most likely represented new estates, established in the outfields of the territory of its parent *vill*, by the children of the owner/tenant of the *vill*.⁴⁷

The work undertaken by linguists and historians has traditionally considered the *-bys* within a regional perspective. Although these regional investigations have proved invaluable in general discussions, they may be inherently flawed in that regional perspectives have invariably ignored local peculiarities. The discussions on Flegg, addressed in the thesis, may provide a more nuanced perspective as to conditions faced by populations within Anglo-Saxon England.

The arguments proposed by Stenton and Cameron that *-bys* carrying a personal name represented new settlements, have also been roundly challenged. Fellows-Jensen remarked that these specific settlement names most likely resulted from the fragmentation of older estates, a feature which occurred across both Yorkshire and the East Midlands. However, she also admitted that these *-bys* may have become established on vacant land, deserted by the English and let run to waste.⁴⁸ However, in later work she refined her conclusions about the concept of vacant land: ‘I am now convinced that most of the settlements with names in *-by* were taken over by the Vikings

⁴⁶ Fellows-Jensen, *The Vikings and their victims*, p. 22.

⁴⁷ M.S. Parker, ‘Some Notes on Barnby and Related Place-Names in England’, *English Place Name Society Journal* 17 (1985), 5-14 (p. 5).

⁴⁸ Fellows-Jensen, *Scandinavian Settlement Names in the East Midlands*, p. 369.

as going concerns, rather than the exploitation of vacant land.’⁴⁹ In particular she argued the Danes often detached specialised units from Old English estates. Moreover, Scandinavians often gave them names whose specifics indicated their function or their topographical situation; such as *Hunmanby* the ‘settlement of the houndsman’ and *Sowerby* the ‘settlement on sour ground.’⁵⁰ In the north-west of England she noted there was evidence that Scandinavians took over and renamed existing English estates. For place names which contained a Norman personal name and *-by* she was adamant they also represented the takeover of existing settlements and were formed in the eleventh century.⁵¹

The debates about the large number of personal name *-bys* have focused on specific socio-political factors which may have encouraged their formation. Fellows-Jensen proposed these place names arose as there was a necessity to mark the transfer of the newly established settlement into private ownership.⁵² In the East Midlands the prevalence of these place names may have occurred after the Danes had experienced a series of military defeats. These defeats enabled small landowners to claim fuller rights over their property. The greater independence and tenurial freedom ensured that many new names were coined denoting the new owner.⁵³ Sawyer generally supported the conclusions reached by Fellows-Jensen. He suggested that many *-bys* which contained a personal name marked a change in the status of the settlement; as many still belonged to the estate *caput* which extracted tributes

⁴⁹ Gillian Fellows-Jensen, ‘Place-names and settlements: some problems of dating as exemplified by place names in *-by*’, *Nomina*, 8 (1984), 29-39 (p. 31).

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 31

⁵¹ Gillian Fellows-Jensen, *Scandinavian Settlements in the North-West* (Copenhagen: C.A. Reitzel Forlag, 1985), p. 414.

⁵² Fellows-Jensen, ‘Scandinavian settlements in the Danelaw in the light of place names of Denmark’, p. 139.

⁵³ Gillian Fellows-Jensen, ‘Place-names as a reflection of cultural interaction’, in *Anglo Saxon England* 19, ed. by Michael Lapidge (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), pp 13-21 (p. 17).

and services from them.⁵⁴ However, he acknowledged that *bys* in more desolate places most likely represented a separation and change in ownership by the settlement. In essence, the imposition of a personal name made it clear that a new Scandinavian lord had taken over the settlement.⁵⁵

To account for *-bys* in the more remote locations in Anglo-Saxon England, it has been argued that many may have resulted from earlier planned migrations. It has been suggested that lords may have encouraged the movement of peasants to these desolate places, which enabled them to gain tenurial independence quickly following loss of contact with their estate *caputs*.⁵⁶

The concept of sokes has been explored to explain the presence of *-bys* in the Anglo-Saxon world. Hadley acknowledged that some sokes which incorporated a personal name may have emerged following decisions by the estate centre to grant land to individuals. In the case of larger sokes, individual settlements may have once formed separate estates which were later absorbed into the estate system. She noted from a charter dated 959 (S 681), which recorded the dependencies of Howden, the majority had English place names.⁵⁷ Domesday later recorded an increase in dependencies with a much higher percentage having a Scandinavian personal name. For Hadley this suggested that new settlements may have been acquired after 959, or settlements which had been acquired had become separately assessed.⁵⁸

⁵⁴ Peter, H, Sawyer, *Kings and Vikings* (London: Routledge, 1989), p. 106.

⁵⁵ Sawyer, *From Roman Britain to Norman England*, p. 163.

⁵⁶ Tom Williamson, *The origins of Norfolk* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1993), p. 108.

⁵⁷ The charter described the various dependencies in and around Howden in *The Electronic Sawyer* (2019) <<http://www.esawyer.org.uk/about/index.html>> [accessed May 2019].

⁵⁸ Dawn Hadley, 'Multiple estates and the origins of the manorial structure of the northern Danelaw', *Journal of Historical Geography*, 22 (1999), 3-5 (pp. 4-11).

In many ways Hadley's arguments have supported the conclusions drawn by Fellows-Jensen and Sawyer; in that a significant number of *-bys* were established from existing English settlements. These arguments have been accepted by the thesis. However, more detailed investigations are required to account for *-bys* in more remote locations. The presence of these settlements cannot be easily explained within the picture of estate organisation, as their value to the estate centre cannot be immediately quantified.

2.1.4 The survival of Old Norse as a spoken and written language

The third section of the literature review considers the key debates about the longevity of Old Norse as a spoken language, and its impact upon the grammar and spelling of Old English language. The longevity and impact of Old Norse has also been employed to determine the presence and influence of linguist groups within Anglo-Saxon England. This part of the thesis also provides material to complement the previous debates undertaken on the ethnicity of settlers and settlement nomenclature. In this section debate focuses on the work undertaken by linguists and historians such as Frank Stenton⁵⁹ David N. Parsons,⁶⁰ Judith Jesch⁶¹ and Matthew Townend.⁶² These academics have suggested that Old Norse remained a vibrant language across the Viking period. Their conclusions drawn from analysis of place names and inscriptions,

⁵⁹ Stenton, *Anglo Saxon England*, pp. 520-524.

⁶⁰ David N. Parsons, 'How Long did the Scandinavian language survive in England? Again', in *Vikings and the Danelaw: Select Papers from the Thirteenth Viking Congress*, ed. by James Campbell, Richard Hall, Judith Jesch and David N. Parsons (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2001), pp. 299-312 (p. 299).

⁶¹ Judith Jesch, 'Skaldic verse in Scandinavian England', in *Vikings and the Danelaw: Select Papers from the Thirteenth Viking Congress*, ed. by James Campbell, Richard Hall, Judith Jesch and David N. Parsons (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2001), pp. 313-326 (p. 314).

⁶² Matthew Townend, 'Viking Age England as a Bilingual Society', in *Cultures in Contact: Scandinavian Settlement in England in the Ninth and Tenth Centuries*, ed. by Dawn Hadley and Julian D. Richards (Turnout: Brepols, 2000), pp. 89-106 (p. 90).

have suggested that a large Old Norse population was resident in the Danelaw. Although epigraphical material has been used to promote the presence of a Norse language, the dearth of material has proved a serious handicap to this discussion. In contrast R.I. Page,⁶³ Peter Sawyer⁶⁴ and Dawn Hadley⁶⁵ have criticised the use of language as an effective indicator in determining the ethnicity of settlements. These historians concluded that more important socio-political factors played a role in the establishment and development of settlements. An understanding of the survival of Old Norse has played an important element within the establishment of the thesis' first model. Conclusions drawn from this section of the literature review have been employed to establish a framework in determining the potential linguistic origin of the settlers upon Flegg.

Arguments for the longevity of Old Norse have stressed its residual presence in post Danelaw England. Evidence has shown that during the reign of Henry II the traditional names of the Scandinavian world were still remembered, and Scandinavian habits of name forming were still in use. These included examples of every kind of name types for both men and women current in the Scandinavian world. The sheer presence of large numbers of Scandinavian names showed that within the region covered by the intensive settlement of Scandinavians, there had been no general assimilation of Danes to Englishmen in the two centuries before the Norman Conquest.⁶⁶

⁶³ R. I. Page, 'How long did the Scandinavian language survive in England? The epigraphical evidence', in *England before the Conquest*, ed. by Peter Clemoes and Kathleen Hughes (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1971), pp. 165-183 (p. 170).

⁶⁴ Sawyer, *The Age of the Vikings* p. 170.

⁶⁵ Dawn Hadley, 'Cockle amongst the Wheat': The Scandinavian Settlement of England', in *Social Identity in Early Medieval Britain*, ed. by William O. Frazer and Andrew Tyrrell (Leicester; Leicester University Press 2000), pp. 111- 136 (p. 122).

⁶⁶ Stenton, *Anglo Saxon England*, pp. 520-524.

Consideration of grammatical influences has also been employed to support the argument for an intensive settlement of Norse speakers. Stenton noted there had been a significant impact of Old Norse upon pronunciation, evidenced with the replacement of the *sh* with *sk* and occasional substitution of groups of letters in place names. He provided an example of this process for the settlement of Eagle in Lincolnshire, where the Old English *ac* was replaced by the Old Norse *eik*.⁶⁷ Moreover, other instances of grammatical influences could be found with the particular use of the genitive *-ar* which preserved unmistakably traces of Danish inflexional forms.⁶⁸ Documentary evidence has also been employed to show that across Lincolnshire, in the twelfth century, written sources showed distinct traces of an Old Norse vocabulary and grammatical structures.⁶⁹

Stenton's argument has suggested that changes to the English language occurred due to the influx of a significant Norse speaking population. Therefore a direct link can be hypothesised for a large Norse population influencing the nomenclature of place names.

Epigraphical evidence has been interpreted to reveal that a form of Old Norse survived across certain parts of England. An inscription from Carlisle, although not written in classical Old Norse, enabled Parsons to conclude that it represented a form of Scandinavian spoken by a local population. He noted that this population most likely emerged from the descendants of the settlers from the tenth century or from recent immigrants.⁷⁰ Analysis of a comb discovered in Lincoln with a runic inscription, 'þorfastr made a good comb',

⁶⁷ Stenton, *Anglo Saxon England*, p. 523.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 520-524.

⁶⁹ Parsons, 'How long did the Scandinavian language survive in England?', p. 299.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 300-306.

provided further proof that Old Norse continued to be used and was understood by a population.⁷¹ Moreover, the presence of Norse influence within medieval dialects across a wide belt of northern England also revealed that the language survived significantly longer than it did in the south. Parsons concluded that Old Norse may have survived as a spoken language, but may have undergone any number of later sound changes. Therefore the wholesale abandonment of Old Norse could not be established from the linguistic material presented.⁷²

The epigraphical material has presented a powerful case for the survival of Old Norse, or variants of the language. It can also be postulated that Old Norse, inscribed upon everyday items, would not have survived unless a population was able to read or understand the script. Therefore the abandonment of Old Norse in favour of Old English cannot be substantiated.

Literary material from skaldic verses has been employed to show that a vibrant Old Norse population and language survived in parts of England. Jesch noted that poetry performed and written at royal courts had been exported by the Vikings to their colonies in Britain and Ireland. Moreover, despite the language barriers, it may have even been practiced at the court of English kings whose native language was English.⁷³ More significantly she noted there had been a gradual infusion of Old English and Old Norse in later skaldic verses from around 1023. In one skaldic verse which referred to Knútr, it had been thoroughly imbued with English Influences in its lexicon, syntax and conceptual background. For Jesch this material was likely to have been composed and

⁷¹ The comb had been dated to between the 10th and 11th centuries suggesting the continued presence of a population able to read and understand Old Norse runic script.

⁷² Parsons, 'How long did the Scandinavian language survive in England', pp. 300-306.

⁷³ Jesch, 'Skaldic verse in Scandinavian England', p. 314.

performed at Knútr's English court.⁷⁴ The survival of Old Norse into the late eleventh century has also been hypothesised from skaldic sources. Jesch commented that a poem written in honour of Waltheof who had been killed by William the Conqueror, 'was couched in a language that the king would not understand as it incorporated a stanza in Old Norse.'⁷⁵ For Jesch the presence of the poem was significant, as it expressed Norse concepts of loyalty and treachery, which signified some awareness of a Norse cultural heritage and an understanding of the language.⁷⁶

The presence of skaldic verses has contributed significantly to the debates about the longevity of Old Norse within England. These poems, written and performed in a language other than English, required a population which understood them and were able to recite them.⁷⁷ The arguments presented by Jesch supported the conclusions drawn by Parsons, in that Old Norse continued to be a vibrant language across the Anglo-Saxon period. The sudden demise of Old Norse in certain areas of England cannot be substantiated.

The mutual intelligibility between Old English and Old Norse has also been considered within the debates about the longevity of Old Norse. Townend argued,

'I would myself subscribe to the common view that the speakers of Norse and English were adequately intelligible to one another when each spoke their own language, Viking Age England would thus be a

⁷⁴ Jesch, 'Skaldic verse in Scandinavian England', p. 318.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 322.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 322.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 322.

bilingual society, predominantly made up of monolingual speakers of two different languages.’⁷⁸

He further clarified this argument and suggested in some ways they were more like different dialects than different distinct languages.⁷⁹

Townend was more critical of using minor field names as evidence for the longevity of Old Norse in Anglo-Saxon England. He noted the presence in twelfth-century sources of field names which betrayed Old Norse inflexions, could not be used to substantiate claims that it survived as a spoken language. Instead he surmised these field names merely showed it had a profound influence upon English rather than the survival of a Norse language.⁸⁰ Townend has raised an important point of interest as to the origin of minor field names on Flegg which has been discussed in Chapter Three.

In the case of loan words, Townend concluded that ‘Norse loans in Old English [were] borrowings made by English speakers whilst Old Norse was still a living language. Norse loans in Middle English [were] the result of an Old Norse language death, with words being ‘imposed’ by Norse speakers in shifting to English.’⁸¹ As to the social status of Old Norse he concluded it enjoyed equal prestige due to the large volume of loan words recorded. Moreover, Townend was adamant the sheer weight of loan words could only be attributed to large numbers of settlers rather than the presence of a few elite warriors.⁸² He further argued the status of Norse in the Danelaw was unaffected by its re-

⁷⁸ Townend, ‘Viking Age England as a Bilingual Society’, p. 90.

⁷⁹ Matthew Townend, *Viking Age York* (Pickering: Blackthorn Press, 2014), p. 96.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 96.

⁸¹ Matthew Townend, *Language and History in Viking Age England* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2002), p. 201.

⁸² Townend, ‘Viking Age England as a Bilingual Society’, pp. 95-96.

conquest in the tenth century. 'There are no indications that the conquests of Athelstan, and his successors, had any profound effect on the spoken language of the Northern Danelaw, the Norse language did not suffer any *sudden* decline after the termination of Scandinavian rule in York.'⁸³ In conclusion, Townend was adamant that Old Norse as a spoken language eventually died out. However, he admitted there must have been considerable regional differences for the time at which this language shift occurred.⁸⁴

Townend has raised some very persuasive and compelling arguments as to the longevity and impact of Old Norse upon Old English. In conclusion it can be surmised that Old Norse as a spoken language invariably disappeared in England, and the thesis acknowledges these findings. However, the process by which this occurred was not sudden and regional factors either prolonged or shortened the life of the language. This feature has been considered in the review of minor field names on Flegg, discussed in Chapter Three.

Critics of the survival of Old Norse have challenged the significance and viability of the epigraphical material. Moreover, scholars have challenged the scale of migration which may have encouraged the survival of the language. Criticism of epigraphical material has focused on the scarcity of evidence; in that the entire collection of inscriptions consists of only eleven stones and carved archaeological finds. Moreover, interpretations of many of the inscriptions have not proved straightforward. In the case of the Bridekirk font, inscribed in both runes and bookhand characters, no conclusions about the language of the rune master could be made.⁸⁵ Critics have also raised concern

⁸³ Townend, *Viking Age York*, p. 119.

⁸⁴ Townend, 'Viking Age England as a Bilingual Society', p. 96.

⁸⁵ Page, 'How long did the Scandinavian language survive in England', p. 170.

as to the viability of using runic inscriptions as evidence for the survival of Old Norse after the Norman Conquest. Page argued from his interpretation of the Pennington inscription, that it was suggestive of Old Norse but it was 'markedly corrupt Old Norse [and was] presumably influenced by English....from it I would hesitate to argue what language the people of the area spoke in the twelfth century.'⁸⁶ From the corpus of inscriptions found, Page concluded that a Scandinavian tongue was known within the Danelaw, but was not necessary used by its permanent inhabitants. He also noted that an inscription from Collingham, showed a fusion of cultural styles. In this example it showed Scandinavian influences within the decoration around distinct Anglo-Saxon runes. Moreover, analysis of a dedication stone from St. Mary-le-Wigford in Lincoln revealed, a 'fusion of Old English and Old Norse, not recorded anywhere else, which may have been a local peculiarity.'⁸⁷ Although generally convinced that Old Norse was not widely spoken, Page acknowledged there was a lack of tradition in setting up memorial stones, and the English Church's preference for Old English inscriptions over an alien Norse language may have contributed to this dearth of material.⁸⁸

The conclusions reached by Page are unconvincing, as they have failed to adequately explain the sheer volume of words and grammatical influences found in Old English. Moreover, Page's acknowledgement that cultural factors influenced the use of stone monuments has further undermined his argument. The preference for stone monuments by English communities cannot be used to suggest the sudden demise of another language. However, the possibility that Old Norse underwent a process of assimilation, as evidenced by the

⁸⁶ Page, 'How long did the Scandinavian language survive in England', p. 172.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 172–181.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 181.

dedication stone from St. Mary-le-Wigford, cannot be ignored. Moreover, epigraphical material which revealed a corruption of Old Norse suggests an evolution of an Anglo-Scandinavian language rather than the demise of Old Norse.

The use of loan words and grammatical influences as evidence for the longevity of Old Norse has been criticised for its simplicity. The presence of loan words adopted into English, along with changes in pronoun structure, only proved the existence of linguist groups, rather than the dominance of one particular group. Sawyer noted that conclusions as to the number of people involved in any linguistic changes was not straightforward. He argued that the process of bilingualism and language adoption was complex and unpredictable.⁸⁹ In the Danelaw he suggested that influences upon Old English must have occurred through a bilingual population, as differences between Danish and English could not have enabled close contact and effective communication. For Sawyer contact could only have been effective if elements from both populations had learnt some of each other's language.⁹⁰ Central to his argument was the number of people required to facilitate a bilingual society. He surmised 'even for extensive word transferring, large numbers of bilingual speakers need not be involved and the relative size of the group is not necessarily a factor.'⁹¹ In essence, Sawyer effectively rejected the notion that large numbers of Norse speakers were required for language transfer; instead small groups of Norse speakers may have been able to influence Old English.

⁸⁹ Sawyer, *The Age of the Vikings*, p. 170.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 170.

⁹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 171.

The conclusions reached by Sawyer are unconvincing, as they are suggestive of contact between the elite members of Scandinavian and English society. The large numbers of field and minor place names, which have betrayed Old Norse influences, could only have arisen from a peasant population exposed to or speaking the Norse language. It can be tentatively hypothesised that the peasantry were the catalyst for the naming of insignificant topographical features in the landscape.

Sawyer's argument for language change has not met with universal approval from other historians critical of the longevity of Old Norse. Hadley acknowledged the influence of the Scandinavian language upon Old English and remarked that 'Old English sources contained about 150 loan words, mostly in the technical vocabulary (legal, measures and coinage), but in Middle English sources there are many thousands. The loans in Old English sources reflected social interaction only in administrative and legal spheres, but many of the Middle English can only be accounted for by assuming the existence of a mixed speech community operating on the basis of social and cultural equality.'⁹² In essence Hadley argued that Old Norse as a distinct language faded relatively quickly to be replaced by an Anglo-Scandinavian language betraying influences from both Old English and Old Norse.

Political factors during the ninth and tenth centuries have also been suggested for the quick demise of a distinct Old Norse language. During the early period of Scandinavian settlement, the Vikings were in the minority and could not have maintained a separate identity as they were reliant on interaction with a much larger local population. 'As Scandinavian leaders took over estates, and

⁹² Hadley, 'Cockle amongst the Wheat', p. 122.

land was cultivated, they must have relied upon indigenous labour and perhaps indigenous estate administrators.⁹³ In these early decades of Scandinavian ascendancy pressure was placed upon the local population to learn the intricacies of Old Norse to facilitate effective communication with their new lords. From the mid ninth century as the political tide turned, so too did the linguistic tide.⁹⁴ Hadley concluded it would be misleading to assume that distinct cultural and linguistic populations survived within the Danelaw. Instead an Anglo-Scandinavian population with an Anglo-Scandinavian language emerged.⁹⁵ She also noted that the process of Anglo-Scandinavian acculturation seen within the material culture of the Danelaw, could only have appeared within a linguistic fusion. 'Socio linguists now discuss language change as a product of and a contributory factor for cultural change.'⁹⁶ Therefore the proliferation of Scandinavian place names, the Scandinavianisation of pronunciation and spellings, and the wealth of Old Norse and Old English topographical names was evident of a vibrant Anglo-Scandinavian population within the Danelaw.⁹⁷

Hadley has presented some convincing and persuasive arguments for the development of an Anglo-Scandinavian speaking population. Therefore her conclusions have been acknowledged by this thesis. However, a blanket application for the quick demise of Old Norse across the whole of the Danelaw cannot be substantiated. The need for a local study has been addressed in Chapter Three, and conclusions reached by scholars have been applied and validated from analysis of Flegg's place names.

⁹³ Hadley, *The Northern Danelaw*, p. 336.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 335-340.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 335-340.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 335-340.

⁹⁷ Hadley, 'Cockle amongst the Wheat', p. 123.

2.1.5 Danish influences within the legal customs of the Danelaw

The final element of the literature review considers the scale of Danish influence within the legal customs of the Danelaw. Stenton argued quite emphatically that the legal customs of the Danelaw were Danish in origin and were a direct consequence of the Viking invasions.⁹⁸ In contrast Ole Fenger,⁹⁹ Katherine Holman¹⁰⁰ and Dawn Hadley¹⁰¹ all hypothesised the differences reflected the social and political upheaval caused by the invasions of the Danelaw.

A Danish influence upon the legal framework in the Danelaw has focused upon wergeld payments, fines and terminology. Stenton noted that distinct differences could be found for wergeld payments across Wessex, Mercia and the Danelaw. He remarked the compensation paid to a lord for the death of one of his men varied in accordance to the rank of the dead man in the Danelaw. In contrast in Wessex and Mercia the amount of compensation was calculated on the rank of the lord.¹⁰² Payments also varied across the laws of Wessex/Mercia, Northumbria and the Danelaw. In the case of Northumbria payments were expressed in an ancient unit known as the *thrymsa*. In Mercia the wergelds of the nobility were rated at 1200 shillings whilst the equivalent in Northumbria was rated at 1500 shillings. More significant was the wergeld of a social class called the 'hold', rated between a thegn and an eldorman, which was only found in the Danelaw. For Stenton this social group was

⁹⁸ Stenton, *Anglo Saxon England*, pp. 505-511.

⁹⁹ Ole Fenger, 'Danelaw and the Danish Law: Anglo-Scandinavian Legal Relations During the Viking Period', *Scandinavian Studies* L.83, 96 (1972), 85-96 (p. 92).

¹⁰⁰ Katherine Holman, 'Defining the Danelaw', in *Vikings and the Danelaw: Select Papers from the Proceedings of the Thirteenth Viking Congress*, ed. by James Campbell, Richard Hall, Judith Jesch and David N. Parsons (Oxford: Oxbow books, 2001), pp. 1-12 (p. 4).

¹⁰¹ Hadley, 'Cockle amongst the Wheat', p. 116.

¹⁰² Stenton, *Anglo Saxon England*, p. 507.

significant as it represented a distinctively Scandinavian class of nobleman which included men with significant territorial power.¹⁰³ Although a compelling argument for a Danish influence has been expressed by Stenton; it has been damaged by his silence on contemporary payments extracted in Scandinavia.

Fines extracted from individuals for breaches of the peace also differed wildly across the three established law codes. Many crimes in Mercia and Wessex were resolved through the imposition of fines, in the Danelaw they were treated as breaches of the peace. In the Danelaw fines extracted for specific crimes, such as bloodshed on the highway and attack on houses, were considerably greater in the Danelaw than elsewhere. Moreover, in some cases they were so heavy they must have been laid on districts rather than individuals.¹⁰⁴ Law codes also preserved peculiarities between Wessex and the Danelaw. Æthelred II's law code issued at Wantage in Berkshire revealed some influences from Wessex law, but essentially outlined the authority of a king on existing practices of the local courts within the Danelaw. For Stenton the law code was remarkable 'in the whole of English legal history there is no other document which shows so elaborate recognition of provincial customs by central government.'¹⁰⁵ In the law code Stenton noted that Scandinavian influences could be seen from the fines extracted for breaches of the peace. In the Danelaw the unit of payment was the *ora* rather than the shilling, found in Wessex and Mercia.¹⁰⁶ In the prosecution of individuals, the law code described the presence of twelve leading thegns from each wapentake who were charged with the responsibility of arresting men. This custom was not

¹⁰³ Stenton, *Anglo Saxon England*. p. 509.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 507.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 508.

¹⁰⁶ Frank Stenton noted that the fines were Scandinavian in origin and its unit was the *ora* of 16 pence which represented a mark. Moreover the 'hundred' of silver contained 120 *orae* and was equivalent to 8 English pounds.

found in Old English Law. The description of the duties of thegns enabled Stenton to make direct comparisons with Scandinavia. He declared the 'twelve leading thegns of the wapentake [were] as an institution, derived from the juries of *twelve familiar* found in the Scandinavian north.'¹⁰⁷

Other Danelaw customs revealed the ability of a man to 'buy law' which enabled him to present himself at court. For the purchase of land there was a need for a *festerman*, who guaranteed the seller's title to hold the land for sale, a legal obligation found only in the Danelaw. Stenton pursued the concept of *festermen* as evidence for Scandinavian influence, and remarked the type of security they offered could also be seen from many passages of Scandinavian law from the Viking homeland and Iceland.¹⁰⁸

The peculiarities between legal customs found in England and the Danelaw are suggestive of a Scandinavian influence. Moreover, the Danelaw clearly developed some distinct legal customs not found elsewhere in England and the thesis accepts that a Danish influence cannot be totally dismissed. However, Stenton's silence as to the impact of the Viking invasion and English reconquest, on the preservation and remodelling of local customs undermines his position. More significantly, the dearth of contemporary legal codes from Scandinavia has ensured his arguments cannot be accurately verified and vindicated.

Stenton's assumptions have been roundly challenged, with focus placed on the political chaos created by the Viking invasions, to account for the differences between Wessex and Danelaw legal customs. Fenger argued the invasion and

¹⁰⁷ Stenton, *Anglo Saxon England*, p. 511.

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 513.

settlement of the Danelaw created an environment where differences emerged between English and Danelaw customs. He noted that Anglo-Saxon laws were primarily created to prevent feuds through the imposition of fines. The enforcement of this duty was placed upon local lords and the hundred. The Viking invasion effectively prevented the development of a centralised Anglo-Saxon state, which disrupted a legal system where a protective relationship organised on hierarchical principals could survive.¹⁰⁹ For Fenger it was this feature which accounted for the differences between Danelaw codes and those imposed in Wessex and Mercia. In essence the violence and displacement of royal control enabled local customs to become established. Political upheaval also enabled different wergeld payments to become established; in that the Viking invasions inevitably weakened the power and control of English kings upon the imposition of standardised fines in the Danelaw. Fenger surmised that Viking leaders possessed significant regional power, which allowed them to create and enforce laws within the wapentakes and impose severe fines as and when required to maintain social order.¹¹⁰ Fenger also noted that social conditions within the Viking armies may have further contributed to differences in fines and wergild payments. He argued that wergeld payments evolved within the Danelaw in response to the loss of kingship groups which carried the threat of feuds as a means of social control. In essence the legal system within the Danelaw was initially based upon rational rules as part of the need to enforce military discipline. As time passed, legal rules and institutions evolved in ways which were not only different from Wessex law but also from the Scandinavian homeland. For Fenger the Danelaw created a set of laws which were neither English nor Danish.¹¹¹

¹⁰⁹ Fenger, 'Danelaw and the Danish Law', p. 92.

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 93.

¹¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 94.

The concept of *realpolitik* may also have contributed to the presence of Danelaw customs within English law codes. In the case of Edgar's legislation, Danish influences within the law codes may have reflected recognition of the support he received from the northern magnates before he succeeded his brother Eadwig as king of southern England. His willingness to honour their privileges ensured that regional differences were codified in his laws.¹¹² In reality the Danish influences seen within Edgar's legislation derived out of political necessity rather than from distinct Danish legal customs.

Interpretation of the linguistics of legal terms has also been employed to dismiss a distinct Danish character for the laws within the Danelaw. Holman noted that legal terms 'testified to the distinct legal vocabulary of the Danelaw [but] the extent to which the law of the Danelaw was actually modelled on Scandinavian practice is something which is very problematic given the lack of contemporary law-books from Scandinavia.'¹¹³ Therefore, the legal terminology used in the Danelaw masked similarities rather than differences. Holman concluded that 'rules and institutions associated with the Danelaw must have altered and been applied in different ways, in different places, at different times, resulting in the gradual emergence of an Anglo-Scandinavian rather than a Danish legal system.'¹¹⁴

The arguments presented by Fenger and Holman have stressed that a unique set of socio-political factors emerged within the Danelaw. The arguments for a distinct Scandinavian legal system cannot be substantiated to account for

¹¹² Hadley, 'Cockle amongst the Wheat', p. 116.

¹¹³ Holman, 'Defining the Danelaw', p. 4.

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 4.

difference between English and Danelaw customs. Instead it has been acknowledged that the political upheaval experienced within the Danelaw created a set of customs which were unique to the area. As Holman noted legal customs may have been modified to suit particular local needs. However, it must be realised the viability of Holman's arguments are also affected by the dearth of contemporary law books from Scandinavia.

Chapter Three

The toponymy of place names on Flegg

3.1 Introduction

The primary aim of this chapter is an exploration of the linguistic origin of the *-by* place names in the hundreds of East and West Flegg. This work outlines the scale of Scandinavian influence in the formation of settlement names on Flegg. Analysis of the *-by* place names enables the thesis to draw conclusions on the potential ethnicity of settlers and survival of Old Norse language on Flegg. Analysis of the potential ethnicity of settlers on Flegg, also enables the chapter to present one model for the creation of the *-bys* as a planned Viking colony. To effectively address the key aim the chapter is broken down into a number of themes which consider; the origin of *-by* place names in Scandinavia and the process of place naming in England. Moreover, the chapter outlines the work undertaken by Karl Inge Sandred,¹ Gillian Fellows-Jensen,² Victor Watts³ and Eilert Ekwall⁴ in discussions on the linguistic origin of the *-bys* on Flegg. This opening chapter also considers Norse influences in the formation of minor field names. The final section of Chapter Three focuses on the geology of Flegg and identifies the potential status of *-by* and English communities within the area.

¹ Sandred, 'The Scandinavians in Norfolk', pp .3-28.

² Across Chapter Three Gillian Fellows-Jensen made a significant contribution to the work on place names discussed in this chapter and these will be referenced individually as and when quoted in the text.

³ Victor Watts, *The Cambridge Dictionary of English Place-Names* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), pp. 6-230.

⁴ Eilert Ekwall, *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of English Place-Names* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1960), pp. 18-391.

3.2 Sources and Appendix referenced in Chapter Three

It must be noted that data used in Chapter Three can be referenced looking at Appendix One. The opening chapter of the thesis has utilised information from a number of sources, these have included the work of Sandred, Fellows-Jensen, Little Domesday Book, and the Soil Survey of England and Wales.⁵

3.3 The Domesday material: a word of caution

The hundreds of East and West Flegg had a total of fourteen place names recorded with the suffix *-by*. In the case of Ormesby St. Michael and St Margaret, Domesday made no distinction between the two settlements and within this thesis they will be treated as one entity.

3.4 What the *-by* place names represented in Scandinavia and their implications for Flegg.

The *-by* place names in Scandinavia were associated with a wide spectrum of settlement sizes, ranging from single farmsteads to hamlets, villages or areas of cultivated land.⁶ In Denmark *-by* specifics were employed to denote a village and or a single farm and many remained small during the entire medieval period whilst others grew into significant settlements.⁷ Fellows-Jensen noted

⁵ Karl Inge Sandred's work was consulted as part of the thesis' discussion on the distribution of minor names in Norfolk, in *The Place-Names of Norfolk: Part Two, The Hundreds of East and West Flegg, Happing and Tunstead* (Nottingham: English Place Name Society, 1996), pp. 3-83. Gillian Fellows-Jensen's review of Scandinavian settlements in Yorkshire, East Midlands and the North-West were consulted for *-by* place name totals. Domesday Book was used in the discussion of acreage figures. Finally, The Soil Survey of England and Wales was consulted in the chapter's analysis of soil conditions at the *-by* settlements, *Soil Survey of England and Wales, Legend for the 1;250,000 Soil Map of England and Wales 1983*, pp. 7-22

⁶ Fellows-Jensen, *Scandinavian Settlement Names in the East Midlands*, p. 10.

⁷ Fellows-Jensen, 'Scandinavian settlements in the Danelaw in the light of place names of Denmark', p. 138.

that in the Præstø amt region of southern Denmark, *-by* and *-thorp* terms were used to describe similar sized villages. This suggested that both generic place name types may have been used to identify secondary settlements. Tom Schmidt proposed that *-bys* in Denmark, were generally seen as denoting villages rather than settlements on newly reclaimed land. Moreover, he noted they could be applied to either a village or a lone farmstead in an area of dispersed settlement.⁸ In the case of personal name specifics incorporating the suffix *-by*, Fellows-Jensen surmised that approximately 65% of personal names found in the East Midlands corpus were also recorded at a variety of settlement names in Denmark. Personal name qualifiers were particularly prevalent in older Danish place names ending in *lev*.⁹ In Denmark where personal names and *-by* were recorded they were few in number and were mostly located in the south of the country.¹⁰

In Norway the *-bys* were also used to denote single farms, and were often employed to identify parts of an older settlement or land from a deserted settlement. In these cases settlements were often given a directional name such as Vestby (west) and Nordby (north).¹¹ Stefan Brink noted in Norway suffixes ending in *-land* and *-säter/-set* originally denoted a description of some kind of arable land or meadow. In contrast the suffixes *-by* and *-stad* were used to identify an actual farm. He also explained that *-stad* names often carried a personal name and topographical qualifier, in contrast *-by* names in Norway never carried a personal name specific.¹² Schmidt suggested in

⁸ Tom Schmidt, 'Norwegian place names in *by/bø* with anthroponymic specifics', in *Onomastik Arten des 18 Internationalen Kongress für Namenforschung* (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer Verlag, 1999), pp. 51-63 (p. 53).

⁹ Fellows Jensen, *Scandinavian settlement names in Yorkshire*. p. 9.

¹⁰ Fellows-Jensen, *Scandinavian Settlement Names in the East Midlands*, pp. 11-16.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 11.

¹² Stefan Brink, 'Naming the Land', in *The Viking World*, ed. by Stefan Brink (London: Routledge, 2010), pp. 57-66 (pp. 58 and 59).

Norway, the *-by* names were commonly used to denote single farmsteads. In areas of dispersed settlement these place name specifics denoted land derived from a fragmented older estate.¹³

3.5 How *-by* names were coined in England: a hypothesis for settlements on Flegg

The *-by* place names in England were usually formed by a population surrounding the settlement rather than by the owners of the vill. Moreover, these names were likely to have been coined over a long period of time, rather than during the initial phase of settlements.¹⁴ Therefore the people living in Aismunderby would have called their home the *by*, whereas people in the surrounding area, would have referred to the settlement as *Aismund's by*, which was later recorded in documents.¹⁵ It was also entirely feasible that settlements may have been known by more than one name. In essence the name given by a local community or the local lord may not have been identical. It was the name given by the lord which most likely entered the written record.¹⁶

It cannot be conclusively proved the *-bys* on Flegg were Scandinavian in origin, as a local population invariably played a role in naming the settlements. The process of place naming must have occurred within a population familiar with the term *-by*. Therefore, Flegg must have incorporated a Norse population large enough to have influenced naming habits. The concept that *-bys*

¹³ Schmidt, 'Norwegian place names in *by/bø*', p. 53.

¹⁴ Hadley, 'Viking and Natives: rethinking Identity in the Danelaw', p. 56.

¹⁵ Sawyer, *The Age of the Vikings*, p. 154.

¹⁶ Dawn Hadley, 'And they proceeded to plough and support themselves: The Scandinavian settlement in England', in *Anglo Norman Studies: XIX Proceedings of the Battle Conference 1996*, ed. by Christopher Harper-Bill (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1996), pp. 69-96 (p. 74).

emerged within a predominately English environment can be rejected. An investigation into the scale of a Norse influence has been explored in the chapter's review of place name specifics.

3.6 How *-by* names were recorded in Domesday

The place name element *-by* in the East Midlands corpus was normally represented in Domesday with the spelling *-bi*, which most likely resulted from an acoustic similarity between Old English and Old Scandinavian *y* and Old French *i*. However, nine places names were recorded as *-by*, whilst sixteen names incorporated the spelling *-bei*. Leicestershire's *-by* place names incorporated a significant concentration of spellings in *-bei* which most likely reflected the peculiarities of the compiler of the original draft of this section for Great Domesday Book.¹⁷ A similar pattern was found for the *-bys* in the North-West, where place names were as either *-bi* or *-by*.

3.7 The character of the *-by* settlements on Flegg

Sandred noted that 'Flegg' derived from the Danish word *flæg*, an appellative place name denoting a marshy area overgrown with marsh plants such as reeds.¹⁸ It can be assumed that the name for the two hundreds accurately described the region during the Late Anglo-Saxon period. Across the two hundreds of East and West Flegg, Little Domesday Book recorded a total of fourteen *-by* settlements, with eight found in East Flegg and the remaining six located in West Flegg. The *-by* place names represented a fairly homogenous group of settlements in respect to acres recorded in Little Domesday Book. In

¹⁷ Fellows-Jensen, *Scandinavian Settlement Names in the East Midlands*, pp. 12-13.

¹⁸ Sandred, 'The Scandinavians in Norfolk', p. 7.

comparison, the English communities recorded a more diverse range of acres per settlement. It can be surmised the large numbers of acres recorded at the *-bys* suggests these communities represented more intensively farmed agricultural units. Analysis of the distribution pattern of settlements across the eastern hundreds of Norfolk, found that East Flegg was the smallest hundred in Norfolk. More significantly, the distribution of settlements revealed a distinct cluster of place names close to the boundary of West Flegg. Although West Flegg also recorded a small number of settlements, it presented a fairly compact administrative unit. It can be concluded that the distribution pattern for *-bys* on Flegg contrasted with those found in Denmark where these place name types were found in areas of more dispersed settlements.

3.8 The specifics of *-by* place names on East and West Flegg

Analysis of the *-by* place names on Flegg revealed over three quarters carried a personal/byname element. It can be suggested these communities were unlikely to have been created by Norwegian Vikings as it was an uncommon naming practice. In contrast Vikings from Denmark may have been more accustomed to this naming habit.¹⁹ At the county level Norfolk carried a percentage of *-by* names with personal name elements similar to other Danelaw regions. In contrast Flegg recorded a total of 78% with this specific, which was significantly more than any other Danelaw region. Moreover, the hundred of Flegg recorded a significantly lower number of compound names than any other region. It can be argued that specific social and political factors encouraged the emergence on Flegg of place names with personal name qualifiers.

¹⁹ The term Norwegian and Danish Vikings is not used to determine a distinct socio-economic group, but has been used to identify people from a particular region of Scandinavia.

3.9 Byname corpus across East and West Flegg

Bynames represented a characterising name which was given to a man by his contemporaries and used by him in addition to his personal name. In many cases the characterising elements were often forgotten in later years, and the name was often handed down as a family name. As a name it often followed a personal name, or was used as an actual name and stood alone without any attachment to any other naming element.²⁰ Bynames were often employed to avoid any possible doubt as to the identity of the tenant; or came into existence as people were accustomed to calling the person by his byname.²¹ On Flegg, the number of place names which incorporated bynames was comparable with other Danelaw regions, suggesting it was a common naming habit.

3.9.1 Billockby (Modern Spelling)

Bithlakebei (1086), *Billokebi* (1198), *Billokesbi* (1202), *Billocbi* (1211), *Bilakeby* (1218), *Billokeby* (1225), *Billokesby* (1242), *Byllokeby* (1257), *Billockby* (1316), *Byllokby* (1346), *Billocby* (1353).²²

No general consensus has been reached by linguists as to the origin of Billockby as either a personal name or byname. Sandred was convinced that the place name incorporated a personal name element and suggested it derived from an archaic personal name *Bithlak*. He also suggested the personal

²⁰ Gillian Fellows-Jensen, *Scandinavian Personal Names in Lincolnshire and Yorkshire* (Copenhagen: FR. Bagges KGL. Hofbogtrykkerir, 1968), p. XXIX.

²¹ Fellows-Jensen, *Scandinavian Settlement Names in Yorkshire*, p. 10.

²² Sandred, *The Place-Names of Norfolk: Part 2*, p. 46.

name could be derived from spelling such as *Bið-* and *Bit*, but urged caution as these spellings were not recorded anywhere else.²³ The archaic status of the name suggests that a chronology of settlement formation could be established on Flegg, with the settlement representing an early community. In contrast Ekwall and Watts were both convinced it represented a compound byname incorporating the Old Norse *biðill*, *Bithil* or *Bithill* meaning ‘wooper’ with OScand. personal name *Áki*.²⁴ Fellows-Jensen rejected the interpretation that it was a personal name or byname, and argued that it derived from an appellative form *bita* ‘a small piece of land’ and *lacu* ‘a slow moving stream’.²⁵ For the thesis the definitions presented by Ekwall and Watts have been accepted as it was entirely feasible the settlement was named to remove any doubt as to the owner of the settlement.

3.9.2 Herringby (Modern Spelling)

Haringebai (1086), *Haringebai* (1177 to 1211), *Haringby* (1203), *Harengby* (1210-20), *Haringby* (1222), *Haryngby* (1249), *Haringebay* (1250), *Haryngby* (1302), *Heryngby* (1320-2), *Heringby* (1362).

The majority of linguists have generally agreed the place name derived from either a personal name or byname. Ekwall considered Herringby to have originated from the Old Norse personal name *Hæringr*.²⁶ Sandred acknowledged there was strong evidence to support an ODan. or OWScand. personal name *Hæring* and *Hæringr* for the settlement. He also noted the

²³ Sandred, ‘The Scandinavians in Norfolk’, p. 11.

²⁴ Ekwall, *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of English Place-Names*, p. 43 and Watts *The Cambridge Dictionary of English Place Names*, p. 47.

²⁵ Fellows-Jensen, *Scandinavian Personal Names in Lincolnshire and Yorkshire*, p. 52.

²⁶ Ekwall, *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of English Place-Names*, p. 236.

name may have derived from an appellative *hæringr*, meaning a man who is old and gray or OSwed *hæringr* gray horse. However, Sandred was less convinced the place name derived from a lost folk-name *Hæringas*, or formed an unrecorded ODan. appellative name *har* 'rock, heap of stones'. He noted the word *har* had a very limited distribution in Scandinavia, found only in small numbers in Svealand and parts of Finland. For Sandred, the term *har* was unlikely to have been used as a place name element.²⁷ John Insley was in general support of Sandred and added that it was a rare example of a byname and was mostly found in Norway and Iceland.²⁸

Fellows-Jensen offered two alternative meanings for the place name Herringby, in that it represented a relatively uncommon byname or referred to the OE *hæring* meaning 'herring'.²⁹ The potential Old English origin for Herringby cannot be easily dismissed, taking into consideration the economic importance of this fish in Norfolk and other coastal regions, during the Viking Age.³⁰ Fish played an important role in the diet of both Anglo-Saxon and Viking populations in England. The discovery of fish bones has shown that deep water species such as cod and herring were consumed during the Viking period. Moreover, the presence of fish bones in the archaeological records suggests that the Scandinavians brought with them new techniques for fishing beyond the coast line.³¹ Little Domesday Book for Norfolk and Suffolk has also provided tantalising information about the importance of herrings. A reference for a

²⁷ Sandred, 'The Scandinavians in Norfolk', pp. 14-15.

²⁸ John Insley, *Scandinavian Personal Names in Norfolk: A Survey Based on Medieval Records and Place-Names*, ACTA Academiae Regiae Gustavi Adolphi LXII (Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiksell International, 1994), p. 25.

²⁹ Gillian Fellows-Jensen, 'Scandinavian settlement names in East Anglia: some problems', *Nomina*, 22 (1999), 45-61 (pp. 48-55).

³⁰ Gillian-Fellows-Jensen, 'Looking even more closely at the Nordic elements in East Anglian place-names', *Nomina*, 37 (2014), 143-158 (pp. 114 and 115).

³¹ Christopher Dyer, *Making a Living in the Middle Ages: The People of Britain 850-1250* (London: Yale University Press, 2002), p. 48.

rent payment of 2000 herrings paid by Thorpe next to Norwich, and returns of 25,000 herrings for Southwold, 60,000 for Beccles and 68,000 for Dunwich all suggest that herring fishing was an important economic activity.³² The Old English origin for Herringby has not gained widespread support. Insley was adamant that Herrignby derived from a Scandinavian byname, and noted that the ME *hering* '[did] not belong here but [was] a metonymic for a dealer in herrings.'³³

The origin of Herringby as advocated by Fellows-Jensen has proved intriguing. However, more convincing arguments for a byname have been made by Sandred and Insley. The presence of other bynames on Flegg suggests the settlement was formed to associate a particular tenant with a specific settlement. Although a case for a personal name has been made the thesis has accepted a byname element as the most feasible.

3.9.3 Ormesby St. Michael and St. Margaret (Modern Spelling)

Ormesby, Omisby (1020), *Ormesbei, Ormesby, Omesbei, Ormesbey, Orbeslei* (1086), *Ormesbi* (1157), *Ormesbia* (1175), *Ormesby* (1209).

There has been no general consensus amongst linguists as to the origin of Ormesby as a byname or personal name form. Linguists have suggested that Ormesby incorporated an ODan. and OSwed. personal name *Omr* and OW Scand. *Ormr*. They also noted the OWScand. forms were popular in the North and Scottish Lowlands.³⁴ Linguists have also acknowledged that the name *Ormr*

³² H.C Darby, *Domesday Geography of Eastern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1971), pp. 134 and 185-6.

³³ Insley, *Scandinavian Personal Names in Norfolk*, p. 215.

³⁴ Sandred, 'Scandinavians in Norfolk', p. 16.

was a very common name in England, suggesting it constituted a personal name.³⁵

The arguments for a personal name specific for Ormesby have not been widely accepted. Fellows-Jensen argued that it represented a very common *original* byname. She noted that *Ormr* meaning a snake/serpent was fairly common in Iceland and Norway and was borne by several of the original settlers in Iceland.³⁶ Insley agreed with Fellows-Jensen position and remarked that it most likely represented a byname for a snake or adder and was common in both Iceland and or Norway.³⁷ Although Fellows-Jensen acknowledged that Ormesby was a common original byname, it may have transformed by the time of Domesday into a standalone personal name.

3.9.4 Scratby (Modern Spelling)

Scroutebi, Scrouteby (1020), Scroutebei, Scroyeby, Scroutebey (1086), Scrotebi (1195), Scroutebei (1202), Scroteby (1209), Scroteby (1230), Scroutesby, Scorteby (1257), Scroutebi (1284), Scrotebi (1285), Scrowteby (1311), Scrotby (1390).

Linguists have generally agreed that Scratby derived from a byname *Skrauti* 'a showy, magnificent person who is fond of display.'³⁸ Insley noted that it was a relatively rare example of a byname found predominately in Iceland.³⁹ Sandred

³⁵ Ekwall, *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of English Place Names*, p. 351.

³⁶ Fellows-Jensen, *Scandinavian Personal Names in Lincolnshire and Yorkshire*, p. 206.

³⁷ Insley, *Scandinavian Personal Names in Norfolk*, pp. 314-315.

³⁸ Sandred, 'Scandinavians in Norfolk', p. 17 and 'Place-Names of Norfolk', p. 14. Ekwall, *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of English Place-Names*, p. 408 and Fellows-Jensen 'Scandinavian settlements in East Anglia some problems', p. 51.

³⁹ Insley. *Scandinavian Personal Names in Norfolk*, pp. 336-33.

acknowledged that Scratby represented a byname, but suggested that OWScand. forms could have derived from a personal name, as evidenced from a rune stone in Denmark.⁴⁰ The limited evidence for a personal name specific suggests that Scratby derived from a byname.

3.10 Personal name corpus across East and West Flegg

3.10.1 Ashby (Modern Spelling)

Askeby (1044-7), *Aschebei*, *Asseby* (1086), *Askeby* (1101-7), *Askebi* (1196), *Essebi* (1199), *Asheby* (1325), *Ascheby* (1361).

The Ashby place names found in the Danelaw and Norfolk have generated some debate as to their exact linguist origin. In Lincolnshire the majority incorporated a spelling as “*askebi*”, which suggested they derived from either the ON. *askr* meaning ash tree or represented an ODan. personal name *Aski*. For the eight Ashbys in Leicestershire and Northamptonshire there was a marked absence of spellings as “*askebi*”. This encouraged Fellows-Jensen to note that the names referred to the OE word *æsc*.⁴¹ In Cumbria and Lancashire Ashby place names incorporated spellings which implied they originated from Old Norse *askr*. In Cheshire she noted they derived from the OE *æsc* but showed signs of Scandinavianisation with the addition of the suffix *-bý*.⁴²

⁴⁰ Sandred, ‘Scandinavians in Norfolk’, p. 14.

⁴¹ Fellows-Jensen, *Scandinavian Settlement Names in the East Midlands*, pp. 31-32.

⁴² Fellows-Jensen, *Scandinavian Settlement in the North-West*, p. 26.

In Norfolk the Ashby on Flegg was recorded as *Askeby* in pre-Domesday and later twelfth-century sources which suggested the name most likely derived from either an Old Scandinavian personal name *Aski* or *askr* for ash-tree.⁴³ The ON. spelling in later sources suggests that this naming practice was still recognised by scribes. The Ashby on Flegg revealed some similarities with two other Ashbys in Norfolk which were acknowledged as appellative forms.⁴⁴ However, the cluster of eleven *-bys* with personal names specific in the area suggest that Ashby most likely carried a personal name specific. The thesis acknowledges that Ashby St. Mary and Ashby near Snetterton incorporated the Old English *æsc* for ash-tree.

3.10.2 Hemsby (Modern Spelling)

Hemesbej, *Heimesbej*, *Haimesbei* (1086), *Hemmesby* (1103-6), *Hemmesbi* (1136-45), *Heimesbi* (1200), *Hemmisby* (1250), *Heynesby* (1257).

There has been some debate as to the linguistic origin of the settlement with arguments suggesting either a personal name or a byname specific. Linguists in favour of a personal name specific have argued quite convincingly, that the name derived from ODan., OSwed. or ON. personal name *Hēmer*, *Hēmer* or *Heimir* respectively. Moreover linguists have noted that similar place names have been well evidenced in Scandinavia.⁴⁵ Insley suggested the ON. *Heimir* was a very rare name being recorded as a fictional character in various OWScand. sources. He further noted that the ODan. *Hēmer* was also a personal

⁴³ Sandred, *Place-Names in Norfolk*, p. 41.

⁴⁴ Fellows-Jensen. 'Scandinavian settlement names in East Anglia', p. 49-50.

⁴⁵ Sandred, 'Scandinavians in Norfolk', pp. 13-14; Ekwall, *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of English Place-Names*, p. 234 and Watts, *The Cambridge Dictionary of English Place-Names*, p. 296.

name of great antiquity. In contrast Fellows-Jensen preferred an interpretation of Hemsby as ‘a rare hypocoristic form *Heimir* of names in *Heim-*⁴⁶ suggesting it constituted a byname. For the thesis a personal name element has been acknowledged as the most likely source.

3.10.3 Oby (Modern Spelling)

Oebei, *Othebei*, *Houby* (1086), *Ouby* (1101-7), *Ovbi* (1153), *Oubi* (1196), *Oby* (1269).

Linguists have been generally split as to the exact origin of Oby with arguments being voiced for both an appellative and a personal name. Fellows-Jensen argued that Oby derived from a Scandinavian adjective *auðr* meaning ‘empty and desolate’, which suggested the settlement was most likely founded on a deserted Old English site.⁴⁷ In contrast Sandred surmised that Oby came from ODan. *Øthi*, OSwed. *Ødhe*, and OWScand. *Auði*. To account for the loss of *ð* in later spellings he commented that this was due to Anglo-Norman linguistic influences.⁴⁸ He was also not convinced that Oby represented an appellative place name and was sceptical that across the tenth and eleventh centuries a place name describing an empty and desolate place would be recorded.⁴⁹

Ekwall argued that Oby in Norfolk was identical to Oadby (Leicestershire) and referred to an Old Danish and Old Norse personal name *Øthi* and *Auði*.⁵⁰ The

⁴⁶ Fellows-Jensen, ‘Scandinavian settlement names in East Anglia’, p. 51

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 50-51.

⁴⁸ Sandred, ‘Scandinavians in Norfolk’, p. 16.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 16.

⁵⁰ Ekwall, *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of English Place-Names*, p. 347.

arguments in favour of a personal name have been acknowledged in the thesis as most applicable for this place name.

3.10.4 Rollesby (Modern Spelling)

Rollesby (1044-7), *Rotholfuesbei*, *Roluesbei*, *Rothbfuesbei*, *Thorolvesby* (1086), *Roluesby*, *Rollesby* (1127-34), *Rollesbi* (1193), *Roulesbi* (1194), *Roluesbi* (1196), *Rollebi* (1210), *Roulesby* (1269), *Rollisbi* (1321).

Linguists have come to some consensus that Rollesby represented a personal name and derived from an ODan. personal name *Hrólf*, a contracted version of a compound name *Hróðulfr*.⁵¹ However, documentary evidence has pointed to a possible byname origin as a medieval manuscript dated 1044-77 incorporated the hypocoristic form *Rolle*.⁵² Alternative explanations have suggested that *Hróðulfr* represented an archaic personal name, which may be indicative of an early date for its foundation.⁵³ In respect to the eleven other place names on Flegg which carried a personal name, Rollesby was the only unambiguous compounded personal name. In contrast other areas of the Danelaw recorded large numbers of compound personal names. The presence of simplex names encouraged Fellows-Jensen to conclude that these may have been born by men of lower rank. However, she urged caution in assigning a definitive status for these types of personal names, as the names of many noblemen and members of royal families also had simplex forms.⁵⁴

⁵¹ Ekwall, *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of English Place-Names*, p. 391.

⁵² Karl Inge Sandred noted that the spellings in a Middle English manuscript reflected the hypocoristic form *Rolle*, *Place-Names of Norfolk*, p. 74.

⁵³ Fellows-Jensen, 'Scandinavian settlement names in East Anglia', p. 51.

⁵⁴ Fellows-Jensen, *Scandinavian Personal Names in Lincolnshire and Yorkshire*, p. XXX.

3.10.5 Thrigby (Modern Spelling)

Trikebei, Trukebei (1086), *Trikebi* (1177), *Trykebi, Trikeby, Thirkeby* (1219), *Trykesby* (1224), *Thyrkeby* (1250), *Thrickby* (1303), *Thirkkeby* (1309-10), *Thirkkeby* (1320), *Thrickeby* (1330), *Thirckeby* (1336), *Thrikebye* (1343).

Thrigby as with Oby and Hemsby has generated some considerable debate as to its exact origin. A number of linguists have considered the name represented a personal name and argued that Thrigby contained the OWScand. personal name *Prykki*. This represented a shorted form of the ON. *Prýðrikr*, as evidenced from the Dynna rune stone in Norway dated from the mid eleventh century.⁵⁵ In contrast, Fellows-Jensen proposed that Thrigby derived from a personal name. More significantly she argued the specific was a Scandinavianised version of an earlier Old English place-name *þric*, referring to narrow passages through undergrowth. Although Fellows-Jensen acknowledged that *Prykki* may have represented a hypocoristic name of *Prýðrikr*, she argued that the absence of records of these two name types in Danish sources made it unlikely. Moreover, she concluded that *Prýðrikr* could only be found on one rune stone dating from the first half of the eleventh century and the simplex form *Prykki* was first found in sources dating from 1531.⁵⁶

Fellows-Jensen's arguments for an appellative form for Thrigby have proved compelling, taking into consideration the topography of Flegg during the Viking

⁵⁵ Ekwall, *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of English Place-Names*, p. 470, Sandred, 'Scandinavians in Norfolk', p. 18-19 and Insley, *Scandinavian Personal Names in Norfolk*, p. 431.

⁵⁶ Fellows-Jensen, 'Looking even more closely at the Nordic elements in East Anglian place-names', pp. 114 and 115.

period.⁵⁷ However, her acknowledgement that a hypocoristic form denoting a personal name could be considered suggests that Thriby carried a personal name.

3.11 Unassigned Personal name or Byname

3.11.1 Clippesby (Modern Spelling)

Clepesbe, Clipesby, Clepebei (1086), *Clypesby* (1107-7), *Clipesbi* (1191), (1211), *Clippesby* (1209), *Clipesby* (1226), *Clyppesby* (1249), *Clipisbi* (1286), *Cleppesby* (1396).

There has been no general consensus as to the exact origin of Clippesby as either a byname or personal name. As a byname, linguists have suggested it derived from the Old Danish appellative forms *klipper* and *klepper* meaning 'small horse'. Sandred noted from Danish dialects, the term *kleppert* meaning any well fed animal or human, has also been recorded. Moreover, Swedish sources have suggested that Clippesby may have originated from *klimp* meaning lump/clot.⁵⁸ Fellows-Jensen acknowledged that Clippesby represented a byname but commented that it was not very common.⁵⁹ Arguments against *Klyppr* as a byname have noted that it was sparsely evidenced in sources.⁶⁰ Moreover, suggestions have been made that the name derived from *Clip*, the name of a tenth-century moneyer, from the ON, personal name *Klyppr*.⁶¹ As the exact origin of Clippesby has not been

⁵⁷ A discussion as to the topography of Flegg will be conducted in the section looking at the geology of the area

⁵⁸ Sandred, 'Scandinavians in Norfolk', p. 12.

⁵⁹ Fellows-Jensen, 'Scandinavian settlement names in East Anglia', p. 51.

⁶⁰ Insley, *Scandinavian Personal Names in Norfolk*, p. 269.

⁶¹ Ekwall, *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of English Place-Names*, p. 112.

effectively assigned to the settlement it has been categorised as either a personal name/ byname.

Analysis of the personal names and bynames on Flegg revealed that many carried an ODan. or generalised ON/OScand linguistic origin. To define the heritage of these names to a distinct locality in Scandinavia would be misleading. Instead it can be surmised that these place names had a broad West Scandinavian origin. On Flegg these names were likely to have been formed in an environment where there was a significant Norse speaking population. The presence of English names within the corpus of settlements on Flegg suggests the area contained a mixed population. During the initial period of colonisation Flegg may have witnessed a degree of segregation between the English and Viking populations. Over time these populations invariably interacted which created a later Anglo-Scandinavian environment.

3.12 Appellative place name corpus across East and West Flegg

This group of place names on Flegg incorporated a series of settlements where the prefix related to a topographical/man-made feature for those denoting plants, crops and adjectives. These place names most likely represented renamed Old English communities which had been taken over as going concerns, and may have denoted a particular function performed at each settlement.⁶²

⁶² Gillian Fellows-Jensen, 'The Mystery of the *by*-names in Man', *Nomina*, 21 (1997), 33-47 (p. 39).

3.12.1 Filby (Modern Spelling)

Philebey, Phileby, Filebey (1086), *Filibbi* (1163), *Filebi* (1165), *Fillebi* (1200), *Filleby* (1200), *Filiby* (1223), *Phileby, Phyleby* (1254), *Fyleby* (1257), *Philebi* (1286), *Fylby* (1346).

The name Filby has generated some debate as to its exact linguistic origin. Ekwall was convinced that Filby contained an ON/ODan. personal name *Fili* but conceded the name was not well evidenced in sources.⁶³ The lack of collaborative evidence has raised doubt as to the likelihood the place name constituted an Old Scandinavian personal name. Insley noted that a personal name element *Fili* could only be found as the name of a dwarf in the Scandinavian saga the *Edda*. Moreover he suggested that the place name may have derived from the appellative term *fyli* or *filly* referring to the presence of horses. By the time of Little Domesday Book, horse breeding was still being carried out in the neighbouring hundred of Happing and it is not inconceivable that Filby may have played a role in this economic activity.⁶⁴ Sandred and Fellows-Jensen both suggested that Filby derived from the ODan. *fili/Fiæl* meaning a plank, and may have referred to a wooden footbridge.⁶⁵ Watts acknowledged that Filby most likely derived from a place name describing a location where wooden boards were made or where there was a wooden footbridge.⁶⁶ The position of Filby in an area of extensive marshland makes the appellative interpretation credible for this place name.

⁶³ Ekwall, *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of English Place-Name*. p. 178.

⁶⁴ Insley, *Scandinavian Personal Names in Norfolk*, p. 121.

⁶⁵ Sandred, 'Scandinavians in Norfolk', p. 13.

⁶⁶ Watts, *The Cambridge Dictionary of English Place-Names*, p. 230.

3.12.2 Mautby (Modern Spelling)

Malteby, Maltebey, Maltebei (1086), *Maltebi* (1168), *Malteby* (1189-90), *Mautebei, Maudebi* (1198), *Meauteby* (1220), *Mauteby* (1257), *Mautheby* (1257), *Mautebye* (1387), *Maudeby* (1388).

Mautby has divided opinion as to whether it incorporated a personal name or related to an appellative noun. Linguists have noted that Mautby on Flegg was identical to two Maltbys in Lincolnshire (*Raithby cum Maltby and Maltby Le Marsh*) and two in Yorkshire, all of which incorporated the personal name *Malti*.⁶⁷ The presence of ODan. *Malti* in place names in England convinced Insley that it referred to a personal name rather than an appellative OE *mealt*. Moreover, he noted the place name element also appeared within a number of *-thorp* names in South Jutland and may have represented a borrowed personal name from Germany.⁶⁸ Sandred discussed the possibility that Mautby may have originated from an appellative noun, but concluded that the continued spelling of a medial *-e* within later records, suggested it derived from a personal name. He noted for appellative meanings these words most likely showed in later Anglo-Norman spellings with the letter *-s* or *-es* if anglicised. In support of his personal name origin he argued it would have been popular in the late Old English period, *circa* 1100, and it is not unfeasible to assume that a later date for a personal name for this settlement could be envisaged.⁶⁹

⁶⁷ Ekwall, *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of English Place-Names*, p. 312.

⁶⁸ Insley, *Scandinavian Personal names in Norfolk*, p. 297.

⁶⁹ Sandred, 'Scandinavians in Norfolk', p. 15.

Fellows-Jensen was not convinced Mautby contained a personal name *Malti*. She noted the name was unknown in West Scandinavia and was only recorded in Denmark during the thirteenth century. She further argued it would seem improbable that the personal name would be so popular in England, yet be rare in Denmark from where it came from. As to the origin of the place name she suggested it derived from the Old English *mealt* or Old Scandinavian *malt*. In support of this hypothesis she noted that the export of malt from England to Denmark was extremely common by the thirteenth century and most likely from earlier times as well.⁷⁰ Fellows-Jensen was dismissive of Sandred's reference to the persistent use of the medial *-e* and stressed that its absence in Danish sources made it highly unlikely it was a popular Viking name during the ninth and tenth centuries.⁷¹

Although a strong case has been made for a personal name the appellative form advocated by Fellows-Jensen has proved more convincing. It may also be surmised that Maltby represented another clear example of an English place name renamed by the Vikings.

⁷⁰ Fellows-Jensen, 'Scandinavian settlement names in East Anglia', p. 50.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, p. 50.

3.13 Old English place name element in –by corpus on East and West Flegg

3.13.1 Stokesby (Modern Spelling)

Stoches, Stokesbei, Stokesbey (1086), Stokebi (1152), Stokesbi (1164), Stokesby (1164), Stochebi (1175), Stokingebi (1209), Stokeby (1222).

The sources have all acknowledged that the place name derived from the Old English *stoc* meaning outlying pasture situated near water where excellent grazing for cattle could be found.⁷² The presence of Stokesby on Flegg, an area of suitable grazing marshland, supports the argument that it derived from an appellative form. Stokesby has also provided the only example of a fusion of Old English and Old Norse naming habits.

The presence of three appellative place names on Flegg suggests the area was already occupied and settled by an Anglo-Saxon population prior to the Viking invasion. Moreover, Fellows-Jensen tentatively suggested that place names which carried appellative forms were older than those carrying a personal name.⁷³ It can be hypothesised from the corpus of –by names that Flegg may have witnessed two phases of colonisation by the Viking.

⁷² Sandred, *Place-Names of Norfolk*, p. 22; Ekwall, *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of English Place-Names*, p. 446 and Fellows-Jensen, 'Scandinavian settlement names in East Anglia', p. 51.

⁷³ Fellows-Jensen, *Scandinavian Settlement in the North-West*, p. 21.

3.14 Other Scandinavian place names on Flegg other than in *-by*: Repps, Sco and Thurne

The fourteen *-by* names represented the most dominant type of Scandinavian place name element on Flegg. However, three other possible Old Norse names have also been identified within the corpus of settlement names. Ekwall argued that Repps was identical to North and South Repps found in Erpingham hundred. He noted that the name derived from the OE *ripel*, for a strip of wood.⁷⁴ However, Sandred was less convinced with Ekwall's position and explained that a significant number of later spellings of Repps lost the letter *l*. This suggested the name may have derived from an OWScand. *hreppr* or ODan. *rep* meaning district or community. In the case of Sco, Sandred and Fellows-Jensen both agreed that it derived from the ON. *skógr* for woodland and may have referred to an area of woodland in Martham.⁷⁵ Sandred hypothesised that Thurne may have derived from either an OE. or ON. *þyrne* or *þyrnir* meaning thorn bush, and may have represented an Anglo-Norman spelling which saw the letter *t* replaced by *th* in later spellings.

The presence of other Scandinavian place names reinforces the hypothesis that Flegg incorporated a significant Norse speaking population. It seems inconceivable that these names would not have emerged within a dominant English speaking population.

⁷⁴ Ekwall *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of English Place-Names*, p. 385.

⁷⁵ Sandred, *Place-Names of Norfolk*, p. 60 and Fellows-Jensen, 'Scandinavian settlement names in East Anglia', p. 57.

3.15 Minor field and topographical names found at place names in *-by* and selective English place names

The corpus of minor field and topographical place names used for the thesis was restricted to those names recorded up to 1488. It was decided that names recorded after this date were less likely to be representative of Norse influences within the nomenclature of minor names. It must be stressed that the presence of place names betraying an Old Norse heritage has not been taken as evidence for a distinct Norse population on Flegg. Instead these names have been interpreted as evidence for a continued Norse influence in the naming practices of minor names.

The headings in table 3.7 on page 216, entitled 'pure Old English (OE) or pure Old Norse (ON)' referred to settlements which carried only English or Old Norse vocabulary within their minor names. The headings entitled 'ambiguous but contained ON' referred to names which could not easily be explained, such as "*Perkyninstoft*" located at Mautby which had an ambiguous first element but contained the Old Norse element *toft*. The 'mixed name' heading referred to names which carried both Old English and Old Norse vocabulary. The heading entitled 'either' related to names which could not easily be identified as Old English or Old Norse.

The majority of the minor names for fields and other topographical features on Flegg carried a pure Old English element. In contrast across the hundreds of East and West Flegg very few carried a pure ON. name. However, it must be emphasised that approximately 33% of the minor names across both hundreds carried an Old Norse element, suggesting a strong influence upon naming

habits. A closer inspection of the distribution of names across each individual settlement, identified eleven out of the sixteen settlements had Old Norse elements in over 30% of their minor names. Most striking, Clippesby and Filby had minor names where 50% carried an Old Norse element. This feature suggests that Old Norse had a significant influence in the naming of minor names at particular settlements.

The presence of names carrying a Scandinavian linguistic heritage, suggests that Old Norse had a profound influence upon the nomenclature of minor names on Flegg. A situation most likely encouraged by the mutual intelligibility of Old English and Old Norse. It can be surmised that a significant Norse population must have been present during the initial colonisation period, to account for the presence of these place name features. As peasant populations most likely provided the catalyst for the emergence of minor names it is inconceivable that a small elite population could have achieved this linguistic fusion. As to the longevity of Old Norse on Flegg it would be misleading to assume that it survived as a distinct language across the ninth and tenth centuries. The inevitable social interaction between populations would have prevented the isolation of a distinct population. However, the sheer volume of Norse place names suggests that a vibrant Viking population existed on Flegg during the early period of colonisation, a factor enhanced by Flegg's relative isolation.

3.16 Geology of Flegg and agriculture value

East Flegg's most dominant geology consisted of glaciofluvial and aeolian drift and till, which created a deep well drained coarse loamy soil which was often

stoneless. Moreover, the soil created slowly permeable subsoils which often resulted in slight seasonal water logging and slight risk of water erosion. West Flegg had a very similar geology described as glaciofluvial and aeolian drift, creating often stoneless deep well drained coarse loamy soil, with potential risk of water erosion. The soils across both hundreds would have been suitable for cereals, peas and beans, with East Flegg's more suitable for field vegetables (defined as root crops). The central region of Flegg comprised a thin strip of Fen peat, which created a deep peaty soil which in parts was acidic and had the potential for ground water unless drained. Agriculturally these soils were suitable for rough grazing with some potential for vegetables if water levels were controlled. Surrounding Flegg the soil was classed as marine alluvium consisting of stoneless calcareous clayey soils at risk of flooding unless controlled by ditches. Agriculturally these areas would have provided ideal permanent grassland for cattle and sheep with some application for field vegetables. Towards the coast the geology changed significantly to that of dune sands and marine shingle. This created deep well drained calcareous and non calcareous sandy soils, creating water logged soils in depressions, resulting in soils of very limited agricultural use.⁷⁶

The settlements on East and West Flegg can be found within the 'Rich Loam District with exceptionally fertile soils formed in wind-blown loess overlying a variety of glacial deposits.'⁷⁷ These soils provided excellent well drained and easily worked rich loamy soils ideal for growing field vegetables and cereals. On East Flegg the presence of permanent grass land and rough pasture, at over half of the settlements, would have provided an ideal environment for sheep

⁷⁶ Soil Survey of England and Wales, Legend for the 1:250,000 Soil Map of England and Wales 1983, pp. 7-22.

⁷⁷ Tom Williamson, 'Soil Landscapes', in *An Historical Atlas of Norfolk*, ed. by Trevor Ashwin and Alan Davison (Chichester: Phillimore Press, 2005), pp. 8-9 (p. 8).

and cattle. However, Barbara Cornford noted that patches of poorer soils can be found across Flegg, with an area of heath land between Ashby and Rollesby and small patches of water logged and ill drained soils at Martham, Ormesby and Runham.⁷⁸ In general the excellent agricultural conditions found at the *-by* names on Flegg, contrasted significantly with the soils found at many *-by* settlements in the Midlands. At these settlements many were situated on patches of fertile ground. Across the corpus of place names on Flegg no discernible difference in soil conditions could be found between the English and *-by* communities. The dearth of pollen evidence from Flegg has hampered a full analysis of the crops most likely to have been grown by the Vikings. However, across the Viking period cereal crops of wheat, barley and rye continued to be grown alongside beans, peas, hemp and hops. Petra Dark noted that East Anglia witnessed an increase in cereal crops and a reduction in grasses, suggesting a shift from pasture to arable agricultural.⁷⁹ The soil conditions on Flegg suggest that the area would have been suitable for the cultivation of these crops. Little Domesday Book recorded the presence of large numbers of sheep on Flegg across both *-by* and English settlements. It can be surmised that animal husbandry alongside arable farming played a significant economic role at settlements due to the excellent environmental conditions found in the area.

3.17 Model One: The *-by* place names on Flegg: a planned colonisation

The opening model in the thesis hypothesises that the Scandinavian personal names in *-by* and bynames represented a planned Viking settlement. The

⁷⁸ Barbara Cornford, *Medieval Flegg: Two Norfolk Hundreds in the Middle Ages East and West Flegg, 1086-1500* (Dereham: The Larks Press, 2002), pp. 16–17.

⁷⁹ Petra Dark, *The Environment of Britain in the First Millennium AD* (London: Gerald Duckworth & Co. 2009), pp. 157-163.

strategic importance of Flegg with its access to the hinterland of Norfolk via the rivers Yare, Bure and Waveney was understood by the Romans who built two castles either side of a large estuary surrounding the majority of Flegg.⁸⁰ To account for the cluster of place names with a personal name element; James Campbell noted that the toponymic evidence on Flegg provided intriguing evidence for the establishment of a Viking island base settlement similar to the occupation of Walcheren, which was periodically occupied by the Vikings during the ninth century. He further strengthened his argument for Flegg as a Viking base and noted that other places names of Scandinavian origin were also located close to the shores of the estuary around Flegg.⁸¹ Moreover both Flegg and Walcheren shared similar geographical features with the latter island situated at the mouth of the Scheldt estuary.

The case for Flegg as a planned settlement has been supported by Simon Coupland who argued that the granting of land to the Vikings on the continent was an established practice. He noted that, 'the first grant of Frisian territory to a Danish convert took place as early as the reign of Charlemagne some years before the well-known gift of Rüstringen to the Danish king Harald in 826'.⁸² As to the reasons why Frankish kings granted land to the Vikings, Coupland suggested that in many cases it was a recognition of their military strength. Moreover, the allocation of land as a benefice ensured that the Viking leaders acknowledged the lordship of Frankish kings and took on the responsibility of defending their newly acquired land from other Scandinavian raiders.⁸³

⁸⁰ The two castles noted are Caister and Burgh and they are situated opposite each other looking out over the medieval estuary surrounding Flegg.

⁸¹ James Campbell, 'What is not known about the reign of Edward the Elder', in *Edward the Elder 899-924*, ed. by N.J. Higham and D. H. Hill (London: Routledge, 2001), pp. 12-24 (pp. 20 and 21).

⁸² Simon Coupland, 'From poachers to gamekeepers: Scandinavian warlords and Carolingian kings', *Early Medieval Europe*, 7 (1998), 86-114 (p. 88).

⁸³ *Ibid.*, p. 100.

Collaborative evidence for planned Viking settlements has been found from two medieval documents. In the Annals of St. Bertin, King Lothar made arrangements for the protection of a portion of coastline alongside modern Belgium and the Netherlands.

‘Lothar, to secure the services of Harald, who along with other Danish pirates had for some years been imposing many sufferings on Frisia and the other coastal regions of the Christians, to the damage of Lothar's father's interests and the furtherance of his own, now granted him Walcheren and the neighbouring regions as a benefice.’⁸⁴

Moreover, evidence from *Fragmenta Tria Annalium Hibernia*⁸⁵ has provided a similar account of a grant of land in north west England. The document described the story of Ingimund asking for land from Edelfrida on the Wirral peninsular ‘now Hingamund (Ingimund) was asking lands of the queen in which he would settle, and on which he would build huts and dwelling.’⁸⁶

The hypothesis presented in this opening model supports Stenton’s assertions that personal names in *-by* represented the division of land under Danish rather than English lordship.⁸⁷ For Mautby, Stokesby and Filby they represented older English communities which had been taken over and re-named by the Vikings. In essence these settlements represented an earlier phase in the colonisation of Flegg.

⁸⁴ Janet L. Nelson, *The Annals of St-Bertin: Ninth-Century Histories*, vol 1, trans. Janet L. Nelson (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1991), p. 51.

⁸⁵ Frederick Wainwright, *Fragmenta Tria Annalium*, Bibliotheque Royale, Brussels, MS 5301-5320 folio 33a to folio 34b, discussed in ‘North West Mercia AD 871-924’, in *Wirral and its Viking Heritage*, ed. by Paul Cavill, Stepehn E. Harding and Judith Jesch (Nottingham: English Place Name Society, 2000), pp. 19-42 (p. 21).

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 21.

⁸⁷ Stenton, *Anglo Saxon England*, p. 524.

3.18 Conclusion for Chapter Three

The *-by* place names on Flegg represented a fairly homogenous group of settlements in terms of size, in contrast to the more diverse range found in Denmark. The large numbers of *-bys* on Flegg which incorporated a personal name/byname element also contrasted significantly with Denmark, where these types of place names specific were rare. As Norwegian *-by* settlements never carried a personal name specific, the Vikings who settled on Flegg most likely originated from other parts of Scandinavia. The *-bys* on Flegg created a fairly compact arrangement of settlements, whilst in Denmark and Norway dispersed settlement arrangements were the norm. Therefore the conditions which promoted settlement formation in Scandinavia did not occur on Flegg. The settlements on Flegg were clearly formed from a unique set of political and social factors and the hypothesis that Flegg witnessed an orchestrated colonisation cannot be dismissed. The *-by* place names on Flegg emerged from a population familiar with Norse naming habits, and it can be assumed that a distinct Nordic population co-existed alongside an English population. Little Domesday spellings for the *-bys* reflected those found in Leicestershire with the vast majority recorded with the suffix *-bei*, which most likely reflected the peculiarities of the scribe and compiler of the county of Norfolk. The large numbers of *-by* place names recorded with a personal name/byname specific, has contrasted with a much smaller corpus found in the Danelaw. As bynames were established to associate a particular tenant with a specific settlement, their presence on Flegg could be linked to planned colonisation of the area. The similarities between Flegg and Walcheren have provided tantalising evidence to support the notion of a planned series of settlements upon Flegg to protect the hinterland of Norfolk. However, the absence of documentary

evidence for Flegg prevents a definitive answer being reached. The archaic byname identified for Billockby suggests that the colonisation may have occurred over a time period, with more common names forming later settlements. The presence of appellative *-by* name specifics can be associated with the takeover and renaming of older English communities, and it can be surmised that Flegg was not completely uninhabited during the Viking period. The presence of other place names other than in *-by* and minor field names which betrayed a Norse linguistic influence suggests that a significant Norse speaking population was present on Flegg. Analysis of the geology of Flegg has revealed that both the English and *-by* settlements were found on fertile loamy soil. Moreover, settlements were located with easy access to soils suitable for the grazing of sheep and cattle. The geological evidence suggests that settlements on Flegg were relatively high-status communities with access to excellent arable and pasture land. The presence of rich arable and pasture land would have made a planned colony economically attractive to the Viking colonists.

Chapter Four

The origin of multiple estates and the creation of –by settlements on Flegg

4.1 Introduction

Little Domesday Book revealed a complex pattern of tenurial arrangements between the settlements on Flegg and other communities across Norfolk. The primary aim of Chapter Four is a detailed investigation into the origin of these tenurial patterns. This analysis will enable the chapter to present three alternative models for the creation of –by and English settlements on Flegg. The chapter is broken down into a series of interconnected themes. The first section reviews the historiography of multiple estates, and the role played by Anglo-Saxon lords, the Church and Middle-Saxon emporia/productive sites in the formation of settlements. The thesis further considers the influences of specific Middle Saxon estates in Norfolk, St. Benet of Hulme and productive sites in the foundation of settlements and development of tenurial ties recorded in Little Domesday Book. The work of Frank Stenton,¹ G.R.J Jones,² Dawn Hadley,³ John Blair,⁴ Rosamond Faith⁵ and Katharina Ulmschneider⁶ have been considered in Chapter Four.

¹ Stenton, *Anglo Saxon England*, p. 519.

² G.R.J. Jones, 'Multiple Estates and Early Settlement', in *Medieval Settlements*, ed. by Peter H. Sawyer (London: Edward Arnold Publishers, 1976), pp. 15-40 (pp. 25 and 26).

³ Hadley, 'Multiple estates and the origins of the manorial structure', pp. 4-11.

⁴ John Blair, *The Church in Anglo-Saxon Society* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), p. 154.

⁵ Rosamond Faith, *The English Peasantry and the Growth of Lordship* (London: Leicester University Press, 1999), p. 47.

⁶ Katharina Ulmschneider 'Markets Around the Solent: Unravelling a 'Productive' Site on the Isle of Wight', in *Markets in Early Medieval Europe: Trading and 'Productive' Sites 650-850*, ed. by Tim Pestell and Katharina Ulmschneider (Macclesfield: Windgather Press, 2003), pp. 73-83 (pp. 73-76).

4.2 Sources and Appendix referenced in Chapter Four

The data used in Chapter Four can be referenced using Appendix Two and the chapter utilised material from Little Domesday Book and Norfolk Heritage Explorer.

4.3 The origin of multiple estates

The Hull Domesday project defined the sokeland as ‘outlying dependencies of a manor which rendered customary payments to the lord of the manor but whose soil was not owned by him.’⁷ The Northern Danelaw was characterised by the presence of large estates (sokes) consisting of a central manor with outlying berewicks and sokelands. In contrast Great Domesday recorded in southern England the near absence of sokes, with a system where manors and *vill* commonly coincided. In parts of Southern England the tenurial unit of the manor matched exactly the agricultural unit that of the *vill*.⁸

The presence of sokemen residing on sokelands was initially discussed by Stenton who argued their presence could be attributed to the distribution of land by the Scandinavian settlers. He argued this occurred following the conquest of northern England during the ninth century. ‘It is almost inevitable that the rank and file of the army, who [were] known to have kept their military organisation long after they turned from war to agriculture, should [have grouped] themselves upon the soil under the leaders who had brought

⁷ Hull Domesday Project, <http://www.domesdaybook.net/domesday-book/data-terminology/manors/jurisdiction-or-soca> [accessed August 2018]

⁸ Hadley, ‘Multiple estates and the origins of the manorial structure’, p. 3.

them to England.⁹ In essence he inextricably linked the presence of sokes to the territorial re-organisation of the Danelaw by the Vikings. However, Stenton's argument can be challenged for it implied that estates in the Danelaw were ninth and tenth century creations.

Stenton's argument has not been widely accepted, and the debate has shifted towards a much earlier history for multiple estates. In Wales the original territorial organisation was the hundred and most likely represented the original unit of political organisation in the country. In Wales the hundreds also represented the petty kingdoms present in the early sixth century. Within the hundred the commote's most important estates were those allocated to the king and consisted of both lowland and upland areas.¹⁰ Although the multiple estates of the king's chancellor, reeves and free notables were more limited they also contained important settlement centres. The 'Book of Iorwerth' noted that these estates carried some rights of jurisdiction over their attached *vills*, which enabled the tenants in chief lordship over aliens resident on the land. The book also detailed the services, such as the provision of huntsmen and dogs, alongside dues and rents owed by the various inhabitants of these estates for the king's provision. Moreover, the text further detailed the responsibility of freemen and bondsmen in the maintenance of the royal buildings.¹¹

⁹ Stenton, *Anglo Saxon England*, p. 519.

¹⁰ The hundred consisted of 2 commotes which in turn represented an amalgamation of twelve multiple estates. This structure of estate territorial organisation was based on a model for territorial organisation contained within the 'Book of Iorwerth' which detailed the structure of various holdings during the thirteenth century, but most likely reflected older territorial units and their services to royal households. see G.R.J Jones article 'Multiple Estates and Early Settlement', p. 15.

¹¹ Jones, 'Multiple Estates and Early Settlement', pp. 15-17.

In Northumbria, groups of *vills* similar to the Welsh commote have also been identified suggesting an early history for multiple estates. In Northumbria *vills* were administered from the lord's court, and the occupants of each *vill*, were responsible for rents and services such as the provision of huntsmen and dogs. Terminology from Northumbrian sources also betrayed links with their Welsh counterpart. In particular the render of cows' milk known as *the vacca de metreth*, contained a Brittonic linguistic element which later became the Welsh for *treth* meaning tribute.¹² For Jones the similarities between the two regions were obvious;

'There are so many parallels between Wales and Northumbria that we are justified in postulating a common origin for multiple-estate organisation in both areas. This common origin must date from the period before the seventh century when the Anglo-Saxons finally severed the overland link between Wales and the North.'¹³

In Malling Sussex, the boundaries of the estate matched neatly the hundred of Loxfield, a situation found in many early Welsh territories. More significantly settlements within the Malling estate included lowland areas around Lewes alongside upland regions on the South Downs and woodland areas of the High Weald.¹⁴

In Yorkshire a multiple estate known as Burgshire was identified in Great Domesday, equating to one of the nine regional centres of the Brigante tribe. The area covered a multitude of resources from rough pasture and woodland

¹² Jones, 'Multiple Estates and Early Settlement', p. 24.

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 24.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 26.

in the upland regions of the shire, to large expanses of good arable in the lowland regions. The Great Domesday Book recorded in the region 133 *vills* and approximately sixty royal *vills*. In addition Great Domesday identified two prominent multiple estates of Knareborough and Aldborough. Most striking the various sokelands, berewicks and outlying portions of demesne of these two royal estates often intermixed. In particular, the *vill* of South Stanley incorporated sokeland assessed both in Aldborough and within part of a berewick of Knareborough.¹⁵ The tenurial patterns found across these two estates suggested that both centres may once have formed a single entity.

In the north west of the country it has been argued that many of the Norman baronies obscured earlier patterns of over lordship.¹⁶ Evidence from land tenure from the eleventh and twelfth centuries has suggested that ancient divisions of land often embraced smaller settlement groups in the form of multiple estates similar to those found in northern England. In the case of Cartmel it was noted as a separate entity in 677, and remained tenurially independent from Furness abbey. The division of the Lake District into parishes often reflected the presence of smaller multiple estates rather than the larger territorial organisations found elsewhere in England and Wales. However, these smaller multiple estates shared common themes with other areas in that these estates held settlements in the uplands (the Cumbrian mountain range) alongside the peripheral lowland areas. Moreover, the lords of these multiple estates controlled the upland areas for private hunting and retained direct control over the scattered settlements in the lowlands, from which dues and

¹⁵ Jones, 'Multiple Estates and Early Settlement', pp. 35-37.

¹⁶ The focus of this discussion has centred on the territorial organisation of Cumbria and the Lake District.

services were extracted.¹⁷ A closer inspection of specific renders enjoyed by lords also revealed evidence of archaic services such as the payment of cornage rendered at the beginning of May.¹⁸ This render had direct parallels in Wales where the *treth calan mai* (tribute of the Kalands of May) was undertaken. Similarities with Welsh holdings have also been found from analysis of *bordland* which provided victuals for the lord's house. The word directly related to the ancient Welsh term *tir bwrdd* meaning a category of land, which had an identical meaning.¹⁹ Other examples of archaic services included *vigilia maris* or seawake a coastal guarding duty imposed upon vills.²⁰ In essence the presence of archaic renders and similarities with Welsh royal services suggested that multiple estates in this region had a much older origin.

Analysis of territorial units found in Scotland has also discovered the presence of older estate arrangements. In the case of Berwickshire, the estate *caput* held the majority of its outliers within a six mile radius, but also included a group of four estates sixteen miles up the River Tweed.²¹ Evidence of ancient units of extensive lordship, based on the obligations faced by dependant peasants, also revealed similarities between estates in Scotland and England. In Scottish Northumbria a substantial free peasantry, recorded as *thengs* and *drengs* were recorded in exactly the same way as their counterparts in English Northumbria. More significantly, fines paid by thanes and peasants and the render of services such as cornage, closely matched the obligations faced by

¹⁷ Angus. J. L Winchester, 'The Multiple Estate: A Framework for the Evolution of Settlement in Anglo-Saxon and Scandinavian Cumbria', in *The Scandinavians in Cumbria*, ed. by J.R Baldwin and I.D Whyte (Edinburgh: Scottish Society for Northern Studies, 1989), pp. 89-101 (pp. 89-98).

¹⁸ This has been described by Angus Winchester as a cattle render which was widespread across Celtic Britain

¹⁹ Winchester, 'The Multiple Estate', pp. 89-98.

²⁰ Angus. J. L Winchester, 'Early Estate Structures in Cumberland and Lancashire', *Medieval Settlement Research*, 23 (2008), pp. 14-21 (p. 17).

²¹ This older shire was amalgamated into the much larger sherrifdom of Berwick created in the 12th Century. G.W.S. Barrow, *The Kingdom of the Scots*, 2nd edn (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2003), p. 23.

peasants in Northumbria.²² In Tweedale and Lothian, G.W.S. Barrow identified evidence for an archaic shire system with its characteristic features of money rents, seasonal ploughing, carrying duties and tribute payments reminiscent of estates found in England.²³ In Sterling he noted that tenants classed as bonders and gresemen were similar to the bonders and gresemen in Northumbria, Yorkshire and Lindsey. Moreover, Barrow suggested that the *hiredmen* recorded in Scottish sources could be also be equated to the *drengs* and *sokemen* of eastern England.²⁴

Documentary material has also provided some evidence for the existence of early multiple estates. In Welsh sources a memorandum within a gospel book written c. 850, described the donation of a bonded *vill* with attached land from the upper reaches of the River Cothi to an unknown church.²⁵ The evidence from the memorandum suggests that important settlements were integrating upland and lowland resources within an estate structure, at least by the time of the Vikings. It can be argued this process may have also reflected older territorial arrangements from before the Viking period. Moreover, the same gospel book recorded in its margins the term manor against an estate which in later centuries contained seven townships.²⁶ In North Wales, evidence has revealed the alienation of *vills* to monastic communities by a Welsh king. In particular the *vill* of Eglwys Ail was donated to the Church sometime in the late seventh or early eighth century by Cadwaladra ap Cadwallon a member of the ruling dynasty of Gwynedd.²⁷ Although 'The Book of Cynfnerth' presented a

²² Barrow, *The Kingdom of the Scots*, pp. 22-30.

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 29.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 29- 32.

²⁵ Jones, 'Multiple Estates and Early Settlement', p. 18.

²⁶ The term manor was significant as it has been used to describe the administrative centre of a multiple estate.

²⁷ Jones, 'Multiple Estates and Early Settlement', pp. 17-23.

sketchier outline of territorial organisation to those described in the 'Book of Iorwerth', the commote was still presented as a unit of royal administration. In addition, it outlined the number of *vills* each multiple estate contained and detailed alienated estates where the king still retained rights.²⁸ Moreover, it described territorial arrangements of the king's estate in south Wales and identified the king's *vill* in the lowlands and a summer pastureland in the uplands.²⁹ Evidence from an English source has also been employed to show that multiple estates had a more ancient history. In the *Life of Bishop Wilfrid* c. 715, the text described a woman fleeing with her son to Walton to escape the clutches of the bishop. Domesday Book testified that the *vill* was a component of a multiple-estate with its centre in Kirkby. Evidence from the *Life of Bishop Wilfrid* suggested that he held judicial rights over Walton along with a berewick in Tideover also connected to the estate *caput* at Kirkby.³⁰ In Northumbria Bede described a donation to the monastery of Harlepool c. 655 of six estates in Deira and another six in Bernicia a total of 120 hides. Moreover, he described that two years after this initial gift the Abbess Hild obtained another ten hides from Whitby.³¹

The location of many estate centres has also suggested that a more ancient history for their origin can be assumed. Across England soke centres have been found close to Roman roads and ancient track ways, whilst other important territorial centres emerged very close to important Roman sites.³²

²⁸ The 'Book of Cynferth' as with the 'Book of Iorwerth' most likely reflected older territorial units, see Jones 'Multiple Estates and Early Settlement', pp. 15-16.

²⁹ The 'Book of Cynnerth' although written in the early 13th Century outlined territorial organisations which reflected a much older history. See Jones 'Multiple Estates and Early Settlement', pp. 15-16.

³⁰ Jones, 'Multiple Estates and Early Settlement', p. 25-26.

³¹ McClure, J and Collins, R, *Bede: The Ecclesiastical History of the English People The Great Chronicle Bede's Letter to Egbert*, ed. by J. McClure and R. Collins (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994), p. 151.

³² Hadley, *The Northern Danelaw*, pp. 122-124.

The presence of charters has revealed that many sokelands were not static features in the landscape. In the case of Hope, Ashford and Bakewell, charters recorded the purchase of land from these manors as early as 911.³³ Moreover, in a charter recorded c. 958, the Nottinghamshire soke of Sutton-by-Retford, appeared to be a remnant of a much larger territorial unit.³⁴ It can be argued that charters have provided an invaluable insight into patterns of estate reorganisation, a process which occurred across the Anglo-Saxon period. The argument voiced by Stenton that sokes were established by the Vikings cannot be substantiated. The fluid nature of sokes encouraged Hadley to argue that a more recent history for their existence can be assumed. She noted that some may have come into existence as a result of estate fragmentation and consolidation of land by leading tenants. Moreover, the sokes which overlapped other important multiple estates may have emerged following the fragmentation of these estates through the purchase or endowment of land.³⁵

It can be tentatively suggested that the Viking invasions may have played a role in the re-organisation of estates, as they may have disrupted older estate patterns. Moreover, the Vikings may have encouraged the development of a vibrant land market, for the purchase and alienation of land from older estate *caputs*. In essence the Viking colonisation of England may have created new estate structures with new soke arrangements from older territorial units. Although Stenton's argument for a Scandinavian origin for sokelands can be effectively challenged, it can be hypothesised that the arrival of the Vikings may have created an environment for estate re-organisation.

³³ The charters mentioned in the text refer to charters S. 397 and S. 548 in *The Electronic Sawyer* <<http://www.esawyer.org.uk/about/index.html>> [accessed 31st May 2019].

³⁴ Hadley, 'Multiple estates and the origins of the manorial structure', pp. 4-11. The charter mentioned refers to S. 679 in *The Electronic Sawyer* <<http://www.esawyer.org.uk/about/index.html>> [accessed 31st May 2019].

³⁵ Hadley, 'Multiple estates and the origins of the manorial structure', pp. 4-11.

4.4 The role played by the Church, royal centres, emporia and productive sites in the development of multiple estates

The role of the Church in the creation of multiple estates has been explored by Blair, who argued that the creation of sokes occurred at some time in the seventh century. He also noted that the ability to provide hidated land to early monasteries suggested that,

‘Kings must have known where the land lay, what ten hides amounted to, and how food renders from them could be split off from the rest and be assigned to new recipients. This was *extensive lordship*...[and] it showed a capacity to demarcate and apportion the land’s resources in a fairly precise fashion.’³⁶

Moreover in Northumbria c. 654, King Osuiu allocated 10 hides apiece to the six newly founded monasteries in Bernicia and Deira.³⁷ Blair also argued that the movement away from extensive lordship based on territories, towards a manorial system at major minsters, may have provided the framework for the development of sokes. He noted that minsters became static features in the landscape which required regular food supplies. This would have encouraged the development of estate *caputs* centred at the ministers and the exploitation of the demesne land.³⁸ Faith noted at Deerhurst in Gloucestershire, a large and complex monastic estate recorded in Domesday had four berewicks and scattered lands held by radmen, who held freeholdings which were described

³⁶ Blair, *The Church in Anglo-Saxon Society*, p. 154.

³⁷ John Blair, ‘Minster Churches in the Landscape’, in *Anglo-Saxon Settlements*, ed. by Della Hooke (Oxford: Basil Blackwell Ltd, 1988), p. 38. A fuller description of the endowment can be found in: *Bede: The Ecclesiastical History of the English People*, ed. by Judith McClure and Roger Collins (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), pp. 150-151.

³⁸ Blair, *The Church in Anglo-Saxon Society*, p. 252.

as sokelands.³⁹ It can be argued that the process of estate formation at minsters may have been copied by sub-kings and warriors settled on lands given to them by their lords. These sub kings and leading tenants were then forced to develop their own inland for their own personal consumption.⁴⁰ Hadley argued that the emergence of churches within the Anglo-Saxon landscape may have obscured older territorial units. She noted that by the ninth and tenth centuries pastoral care had become territorialised resulting in sokes and their dependencies residing within the boundary of the parish. Hadley suggested that endowment of the Church had the potential to both fix the boundaries of existing territories and to create totally new estates which may have obscured earlier forms of organisation.⁴¹

The growth of royal and ecclesiastical centres developed a symbiotic relationship which benefited both. Moreover, the close relationship between the Church and royal centres cannot be easily disengaged. In essence the presence of royal centres and the Church were both required to create the pattern of multiple estates most visibly seen in the Danelaw.

The emergence of royal estates and associated ministers and the development of emporia and productive sites have also been explored as another model for the development of multiple estates. In southern England the capture of the region around Southampton by Cædwalla c. 700 enabled the West Saxon Kingdom to restructure and organise its lands around a manorial system based upon a royal estate and associated minsters. Ben Palmer noted that *Hamwic* itself may have been an estate belonging to the royal household. Moreover,

³⁹ Faith, *The English Peasantry*, p. 47.

⁴⁰ Blair, *The Church in Anglo-Saxon Society*, p. 252.

⁴¹ Hadley, 'Multiple estates and the origins of the manorial structure', pp. 4-11.

the associated minsters may also have played a role in the development of the *Hamwic*. In essence the minsters managed their respective hinterlands for the appropriation of resources leading to the eventual production and distribution of goods through trade via the emporium.⁴² At Ipswich a royal or elite status settlement has been interpreted from the archaeological evidence, in the form of a rich female inhumation at Boss Hill. The inhumation contained jewellery and a mounted gold solidus c. 639-656 and may have marked the ruling family's control of their wider estate.⁴³ However, the foundation of Ipswich by a ruling family has been questioned, as the early seventh-century settlement covered a relatively small area of approximately 6 hectares. Instead the royal palace of Rendlesham, located 16 km away from Ipswich was also involved in international trade, and may have been the principal seat of a ruling family.⁴⁴

The development of multiple estates through the close economic links between emporia and productive sites has also been explored. Palmer noted that these two communities became inextricably linked with the development of a multi-tiered system of trade. The system of trade required the provision of resources from productive sites to their respective emporia and dissemination of imported products back into the hinterland. In essence the system of trade which emerged between the two communities could only have emerged through enhanced connectivity and development of more complex relationships.⁴⁵

⁴² Ben Palmer, 'The Hinterland of Three Southern English *Emporia*: Some Common Themes', in *Markets in Early Medieval Europe: Trading and 'Productive' Sites 650-850*, ed. by Tim Pestell and Katharina Ulmschneider (Macclesfield: Windgather Press, 2003), pp. 48-61 (pp. 53-60).

⁴³ Tim Pestell, 'Markets, Emporia, Wics and Productive Sites: Pre-Viking Trade Centres in Anglo-Saxon England', in *The Oxford Handbook of Anglo-Saxon Archaeology*, ed. by Helena Hamerow, David A. Hinton and Sally Crawford (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), pp. 556-579 (pp. 570-571).

⁴⁴ John Naylor, 'Emporia and their hinterlands in the 7th to 9th centuries AD: Some comments and observations from England', *Revue Du Nord*, 27 Hors Série Collection Art et Archéologie (2016), 59-68 (pp. 61-62).

⁴⁵ Palmer, 'The Hinterland of Three Southern English *Emporia*', pp. 53-60.

Ulmschneider acknowledged that a link between minsters and development of productive sites could be assumed. She noted the Church took a leading role in the development of productive sites and concluded that many of these sites betrayed ecclesiastical influences as the *foci* for markets and fairs. Moreover, the productive site of Caister in Lincolnshire may well have utilised the Wolds in the rearing of sheep for the production of wool.⁴⁶ Ulmschneider also noted that the role played by the Church most likely developed during the Middle Saxon period when it emerged as leading magnate. In Lindsey a monastery was given to St. Chad and was endowed with 50 hides in c. 669 and developed workshops for the production of commodities alongside the selling of surplus foodstuffs. At the monastic centres of Monkwearmouth in County Durham, skilled glaziers were employed for the production of stained glass alongside smiths for the manufacture of liturgical vessels, jewellery and glass objects to adorn other churches.⁴⁷ The emergence of these self-sufficient ecclesiastical sites could only have been made possible through the effective exploitation and constant management of land and local resources. Although monasteries may have provided one stimulus for the emergence of productive sites, she noted that royal villas may well have played a similar role but the lack of written sources has prevented a more thorough review of their role in the development of Middle Saxon economy.⁴⁸ In many ways Ulmschneider's work on productive sites closely aligned with the arguments voiced by Palmer as to the interconnectivity between estates.

John Naylor acknowledged that the growth of emporia required far bigger and more complex connections with their hinterlands. He noted that the

⁴⁶ Katharina Ulmschneider, 'Settlement, Economy and the 'Productive' Site: Middle Anglo-Saxon Lincolnshire A.D. 650-780', *Medieval Archaeology*, 44 (2000), 53-79 (pp. 63-72).

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 72.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 74.

distribution of *sceattas* has provided some evidence for economic ties between emporia and their respective inland sites.⁴⁹ In the case of Series R and L coins, the former were broadly distributed across East Anglia whilst the L series were distributed along the Thames Valley and the counties of Gloucestershire and Warwickshire. In contrast Series H and Y coins were more tightly bound and covered land around Winchester and *Hamwic* and the area between the rivers Humber and Tees respectively.⁵⁰ Naylor further noted that the Series R, L, H and Y coins were associated with the respective emporia of Ipswich, London, *Hamwic* and York.⁵¹ In essence the distribution patterns showed clearly defined zones of influence, across varied countryside and coastal regions for each respective emporium. Naylor argued that the relationship between emporia and their hinterlands was essential for the acquisition of varied resources including manufactured goods which could be obtained from 'productive hinterlands.'⁵² At York sharpening stones from as far afield as the Scottish borders were procured, alongside pine martin skins from the North Yorkshire moors. Moreover, the provision of foodstuff were derived from 'subsistence hinterlands' with evidence from *Hamwic* revealing that meat was processed at sites in the hinterland or was taken by foot to the trading centre.⁵³ Ulmschneider acknowledged that some productive sites may have developed links with more distant outliers and emporia. In the case of the

⁴⁹ Naylor, 'Emporia and their Hinterlands', pp. 63-64.

⁵⁰ P. Grierson, and M. Blackburn, *Medieval European Coinage: Vol 1, The Early Middle Ages 5th - 10th Centuries* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986).

⁵¹ Naylor, 'Emporia and their Hinterlands', pp. 63-64.

⁵² John Naylor identified three types of hinterlands in his discussion as to the role they played in the provision of commodities for the emporia. The 'productive hinterland' was classified as one which provided a range of manufactured goods. The 'subsistence hinterland' provided agricultural provisions and the 'social hinterland' was used to explain the social dynamics emporia had upon their respective hinterlands. In this thesis the first two have been used to explain the relationship between emporia and hinterlands as a basis to understand the potential economic development of multiple estates.

⁵³ Naylor, 'Emporia and their hinterlands', p. 65.

productive site of Carisbrooke in the Bowcombe Valley,⁵⁴ a number of manors in the New Forest recorded lands on the island and a manor on the Isle of Wight held land in the New Forest.⁵⁵

It can be argued that royal centres, emporia and productive sites were all inextricably linked within an economic system. Moreover, the relationship between emporia their hinterlands and their zones of influence were also varied. Therefore the foundations upon which later multiple estates emerged cannot be attributed to only one source.

Although the emporia played an important role in the development of multiple estates, the role played by productive sites has assumed greater prominence in recent years. Naylor argued that before the rapid growth of emporia, many inland communities already operated and controlled entry points along the coast for the import of ceramics and other goods. This led him to conclude that the dominance and monopoly of early trade through the emporia could not be substantiated. More significantly he suggested that 'changes in the organisation of rural settlements and economy began prior to the initial activity at the emporia and well before the most active phase in the 8th century.'⁵⁶ Tim Pestell further challenged the importance of the emporia in the development of trade. He noted that secular lords became increasing good at exploiting their own estates for profit, which meant there was less need for emporia. These communities became effectively closed settlements reliant on

⁵⁴ A settlement located on the Isle of Wight and opposite across the Solent from the emporium of *Hamwic*.

⁵⁵ Ulmschneider, 'Markets around the Solent', pp. 73-76.

⁵⁶ Naylor, 'Emporia and their hinterlands', p. 60-62.

the powers of the tributary kings for their very existence, and were not the dynamic driving force in the development of a market economy.⁵⁷

The significance of productive sites as a catalyst for the development of multiple estates was also explored by Ulmschneider. She argued that productive sites throughout the period required the effective management and utilisation of resources from their own respective hinterland. In the case of Flixborough, she noted that it was a multifunctional site with industrial activities involving large scale and specialised textile production and production of meat derived from extensive animal husbandry management. Moreover, the presence of pigs and deer pointed to the utilisation of woodland for rearing and the provision of natural resources for building work. Evidence for ship building was also found at Flixborough which suggested that trade played an important economic role alongside fishing.⁵⁸

At the productive site of Torksey archaeological evidence revealed small quantities of Middle Anglo-Saxon metal work in the form of pins, strap-ends and hooked tags alongside cloth manufacture; which suggested there was an effective exploitation of local resources.⁵⁹ However, some debate has been generated as to the exact origin of Torksey in relation to its proximity to a Viking winter camp. The presence of seventh to early eighth-century *sceattas* found at Torksey has suggested a Middle Saxon origin for the site. However, Hadley noted that the fourteen late seventh to early eighth-century *sceattas* found at Torksey, represented a much smaller assemblage of coins than was generally associated with Middle Anglo-Saxon trading sites. In comparison,

⁵⁷ Pestell, 'Markets, Emporia, Wics and Productive Sites', p. 561.

⁵⁸ Ulmschneider, 'Settlement, Economy and the 'Productive' Site', pp. 66-68.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 65.

forty English silver pennies dated to the early 870s have been discovered at the site.⁶⁰ Hadley also noted that the vast majority of other metal artefacts were consistent with them being brought to the site or produced there by the Great Viking army. More significantly she suggested that there was nothing to indicate significant economic activity prior to 872-3.⁶¹

At Brandon in Suffolk, the presence of plant remains suggested that textile production played a prominent role. Moreover, the presence of large numbers of oyster shells indicated some contact and or association with the coast.⁶² Although many productive sites may have emerged within a multifaceted economy some may have specialised in the production of single commodities. At Risby, located close to the Lincolnshire Wolds and Fenlands, evidence has suggested that the site concentrated on wool production due to its proximity to excellent meadow and pasture land. As to the development of these productive sites Ulmschneider was adamant that the trade in local foodstuffs and commodities may have been the primary motive for the growth and success of these sites.⁶³

The importance of productive sites as centres of commercial activity has been argued from the discovery of large numbers of coins. At Tilbury and Bawsey a total of 146 and 124 coins were discovered, which was comparable with the 129 recovered from *Hamwic*. At Royston on the Cambridge and Hertfordshire border 116 coins have been discovered, comparable with the number of coins

⁶⁰ Dawn Hadley and Julian D. Richards, 'The winter camp of the Viking Great Army: AD 872-3, Torksey, Lincolnshire', *The Antiquities Journal*, 96 (2016), 23-67 (pp. 43 and 45).

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 45 and 59.

⁶² Palmer, 'The Hinterland of Three Southern English *Emporia*', pp. 53-60.

⁶³ Ulmschneider, 'Settlement, Economy and the 'Productive' Site', pp. 66-68.

found at a traditional emporium.⁶⁴ The presence of coins can be seen as indicative of a developed monetized economy, and their discovery at productive sites suggests these settlements were important centres of trade.⁶⁵

Analysis of productive sites has revealed that significant economic activity had taken place. However, archaeological evidence has shown some disparity in the wealth and importance of these sites. In the case of Cottam evidence revealed the production and consumption of animals, alongside possible wool and cloth manufacture and evidence for limited metal working. However, the absence of pottery from either York or Ipswich suggested that it was a small but relatively self contained unit. In essence Cottam was a relatively poor site involved in low level trade.⁶⁶ In the case of Royston on the Cambridge and Hertfordshire border limited metal work was recovered from the site, which implied the community may well have been a seasonal market serving the rural economy.⁶⁷ It can be tentatively surmised that productive sites varied in size and economic importance and it would be misleading to assume that all sites developed extensive pattern of outliers.

The geographical location of productive sites has revealed significant disparity between eastern and western England. In the case of the former the majority of productive sites were traditionally been found inland. In comparison, in the west these sites were often located either at the coast or very near coastal areas. In many cases these coastal centres were seen as seasonal 'beach

⁶⁴ Mark Blackburn, 'Productive' Sites and the Pattern of Coin Loss in England, 600-1180', in *Markets in Early Medieval Europe: Trading and 'Productive' Sites 650-850*, ed. by Tim Pestell and Katharina Ulmschneider (Macclesfield: Windgather Press, 2003), pp. 20-36 (p. 28).

⁶⁵ Pestell, 'Markets, Emporia, Wics and 'Productive' Sites', p. 562.

⁶⁶ Julian D. Richards, 'The Anglian and Anglo-Scandinavian Sites at Cottam, East Yorkshire', in *Markets in Early Medieval Europe: Trading and 'Productive' Sites 650-850*, ed. by Tim Pestell and Katharina Ulmschneider (Macclesfield: Windgather Press, 2003), pp. 155-167 (pp. 165 and 166).

⁶⁷ Blackburn, 'Productive' Sites and the Pattern of Coin Loss', p. 28.

markets' and were often non-elite sites, but formed part of a long tradition of commercial activity.⁶⁸

4.5 The estate structures on Flegg

Little Domesday Book revealed a complex pattern of tenurial ties between settlements in the area, and communities outside of the two hundreds of East and West Flegg. In this section the thesis explores the intricacies of these tenurial ties, and presents three models for the establishment of the *-by* place names on Flegg. The three models consider the roles played by the church of St. Benet of Hulme, the Middle Saxon Estates of Walsham, Horning and Mileham and the productive site of Caister by Sea and Burgh Castle. Analysis of the tenurial ties and interpretation of these three models enables the thesis to challenge the model presented in Chapter Three, that the *-by* communities represented a planned series of settlements. Moreover, the evidence presented will form an integral part in answering the first research question as to the political and economic factors which encouraged the emergence of the *-by* settlements on Flegg.

4.6 The manors on Flegg and their holdings

The most striking feature about the settlements on Flegg was the number of communities which had multiple tenants holding land. It was clear that during the Late Anglo-Saxon period the area experienced a vibrant land market, resulting in the fragmentation of settlements into different ownership. Analysis

⁶⁸ David Griffith, 'Markets and 'Productive' Sites: A View from Western Britain' in *Markets in Early Medieval Europe: Trading and 'Productive' Sites 650-850*, ed. by Tim Pestell and Katharina Ulmschneider (Macclesfield: Windgather Press, 2003), pp. 62-72 (pp. 63-65).

of the distribution of the six manors on Flegg revealed that they were equally spread across both hundreds. This concentration of estate centres, in an area where only twenty seven settlements were recorded, suggests the area witnessed an intensification of manorialisation in the late Anglo-Saxon period. The distribution of Flegg's manors revealed that five were associated with *-by* settlements, indicating that these settlements represented the more prosperous communities on Flegg. Although Little Domesday recorded the majority of manors at the *-by* communities, it would be unwise to assume this can be directly attributed to the Viking colonisation of the area. The presence of settlements with multiple lords was compatible with other Danelaw regions. Hadley noted that in the Danelaw multiple lords and manors were common in individual *vills* with some townships in Nottinghamshire having a number of manors within each town.⁶⁹ The absence of multiple manors at settlements on Flegg suggests that lords had consolidated their power at particular settlements. In essence Flegg showed some similarities with other Danelaw regions in respect to settlement fragmentation, but the similarities must not be over worked.

⁶⁹ Hadley, *The Northern Danelaw*, pp. 199-200.

4.7 Estate centres of Hemsby and Ormesby

Table One

Tenurial patterns on Flegg							
Vill	Paying rent to	Vill	Class of peasant	Valued In	Vill	Peasant/Soke	Assessed in
Clippesby	Ormesby	Winterton	Freeman	Stokesby	Winterton	freeman	Felbrigg
Matham	Ormesby	Ashby	Freeman	Stokesby	Winterton	freeman	South Walsham
Scratby	Ormesby	Repps	Freeman	Stokesby	Somerton	soke	Mileham ?
		Repps	Freeman	Somerton	Thrigby	outsoke	South Walsham
Vill	Class of peasant	Belonging to	Vill	Land assessed in	Vill	With a berewick in	
Bastwick	Freeman	Somerton	Burgh	Caister	Caister	Martham	
Scratby	Sokemen	Hemsby			Hemsby	Martham	
Sco	Bordars	Hemsby					
Repps	Freemen	Sutton					
Rollesby	Freeman	Sutton					

Little Domesday recorded a total of eighty sokemen at Ormesby St. Michael/St. Margaret alongside thirty one at Hemsby; which represented a concentration of approximately 60% of the entire sokemen population on Flegg.⁷⁰ Tom Williamson noted that large numbers of sokemen was indicative of major estate centres, and it may be surmised that these two settlements were once important estates.⁷¹ Moreover, Little Domesday recorded seven sokemen in Scratby belonging to Hemsby, supporting the hypothesis that the settlement may once have been an estate *caput*.

⁷⁰ In Chapter Four Ormesby St. Michael and Ormesby St. Margaret will be referred to as Ormesby as Little Domesday treated the two communities as one entity across its folios.

⁷¹ Williamson, *The origins of Norfolk*, p. 100.

In Little Domesday Book Ormesby St. Michael and Ormesby St. Margaret were treated as a single entity, which suggests the settlement was once a single community. During the course of the Anglo-Saxon period Ormesby fragmented into two communities, which enabled pastoral care to become territorialised, which fixed estate boundaries which in turn obscured its older territorial arrangements. Little Domesday's ambiguity in the allocation of the eighty sokemen to either St. Margaret or St Michael suggests that an older tenurial arrangement may have existed. Little Domesday recorded that freemen in Clippesby, Martham and Scratby paid rent to Ormesby, suggesting it acted as an administrative centre for these communities. An early history for Hemsby can also be deduced from Little Domesday, as the Book recorded peasants from Scratby and Sco belonging to Hemsby. The possibility that Hemsby and Ormesby represented older communities implies that these two communities may have been older English settlements. However, in the Danelaw the classic model of estate fragmentation saw important estate centres renamed with a Viking personal name coupled with the Old English *tun*. Moreover, the outliers which gained independence from their estate centres were often renamed with a Scandinavian personal name in *-by*. On Flegg both Hemsby and Ormesby and their possible outliers incorporated the specific *-by*. It may be hypothesised that these two communities represented new settlements established by the Scandinavians, who over time, consolidated land and peasant populations.

4.8 Estate centres and berewicks of Flegg

The formation of estates and tenurial links on Flegg can also be found from analysis of berewicks.⁷² During the Middle Ages berewicks played an important role in the agricultural life of medieval farms, for they represented specialist farming communities attached to an estate *caput*. More significantly those berewicks which were geographically close to their estate centre, often had a more ancient relationship with their administrative centre. Little Domesday Book recorded at Hemsby and Caister two manors which held berewicks in Martham. Moreover Little Domesday recorded at Martham 114 acres of meadows, a valuable resource for animal grazing and hay making. In terms of distance both manors were between two and five miles apart from their respective berewicks in Martham and could be considered as more ancient arrangements. In contrast in the rest of Norfolk berewicks were often sited across multiple hundreds and were considered more recent arrangements.⁷³ Caister can also be seen as an important estate center as it had assessed land in Burgh St. Margaret. Although the land was not recorded as a berewick in Domesday, the evidence suggests a similar tenurial arrangement, with the land considered as an appendage to the manor in Caister. The pattern of berewicks found on Flegg also differed from those in other parts of the country. In the Danelaw, manors often held large numbers of dependant sokes/berewicks, with many situated many miles apart and often found in different hundreds/wappentakes. In comparison Hemsby and Caister were neither large

⁷² Christopher Coredon and Ann Williams defined a berewick as a place belonging to a manor growing specialist crops for the home place. For Coredon and Williams the berewick land belonged to the lord of the home estate. Christopher Coredon and Ann Williams, *A Dictionary of Medieval Terms and Phrases* (Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer, 2004), p. 39.

⁷³ Williamson, *The origins of Norfolk*, p. 93.

nor extensive estates and were both compact and relatively self sufficient units.

The relationship between Hemsby and its berewicks in Martham has also revealed subtle differences with tenurial patterns found in the Danelaw. In the Danelaw important estate centres invariably carried the English suffix *-tun* and incorporated the prefix of the new Viking lord. The *-bys* were often linked to their parent settlements in a subservient role. In contrast, the opposite tenurial arrangement was recorded on Flegg, with the *-by* as the more important estate. Moreover, Little Domesday recorded tenurial links with two other Scandinavian place names of Sco and Scratby. In the case of Sco its name derived from the ON. *skógr* for wood, and it most likely served as a resource for Hemsby. Therefore it can be hypothesised that the unique tenurial links between Hemsby and Martham were indicative of new tenurial ties being formed after the establishment of Hemsby as a new settlement. However, the argument that Hemsby represented a renamed English community cannot be completely dismissed. The presence of its berewick in Martham showed that an older tenurial arrangement existed between the two communities.

4.9 The interconnectivity of tenurial ties between estates on Flegg

In conjunction with Ormesby and Hemsby, Little Domesday Book recorded a series of tenurial ties between various other settlements on Flegg. Stokesby was recorded as a manor in Domesday and had freemen resident in Winterton, Ashby and Repps who were all valued at the settlement. It may be surmised that Stokesby may have been an administrative centre connected to the three other communities. Moreover, as the specific of the name derived from an Old

English source, it can be assumed that the settlement existed before the arrival of the Scandinavians. Therefore, the tenorial ties between Stokesby, Winterton, Ashby and Repps may be suggestive of quite ancient links. In the Danelaw the presence of *-by* place names were synonymous with communities gaining tenorial independence. Therefore it can be surmised that Ashby on Flegg represented a similar example. An archaic relationship between Stokesby and Winterton can be assumed from an agricultural perspective. Ekwall noted that the place name Winterton referred to a *tun* used in winter.⁷⁴ Sandred elaborated upon the origin of Winteron and suggested that it referred to a farm or dwelling used in winter where cattle were kept which were then taken to summer pastures.⁷⁵ The close proximity of Winterton to Somerton East and West, defined as a farm or dwelling used in summer for cattle grazing, supports this hypothesis.⁷⁶ It can be argued that Winteron played an important role in the agricultural life of Stokesby. The location of Winterton, Repps and Ashby on West Flegg and the position of Stokesby on East Flegg suggests that the two hundreds may once have formed a single entity. Sandred argued that difficulties with communication between the eastern and western parts may have caused the area to split into two distinct units.⁷⁷

4.10 Subservient tenural ties between English communities on Flegg

Little Domesday recorded a series of tenorial links between three English communities on Flegg, in the form of freemen, and bordars at Bastwick and

⁷⁴ Ekwall, *Concise Oxford Dictionary of English Place-Names*, p. 525.

⁷⁵ Sandred, *Place-names of Norfolk*, p. 79.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 77.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 2.

Repps, belonging to Somerton.⁷⁸ In the case of Somerton no evidence can be found that it represented an English settlement taken over by the Vikings and renamed with a Norse prefix. Moreover, no evidence can be found to suggest that Bastwick and Repps were also taken over as they retained their original names. In essence Somerton on Flegg has provided a single example of a pre-existing English settlement on Flegg which survived the Viking invasion.

4.11 Further models for the formation of estates on Flegg

Little Domesday Book revealed a highly fractured pattern of estate holdings with manors held by both the king, secular lords and St. Benet of Hulme at the time of Domesday. To understand this situation, the thesis explores three models for the creation of settlements upon Flegg and the complex tenurial patterns between the communities as seen in Domesday. The first model investigates the origins of the tenurial connections between St. Benet of Hulme and settlements on Flegg, and discusses the role played by the abbey in the formation of both *-by* and English settlements within the area. The second model considers the tenurial links between Flegg's settlements and Norfolk's Middle Saxon estates, and examines the role played by these estates in the development of Flegg for the provision of food and other resources. The final model investigates the influence played by productive sites and emporia to explain the establishment of settlements upon Flegg.

⁷⁸ The tenurial structure of Somerton is complicated by its connection to a possible Middle Saxon estate of Mileham, which may have influenced the relationship Somerton had with Bastwick.

4.12 Model Two: A monastic origin for estates on Flegg (St Benet of Hulme)

Little Domesday recorded for St. Benet of Hulme demesne land in eight settlements on Flegg, and additional tenurial links between peasants and the abbey at a total of eight settlements. Moreover, the Book noted that Caister owed monies to the abbey but did not elaborate on the reasons for this payment. Furthermore, Little Domesday revealed that the abbey shared interest with other tenants in chief in all of its estates. This fragmentation of holdings suggests that the abbey either participated within a vibrant land market on Flegg, or was most likely endowed with holdings by specific lay lords. Although Flegg featured within the land holdings of the abbey, it had a significant vested interest in a multitude of settlements across eleven other hundreds in Norfolk.

St. Benet of Hulme was situated within a peninsular of the rivers Bure and Ant and was in close proximity to its holdings on Flegg. The origins of St. Benet of Hulme can be traced back to the early ninth century where, 'According to the *Chronica Minor* the abbey's origin lay with a small company of monks or recluses under the direction of an individual named Suneman, all were killed at the time of the Danish invasions and King Edmund's martyrdom' in the ninth century.⁷⁹ In the late tenth-century the site of the original abbey was re-occupied by a holy man named Wulfric and a small number of companions. Following a series of miracles the church came to the attention of King Cnut, who established a Benedictine monastery and endowed it with three manors

⁷⁹ Tim Pestel, *Landscapes of Monastic Foundations: The Establishment of Religious Houses in East Anglia, c. 650-1200* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2004), p. 145.

c. 1019.⁸⁰ During the ninth and tenth centuries St. Benet of Hulme most likely represented a small reclusive monastic community with limited demesne and sokelands. The growth of St. Benet of Hulme most likely occurred following its foundation as a Benedictine monastery by Cnut, and endowment of manors in the eleventh century. It can be proposed that the foundation of the abbey and endowment of manors, precipitated the acquisition of estates at various settlements, resulting in the fragmented nature of St. Benet's holdings found in Domesday Book. As St. Benet of Hulme had a very limited presence on Flegg during the time of the Viking invasions, it most likely played no role in the development of the settlements on Flegg during the early tenth century.

At the time of Little Domesday Book, St. Benet of Hulme had a number of holdings on Flegg, with its two manors of Oby and Rollesby located in the hundred of West Flegg. Although Little Domesday Book recorded holdings by the abbey in East Flegg the majority were located on West Flegg. It may be surmised that by 1086 West Flegg played a more important economic role for the abbey. It may also be suggested that West Flegg was also the more prosperous hundred which encouraged the consolidation of manors in this hundred for the abbey. Although Flegg played an important role for St. Benet of Hulme, the abbey held extensive lands in a large number of other communities. It can be assumed that Flegg was not the most important area for resources for the monastic community by 1086.

Little Domesday Book also recorded five churches on Flegg with Somerton's church belonging to St. Benet of Hulme. Pestell argued the mushrooming of parochial churches, as the *foci* for new settlements, emerged in the tenth and

⁸⁰ William Page, 'Houses of Benedictine monks: The abbey of St Benet of Holm', in *A History of the County of Norfolk*, Vol 2, ed. by William Page (London, 1906), pp. 330-336 (p. 330).

eleventh centuries as estates fragmented, creating more autonomous communities.⁸¹ The presence of parish churches on Flegg suggests at some time during the late Anglo-Saxon period, a number of settlements attained tenurial independence. It would seem likely that the church in Somerton may have come into the possession of St. Benet in the late tenth and early eleventh centuries following its endowment by King Cnut.

4.13 Model Three: A lay Middle Saxon estate origin for settlements on Flegg

The third model to explain the development of settlements upon Flegg considers the role played by Middle Saxon estates in Norfolk. In this section four potential multiple estates have been identified which had tenurial links to settlements on Flegg. However, it must be realised that the tenurial links were restricted to only five settlements including just one *-by* place name.

4.13.1 South Walsham (*Walsham Hundred*)

The first potential Middle Saxon estate which may have played a role in the development of settlements on Flegg was that of South Walsham in Walsham hundred. South Walsham had tenurial links with five communities across Norfolk including two on Flegg and these incorporated three outsokes and a berewick. Williamson argued that *vills* which gave their names to their hundreds were significant as they represented important early administrative centres.⁸² The importance of South Walsham as a major estate centre can also be argued from the presence of 82 sokemen recorded in Little Domesday

⁸¹ Pestell, *Landscapes of Monastic Foundations*, p. 62.

⁸² Williamson, *The origins of Norfolk*, p. 100.

Book.⁸³ The Book recorded in Tunstead hundred the *vill* of North Walsham and it can be tentatively suggested that these two settlements were tenurially linked. The information presented in the Little Domesday Book revealed that North Walsham was a smaller settlement and therefore most likely played a subservient role to South Walsham. North and South Walsham reflected a similar pattern found at seven Burnham place names located in north west Norfolk. The cluster of Burnham once formed a single territorial unit covering an area of over 40 square kilometres.⁸⁴ Although the settlements linked to South Walsham can be found in close proximity to the estate centre, the compact arrangement does not exclude an older Middle Saxon origin. Instead the pattern of land holdings may be indicative of a smaller less important administrative centre.

Little Domesday Book identified two settlements on Flegg: those of Thrigby and Winterton which were tenurially connected to South Walsham. In the case of Thrigby the settlement was recorded carrying a value of £9 in the outsoke of Walsham.⁸⁵ The identification of Thrigby as an outsoke suggests it played a subservient role to South Walsham. The toponymic origin of Thrigby reveals it carried a personal name specific and most likely represented a settlement which gained a degree of tenurial freedom from South Walsham during the Viking period. Moreover, this tenurial freedom enabled ownership to be transferred into private hands with the imposition of a Norse name. However, if Thrigby represented the renaming of an older English community; it was the only *-by* settlement on Flegg connected to an estate caput outside of the

⁸³ Williamson, *The origins of Norfolk*, p.100.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 92.

⁸⁵ Little Domesday was silent as to the exact meaning of the term outsoke and the relationship it inferred between settlements. However, the term most likely described a relationship where the outsoke *vill* played a subservient role to the estate centre. It may be tentatively suggested that the prefix *out* may have referred to the presence of the soke outside of the hundred of the estate centre.

hundred. In comparison, the Danelaw recorded multiple sokes connected to estate *caputs*. Winterton was the only other settlement linked to South Walsham and Little Domesday recorded one freeman with 10 acres located in Winteron assessed with the other freemen of South Walsham. Although Little Domesday was unclear as to the exact relationship between the two communities, it can be argued that the freeman and the land were considered as a single package. As to why South Walsham held land in Winteron it can be suggested that the latter represented a settlement where winter grazing was undertaken. Moreover, the presence of 200 sheep recorded at South Walsham suggests that Winterton was used for a specific agricultural purpose. The picture of Flegg as a desolate and sparsely populated region cannot be substantiated, as it most likely played an important agricultural role for one potential multiple estate.

4.13.2 Horning (*Tunstead Hundred*)

A potential early administrative centre has been identified at the settlement of Horning located in Tunstead hundred, close to the hundreds of East and West Flegg. Pestell noted that archaeological evidence uncovered substantial earth works and argued that the sheer size of the Horning earthworks indicated its creator had a major controlling interest in the surrounding landscape. Moreover, the protection of the peninsular between the rivers Ant and Bure with the creation of earthworks hinted at the land being an early royal estate.⁸⁶ The Norfolk Heritage Explorer provided a clear description as to its size and age;

⁸⁶ Pestell, *Landscapes of Monastic Foundations*, p. 143.

‘The linear feature extended across the peninsula of land between the River Bure to the South and the Ant to the north. The marshland associated with these rivers would have meant that the banks and ditches formed a defensive barrier across the peninsular effectively cutting it off. It has been suggested that this defensive earthworks was of early Anglo-Saxon date based on its similarities to other linear earthworks in the county. There is no artefactual evidence to support this date but Middle Anglo-Saxon pottery has been found immediately to its east.’⁸⁷

The archaeological evidence recorded at Horning suggests it was a royal rather than a religious centre, a feature at odds with other royal sites which developed a symbiotic relationship with monastic communities. Although by 1086 St. Benet of Hulme was the sole tenant in chief and held Horning at 3 carucates, it had woodland for 100 pigs, 100 acres of meadow and recorded 360 sheep.⁸⁸ The data suggests that Horning was a substantial and economically important community which echoed its former importance as a royal estate. The acquisition of lands by St. Benet of Hulme most likely occurred at a much later date following the creation of the abbey and endowment by King Cnut. It can be argued that Horning was consumed by St. Benet in the early eleventh century rather than in the tenth century. However earlier links with Flegg cannot be easily dismissed as it would seem inconceivable that a royal site would not have utilised the resources of Flegg.

⁸⁷ Norfolk Heritage Explorer Record Number 14099, <http://www.heritage.norfolk.gov.uk> [accessed 26th March 2007].

⁸⁸ Williams, Ann and Martin, G.H., *Domesday Book: A Complete Translation* (London: Penguin Books, 2003) p. 1136.

4.13.3 Mileham (Launditch Hundred)

A Middle Saxon estate has been hypothesised for Mileham in Launditch hundred, with numerous soke references recorded at the settlement. Williamson noted that references to sokes of *vills* or that of people being held in another place suggested the soke centre referred to the principal royal vill in the hundred.⁸⁹ Little Domesday Book recorded the king's manor in six entries and five entries where the king was the tenant-in-chief, suggesting the settlement had a much older history as a royal administrative centre. The only direct reference to settlements on Flegg referred to William de Noyes who had a farm in Mileham and held land in Somerton which was attached to it.⁹⁰ Although Little Domesday's entry was rather ambiguous, a tenurial link was probable, as Somerton most likely performed the function of a farm or dwelling place used in the summer for cattle grazing. Little Domesday has supported this assumption for it recorded that 95 acres of grazing marsh at the *vill*, the second highest on Flegg. In respect to the soke, Little Domesday Book was a little ambiguous as to which hundred the soke referred to, that of Launditch where Mileham was found, or West Flegg where Somerton was located. However, the existence of other communities with soke ties to Mileham, suggests that the *vill* was the estate centre.

The limited evidence for tenurial links between settlements on Flegg and multiple estates indicates that the area was not heavily resourced. Although some tenurial links have been found, these were restricted to *vills* which provided summer and winter grazing land. It can also be interpreted that the near absence of tenurial ties between *-by* settlements and other communities

⁸⁹ Williamson, *The origins of Norfolk*, p. 94.

⁹⁰ Williams and Martin, *Domesday Book*, p. 1073.

indicated that these villas were newer creations. It can be hypothesised that some –by settlements may have represented new settlements established on vacant land scattered between the existing English communities.

4.13.4 Other links with estates outside of East and West Flegg

Little Domesday presented a reference between two settlements on Flegg that of Repps and Rollesby and the estate of Sutton in Happing hundred. Sandred noted that Sutton referred to a southern village which may have been linked to Stalham which the settlement bordered.⁹¹ At Repps and Rollesby seven freemen were recorded as residents of the two settlements but were assessed in the £10 of Sutton near Stalham in Happing. Sutton was described in Little Domesday as a manor with woodland for 60 pigs and 200 sheep.⁹² It may be speculated that Flegg, with its location close to a tidal estuary, and marshland played an important agricultural role which was utilised by Sutton or its more important neighbour Stalham. It can be surmised that the tenorial link may be suggestive of an older tenorial tie which may have been formed before the Viking invasions. However, it would be misleading to assume that an older English origin for Rollesby can be accurately presented as the sheer lack of collaborative material makes this assumption untenable.

4.14 Model Four: emporia, productive sites and monastic links

The final model explored in the thesis considers the links between productive sites in Norfolk and their development of settlements upon Flegg for the management of resources.

⁹¹ Sandred, *Place-Names of Norfolk*, p. 126.

⁹² Williams and Martin, *Domesday Book*, p. 1103.

4.14.1 The productive site of Caister

At Caister archaeological work identified a clear Middle Saxon presence with 408 pieces of Ipswich Ware shards, at least two burials, a stylus and seven eighth-century *sceattas*.⁹³ The archaeological evidence revealed some contact with the emporium of Ipswich, indicating that Caister was a potential productive site.

At the six known productive sites in west Norfolk many of the settlements recorded archaeological evidence similar to that found at Caister such as *sceattas* and *styli*. The evidence presented further suggests that Caister performed a similar role to that of other productive sites in Norfolk.

Sceattas played an important role in the economic development of emporia and productive sites. Archaeological excavations at *Hamwic*, Ipswich and Aldwych showed peak coin production in the early eighth century, suggesting heightened trading activity. Their dispersal to productive sites may be seen as intensification of trade from emporia to markets or collection points on trade networks.⁹⁴ Moreover, the rapid rise in the number of coins in circulation showed that coins were being used for monetary exchange rather than a sign of high status which has been suggested for the older gold coins.⁹⁵

The presence of *sceattas* at Caister indicates that trading activity was present at the settlement, and it performed an important function in the multi-tiered system of trade between emporia and productive sites. An essential aspect of

⁹³ Pestell, *Landscapes of Monastic Foundations*, p. 57.

⁹⁴ Nicholas J. Higham & Martin J. Ryan, *The Anglo Saxon World* (London: Yale University Press, 2015), pp. 146-147.

⁹⁵ Gareth Williams, *Early Anglo-Saxon Coins* (Oxford: Shire Publications, 2008), p. 29.

the relationship would have been the exploitation of the productive site's hinterland for the supply of resources to the emporium, and the dispersal of goods from the emporium to communities in the hinterland.

The presence of *styli* recorded by Norfolk Heritage Explorer noted that Caister may have been the site of, or located close to, a monastery founded by St. Fursa.⁹⁶ Moreover, documentary evidence supports an ecclesiastical origin for the development of productive sites, as many deserted Roman forts were given to ecclesiastical communities with *Cnobheresburg* given to St Fursa in the 630s alongside *Dommoc* given to St. Felix by Sigebert of East Anglia.⁹⁷ An ecclesiastical origin for productive sites in Norfolk can also be argued from the discovery of *styli* found at Bawsey and Wormgay. Moreover, the presence of *styli* at a number of sites indicated that minsters were numerous in the landscape, and their range clearly indicated an overlap with lay establishments.⁹⁸

The presence of *styli* at lay sites also suggests that literacy may have been more wide spread. Moreover it may be argued that the discovery of *styli* at specific lay estates was indicative of administrative functions at royal or aristocratic estate centres. In essence the scattering of *styli* cannot solely be attributed to ecclesiastical centres and may simply reflect the administrative work of both secular and ecclesiastical lords.⁹⁹

⁹⁶ Norfolk Heritage Explorer Record Number 8675, <http://www.heritage.norfolk.gov.uk> [accessed 26th March 2007]

⁹⁷ McClure and Collins, *Bede: The Ecclesiastical History of the English People*, p. 139.

⁹⁸ John Blair, *Building Anglo-Saxon England* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2018), p. 97.

⁹⁹ Tim Pestell, 'Afterlife of 'Productive' Sites in East Anglia', in *Markets in Early Medieval Europe: Trading and 'Productive' Site 650-850*, ed. by Tim Pestell and Katharina Ulmschneider (Macclesfield: Windgather Press, 2003), pp. 122-137 (pp. 135-137).

The development of Caister as a probable productive site can be hypothesised from analysis of the topographical position of the settlement. Caister was sited close to a wide estuary which connected the River Yare to Norwich and River Bure towards north Norfolk. In addition the Roman and Anglo-Saxon coast line would have provided easy access to the River Waveney and entry into the hinterland of north Suffolk. Moreover, the presence of two potential Roman roads, in close proximity to the rivers Bure and Yare, may have provided important transportation and communication links between Caister and Norfolk's hinterland. One Roman road provided an east-west connection across Norfolk, whilst the second provided a north-south route, starting south of Norwich and running all the way through Suffolk. Moreover these two Roman roads were also connected to the wider Roman road network. In essence Caister was ideally suited for the extraction of resources from its immediate hinterland, and subsequent dispersal of finished goods from an emporium or those manufactured at the productive site.

Little Domesday Book recorded a number of entries for Caister which suggested it played an important role as an estate centre. At Burgh St. Margaret 20 acres were recorded with all being assessed in Caister, implying that a tenurial link existed between the two communities. Additional entries for Caister noted it had a total of 94 freemen recorded, 22.5 ploughs, 7.5 acres of meadow, a manor, control over half a mill and 36 salt pans. Moreover, Caister recorded 360 sheep indicating that animal husbandry played an important economic role at the settlement. Little Domesday Book also noted that Caister held a berewick at Martham, with an additional 45 acres of arable and 3 acres of meadow.¹⁰⁰ It was clear by the time of Domesday that Caister

¹⁰⁰ Williams and Martin, *Domesday Book*, pp. 1067-1138.

drew upon resources from its immediate hinterland. In conclusion it can be seen that the picture presented by Little Domesday Book showed that Caister was a thriving and prosperous community by 1086. The presence of sheep also suggests that the settlement may have specialised in the production of wool. It was clear from Little Domesday Book that Caister was a prosperous settlement by 1086, which may have reflected its importance as a productive site in the eighth and ninth centuries.

4.14.2 The productive site of Burgh Castle

Archaeological work undertaken at Burgh Castle recovered a significant amount of Anglo-Saxon metal working and a number of *sceattas*, suggesting it was also a productive site. It can be proposed that the settlement played a similar role to Caister and other sites found in Norfolk. The discovery of a cemetery dated to the Middle Saxon period, indicates that a monastic community may have been present at the site. However, the absence of any material fabric in support of a church, casts some doubt that it was the settlement of *Cnobheresburg* first mentioned by Bede.¹⁰¹

Barbara Yorke noted that evidence for Burgh Castle as the site of the minster of *Cnobheresburg* was flimsy; as no conclusive archaeological finds have been found to suggest that a substantial religious community occupied the site. Moreover, she further argued that any religious community which may have occupied the site was short lived.¹⁰² Although Burgh Castle was unlikely to have been the site of *Cnobheresburg* a connection with Caister may have existed. Blair noted that in East Anglia the archaeological records pointed to a crowded

¹⁰¹ Pestell, 'The Afterlife of Productive Sites in East Anglia', p. 131.

¹⁰² Barbara Yorke, *Kings and Kingdoms of Early Anglo-Saxon England* (London: Routledge, 1990), p. 70.

picture of small monastic sites thickly scattered across the region dependent on larger, more important religious communities such as *Cnobheresburg*.¹⁰³ It may be tentatively hypothesised that Burgh Castle may have been linked to the more important ecclesiastical centre of Caister, revealing an interconnectivity of trade between various ecclesiastical and or lay productive sites. Little Domesday Book noted that Ralph the Crossbowman held Burgh Castle as a manor with 10 acres of meadow, 3 salt pans, 160 sheep and a church.¹⁰⁴ The presence of a church outside of the walls of the castle, led Pestell to conclude that it was a later construction most likely during the reign of King Stephen.¹⁰⁵

Little Domesday Book was silent as to any tenurial connections between Burgh Castle and the settlements on Flegg. However, it may be hypothesised that Burgh Castle's status as a productive site and its close proximity to Flegg suggests it may have drawn resources from the area, in the same way as Caister drew upon its berewick of Martham.

4.15 Conclusion to Chapter Four

In conclusion it can be surmised that the origin of the multiple estate can be traced back to the early Anglo Saxon period. Evidence from Wales suggests that estates which incorporated a series of outliers evolved from the sixth century. The need to provision the king's *caput* with the necessary resources from a wide range of upland and lowland regions was the primary factor which encouraged the development of these estates. Moreover, the need to provide a range of services for the king encouraged the strengthening of tenurial ties

¹⁰³ Blair, *The Church in Anglo-Saxon England*, p. 150.

¹⁰⁴ Williams and Martin, *Domesday Book*, p. 1299.

¹⁰⁵ Pestell, 'Afterlife of Productive Sites in East Anglia', p. 131.

with peasants from outlying estates. The development of multiple estates found in Wales was mirrored across England and Scotland. In Northumbria similar arrangements for the provision of services for the royal household showed similarities with their Welsh counterpart. More significantly terminology found in Northumbrian sources also betrayed links with their Welsh counterparts. In the North West of the country linguistic evidence has suggested that common terms for services revealed similarities with their Welsh counterparts. In Scotland obligations faced by dependant peasants revealed similarities between estates in Scotland and Northumbria with near identical renders found in both areas. Documentary evidence has revealed subtle clues as to the development of multiple estates with the endowment of land to churches and description of outliers attached to a central manor. In essence the evidence has roundly dismissed Stenton's assumption that sokelands were a Viking creation. Although an archaic history for sokeland has been established, evidence has revealed that sokes evolved during the Anglo-Saxon period with new creations being formed from the eighth century. It would be misleading to assume that all sokes identified in Domesday had an ancient origin. Although a royal connection has been made for the development of multiple estates, it must be acknowledged that the Church also played a crucial role in the establishment of dependant settlements. As found with their royal counterparts, the Church required the effective exploitation of their hinterlands for sustenance which encouraged the development of outliers. The development of royal and ecclesiastical communities became inextricably linked with the growth of emporia and productive sites through the medium of trade. A feature which required a comprehensive exploitation of respective hinterlands achieved through the development of tenurial ties with satellite settlements. Moreover, the growth

of emporia also encouraged the effective exploitation of productive sites situated within the hinterland of these trading centres. In essence the development of emporia as manufacturing centres required complex trading connections to be made with specific productive sites as evidenced through the growing corpus of *sceattas* found at both productive sites and emporia. More recent work has paid attention to the role played by productive sites as a catalyst for the development of multiple estates. It has been argued that these sites developed their own hinterland for the extraction of resources necessary for the manufacture of goods for trade. In essence productive sites and emporia created a multi-tiered system of trade which required the control and exploiting of extensive outliers creating the multiple estates seen in the Domesday Books.

The tenorial patterns on Flegg revealed a complex web of ties between settlements. Little Domesday Book revealed the presence of six manors across East and West Flegg with multiple holdings by tenants-in-chief at a number of *vills*, a feature compatible with other Danelaw regions. However, Flegg differed significantly from other Danelaw regions in that single manors were identified at settlements in contrast to the presence of multiple manors recorded at *vills*. Analysis of the tenorial ties between settlements on Flegg revealed that Ormesby St. Michael/Margaret alongside Hemsby may once have been important estate centres due to the presence of large number of sokemen. Moreover, the presence of subservient tenorial ties between other settlements on Flegg with Ormesby and Hemsby reinforces the argument that these two *vills* may once have been estate *caputs*. The close proximity of Hemsby's berewick in Martham contrasted with others found in Norfolk, suggesting a more ancient connection between the two communities.

The thesis dismisses the idea that St. Benet of Hulme played any meaningful role in the development of settlements on Flegg. The tenurial ties recorded in Little Domesday Book between the abbey and communities on Flegg most likely evolved following the endowment of manors to the church by King Cnut in the early eleventh century. Moreover, the role played by multiple estates in Norfolk in the development of settlements on Flegg has proved too inconclusive with only a few tenurial connections detected.

A convincing argument has been made that the potential productive site of Caister played a fundamental role in the development of vills on Flegg. Archaeological evidence has revealed the presence of a monastic community and material evidence for substantial trade with Ipswich. The discovery of numerous *sceattas* found at Caister has further reinforced its potential role as a productive site. Little Domesday Book recorded tenurial ties on Flegg with a berewick identified in Martham suggesting that Caister exploited specific settlements in the hundred. The presence of sheep recorded at Caister and meadow land recorded at its berewick, may be suggestive of specialisation in the wool trade at the site. It has also been tentatively hypothesised that Burgh Castle may also have been a productive site and may have also utilised Flegg for the exploitation of resources. In essence a convincing model has been proposed that the productive site of Caister played a crucial role in the development of settlements on Flegg.

Chapter Five

Archaeological Finds at Settlements on Flegg

5.1 Introduction

Chapter Five primarily focuses on analysis of metal work, pottery and coin finds recovered from Flegg, to determine the potential cultural origin for these artefacts and heritage of the peasant populations. This analysis enables the thesis to construct a time period of occupation on Flegg across the Anglo-Saxon period. The interpretation of the material found also allows the thesis to support and reject the models for the creation of the settlements on Flegg, outlined in Chapters Three and Four. The chapter initially reviews the historiography of cultural assimilation expressed from motifs found on metal work finds. The second element of the chapter looks at the archaeological finds across the Anglo-Saxon period to determine the scale of cultural assimilation between populations upon Flegg. The work of Gabor Thomas¹ and Jane Kershaw² has been crucial for the thesis' discussion on the scale of cultural assimilation. Across the pages of Chapter Five the word English is used for purely semantic reasons to avoid the over use of the term Anglo-Saxon. The thesis makes no attempt to argue that a unified kingdom existed at this time inhabited by a distinct English population.

¹ Gabor Thomas, 'Anglo-Scandinavian Metalwork from the Danelaw: Exploring social and cultural interaction', in *Cultures in Contact: Scandinavian Settlement in England in the Ninth and Tenth Centuries*, ed. by Dawn Hadley and Julian D. Richards (Turnhout: Brepols Publishers, 2000), pp. 237-258 (p. 242).

² Jane F. Kershaw, *Viking Identities Scandinavian Jewellery in England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), pp. 21-236.

5.2 Sources and Appendix referenced in Chapter Five

The archaeological data for Flegg was collected from two sources: the Portable Antiquities Scheme and the Norfolk Heritage Explorer. The data collected using the Norfolk Heritage Explorer was identified at a parish level. Moreover, the majority of finds were discovered and collected by metal detectorists and not from controlled excavations. Where particular finds were recovered from planned excavations, these have been referenced in the thesis. The information used in Chapter Five can be referenced using Appendix Three.

5.3 The material culture of metal work finds

The dearth of distinct Scandinavian motifs on pure Scandinavian dress accessories, has been employed by archaeologists to suggest that there was a quick assimilation of Viking settlers in England during the Viking period. Thomas noted that distinct Scandinavian metal work finds were restricted to dress accessories and jewellery; which comprised base metal trefoil brooches incorporating foliate and Jelling-style animals, alongside lozenge form brooches with terminals depicting Borre-style animals. In contrast, the small number of pure Scandinavian material has been completely outweighed by the huge volume of Anglo-Scandinavian metal work from the ninth century in the form of Anglo-Saxon tongue shaped strap-ends.³

In the Danelaw, a wide variety of strap-end styles have been discovered which suggests an Anglo-Scandinavian source of manufacture. A fragment of a strap-end from Lincolnshire has provided evidence of an insular interpretation of a

³ Thomas, 'Anglo-Scandinavian Metalwork', p. 242.

Scandinavian Borre-style motif and classic fusion of Scandinavian and Anglo-Saxon cultural traditions. Moreover, the presence of Borre-style ring chain and animal terminal designs upon strap-ends represented a distinct Anglo-Scandinavian artistic innovation, as these designs were commonly found on brooches in Scandinavia.⁴ The development of an Anglo-Scandinavian style has also been interpreted from strap-ends which displayed an Irish origin, with a Borre-style ring knot adapted to represent an insular Irish triquetra motif.⁵

The presence of cultural infusion has also been seen from metal work showing Irish influences upon Scandinavian metal working in the Danelaw. Examples have included a series of strap-ends and buckles with distinct longitudinal rib and accompanying punched ring and dot motifs. Thomas noted this was significant as 'buckles were generally rare from contemporary Anglo-Saxon contexts; in contrast in Scandinavia this fashion was wide-spread in the Viking homelands during the ninth and tenth centuries.'⁶ In essence the volume and variety of Anglo-Scandinavian material from the Danelaw could only be interpreted as a result of cultural assimilation and fusion of cultural traditions between Scandinavian settlers and indigenous populations. More significantly the limited volume of pure Scandinavian artefacts suggested that assimilation occurred relatively quickly between the settlers and indigenous Anglo-Saxon population. Thomas' analysis of strap-ends has shown a degree of cultural fusion emerged during the Viking period in England. However, his narrow focus upon strap-ends and silence on the stylistic forms found on brooches has damaged his argument. It would be misleading to make conclusions as to the scale of cultural assimilation based on a narrow range of artefacts. It would be

⁴ Thomas, 'Anglo-Scandinavian Metalwork', p. 249.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 246.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 249.

more profitable for the whole corpus of Scandinavian and Anglo-Saxon metal work to be considered.

Kershaw's analysis of dress accessories has challenged Thomas' arguments for a quick assimilation of populations. Her work revealed that the process of assimilation was not necessarily straight forward, uniform across the country and relatively quick. She explained that Scandinavian brooches differed significantly from their Anglo-Saxon counter-parts in that they encompassed a range of shapes from oval, equal armed trefoil and convex styles with pendant attachments. In the case of convex brooches she noted that the convexity of these dress accessories ranged in size from 3 to 11 mm in height. In terms of their pin attachment they incorporated an H shaped pin lug and hooked catch plate with an attachment loop set at a right angle to the pin lug and catch plate. Moreover, the oval brooches acted as shoulder clasps for an apron-type dress whilst the other forms were used to fasten outer or inner garments.⁷

In comparison the diversity of brooches were not seen on contemporary Anglo-Saxon versions, where flat disc brooches were the norm. These styles incorporated a single pin lug and C shaped catch plate. Unlike Scandinavian brooches, Anglo-Saxon disc brooches never incorporated an attachment loop for pendants as this dress fashion had fallen out of fashion by the ninth century.⁸ Moreover, another defining feature of Scandinavian brooches was the application of Borre, Jelling, Mammen, Ringerike and Urnes styles upon these dress accessories. In contrast distinct Anglo-Saxon brooches primarily utilised the Trewhiddle style of animal. Later on these brooches became adorned with the Winchester style foliate motifs, which derived from the

⁷ Kershaw, *Viking Identities*, pp. 21-25.

⁸ *Ibid.*, pp.21-25.

Carolingian acanthus style. In essence Anglo-Saxon dress accessories were restricted to two primary styles, and never witnessed the wider application of evolving art styles.⁹

In respect to the metal composition of brooches, Kershaw noted that Scandinavian style brooches were predominately made of brass with many incorporating a tinning feature on their reverse. In comparison the majority of Anglo-Saxon brooches were composed of lead/copper alloys and never incorporated the tinning feature. However, Kershaw noted a word of caution and acknowledged that 'three small Scandinavian brooches from Lake Tissø contained a lead brass mixture.'¹⁰ Although different metal composition distinguished Scandinavian brooches from their Anglo-Saxon counterparts, some similarities existed.

Kershaw was convinced that specific brooches could be apportioned to a distinctive Scandinavian culture. However, she acknowledged there was a growth of an Anglo-Scandinavian style within the Danelaw which reflected a cultural assimilation between Anglo-Saxon and Scandinavian populations. Kershaw noted these new Anglo-Scandinavian brooches often constituted a new form of dress accessory, and often combined an Anglo-Saxon brooch flat disc with a Scandinavian motif. However, other examples witnessed the application of a Scandinavian brooch with a distinct Viking motif and inclusion of a distinct Anglo-Saxon pin fitting. In respect to the degree of cultural assimilation these brooches were significant, as the great diversity of Anglo-Scandinavian material created a category of brooches which either portrayed a strong Anglo-Saxon influence, or preserved Scandinavian features and were

⁹ Kershaw, *Viking Identities*, pp. 33-35.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 36.

unique to the Danelaw.¹¹ Moreover, across the eclectic range of Anglo-Scandinavian brooches some common traits could be found. Whilst brooches still preserved Scandinavian decorations they adopted Anglo-Saxon pin fittings. This enabled them to be used to attach clothing in a traditional Anglo-Saxon manner. In addition, Anglo-Scandinavian brooches also incorporated the hooked catch plate prevalent in pure Scandinavian models, but did not feature the pendant loop, even on those brooches with definable Scandinavian features.¹²

As to the nature of assimilation Kershaw argued that a number of Anglo-Scandinavian style brooches often retained a reduced convex profile, and contained Scandinavian art styles with only an Anglo-Saxon style pin fitting. Their presence in the Danelaw suggested there was a vibrant local market for brooches which looked Scandinavian and accurately replicated Scandinavian shapes and styles, but which could be attached to clothing in a way familiar to Anglo-Saxon women. The absence of the loop suggested that Anglo-Scandinavian brooches were worn associated with an Anglo-Saxon dress style, and whilst looking Scandinavian they were created to accommodate insular fashions. In many cases the metal content of these brooches consisted of lead alloys more consistent with Anglo-Saxon manufacturing techniques.¹³

Another corpus of Anglo-Scandinavian style of brooches identified as the East Anglian series, presented a slightly different picture of assimilation. In this group of brooches they incorporated the flat disc form of the Anglo-Saxon brooch and imprinted Jelling style backwards facing beasts and Borre-style

¹¹ Kershaw, *Viking Identities*, p. 39.

¹² *Ibid.*, pp. 38-40.

¹³ *Ibid.*, pp. 229-235.

interlace motifs. This common stylistic decoration remained close to their Scandinavian counterparts. Moreover, this series of brooches unlike other Anglo-Scandinavian models incorporated both the Anglo-Saxon catch plate and pin lug.¹⁴ It was clear from these brooches that Scandinavian styles had become popular and were embraced by a population familiar with Anglo-Saxon dress styles.

Although Kershaw acknowledged that evidence for cultural assimilation could be found upon brooches she added a word of caution. Across the Danelaw very few brooches merged Anglo-Saxon and Scandinavian designs on a single product. More significantly only one mould from York showed the application of an Anglo-Saxon Winchester style applied to a Scandinavian brooch style. For Kershaw this was significant as the absence of Anglo-Saxon styles upon Scandinavian brooches reflected a degree of conservatism by Anglo-Scandinavian craftsmen. In essence Scandinavian brooch forms were reserved for Scandinavian styles and they appeared to have promoted *difference* rather than *likeness*. The evidence further suggested that cultural assimilation in the Danelaw was not a quick process and cultural separation persisted within the region. Kershaw was also adamant that cultural influences expressed on Anglo-Scandinavian brooches appeared to be one directional, with the Anglo-Saxons receiving Scandinavian influence with little evidence for the reverse. She concluded that the brooches signalled local attempts at 'keeping up with the Scandinavians', and could not be read as evidence of mutual assimilation.¹⁵ Kershaw also added a caveat to her conclusion and noted that the separation of Anglo-Saxon and Scandinavian styles was most pronounced on brooches which were decorated with Borre and Jelling motifs. By the late tenth and early

¹⁴ Kershaw, *Viking Identities*, pp. 229-235.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 229-235.

eleventh century a mingling of Winchester and Ringerike styles was more common on ornamental metal work.¹⁶

Kershaw's interpretation of brooches has suggested that a degree of cultural separation persisted in the Danelaw alongside an assimilation of fashion. The wholesale abandonment of Scandinavian culture cannot be substantiated; instead a more complex picture of assimilation and cultural separation emerged across the Danelaw. The limits of cultural assimilation were most pronounced from the distribution and scale of lozenge and Borre-style disc brooches. Analysis of these brooches found from a total of 32 lozenge brooches 19 could be classed as Scandinavian whilst only 9 carried features which enabled them to be considered Anglo-Scandinavian. For Borre-style disc brooches from a total of 53 finds 23 could be classified as Scandinavian whilst 29 carried Anglo-Scandinavian features.¹⁷ This distribution of finds suggested that Scandinavian brooches were made within the Danelaw in significant numbers and must have catered for populations keen to preserve popular Scandinavian stylistic features.

Analysis of the composition and styles employed upon brooches within the Danelaw has suggested that the Scandinavians had a profound influence upon Anglo-Saxon populations. In essence the conclusions reached by Thomas for a quick assimilation of populations can be effectively challenged.

Pestell has argued from his analysis of East Anglian brooches that political factors encouraged a degree of social and cultural assimilation within East Anglia. A position at odds with Kershaw's assertion that certain metal work

¹⁶ Kershaw, *Viking Identities*, pp. 235-236.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, pp.49 and 56.

finds from the Danelaw showed that cultural separation existed within local populations.

These brooches incorporated two popular designs of a Borre Knotwork and backward facing beast style. More significantly these brooches found within East Anglia constituted 47% of the total corpus of Scandinavian and Anglo-Scandinavian brooches in England. The presence of these brooches in East Anglia suggested that a shared identity was forming in the region, which may have coincided with the period when the 'old Kingdom of East Anglia was finding a new identity as an Anglo-Scandinavian political entity.'¹⁸ In essence these types of brooches provided a clear argument for the integration of Scandinavian migrants within East Anglia, instead of local Anglo-Saxon populations adopting Scandinavian metal work designs.¹⁹

Analysis of leather working has also been employed to challenge Thomas' arguments for the quick assimilation of populations in the Danelaw. From a corpus of sheath knives, seaxes and shoes found in York a degree of cultural separation has been interpreted. In particular, sheath type B, dominated the market in York from the 930s, and was characterised by a seam at the back using a technique known as a *whipped stitch*. A potential Scandinavian origin for these artefacts has been deduced with an example of this type of the sheath found in a Viking grave from Jurby on the Isle of Man. The presence of type B sheaths in York suggests that a Viking origin can be hypothesised for

¹⁸ Tim Pestell, 'Imports or Immigrants? Reassessing Scandinavian Metal Work in Late Anglo-Saxon East Anglia', in *East Anglia and Its North Sea World in the Middle Ages*, ed. by David Bates and Robert Liddard (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2013), pp. 230-255 (pp. 237-238).

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 238.

these artefacts; or they derived from the work of Viking craftsmen producing goods for a Scandinavian population.²⁰

In contrast traditional Anglo-Saxon sheaths incorporated a side stitch indicating that a market for English styles existed which was aimed at a distinct Anglo-Saxon population. More significantly only 5 out of 42 examples of the Anglo-Saxon style have been found in York, suggesting the model was disappearing. However, not all sheath types disappeared suggesting that a mixed population may still have been present within the city. In particular sheaths for larger knives (seaxes) made in the Anglo-Saxon style did not experience the same rapid abandonment as the other sheaths. In essence whilst the sheath of other knives had adapted to change, the sheaths of seaxes continued to be made in the same old way demonstrating a strong adherence to Anglo-Saxon tradition.²¹

Analyses of two types of shoe finds in York have also suggested the presence of two relatively distinct populations. One style featured a rounded back, traditional seen as a distinctly Anglo-Saxon make. The second model had a V shaped back and was associated with a Scandinavian origin. Moreover, the V shaped shoes were also popular across the country which saw significant Scandinavian influences. The presence in the archaeological records of two types of shoe styles clearly reflected the financial viability of shoe manufacturing to cater for different cultural tastes.²² Moreover, the presence of two shoe forms indicated limited cultural assimilation as groups were

²⁰ Esther Cameron and Quita Mould, 'Saxon shoes, Viking Sheaths? Cultural Identity in Anglo-Scandinavian York', in *Land Sea and Home: Settlement in the Viking Period*, ed. by John Hines, Alan Lane and Mark Rednap (Leeds: Maney Publishers, 2004), pp. 457-466 (p. 457).

²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 459.

²² *Ibid.*, p. 465.

content to wear traditional footwear. The presence of leather working in York has generally supported the arguments voiced by Kershaw that some cultural separation existed in the Danelaw.

5.4 The archaeological finds on Flegg: an overview

Across the Anglo-Saxon period a total of eight settlements witnessed a continuity of habitation on Flegg. At Mautby the number of finds decreased slightly between the Early and Middle Saxon period but saw an explosion of finds for the Later Saxon period. A similar picture emerged at Stokesby and Herringby and Somerton East and West which all saw a slight reduction in finds, but a rapid expansion recorded for the Late Anglo-Saxon period. Across both the *-by* and English communities the Late Anglo-Saxon period saw the greatest expansion of recorded finds. It may be hypothesised that the rapid increase in material discovered at settlements corresponded to an increase in population size and intensification of economic activity.

Caister differed significantly from the other settlements as it witnessed an explosion of archaeological material from the Middle Saxon period. The rise in finds from this period most likely corresponded with its development as a productive site, as discussed in Chapter Four. In contrast the majority of *-by* and English settlements all saw a reduction or absence of finds from the Middle Saxon period, most notably seen at Filby and Somerton East and West. Although a number of settlements on Flegg witnessed a dearth or absence of finds for the Middle Saxon period it was unlikely these settlements were abandoned during this time period. Instead it may be argued that the communities which saw a decline in finds during this period witnessed a 'shift'

or a degree of wandering. Archaeological evidence has found that many settlements from this period lacked any clear defined edges or planned layout with limited application of enclosures around buildings and those which were present were most likely used for cattle.²³ At Mucking in Essex the distribution of metal work and imported pottery finds, revealed three separate plans of the settlement corresponding to the fifth, sixth and seventh centuries. The archaeological evidence did not suggest an abrupt end of one settlement but instead there was a gradual change in the focus of the settlement. Moreover, Mucking did not represent a sprawling village but rather a shifting hamlet which consisted of a conglomeration of single farmsteads. Although these villages did not have clearly defined boundaries, they showed clear signs of social interaction at various time periods.²⁴ Other sites also witnessed 'wandering' such as the Middle Saxon site of Wicken Bonhunt in Essex, which revealed small quantities of Early Saxon pottery suggesting continuous but shifting development.²⁵ It can be suggested this picture of wandering most likely occurred at Filby and Somerton East and West. Moreover the economic value of Somerton East and West for grazing, most likely encouraged the movement of the settlement as it shifted to expropriate the natural resources of the area.

5.5 Early Anglo-Saxon archaeology (410 to 650)

The Norfolk Heritage Explorer identified the presence of potential *Grubenhäuser* at Ashby & Oby and Filby. It noted at Ashby & Oby 'pit-like marks, which were predominately visible in this part of the site and....could

²³ Blair, *Building Anglo-Saxon England*, p. 140.

²⁴ Helena Hamerow, 'Settlement mobility and the 'Middle Saxon Shift': Rural settlements and settlement patterns in Anglo-Saxon England', *Anglo Saxon England*, 20 (1991), 1-17 (pp. 3-7).

²⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 5 and 6.

have represented the sites of building, perhaps even sunken featured buildings of Saxon date.²⁶ At Filby the Norfolk Heritage Explore described a similar arrangement from crops marks.

5.5.1 *Grubenhäuser* identified on Flegg

Most *Grubenhäuser* followed a regular pattern with a structure containing a central pit and typically sub-rectangular in shape measuring 3 x 4 metres in area. These buildings consisted of post holes with exact numbers varying between *Grubenhäuser*, which supported the superstructure and roof of the building. The presence of these of buildings at settlements was significant as they represented ancillary appendages around a more dominant structure and provided clear evidence of an actual settlement. In the case of West Heselton, *Grubenhäuser* were found mostly to the north of the settlement whilst the domestic building was found to the east. This pattern suggested that they may have played a craft and industry role for the settlement.²⁷

The age of *Grubenhäuser* has generated some discussion with smaller buildings dated to the fifth and sixth centuries, whilst larger structures emerged in the seventh century. However, where no corresponding material has been uncovered at these sites, some degree of ambiguity as to their exact chronology has persisted.²⁸ As to the demise of these buildings historians have suggested that these types of building became less visible in the landscape

²⁶ Norfolk Heritage Explorer Record Number 14395, <http://www.heritage.norfolk.gov.uk> [accessed 26th March 2007].

²⁷ Helena Hamerow, *Rural Settlement and Society in Anglo-Saxon England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), pp. 54-64.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 54.

after 700 and most likely faded out of use before the ninth century.²⁹ The presence of a *Grubenhäus* at Filby and Ashby & Oby may be suggestive of workshops. The close proximity of the *Grubenhäus* at Filby with the potential Middle Saxon estate of Ormesby may be supportive of this hypothesis, and may be suggestive of a much older history for Ormesby. Moreover, it may be tentatively proposed from the presence of these buildings, that Filby and Ashby and Oby were once older English communities which were renamed during the Viking colonisation of the area in the ninth and tenth centuries.

A spiritual or funerary role for specific *Grubenhäuser* has also been suggested, especially for those located on the summits or peripheries of older barrows. At Street House in north Yorkshire, a seventh-century cemetery was identified with the graves framed within an enclosure which contained two barrow burials, post holes and a sunken featured building.³⁰

The storage of grain has also been proposed for many of these buildings. Evidence from the Netherlands has suggested that the *Grubenhäus* performed the role of a granary rather than other buildings. For those identified with suspended floors they would have served as ideal storage facilities, as the void would have allowed cool air to circulate keeping the environment dry. The role of *Grubenhäus* for specific domestic activities such as weaving has also been argued as a function for these building. The presence of loom weights discovered at *Grubenhäuser*, especially those found in groups or in rows, have been interpreted as evidence for weaving taking place. At Dalem in Lower

²⁹ Hamerow, *Rural Settlement and Society*, p. 64.

³⁰ Blair, *Building Anglo-Saxon England*, p. 90.

Saxony conclusive proof of weaving within a *Grubenhäus* was identified with a sunken area containing 104 loom weights lying in rows on a sunken floor.³¹

Although no direct parallels have been found in England to support the exclusive use of these buildings for cloth production, the presence of loom weights suggests that weaving alongside other activities most likely took place.³² The absence of loom weights found within the confines of the *Grubenhäuser* at Ashby & Oby and Filby, indicates that these buildings were most likely used as storage facilities for an estate centre.

The building of a *Grubenhäus* would have required considerable manpower and access to raw materials for its construction, a situation most likely performed by a high-status estate. At Ormesby St. Margret a drinking horn terminal was discovered suggesting the settlement may have been an important estate centre. Dr. Helen Geake from Great Yarmouth Museum noted the terminal was made of cast bronze and was most likely owned by a rich Anglo-Saxon from the sixth to early seventh centuries. Drinking horns were occasionally put into graves of rich or important Saxon men as they were symbolic of ritual feasting. Moreover, the terminal at Ormesby St. Margaret was very similar in size to the silver terminals found at the Sutton Hoo ship burial. She also suggested that the artefact may have been found following the ploughing out of a grave, or it may have been lost at the settlement within the confines of a drinking hall.³³

³¹ Hamerow, *Rural Settlements and Society*, p. 63

³² *Ibid.*, pp. 60-64.

³³ Helen Geake, information taken from a transcript concerning the terminal deposited at the records of the Historic Environmental Records office at Gressenhall Farm dated 8th June 1999.

5.5.2 Brooches found on Flegg

Habitation at Filby, Mautby, Somerton and Martham can be deduced from the discovery of brooches found at these settlements, and the presence of a curved bird's head terminal from a stave built wooden bucket. Although brooches may have been lost or discarded in transit, the sheer number at settlements suggests occupation at these sites rather than accidental loss.

5.5.3 Other Early Anglo-Saxon archaeological finds on Flegg

The archaeological records have been particularly silent as regards evidence for cereal processing, with only one reference to an undated quernstone at Hemsby and three undatable examples of Rhineland lava querns from Stokesby and Herringby. However, the absence of cereal production cannot be used to dismiss occupation and the presence of settlements. Dark noted that there was a marked decline in cereal production during the Early to Middle Anglo-Saxon period. Evidence from pollen data indicated there was intensification in the cultivation of hemp and a shift from cereal cultivation to pasture. This situation reversed during the Late Anglo-Saxon period with a major increase in cereals with rye becoming the dominant crop.³⁴

The presence of twelve Early Saxon loom weights at Hemsby suggests that cloth production may have played an important role at the settlement. Taking into consideration that 31 sokemen were recorded in Little Domesday it can be tentatively proposed that a previous English settlement existed at Hemsby. The large number of loom weights recovered indicated that a sizable cottage

³⁴ Dark, *The Environment of Britain*, pp. 142-143.

industry for cloth making was present at the site. It can also be proposed that the presence of loom weights showed the growing importance of the wool trade and management of sheep farming during the Anglo-Saxon period. However no supportive evidence for a *Grubenhäus* has been discovered to verify this assumption.

The Portable Antiquities Scheme recorded the presence of a silver gilt sword pommel cap of 'cocked-hat' or concave-sided pyramid type found at Mautby. Moreover, this silver gilt pommel belonged to a group of sixth-century Anglo-Saxon swords that had a predominately Kentish distribution.³⁵ It can be hypothesised that Mautby may once have been an important high-status community as the sword indicated the presence of a warrior class.

Caister has provided a wealth of archaeological data from the Early Saxon period which included cremation burials, pottery, metal working, a brooch and the presence of a Roman fort. Although it cannot be automatically assumed that the early Anglo-Saxon settlers occupied the abandoned fort, the wealth of archaeological finds suggests there was clear human occupation in the area during the Early Anglo-Saxon period.

5.6 Middle Anglo-Saxon archaeology (651-850)

A few settlements on Flegg saw a reduction in the number of archaeological finds for the Middle Saxon period. However, the settlements of Caister, Ormesby St. Margaret and Mautby all saw a rise in finds. In particular Caister recorded approximately twice as many finds for this time period compared to

³⁵ PAS, <https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/423950> [Accessed 21st August 2018].

the Early and Late Anglo-Saxon period, suggesting the heyday of the settlement occurred during the Middle Saxon period.

5.6.1 Growth of a monetary economy and coin finds on Flegg

Across a number of settlements on Flegg a series of coins have been discovered. Coins first appeared in the archaeological records at the settlements on Flegg during the Middle Anglo-Saxon period. The absence of coins from the Early Anglo-Saxon period most likely reflected the break-down in coin production by a central authority, a situation which was only reversed with the start of Anglo-Saxon minting at the very end of the sixth century. Although evidence from coin hoards from the fifth to sixth centuries suggested that coin circulation was still practised, it was on a much reduced scale. The absence of coins from this period on Flegg, indicated that the area was not of significant economic importance.

The pattern of coin circulation changed significantly at the very start of the Middle Anglo-Saxon period around c. 630, with the conversion of East Anglia to Christianity and growth in the number of mints.³⁶ Moreover, the similarity of styles indicates that the moneyers worked in a single location in the region. It was entirely feasible that Ipswich was the potential source for the production of coins in East Anglia during the late eighth and early ninth centuries, as mints were often sited at important trading centres. Moreover, by c. 830 Ipswich was the second most important mint in southern England. Therefore, Ipswich's position as a leading mint from the eighth century most likely echoed an older

³⁶ Gareth Williams, 'The Circulation, Minting, and use of Coins in East Anglia c. AD 580 to 675', in *East Anglia and its North Sea World in the Middle Ages*, ed. by David Bates and Robert Liddiard (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2013), pp. 120-137 (pp. 121-136).

history for the emporium as the location of a mint during the seventh century.³⁷

From the eighth century, England alongside Europe, witnessed a rapid growth in the circulation of coins. Moreover, in England the improved monetary economy occurred following the switch from gold to silver coins. The first silver coins which saw widespread circulation were *sceattas* and over 200 varieties have been identified from the archaeological records. In East Anglia *sceatta* series E and R have dominated the archaeological records with a total of 38% of all coin finds.³⁸

5.6.2 Coin finds at specific settlements on Flegg

On Flegg a very base silver or copper alloy *sceatta*, probably an imitation of Series R4, with garbled runic inscription, was found at Ormesby St. Margaret. The presence of the coin suggests that a monetary system may have operated at the settlement, and may have reflected the settlement status as a productive site or secondary market. However, it was unlikely that Ormesby rivalled the more prestigious emporium of Ipswich due to the quality of the coin found. It was also entirely feasible that the imitation coin reflected a different monetary system in operation at Ormesby where the coin may have been minted at the site.³⁹ Another coin found on Flegg was that of a porcupine-style *sceatta* discovered at Hemsby. These types of coins were initially produced in Frisia and became quickly dispersed around western

³⁷ Rory Naismith, 'Coinage in Pre-Viking East Anglia', in *East Anglia and its North Sea World in the Middle Ages*, ed. by David Bates and Robert Liddiard (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2013), pp. 137-151 (p. 146).

³⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 138-139.

³⁹ Michael Metcalf, 'Variations in the Composition of the Currency at Different Places in England', in *Markets in Early Medieval Europe: Trading and 'Productive' Sites 650 to 850*, ed. by Tim Pestell and Katharina Ulmschneider (Macclesfield: Windgather Press, 2003), pp 37-47 (p. 38).

Francia and the Rhineland. More significantly they reached England in large numbers and were circulated much more widely than contemporary Anglo-Saxon coins.⁴⁰ Although these types of coins soon dominated the monetary system in England a number of English imitations were also minted. However, the Norfolk Heritage Explorer explained that the coin represented a porcupine standard with Frisian and or northeast Frankish connections.⁴¹ It can be speculated that the presence of the coin reflected trade along the East Anglian coast, in conjunction with a likely exploitation of resources upon Flegg. Moreover, the coin suggests a development of trade links, within a monetary system, between the communities on Flegg. Although the coin may have resulted from a simple loss by its owner its presence implied some form of economic activity operated within the area. Evidence for internal trade across England can also be deduced from the discovery at Mautby of a Northumbrian *styca* coin, c. 810-837. Caister stands out from the rest of the settlements on Flegg with the discovery of seven eighth-century *sceattas*. The large volume of coins found at the site clearly indicated that Caister was a thriving economic centre and most likely a productive site of some relative importance.

5.6.3 Pottery finds at settlements on Flegg

A significant category of finds discovered at various settlements on Flegg have been pottery shards, with the majority identified as Ipswich ware.⁴² The presence of Ipswich-ware pottery was significant as it represented the first mass production of pottery since the Roman period. Moreover, the presence

⁴⁰ Peter Sawyer, *The Wealth of Anglo Saxon England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), pp. 56 and 57.

⁴¹ Norfolk Heritage Explorer Record Number 24527, <http://www.heritage.norfolk.gov.uk> [accessed 26th March 2007].

⁴² Helena Hamerow noted that the production of this type of pottery spanned at least 300 hundred years where it emerged in the mid seventh century and finally disappeared in the mid ninth century.

of this pottery from the archaeological records signified the growth of economic activity and development of trade patterns. Ipswich-ware was widely distributed across Norfolk and Suffolk and monastic and high-status communities such as Barking and Wicken Bonhunt in Essex.

The Norfolk Historical Records has not always provided specific details as to the exact origin of the material, but have instead assigned a general Middle Saxon chronology. Analysis of the material has found that Ipswich-ware was predominately recorded at English settlements on Flegg, with a substantial quality recovered from Caister.⁴³ The archaeological records have also revealed that Martham recorded the highest number of finds after Caister. In Chapter Four a tenurial link was noted between Caister and Martham with the latter recorded as a berewick of Caister. The presence of pottery at both sites may also be indicative of economic activity between the two communities, with Caister providing the pottery to its inland berewick.

5.6.4 Brooches and other metal work finds on Flegg

Very few pieces of metal work have been unearthed at the settlements on Flegg dating from the Middle Saxon period. At Filby a prick-spur was discovered suggesting that horses may have been present at the site. However it would be misleading to assume from the presence of a single object that Filby was the site of any stables, instead the object may have been lost in transit. A clear human presence at Mautby can be proposed from the discovery of belt mounts, brooches and dress accessories. The Portable Antiquities recorded a pair of tweezers at Stokesby and Herringby and described them as

⁴³ Caister has been omitted from this table as it recorded over 408 sherds of Ipswich-ware pottery as discussed in Chapter Four. In this analysis the thesis only considers the settlements identified in table 5.4.

an 'incomplete bent and distorted sheet copper-alloy tweezers, one arm and terminal missing, surviving arm slightly expanded before break near original bend. Stirrup-shaped terminal (width 12mm) with remains of in turned end, 8th to 9th century.'⁴⁴ The Portable Antiquities Scheme noted that three other tweezers found in Norfolk; from Briningham (North Norfolk), Methwold (West Norfolk) and Walsingham (North Norfolk) were all similar to the ones found at the emporia of *Hamwic* and Flixborough.⁴⁵ Moreover, all these tweezers were found in close proximity to known productive sites in Norfolk. It can be surmised from the discovery of the tweezers that a multi-layered system of trade may have operated on Flegg. A potential scenario may have seen the tweezers manufactured at an emporium, transported to the productive site of Caister which in turn distributed the product to an inland community. However, it cannot be ruled out that the tweezers may have been manufactured at Caister and then distributed to Stokesby and Herringby. In either situation the evidence clearly revealed that a distinctive trade system of goods to and from productive sites operated in Norfolk.

5.7 Late Anglo-Saxon archaeology (851-1066)

5.7.1 Late Anglo-Saxon stirrup-strap mounts

The late Anglo-Saxon period witnessed an explosion of finds at settlements on Flegg, with significant numbers of stirrup-strap mounts recorded. These artefacts were decorative mounts placed at the junction between the stirrup and stirrup leathers, and were classified by David Williams into three broad but

⁴⁴ PAS, <https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/285333>, [accessed August 2018].

⁴⁵ PAS <https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/545157> & <https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/900028> & <https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/138350> [accessed August 2018].

uneven classes based on their shape and decoration. In the Class A group he noted that they were the most prolific types of mounts and the most varied in terms of form decoration with many having a distinctively curved or convex shape. In terms of decoration they incorporated a wide shape of designs including beasts, zoomorphic depictions, human heads and masks alongside symmetrical loops.⁴⁶ In the case of the Class B class, Williams described many having trapezoidal forms with angled flanges and four fixing holes. He also noted that these mounts often incorporated projecting multi headed mouse or bat like features, alongside examples with central heads and flanking beasts and a smaller corpus with single central mounted heads.⁴⁷

In the Class C group Williams described these mounts incorporating projecting flanges and lugs or side plates with a pair of kidney shaped openings.⁴⁸ As to the style of these artefacts, most showed a fusion of native and continental art-styles which were characteristic of contemporary eleventh-century Anglo-Scandinavian metal work with very few betraying a clear Scandinavian origin and design.⁴⁹ Moreover, stirrup-strap mounts had a relatively short history emerging and then declining in the eleventh century.

On Flegg stirrup-strap mounts and other equestrian artefacts revealed a restricted range of artistic styles. At Mautby, the Norfolk Historical Records described a furniture or harness mount as Urnes in style with an elaborate sinuous dragon-like beast in conflict with a snake.⁵⁰ The example found at

⁴⁶ David Williams, *Late Saxon stirrup-strap mounts, a classification and catalogue* (York: Council for British Archaeology, 1997), pp. 24-85.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 85-100.

⁴⁸ Williams, *Late stirrup-strap mounts*, p. 100.

⁴⁹ Gabor Thomas, 'Review of Late Saxon Stirrup-Strap Mounts: A Classification and Catalogue by David Williams', *Archaeological Journal*, 156 (1999), 436-437 (pp. 436 and 437).

⁵⁰ See Appendix Three page 259 NMS 088222 for a detailed description of the Urnes Style.

Mautby showed no evidence that it was a crude interpretation which suggested that it was an imported piece.⁵¹ In contrast a number of Urnes style pieces identified as English were often crude imitations with poor renditions of Scandinavian originals, as English craftsmen lacked the experience of producing this specific art form. In respect to the identifiable corpus of stirrup-strap mounts found on Flegg, the artefacts incorporated various Williams' Class A and B designs, which suggested an Anglo-Scandinavian origin for their manufacture.⁵² Analysis of the distribution pattern of these artefacts revealed a fairly even spread across four *-by* settlements and three English communities. In essence the corpus of metal work on Flegg suggested a quick assimilation into an Anglo-Scandinavian artistic style. As to the distribution of Class A type 10 styles, which Williams described as mounts which comprised most of the pieces reflecting an Urnes style, approximately two have been found in Norfolk at Banham and Ashwellthorpe and eleven from the rest of East Anglia.⁵³ Across the rest of England the Portable Antiquities Scheme identified approximately fifty-four examples of Urnes style stirrup-strap mounts.⁵⁴

However, of the twenty stirrup-strap mounts discovered on Flegg, one found at Ormesby St Margaret and Scratby was unique and was tentatively identified as 'only the second example of a Scandinavian stirrup with integrated plate found in Britain.'⁵⁵ Although the overwhelming evidence indicated that there was a quick assimilation of Scandinavian and English populations; the metal

⁵¹ Thomas, 'Anglo-Saxon stirrup-strap mounts', pp. 436-437.

⁵² Appendix Three reveals that the stirrup-strap mounts found on Flegg incorporated a restricted range of Type A 1, 4, 6, 8 and 11c and at least one Type B class 4.

⁵³ Williams, *Late stirrup-strap mounts*, p. 53.

⁵⁴ PAS <https://finds.org.uk/database/search/advanced>, [accessed July 2019].

⁵⁵ PAS https://finds.org.uk/database/search/results/old_findID/NMS-48B594, [accessed August 2018].

work found at Ormesby and Mautby suggested there was a population keen to maintain cultural links with the Scandinavian homeland.

It was also clear from the assemblage of stirrup-strap mounts and other equestrian finds that horses played an important economic role upon Flegg. Moreover, the presence of horses would have represented a significant cost for settlements in terms of stabling and winter fodder, a cost most likely borne by high-status communities and high-status individuals. Moreover, the military use of horses, alongside their application in the carrying of messages and goods, and day to day agricultural work, suggested a predominately male bias in their use. Therefore the presence of large numbers of stirrup-strap mounts, which featured a fusion of Anglo-Scandinavian art forms, indicated there was a quick assimilation by men into an Anglo-Scandinavian culture upon Flegg.

5.7.2 Late Anglo-Saxon strap-ends

In comparison to stirrup-strap mounts, the number of strap-ends was limited to only five settlements on Flegg. The majority of strap-ends were classed as Winchester style which implied a distinct English Influence. The Winchester style grew out of the gradual reforms instigated by the Benedictine order in England. This new art style created a particular form of manuscript decoration and illumination. Although most noticeable within manuscripts, other mediums such as metal work often carried this new art style. In essence the style drew not only on the Ringerike art style but also on earlier Carolingian models and was characterised by the use of florid, vegetal and acanthus-leaf motifs and stylised elongated figures.⁵⁶

⁵⁶ Higham and Ryan, *The Anglo-Saxon World*, p. 312.

In contrast to the more numerous Winchester style only one single example of a Borre-style strap-end has been found on Flegg at Ormesby St. Margaret. The Borre-style took its name from a series of objects found within a ship burial at Borre in Vestfold Norway. Moreover, the style was not the only 'successor of the art of Oseberg for perhaps at the same time another style the Jelling style was making itself felt in Scandinavia.'⁵⁷ The considerable overlap between the Borre and Jelling styles, coupled with the absence of dateable archaeological evidence, has prevented a clear and definable chronology for this style. The Borre corpus incorporated two principal styles that of a symmetrical interlace form and animal motifs showing a 'gripping beast'. Moreover the style also utilised 'the ribbon plait...consisting of a symmetrical interlace pattern, each intersection of which was bound by a circle which surrounded hollow side lozenge, which often terminated by an animal mask.'⁵⁸ This pattern was also usually known as a ring chain and was generally found on small harness mounts. Another form of the symmetrical pattern was the pretzel knot style which like the ribbon plait was often given animal head terminals. Although abundant within the Borre-style the use of geometric designs was confined to this artistic style and therefore its popularity most likely lasted for only a few generations from its inception.⁵⁹

The animal motif widely known as the 'gripping beast', consisted of an animal head with snout, eyes and often two prominent ears. Most often these animal heads were triangular in shape and incorporated pigtails or lappets. 'A band like neck joined a broad band, which passed below the mask from a hip in one corner to a hip in the other corner. Legs emerged from either side of each hip

⁵⁷ David M. Wilson and Ole Klindt-Jensen, *Viking Art*, 2nd edn (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1980), pp. 87 and 88.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 88.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 65.

and the feet generally gripped the body of the animal or the border of the mount.⁶⁰ These motifs were occasionally found on large objects, such as oval brooches or saddle mounts and often appeared with other animals where they gripped each other. Moreover, these 'gripping beasts' were most frequently found individually as a single articulated animal. An animal motif within the Borre series which was rarely seen outside Norway was that of an animal portrayed in profile, where the beast usually had a backward turned head and a lappet. The neck and body although formalised were more or less naturalistic, and as with other animal motifs it incorporated the 'gripping beast', feature.⁶¹ During the course of the Borre-style period the 'gripping beast' style gradually developed a more naturalistic form, with animals having a more plastic appearance often within a two or three dimensional design.

The Borre-style strap-end found at Ormesby St. Margaret suggests that an Anglo-Scandinavian population was present upon Flegg. In general, distinctive Scandinavian Borre-styles were usually found on trefoil brooches, their presence on strap-ends very much associated it within an Anglo-Saxon cultural tradition. Although strap-ends on Flegg overwhelmingly betrayed an Anglo-Scandinavian culture, material evidence for a distinct Scandinavian style could also be detected from the archaeological records. The Norfolk Historical Records described a strap-end at Stokesby and Herringby as being 'cast openwork, split attachment-end with two rivet holes and decorated with two horizontal rows of four ring and dot on both front and back, anthropomorphic head at top of central stem,'⁶² These punched ring and dot motifs were generally rare in Anglo-Saxon England, but were widespread in Scandinavia

⁶⁰ Wilson and Klindt-Jensen, *Viking Art*, p. 88.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, p. 88.

⁶² Norfolk Heritage Explorer Record Number 37430, <http://www.heritage.norfolk.gov.uk> [accessed 26th August, 2007].

during the ninth and tenth centuries. Therefore, the archaeological evidence has revealed that Flegg was a culturally diverse region, where people expressed English, Scandinavian and Anglo-Scandinavian cultural affiliations.

The presence of strap-ends can also be employed to determine the potential status and prosperity of peasants and settlements. The strap-ends which betrayed intricate acanthus designs, were most likely manufactured in Winchester and targeted the wealthy thegns on Flegg. In contrast, cheaper and less sophisticated versions of Winchester designs were most likely manufactured in local towns, and available to less wealthy thegns and peasants.⁶³ In comparison to stirrup-strap mounts, the presence of strap-ends in female graves suggests these items were not an exclusive male dress accessory.⁶⁴

5.7.3 Late Anglo-Saxon pottery

There was a limited distribution of pottery finds across the settlements on Flegg. From the archaeological records where descriptions were provided, the pottery was identified as Thetford Ware. The presence of pottery at settlements can be taken as a sign of occupation and potential trade connections with markets. Across the late Anglo-Saxon period, goods such as pottery were manufactured in towns and then traded with rural settlements. In the case of Thetford Ware it was widely distributed across Norfolk, Suffolk and Essex in the late tenth century and was produced primarily in town

⁶³ Robin Fleming, 'Rural Elites and Urban Communities in Late-Saxon England', *Past & Present*, 141 (1993), 3-37 (p. 20).

⁶⁴ Kershaw, *Viking Identities*, pp. 175-176.

workshops.⁶⁵ Although the most likely source of pottery for the settlements on Flegg was Norwich, the presence of pottery within the area suggests an important market for the distribution of Thetford Ware can be assumed. It can also be speculated that the distribution of pottery may have been facilitated by local thegns at settlements on Flegg.

5.7.4 Late Anglo-Saxon brooches

A wide variety of brooch styles have been found at the settlement on Flegg. Of the eighteen brooches identified none carried a Winchester style design, in contrast to strap-ends and stirrup mounts where this style was the most popular design. The most popular style of brooches incorporated a Borre-style disc brooch, and for one brooch found at Martham, it was a common tenth-century type popular in East Anglia carrying a standardised design based on a Scandinavian prototype.

The presence of these artefacts from the archaeological records, suggests that a vibrant market for brooches that looked Scandinavian but could be attached to Anglo-Saxon dress fittings, was prevalent upon Flegg. Moreover, the discovery of these brooches clearly revealed that a process of assimilation had occurred on Flegg during the early Viking period, with an English population emulating Scandinavian styles. In addition, it can be argued that the presence of the East Anglian series of brooches reflected a process where English and Scandinavian populations were beginning to share new political, social and cultural affiliations. However, it would be misleading to assume that assimilation occurred uniformly across Flegg and a separate Scandinavian

⁶⁵ Fleming, 'Rural Elites', p. 19.

culture immediately disappeared within the area. At Mautby a possible domed oval tortoise brooch was described by the Portable Antiquities Scheme as representing 'only the fifth example of a Viking oval brooch known from Norfolk.'⁶⁶ The presence of the brooch suggests that specific populations on Flegg still identified with a Scandinavian heritage and expressed their differences with definable Scandinavian styles.

Other examples of insular Viking styles can be seen from two lozengiform brooches found at Mautby and Stokesby and Herringby with the latter carrying a distinctive Borre-style. These brooches were a ninth century Scandinavian type of dress accessory and were found with some frequency in the eastern counties of England, Denmark and other areas of Scandinavian settlement.⁶⁷ However, the brooch found at Stokesby and Herringby carried traces of niello which made it difficult to assign a definitive cultural identity. Across both Scandinavian and Anglo-Saxon artefacts this embellishment technique was widely used. Although it was impossible to determine whether the bearer of the artefact was Scandinavian, the brooch itself insinuated that the wearer wanted to show some affiliation with a Scandinavian identity.

Brooches have also been employed as evidence for the preservation of a cultural heritage. During the medieval period women played a prominent role in the preservation of specific cultural history. The desire to maintain a sense of belonging to a distinct homeland was most often carried out through oral histories and more importantly through the bequeathing and receipt of jewellery.⁶⁸ It can be argued that the presence of brooches which betrayed a

⁶⁶ PAS <https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/206955> [accessed August 2018].

⁶⁷ Kershaw, *Viking Identities*, pp. 43-44.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 175.

distinct Scandinavian artistic style represented the desire by women on Flegg to preserve some identity with their Scandinavian homeland.

The brooches found on Flegg have revealed that a continental trade operated between settlements in Norfolk and those in Northern Europe. At Martham, a brooch was identified by the PAS as a;

‘Late Saxon gilt copper alloy composite disc brooch of Continental manufacture, comprising an octofoil back-plate, a central boss with an overlapping sheet side with a chamfered upper edge. It may be compared with broadly related ‘Unique type (flower-shaped) disc brooches from Friesland dating from the 9th-10th century; or ‘Ottonian’ type brooches dating to the 10th and 11th centuries.’⁶⁹

The series of brooches recovered from sites on Flegg have presented a confused picture of cultural assimilation, as the social identity expressed by these artefacts for the wearer varied. Moreover, it must not be assumed that the process was straightforward. However, it can be argued that assimilation regardless of direction occurred on Flegg over the course of the Viking period.

5.7.5 Late Anglo-Saxon silver ingots

At Ormesby St. Margaret and Hemsby single examples of silver ingots have been discovered. In particular the silver ingot at Hemsby carried the classic ‘transverse hammering’ indicative within known Viking metal work hoards.⁷⁰

⁶⁹ PAS https://finds.org.uk/database/search/results/old_findID/NMS-349C14 [accessed August 2018]

⁷⁰ Pestell, ‘Scandinavian Metalwork’, pp. 244-247.

The presence of ingots has raised some important questions as to nature of economic activity on Flegg.

James Graham-Campbell noted that the Scandinavian economy was traditionally bullion in nature and argued that a fully functioning coinage system only emerged during the eleventh century. In the ninth and tenth centuries coins were for the most part considered as mere lumps of silver. Moreover, many of these coins revealed scratches or nicks to their surface where the merchant tested the purity of the silver before being weighed using a balance. In this bullion economy cut up fragments of silver arm rings and brooches, collectively known as hack-silver, also constituted an important element and would have been in continuous demand for commercial purposes suggesting that coins were not used as money.⁷¹ Evidence from silver hoards has generally supported the notion that Scandinavia operated a bullion economy. In the Grimestad hoard from Norway the majority of the silver recovered was in the form of wearable rings, silver ingots and coins used for the provision of small change. Moreover, the presence of perforated coins was suggestive of their use as a pendant rather than the notion that they were used as money.⁷²

Graham-Campbell also concluded that the scarcity of silver coin finds from the North Atlantic region indicated that coins never served as currency during the Viking Age. In Iceland whilst silver was reaching the island in large quantities during the tenth and eleventh centuries it was primarily utilised both for

⁷¹ James Graham-Campbell and Dafydd Kidd, *The Vikings* (London: British Museum Publications Ltd, 1980), pp. 36 -37.

⁷² James Graham-Campbell, 'The Serpent's Bed': Gold and Silver in Viking Age Iceland and Beyond', in *Viking Settlement and Viking Society: Papers from the Proceedings of the Sixteenth Viking Congress*, ed. by Svavar Sigmondsson (Reykjavík: University of Iceland Press, 2011), pp. 103-131 (p.113).

personal ornaments and as hack-silver in the island's bullion economy.⁷³ Archaeological evidence has supported this hypothesis with the discovery at Miðhús in Iceland of a coinless hoard consisting of over forty items of bullion consisting mostly of hack-silver.⁷⁴

In contrast to Scandinavia and the Viking territories in the North Atlantic, the presence of coins in silver hoards from Ireland and the Northern Danelaw indicated that a dual economy operated in these areas. Graham-Campbell contemplated that the presence of complete coins and half coins could be treated as money. Although he recognised that coins could have been used as small ingots he noted that ingots were specifically manufactured, often using smelted coins, and they represented a clear cut category of bullion. Moreover, he tentatively argued that the presence of coins in Ireland's silver hoards were used for a purpose other than the melting pot to be turned into ingots, as so many survived whole and in a good condition.⁷⁵

In comparison to Scandinavia, East Anglia was traditionally seen as an area where coins played a significant role in the economy of the area across the Middle to late Anglo-Saxon period. In particular Graham-Campbell noted that during the period of Danish rule and the emergence of the cult of St. Edmund, large quantities of St. Edmund pennies were minted suggesting that a monetary system was highly developed within the county.⁷⁶

⁷³ James Graham-Campbell, 'The Viking-Age Gold and Silver of the North Atlantic Region', in *Vikings and Norse in the North Atlantic: Select Paper from the Proceedings of the Fourteenth Viking Congress*, ed. by Andras Mortensen and Simun V. Arge (Faroe Islands: Foroya Froðskapfelag-The Faroese Academy of Sciences, 2005), pp. 125-137 (p. 136).

⁷⁴ James Graham-Campbell, 'The Serpent's Bed', p. 117.

⁷⁵ James Graham-Campbell, 'Reflections on Silver Economy in the Viking Age', in *Silver Economy in the Viking Age*, ed. by James Graham-Campbell and Gareth Williams (London: Publication of the Institute of Archaeology, 2007), pp. 215-224 (pp.219 and 220).

⁷⁶ James Campbell, 'What is not known about the reign of Edward the Elder', p. 23.

However, a growing number of silver ingots have been found in Norfolk suggesting that bullion may have played an important economic role within the county.⁷⁷ Moreover, on Flegg only one Byzantine coin c. 961 has been found at Caister compared to the large number of Middle Saxon coins scattered across the area. Although tempting to speculate that a bullion economy operated upon Flegg a closer look at the distribution of coin losses suggests that a variety of factors may have influenced their dispersal distribution. Andrew Hutcheson's PhD thesis argued that coin losses closely correlated with royal mints and the subsequent development of urban centres and important estate centres. In particular he noted that concentrations of Mercian minted coins c. 829-79 and Northumbrian ninth-century coins have been found at Thetford, which he tentatively acknowledged as a mint centre.⁷⁸ In the development of urban centres and the correlation with coin loss he noted that;

‘the growth of the importance of Thetford can be seen graphically in the coin loss situation from surface finds on the periphery of the town and in excavations within the defended Late Saxon town. In the.....defensive circuits possessed by both Norwich and Thetford, the combined growth of both towns seen in the coin distribution and in the archaeological evidence for minting helps to demonstrate that these places became urban during the late 9th century.’⁷⁹

Finally, Hutcheson argued that in the case of estate centres, coin loss densities were particularly prevalent at the heart of large estates where the coins were

⁷⁷ The Portable Antiquities Scheme identified fourteen potential Late Saxon /Viking age silver ingots in Norfolk. PAS <https://finds.org.uk/database/search/results/description/silver+ingot/countyID/7238> [accessed 4th June 2014].

⁷⁸ Andrew Hutcheson, ‘The Origins of East Anglian Towns: Coin Loss in the Landscape, AD 470-939’ (unpublished doctoral thesis. University of East Anglia, 2009), pp. 214-221.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 250.

being used and inadvertently lost and they most likely represented monastic residences.⁸⁰

In summary it would be misleading to assume that Flegg operated a purely bullion economy. The dearth of coins from the Viking period could be attributed to the upheaval caused by the Viking invasions which hampered the urbanisation of the region. Moreover, as discussed in Chapter Four, whilst Ormesby and Hemsby most likely became estate centres, it can be speculated they may not have been very large centres, which inevitably failed to attract the use and loss of large numbers of coins. In essence the absence of coins reflected Flegg's isolation rather than the imposition of a bullion economy. It may be hypothesised that the area operated a dual economy with the restricted use of coins alongside the use of bullion.

5.8 Conclusion for Chapter Five

In conclusion it can be argued that the Danelaw witnessed an explosion in the development of an Anglo-Scandinavian artistic innovation in the use of Borre-style ring chain upon strap-ends. A feature which was replicated within the corpus of material found in Norfolk and Flegg. The emergence of an Anglo-Scandinavian style upon metal work finds suggested there was a quick assimilation of Scandinavian and Anglo-Saxon populations. The rapid assimilation of populations has been challenged in respect to brooches with arguments raised that certain styles were retained by distinct populations. Moreover, Scandinavian style brooches witnessed an evolution in designs which was not replicated on pure Anglo-Saxon brooches. Differences between

⁸⁰ Hutcheson, 'The Origins of East Anglian Towns', p. 317.

Anglo-Saxon and Scandinavian brooches could also be determined looking at the metal composition with the former comprising of brass and utilisation of a tinning process. However, it would be misleading to assume that populations remained separate across the Viking period as a new Anglo-Scandinavian style of brooch appeared in the archaeological records. This new style of dress accessory incorporated the Anglo-Saxon flat disc brooch and pin attachment but carried Scandinavian motifs. In essence these brooches emerged from within a vibrant market where populations wanted to identify with a Scandinavian culture but could be used for Anglo-Saxon clothing. For Kershaw these brooches were significant as they promoted difference rather than likeness in cultural expression by populations. Moreover, the process of assimilation appeared one directional with the Anglo-Saxons receiving Scandinavian influences rather than the other way round. In essence across the Danelaw the process of assimilation was not straight forward or quick as assumed from the analysis of strap-ends. Analysis of leather working supported the conclusions drawn from the interpretation of brooches, with a degree of cultural separation evident from the styles of shoes and knife sheaths found in York.

As found in the Danelaw significant quantities of strap-ends and stirrup-strap mounts reflected the emergence of an Anglo-Scandinavian culture. In contrast the discovery of unique Scandinavian brooches at settlements on Flegg suggests that the process of assimilation was not straightforward. Moreover, it can be argued that it was entirely feasible that specific populations wanted to retain cultural links with their Scandinavian homeland. In essence the inevitable process of assimilation on Flegg was neither quick nor straightforward.

The archaeological evidence from Flegg has revealed that most settlements witnessed a continuity of habitation across the Anglo-Saxon period. The absence of finds at a number of settlements for the Middle Saxon period has suggested that settlements may have experienced a degree of wandering rather than wholesale abandonment. It was clear from the archaeological records that Flegg was not an uninhabited wilderness during the Early Anglo-Saxon period. Moreover, the presence of *Grubenhäuser* and loom weights at Ashby, Oby, Filby and Hemsby was indicative of significant economic activity. More significantly the presence of archaeological material linked to habitation and economic activity suggested that these *-by* place names may once have been older English communities. It can be interpreted from the presence of coins and *styli* at Caister that it most likely evolved as a productive site. The discovery of *sceattas* at Hemsby and Ormesby was also suggestive of economic activity as possible market centres. As to the exact date for the establishment of Hemsby and Ormesby the presence of the *sceattas* suggests a Middle Anglo-Saxon origin. However, evidence from Torksey and the presence of a Viking camp, (discussed in Chapter Four), suggests that a later date cannot be easily dismissed. It is entirely feasible that these two settlements became established during the late Anglo-Saxon period following the arrival of the Vikings in the late ninth century. The presence of pottery and other metal work finds such as brooches and tweezers clearly showed that a system of trade operated upon Flegg with the productive site of Caister as the distribution point.

The discovery of silver ingots at Ormesby and Hemsby has suggested that economic activity was clearly undertaken on Flegg. Although few coins have been recovered from the area, it would be misleading to assume that Flegg operated a purely bullion and therefore Scandinavian style economy. Instead

the archaeological evidence suggests that the region experienced a dual economy with the limited use of coins alongside the presence of bullion.

Chapter Six

Domesday data and economic position of *-by* names on Flegg

6.1 Introduction

The Little Domesday Book has provided a wealth of information about the economic position of settlements in Norfolk and Flegg. The primary aim of Chapter Four is an investigation into the economic status and function of *-by* and English settlements on Flegg. The chapter will initially review the historiography of Domesday's purpose and then explore and analyse the key economic data presented for each settlement on Flegg. The final section will explore the origin of sokemen as descendants of the Viking armies in the ninth and tenth centuries. The work of Frederick Maitland,¹ V.H. Galbraith,² Sally Harvey,³ A.R. Bridbury⁴ and David Roffe⁵ have been crucial for this thesis' discussion as to the purpose of Domesday.

6.2 Sources and Appendix referenced in Chapter Four

The Little Domesday Book for Norfolk has provided the material for the discussion on the economic function and status of settlements on Flegg. The information used in Chapter Six can be referenced looking at Appendix Four

¹ Frederic William Maitland, *Domesday Book and Beyond* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1897), pp. 1-26.

² V.H. Galbraith, 'The Making of Domesday Book', *The English Historical Review*, 57 (1942), 161-167 (pp. 163-166).

³ Sally Harvey has written extensively on the Domesday Book and her individual interpretations of the Book will be identified later in this section.

⁴ A.R. Bridbury, 'Domesday Book: a Re-interpretation', *The English Historical Review*, 105 (1990), 284-309 (pp. 285-287).

⁵ David Roffe, *Decoding Domesday* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2007), pp. 27 & 108.

6.3 Domesday debate

Since Maitland's seminal work on the purpose of Domesday in 1897, a succession of scholars have taken information from the folios of the Book to formulate contrasting theories as to why Domesday was compiled. In essence the theories about Domesday can be broken down into three 'schools.'⁶ The *fiscal/neo-fiscal school* was initially championed by Maitland and J.H. Round, and later by Sally Harvey, A.R. Bridbury and David Roffe who all considered the financial information within Domesday as fundamental to its understanding.⁷ These historians theorised that Domesday was in essence a financial document which looked at the wealth of tenants, with an ultimate aim of extracting money.

The fiscal school was challenged by V.H. Galbraith and R. Weldon Finn who both dismissed the financial nature of the book and focused on its feudatory structure. These two scholars argued that Domesday was created to formalise the relationship between the King and his tenants.⁸ The final political/economic school approached the creation of Domesday Book from a politico-economic perspective and examined the purpose of Domesday within the political environment of England in the late eleventh century. In this school, N.J. Higham considered elements of the fiscal/neo fiscal and Norman Order schools and placed them within a wider political framework.⁹

⁶ David Roffe first used the term 'school' to describe those historians who advocated either a fiscal/ neo-fiscal and feudal purpose for Domesday. I have identified a final school which focuses on external factors which may have influenced the purpose of the Book. In this thesis it is called the Political-Economic school as it embraces not only the fiscal but also the external political factors which may have shaped the creation of Domesday. in David Roffe, *Domesday: The Inquest and The Book* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), pp. 10-16.

⁷ J.H. Round, *Feudal England* (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1895), pp. 170-124.

⁸ R. Weldon Finn, *An Introduction to Domesday Book* (London: Longmans, 1963), pp. 64-97.

⁹ Nicholas J. Higham, 'The Domesday Survey: Context and Purpose', *History*, 78 (1993), 7-21 (pp. 11-13).

A definitive consensus as to the purpose of Domesday Book has proved elusive, and debates about Domesday have invariably focused on its feudal and fiscal nature. In Chapter Six the thesis adopts a bipartisan perspective, with focus placed solely on the material presented within the folios of the Book. It has been acknowledged that the material presented within Domesday cannot be completely isolated from the theories voiced by scholars. Therefore conclusions drawn in this chapter have been made from within the parameters imposed by the various theories.

6.4 The fiscal/neo-fiscal school

The fiscal nature of Domesday Book with its reference to entries assessed at *x* hides or *carucates*, the presence of ploughlands, the monetary values of settlements, and contributions to the *geld* (evidenced in Little Domesday) has provided the back bone for the debate about the fiscal nature of Domesday.

The key stumbling block faced by the proponents of the fiscal/neo-fiscal school has been a satisfactory explanation of Domesday's unusual feudal structure and focus on peasants.¹⁰ Maitland emphatically argued that Domesday was fiscal in nature. Although he acknowledged that the writers of Domesday adopted an unusual format, in that it was compiled both on a geographical and a feudal basis, which was unusual for a tax book, he still maintained it was not a feudal register but a tax or *geld* book.¹¹ The feudal nature of Domesday interpreted from the scattered references of *clamores*, was also roundly

¹⁰ In Chapter Six unless stated the term Domesday refers to both Little and Great Domesday Books.

¹¹ Maitland, *Domesday Book and Beyond*, pp. 1-12.

dismissed.¹² For Maitland, he concluded that decisions about title/ownership were likely to have been local customs or special privileges, rather than any established principal.¹³ In essence Domesday was not a law book as it rarely stated any rule.¹⁴ Moreover, he noted that Domesday rarely described feudal obligations, and provided little information about the distribution of estates as Norman barons already occupied the land.¹⁵ As to why peasants were incorporated within the folios of the Book, Maitland noted they were only included when it involved the apportionment and the levy of tax.¹⁶ Moreover, their inclusion was important as they contributed to the manorial income of the tenants-in-chief.¹⁷ However, Maitland's silence as to the Book's unusual structure with emphasis placed on the tenants-in-chief has proved damaging to his argument.

Proponents of the fiscal school have criticised the notion that Domesday was a land register and therefore feudal in nature. Bridbury noted it was not a single register of land but a collection of registers and it had many failings essential for an effective feudal register. There was no general index, it was difficult to collate the estates of tenants-in-chief in different counties and it made no provision for erasure or amendments fundamental for any land book. Bridbury concluded that the Book was in essence a quick reference system for anyone who wanted to know the particulars of any one manor where income was generated and tax liabilities were incurred.¹⁸

¹² *Clamores* referred to entries found in the appendix of several Domesday entries related to disputes over the legal ownership of property. Coredon and Williams, *A Dictionary of Medieval Terms and Phrases*, p. 75.

¹³ Maitland, *Domesday Book and Beyond*, pp. 1-5.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 1-5.

¹⁵ Round, *Feudal England*, p. 1-20.

¹⁶ Maitland, *Domesday Book and Beyond*, pp. 1-5.

¹⁷ Bridbury, 'Domesday Book a re-interpretation', p. 300.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 300.

6.4.1 Support for fiscal school from Domesday satellite texts

Proponents of the fiscal school have placed considerable emphasis upon a series of satellite texts in support of their arguments. Scholars have argued that one series of documents, the *original returns*, played a significant role in the creation of Domesday as a tax book.¹⁹ Maitland concluded that these documents were not forwarded in a feudal format to the royal treasury in Winchester; instead information was taken geographically with hundreds being assessed in order across the counties.²⁰ Moreover, he was very clear that the survey focused on the *vills* and stressed that jurors were instructed to inform the commissioners about each *vill* within each hundred and who held land at each *vill*.²¹ For Maitland this was significant as the *vill* was the main concern of the commissioners rather than the tenants-in-chief. In the case of Armingford hundred, he stressed that each *vill* was considered and rated at a certain number of hides and then the hides were distributed among the tenants-in-chief. In Armingford hundred he noted that the whole of Armingford was rated at a round figure of 100 hides with six *vills* rated at 10 hides a piece and a further eight *vills* at 5 hides. Although figures for *vills* were often recorded across a number of pages, he stressed that the evidence was conclusive and argued that the *vill* was the unit in a system of assessment.²² Therefore the focus upon the *vill*, evident across the pages of Domesday, provided a powerful case for the role of Domesday as a tax book. However, Maitland's argument has been fundamentally damaged by the complete absence of any *original*

¹⁹ The original returns were considered documents which were believed to have incorporated information about estates, *vill by vill*, within each corresponding hundred. They were considered by Frederic Maitland and J. H. Round to have provided the information upon which Domesday was created. A key problem with the 'original returns' has been the absence/survival of any of these documents.

²⁰ Maitland, *Domesday Book and Beyond*, p. 10.

²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 11.

²² *Ibid.*, pp. 11-12.

returns. Moreover, the prominent position of tenants-in-chief, recorded *ad nauseam*, across the folios of Domesday was still not fully explained by Maitland.

Other documents such as the; *Inquisitio Comitatus Cantabrigiae*,²³ *Inquisitio Eliensis*,²⁴ and the *Exon Domesday*²⁵ have also been used to support the argument that Domesday was a fiscal register. Maitland argued that these satellite documents were closely connected to Domesday as they provided much of the information for particular circuits. He noted at the beginning of the *Exon Domesday*, payments of the great geld, levied by William in the winter of 1083-4 of six shillings to the hide, clearly showed the fiscal purpose of the document.²⁶ The geographical organisation of the *Inquisitio Comitatus Cantabrigiae* and *Eliensis* was also considered significant as they may have mirrored the structure of the *original returns* and were therefore concerned with a reassessment of the geld.²⁷ However, the arguments that these documents reflected the structure of the *original returns* cannot be verified due to their absence from the historical records.

Other documents such as 'County Assessment Lists' have also been employed in support of the fiscal nature of Domesday Book.²⁸ Harvey argued that

²³ An existing document containing a copy of the returns for Cambridge. Williams and Martin, *Domesday Book*, p. 1433.

²⁴ An existing document containing a copy of the returns of the land of Ely Abbey. Williams and Martin, *Domesday Book*, p. 1433.

²⁵ A manuscript containing the circuit returns for five south-western shires. Williams and Martin, *Domesday Book*, p. 1432.

²⁶ Maitland, *Domesday Book and Beyond*, p. 2.

²⁷ Round, *Feudal England*, p. 1-20.

²⁸ Sally Harvey suggested that the ordering of Domesday was based on common local administrative documents in use by officials. She argued these administrative lists were similar to the more well known Domesday satellite texts. Sally Harvey noted these lists contained the individual holdings of major landowners or county wide holdings with their fiscal assessments. Sally Harvey, 'Domesday Book and its Predecessors', *The English Historical Review*, 341 (1971), 753-773 (p. 755).

Domesday was based on existing fiscal documents which were often arranged in both hundredal and tenorial form. She further noted that examples of tax exemptions and revised geld payments for favoured lords were part and parcel of eleventh-century government, and it was inconceivable that fiscal arrangements and feudal ties could be compartmentalised. In particular she noted a cartulary of the abbey of Abingdon listed manorial hides in a hundredal order which was later replicated in the Berkshire Domesday.²⁹ Harvey also proposed that a hidal list for the lands of Bath Abbey was also an earlier document as it contained figures which related to King Edward's reign and was written in the present tense. This document was significant as it organised the Bath lands in Domesday in the same order they were recorded in the county assessment list. Another set of assessment lists for Yorkshire for Count Alan's fief listed 300 place names which were replicated in the same order in Domesday.³⁰ In essence these two documents suggested that Domesday relied heavily upon existing financial documents for its construction. For Harvey the purpose of Domesday was clear, it was interested in the possession of each Norman lord and how much their estates were worth.

Harvey also explored the problem of the widespread evasion of geld payment between 1083-4, and suggested that this was a major motive for a more searching enquiry into assets. Moreover, disputes over tenorial rights and possession of land made the survey essential. It was vital that the resources and productivity of estates were surveyed to ensure a sound base for a revision of fiscal responsibility.³¹

²⁹ Harvey, 'Domesday Book and its Predecessors', pp. 758-760.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 760.

³¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 753-773.

In conclusion, although Harvey acknowledged the feudal nature of Domesday she was adamant about the fiscal purpose of the Book.

‘It seems perfectly possible to acknowledge that pre-Domesday lists recorded the great landowners’ fiscal responsibilities, without rejecting a specifically feudal purpose....just as it is easy to acknowledge the importance of Domesday and the role of feudal returns....without necessarily denying that the details could also serve a fiscal purpose.’³²

In essence she argued that the feudal aspect of Domesday did not distract from the clear fiscal motives behind its creation. Harvey’s arguments have proved convincing as she has explained why tenants-in-chief played a prominent role within Domesday, a point left unanswered by Frederick Maitland. In essence Harvey has provided some insight into the feudal feel of Domesday as the tenurial structures of tenants-in-chief was an essential element for a revision of tax liability. She has made a convincing case that feudal ties and tax liability could not be separated as they were very much interlinked within the governance of medieval England.

6.4.2 Domesday hide and ploughland

Considerable emphasis has been placed on the inclusion of hides and ploughlands as evidence for the inherent fiscal nature of Domesday.³³ Harvey suggests that the ploughlands played a significant role in the reassessment of the geld. From her analysis of Domesday records for Middlesex, Hertfordshire,

³² Sally Harvey, ‘Recent Domesday Studies’, *The English Historical Review*, 374 (1980), 121-133 (p. 124).

³³ The term ploughland or carucate recorded in Domesday was the land which could be ploughed in one year with an eight ox team.

Buckinghamshire, Cambridgeshire and Bedfordshire, she noted that the ploughs recorded, matched the potential arable land available. For counties where the relationship was not obvious, the plough lands were closely related to the value of estates, its populations or its fiscal assessment.³⁴ Roffe noted there was a need for an agreed and fair evaluation of ploughlands values. In Domesday Book geld assessments (assessed in hides) and ploughlands were linked by common formulas *such as x hide and land for y ploughs*. For Roffe this information was important for it provided information that specific land was paying tax at so many hides. Moreover, the data represented the amount of land present was based on the numbers of ploughs, in essence the ploughland was a measure of tax capacity.³⁵

For Harvey the use of the plough as a new assessment was essential for it achieved what the re-rating of 1085 in the south-east had not, a net doubling of the rateable assessment. In essence the ploughland as a new assessment was more realistic as it was an assessment of liability for tax based on current agricultural productivity. In the case of Circuit III, it focused on the arable land and recorded working ploughs in conjunction with any scope for more ploughs to be added. Harvey also noted in some entries within the circuit attempts were made to relate the number of hides to the new ploughland. In areas where the wealth of tenants was based on livestock with little previous evidence of arable farming, fiscal ploughlands were rated at twice the value of hides with a motive to place a fiscal value on all agricultural land.³⁶ However, Harvey's arguments have faced some criticism with the absence of *carucate* references in areas outside of the Danelaw. Although she has put a case for

³⁴ Sally Harvey, 'Taxation and the Economy' in *Domesday Studies* ed. by J.C. Holt (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 1986), pp. 249-264 (pp. 260-262).

³⁵ Roffe, *Decoding Domesday*, pp. 319-310.

³⁶ Sally Harvey, *Domesday: Book of Judgement* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), pp. 223-235.

plough numbers recorded across Domesday, as a new assessment method, her silence on why the term *carucate* was not employed across the whole of England damages her argument. Roffe's argument has proved a little more convincing with the connection between hides and ploughlands and references to plough numbers.

The concept of the hide provided further support for proponents of the fiscal nature of Domesday. Across Domesday it became abundantly clear that the main pre-occupation of the Domesday survey was the hide, and the commissioners incorporated fractions of hides when whole numbers could not be adequately expressed. The emphasis on the hide was significant as it did not measure physical land but liability to taxation. Bridbury used this hypothesis to explain why no hide figures were recorded on the king's land as the royal estates were exempt from taxation. He also argued that Domesday would have been used in conjunction with geld records, and would have enabled access to a national database of hundreds, their manors and geld payments.³⁷ Bridbury concluded that the structure of Domesday Book was inextricably linked to fiscal records and its focus on hides to tax collection.³⁸ He also noted that Domesday enabled the commissioners to find out the worth of each manor of the tenants-in-chief so that an income tax levy based on an annual assessment of their estates could be collected. In essence Domesday 'was an income-tax inquiry in the fullest sense possible at the time and since income in question was the income of the tenants-in-chief, Domesday fastened upon the interests of tenants-in-chief to the exclusion of everyone else's interest.'³⁹ Bridbury's consideration of the hide as a fiscal measure has proved convincing as it

³⁷ Bridbury, 'Domesday Book: a Re-interpretation', p. 285-287.

³⁸ Ibid., p. 309.

³⁹ Ibid., p. 284.

explained the hide's prominent role within the folios of Domesday. It was also clear from the Book that tax played an integral part in its creation.

6.4.3 Domesday Book and tax evasion

Domesday scholars have suggested that the issue of tax evasion may well have provided a stimulus for the creation of Domesday. Towards the end of the eleventh century, tenants-in-chief were extracting from freeholders and sub-tenants significant returns whilst paying less tax, which resulted in the brunt of the taxation system falling upon subtenants and the peasantry. Domesday was important in providing information about the value of vacant estates, those in wardship, as well as the surpluses produced by freemen and sokemen which tenants-in-chief received but were untaxed. Harvey argued that the recording of demesne resources was significant as it made it possible not only to verify the values stated but also to verify the actual extent of the demesne in relation to the exemption claimed.⁴⁰ She also acknowledged that Domesday enabled the Treasury to identify and record the scale of exemptions obtained by tenants-in-chief which had accumulated over the 20 years following the Conquest of 1066. In essence Domesday Survey 'enabled officials to see just how the landlords were profiting at the expense of the national geld.'⁴¹ In respect to tax evasion she further noted that Domesday played a role in reducing beneficial hidation (*exemption from geld*) which resulted in many tenants-in chief paying little or no geld. Domesday therefore provided the first written evidence of agreed demesne exemptions. In essence any future claims

⁴⁰ Harvey, 'Taxation and the Economy', pp. 249-264.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, p. 263.

could only be considered if there was written evidence of historical exemptions.⁴²

6.5 Norman Order School

The feudal nature of Domesday with its hierarchal organisation of lands owned by the king and the prominent tenants-in-chief provided the cornerstone for the debate about the feudal nature of Domesday. Finn neatly summed up the arguments against Domesday as a tax book; and suggested that local sheriffs, using local records, would have known who was liable for geld payments and there was no need for an overhaul of the tax system. In essence, he suggested that Domesday Book was far too elaborate to be a mere revision of local geld records.⁴³ Galbraith was adamant that Domesday's structure, with its focus on the tenant-in-chief and his lands, ensured that Domesday was a feudal register showing William's relationship with his tenants-in-chief.⁴⁴ This point was fundamental to its purpose as it considered pleas, claims and disputes over land. Bishopricks and religious foundations were interested in Domesday Book as it noted the possession of land they had before the Conquest and the customs and rights they held over the land. For tenants-in-chief the Book was an important document for it was the starting point for all claims and the defences against all usurpations by other interested parties.⁴⁵ In the case of the South Riding of Lindsey, the appendices revealed that commissioners gave judgements on *clamores* based on witness testimonies. Moreover, in the eastern counties *invasiones* were arranged by sections according to the person

⁴² Harvey, 'Taxation and the Economy', pp. 249-264.

⁴³ Finn, *An Introduction to Domesday Book*, pp. 69-94.

⁴⁴ Galbraith, 'The Making of Domesday Book', pp. 160-168.

⁴⁵ Finn, *An Introduction to Domesday Book*, p. 97.

responsible for each illegality.⁴⁶ However, an inherent problem faced by scholars has been a satisfactory explanation for the presence of fiscal material. In many ways the silence from scholars such as Maitland has been replicated within the Norman Order School on the fiscal feel of Domesday.

6.5.1 Domesday Book and satellite texts

Historians within the Norman Order School have also placed considerable emphasis on the use of the *original returns* in the creation of Domesday Book. Moreover they have acknowledged these documents may have supplied an exact record of the local distribution of geld necessary for a preparation of a new assessment.⁴⁷ Although Galbraith acknowledged the existence of the *original returns* he dismissed their role in the final draft of the Book. He argued if the Book was conceived as a re-assessment of the geld and the *original returns* played a leading role, there must have been a 'change of plan'.⁴⁸ For Galbraith the *original returns* must have undergone a number of revisions with multiple drafts, feudally re-arranging descriptions, by tenants-in-chief, taking into consideration *clamours* and *invasiones*⁴⁹ before the final copy of Domesday was completed. In essence Galbraith dismissed the fiscal nature of Domesday and noted that it did not present a coherent fiscal document which would have been expected if the *original returns* had played a vital role in its compilation. He also argued if tax and geld payments were at the core of the

⁴⁶ Finn, *An Introduction to Domesday Book*, p. 66.

⁴⁷ Galbraith, 'The Making of Domesday Book', pp. 160-166.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 163.

⁴⁹ These entries found in three of the counties of circuit 6 were included as an appendix. These entries concerned properties over which there were claims and disputes, about who held what and the size of the holdings. In Little Domesday covering the counties of Essex, Suffolk and Norfolk this section was titled *Invasiones* or annexations. In the *Liber Exoniensis* the claims are referred to as *terrae occupate* or appropriated land. For the Yorkshire and Lincolnshire entries the term *clamores* is used. Coredon and Williams, *A Dictionary of Medieval Terms and Phrases*, p. 75.

Book the manors of each tenant-in-chief would have been listed as a single block for each county.⁵⁰ Galbraith's silence on the fiscal material recorded in Domesday Book has undermined his assumption that the Book was a purely feudal register. Moreover, the loss of all the *original returns* has ensured that his theory cannot be accurately verified. In many ways both Galbraith and Maitland's assumptions about the value of the *original returns* have been roundly criticised.

The Norman Order School also placed considerable emphasis on other satellite texts such as the Exon Domesday. Galbraith was adamant that Exon represented a re-draft of an *original return* and therefore played an integral part in the final completion of Domesday and suggested that the *original returns* were unlikely to have been returned to Winchester.⁵¹ Galbraith acknowledged that Exon Domesday and the Great Domesday Book had different written styles with the former using a distinct technical vocabulary. Although differences could be found between the two documents, Galbraith noted they both omitted references to hundreds for the South West and the information within the two surveys was too similar to be mere coincidence. The similarities between Exon and Domesday also led Galbraith to suggest that the former was locally made, written close to the date of the Inquest, with a revised copy forming the basis of Domesday.⁵² The presence of the Exon Domesday also encouraged him to argue that other local drafts, like Exon, must have been produced in other counties. For Galbraith these local drafts were highly significant as they played an integral part of the Inquiry process with copies being sent to Winchester to create the Domesday Book. Galbraith

⁵⁰ Galbraith, 'The Making of Domesday Book', pp. 160-166

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, p. 164.

⁵² *Ibid.*, p. 166.

also proposed that the *Inquisitio Eliensis* was an earlier version of the Little Domesday Book as it contained near identical information and was another example of a local survey and another layer in the Inquest.⁵³

Galbraith also considered the relationship between Great Domesday Book and Little Domesday Book and concluded that the latter was also a local survey. He also noted that it was so late in being sent to Winchester that it was never incorporated in the Book. Moreover due to Little Domesday's intricate tenurial arrangements it proved too complicated for the Winchester scribes to integrate it into Great Domesday Book.⁵⁴ In conclusion, Galbraith argued that Domesday and Little Domesday became the authoritative record of the new feudal society imposed by William following the conquest 1086.⁵⁵

The role of Domesday as a law book, dismissed by Maitland, has not been roundly rejected by all scholars within the Norman Order School. Finn suggested that the various divisions in English Law required an overhaul, as there was a need to record Anglo-Danish arrangements in a national record. However, he was cautious in pushing this argument too far and acknowledged Domesday did not contain sufficient material to be called a true law book.⁵⁶

⁵³ Galbraith, 'The Making of Domesday Book', pp. 160-166.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 160-166.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 164.

⁵⁶ Finn, *An introduction to Domesday Book*, pp. 69-94.

6.6 Political and Economic School

Analysis of the political and economic climate of late eleventh-century England has provided the cornerstone for scholars within this school of thought. Between 1066 and 1086, England experienced at least three Viking raids and a potential invasion by King Cnut which threatened the stability William's reign. In the late 1080s William not only faced a Viking invasion, he also encountered a series of military disasters in Normandy at the hands of the Count of Anjou, which saw the annexation of Brittany and assault on his dependency of Maine.⁵⁷ At home William had also become isolated by the death and betrayal of his own peer group, and the animosity of their heirs who faced severe fines imposed upon the receipt of their inherited lands.⁵⁸ In response to these threats William imposed an exceptionally high geld payment in 1083/4 to finance the billeting of a large mercenary force upon the estates based on geld lists. Moreover, this process ensured that William's mercenary army was provisioned at almost no cost to himself and at little cost to the more influential of his councillors and tenants-in-chief. Instead the costs were borne by the rear vassals and lesser tenants-in-chief.⁵⁹

At the Gloucester Christmas Court in 1085 the grievances from these lesser vassals and tenants-in-chief would have been brought to his attention. It was their complaints that may have prompted the king to act, to protect not only his revenue stream, but also to pacify his lesser tenants-in-chief. Their participation at the Salisbury ceremony enabled William to ensure a

⁵⁷ Higham, 'The Domesday Survey: Context and Purpose', p. 11.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 12-13.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 14-15.

reaffirmation of loyalty whilst re-distributing the cost of billeting troops.⁶⁰ Therefore the primary reason for Domesday was for a more equitable allocation of billeted troops. The Book focused on factors essential for this purpose such as estate values, food production, assets and the scale and distribution of resources of men and traction power which could be mobilised as part of the military services communities were entitled to provide.⁶¹

Although Higham has presented an interesting theory, the pressures experienced by William would have required a more streamlined approach, rather than the compilation of Domesday Book. The time taken to undertake Domesday suggested that other political and or military pressures were at work which coincided with the Viking threats. Instead Domesday may have been created to rationalise the system of military service, through the effective imposition of bridgework or contributions to the king's farm, by communities, though the payment of geld. Demesne land was crucial to this obligation, as it was exempt from geld, but rendered the tenant responsible for the defence of the country, any change in demesne status affected the responsibilities of the tenant.⁶² More significantly Roffe argued that geld payment and military service was central to the concept of freedom and right to land. Therefore payment of geld was tantamount to a confirmation of title which tenants would have been keen to show. For Roffe the tenants-in-chief would have been 'keen to show land and there was likely to have been a probable stampede to register tax liability.'⁶³ In essence the Inquest as a review of tax liability and services suggested that Norman England in the eleventh century was still very much a tributary society. Moreover, the focus on service

⁶⁰ Higham, 'The Domesday Survey: Context and Purpose', p. 15-21.

⁶¹ Harvey, *Domesday Book of Judgement*, p. 227.

⁶² Roffe, *Decoding Domesday*, pp. 310-311.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, pp. 311-312.

instigated a fundamental change in the organisation of society where lordship was firmly identified with the holding of land.⁶⁴ Roffe has presented a compelling interpretation of Domesday with its confirmation of freedom and right to land. Moreover, his argument also provided a persuasive argument for the fiscal nature of Domesday as a means of assessing geld payment towards military service.

A more controversial interpretation of Domesday has focused on the relationship between the Book and the king. Roffe suggested the Inquest and the Book should be considered as two distinct elements. For Roffe the Inquest was a twofold inquiry that of an audit of royal income which incorporated a survey of royal estates, shire customs and sundry dues. Secondly it was a survey of the lands and services of the principal tenants in England. In contrast the actual Book was compiled for administrative purposes and was not intended for wide distribution and was in essence for the king's primary use.⁶⁵ However, Roffe's interpretation can be effectively challenged as Domesday was never updated. It was unlikely that William would have required a record of income and tenure of his tenants-in-chief frozen in time.

6.7 Economic status and origin of freemen and sokemen recorded in Great Domesday and Little Domesday Books

There has been a general consensus about the depressed economic position of sokemen and freemen from Domesday scholars such as R. Weldon Finn,

⁶⁴ Roffe, *Decoding Domesday*, p. 317.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 27 and 108.

Reginald Lennard⁶⁶ and H.C Darby.⁶⁷ However, the concept that economic depression was wide spread across the Danelaw has been challenged. The debate about the origin of sokemen has polarised opinions with Frank Stenton⁶⁸ arguing for a Scandinavian origin for this peasant group, a view widely criticised and challenged by Dawn Hadley⁶⁹ who argued they had a much older history.

Both Great and Little Domesday recorded significant disparity of holdings by freemen and sokemen across the country. Finn noted at Wacton, (Norfolk) two freemen shared 1.5 acres and at Westhope (Shropshire) three freemen with only 5 acres between them. More significantly many sokemen became so impoverished they lost their free status. In the case of Meldreth (Cambridgeshire) the *Inquisitio Eliensis*⁷⁰ recorded fifteen sokemen with 3.5 hides but they were absent from Domesday, recording instead fifteen bordars and three cottars.⁷¹ Moreover, analysis of Domesday found that the impoverishment was not the sole preserve of sokemen, at Benfleet (Essex) a freeman was recorded in Domesday as becoming one of the villeins.⁷² Some regional variations could be found as regards the prosperity of peasants, in Norfolk and Suffolk the holdings of both freemen and sokemen were very small with examples of single acres allocated to particular peasants. In contrast, the proportion of freemen and sokemen in Essex holding small numbers of acres was much smaller with only a few examples of peasants

⁶⁶ Reginald Lennard. *Rural England 1086-1135: A Study of Social and Agrarian Conditions* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1959), pp. 350-560.

⁶⁷ Darby, *Domesday Geography of Eastern England*, pp. 44-225.

⁶⁸ Stenton, *Anglo-Saxon England*, p. 516-519.

⁶⁹ Hadley, *The Northern Danelaw*, p. 190-191.

⁷⁰ The *Inquisitio Eliensis* is a copy of the returns for the lands of the Abbot of Ely and is currently stored at Trinity College Cambridge.

⁷¹ Finn, *An Introduction to Domesday*, pp. 144-145.

⁷² *Ibid.*, pp. 144-148.

holding less than five acres. In Lincolnshire, issues with entries for plough teams and the absence of peasant numbers recorded obscured the relative prosperity of sokemen in the county.⁷³

Although supportive of the position taken by Finn and Darby, Lennard was not convinced that sokemen and freemen shared a similar economic fate. He acknowledged across the country many sokemen and freemen were recorded with parts of a plough team or those with single or shared ownership of oxen. He also argued in pure economic terms sokemen were little different from the villeins. However, Lennard concluded that the greatest disparity of wealth could be found amongst the freemen who not only had the opportunity to prosper through the acquisition of land and oxen but also to fall into impoverishment.⁷⁴ In essence the general picture that emerged from the pages of Domesday was one of economic depression amongst the freemen and sokemen. Although the debates about the general economic position of sokemen and freemen have effectively reached a dead end, local studies such as the one undertaken within this thesis may prove useful.

6.8 Origin of sokemen

The geographical distribution of sokemen across the Danelaw counties of Lincolnshire, Leicestershire, Northamptonshire and East Anglia provided the primary evidence in support of a Scandinavian origin for this peasant group. In these areas 'the masses of free peasantry, the sokemen of the Domesday, are best understood as representing settlers from the Danish army grouped in varying degrees of dependence around men of higher station, but rarely

⁷³ Darby, *Domesday Geography of Eastern England*, pp 26-264.

⁷⁴ Lennard, *Rural England*, p. 355.

subject to services derogatory to a freeman.’⁷⁵ For Stenton a direct link could therefore be established for a Scandinavian origin for sokemen. Their presence around estate centres emerged as these bands had retained their military organisation following their transformation from warrior to farmers, around the leaders who had brought them over. As to why few free peasants were recorded in Yorkshire and Derbyshire, significant areas within the Danelaw, he argued there numbers had been depleted following William’s *harrying of the North*.⁷⁶ Although convinced that sokemen in the Danelaw were descendants of the Viking armies he acknowledged other counties incorporated small numbers of free peasants such as found in Kent and Surrey. In comparison to the Danelaw these areas witnessed the gradual subjugation of the free peasantry by a more pervasive manorial administration.⁷⁷ However, Stenton’s argument can be challenged by the very presence of sokemen and freeman outside the centres of Scandinavian of influence. His silence as to why sokemen existed in areas where the Vikings had no control has undermined his hypothesis.

Criticism of a Danish origin for sokemen and freemen in the Danelaw was first voiced by Maitland who urged caution in apportioning any ethnic label for sokemen. He noted in Hertfordshire, Cambridgeshire and Bedfordshire their status had been suppressed, whilst traces of sokemen could be found in Buckinghamshire, Middlesex, Kent and Surrey.⁷⁸ The very presence of sokemen outside the traditional heavy concentrations of Leicestershire,

⁷⁵ Frank Stenton, ‘Historical Revisions XVI: The Danes in England’, *History, New Series* 5 No.19 (1920), 173-177 (p. 175).

⁷⁶ Stenton, *Anglo-Saxon England*, pp. 516-519.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 516-517.

⁷⁸ Maitland, *Domesday Book and Beyond*, p. 67.

Nottinghamshire and Northamptonshire suggested that a Scandinavian origin for this peasant group could not be substantiated.

The disruption of manorial ties and control over peasants has provided an alternative explanation for the abundance of sokemen within the Danelaw. In essence the Danish invasions disrupted and checked the manorialization of estates, which in turn preserved the sokes upon which the sokemen resided.⁷⁹ Over time this prevented the subjugation of freemen and sokemen into the day to day routine and control of the manor.⁸⁰ Hadley explored the implications of the reconquest of the Danelaw as an additional factor in the preservation of sokemen within the region.⁸¹ The re-capture of the Danelaw created a situation where manorial centres were often sited some distance from their satellite settlements represented in Domesday by soke holdings. This fragmentation of estates prevented local lords from imposing onerous obligations and control over their peasants. Hadley also suggested that the fragmentation of estates created a vigorous land market which further fractured existing estates. More significantly for Hadley the loss of manorial control could best be seen in the payment of taxes which focused more on the *vill* rather than the manor in the Danelaw.⁸² Hadley's arguments are convincing and the thesis accepts the view that the initial Danish invasion and subsequent re-conquest disrupted the management of estates. It may be tentatively hypothesised that the political upheaval witnessed in the Danelaw was replicated at the settlements on Flegg.

⁷⁹ Faith, *The English Peasantry*, p. 122.

⁸⁰ Lennard, *Rural England*, p. 395.

⁸¹ It has been proposed that the initial conquest of the Danelaw by the Vikings, and the reconquest of the Danelaw by Edward and his descendants in the tenth-century, disrupted the effective subjugation of the free peasantry.

⁸² Hadley, *The Northern Danelaw*, pp. 190 and 191.

An older history for the existence of sokemen has been proposed from analysis of early Anglo-Saxon law codes. In Alfred's and Guthrum's treaty a free class of peasantry, the *ceorl*, was present in East Anglia before the Danish invasion. Moreover, analysis of the wergeld payments revealed that the *ceorl* was set at two hundred shillings identical to the Danish freedman (*liesing*). The identification of the *ceorl* suggested that a class of free peasant existed in East Anglia and was deemed free from the usual obligations imposed upon the villeins and borders.⁸³ Williamson elaborated upon the likely presence of the *ceorl* in East Anglia and suggested a direct link between the *ceorl* and the freemen and sokemen of Little Domesday. In essence he argued that sokemen and freemen were probably blood related and consisted of patrilocal kinsmen dwelling on ancient and ancestral lands. This was land held by the mass of semi-free cultivators, the *ceorls*, on the great Middle Saxon estates. In essence the freemen and the sokemen were the direct descendants of these Middle Saxon *ceorls*.⁸⁴ Williamson also considered the idea that freemen and sokemen managed to escape manorial control as they were found in parts of Norfolk which saw the emergence of sheep rearing rather than arable farming. He noted these free peasants dwelt in remote marshes, islands and moors far away from the main arable lands of the large Middle Saxon estates and therefore avoided the gradual enforcement of obligation.⁸⁵ The presence of the *ceorl* recorded in law codes has provided a convincing argument for the existence of a free peasantry in East Anglia before the Viking invasions.

⁸³ R.H.C. Davis, 'East Anglia and the Danelaw', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 5 (1955), 23-39 (p. 33).

⁸⁴ Williamson, *The origins of Norfolk*, pp. 94-119.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 121.

6.9 Domesday data recorded at settlements on Flegg

6.9.1 Domesday data

Domesday recorded a total of twenty-seven settlements on Flegg but did not differentiate in the material between Ormesby St. Michael/St. Margaret and Somerton East/Somerton West. For this thesis these two sets of joined names are treated as one settlement. Therefore a total of twenty four settlements will be considered. Yarmouth has been omitted from the thesis as it only contained burgesses a group of peasants not recorded in any other settlement on Flegg.

Although the distribution of *-by* settlements was evenly spread across the two hundreds, East Flegg carried the smaller number of settlements with eleven communities compared to sixteen recorded on West Flegg. Analysis of the density of settlements found the *-bys* on East Flegg made up approximately 72% of the total number of *vills*, whilst on West Flegg this figure was only 37%. Taking into consideration the density of communities on West Flegg it may be argued that this area may have been more intensively settled and exploited prior to Domesday.

6.9.2 Little Domesday peasant totals and distribution across place names on Flegg some minor issues

For the settlements of Repps, Bastwick, Billockby and Rollesby, Little Domesday Book stated these settlements shared freemen, but did not specify the exact number of freemen allocated to each settlement. In these cases these peasants have been excluded from the analysis, as an accurate picture of

population densities per settlement cannot be realistically determined. Moreover, freemen recorded in Little Domesday at the time of King Edward (TRE) but were absent from Domesday have also been excluded, as it cannot be assumed they were still present at the settlement. For the thesis a total of 21 whole freemen and 1 half freemen have been excluded from the analysis on peasant totals. Little Domesday did not record the number of women or children at settlements, unless they contributed to the economy of an estate. Therefore Chapter Six focuses on an interpretation of the numbers of specific peasant types not, a census of the entire population on Flegg.

6.9.3 Peasant totals

Across the English and *-by* settlements a total of 986 peasants were recorded with approximately 8% more peasants recorded at the *-by* settlements. However, a closer inspection revealed that Caister (East Flegg), Somerton (West Flegg), Hemsby (West Flegg) and Ormesby (East Flegg) all recorded populations at least double the average population size for each corpus. It can be proposed that these communities had emerged as important economic centres by the late eleventh century. The equal distribution of large settlements across both Flegg hundreds suggests that both East and West Flegg were economically similar. At Bastwick, Sco and Ness the small number of peasants recorded indicated that these three communities were small and economically less developed than other larger communities. Moreover the tenurial connections between Sco and Bastwick with Somerton and Hemsby implied that some degree of estate consolidation may have occurred before Domesday, which may have resulted in the low numbers of peasants identified.

6.9.4 Freeman

Little Domesday Book recorded that freemen were the most numerous peasant type found at the settlements on Flegg. Moreover, there was a fairly even distribution between the *-by* and English settlements with only 72 more freemen recorded at the latter corpus. More significantly at a number of *-by* and English place names, freemen made up a significant proportion of the total populations. The large number of freemen recorded at both *-by* and English settlements implied that the majority of these peasants had evaded some form of manorial control. However, it would be misleading to assume that this pattern was reflected across all settlements. At least thirty-nine freemen were recorded at the manors of Mautby, Oby, Rollesby and Stokesby whilst eighty were recorded at Caister. From Little Domesday Book it was clear that a minority of freemen were incorporated into the manorial life of four *-by* manors. In contrast the manor of Caister with its eighty freemen clearly exercised some considerable control over a large percentage of the freemen recorded on Flegg. The material presented has revealed that some freemen had become fully integrated within the manorial life of some communities. The picture of a fully free peasant class resident on Flegg cannot be substantiated.

6.9.5 Sokemen

Little Domesday recorded fewer sokemen at both the *-by* and English settlements compared to the number of freemen. More significantly approximately 72% of all sokemen were recorded at the *-by* settlements, with large concentrations found at Hemsby and Ormesby. Although no manor was recorded at Ormesby, the presence of large numbers of sokemen suggests it

was an important estate centre and may have acted as a manor in all but name. Moreover, it may also be speculated that *-by* settlements may have been more important economic centres, due to their higher rate of manorialism. It was clear that different tenurial patterns had developed at the *-by* and English communities by the time of Domesday, which resulted in the low numbers of sokemen recorded at the majority of the English settlements. Across the *-by* settlements, those communities which recorded large numbers of sokemen also recorded comparatively few unfree peasants. This feature indicated that certain estate *caputs* exercised limited control over their peasants. However the picture was less defined at the English settlements where large numbers of sokemen were found at settlements which also incorporated significant unfree populations. It was clear from this data that some peasants exercised greater freedom than other peasant types. In essence across the *-by* and English settlements a significant proportion of peasants had evaded the more onerous obligation imposed by an estate centre. However, the presence of 111 sokemen and 119 recorded at *-by* and English manors indicated that an element of manorial control was exercised over both freemen and sokemen on Flegg.

6.9.6 Unfree peasants (villeins and bordars)

Villeins and bordars were unevenly spread across the English and *-by* settlements, and in all but five cases the free peasantry outnumbered the unfree peasantry. However, at Hemsby and Stokesby both settlements contained greater numbers of unfree peasantry, and it may be assumed that tighter manorial control was enforced over their respective populations. Overall the dominance of free peasantry over villeins and bordars suggested

that at many settlements (apart from those considered as manors) manorial control was not too onerous. Moreover, it can be surmised that during the evolution of many settlements upon Flegg, specific groups of peasantry escaped manorial control and retained their independence. A factor most pronounced at Bastwick, Repps and Thrigby which recorded no villeins or bordars.

6.9.7 Plough numbers across settlements and peasants

In the following thesis unless stated in Little Domesday that ploughs were in demesne, it has been assumed that they belonged to the men. In cases where Domesday stated 'then x plough' it has been assumed that these ploughs were no longer present at the time of Domesday and have been omitted. For the analysis of plough numbers per peasant type, only entries where *x peasant had x ploughs* were recorded have been used. A separate section will deal with cases where ploughs were allocated to men and the men represented different peasant types. The thesis also excludes data in cases where plough allocations for peasants were recorded across more than one settlement but no exact figures per peasant were provided.

The distribution of demesne ploughs varied across the *-by* and English settlements, with the manors of Hemsby and Stokesby recording some of the highest number of ploughs owned by their respective lords. It can be assumed at these settlements that sokemen, villeins and bordars may have been used on the tenant-in-chief's inland farm. Moreover, at four settlements no ploughs in demesne were recorded. It can be concluded that these settlements may not have been important centres of exploitation for their respective tenants-

in-chief. The varied numbers of demesne ploughs recorded across the *-by* and English settlements also indicated varying degrees of exploitation of inland by tenants-in-chief. It can be surmised that the presence of demesne ploughs would have required the direct exploitation of villeins and bordars and or the recruitment of sokemen and freemen at particular times in the agricultural calendar.

Analysis of ploughs recorded in Little Domesday belonging to freemen and sokemen, found that very few held whole plough teams. Across the whole corpus of plough teams only one single peasant at Filby was recorded in Little Domesday owning a whole eight oxen team. Moreover, across the entire corpus of settlements only nine cases have been identified where freemen held half plough teams. More significantly the majority of freemen across both *-by* and English settlements held less than a quarter of a plough team. It can be argued that the vast majority of freemen were neither wealthy nor high-status peasants. Across the material for Flegg, Little Domesday recorded very few sokemen with plough teams. In many ways a more depressed economic position was presented for this category of peasant, with the vast majority having no ploughs. In Little Domesday where sokemen were identified with assets, these often amounted to either a single ox or pairs of oxen. It was clear from the folios of Domesday that freemen and sokemen were not a wealthy or high-status category of peasants. The distribution of ploughs across villains and bordars also revealed that the vast majority held less than 2 oxen. However, at Filby a single border was recorded with a whole plough team. In essence analysis of plough teams across peasant groups revealed that personal freedom was no guarantee of personal wealth.

6.9.8 Acreage per freemen and sokemen

Little Domesday Book recorded a series of entries for acres apportioned to specific freemen and sokemen. However, the Book was not always clear as to the precise allocation of land to particular peasant types and in these cases freemen and sokemen were recorded having no land. In addition where freemen and sokemen were recorded and no acre figures were apportioned to them, they were also considered as having no land. In this thesis only acres which were *specifically* allocated to individuals or groups of freemen have been used. In cases where 'x acres were held by x freemen and x sokemen' the number of acres were divided between the number of peasants identified.

The percentage of freemen and sokemen without land differed significantly between the *-by* and English settlements, with at least half of all freemen and sokemen having no land at the English settlements. Moreover a significant disparity emerged between the two hundreds with 44 peasants recorded having no land in West Flegg, whilst 120 peasants on East Flegg were recorded with no acres. Analysis of sokemen and freemen with acres found that approximately 90% of freemen and sokemen at both *-by* and English settlements had less than 10 acres. Across Flegg, the vast majority of freemen and sokemen were poor in terms of land holding and it can be seen that tenurial freedom was not equated to wealth and prosperity. It can also be assumed that freemen and sokemen must have found employment in other sectors of the economy on Flegg.

6.9.9 Manslot

David Douglas argued that the 12.5 acre or *manslot*, was the average size of the Danish system of land sharing, and was the typical peasant holding at the time of the Scandinavian settlements in England.⁸⁶ Moreover, Stenton acknowledged that this measure of land holding was the typical unit provided to the rank and file of the Danish army when they shared out the land of East Anglia.⁸⁷ Across the folios of Little Domesday only 5.26% and 5.39% of freemen and sokemen were recorded owning between 11 to 20 acres. More significantly, only 3 peasants at Thrigby and Bastwick held 12 to 12.5 acres. In essence the *manslot* was not the typical tenement holding on Flegg during the late Anglo-Saxon period. However, it must be realised that the time interval between the Viking invasion of East Anglia and the compilation of Little Domesday Book may well have disrupted land holdings beyond all recognition. Moreover, the re-conquest of East Anglia during the tenth century may also have disrupted and distorted the holdings of peasants.

6.9.10 Livestock numbers: sheep

Helena Hamerow argued there was a pronounced movement towards sheep rearing across the Mid to Late Saxon periods. More significantly by the Late Anglo-Saxon period there was a predominance of sheep bones within the archaeological records over those of other animals such as cattle. It was clear from the archaeological evidence, that sheep rearing and wool production was

⁸⁶ David Douglas, *Oxford Studies in Social and Legal History: The Social Structure of Medieval East Anglia*, ed. by Sir Paul Vinogradoff (New York: Octagon Books, 1974), p. 213.

⁸⁷ Stenton, *Anglo-Saxon England*, p. 514.

an important economic activity in England.⁸⁸ An important factor which contributed to the growth of sheep rearing was their value, as they were significantly cheaper than cattle and pigs. The low cost of buying sheep at four to five pence also ensured that most peasants could maintain a few animals for meat and milk.⁸⁹ Moreover, the growth of the textile-industry in late Anglo-Saxon England may have provided another source of income for peasants in the provision of wool. In respect to their upkeep sheep could be kept on more marginal land unsuitable for other animals or land unsuitable for crop such as marshland. Sheep also defined the social status of their owners as these animals could be kept by the poorest members of Anglo-Saxon society. This ensured that these animals were rarely kept as a status symbol.⁹⁰ In comparison, the rearing of cattle presented a far greater financial burden in the form of barns and access to prime pasture land for grazing. In the case of pigs these animals would have required extensive woodland for pannage. Overall the financial cost of these animals prevented the poorest of peasants from owning them.

Little Domesday recorded large concentrations of sheep at the manors of Caister, Hemsby, Mautby, Oby, Stokesby and the important economic centre of Ormesby. Moreover, at Stokesby the number of sheep increased from 120 to 180 between 1066 and 1086, at Somerton a more dramatic rise in numbers was recorded, with a doubling of sheep figures in the intervening years.⁹¹ Moreover, as Little Domesday only recorded sheep held by the tenants-in-chief, the figures presented most likely reflected a fraction of the total sheep

⁸⁸ Hamerow, *Rural Settlement and Society*, pp. 156 and 157.

⁸⁹ Debby Banham and Rosamond Faith, *Anglo-Saxon Farms and Farming*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), p. 92.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 92-93.

⁹¹ Williams and Martin, *Domesday Book*, pp. 1144 and 1079.

population at each settlement. It can be speculated that the large numbers of sheep recorded at *vills* was indicative of settlements specialising in wool production for the growing wool trade. Moreover, sheep rearing may also have provided a supplementary income for many of the free peasantry, taking into consideration the low numbers of ploughs and oxen apportioned to them. Across Domesday there was very little correlation between large numbers of sheep apportioned to either freemen or sokemen. In essence it can be argued that freemen and sokemen may have focused economic activity towards sheep rearing in light of their limited arable holdings. Moreover, the presence of marshland on Flegg may also have provided the ideal natural environment to allow for small flocks of sheep to be held by peasants. In many ways freemen and sokemen may have utilised sheep rearing as a lucrative revenue stream to supplement their overall income.

Although Flegg recorded large numbers of sheep, they only accounted for around 4% of the total sheep population in Norfolk. More significant areas of sheep farming were recorded in the Hundreds of Smethdon, Docking, Clackclose and Freebridge which held flocks comprising of over 600 sheep.⁹² Although Domesday only recorded sheep held by tenants in chief, by the thirteenth-century peasant flocks were frequently greater than those of their lords.⁹³

6.9.11 Livestock numbers: cattle

Cattle played an important role in Anglo-Saxon society as plough beasts and as a source of meat for domestic consumption. Moreover these animals played

⁹² Darby, *Domesday Geography*, pp. 164 and 166.

⁹³ *Ibid.*, p. 146.

an important social role within Anglo-Saxon England society, as they carried a high social value. The social status of cattle can be seen from the archaeological records, where these animals often rivalled horses as status symbols. At a high-status burial at Oakington (Cambridgeshire) a whole cow was interned in a female grave suggesting it played an important economic and social role for the buried person.⁹⁴ The archaeological records from the Anglo-Saxon period have also shown more cattle bones than any other species. Moreover, cattle were expensive animals to keep as they took several years to mature and required considerable more input in terms of feed and labour. As to the low number for cattle recorded across Domesday, Debby Banham and Rosamund Faith argued that in many counties the figure for cattle 'excluded the plough teams [within] county at eight oxen per team.'⁹⁵ If plough teams are included with the calculation of cattle figures; Caister, Hemsby, Mautby Ormesby, and Somerton all recorded significant totals of projected cattle numbers. It was clear at these settlements arable farming was still an important economic activity but diversification into sheep farming was also undertaken. The picture that emerged from Domesday was the growth of at least five high-status settlements with a diverse economy based on arable and sheep rearing.

6.9.12 Livestock numbers: pigs

Archaeological evidence has indicated that pig husbandry became an increasingly important aspect of the rural economy within Anglo-Saxon England. At Cottenham (Cambridgeshire) pig rearing increased from 9% to 22% from the Middle Saxon period. At Wraybury (*Berkshire*) the archaeological

⁹⁴ Banham and Faith, *Anglo Saxon Farms*, p. 85.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 87.

evidence indicated that swine were the second most important meat after cattle.⁹⁶ Banham and Faith noted the cost of pigs valued between eight and ten pence was double that of sheep and ensured only the wealthiest of individuals could invest the time and money in rearing pigs for slaughter. In Anglo-Saxon England pigs therefore became high-status symbols and were predominately found from the archaeological records at elite settlements.⁹⁷ Somerton, Hemsby, Caister, Stokesby and Filby recorded some of the highest numbers of pigs on Flegg, which suggested these settlements had emerged as important and high-status communities. In contrast to the large number of sheep recorded on Flegg, pig rearing was not a significant economic activity within the area. Moreover, the low numbers of pigs recorded in Little Domesday suggested that sheep rearing and involvement in the wool trade was the main focus of economic activity on Flegg.

6.9.13 Livestock numbers: horses

Banham and Faith have argued that horses in Anglo-Saxon England were traditionally seen as status symbols and were often associated with high-status individuals, as witnessed by the horse burial at Sutton Hoo. Moreover, they also noted that Anglo-Saxon horse harnesses may have prevented their use as draught animals. Instead horses may have been used by lords for their personal use and by their servants for the carrying of messages. Moreover these animals may have been used for the production of leather and/or for commercial use in the transport of goods but rarely for meat consumption.⁹⁸

⁹⁶ Hamerow, *Rural Settlement and Society*, p. 160.

⁹⁷ Banham and Faith, *Anglo Saxon Farms*, p. 98.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 79-82.

6.9.14 Meadows

Meadows played a crucial role in the Late Anglo Saxon economy as a resource for grazing and hay production for animal fodder. Darby noted that the 'meadow was of great value and evidence showed that an acre of meadow was frequently two or three times as valuable as an acre of the best arable.'⁹⁹ Williamson noted that hay making was not only labour intensive in terms of cutting, turning and stacking the hay, but also capital intensive in the use of carts for its transportation.¹⁰⁰ Little Domesday Book recorded three settlements on Flegg with high concentrations of meadow, in addition to large numbers of freemen and sokemen. It was entirely feasible that the free peasantry may have supplemented their income with seasonal harvest work.

6.9.15 Woodland

Domesday entry for woodland usually followed a predictable pattern of 'wood for x swine'. Little Domesday recorded only one instance at Ashby where woodland for six pigs was noted. The absence of woods on Flegg may be reflective of the areas focus on arable and sheep rearing.

6.9.16 Mills

Mills did not feature very prominently on Flegg with only two half mills recorded at Caister and Mautby. On Flegg the mills recorded in Little Domesday most likely represented watermills as windmills first appeared in

⁹⁹ Darby, *Domesday Geography*, p. 137.

¹⁰⁰ Tom Williamson, 'The Distribution of 'Woodland' and 'Champion' Landscape in Medieval England', in *Medieval Landscapes*, ed. by Mark Gardiner and Stephen Rippons (Cambridge: Windgather Press, 2007), pp. 89-104, (pp. 102 and 103).

documentary records from the 1190s on the lands of the abbey of Bury St. Edmund.¹⁰¹ The absence of mills upon Flegg most likely reflected the many idiosyncrasies of Little Domesday Book and two conclusions can be drawn from the information presented. If the Book was a feudal register, there may have been no clear requirement to diligently record mills, as they would have played a limited role in determining the feudal obligations of a lord. However, if Domesday focus was a fiscal register, it would seem inconceivable that mills were left unrecorded. Mills represented a form of wealth for lords as they would have extracted payments from tenants to grind their corn. It can be argued that the small numbers of mills recorded on Flegg simply reflected their absence in the area and the predominance of manual grinding of corn. However, the absence of mills may be a reflection of the isolated nature of Flegg in the ninth and tenth centuries, as Great Domesday recorded few mills in the more remote places of Cornwall and Devon.¹⁰²

6.9.17 Churches

Little Domesday recorded the presence of six churches either held in totality or part owned on Flegg, and it was likely that the true number of churches was more extensive than the number presented in the Book. Darby noted that the Domesday often omitted churches for towns which had markets, and found it unconceivable that important economic centres would not have had a church. Moreover, across the folios of Little Domesday many hundreds were recorded having single churches whilst other hundreds none. In contrast Domesday satellite texts such as the *Inquisitio Eliensis* recorded churches within these

¹⁰¹ H.C. Darby, *Domesday England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977), p. 270.

¹⁰² *Ibid.*, p. 275.

administrative districts.¹⁰³ The presence of churches on Flegg most likely reflected the gradual territorialisation of pastoral care in the ninth and tenth centuries, where lords endowed churches to fix boundaries and to create new estates.

6.9.18 Value of settlements

Little Domesday carried out the valuation of settlements on Flegg with some care, as many recorded three sets of figures for a period before the Conquest, directly after 1066 and then for 1086. These sets of figures suggested that a careful appraisal of the holding had been undertaken. However, it must be realised that at many settlements the values presented did not equate to ploughs held. Moreover, at other settlements whole figures were recorded suggesting that values were estimations. Little Domesday also had a tendency to allocate values for one settlement to another *vill* if there were tenural connections. In the case of Hemsby, which had a berewick in Martham, the value of the former was most likely recorded in the total for Martham. Moreover, at a number of settlements on Flegg, peasants were recorded resident in one *vill* but valued in another, and Domesday did not always state clearly how personal and feudal ties influenced the values presented. In essence only broad conclusions can be drawn about the relative value of settlements on Flegg.

Overall no single settlement experienced devastation after 1066 a feature found across many pages in Domesday. Although a number of holdings did not experience any increase in value across the time period, at least 70 holdings

¹⁰³ Darby, *The Domesday Geography of Eastern England*, p. 138.

experienced an increase with a couple doubling in value. The overall picture which has emerged from Domesday, concerning the holdings on Flegg, was one of growing prosperity.

6.9.19 The salt Industry on Flegg

Salt played an integral part of Anglo-Saxon life as it was used in preservation of food and in the production of leather goods. Salt production was a lucrative business and its importance can be seen from documentary evidence in the form of grants of land for salt manufacture at place like Droitwich from 776, and the Kentish coast from 732.¹⁰⁴ Moreover, charters from the late ninth century revealed that Mercian rulers were extracting tolls on wagon loads of salt from Droitwich and possibly from the same site at least two centuries earlier.¹⁰⁵ Geography also dictated the methods of salt extraction with many coastal regions obtaining the commodity direct from the sea during the summer months. The Church across England may have played an important role in the production and distribution of salt during the Middle Saxon period; as evidence from Droitwich suggested that local minsters owned a series of salt houses in the area due to the abundance of brine springs.¹⁰⁶

Flegg's proximity to the sea and access to marshes ensured that a large number of settlements on Flegg became actively involved in salt production. The Norfolk Heritage Explorer concluded that salt was most likely extracted using natural evaporation rather than the use of salterns; a process which would have restricted salt production to the summer months. The limited

¹⁰⁴ Chris Wickham, *Framing the Early Middle Ages: Europe and the Mediterranean 400 to 800* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), p. 348.

¹⁰⁵ Sawyer, *From Roman Britain to Norman England*, p. 225.

¹⁰⁶ Blair, *The Church in Anglo-Saxon England*, p. 258.

number of salterns most likely reflected the limited availability of woodland on Flegg, an essential raw material in the employment of salterns.¹⁰⁷ In Little Domesday Book the distribution of salt pans was unevenly spread across the settlements on Flegg with a majority being recorded at the *-by* settlements. However, an important centre for salt production was Caister which recorded 45 salt pans, and had become by the time of Domesday, a major producer of salt. Moreover, Domesday recorded at Caister 80 freemen assessed at 4 carucates with 39 salt pans suggesting it was another important source of income for freemen.¹⁰⁸ It can also be speculated that the presence of salt pans at Caister reflected an earlier history of salt production in the area. Salt was also one of the many types of commodities traded by productive sites and was extracted from earliest times along the Lincolnshire coast and fens.¹⁰⁹ It does not seem too unreasonable to assume that a similar pattern occurred at Caister, during the Middle Saxon period, taking into considering its position as a potential productive site as discussed in Chapter Four. Salt production on Flegg may also have been extracted from seaweed in conjunction with its potential use as an animal fodder. The use of seaweed was particularly prevalent on sites from the Orkney Islands to Greenland, where analysis from middens found evidence that animals and humans ate a rich diversity of land and marine based resources.¹¹⁰ Although it can be tentatively speculated that seaweed may have provided a useful source for the extraction of salt, the presence of suitable arable land upon Flegg makes it unlikely that seaweed was used as a cattle fodder. It was clear that Flegg operated a diverse economy

¹⁰⁷ Norfolk Heritage Explorer provided a general description of a saltern from its website, <http://www.heritage.norfolk.gov.uk/record-details?TNF393> [accessed August 2018].

¹⁰⁸ Williams and Martin, *Domesday Book*, p. 1070.

¹⁰⁹ Ulmschneider, 'Settlement, Economy and the 'Productive' Site', p. 70.

¹¹⁰ Paul Buckland, 'The North Atlantic Farm and Environmental View', in *The Viking World*, ed. by Stefan Brink (London: Routledge, 2010), pp. 598-604 (pp. 599-600).

with focus placed on animal husbandry, sheep rearing and salt production as a commodity of trade.

6.10 Conclusion for Chapter Six

It was clear from the information presented within Little Domesday Book that both feudal relationships and fiscal obligations played an integral role in the purpose of the Book. It was clear from the folios of the Book that both freemen and sokemen were a depressed class of peasantry whose freedom was not a guarantee of personal wealth. The case made by Stenton for sokemen as descendants of warriors from the Viking armies has been effectively challenged, with compelling evidence to support a much older history for this class of free peasantry. In many cases the presence of sokemen in certain parts of the country can be attributed to estate fragmentation and disruption of tenurial ties following the Viking invasion. In essence the chaos caused by the Viking settlement and redistribution of land prevented the effective subjugation of large sections of estate populations. Little Domesday recorded large numbers of freemen and sokemen on Flegg with a disproportionate number of sokemen recorded at the *-by* settlements than their English counterparts. The most striking feature which has emerged from the pages of Little Domesday for East and West Flegg was the relative poverty of these two peasant groups, with the vast majority owning fractions of plough teams and less than ten acres of land. It was clear from Little Domesday that the freemen and sokemen on Flegg did not support themselves from arable farming alone. The large number of sheep recorded at settlements on Flegg suggested that animal husbandry played an important economic role in the area. It was also entirely feasible that sheep rearing and wool production provided a lucrative

revenue stream for many impoverished freemen and sokemen. Little Domesday Book recorded that salt manufacture was an important industry on Flegg with Caister an important centre for this commodity. Moreover, as with sheep rearing, salt production may also have provided another source of income for freemen and sokemen. The overall picture which emerged from Little Domesday Book was that Flegg was an important economic area with a diverse economy.

Conclusion

The incorporation of personal/byname elements within the *-by* names on Flegg reflected similar patterns found in other parts of the Danelaw. For historians these settlements represent the fragmentation of older Middle Saxon estates and the change in ownership of these outlying properties into new hands. However, the large number of place names which incorporated a personal name element was at odds with other Danelaw regions where smaller percentages were found. Moreover, Little Domesday provided very limited evidence for tenorial contact between settlements on Flegg with other estate *caputs* in Norfolk. It was clear that the *-bys* on Flegg had not derived from the fragmentation of an older Middle Saxon estate. The extensive estate structures found in the Danelaw with their semi-autonomous *-by* communities spread over wide geographical distances was not replicated upon Flegg. Therefore the socio-political processes which encouraged the emergence of *-bys* in the Danelaw may not have been the same guiding hand which established the *-bys* on Flegg. The overwhelming dominance of personal name specifics on Flegg carried the hallmark of a planned colonisation of the area where new owners become the dominant tenants of communities. However, it must not be automatically assumed that this plantation resulted in the development of new settlements. The processes by which the *-bys* arose on Flegg has major implications for our understanding of the formation of Scandinavian settlements.

The soil map of Flegg found that the *-bys* and English communities occupied large expanses of rich loamy soils, a feature not replicated in other parts of the country. In most cases in the Danelaw the *-bys* occupied less favourable land,

sandwiched between the more fertile soils of the English communities. The presence of *-bys* on less favourable soils also suggested that these communities represented the occupation of vacant, virgin land or second best land. For Flegg the picture of second rate land, occupied by lower status communities cannot be substantiated. It was clear from the geological evidence found on Flegg that the *-by* and English communities occupied some of the best land in the area, and should be considered as high-status communities. The hypothesis that the *-bys* on Flegg represented a planned colonisation can be substantiated from the geological records, as the area would have provided appropriate arable conditions for the establishment of a local defence force.

Broad discussions about the potential ethnicity of populations can be determined from analysis of place names. On Flegg the presence of settlements which incorporated the Old Norse *-by* element, alongside a personal name, must have reflected the customs of a sizable Norse community. Therefore, the cluster of *-bys* found on Flegg would have only appeared in a population which was predominately Norse speaking. The large percentage of minor names carrying an Old Norse element, adds some considerable weight to the presence of a general Norse speaking population in the area. Moreover, it can be hypothesised that topographical features would have been named by the general population rather than an elite minority. However, it would be inconceivable that over the course of the ninth and tenth centuries that the Scandinavians on Flegg could have maintained a distinct socio-ethnic group. The inevitable social contact between populations would have required an understanding of both languages by sizable sections of each population. A process made somewhat easier by the mutual intelligibility of

both languages. On Flegg it can be assumed that over time a vibrant Anglo-Scandinavian population emerged within the area.

The tenurial patterns found between settlements on Flegg differed significantly with those found in the Danelaw and other parts of the country. The development of estates with extensive outliers had an ancient history as witnessed from Welsh and Northumbrian sources. Moreover, in the Danelaw the presence of large estates with a central manor and multitude of berewicks and sokelands, was not replicated on Flegg where there was little evidence for contact with older Norfolk Middle Saxon estates. Across the Danelaw regions many settlements incorporated a series of manors at settlements, which was not replicated on Flegg which saw single manors positioned at communities. Although many settlements on Flegg had multiple holdings, a pattern found at many settlements across the Danelaw, the presence of single manors was unique. It may be tentatively concluded that these individual manors echoed the initial disposition of colonists onto their allocated tenements. Although tentative connections have been made between Flegg and the potential settlements of Walsham and Mileham, the evidence was slight. The pattern which emerged upon Flegg was that of an enclosed economic system reliant on the productive site of Caister and the potential markets at Ormesby and Hemsby. Moreover, the presence of a berewick in Martham attached to Caister has provided some supportive evidence for a self-contained economic system on Flegg. More significantly many of the other berewicks found in Norfolk were often miles from their estate *caput*. On Flegg the close proximity of Martham to Caister indicated a more ancient relationship between the two communities. It was entirely feasible that this relationship emerged during the Middle Saxon period with the growth of the productive site of Caister. Across

England royal and ecclesiastical influences have been detected at estate centres which suggested that the Church and local kings were the driving forces in the development of multiple estates. In contrast, on Flegg there was little evidence linking settlements to any royal estate or ecclesiastical centre. The influence of St. Benet of Hulme has been roundly dismissed due to its late formation. Moreover, the potential royal estate of Horning has not provided sufficient documentary or material evidence to link the site to Flegg. The productive site of Caister most likely proved the catalyst for the process of estate formation upon Flegg. Across England productive sites operated and controlled entry points along the coast for the import of ceramics and other goods. The position of Caister on the banks of an estuary would have made it ideally suited as a gateway for the export of finished goods into the hinterland of Norfolk. Moreover, Caister's easy access to three major rivers in Norfolk, and connection to the wider Roman road network, would have provided the settlement with the means to transport goods across a wide geographical area. The likelihood that settlements and estate structures may have been formed during the Middle Saxon period has not challenged the thesis' hypothesis of a planned Viking settlement. It was entirely feasible that the planned colonisation of the area involved the takeover and renaming of existing English settlements.

The archaeological evidence on Flegg has revealed that a degree of habitation can be assumed across a number of settlements in the area. The concept that *-bys* occupied vacant or virgin soil cannot be substantiated from the archaeological records. Moreover, the argument that the *-bys* represented new settlements can also be effectively challenged, as the material evidence suggests earlier human occupation of the area. Although many of the *-bys* may

have been older English communities, the hypothesis that the area witnessed a planned colonisation can still be substantiated. It was entirely feasible that political necessity required the plantation of settlers to protect the Norfolk coastline. This would have seen the takeover of existing communities rather than the development of new communities on vacant land.

It was clear that during the Middle Saxon period Flegg formed part of an elaborate economic system based on the productive site of Caister. The discovery of *sceattas* at Hemsby and Ormesby suggested that these centres may have acted as possible market centres. The presence of pottery and other metal work finds such as brooches and tweezers, clearly showed that a system of trade operated upon Flegg with the productive site of Caister as the distribution point.

Across the Late Anglo-Saxon period the Danelaw witnessed an explosion in the production of stirrup-strap mounts and strap-ends which betrayed a distinct Anglo-Scandinavian style. A feature which was replicated within the corpus of material found in Norfolk and Flegg. Although on Flegg the artistic representations revealed a restrictive range from Urnes and Williams' Class A styles, their presence in the archaeological records showed that there had been a quick assimilation of a Scandinavian material culture. However, the speed and process by which this cultural assimilation occurred cannot be easily quantified. The presence of a distinctive Scandinavian stirrup with an integrated plate found at Ormesby, suggested that the process of assimilation was not straightforward. It can be argued that elements of Flegg's population or new arrivals to the area, had not fully embraced the growing Anglo-Scandinavian style, and retained cultural links to their Scandinavian homeland.

In the later Anglo-Saxon period the Danelaw witnessed a growth of an Anglo-Scandinavian material culture in the form of strap-ends. These equestrian pieces of equipment incorporated a Scandinavian Borre-style upon a distinctive Anglo-Saxon artefact. In contrast the small corpus of finds on Flegg generally incorporated a Winchester style, and suggested that an English material culture dominated this range of products. However, it would be misleading to assume the dominance of a single cultural expression existed on Flegg. At Stokesby and Herringby the presence of a strap-end which revealed a distinctive ring and dot motif, not found in other parts of Anglo-Saxon England, suggested a Scandinavian origin. It was clear in the case of strap-ends and stirrup mounts that Flegg was a culturally diverse region where people expressed English, Anglo-Scandinavian and Scandinavian cultural affiliations.

The development of an Anglo-Scandinavian culture, evidenced from brooches within the Danelaw, was replicated by the corpus of brooches found on Flegg. In many cases these objects displayed a common tenth-century type, which looked Scandinavian but could be attached to Anglo-Saxon dress fittings. In many cases the presence of these East Anglian series of brooches provided clear evidence for the development of an Anglo-Scandinavian culture. However, it would be misleading to assume that the process of cultural assimilation on Flegg was straightforward and universal. The discovery of a distinct Scandinavian oval brooch at Mautby alongside other insular Viking styles at Stokesby and Herringby clearly showed that certain elements of Flegg's population still identified with a Scandinavian heritage and expressed their differences with definable Scandinavian styles. In essence the process of cultural assimilation was not straight forward or one directional. It cannot be assumed that one population on Flegg imposed cultural preferences upon

another. In essence the vibrancy across the material culture found on Flegg may have resulted from continued contact with a Scandinavian homeland.

The presence of bullion and a near absence of coins upon Flegg indicated that a different trading system operated in the area during the tenth century. It can be argued that this may have reflected close ties with the Scandinavian homeland, where bullion was the preferred method of exchange. However, it would be misleading to assume that the near absence of coins from the archaeological records implied that bullion was the sole method of economic exchange. The small number of coins may simply have reflected its limited use within a more dominant bullion style economy. In essence the continued contact between Flegg and Scandinavia as suggested by the presence of bullion, created an environment which encouraged the persistence of Scandinavian styles.

Little Domesday Book revealed very little economic difference between the *-by* and English communities. Moreover, across the folios of Domesday Book sokemen and freemen had a depressed economic status, and this feature was replicated on Flegg. At settlements in the area the vast majority of peasants held fractions of ox teams and held less than ten acres of land. Moreover, it was entirely feasible that both freemen and sokemen supplemented their meagre arable holdings with animal husbandry and salt production. By the time of Domesday, sheep rearing and salt production were two important industries within a diverse economy.

The wider implications of these conclusions

The conclusions drawn from the thesis have highlighted the need for a refocus towards local investigations. In many cases regional perspectives have provided a general overview as to the processes of Scandinavian settlement, but they have failed to take into account local anomalies.

The thesis has effectively challenged the general concept that *-bys* represented low status communities. Awareness that many of these place names may have represented high-status communities challenges our understanding as to the role they may have played in Anglo-Saxon society. It may no longer be acceptable to see *-by* place names as mere appendages to more important estate centres. Therefore a reinvestigation as to the social and economic role they played at the local level may be needed.

An acknowledgment that a corpus of *-bys* may have been created as a deliberate colony demands a re-examination as to their status as new or existing settlements. It was clear on Flegg that the *-bys* represented a series of planned communities, which may have involved the takeover of existing settlements and or creation of new communities. The objections voiced by historians that *-bys* were not new settlements cannot be easily substantiated. It was also clear from the evidence presented in this thesis, that a multi-disciplinary approach proved invaluable in bringing together evidence into a coherent debate. Moreover, the thesis has shown that local studies have proved invaluable in determining local anomalies. It can be tentatively suggested that all future work must consider local patterns before regional conclusions can be made.

Discussions about the ethnicity of settlers have inevitably focused on the gradual decline of distinct socio-linguistic groups. The evidence presented in the thesis has not challenged this inevitable consequence. However, it can be argued that more detailed local investigations of place names may be more informative, in understanding the scale and process of assimilation within the Danelaw. Although regional perspectives can be employed to show the movement towards an Anglo-Scandinavian culture, local investigations may prove more useful in showing how this process proceeded on the ground.

The origin of *-by* settlements as outliers of older royal or ecclesiastical Middle Saxon estates has assumed considerable prominence. However, the thesis has shown that some *-by* settlements may have been established by small productive sites. In the case of Flegg this created a small self-contained economic system. Whilst it was undoubtedly true that many *-bys* were found within multiple estate models, it would be unwise to assume that this was the only model for their development.

Archaeological evidence has enabled broad conclusions to be drawn about the process of cultural assimilation. Moreover, regional perspectives have enabled historians to draw general conclusions about the spread of assimilation across diverse populations. Although the thesis has not necessarily challenged the concept that assimilation occurred, it has argued that local investigations should be considered to explain the processes by which this happened. More significantly the archaeological evidence from Flegg suggested that distinct Scandinavian populations may have persisted in the area. Therefore the assumption that the Viking settlers were quickly absorbed into an Anglo-Scandinavian culture cannot be easily substantiated at a local level. In essence

the thesis has highlighted the need to understand local variations before broad conclusions can be drawn.

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APPENDIX ONE

Table 3.1

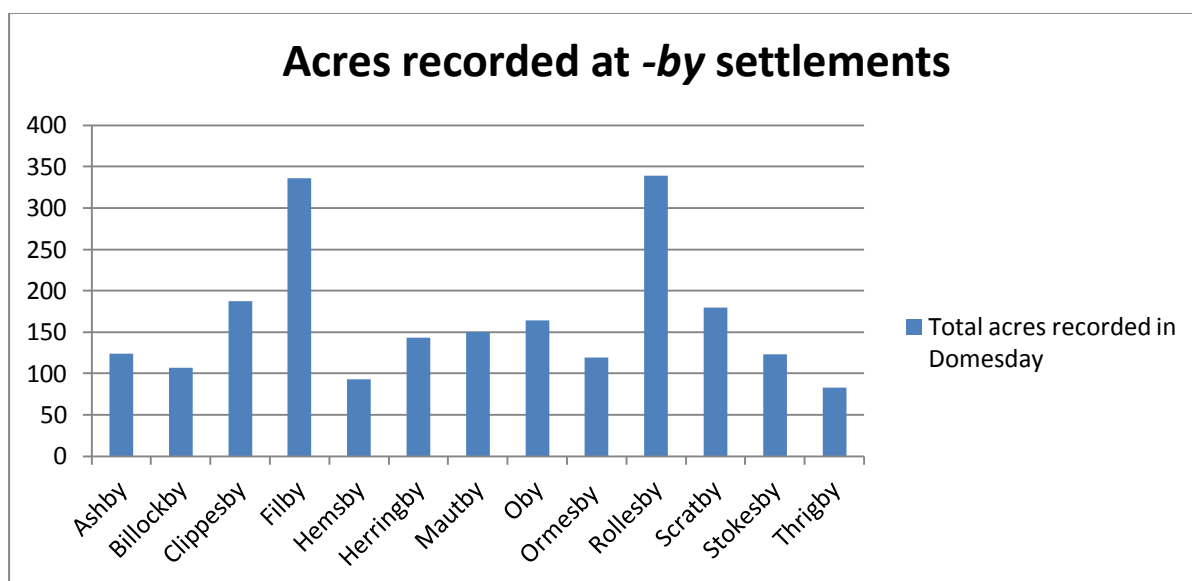
Acreege distribution figures for *-by* and English settlements on Flegg

Place names in <i>-by</i>	Total acres recorded in Domesday	Place names carrying possible English specific	Total acres recorded in Domesday
Ashby	124	Bastwick	82.5
Billockby	107	Burgh St Margaret	501
Clippesby	187.5	Martham	200
Filby	336	Ness	15
Hemsby	93	Repps	183
Herringby	143.5	Runham	93.5
Mautby	150.5	Sco	21
Oby	164	Somerton East and West	239
Ormesby	119	Thurne	113
Rollesby	339	Winterton	334
Scratby	180		
Stokesby	123		
Thrigby	83		

Williams and Martin, *Domesday Book*, pp. 1056 -1183

Table 3.2

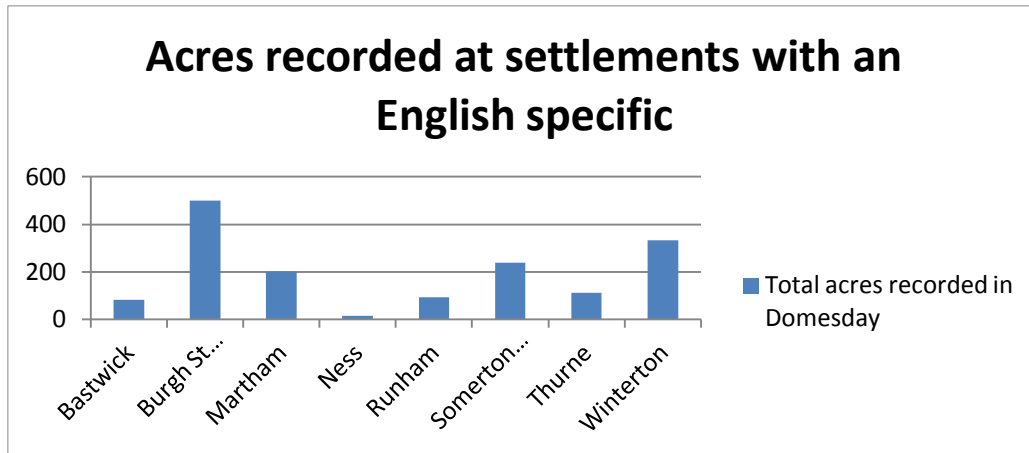
Total acres recorded in Little Domesday Book at *-by* settlements



Williams and Martin, *Domesday Book*, pp. 1056 -1183

Table 3.3

Total acres recorded in Little Domesday Book at English settlements



Williams and Martin, *Domesday Book*, pp. 1056 -1183

Table 3.4

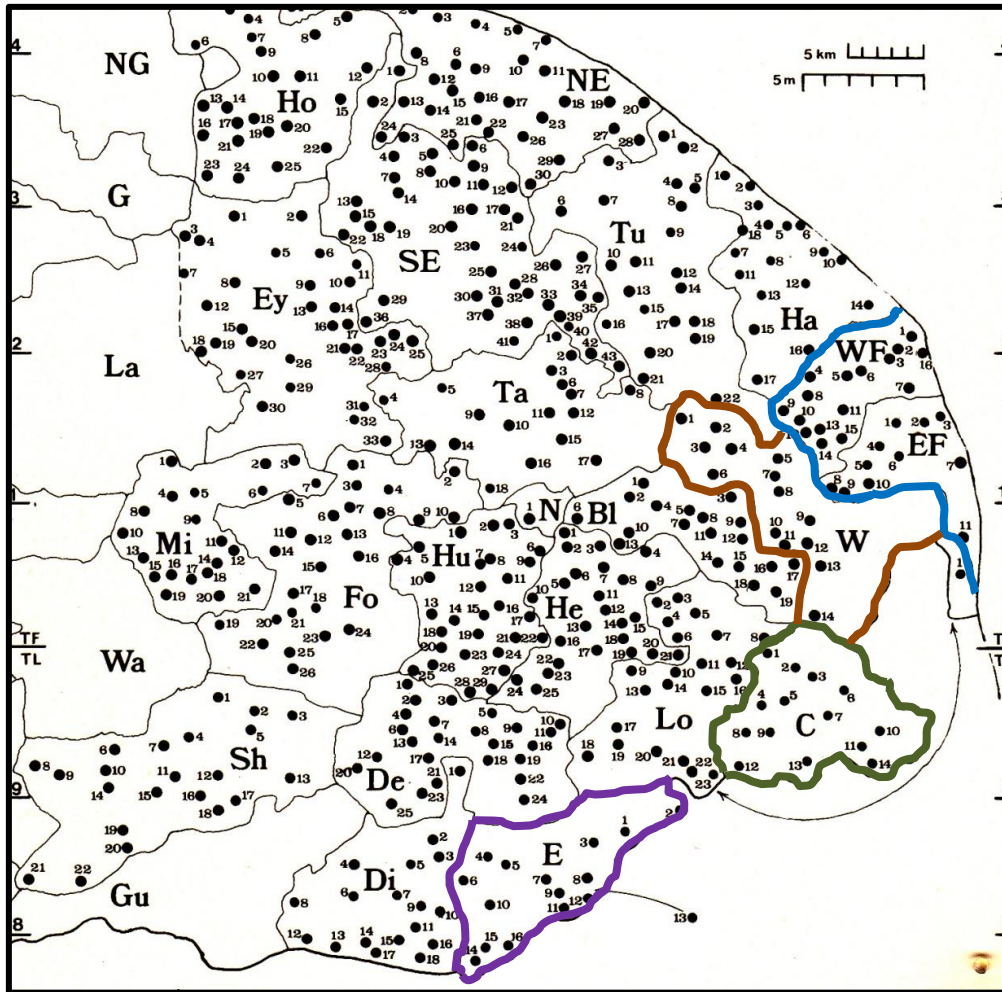
Distribution pattern of settlements recorded in Domesday for Norfolk's Eastern Hundreds (smallest to largest)

Hundred	Number of Settlements
East Flegg	11
Clavering	14
Walsham	14
Earsham	16
West Flegg	16
Diss	18
Happing	18
Taverham	18
Blofield	19
Mitford	21
Shropham	22
Loddon	23
Tunstead	23
Depwade	25
Henstead	25
Holt	25
Forehoe	26
Humbleyard	29
North Erpingham	30
Eynsford	32
South Erpingham	44

Williams and Martin, *Domesday Book*, pp. 1056 -1183

Figure 3.1

Distribution pattern of the five smallest hundreds in Eastern Norfolk



Philippa Brown, *Domesday Book Norfolk Part Two*, ed. by John Morris (Chichester: Phillimore Press, 1984)

Table 3.5

Distribution of *-by* specifics for settlements on Flegg

Place Name	Hundred	Scandinavian appellative form in <i>-by</i>	Personal name	Byname	Old English appellative form in <i>-by</i>
Ashby	West Flegg		Yes		
Billockby	West Flegg			Yes	
Clippesby	West Flegg		Either		
Filby	East Flegg	Yes			
Hemsby	West Flegg		Yes		
Herringby	East Flegg			Yes	
Maltby	East Flegg	Yes			
Oby	West Flegg		Yes		
Ormesby St. Margaret	East Flegg			Yes	
Ormesby St. Michael	East Flegg			Yes	
Rollesby	West Flegg		Yes		
Scratby	East Flegg			Yes	
Stokesby	East Flegg				Yes
Thrigby	East Flegg		Yes		
TOTAL		2	5	6	1
% of total names		14%	78%		7%

Williams and Martin, *Domesday Book*, pp. 1056 -1183

Table 3.6

Distribution of *-by* specifics across England

Region	Total p.n in <i>-by</i>	Total with Scand. Pers.n	%	P.n carrying a pers.n	%	Scandinavian compound pers.n	%	Incorporating a byname	%
Yorkshire	210	108	51	39	36	39	36	53	49
East Midlands	333	110	33	44	40	35	32	61	55
North West	52	14	27	17	34	5	36	8	57
Flegg	14	11	78	5	40	1	9	6	60
Norfolk as a whole	23	13	57	8	34	1	7	5	36

Sandred, *Place-Names of Norfolk Part Two*, pp. 5-83 Fellows-Jensen, *Scandinavian Settlement Names in Yorkshire*, pp. 9-12, Fellows-Jensen, *Scandinavian Settlement Names in the East Midlands*, 15-17, Fellows-Jensen, *Scandinavian Settlement Names in the North-West*, pp. 13-14

Table 3.7

The minor field and topographical names on Flegg

Name	Pur e OE p.n.	Pur e ON p.n.	Mixed p.n.	OE or ON p.n.	Totally amb.	Amb. BUT contains OE	Amb BUT conta ins ON	Total	% Pure OE p.n. of settlement total	% Pure ON p.n. of settlement total	% Mixed p.n. of settlement total	Total pure OE & amb. OE	Total pure ON & amb. ON	Total pure ON + Mixed + ON amb.	% of total pure ON + Mixed + ON amb. for settlement
EAST FLEGG															
Filby	3	1	2	0	0	0	0	6	50	17	33	3	1	3	50
Mautby	12	1	13	6	2	0	2	36	33	3	36	12	3	16	44
Ormesby	21	2	11	8	10	6	2	60	35	3	18	27	4	15	25
Scratby	6	1	4	0	3	0	1	15	40	7	27	6	2	6	40
Stokesby & Herringby	16	0	7	0	1	2	0	26	62	0	27	18	0	7	27
Thrigby	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	100	0	0	1	100
TOTAL	58	5	38	14	16	8	5	144							
WEST FLEGG															
Ashby & Oby & Thurne	23	2	16	7	12	4	4	68	34	3	24	27	6	22	32
Billockby & Burgh	15	0	11	4	6	3	2	41	37	0	27	18	2	13	32
Clippesby	5	1	4	0	0	1	1	12	42	8	33	6	2	6	50
Hemsby	32	3	20	9	4	6	0	74	43	4	27	38	3	23	31
Rollesby	4	0	3	4	1	1	0	13	31	0	23	5	0	3	23
TOTAL	79	6	54	24	23	15	7	208							

Sandred, *Place-Names of Norfolk*, pp. 5-83

Table 3.8

Distribution of soil types and agricultural uses found at settlements on East Flegg

Hundred	Place name	Soil Type classification	Agricultural use
East Flegg	Caister	541s & 361	Cereals, peas, beans and field vegetables, with small patch unsuitable for crops
	Filby	541s & 1022b	Cereals, peas, beans, field vegetables and rough pasture
	Herringby	541s & 814c	Cereals, peas, beans and field vegetables and permanent grass land
	Mautby	541s	Cereals, peas, beans and field vegetables
	Ormesby	541s & 1022b	Cereals, peas, beans, field vegetables and rough pasture
	Runham	541s & 814c	Cereals, peas, beans and field vegetables and permanent grass land
	Scratby	541s	Cereals, peas, beans and field vegetables
	Stokesby	541s & 814c	Cereals, peas, beans and field vegetables and permanent grass land
	Thrigby	541s & 1022b	Cereals, peas, beans, field vegetables and rough pasture

Legend for the 1:250,000 Soil Map of England and Wales, Lawes Agricultural Trust, pp. 9-21

Figure 3.2

Soil map of Flegg



KEY to map			
Map symbol and subgroup	Soil association classification	Ancillary subgroups and soil series	Geology
361	Sandwich	11 Raw sand 321 Beckfoot 821 Formby	Dune sand and marine shingle
541s	WICK 2	572 Wickmere 541 Sheringham 543 Alysham	Glaciofluvial and aeolian drift and till
541t	WICK 3	541 Sheringham 551 Newport	Glaciofluvial and aeolian drift
814c	NEWCHURCH 2	813 Wallasea	Marine alluvium
871c	HANWORTH	831 Sustead 1024 Adventurers'	Aeolian drift and peat
1022b	ALTCAR 2	1024 Adventurers' 1025 Mendham	Fen peat
U	Unsurveyed mainly urban and industrial area		

1:250,000 Soil Map of England and Wales, Lawes Agricultural Trust, pp. 7-21

Table 3.9**Distribution of soil types and agricultural uses found at settlements on West Flegg**

Hundred	Place name	Soil Type classification	Agricultural use
West Flegg	Ashby	541t	Cereals, peas, beans with some field vegetables
	Bastwick	541t & 814c	Cereals, peas, beans with some field vegetables and permanent grassland
	Billockby	541t & 1022b	Cereals, peas, beans with some field vegetable and rough pasture
	Burgh St. Margaret	541t	Cereals, peas, beans with some field vegetables
	Clippesby	541t	Cereals, peas, beans with some field vegetables
	Hemsby	541t	Cereals, peas, beans with some field vegetables
	Martham	541t	Cereals, peas, beans with some field vegetables
	Ness	814c and possible 361	Permanent grass land with some soils unsuitable for crops
	Oby	814c	Permanent grass land
	Repps	541t	Cereals, peas, beans with some field vegetables
	Rollesby	541t	Cereals, peas, beans with some field vegetables
	Sco	541t	Cereals, peas, beans with some field vegetables
	Somerton	541t & 814c	Cereals, peas, beans, some field vegetables and permanent grassland
	Thurne	541t & 814c	Cereals, peas, beans with some field vegetables and permanent grassland
Winterton	541t & potential 814c	Cereals, peas, beans, some field vegetables and permanent grassland	

Legend for the 1:250,000 Soil Map of England and Wales, Lawes Agricultural Trust, pp. 9-21

Table 3.10

Minor field names and topographical features

Information found in the table has been taken from Sandred, *The Place-Names of Norfolk: Part Two*, pp. 9-83

Name	Field Name/other minor name	Date recorded	Linguistic origin
EAST FLEGG			
Filby	Broomelandys	1438	OE brōm + OE land
	Billestostye	1442	OE bill + OE stōw + OE stig or ON stígr
	Leusawe, Leueshaghe, Leueshale, Leweshaye,	1257/1257/ 1257/ 1269	OE hlæw OE haga
	Lulleshil	1220	OE pers. n + OE hyll
	Poketorp, Pokethorp	1202, 1220	OE pers.n + thorp
	Screphow	1374	Old Danish, Old Swedish, Modern Swedish + OScand haugr
Mautby	Bergh	1411	OE beorg or Old Scandinavian berg
	Birgineshus	Not known	OE birki + OE nes + OE hus
	Brodemedwe	1336	ON Brodd OE brord + OE mæd or mædwe
	Cluttesende	1336	Middle English
	Estmedwe, fidewelle, fydwelle	1336 and 1336	OE pide + OE wella
	ffishpantwang	1336	OE fisc OE pond + ON vangr
	Grenewaye	14 th C	OE grene OE weg
	Hallecroft, Hallcroftesende, Hardings, Hildemare	14 th C, 1411, 1336 & 13 th C	OE pers.n Hild or OScand pers.n Hildr + OScand marr
	Henedlond	1336	OE héafod or OE ened
	de Inham	1336	OE innām or OE innám

	Ladietoft	14 th C	OScan toft
	Makelcroftdale	14 th C	OE croft + ON dalr or OE dal?
	Millewong	14 th C	OE mylen + ON vangr
	Mowe	1332	OE mawe
	Ness, Nes de Malteby, Maltebynesse, Mautebyness	1198, 1333, 1310 & 1411	Nes
	Nesbridge	14 th C	Nes
	Nyneacre	1411	?
	Padwell	1411	OE padde or OScand padda OE wella
	Perkyninstoft	14 th C	? + ON toft
	Pilgrineswong	14 th C	? +ON vangr
	Plymestoft	14 th C	OE plýme + ON toft
	Pokestoft	14 th C	OE pers.n + ON toft
	Prestidikes	1336	OE pers.n + ON dík, díki
	Quinhowe, Wynhowe	1291 1330	ON haugr or OE hōh
	Repestoft	13 th C	OE reppes + ON toft
	Schortalfacre	1411	OE sceort + OE æcer
	Setacres	1336	OE sæt + OE æcer
	Smyttestoft	14 th C	OE smið +ON toft
	Snap	1336	OE snæp
	Southfield, Southgatedikes, Suthgatedikes	13 th C, 1336, 1336	OE súð + ON gata +ON dík or díki
	Stondole	1336	OE stān + OE dāl
	Stotgapdikes	1336	OE stot + ? +ON dík
	Thorpedikes	1336	ON Þorp + ON dík or díki
	Wellewong	14 th C	OE wella + ON vangr
	Westfield	13 th C	?
	Wosmedwe	1336	OE wāse OE mæd or OE mædwe
	Wychonestoft	1411	OE wice +OE ness+ ON toft
Ormesby	Aleyneshogge	1423	OFr pers.n + ON Hogg?

	Annowe nether	1422	?
	Banemorstofsende	1300	OE mor + ON toft +OE ende
	Bastlond	1300	OE bæst + OE land
	Bernardstoft	1300	OFr pers.n + ON toft
	Bernardsyerd	1423	Pers.n ?
	Blakelond	1220	OE blæc + OE land
	Blodbroks	1300	OE Blod + OE broc
	Blythescroft	1423	OE persn. n + OE croft
	Bolesland	1423	OE bula + OE Land
	Capmyll	1423	OE cæppe + OE mylen
	Carmannesmere	1423	? pers.n + OE ge-mære
	Cattlynges	1300	OE camb +OE fleot
	Cerwardspytel	1423	? pightel
	Le conger	1300	OE ærn
	Dalbyeslond	1423	? pers.n + OE land
	Denelyneslond	1423	OE denu/dene +OE hlyn + OE land
	Fastgrave	1423	ME fast + OE græf
	Fillesholm	1220	? personal name + ON holmi or ON holmr
	Gallesaker	1355	? personal name + OE æcer
	Le Harde	1423	OE heard or possibly ON harðr
	Hindringhamesse	1300	?
	Hoggesmers, hoggmerch	1220 1300	?ON hogg + OE mersc
	Kingsmarsh	1295	?
	Kyngeshallecroft or Kyngeshalletoft	1295 and 1423	OE Kynges + OE croft or ON toft
	Le Howes	1424	ON haugr or OE höh
	Langcroft	1423	?
	Leweneslond	1220	OE pers.n + OE Land

	Longmuddelilstoft	1300	?
	Lullewell	1423	? + OE wella
	Marlputlond, merleput,	1300 1220	OE marle-pytt
	Northhus	1336	OE norð + OE hus
	Ormesby dic	1220	ON pers.n + OE dic or ON dik
	Permentersacre	1424	OFr permentier + OE æcer
	Pockthorpewaie	1423	OE pers.n + ON -thorp + OE weg
	Potteresgap	1423	?
	Pykesfaldgate	1423	OE or ON pers.n Pic/Pík + OE fald OE geat
	Risbrigg	1300	OE hris + ON hris + OE brycg or ON bryggja
	Saint Margaret's close		?
	Scotoft	1300	ON skógr + OD toft
	Sanflet	1220	? + OE fleot
	Senerode	1300	OFre sende + OE rodu
	Seresjonnescroft	1423	?
	Shortacre	1300	?
	Skynwella	1423	OE scinn(a) or ON scinn + wella
	Smithestoft	1220	? pers.n + ON toft
	Snekkesclose, Snekkemedwe, Snekkescroft, Snekkesmillemount	1458 (1 st recording 1423 other recordings	?Sneck + ME clos + OE mæd + OE mædwe +OE croft + OE myln, OE munt
	Le Sondhowe	1423	OE sand + ON haugr or OE hōh
	Le Souht	1300	ME sogh
	Springeswong, springliswong	1220	OE spring + ON vangr
	Le Stan	1423	OE stān
	Swinesty/swynstycroft	1423	OE swín + OE stigu +OE croft
	Thedeslond	1423	? pers.n + land

	Westgate	1269	OE west + ON gata
	Westhyth	1423	OE west + OE hýð
	West toft	1269	OE west + ON toft
	Le Wonga	1423	ON vangr
	Wygrehalfacre	1300	OE wiggār or OSwe Viger or OWScand Vigarr
	Wynesend	1300	ON hvin + OE ende
Scratby	Ascmer	1422	OE æsc + OE gemære
	Austinstoft	1316	? pers.n + ON toft
	Bardoliestoft	1365	OE/OFr? pers.n + ON toft
	Clerelond	1358	OE/OFr pers.n + OE Land
	Cokkesgap	1361	OE/OFr pers.n + ?
	Curteysyerd	1395	OFr pers.n + OE gearð
	Eggemerelond, Exemereslond	1358	OE ecg + OE gemære + land
	Foulderysmer	1422	OE faldere + OE gemære
	Haraldestoft	1358	ODan Oswed Harald or OWScan haraldr + ON toft
	Longtoftys	1422	?
	Malkyngwong	1422	Flemish pers.n + ON vangr
	Nelestoft	1358	? pers.n + ON toft
	Piggescroft	1272	? byn. In Tengvik + croft
	Songhill	1376	?
	Toftgate	1202	ON toft ON gata or OE geat
Stokesby & Herringby	Les Allondes Mersch	1422	OE aeld + OE mersch
	Bingesmersh	1424	? + OE mersch
	Bisgate	1220	OE bysce + OE mersch

	Cattes	1470	OE catt
	Le Curtis	1451	OE curt
	Engwelle	1349	OE eng + OE wella
	Falsberwe	1349	? + OE beorg
	Le Garbrode	1280	OE gāre + OE brædu
	Germundesheg	1280	Oscan pers.n + OE hæg
	Gosford	1330	OE gōs + OE ford
	Gurmodes	1451	?
	Handrishil	1349	ODan Arndor (Pers.n)? + OE Hyll
	Larkeland	1349	OE lāwerce + OE land
	Longmedwe	1280	OE lang + OE mæd
	Northcroft/Northgate	1349	OE norð + OE croft + ONgata?
	Northgatecroft	1349	OE norð + OE croft + ONgata?
	Oldehallestede	1280	OE olde OE halle + OE stede
	Sandberhhgrene, Sandeberhgrene	1147/1486	OE sand + OE beorg + OE gréne
	Sonderlond	1374	OE sundorland
	Stanburhwescroft	1280	OE Stānburh pers.n OE west OE croft
	Stermersh	1349	OE steer + OE mersc
	Thurlod	1425	OE þruh ?+ OE Lād
	Uppgate/Vppgate	1257	OE upp + ONgata
	Westgate	1349	OE west + ONgata?
	Wibertshou	1349	OE Wigeorht + ON haugr or OE hōh
	Wydershaghe	1451	ON víðir + OE haga or OE sceaga
Thrigby	Suthheythe	1343	OE súð + ON heiðr
WEST FLEGG			

Ashby & Oby & Thurne	Ashby gate furlong	1446	OE æsc or ON askr + ON gata or OE geat
	Barloedike	1421/1422	OE bere + OE hlāw OR OE léah + ON dík
	Les Barre	1421/1422	Unknown origin
	Bekkes	1368	Surname ON bekkr ?
	Barwardesdam/Burwardesdam	1283/1351	OE Burgweard + ? possibly ON
	Braking wong	1363	? + ON eng ON vangr
	Buskenesmill	1363	Personal name + OE Mill
	Bywardestoft	1425	? byward + ON toft
	Cames Gap	1439	? cam + ? gap
	Croshove/Crosshowe	1283/1392	? Kross + ON Haugr or OE hōh
	Deregh	1421	Family name
	Deynestoft	1363	? personal name + ON toft
	Le Dryden	1446	OE dryge + OE denu
	Drywoddes	1363	OE dryge + OE wudu
	Edwardscroft	1379	OE croft
	Edwards House	1363/1369/1372	?
	Ellenswong	1408	?
	Elleneswong	1425	Personal Name + ON vangr
	Fouracres	1197	?
	Freshfen	1453	?
	Freshmot common	1452	OE frith-mot or OE frith
	Fuluennab	1200	OE fúl OE fenn + ON nabbi/nabbr
	Fuluenal	1220	OE fúl OE fenn +?

	Garbrod/Garbrad	1286,1392/1369/1372/1392	OE gāra + OE brædu
	Geyrdlond	1406	OE Gyr + OE lond
	Helwinesacra	1198	OE per.n Ælfwin/Alwin e + OE æcer
	Heuedsticke	1255	OE héafod + ?
	Hirlond	1283	OE hir + OE Lond
	Hockhedstye	1379	OE hōced + OE stig or ON stígr
	Holgroof	1439	OE Hol or ON Holr + OE Grāf
	Le Holme	1363	OE Holmi or ON Holmr
	Lamholm	1424	OE Lām or Lamb + OE Holmi or ON Holmr
	Le leyne/ Le Leyn	1283/1363/1408	ME leyne
	Longacra	1200	OE lang + OE æcer
	Millcroft	1363	OE Myln + OE Croft
	Orcshow	1379	ME pers. n Urk/Urki (<i>Scandinavian origin</i>) + ON haugr or OE hōh
	Orkesyng	1379	ME pers. n Urk/Urki (<i>Scandinavian origin</i>) + ON eng
	Ouerbrethelond/ le brechlond	1283/1363	ME brechlond
	Piggestoft	1363	Pers.n Pigg + ON toft
	Potteresgate	1363	OE Pott + ON gata
	Rodeswong/Radyswong	1364/1372	Pers.n + ON vangr
	Rigwych	1283	ON hryggr + OE wic or wice
	Salt Hill	1443	OE Salt + OE Hill

	Salt Meadows	1353/1355/1363/1383	OE Salt + OE Meadows
	Salt Pitts	1421/1422/1426	OE Salt + OE Pitt
	Segnerwong/segmerewong	1369	OE secg + OE mere or OE gemære + ON vangr
	Sendelyn / Senderlyn	1369 / 1372	Pers.n + OE inn
	Shortekirketoft	1363	OE sceort + ON Kirkja + ON toft
	Siclond	1363	ON sík + OE Land
	Sixteenacre wong	1363	OE + ON vangr
	Sloth Lond	1376	OE sloth + OE land
	Snore	1255	OE snār ?
	Stannardesbankes	1240	OE stānheard + OD banke
	Stefne/ stefne/Stevene	1353, 1355/1363/1372	?
	Swgererstoft/Swargererstoft	1283/1368	OWscand pers.n Svartgeirr + ON toft
	Swinelager	1240	OE swin ON svín OE leger or ON lægher
	Thirneferie	1364	Thurne + ON ferja
	Thurne hall	1363	?
	Thurne Kirkstoft	1363	Thurne + ON Kirkja + ON toft
	Tilrye	1363	?
	Wallesmere/waltersmere	1283/1363	Walle or Walter pers.n ? + OE gemære
	Meer Nine Acre	1421	OE mere
	Wath meadow	1421	?vað + OE mæd
	Swaths meadow	1422	? swæð
	Webfen	1155-1160	? + OE fenn
	Wellegate	1200	OE spring or stream + ON gata
	Welpernenes	1368	? + OE nes

	Wolnesinham	1351	OE Wulfnōð + OE innām
Billockby & Burgh St. Marg.	Aldelonde	1300	OE Ald + OE land
	Aleynesmersc	?	OFr persn. n + OE mersc
	Althorpe	1300	OE Ald + OD þorp
	Berletot	1155/1160	OE bærlic + OD toft
	Blakelonde	1300	OE blæc + OE OE land
	Bollesteftisinde	1300	OE pers.n Bolla/bolle + OD toft
	Bremylonde	1300	OE Brémel + OE Land
	Brethgate	1300	OE bréc + ON gata
	Bridge of Burgh	1360	?
	Dole Acre	1300	OE dāl + OE acre
	Foxhole	1203	OE Fox-hol or OE hyll
	Gardenerestoft	1260	Pers.n + OD toft
	Geyperholm	1300	? ON holmr or OE holmi
	Haldis/Haledihs	1198/1225	OE Halh + OE dic
	Hamkirkenende	1300	OE ham + ON Kirkja + OE ende
	Le Harde	1300	OE heard or ON harðr
	Havedsik/Hevedsik dole	1300	OE heafod + ON sík + OE dāl
	Heyholme	1300	OE hég or OE ge-hæg + ON holmr or OE holmi
	Hillestubbe	1260	OE hyll or OE hyldre or hyldri + OE stubb
	Holdstoft/holdlond	1300	OE ald + ON toft + OE land
	Le Lin	1300	OE hyln

	Lingham	1300	ON lyng + OE hamm
	Longbakharm	1290	?
	Millerscroft	1300	Pers.n + OE croft
	Nether Piece	1300	?
	Nunneswong	1260	OE pers.n Nun + ON vangr
	Overgong	1300	? + OE gang
	Risebrigh	1300	OE hris or ON hrís + OE brycg
	La Ridele	1300	OE hréod + OE léah
	Satscroft	1300	? + OE croft
	Sextene acre	1260	?
	Short acre	1300	?
	Le slade, Saldisende	1300	OE slæd + OE ende
	Smallthorne	1300	?
	Smyrthesgrave	1300	Pers.n? + OE græf or OE grāf
	Sondhill	1260	OE sand + OE hyll
	Spong	1260	OE spang ?
	Stanbutesende	1300	OE stān + ME butte + OE ende
	Stripgate	1300	? + ON gata
	Wetelondhardes	1260	OE hwæte or OE wét + OE land and OE heard or ON harðr
	Wynnebrygh	1300	ON hvin + OE brycg
Clippesby	Alfrici Stein	1155	OE Ælfric pers.n ? + ON steinn
	Le Dele	1260	OE dæl
	Dene	1202	OE dene?
	Kirkecroft	1155-66	ON kirkja + OE Croft

	Manhou	1260	ON pers.n + ON haugr
	Maneshou wapentac	1086	Possible ON
	Manhoudele	1202	? + OE dǣl
	Maynardesdale/ Meynardes Dale	1237/1240	OFpers.n Mainard + OE dǣl
	Netteshill	1226	OE geneat + OE neat + OE hill
	Wellegate	1234	OE wella + ON gata
	Wluan	1155	OE pers.n Wulfa
	Wywesdele	1376	OScand pers.n Vifill + OE dǣl
Hemsby	Asc	1265	OE æsc
	Ask	1422	ON askr
	Astelmere/Astemare	1281/1422	OE east + OE mere or OE gemere
	Assockyshowe/hassockehowe	1422	OE Hassuc + ON haugr or OE hōh
	Benelond	1422	OE béan + OE land
	Blakelondes	1422	OE blæc + OE Lands
	Blakemannstymmer	1422	OE pers.n blæcman + OE stíg or ON stigr + OE gemære
	Blygrave	1422	? bly + OE graef or grāf
	Boteler's Croft	1422	ME buteler + OE croft
	Le Brakenholm	1422	? brakni + OE holmi or ON holmr
	Le Breches	1415	OE bréc
	Brentlond furlong	1422	ME brende + OE land
	Brodelond/berdeslond/bordeslond	1280	OE brād + OE land

	Bromdys falyate	1422	OE brōm + OE díc + OE fald + OE geat
	Brom	1422	OE brōm
	Brunstangravewong	1366	OE pers.n Brúnstān + OE grāf + ON vangr
	Calewrthe	1257	OE cāl or OE Kal? + OE worð
	Calvecroft/le Cherche croftys	1265-6/1422	OE circe + OE croft
	Commounmere	1422	OE common? + OE gemære
	Crakesgraue	1281	OScand pers.n Krákr + OE graef or grāf
	Depgrave	1422	OE déop + OE graef
	Dokeslade	1422	Pers.n Doke + OE slæd
	Estgatyscroftysende	1422	OE east + ON gata + OE croft + OE ende
	Fennygate	1422	OE fennig + ON gata
	Fuldermere	1281	? + OE mere or OE gemære
	Frepoth	1422	OE freo + ME potte
	Galtsacre	1422	?OE Pers.n + OE acre
	Grenemer	1422	OE green + OE gemære
	Gucky's hyll	1422	? pers.n + OE hyll
	Le hampstalys de Hemsby	1422	OE Hām + OE stall + OE hænep
	Hangynggewong, hanggabdwong, hangynggewong	1272/1366/1422	OE hangende + ON vangr
	Havercroft	1422	ON hafri + OE hæfer or ON hafr + OE croft
	Hoddehoge/hoddehowe/hodhowe	1198/1281/1422	? Hudda pers.n + ON haugr or OE

			hōh
	Hollemedwes	1366	OE hol or ON holr + OE mæd or mædwe
	Holm/holm field/le holme/holmgrave	1272/1280/1287	ON holmr ON holmi + OE graef or OE grāf
	Killingewro/kelingshegeswro	1198/1265	OWScand. Pers.n Kiðlingr + ON vrá
	Knightestoftesende	1308	OE cniht + OD toft + OE ende
	Leygraves	1422	OE læge + OE graef or OE grāf
	leydesgrove	1292	OE læge + OE graef or OE grāf
	Longdyk	1287	OE lang or ON Langr + ON dík or ON díki
	Middelwong/medylgraveswong	1366/1422	OE middle and OScand meðal + OE graef or OE grāf + ON vangr
	Milldam	1306	OE myln + ?
	Mulhowe/Mullowe Knolle	1294/1422	ON pers.n Muli + ON Haugr or OE hōh + OE cnoll
	Nes Aldelondes	1294	OE ness + OE ald + OE land
	Newgate	1422	OE new + ON gate
	Northfaldegate	1422	OE North + OE fald + OE geat
	Northmyllewey	1422	OE North + OE myln + OE weg
	Northus	1269	OE norð + OE hús
	Prykylsmedwe/prykyllesmedue	1422	OE pricel + OE mæd

			mædwe
	Puttolksacre	1422	ME pers.n + OE acre
	Quynnescroft	1280	ON hvin + OE croft
	Scleyg	1281	OE slæget
	Sellerysbotome/Sellerys Cross	1422	OE botm + OE cross
	Le sick/syck/Le syckwell	1422	ON sík + OE wella
	smalgravewong	1366	OE smæl + OE graef or grāf + ON vangr
	South falgate dykes Ende	1422	OE South + OE fald + OE geat + ON dík + OE ende
	South Mylle/South Mylle Hyll, South Mylle botom	1422	OE south + OE myln + OE hyll + OE botm
	Spitelhesaker	1290	?
	Stonwong	1366	OE stān + ON vangr
	Stylondys	1422	OE stig or ON stígr + OE land
	Stywardisinham	1327	OE pers.n stig-weard, stigward + OE innām or ON innám
	Thorkyslade	1422	OScan pers.n Toki + OE slæd
	Thurmwudeshow	1422	OSwed or ODan pers.n þormund + ON grave mound or OE hōh
	Thweyn	1305	?
	Warnys	1422	Pers.n
	Wellehuscroft/wellcraftes/wellecroft	1280/1294/1366	OE wella + OE hús + OE croft
	Westgate/westgate crofts/westgate fold gate	1422	OE west + OE croft + OE falod + OE geat or ON gata
	Westhos oldland	1366	OE west + OE hōh + OE ald + OE land

	Westwyk	1366	OE west + OE wīc
	Whyndykes	1422	ON hvin + ON dík
	Wintertunegate/wyntertoncrofts	1422	?
	Wlwesgraue	1281	OScand pers.n Ulfr + OE graef
	Wrennes/Wreynesdole	1324/1366	Pers.n Wrenna + OE dāl
Rollesby	Edrickeshow	1346	OE pers.n Eadric + ON Haug or OE hōh
	Ellenacre	1346	OE ellern/Ellen and OE æcer
	Gerryngcroft	1352	?
	Goslond/Gosland	1292/1490	OE gōs + OE land
	Kochowe	1346	OE cocc + ON Haug or OE hōh
	Mayscote	1354	? + OE cot
	Michelhous	1346	OE micel + OE hūs
	Millersmere	1334	OE miller or OScand mylnari + OE mere or OE gemære
	Netheringate/netheryngate	1344	OE neoðera + OE in + ON gata
	Newgate	1488	OE nīwe + ON gata
	Outreslond	1485	OE üt + OE hrīs or OScand hrīs
	Robbeshous	1352	Pers.n + OE hus
	Sycmedwe	1346	ON sík + OE mæd/mædwe

APPENDIX TWO

Table 4.1

Tenants-in-Chief at *-by* settlements

Place Name	Number of Tenants in Chief recorded	Manor Recorded
Ashby	3	
Bastwick	5	
Billockby	4	
Burgh St. Margaret	5	
Caister	2	YES
Clippesby	5	
Filby	5	
Hemsby	1	YES
Herringby	1	
Martham	5	
Mautby	3	YES
Ness	1	
Oby	2	YES
Ormesby St. Margaret and St. Michael	4	
Repps	5	
Rollesby	5	YES
Runham	3	
Sco	1	
Scratby	3	
Somerton East and West	5	
Stokesby	1	YES
Thrigby	4	
Thurne	2	
Winterton	6	

Williams and Martin, *Domesday Book*, pp. 1056-1183

Table 4.2

Tenants-in-chief and manors recorded at *-by* settlements

Place Name	Hundred	Number of Tenants in Chief recorded	Manor Recorded	Place name specific
Ashby		3		Pers. n
Bastwick		5		OE.n
Billockby		4		By.n
Burgh St. Margaret		5		OE.n
Caister	East Flegg	2	YES	OE.n
Clippesby		5		By.n
Filby		5		Appel.n
Hemsby	West Flegg	1	YES	Pers.n
Herringby		1		By.n
Martham		5		OE.n
Mautby	East Flegg	3	YES	Appel.n
Ness		1		
Oby	West Flegg	2	YES	Pers.n
Ormesby St. Margaret and St. Michael		4		By.n
Repps		5		ON.n
Rollesby	West Flegg	5	YES	Pers.n
Runham		3		OE.n
Sco		1		ON.n
Scratby		3		By.n
Somerton East and West		5		OE.n
Stokesby	East Flegg	1	YES	OE appel.n
Thrigby		4		Pers.n
Thurne		2		OE.n
Winterton		6		OE.n

Williams and Martin, *Domesday Book*, pp. 1056-1183

Table 4.3

Number of Tenants-in-Chief and manors held

Manors on Flegg		
Vill	Number of Tenants in Chief	Manor held by
Caister	2	The King
Hemsby	1	Bishop William
Mautby	3	The King
Oby	2	St. Benet of Hulme
Rollesby	5	St. Benet of Hulme
Stokesby	1	William deEcouis

Williams and Martin, *Domesday Book*, pp. 1056-1183

Table 4.4

Tenorial interconnectivity of settlements on Flegg

Tenorial Patterns							
Vill	Paying rent to	Vill	Class of peasant	Valued In	Vill	Peasant/Soke	Assessed in
Clippesby	Ormesby	Winterton	Freeman	Stokesby	Winterton	freeman	Felbrigg
Matham	Ormesby	Ashby	Freeman	Stokesby	Winterton	freeman	South Walsham
Scratby	Ormesby	Repps	Freeman	Stokesby	Somerton	soke	Mileham ?
		Repps	Freeman	Somerton	Thrigby	outsoke	South Walsham
Vill	Class of peasant	Belonging to	Vill	Land assessed in	Vill	With a berewick in	
Bastwick	Freeman	Somerton	Burgh	Caister	Caister	Martham	
Scratby	Sokemen	Hemsby			Hemsby	Martham	
Sco	Bordars	Hemsby					
Repps	Freemen	Sutton					
Rollesby	Freeman	Sutton					

Williams and Martin, *Domesday Book*, pp. 1056-1183

Table 4.5

Estates of St. Benet of Hulme

Place Name	Domesday reference for demesne land of St. Benet of Hulme	Domesday reference for Freemen within St. Benet's entry
Ashby	2 carucates and 1 plough in demense	
Bastwick		1 Freeman in commendation
Billockby		6 Freemen in commendation
Burgh St. Margaret	1 carucate with Billockby + 1 plough in demense + 30 acres	
Caister	1 carucate + 1 plough in demense	14 Freemen under commendation with 1 carucate
Clippesby		1 Freeman of St. Benets
Filby	1 carucate and 20 acres + 1 plough in demense	3 men in commendation
Hemsby		
Herringby		
Martham		3 sokemen with 10 acres + Freeman of St. Benets
Mautby		
Ness		
Oby	1.5 carucates + 2 ploughs in demense	1 Freeman with 23 acres
Ormesby St. Margaret and St. Michael		
Repps		6 Freemen and 36 acres
Rollesby	1 carucate (TRE) 1 plough in demense	11 Freemen in commendation with 43 acres + 1 Freeman with 5 acres
Runham		
Sco		
Scratby	109 acres	
Somerton East and West		
Stokesby		
Thrigby		
Thurne	1 carucate + 2 ploughs in demense	
Winterton	1 carucate + 1 plough in demense	

Williams and Martin, *Domesday Book*, pp. 1056-1183

Table 4.6

Domesday information for the estate of South Walsham

Estates of South Walsham (Walsham Hundred)¹			
Domesday page number in Penguin Classics' edition	Information	Tenant in Chief	Folio reference in Penguin Classics' edition
1062	In Great or Little Plumstead (<i>Blofield Hundred</i>) 1 freeman...In Buckenham (<i>Blofield Hundred</i>) there is 1 freeman.... all of these free men are assessed in the £13 of the out soke of South Walsham	King	123V: Norfolk
1066	In South Walsham there are 22 sokemen. To this belongs 1 berewick Moulton St Mary <i>(2nd reference to South Walsham)</i> In South Walsham there are 34 sokemen	King	129: Norfolk
1067	Winterton (West Flegg) there is 1 freeman with 10 acres he is assessed with the free men in South Walsham	King	129V: Norfolk
1070	Thrigby (<i>East Flegg</i>) it is worth 9s in the out soke of Walsham the King and Earl have the soke	King	135: Norfolk
1116	1 freeman with 18 acres which he gave to St. Benet	Bishop William	194V: Norfolk
1122	Freemen held in the King's soke... there are 17 sokemen	Bishop Osbern	202V: Norfolk
1133	9 sokemen...200 sheep	St Æththryth	216: Norfolk

Williams and Martin, *Domesday Book*, pp. 1060-1133

¹ The page references identified in table 4.6 are taken from *Domesday Book a Complete Translation* Penguin Classics, and refer to the page numbering system in the book in addition specific folio references are provided

Table 4.7

Domesday information for the estate of North Walsham

Estates of North Walsham (Tunstead Hundred)			
Domesday page number (<i>Penguin Classic</i>)	Information	Tenant in Chief	Folio reference
1087	2 sokemen...one Mill	William de Warenne	159: Norfolk
1136	31 sokemen	St. Benet	218 & 219: Norfolk
1137	4 sokemen	St. Benet	219: Norfolk

Williams and Martin, *Domesday Book*, pp. 1087-1137

Table 4.8

Domesday information for the estate of Mileham

Estate of Mileham in Launditch Hundred				
Domesday page number (<i>Penguin Classic</i>)	Information	Tenant in Chief	Point of query	Folio reference
1060	In Weasenham there are 4 freemen, I cauruat of land and Stigand had the soke. Now William de Noyes has it in Mileham In Mileham and Bittering there is 4 sokeman	King	This suggests that William de Noyes in Mileham holds the soke of the freemen and land in Weasenham.	121: Norfolk
1072	In Mileham there are 23 ploughs, woodland for 1000 pigs, always 1 mill and 16 sokemen. To this manor there has always belonged a berewick Litcham. Another berewick. Another berewick Great or Little Dunham	King		136V: Norfolk
1072	The valuation of Kirking is in Mileham	King	This suggests that Kirking is an appendage of Mileham	137: Norfolk

1073	Willian de Noyes holds this land in East/West Somerton in the farm of Mileham and the soke is in the Hundred	The King	This is a slightly ambiguous entry. The information suggests that William de Noyes holds land in Somerton which appears attached or tenurally linked to his farm in Mileham. As regards the soke it appears that it belongs to West Flegg under Stigand. However, it might refer to Launditch	138: Norfolk
1074	Freeman in Stanninghall along with 2 mills belongs to Horstead and the whole is in the valuation of Mileham	King		140V: Norfolk
1092	In Tittleshall the soke is in the King's manor of Mileham	William de Warenne		166: Norfolk
1103	In Whissonsett of 3 freemen the soke is in the King's manor or Mileham	Roger Bigod		178V: Norfolk
1113	North Elmham the soke is in Mileham	Bishop William	This point is taken to assume that Mileham has rights over the soke	191V: Norfolk
1118	In Gately the soke is in Mileham	Bishop William	This point is taken to assume that Mileham has rights over the soke	197V: Norfolk
1132	In Hoe the soke is in the King's manor of Mileham	St. Æthelthryth		214: Norfolk
1142	In Swanton Morley the soke is in Mileham and Eudo <i>held it</i> and Ralph holds its as a gift of the	Ralph de Beaufour	This point is taken to assume that Ralph (<i>Tenant in Chief</i>)	226V: Norfolk

	king		has the soke from the King's manor in Mileham	
1163	In Wellingham 3 sokemen belonged to the King's manor of Mileham	Ralph Baynard		252V: Norfolk
1166	In Pattesley the soke is in the King's manor or Mileham	Peter de Valognes		256: Norfolk
1181	In Longham the soke is in the Kings' manor of Mileham	Hermer de Ferrers		274: Norfolk

Williams and Martin, *Domesday Book*, pp. 1060-1181

Table 4.9

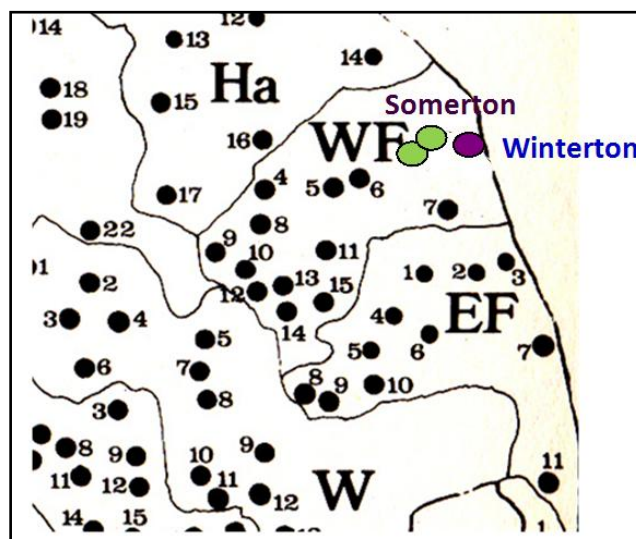
Domesday information for the estate of Horning

Estates of Horning (Tunstead Hundred)			
Domesday page number (<i>Penguin Classic</i>)	Information	Tenant in Chief	Folio Reference
1136/37	One mill 360 sheep	St. Benet	218V: Norfolk

Williams and Martin, *Domesday Book*, pp. 1136-1137

Figure 4.1

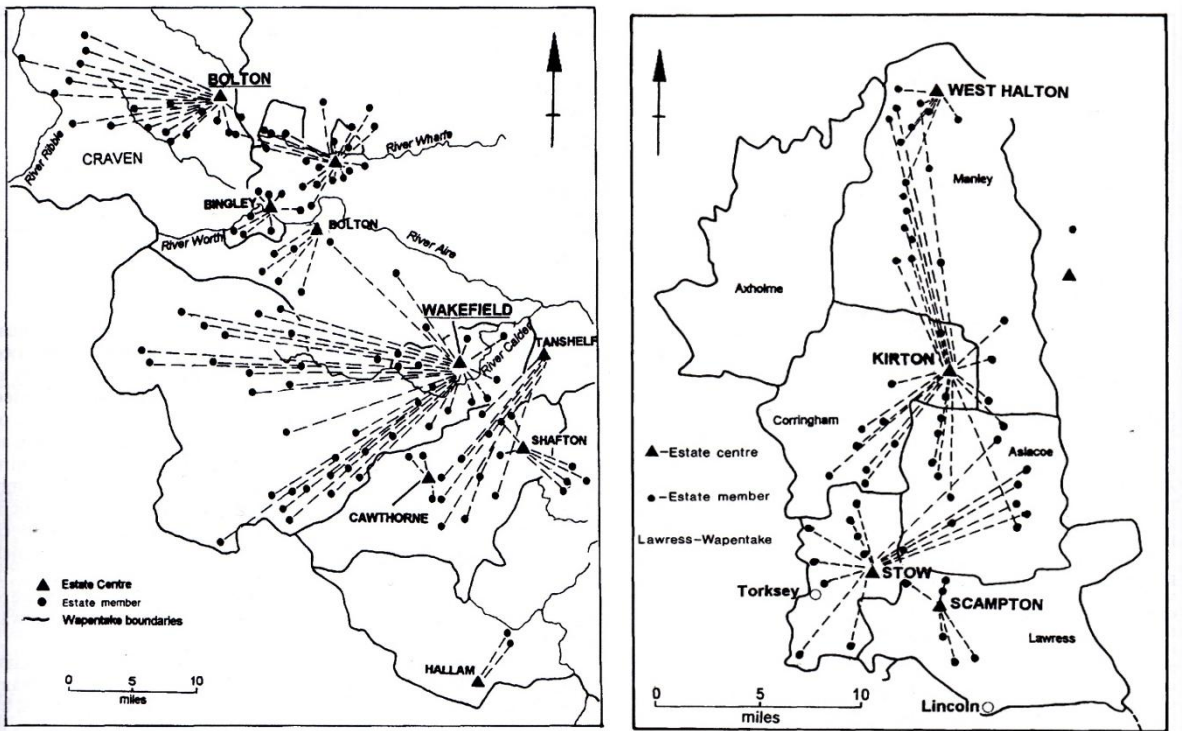
The Hundred of East and West Flegg



Brown, *Domesday Book*, (Phillimore Press edition)

Figure 4.2a and 4.2b

Various Domesday sokes from the Danelaw

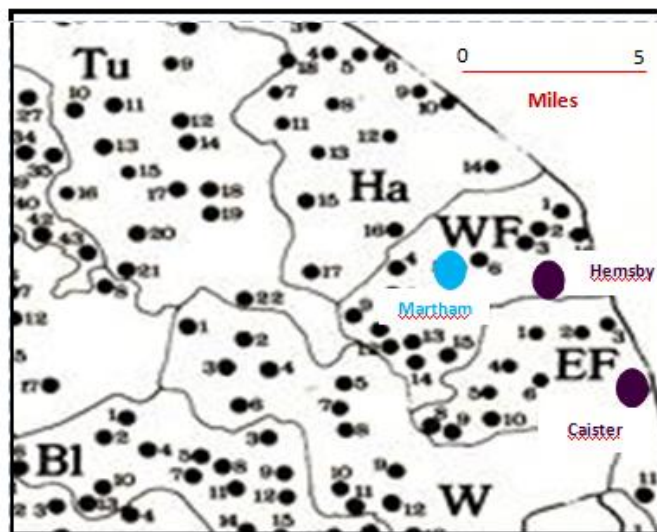


The sokes of Wakefield and Bolton-in-Craven in Dawn Hadley, *The Northern Danelaw: its Social Structures 800 to 1100* p. 111

The Domesday sokes of Kirton and Lindsey in Dawn Hadley, *The Northern Danelaw: its Social Structures 800 to 1100* p. 115

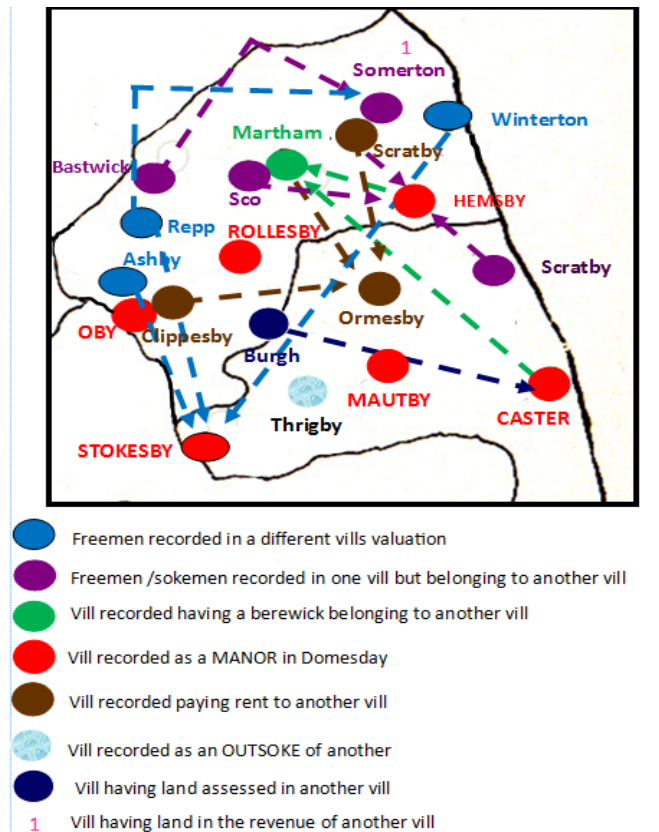
Figure 4.3

The berewick of Martham, Hemsby and Caister



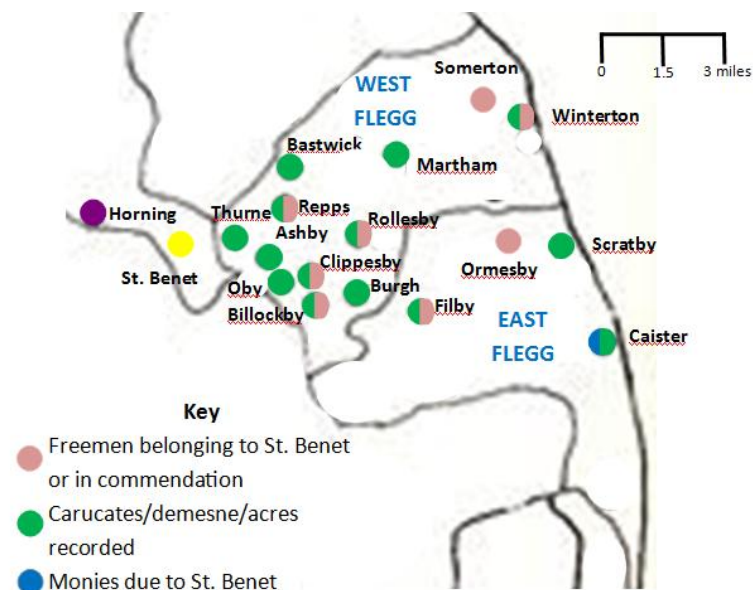
Brown, *Domesday Book*, (Phillimore Press edition)

Figure 4.4
Tenorial patterns on Flegg



Brown, *Domesday Book*, (Phillimore Press edition)

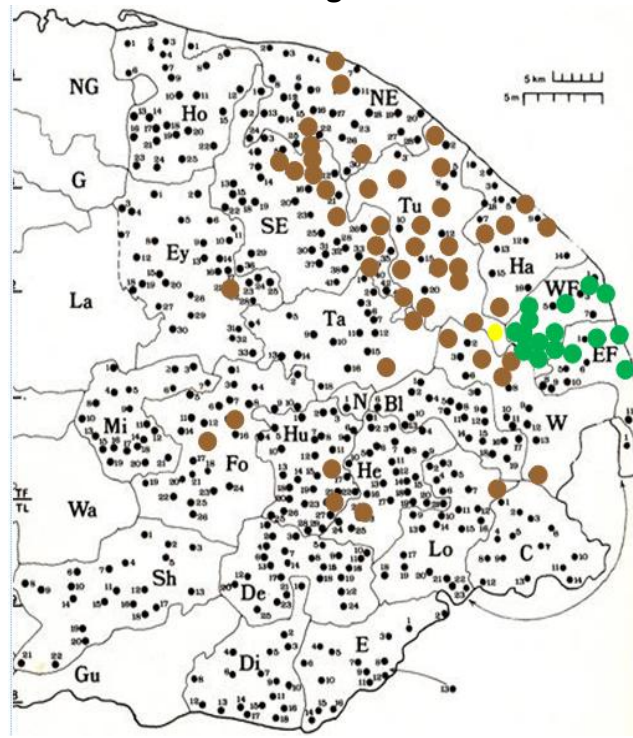
Figure 4.5
Tenorial patterns on Flegg



Location of all settlements where St. Benet was recorded in Domesday having an economic interests. William and Morris, *Domesday Book A complete Translation* pp. 1134 to 1138. Map of the Hundred of East and West Flegg in Brown, *Domesday Book*, (Phillimore Press edition)

Figure 4.6

St. Benet's holdings in East Norfolk



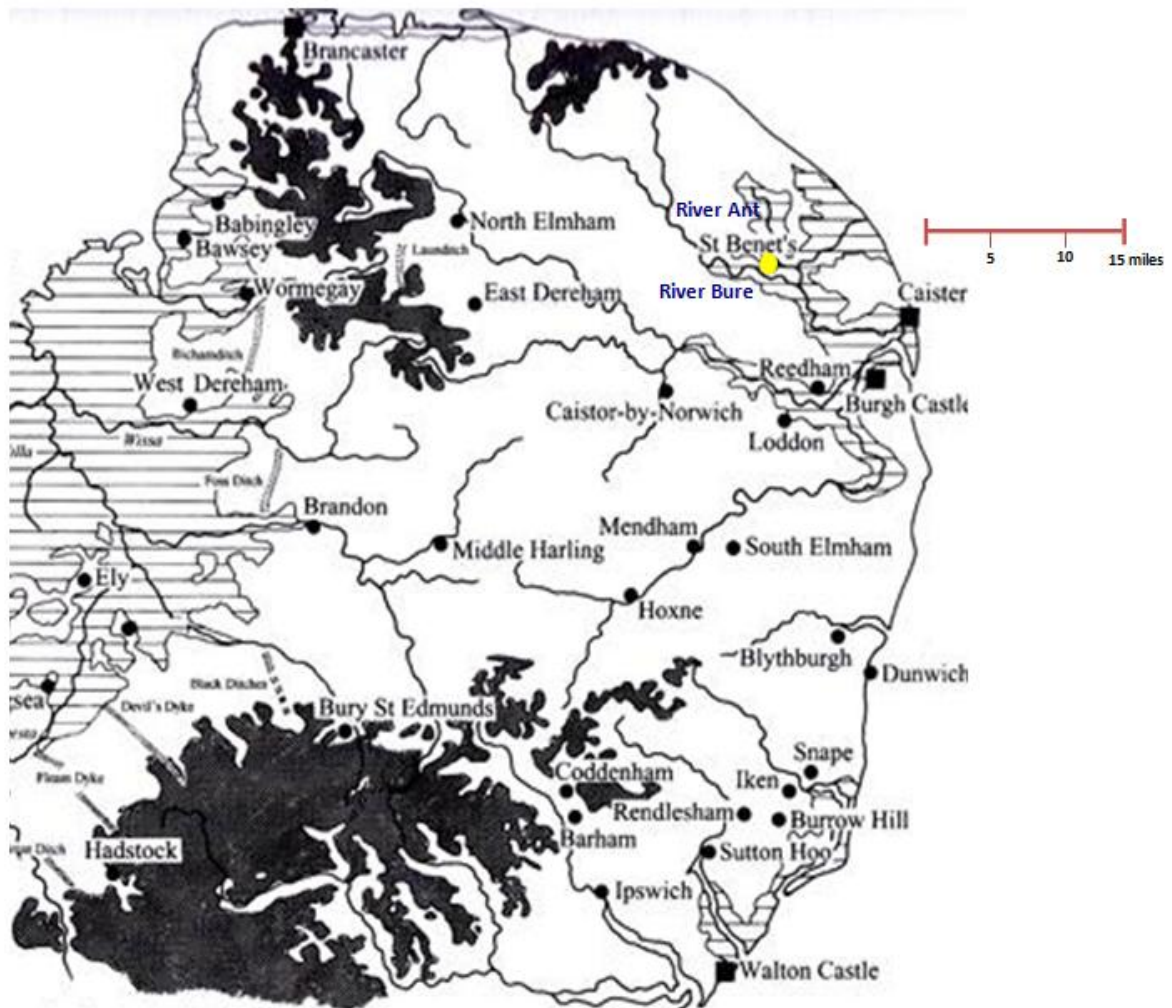
Location of all settlements where St. Benet was recorded in Domesday having an economic interests, Williams and Morris, *Domesday Book* (Penguin edition), pp. 1133-1138 and map from Brown, *Domesday Book*, (Phillimore Press edition)

Key:

- Yellow dot represents the location of St. Benet of Hulme
- Green dots represent the estates on Flegg
- Brown dots represent the estates held in East Norfolk

Figure 4.7

Location of St. Benet and the Rivers Ant and Burgh

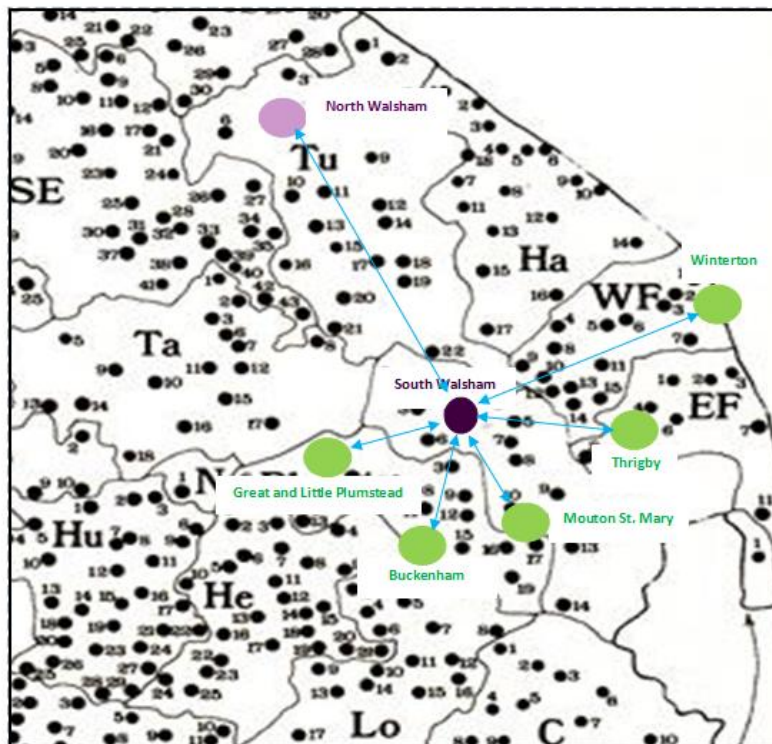


St. Benet identified by the yellow spot and its location between the Rivers Ant and Bure (*identified in blue*)

Pestell, *Landscape of Monastic Foundation*, p. 19

Figure 4.8

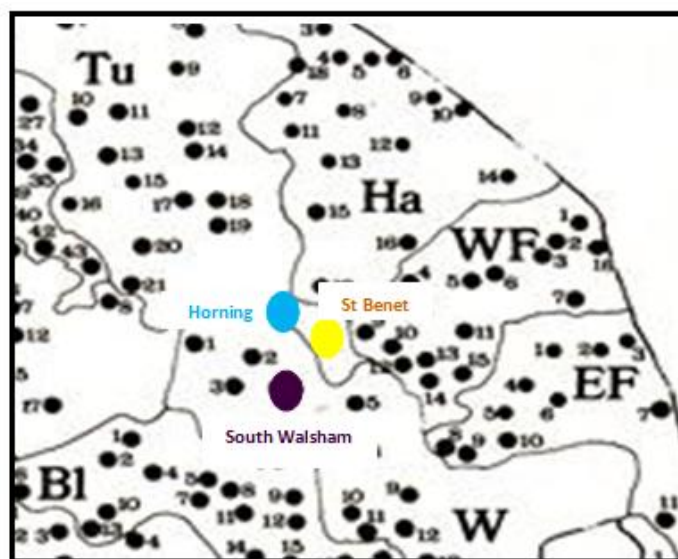
Tenorial connections between South Walsham and Flegg



The tenorial connections between South Walsham and Thrigby and Winterton and other estates in Norfolk. Williams and Morris, *Domesday Book* (Penguin edition), pp. 1062-1133 and map from Brown, *Domesday Book*, (Phillimore Press edition)

Figure 4.9

Geographical location of Horning, St. Benet and South Walsham

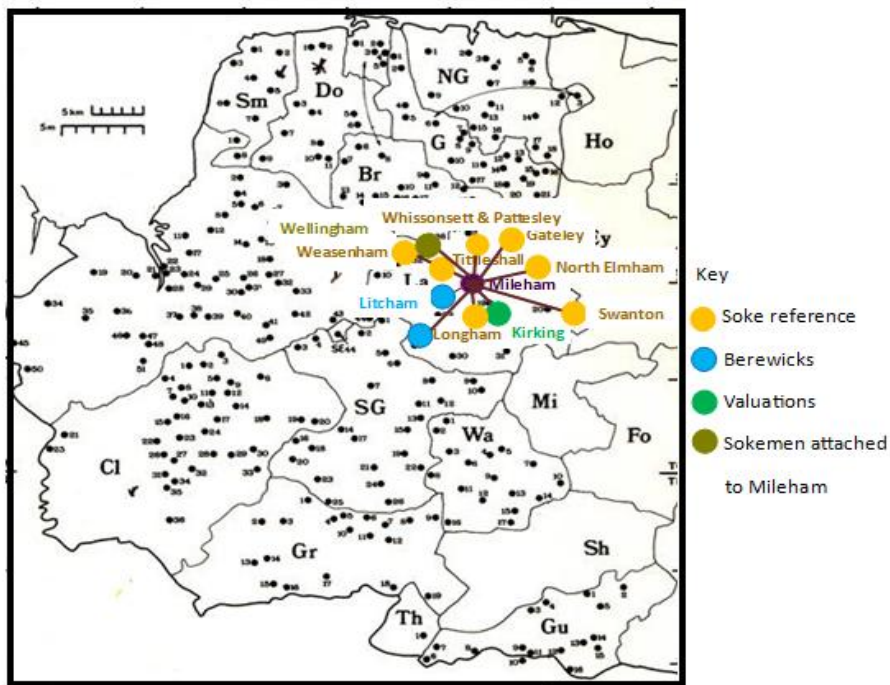


Brown, *Domesday Book Norfolk Part Two* (Phillimore edition)

Figure 4.10

Tenorial references for Mileham

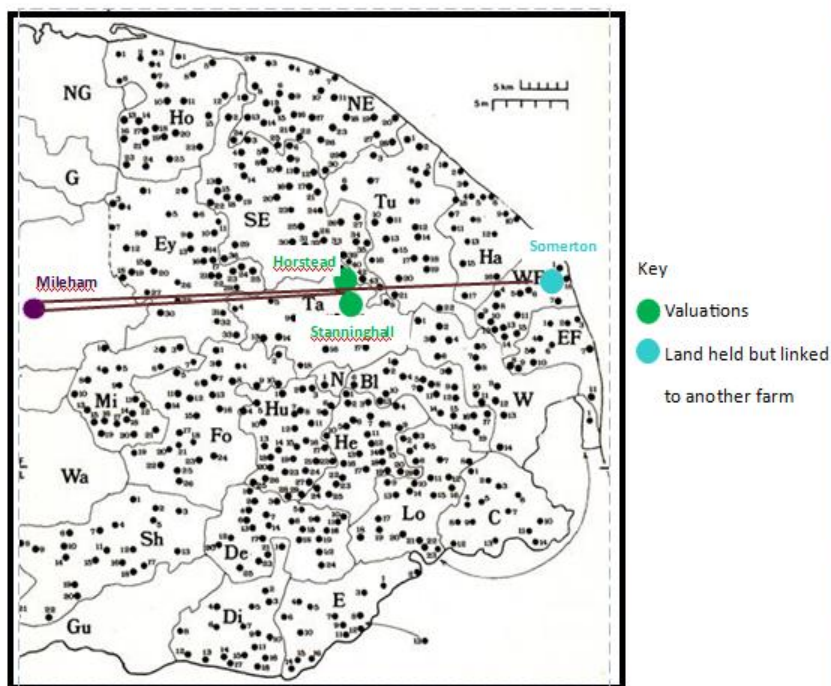
Western Hundreds



Williams and Morris, *Domesday Book* (Penguin edition), pp. 1060-1181 and map from Brown, *Domesday Book*, (Phillimore Press edition)

Figure 4.11

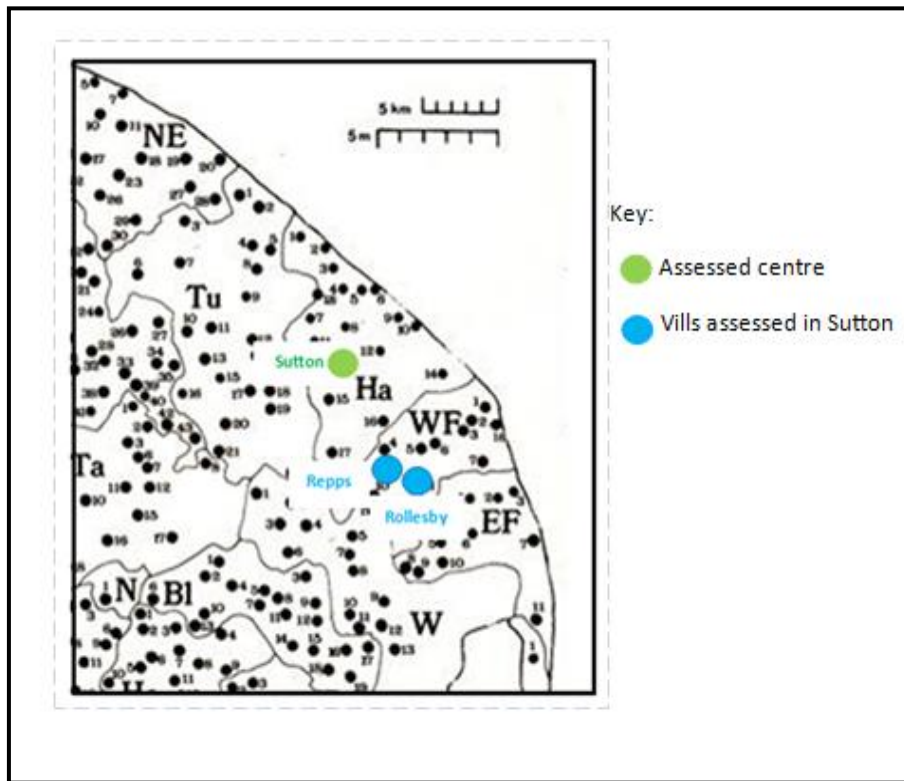
Tenorial references for Mileham and estates on Flegg



Williams and Morris, *Domesday Book* (Penguin edition), pp. 1060-1181 and map from Brown, *Domesday Book*, (Phillimore Press edition)

Figure 4.12

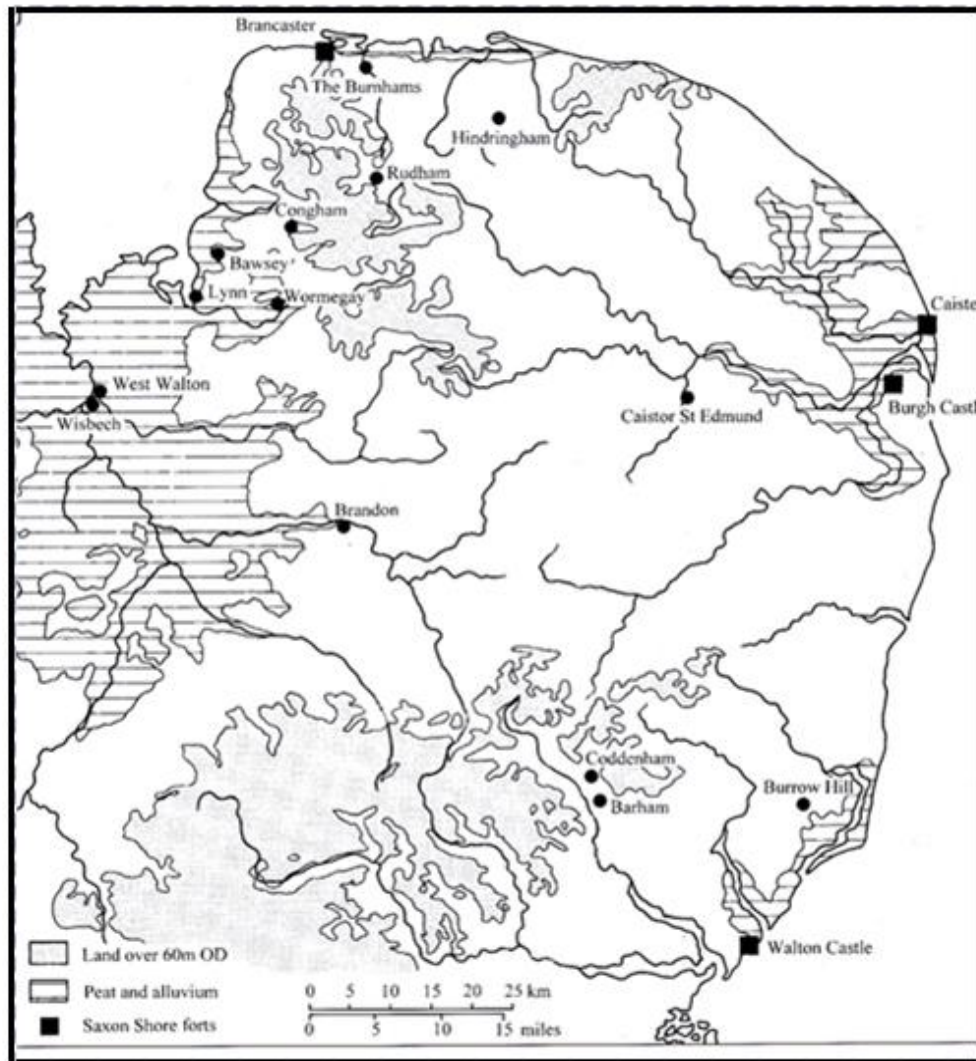
Tenurial references for Sutton and estates on Flegg



Williams and Morris, *Domesday Book* (Penguin edition), p. 1147 and map from Brown, *Domesday Book*, (Phillimore Press edition)

Figure 4.13

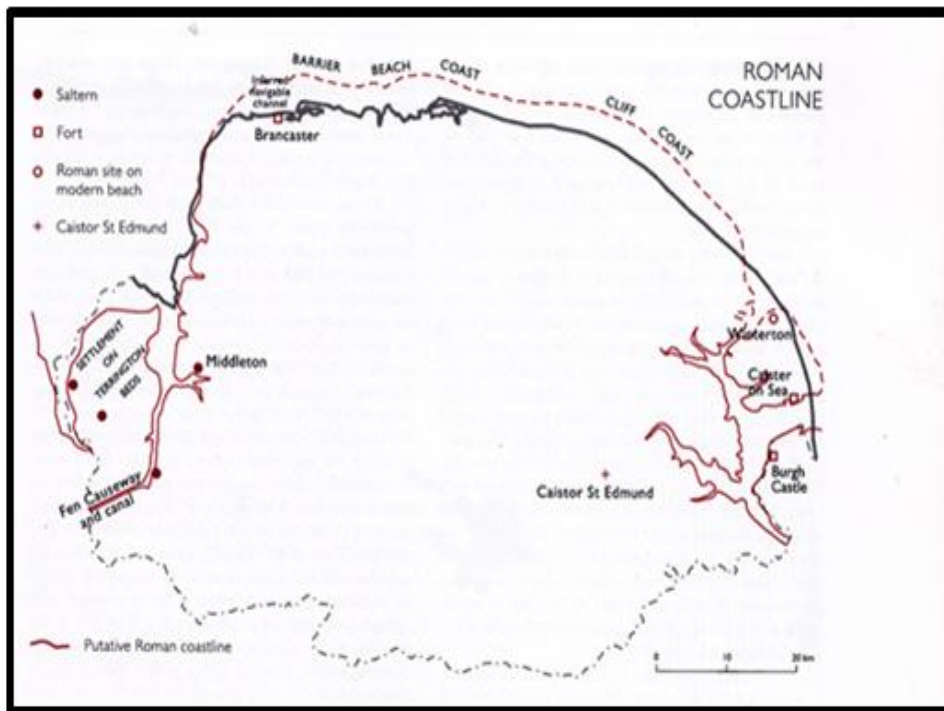
Productive sites in Norfolk



Pestell, 'The Afterlife of 'Productive' Sites in East Anglia', p. 123

Figure 4.14

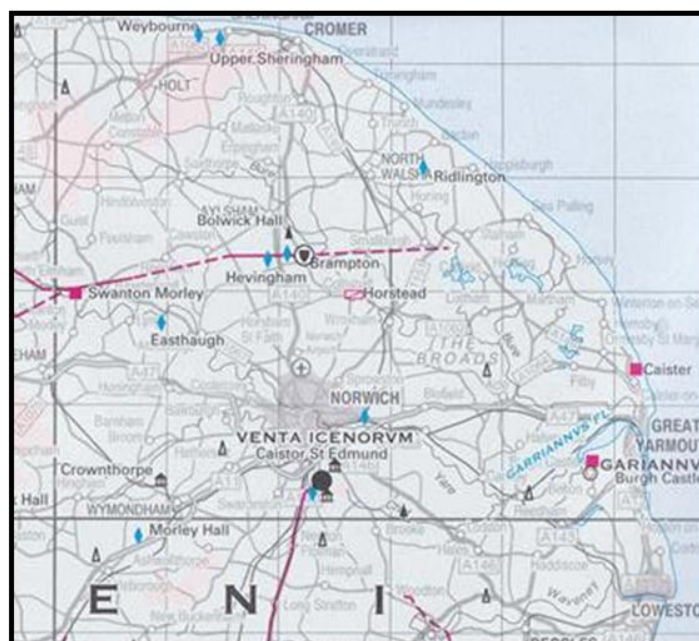
Projected Roman coastline



Peter Murphy, 'Coastal Change and Human Response', In *An Historical Atlas of Norfolk*, ed. by Trevor Ashwin and Alan Davison (Chichester: Phillimore Press, 2005), pp. 6 and 7 (p. 7)

Figure 4.15

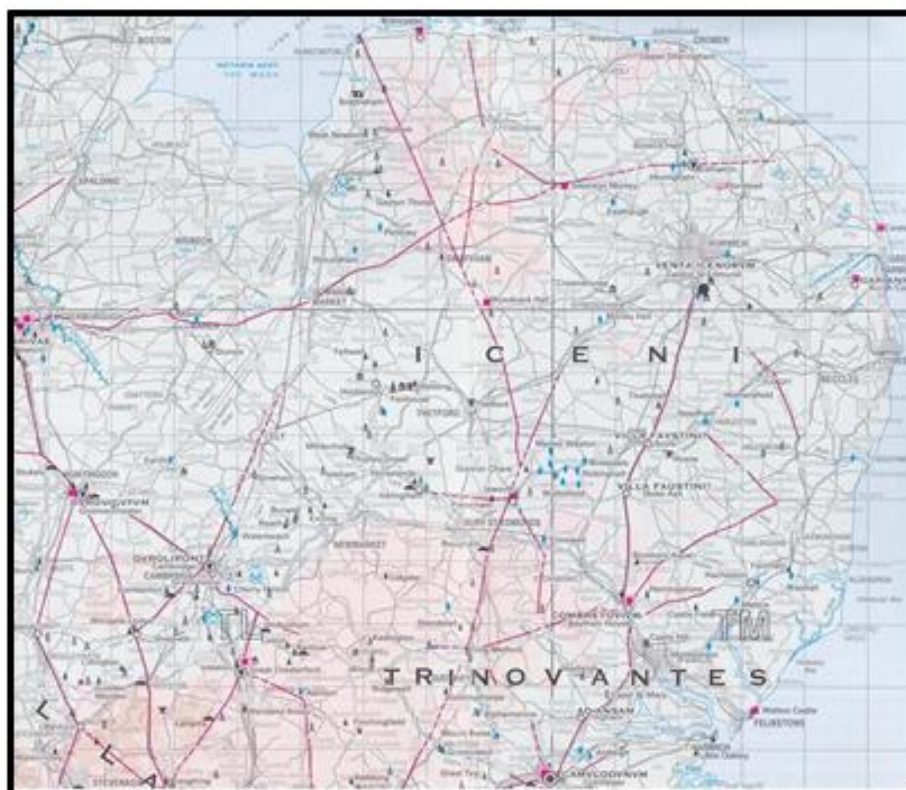
Projected Roman road system in Norfolk



Ordnance Survey, *Roman Britain 5th edn* (Southampton: Ordnance Survey, 2001)

Figure 4.16

Projected Roman road system in East Anglia



Ordnance Survey, Roman Britain 5th edn

Table 4.10

Archaeological material found at productive sites in Norfolk

Productive site	Presence and number of styli	Presence of Ipswich ware	Presence of Sceatta	Monastic presence
Bawsey	6	Significant quantities found suggesting intensive occupation in the eighth and nine centuries ²	None found	Yes
Burnham	None	Considerable quantities of Continental pottery. ³	Series Va sceatta (670-80) ending with Series R (730-50). In total 15 coins found	Yes
Congham	None	Finds of Ipswich ware and other metal work located at the site suggesting the	Series BII sceatta (700-10) ending with Series R sceatta	None found

² Andrew Rogerson, 'Six Middle Anglo-Saxon Sites in West Norfolk', in *Markets in Early Medieval Europe: Trading and 'Productive' Sites 650-850*, ed. by Tim Pestell and Katharina Ulmschneider (Macclesfield: Windgather Press). pp. 110 – 121 (pp. 113-120).

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 114-115

		area covered as much as 10 hectares ⁴	(730-50)	
Rudham	None	Large numbers of Ipswich shards and metal working suggesting an area of occupation about five hectares ⁵	Series D sceatta (710-715). Series E sceatta (710-30)	Yes
West Walton	none		Series G sceatta (710-25)	None found
Wormegay	2	Ipswich ware finds scattered across area around 1.8 hectares ⁶	Series B sceatta (700-10) Series BII sceatta (700-10) Series D sceatta (710-715) Series E sceatta (710-30) Series J sceatta (710-50) Series R sceatta (730-50)	Yes

⁴ Andrew Rogerson, 'Six Middle Anglo-Saxon Sites in West Norfolk', pp. 115-116

⁵ Ibid., pp. 116-117

⁶ Ibid., pp. 119-120

Appendix Three

Archaeological evidence at *-by* place names on Flegg.

The material has been organised into two distinct columns of information concerning the archaeological material found at the *-by* settlements on Flegg. The first series of five columns refer to the archaeological material found using the Norfolk Historic Environment Record online data base. The second series of five columns refer to the archaeological finds identified using the Portable Antiquities Scheme. In cases where identical artefacts were identified across both sources of information Appendix Three utilised the source which carried the most information regarding the archaeological item.⁷

Table 5.1

NORFOLK HISTORIC ENVIRONMENT					PORTABLE ANTIQUITIES SCHEME				
Settlement Name	Norfolk Historic Environment Record No.	Object	Description	Period	Settlement name	Portable Antiquities Scheme	Object	Description	Period
Ashby & Oby	NH14395	Grubenhous	See below	Early Saxon 411-650	Ashby & Oby	NMS-967E13	Stirrup strap mount	Late Saxon copper alloy stirrup-strap mount, worn and corroded, oval with trilobate apex pierced by across rivet-hole, two further rivet-holes in expanded base, cast with a possible hirsute human mask with symmetrical looping shapes possibly representing hair, angled flange at base, 28 x 55mm. Cf. Williams 1997, Class A, Type 4, closest to no.81. 11th century	Late Saxon 851-1065
Clippesby	NH8617	Window	Blocked window of 12 th century church may be of late Anglo-Saxon origin	Late Saxon 851-1065					

⁷ Not all finds have been recorded by the Portable Antiquities Scheme for the settlements on Flegg and where there are no finds at the settlement name it has been omitted from the PAS section

Filby	NH16336	Pottery	Late Saxon Thetford Ware rim	Late Saxon 851-1065	Filby	NMS-DF0FD2	brooch	Early Saxon Cruciform brooch, very corroded, small with double C-shaped stamps bordering vertical edges of rectangular head-plate and raised central panel, flat-backed integral side and top knobs, pierced lug containing fragment of iron pin on reverse, very pitted bow and fragment of broken foot (ancient break), 37 x >51m	Early Saxon 411-650
	NH41987	Brooch	Cruciform brooch with double C shaped stamps bordering vertical edges of rectangular head-plate and raised central panel	Early Saxon 411-650					
	NH16366	Pottery	No description provided	Late Saxon 851-1065					
	NH31050	Brooch	Head and most of bow of early Anglo-Saxon cruciform brooch. Vs and double half annula stamp on head	Early Saxon 411-650					
	NH25864	Prick spur	Point found at the end of a spur to control a horse	Middle to late Anglo-Saxon period					

	NH27619	Grubenhau	See above for detailed description	Early Saxon 411-650					
Filby (continued)	NH34258	Saxon Cuneiform Brooch	A bow brooch with a horse's head terminal. Leg and foot from a very narrow Early Saxon cruciform brooch. The leg is broken (fairly fresh break) at the top of the catch plate where the leg is flat in section. This part ends with a transverse groove and then the main part of the leg is half-round in section, ending with 2 transverse grooves. The catch plate is chunky and nearly tubular. The horse's head terminal is smoothly modeled with slight swellings for eyes, a ridge down the nose and small oval nostrils. A very early Anglo Saxon type. Could have been made in Germany. Early 5th century	Early Saxon 411-650					
Hemsby	NH24527	Coin	<i>Sceatta</i> , porcupine standard with Frisian/northeast Frankish connections.	Middle Saxon 651-850	Hemsby	NMS-26E524	Silver ingot	Anglo-Scandinavian silver ingot: a bar of sub-rectangular cross-section with transverse hammer marks on one broad face. Verdigris is present on parts of the surface. Length 24mm, width 11.5mm, thickness 6.5mm. Weight 9.64g / 149.0 grains. This is overweight for one	Late Saxon 851-1065

								third of a Dublin Norse weight unit of 26.6g, is very little above 3 x an Anglo-Saxon unit of 3.1g (Kruse 1992, 86-7), and is very close in weight (9.74g) to an example from Horton Kirby, Kent (Treasure Annual Report 2004 75, no. 100). Transverse hammering is common on ingots found in Scandinavian hoards	
Hemsby (continued)	NH8565	Quern	No description provided	Early Saxon 411-650					
	NH8565	Loom weight	Weights used on a type of vertical loom to hold the vertical threads taut.	Early Saxon 411-650					
		Pot	No description provided	Early Saxon 411-650					
	NH33159	Saxon disk brooch	Late Saxon disc of thin sheet bronze, relief decoration of voided cross with forks at each arm end. No means of attachment on reverse. May be applied plate soldered to a disc brooch.	Late Saxon 851-1065					

Mautby	NH34669	Saxon Bridle cheek pieces	Cast wavy edge with three broken projecting arms	Late Saxon 851-1065	Mautby	NMS-C078A2	Cruciform brooch	Fragment of Early Saxon cruciform brooch, very corroded with erupting bronze disease, broken at base of mostly missing bow, most of detail missing, remains of D-sectioned moulding at animal-head terminal with projecting eyes, triangular-sectioned snout, terminal missing, vertical scar from missing catch-plate on reverse	Early Saxon 411-650
	NH37425	Metal work	Early Saxon silver sword pommel	Early Saxon 411-650					
	NH33348	Brooch	No description given	Late Saxon 851-1065	Mautby (continued)	NMS-BFA905	belt mount	Early Saxon copper alloy gilt belt mount, sub-rectangular with stepped constriction before break at narrowed end, face with a panel of cast Style II decoration comprising two beaked heads flanking a mask above a smaller head emerging from the remains of triple-strand interlace. There is an incomplete integral rivet	Middle Saxon 651-850
	NH37426	Brooch	Disc brooch very worn Borre-style decoration comprising concave-sided figure with each of the four corners extended to form interlaced, doubled contoured knots, circular sunken field in centre	Late Saxon 851-1065					

Mautby (continued)	NH37426	mount	Urnes-style mount from furniture or harness, very corroded cast openwork, decorated with an elaborate sinous dragon-like beast in combat with a snake	Late Saxon 851-1065		NMS-ACDEF4	brooch	Incomplete corroded and damaged gilt cast copper alloy Ansate brooch, bow with flat face decorated with an engraved voided concave-sided lozenge between four outer dots and with central dot. The angled upper and lower faces of the bow (one broken) are decorated with longitudinal notches. The decoration on the foot of the brooch is the same as that on the central face of the bow. there is a stump of an off-set catch-plate on the reverse.	Middle to late Saxon 700-900
	NH25151	SALT WORKS	A type of clay hut used for early salt production. The huts had a hole in the roof to allow smoke to escape. Large fires were lit beneath clay troughs of brine to evaporate water leaving salt crystals. Sea water would not have been used in salterns, but rather brine produced by passing fresh water over salt-rich sand collected from beneath the sea and packed into clay troughs. The saltern works are believed to be belong to Late Saxon and or Medieval Period	Late Saxon 851-1065	Mautby (continued)	NMS-5BCA92	brooch	Late Saxon fragment of unidentified object, similar to a fragment from tentatively identified as part of a possible domed oval ('Tortoise') brooch, cast openwork with central boss and remains of at least five fragmentary perforations between lines of small bosses, smooth inner surface, >23 x >21mm. 4mm thick (7mm thick at central boss). This small fragment may represent only the fifth example of a Viking oval brooch known from Norfolk, the others, in addition to the example from Mileham, being a pair of brooches from a burial in Santon in Lynford parish (HER 5668) and two fragments of one brooch from Wormegay (HER 17286; recorded on the PAS database as NMS156). Cf. Graham-Campbell (1980), 33-6, nos.112-124. 9th-10th century.	Late Saxon 851-1065

Mautby (continued)	NH42412	SALT WORKS	See 25151	Late Saxon 851-1065	Mautby (continued)	NMS- 088222	Furniture or harness	Late Saxon copper alloy Urnes-style mount from furniture or harness, very corroded cast openwork, decorated with an elaborate sinuous dragon-like beast in combat with a snake. The head of the beast faces left with open curling beak-like mouth, curved neck and horizontal body at the base of the sub-rectangular plate (33 x 40mm), the remainder of which is filled with beasts tail with trefoil terminal resting behind its curving neck and the interlaced body of the snake in a familiar motif of the Urnes style. There are six smaller holes around the outer edge, three of which contain corroded copper alloy rivets. Cf. similar mount from Brampton (24451) and beasts in combat motif on brooches in Campbell (1980) nos.151 and 502. 11th century.	Late Saxon 851-1065
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Mautby (continued)	NH33269	Saxon stirrup mount	Late Saxon upper part of copper alloy openwork stirrup mount with openwork decoration. 2 suspension holes with iron staining. Heavy collars on both faces. Late Saxon 11th century.	Late Saxon 851-1065	Mautby (continued)	NMS- 07F833	brooch	Late Saxon copper alloy disc brooch, damaged outside edge, very worn Borre-style decoration comprising concave-sided figure with each of the four corners extended to form interlaced, double contoured knots, circular sunken field in centre, stumps of missing lug and catch- plate on reverse, diam.28mm. 10th century. Cf. West, 1998, 134.8	Late Saxon 851-1065
	NH36622	Bridle cheek	Fragment of square shape set diamond wise with a small knob at three corners	Late Saxon 851-1065		NMS- A206C5	brooch	Incomplete knob, probably a top knob, of a Group V florid cruciform (29mm x 17mm). Only one short length of the outer edge is original, the rest being broken away, as are the sides and inner edge where the knob would have joined the headplate. Thus none of the florid animal ornament is present. The short sides of a rectangular panel next to the junction are also intact. All breaks are ancient. Punched annulets follow the edges of the moulding that flares to the outer edge. The very distinctive rectangular panel can be compared with those on a brooch from Sleaford (Aberg 1926, fig. 84). 6th century.	Early Saxon 411- 650

Mautby (continued)	NH56622	Pot	Thetford Ware style	Late Saxon 851-1065	Mautby (continued)	NMS- F1D064	Strap end	<p>Late Saxon copper alloy Winchester style strap-end, rectangular, 20 x 31mm. Worn and corroded. A split attachment end has traces of a horizontal rib with oblique notches at the lower edge of a rectangular panel on both faces, pierced by two iron rivets. The body of the strap-end is decorated with a cast, chamfered, openwork pattern with central plant stem and tendrils that end in rectangular bosses on the sides. This piece is of identical form to a strap-end from Harling (HER6033) illustrated in EAA 74 (1995) fig.41, no.75, which was originally thought to be incomplete with terminal missing. However this example and others from Brisley/Beetley (HER 40853), Bracon Ash (34458), Colkirk (30867), Carleton Rode (39938), Little Witchingham (37279), Mautby (35147), Newton Flotman (32278), Old Hunstanton (1115), Tattersett/Tatterford (32604), Hindringham (25659) and Whissonsett (31800), demonstrate that these strap-ends are complete, although of oddly abbreviated form. 10th century.</p>	Late Saxon 851-1065
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Mautby (continued)	NH35147	Brooch	Tentatively identified as part of a possible domed oval (tortoise) brooch, cast openwork with central boss and remains of at least five fragmentary perforations between lines of small bosses. This find may represent the only fifth example of a Viking oval brooch known from Norfolk	Late Saxon 851-1065	Mautby (continued)	NMS-703014	Strap end	Late Saxon copper alloy Winchester style strap-end, rectangular, 17 x 34mm. A split attachment end has two horizontal ribs with oblique notches bordering a rectangular panel on both faces, pierced by two iron rivets. The body of the strap-end is decorated with a cast, chamfered, openwork pattern with central plant stem and tendrils which end in rectangular bosses on the outside edges. This piece is slightly smaller than, although of identical form to, a strap-end from Harling (HER 6033) illustrated in EAA 74 (1995) fig.41, no.75, which was originally thought to be incomplete with terminal missing. However this example and others from Brisley/Beetley (HER40853), Bracon Ash (34458), Colkirk (30867), Carleton Rode (39938), Little Witchingham (37279), Newton Flotman (32278), Tattersett/Tatterford (32604) and Whissonsett (31800), demonstrate that these strap-ends are complete, although of oddly abbreviated form. 10th century.	Late Saxon 851-1065
	NH35147	Pot	No description	Late Saxon 851-1065		NMS-C91286	Sword pommel	An incomplete silver gilt sword pommel cap of 'cocked-hat' or concave-sided pyramid type. The profile has flat upper and lower edges (height 17mm). A longitudinal hollow on the broken underside contains traces of corroded solder. The surviving upper face is decorated with two deep pointed-oval grooves containing gilding, with an additional groove (also gilded) along the inside edge of both. The surviving end has twin projecting lugs both with dome-headed silver rivets (length 8mm).	Late Saxon 851-1065

								One face has three horizontal grooves bordering the lower edge, the other face has four grooves, each of which contains traces of gilding. The surface of the silver, probably originally gilded overall, is of a dull grey appearance, and the rivets are partly molten, indicating that the object has been subjected to secondary heating or burning. This form of pommel belongs to a group of 6th-century Anglo-Saxon swords that have a predominantly Kentish distribution.	
Mautby (continued)	NH35147	Strap End	A Winchester style strap end, with body decorated with a cast, chamfered, openwork pattern with central plant stem and tendrils which end in rectangular bosses on the outside edges. Similar to others found in Norfolk and are believed to have a 10 th century origin	Late Saxon 851-1065					
	NH35147	Unidentified object		Late Saxon 851-1065					

	NH23704	Brooch	Early Saxon unusual long brooch foot, Break very smooth. Possible Roman in origin from 2 nd century	Early Saxon 411-650					
	NH23704	Coin	Eanred of Northumbria styca early phase 810-37	Middle Saxon 651-850					
Mautby (continued)	NH33348	Dress component	Middle Saxon fragment of cast <u>copper hooked tag</u> . Sub-triangular head plate with stubs of 2 attachment holes. Collar below head with top of hook. Circle of white cement shows position of applied feature. Middle <u>Saxon</u> 7th/9th century.	Middle Saxon 651-850					
	NH33348	brooch	No description provided	Middle Saxon 651-850					
	NH41011	Strap end	Winchester style strap end with openwork pattern. Similar to others found in Norfolk and are believed to have a 10 th century origin	Late Saxon 851-1065					

	NH31209	Pot	Middle <u>Saxon</u> Body shard of fine sandy Ipswich ware.	Middle Saxon 651-850					
	NH31209	Brooch	Very worn 9th century <u>lozengiform</u> Viking brooch	Late Saxon 851-1065					
Mautby (continued)	NH31209	Strap end	Winchester style strap end, corroded, tongue shaped with cast openwork pattern worked on both sides with central plant stem and tendrils, projecting central lobe at terminal	Late Saxon 851-1065					
	NH34671	Strap fittings Strap end	Openwork relief-decorated strap end with remains of 2 rivet holes and some ring and dot can be seen. Below is a central stem springing from a boss set a little way below the split end. Four strands curve up and round to produce a pair of perforations both to left and right. Three strands emerge beneath to continue the central stem	Late Saxon 851-1065					

Mautby (continued)	NH34672	Stirrup Strap mount	Stirrup-strap mount of Williams' Class A, Type IIC depicting lion facing to the left, Anglo Scandinavian 11 th century	Late Saxon 851-1065					
	NH35721	Bridle bit	Cheek piece of unusual form, bent and flattened D sectioned bar, lozenge form terminal with knops at angles and oval perforation	Late Saxon 851-1065					

Mautby (continued)	NH35299	Stirrup terminal	Late <u>Saxon</u> incomplete <u>copper alloy stirrup</u> terminal. Most of the U- section tube which would have attached it to the corner of the iron <u>stirrup</u> is missing (old breaks) and inside the remaining part is a hard concretion of soil. The lower end of the tube is extended into a long stylised animal head and neck, which curves round and is attached back onto the tube at open jaws. There is a small projection at the outermost part of the curved neck, which may represent an ear or a lappet. 11th century.	Late Saxon 851-1065					
	NH49807	Pot	No description provided	Late Saxon 851-1065					

Mautby (continued)	NH39963	Bridle cheek piece	Late <u>Saxon</u> fragment of bridle cheek-piece, D-sectioned bar, groove on reverse, with <u>lozengiform</u> terminal with knops at angles and oval perforation, bar broken at transverse rib	Late Saxon 851-1065					
	NH51218	metal work	Curved bird' head terminal from a stave built wooden bucket	Early Saxon 411-650					
	NH53860	brooch	Cruciform brooch	Early Saxon 411-650					
	NH53860	Bridle bit	No description	Late Saxon 851-1065					
Ormesby St. Margaret with Scratby	NH24047	Brooch	Fine Middle <u>Saxon caterpillar brooch</u> with line of three ring-and-dots on each terminal, <u>mouldings</u> on bow and at junctions of bow and terminals, and remains of iron pin.	Middle Saxon 651-850	Ormesby St. Margaret with Scratby	NMS-822555	Sceatta	Very base silver or copper alloy sceatta, probably an imitation of Series R4 with garbled Runic inscription, cf Metcalf plate 25, no. 413, c.700-50	Middle Saxon 651-850

<p>Ormesby St. Margaret with Scratby (continued)</p>	<p>NH24047</p>	<p>Stirrup</p>	<p>Engraved decoration comprises scrolled and bifurcated stem with trefoil terminals set within bordering line around perforations and surviving edges. It is believed that this example represents only the second example of a Scandinavian stirrup with integral plate found in Britain. it is likely to date from 11th century</p>	<p>Late Saxon 851-1065</p>		<p>NMS-48B594</p>	<p>Stirrup strap mount</p>	<p>Late Saxon corroded fragment of integral plate from stirrup, rectangular with two original short edges, one long edge with slight recess at both ends of break, other long edge with concave corners and broken across remains of two perforations. Engraved decoration comprises scrolled and bifurcated stem with trefoil terminals, set within bordering line around perforations and surviving edge, 22 (at least) x 39mm, 2mm thick. Cf. Pederson (1996-7), figs.11-12 and Williams (1997), fig.2. If this identification proves to be correct, this would be only the second example of a Scandinavian stirrup with integral plate found in Britain (Williams 1997, 3-5), the related types of separate stirrup-strap mount being more commonly found. 11th century.</p>	<p>Late Saxon 851-1065</p>
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<p>Ormesby St. Margaret with Scratby (continued)</p>						<p>NMS- 48B594</p>	<p>Stirrup strap mount</p>	<p>Late Saxon corroded fragment of integral plate from stirrup, rectangular with two original short edges, one long edge with slight recess at both ends of break, other long edge with concave corners and broken across remains of two perforations. Engraved decoration comprises scrolled and bifurcated stem with trefoil terminals, set within bordering line around perforations and surviving edge, 22 (at least) x 39mm, 2mm thick. Cf. Pederson (1996-7), figs.11-12 and Williams (1997), fig.2. If this identification proves to be correct, this would be only the second example of a Scandinavian stirrup with integral plate found in Britain (Williams 1997, 3-5), the related types of separate stirrup-strap mount being more commonly found. 11th century.</p>	<p>Late Saxon 851- 1065</p>
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	NH24047	Strap end	Anglo Saxon no description	Late Saxon 851-1065					
Ormesby St. Margaret with Scratby (continued)	NH24047	Strap end	Borre-style	Late Saxon 851-1065					
	NH24047	Pottery	Potter shards	Middle Saxon 651-850					
	NH24047	Strap end	No description	Late Saxon 851-1065					
	NH24047	Coin	No description	Middle Saxon					
	NH34026	Pot	No description provided	Middle Saxon 651-850					

<p>Ormesby St. Margaret with Scratby (continued)</p>	<p>NH34685</p>	<p>Drinking horn terminal</p>	<p>Drinking horn terminal made of cast bronze used by rich Anglo Saxon in the late 6th and early 7th century. Drinking horns were occasionally put into rich mans graves as they were symbolic of ritual feasting. Terminal similar to the one found at Sutton Hoo but made of bronze instead of silver. it may be from a grave, lost at a settlement or lost whilst travelling</p> <p>Decription by Dr. Helen Geake Great Yarmouth Museum</p>	<p>Early Saxon 411-650</p>					
	<p>NH37383</p>	<p>Building fragments</p>	<p>No description provided</p>	<p>Late Saxon 851-1065</p>		<p>NMS1695</p>	<p>Stirrup strap mount</p>	<p>A late Anglo-Saxon copper alloy stirrup-strap mount, quite worn, decorated with engraved addorsed beasts beneath pendant lobe, the outline of heads creating knobbed profile, flange at base with single corrosion-filled rivet-hole, 26 x 35mm. Cf. Williams 1997, simplified version of Class A, type 1. 11th century.</p>	<p>Late Saxon 851-1065</p>

	NH31773	<u>Saxon</u> cemetery (Inhumation)	Grave containing 70 skeletons probably dating from 10 th century. No evidence of grave goods suggesting Christian burials	Late Saxon 851-1065		NMS-6961B7	Strap end	Incomplete Middle Saxon to Late Saxon copper alloy strap end of Thomas' (2003) Class A type 5, upper end broken, attachment-end missing. Decorated with sub-rectangular cells, impressions of mostly missing scrolling silver wire in the inlaid niello. Animal-head terminal with a curved groove in both the moulded ears, and on the forehead, between the ears and the eyes a small concave-sided lozenge with niello. Broken below eyes, snout missing. Surviving length 21mm. Width 9mm. 9th century.	Late Saxon 851-1065
	NH34029	Pottery	No description provided	Middle Saxon 651-850					
Ormesby St. Margaret with Scratby (continued)	NH37557	Stirrup strap mount	Late <u>Saxon copper alloy</u> stirrup-strap <u>mount</u> , quite worn, decorated with engraved <u>addorsed</u> beasts beneath pendant lobe, the outline of heads creating knobbed profile, flange at base with single corrosion-filled rivet-hole	Late Saxon 851-1065					
	NH54170	Silver and strap end	Silver ingot and unidentified strap end	Late Saxon 851-1065					
Ormesby St. Michael	34686	Bridle bit	Metal detecting between 1998 and 2003 recovered part of a Viking horse harness 11 th century origin	Late Saxon 851-1065					

Rollesby	NH37560	Stirrup strap mount	Worn and corroded sub-triangular openwork, broken pierced lobe above zoomorphic head at apex, looping and bifurcating tendrils, with perforations between, ending in lobes. Believed to be Williams' Class A possible 11 th century in origin	Late Saxon 851-1065	Rollesby	NMS-DB2712	Stirrup strap mount	Copper alloy stirrup-strap mount of Williams 1997 Class B, Type 4, with a surface of corroded and very purple metal, which appears to have been stripped, although the detail of the cast mask is quite sharp and well defined, there is a perforation at the apex with the corroded remains of an iron rivet. There is also a fixing hole in an obliquely angled flange with the remains of a corroded iron rivet and a fragment of back-plate on reverse. The mask is closest to no.460, however it is better defined and more elaborate with (unusual) perforated eyes. Width 26mm. Length 43mm. 11th century.	Late Saxon 851-1065
	NH41927	<u>Saxon wrist clasp</u>	Square central boss decorated with counter relief swastika with curved arms, rectangular projection on one side with row of semi-circular stamps along outside edge	Early Saxon 411-650				Incomplete Late Saxon stirrup-strap mount, worn and corroded sub-triangular openwork, broken pierced lobe above zoomorphic head at apex, looping and bifurcating tendrils, with perforations between, ending in lobes. A pair of heads (one broken) project from either side of base with wing projecting upward from both, blind holes between relief decoration. Base pierced by two iron rivets (no flange) retaining fragment of corroded iron plate on reverse. 28 x >47mm. Williams's (1997) Class A, Type 8, design closest to no.142. 11th century	Late Saxon 851-1065
	NH52785	Stirrup strap mount	Late Saxon stirrup strap mount (unidentified)	Late Saxon 851-1065		NMS-DFCDC3	Stirrup strap mount		
Stokesby and Herringby	NH41010	Metal working site and casting waste	Fragments of casting waste found close to the strap end	Late Saxon 851-1065	Stokesby and Herringby	NMS-528DBC	Pottery	Ten shards of Late Saxon Thetford Ware pottery, three jar rim, one flat base and six body (one with an applied thumbled strip)	Late Anglo-Saxon 850 to 1100

	NH41010	Strap end	Incomplete Winchester-style strap end believed to be Thomas's Class E type 2	Late Saxon 851-1065		NMS-DF6F41	brooch	Fragment of Early Saxon Cruciform brooch, worn and corroded, part of chamfered bow with traces of three engraved median lines with three transverse lines at both ends, ancient break at both ends, at least 15 x 32mm.	Early Saxon 411-650
Stokesby and Herringby (continued)	NH41010	Bridle bit	Miscast with casting flash around outside edge, comprising rectangular-sectioned bar with lozengiform terminal with knops at angles and oval perforation, bar ends towards break	Late Saxon 851-1065		NMS-DD76B7	Tweezers	Incomplete bent and distorted sheet copper-alloy tweezers, one arm and terminal missing, surviving arm slightly expanded before break near original bend. Stirrup-shaped terminal (width 12mm) with remains of inturned end. Cf. Hinton 'Hamwic' (1996), fig.18, 4/5. 8th-9th century.	Middle Saxon 651-850
	NH41010	Pot	No description provided	Middle Saxon 651-850		NMS-03AB36	Strap end	Late Saxon Winchester-style strap-end, broken and very corroded, metal has purplish appearance. Tongue-shaped, stepped attachment end pierced by two rivet-holes (one round, one square), cast open-work symmetrical plant with two pairs of lobe-ended tendrils springing from triangular mask (with large ears) at top of central calyx, fragments of further tendrils at lower broken section, flat backed, terminal missing, 25 x (at least) 45mm. Thomas's Class E, Type 2. Cf. examples from Burgh and Tuttington 33592 and Whissonsett 31800. 11th century.	Late Saxon 851-1065

	NH41010	Balance scale pan	Although scale pans of this type are known from as early as the sixth and seventh centuries this example is likely to be Late Saxon or early medieval	Late Saxon 851-1065		NMS1456	Strap end	LS Ae fragment of strap-end, cast openwork, split attachment-end with two rivet-holes (one with Ae rivet) and decorated with two horizontal rows of four ring-and-dot on both front and back, anthropomorphic head at top of central stem from which project flanking curling tendrils, part of one side and terminal missing, very similar example from Colkirk. 10th century. Thomas Class E	Late Saxon 851-1065
	NH44735	Pot/roof tile	1 jar rim Thetford Ware, reduced fabric with smoothed exterior	Late Saxon 851-1065		NMS-528DBC	Pottery	Ten sherds of Late Saxon Thetford Ware pottery, three jar rim, one flat base and six body (one with an applied thumbed strip), weight 77g, c.850 - c.1100.	Late Saxon 851-1065
Stokesby and Herringby (continued)	NH42566	Brooch	Fragment of Cruciform brooch worn and corroded, part of chamfered bow with traces of three engraved median lines with three transverse lines at both ends, ancient break at both ends	Early Saxon 411-650					
	NH42566	Pot	Pottery shards undefined period	Early Saxon 411-650					
	NH31480	Brooch	Lozinglyform openwork Borre-style	Late Saxon 851-1065					
	NH31480	Pot	1 jar rim Thetford Ware	Late Saxon 851-1065					
	NH37430	Furniture fitting	Design of stylised animal head with Anglo-Scandinavian finds from York	Late Saxon 851-1065					

<p>Stokesby and Herringby (continued)</p>		<p>Strap end</p>	<p>Cast openwork, split attachment-end with two rivet holes and decorated with two horizontal rows of four ring and dot on both front and back, anthropomorphic head at top of central stem</p>	<p>Late Saxon 851-1065</p>					
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Archaeology at English place names on Flegg

The material has been organised into two distinct columns of information concerning the archaeological material found at the –by settlements on Flegg. The first series of five columns refer to the archaeological material found using the Norfolk Historic Environment’s online data base. The second series of five columns refer to the archaeological finds identified using the Portable Antiquities Scheme. In cases where identical artefacts were identified across both sources of information Appendix Three utilised the source which carried the most information regarding the archaeological item.⁸

Table 5.2

NORFOLK HISTORIC ENVIRONMENT					PORTABLE ANTIQUITIES SCHEME				
Settlement Name	Norfolk Historic Environment Record No.	Object	Description where provided	Period (AD)	Settlement Name	Portable Antiquities Scheme	Object	Description where provided	Period
Caister	NH8675	Inhumation burial		Early-Anglo Saxon (450-650)					
	NH8675	Cremation (cremation)		Early-Anglo Saxon (450-650)					
	NH8675	Inhumation		Early Anglo-Saxon (450-650)					
	NH8675	hanging bowl		Early Anglo-Saxon (450-650)					

⁸ Not all finds have been recorded by the Portable Antiquities Scheme for the settlements on Flegg and where there are no finds at the settlement name it has been omitted from the PAS section

	NH8675	Pot		Early Anglo-Saxon (450-650)					
	NH8675	Ring		Early Anglo-Saxon (450-650)					
	NH8675	Shield		Early Anglo-Saxon (450-650)					
	NH8675	Cemetery	Found inside the fort	Middle Anglo-Saxon (651-850)					
	NH8675	Hearth		Middle Anglo-Saxon (651-850)					
Caister (continued)	NH8675	Monastery		Middle Anglo-Saxon (651-850)					
	NH8675	Roundhouse		Middle Anglo-Saxon (651-850)					
	NH8675	Animal remain		Middle Anglo-Saxon (651-850)					
	NH8675	Coffin		Middle Anglo-Saxon (651-850)					
	NH8675	Coin	Sceatta	Middle Anglo-Saxon (651-850)					
	NH8675	Finger ring		Middle Anglo-Saxon (651-850)					

	NH8675	Gravestone		Middle Anglo-Saxon (651-850)					
	NH8675	Harnes		Middle Anglo-Saxon (651-850)					
	NH8675	Knife		Middle Anglo-Saxon (651-850)					
	NH8675	Loom weight		Middle Anglo-Saxon (651-850)					
	NH8675	Nail		Middle Anglo-Saxon (651-850)					
Caister (continued)	NH8675	Pot		Middle Anglo-Saxon (651-850)					
	NH8675	Spear		Middle Anglo-Saxon (651-850)					
	NH8675	Textile equipment		Middle Anglo-Saxon (651-850)					
	NH8675	Ship burial		Middle Anglo-Saxon (651-850)					
	NH8675	Cemetery	found inside the fort	Late Anglo-Saxon (851- 1066)					
	NH8675	Inhumation	found inside the fort	Late Anglo-Saxon (851- 1066)					

	NH8675	Pit		Late Anglo-Saxon (851-1066)					
	NH8675	Ship burial		Late Anglo-Saxon (851-1066)					
	NH8675	Pot		Late Anglo-Saxon (851-1066)					
	NH8675	Crucible		Late Anglo-Saxon (851-1066)					
Caister (continued)	NH12872	Pot		Middle Anglo-Saxon (651-850)					
	NH12872	Brooch		Late Anglo-Saxon (851-1066)					
	NH12872	Dress Component		Late Anglo-Saxon (851-1066)					
	NH12872	Furniture fitting		Late Anglo-Saxon (851-1066)					
	NH45329	Pit	Pit found inside fort containing substantial quantity of Late Roman pottery and other residue	Middle Anglo-Saxon (651-850)					

	NH45329	Pot		Middle Anglo-Saxon (651-850)					
	NH13688	Cremation and cemetery	Cremation urns possible late Roman or Anglian	Early Anglo-Saxon (450- 650)					
Caister (continued)	NH15997	Brooch		Early Anglo-Saxon (450- 650)					
	NH9828	Coin	Group 1 standard series 2b	Middle Anglo-Saxon (651-850)					
	NH38155	Finger ring		Late Anglo-Saxon (851- 1066)					

Caister (continued)	NH8680	Coin	Coin of Emperor John Ziniscos 961 which may have been brought to Norfolk as Viking loot	Late Anglo-Saxon (851-1066)					
East and West Somerton	NH8581	Brick	No description	Early Anglo-Saxon (450-650)	East and West Somerton	NMS-6705D7	Clasp	Incomplete Early Saxon Wrist copper alloy clasp of Hines 1993 Form B20 (p.65, fig.124c), broken, worn and corroded, eye or hook missing, . Bar with traces of two groups of transverse lines. Rear edge broken across two attachment	Early Anglo Saxon (450-650)

<p>East and West Somerton (continued)</p>	<p>NH8581</p>	<p>Brick 9</p>		<p>Middle Anglo-Saxon (651-850)</p>		<p>NMS- E7DEDC</p>	<p>stirrup</p>	<p>Incomplete Late Saxon stirrup terminal of Williams' Class L, with three rounded toe-like lobes, the side ones flattened by hammering, cracked flat base, horizontal rib below broken remains of straight upper edge. Traces of solder in aperture. Height 28mm. Base (distorted) 22 x 10mm. 11th century.</p>	<p>Late Anglo-Saxon (851-1066)</p>
	<p>NH31345</p>	<p>Buckle</p>	<p>Aquitanian Type</p>	<p>Early or Middle Anglo-Saxon (450-650)</p>		<p>NMS- 678997</p>	<p>Stirrup strap mount</p>	<p>Incomplete unusual Late Saxon stirrup strap mount, Unclassified (no close parallel in Williams 1997, although broadly related to fig.60, no.474). Rectangular, flat-sectioned, with concave-sided projection ending in a trefoil at apex, broken across perforation, central foil missing, two rivet holes at base, broken flange on reverse. The face is decorated with engraved rocker-arm bordering line with twin transverse lines across narrowed base of trefoil. Surviving height 48mm. Width 31.5mm. 2mm thick. c.851-1065</p>	<p>Late Anglo-Saxon (851-1066)</p>

⁹ The two bricks found at St. Mary's Church in West Somerton were found within the fabric of a window frame and were tentatively identified as either examples of Early/Middle Anglo-Saxon bricks. NHER number 8581, <http://www.heritage.norfolk.gov.uk> [accessed 30th May 2019]

	NH31345	Buckle	Aquitanian Type	Early or Middle Anglo-Saxon (651-850)		NMS-4DF205	Stirrup strap mount	Late Saxon stirrup strap mount, nine-petaled flower-shaped, each foil with double-incised line echoing sub-triangular form, iron rivet in centre, slight flange at base pierced by two iron rivets with much iron corrosion and corroded remains of iron plate on reverse	Late Anglo-Saxon (851-1066)
East and West Somerton (continued)	NH31345	Stirrup strap mount	No description	Late Anglo-Saxon (851-1066)	East and West Somerton (continued)	SF-1A0D32	Stirrup strap mount	A late early-medieval copper alloy stirrup-strap mount. The metal has corroded to a distinctive reddish brown colour. According to Williams 1997 classification, it is a Class A mount of type 6. It is approximately triangular in shape with added broad shoulders near the apex. The decoration on this mount can be most closely paralleled with that of Williams no.103. The margins of the mount are outlined by two snake-like creatures. The raised decorative lines on the shoulders of the mount are mirrored to either side of the centre, and represent the bifurcating tails of each snake. This decoration can be seen more clearly on Williams no. 102 from Vintry, London	Late Anglo saxon

	NH16141	Pot	No description	Late Anglo-Saxon (851-1066)		NMS-6E0DD8	Brooch	Worn and corroded Late Saxon copper alloy disc brooch, with cast Borre-style decoration comprising a concave-sided figure with each of the four corners extended to form interlaced, double contoured knots, Kershaw's (2013, 56-61, fig. 3.19) East Anglian Series Type II. On the reverse the catchplate is set at 90 degrees to the edge opposite a perforated pin lug. There is no sign of an attachment loop this is a Scandinavian arrangement	Late Anglo-Saxon (851-1066)
East and West Somerton (continued)	NH31478	Strap fitting		Late Anglo-Saxon (851-1066)	East and West Somerton (continued)	NMS-374F15	Brooch	Incomplete Early Saxon copper alloy small-long brooch, damaged rectangular head plate with remains of one of two round apertures near the top corners and of slight notches on the lower edge. Faceted bow and faceted panel on the foot with transverse convex moulding, damaged slightly splayed terminal. Broken single pin lug within corrosion and broken catch-plate on reverse. Corroded and pitted overall.	Early Anglo-Saxon (450-650)

	NH16781	Pot		Middle Anglo-Saxon (651-850)		SF7796	brooch	Lead nummular brooch, complete but crumpled and cracked. 31 mm in diameter, it is decorated with concentric rings of ornament. In the very centre is a relief cross with expanded arms, with a small boss in the middle. Around this is a ring of ladder pattern, and then a ring of pellets and another ring of ladder pattern. On the reverse is a transverse pin lug and a catchplate, both of similar size and both squashed nearly flat; the pin when horizontal would run along the same orientation as the central cross. The design of nummular brooches, as the name suggests, is ultimately based on coins.	Late Anglo-Saxon (851-1066)
East and West Somerton (continued)	NH32033	Pot	Thetware pottery	Late Anglo-Saxon (851-1066)		NMS-5F7634	Strap end	Fragment of copper alloy Winchester style strap end, cast tongue-shaped with transverse break along the beginning of the split to accommodate the strap across the remains of three secondary rivet-rivet-holes, openwork with remains of relief decoration on one face comprising probable symmetrical plant with central calyx between zoomorphic elements. Dimensions of 28 mm x at least 26 mm. Thomas's Class E, Type 1 (2004). Dates to the 10th-11th century	Late Anglo-Saxon (851-1066)
	NH36158	Brooch	Small Loop brooch	Early Anglo-Saxon (450-650)					

East and West Somerton (continued)	NH55419	Strap end	Late Saxon Strap end no explanation provided	Late Anglo-Saxon (851-1066)					
	NH56826	Glass	Early Saxon annular glass bead	Early Anglo-Saxon (450-650)					
	NH56826	Stirrup strap mount		Late Anglo-Saxon (851-1066)					
	NH56917	Sleeve/Wrist clasp		Early Anglo-Saxon (450-650)					

Martham	NH24405	Brooch	Cruciform brooch	Early Anglo-Saxon (450-650)	Martham	NMS-E2C662	Brooch	Incomplete copper alloy Late Saxon Anglo-Scandinavian disc brooch dating to the period c.AD 900 - 1000. The front exhibits cast Borre-style decoration comprising a concave-sided lozenge with a central circular recess. Each of the four corners of the lozenge extends to form interlaced, double contoured knots. Approximately 20% of the circumference is missing due to post-depositional damage. On the reverse are two stubs, indicating the position of the Anglo-Saxon pierced double-lug. The lug is surrounded by traces of iron corrosion product from the missing pin. A common 10th-century type in East Anglia carrying a relatively standardised design based on a Scandinavian prototype	Late Anglo-Saxon (851-1066)
Martham	NH24405	Buckle		Early Anglo-Saxon (450-650)	Martham	NMS-349C14	brooch	A Late Saxon gilt copper alloy composite disc brooch of Continental manufacture, comprising an octofoil back-plate, a central boss with an overlapping sheet side with a chamfered upper edge, enclosing two central pellets within three outward-facing C-shaped filigree bands, within a filigree border. The central boss is surrounded by eight smaller convex bosses, each of which is bordered by filigree and has a central setting for a glass pellet, three of which survive. There is a catch-plate and a double-lug retaining an iron pin on the reverse. It may be compared with a broadly related 'Unique type (flower-shaped)' example in J. M. Bos (2007/8), part II, Disc Brooches in Friesland, p. 785, 2.5.1.29., which dates from the 9 th -10 th century. Rosie Weetch has identified it as being one of her 'Ottonian' type brooches, dating to the 10th and 11th centuries.	Late Anglo-Saxon (851-1066)

<p>Martham (continued)</p>	<p>NH24405</p>	<p>Hanging bowl</p>	<p>Escutcheon from a hanging bowl</p>	<p>Early Anglo-Saxon (450- 650)</p>	<p>Martham (continued)</p>	<p>NMS- 942630</p>	<p>brooch</p>	<p>Late Saxon cast copper-alloy disc brooch with backward-looking beast within border of 28 pellets (the most frequently recorded number of pellets on a brooch of this type). The beast has a forked, upturned tail, open jaws and a spiky mane. Ring-and-dot eye, single ring-and-dots on beast's breast and haunches. The beast has four legs, with three toes on each, although the foot furthest to the left is indistinguishable from the spikes of the mane. On the reverse are the remains of a pin lug positioned directly behind the beast's head. A small raised rectangular area indicates the position of the catch plate. This example is in very good condition, with well-defined decoration. Diameter 27mm. Weight 5.9g. Backward turning animal brooches are thought to date to the late Saxon period, probably from the early tenth century onwards. The type is characteristic of East Anglia but are also found in Lincolnshire. This example is the eighth in a series of mould-identical backward turning animal brooches found in Norfolk, with other examples known from</p>	<p>Late Anglo-Saxon (851-1066)</p>
					<p>294</p>				

<p>Martham (continued)</p>	<p>NH24405</p>	<p>Pot</p>		<p>Middle Anglo-Saxon (651-850)</p>		<p>NMS- B5A4F7</p>	<p>brooch</p>	<p>Late Saxon Disc brooch, damaged outside edge, worn deeply-cast Borre-style decoration comprising concave-sided figure with each of the four corners extended to form interlaced, double contoured knots, circular sunken field in centre, broken pierced lug with fragment of iron pin and broken catch-plate on reverse, diam.30mm. 10th century. Cf. West, 1998, 134.8.</p>	<p>Late Anglo-Saxon (851-1066)</p>
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<p>Martham (continued)</p>	<p>NH24405</p>	<p>Brooch</p>		<p>Late Anglo-Saxon (851-1066)</p>	<p>Martham (continued)</p>	<p>NMS-0D9C70</p>	<p>stirrup</p>	<p>Unusual Late Saxon/Medieval stirrup terminal, cast in the form of an angular splayed three-toed foot with a double collar around the mouth that contains a fragment of the side of the iron spur, and a rectangular perforation on the reverse from which the horizontal bar would have projected, of which a fragment remains in situ. The terminal must have been cast around the iron spur as there is no sign of a join on the reverse. The toes are defined by two deep notches, above which are four horizontal incised lines. There are four similar lines on one side of the terminal and a more deeply engraved border containing three oblique lines on the other side. 16mm x 23mm. This terminal is unlike any in David Williams's provisional classification (unpublished), although it could be argued that it is perhaps a developed form of his Class L. 11th-12th century.</p>	<p>Late Anglo-Saxon (851-1066)</p>
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Martham (continued)	NH24405	Buckle		Late Anglo-Saxon (851-1066)	Martham (continued)	NMS-1B58A6	Strap end	Badly abraded and incomplete probably Middle Saxon or Late Saxon copper alloy strap end with an iron rivet through the split end. The rounded attachment edge carries faint signs of six filed edge notches on the front face. The sides taper gently towards an ancient break. Extant length 21.5mm. Length of split socket 11.5mm. Width 9.5mm. 8th - 10th century.	Middle to Late Anglo-Saxon (651-850)
	NH15388	Brooch	Nummular disc brooch	Early Anglo-Saxon (450-650)		1954CD	Pottery	Two sherds of Middle Saxon Ipswich ware pottery, simply, rim of West 1963 Group I type E and body weight 22g, early 8th - mid 9th century.	Middle Anglo-Saxon (651-850)
		Pot		Early Anglo-Saxon (450-650)		NMS-6F9465	Pottery	Four sherds of Middle Saxon Ipswich ware pottery, two jar rim and two body, fine sandy, weight 79g, c.720 - c.850.	Middle Anglo-Saxon (651-850)
		Shield		Early Anglo-Saxon (450-650)		NMS-2136D2	Pottery	Two sherds of Late Saxon Thetford-type ware pottery, jar rim and flat basal, weight 48g, c.850 - c.1100.	Late Anglo-Saxon (851-1066)

Martham (continued)	NH15388	Brooch		Middle Anglo-Saxon (651-850)	Martham (continued)	NMS- 2126F6	Pottery	Rim sherd of Middle Saxon Ipswich ware pottery jar, fine sandy, West 1963, Group 1 Type C, weight 8g, c.720 - c.850.	Middle Anglo-Saxon (651-850)
		Pot		Middle Anglo-Saxon (651-850)		NMS- 210C55	Pottery	One sherd of pottery, probably Early to Middle Saxon, hand built, dark reduced with one yellowish brown surface, the other lost, sparse sand and organic tempering, weight 4g, 5th - mid 9th century.	Early to Middle Anglo Saxon Period (450 to 851)
		Brooch		Late Anglo-Saxon (851-1066)		NMS- 205391	Pottery	One sagging basal sherd of Late Saxon Thetford Ware pottery, weight 7g, c.850 - c.1100	Late Anglo-Saxon (851-1066)
		Dress Component		Late Anglo-Saxon (851-1066)		NMS- 2043A4	Pottery	One body sherd of Middle Saxon Ipswich ware pottery, pimply, weight 16g, c.720 - c.850.	Middle Anglo-Saxon (651-850)
		Pot		Late Anglo-Saxon (851-1066)					
		Stirrup strap mount		Late Anglo-Saxon (851-1066)					
	NH15839	Pot		Early Anglo-Saxon (450-650)					

Martham (continued)		Pot		Late Anglo-Saxon (851-1066)					
		Strap end		Late Anglo-Saxon (851-1066)					
	NH41693	Pot		Middle Anglo-Saxon (651-850)					
		Pot		Late Anglo-Saxon (851-1066)					
		Brooch	Disc brooch with backward turning animal	Late Anglo-Saxon (851-1066)					
	NH52677	Bridal bit		Late Anglo-Saxon (851-1066)					
	NH15512	Brooch	Cruciform brooch with eyes of a face	Early Anglo-Saxon (450-650)					

<p>Martham (continued)</p>	<p>21648</p>	<p>Metal work</p>	<p>Box-mount decorated with worn openwork, possibly foliage motif and lobed terminal (Winchester style).</p>	<p>Late Anglo-Saxon (851-1066)</p>					
<p>Ness</p>	<p>No finds recorded from Norfolk Historic Environment or Portable Antiquities Scheme</p>								

Repps with Bastwick	NH35318	Stirrup strap mount		Late Anglo-Saxon (851-1066)	Repps with Bastwick	NMS594	Stirrup strap mount	LS Ae stirrup-strap mount, trapezoidal, upward-sloping sides and scalloped upper edge, 3mm. thick, no flange, decorated in niello with ribbon-like beast with surrounding curvilinear forms, pierced by three rivet-holes, iron rivets in lower two holes, 35 x 43mm. Williams' unclassified, Cf. no.497. 11th century.	Late Anglo-Saxon (851-1066)
	NH35318	Strap fitting	mount	Late Anglo-Saxon (851-1066)					
	NH51110	Pot		Late Anglo-Saxon (851-1066)					
	NH51110	Potter	Thetford Ware	Late Anglo-Saxon (851-1066)					

Repps with Bastwick (continued)	NH37007	Buckle		Late Anglo-Saxon (851-1066)					
		Stirrup		Late Anglo-Saxon (851-1066)					
Winterton	NH34397	Pot	Ipswich ware shard	Middle Anglo-Saxon (651-850)	Winterton	NMS-891563	Pottery	Rim sherd of probably Middle Saxon pottery vessel of "ginger jar" form, i.e. inwardly sloping and with plain rounded top. Hand built. Reduced with pale grey brown surfaces. Organic inclusions and profuse poorly sorted chalk inclusions of variable sizes, from mere specs to 8mm across. No good parallel has been noted in the region of 8th- and 9th-century pottery in this form and fabric. The main periods of activity on the site are Roman and Middle Saxon, but this sherd is surely not of the former. Weight 144g.	Middle Anglo-Saxon (651-850)

Winterton (continued)	NH34397	Pot		Middle Anglo-Saxon (651-850)	Winterton (continued)	NMS-87DB71	Pottery	Five sherds of Middle Saxon Ipswich ware pottery. Weight 197g. c.720 - c.850. Two fine sandy basal, one almost flat and with almost vertical wall, perhaps a bottle. Three pimply, one basal and two body.	Middle Anglo-Saxon (651-850)
Runham	NH37426	brooch	Not explained	Early Anglo-Saxon (450-650)					
	NH37426	Brooch and mount	Not explained	Late Anglo-Saxon (851-1066)					
Thurne	No finds recorded at the settlement								

Figure 5.1

Trefoil brooch with foliate design



James, Graham-Campbell, *Viking Art* (London: Thames & Hudson, 2013), p. 71

Figure 5.2

Trefoil brooch depicting indigenous Scandinavian animal motif in the Jelling style.



Graham-Campbell, *Viking Art*, p. 71

Figure 5.3

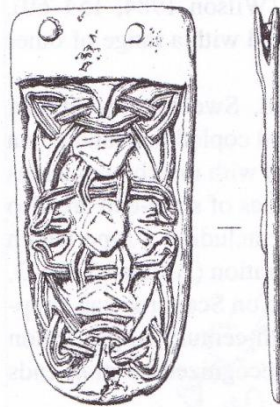
Fragmentary end of a tongue shaped strap-end.



Thomas, 'Anglo-Scandinavian Metalwork from the Danelaw', p. 243

Figure 5.4

Borre-style upon Anglo-Saxon strap-end

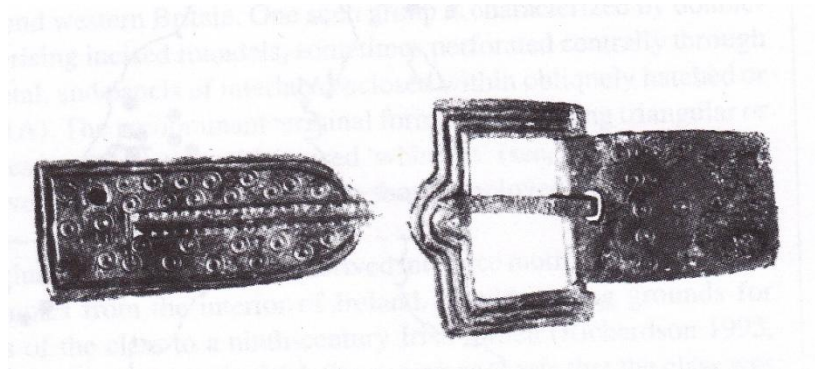


A

Thomas, 'Anglo-Scandinavian Metalwork from the Danelaw', p. 243

Figure 5.5

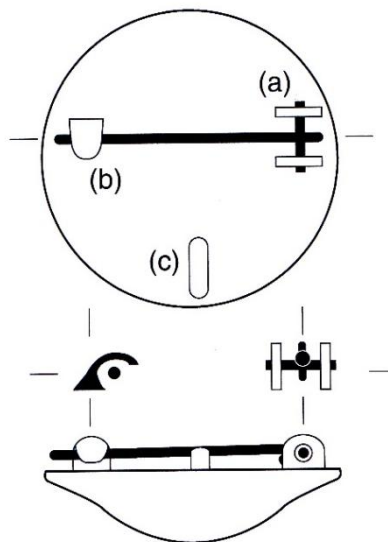
Strap-end and buckle showing Irish cultural links.



Thomas, 'Anglo-Scandinavian Metalwork from the Danelaw', p. 248

Figure 5.6

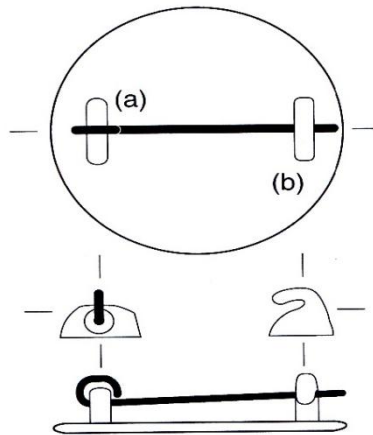
Scandinavian disc brooch and fittings.



Kershaw, *Viking Identities*, p. 23

Figure 5.7

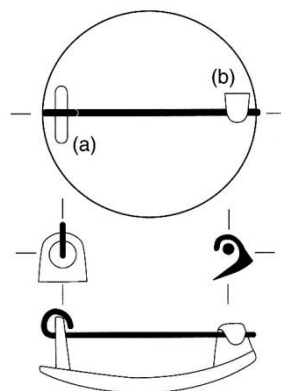
Anglo-Saxon disc brooch and fittings.



Kershaw, *Viking Identities*, p. 23

Figure 5.8

Anglo-Scandinavian disc brooch and fittings.



Kershaw, *Viking Identities*, p. 39

Figure 5.9

Borre-knotwork brooch.



Pestell, 'Scandinavian Metal Work in Late Anglo Saxon East Anglia', p. 236

Figure 5.10

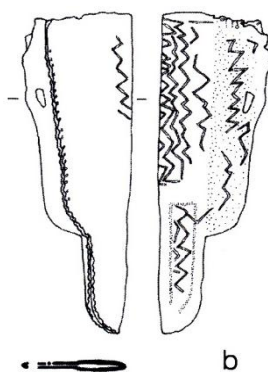
Backward-facing Beast brooch.



Pestell, 'Scandinavian Metal Work in Late Anglo Saxon East Anglia', p. 236

Figure 5.11

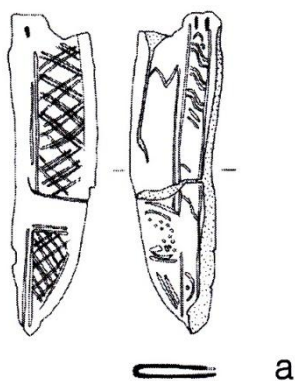
Scandinavian sheath.



Cameron and Mould, 'Saxon Shoes, Viking Sheaths', p. 458

Figure 5.12

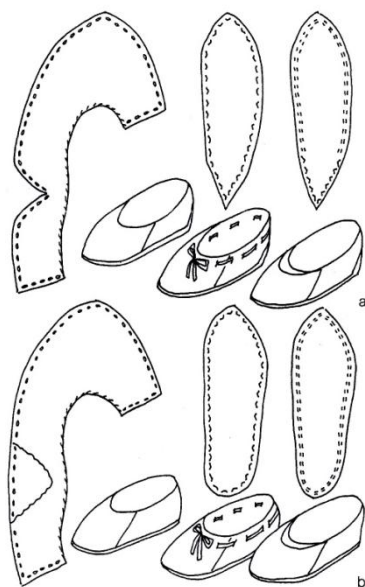
Anglo-Saxon sheath.



Cameron and Mould, 'Saxon Shoes, Viking Sheaths', p. 458

Figure 5.13

Figure a V shaped back with a single side seam and *Figure b* rounded backed shoes with a single side seam.



Cameron and Mould, 'Saxon Shoes, Viking Sheaths', p. 462

Table 5.3

Archaeological finds at the *-by* settlements on Flegg

Place name in <i>-by</i>	Early Anglo Saxon (410-650)	Middle Anglo-Saxon (651-850)	Late Anglo-Saxon finds (851-1066)	Total
Ashby & Oby	1	0	3	4
Clippesby	0	0	1	1
Filby	5	1	2	8
Hemsby	3	1	1	5
Mautby	7	6*	28	41
Ormesby St. Margaret & Scratby	1	6*	9	16
Ormesby St. Michael	0	0	1	1
Rollesby	1	0	4	5
Stokesby and Herringby	3	2	12	17
Total	21	16	61	

Portable Antiquities Scheme and Norfolk Historical Environmental Records

Table 5.4

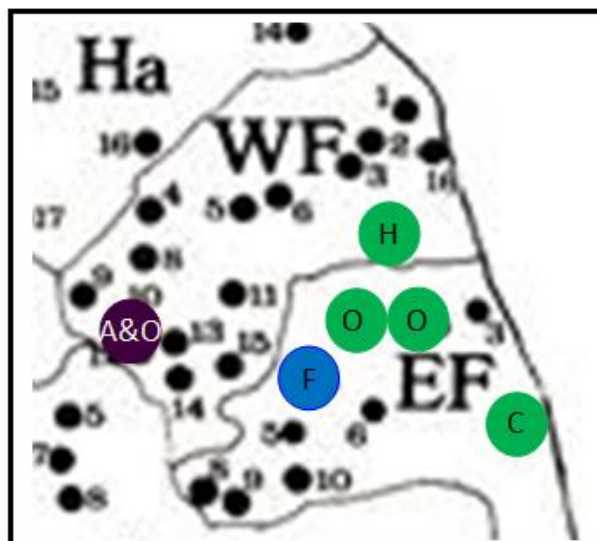
Archaeological finds at the English place names on Flegg

English Place names	Early Anglo Saxon (410-650)	Middle Anglo-Saxon (651-850)	Late Anglo-Saxon finds (851-1066)	Total
Caister* (<i>excludes information from Chapter 2</i>)	9	21	11	41
Somerton East and West	8	2	13	23
Martham	8	9*	20	37
Ness	0	0	0	0
Runham	1	0	1	2
Repps with Bastwick	0	0	7	7
Winterton	0	5	0	5
Total	26	37	52	

Portable Antiquities Scheme and Norfolk Historical Environmental Records

Figure 5.14

The geographical location of potential *Grubenhäuser* at Ashby & Oby (A&O) and Filby (F) and potential estate centres of Ormesby St. Michael/Margaret (O), Hemsby (H) and productive site of Caister (C)



Williams and Morris, *Domesday Book* (Penguin edition), pp. 1056-1183 and map from Brown, *Domesday Book*, (Phillimore Press edition)

Table 5.5

Pottery finds at settlements on Flegg

Place names on Flegg	Ipswich ware	Unidentified pottery but assumed Ipswich ware
Ashby & Oby	0	0
Clippesby	0	0
Filby	0	0
Hemsby	0	0
Mautby	1	0
Ormesby St. Margaret & Scratby	0	3
Ormesby St. Michael	0	0
Rollesby	0	0
Stokesby and Herringby	0	1
TOTAL	1	4
Caister*	see estate structures	
Somerton East and West	0	1
Martham	4	3
Ness	0	0
Runham	0	0
Repps with Bastwick	0	0
Winterton	2	1
TOTAL	6	5

Portable Antiquities Scheme and Norfolk Historical Environmental Records

Figure 5.15

Tweezer



Tweezers

Unique ID: NMS-DD76B7

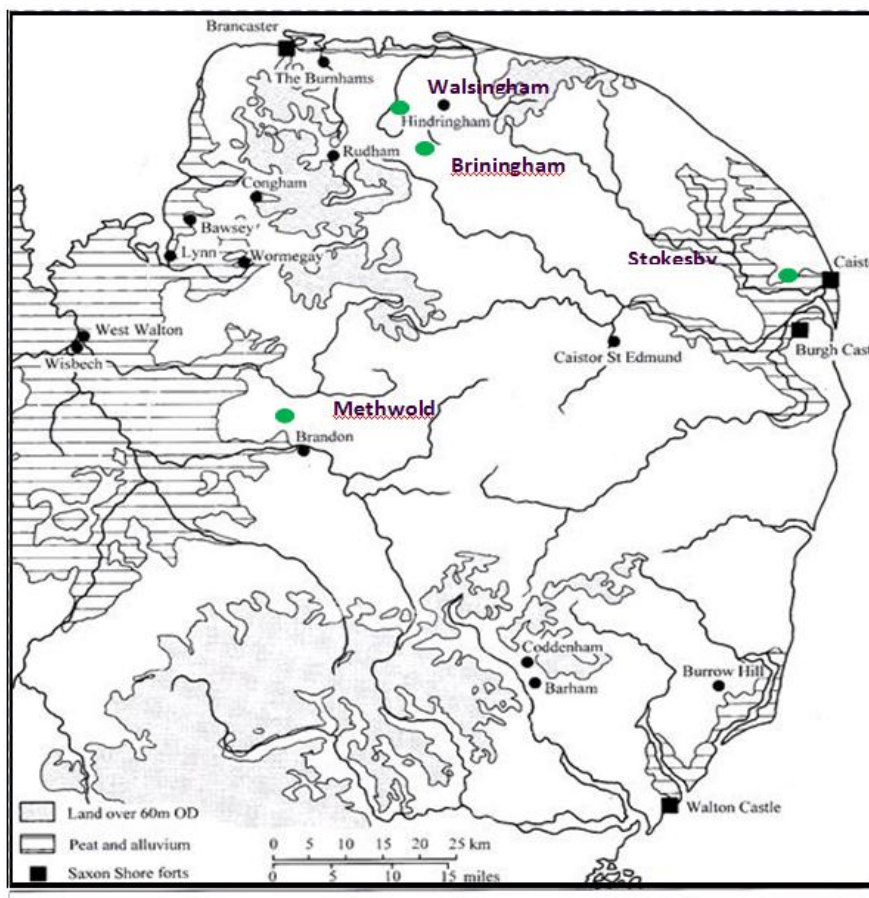
At Stokesby and Herringby

Source: PAS

Weblink: <https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/285333>

Figure 5.16

The site of other tweezers in Norfolk



Pestell, 'The Afterlife of 'Productive' Sites in East Anglia', p. 123

Table 5.6

Distribution of metal work finds at settlements on Flegg

Place names on Flegg	Stirrup strap mounts	Bridle bits	Other classified stirrup metal work	Total
Ashby & Oby	2	0	0	2
Mautby	2	4	1	7
Ormesby St. Margaret & Scratby*	3	0	0	3
Rollesby	4	0	0	4
Stokesby and Herringby	0	1	0	1
TOTAL	11	5	1	
Somerton East and West	5	0	1	6
Martham	1	1	1	3
Repps with Bastwick	3	0	1	4
TOTAL	9	1	3	

Portable Antiquities Scheme and Norfolk Historical Environmental Records

Table 5.7

Distribution of strap-end finds at settlements on Flegg

Place names on Flegg	Winchester style	Borre-style	Unidentified	Irish Cultural links	Total
Mautby	5	0	0	0	
Ormesby St. Margaret & Scratby	1	1	2	0	
Stokesby and Herringby	3	0	0	1	
TOTAL	9	1	2	1	
Somerton East and West	1	0	2	0	
Martham	0	0	2	0	
TOTAL	1	0	4	0	

Portable Antiquities Scheme and Norfolk Historical Environmental Records

Table 5.8

Distribution of Thetford Ware pottery across settlements on Flegg

Place names on Flegg	Pottery finds
Filby	2
Mautby	3
Stokesby and Herringby	4
Caister	1
East and West Somerton	2
Martham	4
Repps with Bastwick	2

Portable Antiquities Scheme and Norfolk Historical Environmental Records

Table 5.9

Distribution of brooches found on Flegg

Portable Antiquities Scheme and Norfolk Historical Environmental Records

Place Name	Pure Viking	Borre-Style	Lozengiform	Unidentified style	Continental	Total
Hemsby	0	0	0	1	0	1
Mautby	1	2	1	1	0	6
Stokesby and Herringby	0	0	1	0	0	1
Caister	0	0	0	1	0	1
East and West Somerton	0	1	0	1	0	2
Martham	0	4	0	1	1	6
Runham	0	0	0	1	0	1
Total	1	7	2	6	1	

Appendix Four

Domesday Material

Table 6.1

Distribution of *-by* and English place names across Flegg

Distribution of <i>-by</i> and English place names across Flegg (manors BOLD and in <i>italics</i>)			
English Place Names	Flegg Hundred	Scandinavian Place Names	Flegg Hundred
Bastwick	West Flegg	Ashby	West Flegg
Burgh	West Flegg	Billockby	West Flegg
<i>Caister</i>	East Flegg	Clippesby	West Flegg
Martham	West Flegg	Filby	East Flegg
Ness	West Flegg	<i>Hemsby</i>	West Flegg
Repps	West Flegg	Herringby	East Flegg
Runham	East Flegg	<i>Mautby</i>	East Flegg
Sco	West Flegg	<i>Oby</i>	West Flegg
Somerton East and West	West Flegg	Ormesby St Michael/Margaret	East Flegg
Thurne	West Flegg	<i>Rollesby</i>	West Flegg
Winterton	West Flegg	Scratby	East Flegg
		<i>Stokesby</i>	East Flegg
		Thrigby	West Flegg
Total*	11	Total*	13
Total English place names on West Flegg	9	Total <i>-by</i> place names on West Flegg	7
Total English place names on East Flegg	2	Total <i>-by</i> place names on East Flegg	6
Total place names on West Flegg	16		
Total Place names on East Flegg	9		

Williams and Martin, *Domesday Book*, pp. 1056-1183

Table 6.2

Peasant numbers at Scandinavian place names in –by on Flegg

Place Name	Freemen	Half free man	Sokemen	Half Sokeman	Bordars	Half Bordar	Villens	Slaves	Serfs	TOTAL
Ashby	5	1	13	0	7	0	0	0	0	26
Billockby	13	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	14
Clippesby	16	0	0	0	6	0	0	0	0	22
Hemsby	0	0	31	0	13	0	33	3	0	80
Herringby	8	0	0	0	2	0	12	0	0	22
Filby	23	0	3	0	12	1	7	0	0	46
Mautby	34	1	0	0	12	2	7	2	0	58
Oby	22	0	0	0	7	0	2	0	0	31
Ormesby	4	0	80	0	7	0	4	0	0	95
Rollesby	45	1	0	0	6	0	6	0	0	58
Scratby	11	0	7	0	3	0	0	0	0	21
Stokesby	4	0	0	0	15	0	15	4	0	38
Thrigby	17	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	20
TOTAL	202	6	134	0	91	3	86	9	0	

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Table 6.3

Peasant numbers at English place names on Flegg

Place Name	Freemen	Half freemen	Sokemen	Half Sokeman	Bordars	Half Bordar	Villens	Slaves	Serfs	TOTAL
Caister	94	0	0	0	5	0	0	0	0	99
Bastwick	9	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	9
Burgh	30	0	0	0	13	0	2	0	0	48
Martham	45	1	3	0	3	0	7	1	0	60
Ness	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Repps	24	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	25
Runham	20	3	11	1	0	0	10	0	0	45
Sco	1	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	3
Somerton East and West	17	0	26	0	32	0	14	0	2	91
Thurne	2	1	10	0	6	0	0	0	0	19
Winterton	31	0	3	0	24	0	0	0	0	58
TOTAL	274	6	53	1	85	0	33	1	2	

Williams and Martin, *Domesday Book*, pp. 1056-1183

Table 6.4

Scandinavian place names in -by showing population totals and % of total population by peasant group																	
Place Name	Free men	% of total	Half free man	% of total	Soke men	% of total	Bordars	% of total	Half Bordar	% of total	Villens	% of total	Slaves	% of total	Serfs	% of total	TOTAL
Ashby	5	19	1	4	13	50	7	27	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	26
Billockby	13	93	0	0	0	0	1	7	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	14
Clippesby	16	73	0	0	0	0	6	27	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	22
Hemsby	0	0	0	0	31	39	13	16	0	0	33	41	3	4	0	0	80
Herringby	8	36	0	0	0	0	2	9	0	0	12	55	0	0	0	0	22
Filby	23	50	0	0	3	7	12	26	1	2	7	15	0	0	0	0	46
Mautby	34	59	1	2	0	0	12	21	2	3	7	12	2	3	0	0	58
Oby	22	71	0	0	0	0	7	23	0	0	2	6	0	0	0	0	31
Ormesby	4	4	0	0	80	84	7	7	0	0	4	4	0	0	0	0	95
Rollesby	45	78	1	2	0	0	6	10	0	0	6	10	0	0	0	0	58
Scratby	11	52	0	0	7	33	3	14	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	21
Stokesby	4	11	0	0	0	0	15	39	0	0	15	39	4	11	0	0	38
Thrigby	17	85	3	15	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	20
TOTAL	202		6		134		91		3		86		9		0		

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(The figures which have shaded backgrounds are those settlements which recorded relatively high % of peasant groups)

Table 6.5

English place names showing population totals and % of total population by peasant group																	
Place Name	Freemen	% of total	Half freemen	% of total	Sokemen	% of total	Half Sokeman	% of total	Bordars	% of total	Villens	% of total	Slaves	% of total	Serfs	% of total	TOTAL
Caister	94	95	0	0	0	0	0	0	5	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	99
Bastwick	9	100	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	9
Burgh	30	63	0	0	0	0	0	0	13	27	2	4	0	0	0	0	48
Martham	45	75	1	2	3	5	0	0	3	5	7	12	1	2	0	0	60
Ness	1	100	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Repps	24	96	1	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	25
Runham	20	44	3	7	11	24	1	2	0	0	10	22	0	0	0	0	45
Sco	1	33	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	67	0	0	0	0	0	0	3
Somerton East and West	17	19	0	0	26	29	0	0	32	35	14	15	0	0	2	2	91
Thurne	2	11	1	5	10	53	0	0	6	32	0	0	0	0	0	0	19
Winterton	31	53	0	0	3	5	0	0	24	41	0	0	0	0	0	0	58
TOTAL	274		6		53		1		85		33		1		2		

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(The figures which have shaded backgrounds are those settlements which recorded relatively high % of peasant groups)

Table 6.6

Population densities at English settlements

English place name	Total peasant number	% of total population on Flegg (adjusted)	Scandinavian -by place name	Total peasant number	% of total population on Flegg (adjusted)
Caister	99	10.04	Ashby	26	2.64
Bastwick	9	0.91	Billockby	14	1.42
Burgh	45	4.56	Clippesby	22	2.23
Martham	60	6.09	Hemsby	80	8.11
Ness	1	0.10	Herringby	22	2.23
Repps	25	2.54	Filby	46	4.67
Runham	45	4.56	Mautby	58	5.88
Sco	3	0.30	Oby	31	3.14
Somerton	91	9.23	Ormesby	95	9.63
Thurne	19	1.93	Rollesby	58	5.88
Winterton	58	5.88	Scratby	21	2.13
TOTAL	455		Stokesby	38	3.85
Average population at place name corpus		41.36	Thrigby	20	2.03
Total population		986	TOTAL	531	
			Average population at place name corpus		40.85

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Table 6.7

Percentage peasants per place name corpus

Peasant type	Scandinavian -by place name	English place name	Total	% at Scandinavian -by place names (adjusted)	% at English place names (adjusted)
Free man	202.00	274.00	476.00	42.44	57.56
Half fremen	6.00	6.00	12.00	50.00	50.00
Sokemen	134.00	53.00	187.00	71.66	28.34
Half sokemen	0.00	1.00	1.00	0.00	100.00
Bordars	91.00	85.00	176.00	51.70	48.30
Half bordars	3.00	0.00	3.00	100.00	0.00
Villens	86.00	33.00	119.00	72.27	27.73
Slaves	9.00	1.00	10.00	90.00	10.00
Serfs	0.00	2.00	2.00	0.00	100.00

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Table 6.8

Percentage of peasant types per settlement population

Place Name	% Free man of peasant population	% half Free man of peasant population		Place Name	% Free man of peasant population	% half Free man of peasant population
Ashby	19.23	3.85		Caister	94.95	0.00
Billockby	92.86	0.00		Bastwick	100.00	0.00
Clippesby	72.73	0.00		Burgh	66.67	0.00
Hemsby	0.00	0.00		Martham	74.14	1.72
Herringby	36.36	0.00		Ness	100.00	0.00
Filby	50.00	0.00		Repps	96.15	3.85
Mautby	58.62	1.72		Runham	44.44	6.67
Oby	70.97	0.00		Sco	33.33	0.00
Ormesby	4.21	0.00		Somerton	19.57	0.00
Rollesby	77.59	1.72		Thurne	10.53	5.26
Scratby	52.38	0.00		Winterton	53.45	0.00
Stokesby	10.53	0.00				
Thrigby	85.00	15.00				

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Table 6.9

Percentage of peasant types per settlement population

Place Name	% Sokemen of peasant population	Place Name	% sokemen of peasant population
Ashby	50.00	Caister	0.00
Billockby	0.00	Bastwick	0.00
Clippesby	0.00	Burgh	0.00
Hemsby	38.75	Martham	5.17
Herringby	0.00	Ness	0.00
Filby	6.52	Repps	0.00
Mautby	0.00	Runham	24.44
Oby	0.00	Sco	0.00
Ormesby	84.21	Somerton	28.26
Rollesby	0.00	Thurne	52.63
Scratby	33.33	Winterton	5.17
Stokesby	0.00		

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Table 6.10

Distribution of freemen and sokemen across settlements

Scandinavian place names in -by			English place names		
Place Name	Freeman	Sokemen	Place Name	Free man	Sokemen
Ashby	5	13	Caister	94	0
Billockby	13	0	Bastwick	9	0
Clippesby	16	0	Burgh	30	0
Hemsby	0	31	Martham	43	3
Herringby	8	0	Ness	1	0
Filby	23	3	Repps	25	0
Mautby	34	0	Runham	20	11
Oby	22	0	Sco	1	0
Ormesby	4	80	Somerton	18	26
Rollesby	45	0	Thurne	2	10
Scratby	11	7	Winterton	31	3
Stokesby	4	0			
Thrigby	17	0			

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Table 6.11

Peasant totals at English settlements

Place Name	Free men	Half free man	Sokemen	Half Sokeman	Grand Total	Bordars	Villens	Slaves	Serfs	Grand total	Peasantry type per settlement	Total
Caister	94	0	0	0	94	5	0	0	0	5	More free peasantry	99
Bastwick	9	0	0	0	9	0	0	0	0	0	More free peasantry	9
Burgh	30	0	0	0	30	13	2	0	0	15	More free peasantry	45
Martham	43	1	3	0	47	3	7	1	0	11	More free peasantry	58
Ness	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	More free peasantry	1
Repps	25	1	0	0	26	0	0	0	0	0	More free peasantry	26
Runham	20	3	11	1	35	0	10	0	0	10	More free peasantry	45
Sco	1	0	0	0	1	2	0	0	0	2	More unfree peasantry	3
Somerton	18	0	26	0	44	32	14	0	2	48	More unfree peasantry	92
Thurne	2	1	10	0	13	6	0	0	0	6	More free peasantry	19
Winterton	31	0	3	0	34	24	0	0	0	24	More free peasantry	58

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Table 6.12

Peasant totals at -by settlements

Place Name	Free man	Half free man	Sokemen	Grand Total	Bordars	Half Bordar	Villens	Slaves	Grand Total	Peasantry type per settlement	Total
Ashby	5	1	13	19	7	0	0	0	7	More free peasantry	26
Billockby	13	0	0	13	1	0	0	0	1	More free peasantry	14
Clippesby	16	0	0	16	6	0	0	0	6	More free peasantry	22
Hemsby	0	0	31	31	13	0	33	3	49	More unfree peasantry	80
Herringby	8	0	0	8	2	0	12	0	14	More unfree peasantry	22
Filby	23	0	3	26	12	1	7	0	20	More free peasantry	46
Mautby	34	1	0	35	12	2	7	2	23	More free peasantry	58
Oby	22	0	0	22	7	0	2	0	9	More free peasantry	31
Ormesby	4	0	80	84	7	0	4	0	11	More free peasantry	95
Rollesby	45	1	0	46	6	0	6	0	12	More free peasantry	58
Scratby	11	0	7	18	3	0	0	0	3	More free peasantry	21
Stokesby	4	0	0	4	15	0	15	4	34	More unfree peasantry	38
Thrigby	17	3	0	20	0	0	0	0	0	More free peasantry	20

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Table 6.13

Demesne ploughs at English and -by settlements

Place Name	Total in Demesne	Place Name	Total in Demesne
Ashby	1	Bastwick	0.5
Billockby	1	Burgh	2.5
Clippesby	0	Caister	2
Filby	3	Martham	2
Hemsby	3	Ness	0
Herringby	1	Repps	0
Mautby	1.5	Runham	1
Oby	2	Sco	0
Ormesby	2	Somerton	4
Rollesby	1	Thurne	1
Scratby	1	Winterton	2
Stokesby	3	Total	15
Thrigby	0	Williams and Martin, <i>Domesday Book</i> , pp. 1056 -1183	
Total	19.5		

Table 6.14

Plough numbers per freeman across all settlements

Place name	Ploughs	Freemen	Average number of ploughs	Average oxen (8 oxen team)	Place name	Ploughs	Freemen	Average number of ploughs	Average oxen (8 oxen team)
Ashby	0.50	2.00	0.25	2.00	Bastwick	0.50	2.00	0.25	2.00
	1.00	4	0.25	2.00	Burgh	1.00	3.00	0.33	2.67
Billockby	1.50	8.00	0.19	1.50		3.00	17.00	0.18	1.41
	0.50	4.00	0.13	1.00	Caister	21.00	80.00	0.26	2.10
Clippesby	0.50	1.00	0.50	4.00	Martham	0.50	2.00	0.25	2.00
	1.00	5.00	0.20	1.60		0.50	2.00	0.25	2.00
Filby	2.50	14.00	0.18	1.43		16.00	36.00	0.44	3.56
	1.00	1.00	1.00	8.00	Repps	1.50	7.00	0.21	1.71
Herringby	1.50	8.00	0.19	1.50		0.50	6.00	0.08	0.67
Mautby	4.00	16.50	0.24	1.94		1.00	7.50	0.13	1.07
Oby	0.50	1.00	0.50	4.00	Runham	0.50	4.00	0.13	1.00
	0.50	6.00	0.08	0.67		3.00	11.00	0.27	2.18
Ormesby	1.00	2.00	0.50	4.00		0.50	3.00	0.17	1.33
	2.00	11.00	0.18	1.45		1.00	4.00	0.25	2.00
Rollesby	1.50	9	0.16	1.41	Sco	0.50	1.00	0.50	4.00
	5.00	10.00	0.50	4.00	Somerton	0.50	1.00	0.50	4.00
Scratby	0.50	1.00	0.50	4.00		0.50	5.00	0.10	0.80
	Thrigby	1.00	6.00	0.17	1.33	Thurne	0.50	1.00	0.50
1.00		3.00	0.33	2.67	Winterton	0.50	1.00	0.50	4.00
0.50		1.00	0.50	4.00		1.00	5.00	0.20	1.60
						1.50	8.00	0.19	1.50

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Table 6.15

Plough numbers per sokemen across all settlements

Place name	Ploughs	Sokemen	Average number of ploughs	Average oxen (8 oxen team)
Ashby	2.00	13.00	0.15	1.23
	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Billockby	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Clippesby	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Filby	1.50	3.00	0.50	4.00
	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Hemsby	1.00	4.00	0.25	2.00
	3.00	27.00	0.11	0.89
Herringby	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Mautby	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Oby	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Ormesby	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Rollesby	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Scratby	1.00	7.00	0.14	1.14
	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Stokesby	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Thrigby	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00

Place name	Ploughs	Sokemen	Average number of ploughs	Average oxen (8 oxen team)
Bastwick	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Burgh	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Caister	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Martham	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Repps	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Runham	3.00	11.00	0.27	2.18
	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Sco	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Somerton	3.00	19.00	0.16	1.26
	1.50	7.00	0.21	1.71
	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Thurne	2.00	10.00	0.20	1.60
Winterton	0.50	2.00	0.25	2.00
	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00

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Table 6.16

Plough numbers per unfree peasants across all settlements

Place name	Ploughs	Villens	Average number of ploughs	Average oxen (8 oxen team)	Ploughs	Bordars	Average number of ploughs	Average oxen (8 oxen team)
Ashby	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.50	7.00	0.07	0.57
Caister	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.50	4.00	0.13	1.00
Filby	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	2.50	2.50	1.00	8.00*
Rollesby	0.50	6.00	0.08	0.67	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Scratby	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.50	3.00	0.17	1.33
Stokesby	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	3.00	9.00	0.33	2.67
Thurne	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.50	6.00	0.08	0.67
Winterton	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.50	5.00	0.10	0.80

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Table 6.17

Domesday description of ploughs belonging to unfree peasants

Place name	Description	Page reference	Ploughs per peasant	Oxen per peasant type based on 8 oxen team
Burgh	There has always been 1 villan [and] 8 bordars. There has always been 1 plough in demesne and half a plough belonging to the men.	1108	0.05	0.40
Burgh	1 villan and 8 free men and there has always been 2 ploughs between them all	1179	0.11	0.88
Caister	14 free men and there is 1 border and there are 4 ploughs belonging to the men	1138	0.26	2.08
Billockby	1 free man and 1 bordar and there has always been half a plough	1099	0.25	2.00
Filby	1 villan and 3 bordars and half a plough belonging to the men	1087	0.13	1.00
Filby	4 free men and 1 bordar and always been 2 ploughs	1104	0.40	3.20

Filby	4 bordars and there are 3 free men and there has always been 1 villen and one and a half ploughs	1138	0.19	1.50
Filby	6 villens and 2 bordars and 1 plough belonging to the men	1176	0.13	1.00
Hemsby	33 villens and 13 bordars and 11 ploughs belonging to the men	1116	0.24	1.91
Hemsby	7 villens and 3 bordars and 1 plough belonging to the men	1116	0.10	0.80
Herringby	1 free man there has always been 12 villens and 2 bordars and 1.5 ploughs belonging to the men	1179	0.10	0.80
Mautby	Always been 7 villans and 2 bordars and 1 plough belonging to the men	1070	0.10	0.80
Mautby	14 free men and 7.5 bordars and 9 ploughs	1070	0.42	3.35
Oby	10 free men always been 2 bordars and 2 ploughs	1134	0.08	0.67
Ormesby	2 free men and 1 bordar and always half a plough	1099	0.17	1.33
Ormesby	80 sokemen and 3 bordars with 23 ploughs	1056	0.27	2.16
Rollsby	5 bordars and 11 free men and there has always been 2 ploughs	1098	0.13	1.00
Runham	1 free man and and 10 villans and 1 plough belonging to the men	1070	0.09	0.73
Somerton	1 free man always been 12 villans and 11 bordars and 1.5 ploughs belonging to the men	1073	0.06	0.50
Somerton	2 villans and 11 bordars and 2 serfs and always 1.5 ploughs belonging to the men	1079	0.10	0.80
Somerton	3 free men and always 9 bordars and always 1.5 ploughs	1120	0.13	1.00
Somerton	1 free man and 1 bordar and half a plough	1183	0.25	2.00
Stokesby	15 villans and 6 bordars and always 1 plough belonging to the men	1141	0.05	0.38
Winterton	1 free man and 5 bordars and always half a plough	1056	0.08	0.67
Winterton	1 free man and 5 bordars and 1 plough	1120	0.17	1.33

Winterton	5 sokeman and 9 bordars and 1 plough belonging to the men	1134	0.07	0.57
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Table 6.18

% of freemen and sokemen with no land on Flegg at English and –by place names

Place Name	Hundred	Peasant numbers	Acres recorded	Place Name	Hundred	Peasant numbers	Acres recorded
Ashby	West Flegg	1	0	Caister	East Flegg	94	0
Clippesby	West Flegg	1	0			14	0
		1	0	Repps	West Flegg	1	0
Mautby	East Flegg	3	0	Runham	East Flegg	12	0
Rollesby	West Flegg	10	0	Somerton	West Flegg	19	0
Stokesby	East Flegg	1	0			1	0
Thrigby	East Flegg	10	0			9	0
Total		27		Winterton	West Flegg	1	0
Total Pop		342		Total		137	
% no land		7.89		Total Pop		334	
				% no land		41.02	

Williams and Martin, *Domesday Book*, pp. 1056-1183

Table 6.19

% of freemen and sokemen with acres between 0.1 to 10

Place Name	Hundred	Peasant numbers	Acres recorded	Average acreage per freeman Sokeman	Place Name	Hundred	Peasant numbers	Acres recorded	Average acreage per freeman Sokeman
Ashby	West Flegg	2	16	8.0	Bastwick	West Flegg	2	12	6.0
		13	62	4.8			2	13	6.5
Billockby	West Flegg	8	45	5.6			1	2.5	2.5
		4	30	7.5	Burgh	West Flegg	17	89	5.2
Clippesby	West Flegg	3	17	5.7			8	27	3.4
		1	4.5	4.5	Martham	West Flegg	3	6	2.0
		5	46	9.2			36	10	0.3
Filby	East Flegg	1	9	9.0			3	10	3.3
		14	6	0.4			1	3	3.0
		3	15	5.0			1	6	6.0
Hemsby	West Flegg	27	30	1.1			1	10	10.0
Herringby	East Flegg	8	43.5	5.4	Repps		3	7	2.3
Mautby	East Flegg	17	80	4.7			6	36	6.0
		14	50	3.6			8	30	3.8
Oby	West Flegg	6	6	1.0	Runham	East Flegg	4	28	7.0
		3	15	5.0			11	5	0.5
		1	6	6.0			3	13.5	4.5
		10	84	8.4			4	17	4.3
Ormesby	East Flegg	80	46	0.6	Somerton	West Flegg	7	67	9.6
Rollsby	West Flegg	12	40	3.3			5	15	3.0
		1	5	5.0	Thurne	West Flegg	1	4	4.0
		11	44	4.0			10	45	4.5
		9	55	6.1	Winterton	West Flegg	1	7	7.0
Scratby	East Flegg	7	20	2.9			1	10	10.0
		1	10	10.0			2	10	5.0
		10	5	0.5			1	4	4.0
Thrigby	East Flegg	6	40	6.7			8	14	1.8
		3	31	10.3			5	45	9.0
							4	9	2.3
							8	54	6.8
Total		280			Total		167		
Total Pop	342				Total Pop	334			
% between 0.1 to 10		81.87							

acres					% between 0.1 to 10 acres		50		
% of population including those with 0 acres		89.77			% of population including those with 0 acres		89.82		

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Table 6.20

% of freemen and sokemen with acres between 11 to 20

Place Name	Hundred	Peasant numbers	Acres recorded	Average acreage per peasant	Place Name	Hundred	Peasant numbers	Acres recorded	Average acreage per peasant
Ashby	West Flegg	3	46	15.3	Bastwick	West Flegg	2	30	15.0
Clippesby	West Flegg	1	20	20.0			2	25	12.5
Filby	East Flegg	3	42	14.0	Burgh	West Flegg	3	45	15.0
Hemsby	West Flegg	4	60	15.0	Ness	West Flegg	1	15	15.0
Mautby	East Flegg	1	20.5	20.5	Repps		7	80	11.4
Ormesby	East Flegg	2	33	16.5			1	20	20.0
		2	40	20.0	Sco	West Flegg	1	15	15.0
Rollesby	West Flegg	1	15	15.0	Somerton	West Flegg	1	20	20.0
Thrigby	East Flegg	1	12	12.0	Total		18		
Total		18			Total Pop	334			
Total Pop	342				% between 11-20 acres		5.39		
% between 11-20 acres		5.26							

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Table 6.21

% of freemen and sokemen with acres between 21 to 30

Place Name	Hundred	Peasant numbers	Acres recorded	Average acreage per peasant
Clippesby	West Flegg	4	100	25.0
Filby	East Flegg	4	118	29.5
Oby	West Flegg	1	30	30.0
		1	23	23.0
Total		10		
Total Pop	342			
% between 21-30 acres		2.92		

Place Name	Hundred	Peasant numbers	Acres recorded	Average acreage per peasant
Martham	West Flegg	2	60	30.0
Runham	East Flegg	1	30	30.0
Somerton	West Flegg	1	23	23.0
		1	30	30.0
Thurne	West Flegg	1	21	21.0
Winterton	West Flegg	1	21	21.0
Total		7		
Total Pop	334			
% between 21-30 acres		2.10		

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Table 6.22

% of freemen and sokemen with more than 51 acres

Place Name	Hundred	Peasant numbers	Acres recorded	Average acreage per peasant
Billockby	West Flegg	1	57	57.0
Filby	East Flegg	1	61	61.0
Rollesby	West Flegg	1	80	80.0
		1	80	80.0
Total		4		
Total Pop	342			
% between 21-30 acres		1.17		

Place Name	Hundred	Peasant numbers	Acres recorded	Average acreage per peasant
Burgh	West Flegg	1	106	106.0
		1	60	60.0
Winterton	West Flegg	1	60	60.0
		1	100	100.0
Total		4		
Total Pop	334			
% between 21-30 acres		1.20		

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Table 6.23

Distribution of livestock across English and *-by* settlements

Place Name	Horses	% of total	Ox	% of total	Cattle	% of total	Pigs	% of total	Sheep	% of total	Hives	% of total
Caister	3	13.04	0	0	8	21.62	12	10.00	360	20.58	0	0
Runham	1	4.35	1	50	0	0.00	9	7.50	101	5.77	0	0
Somerton	6	26.09	0	0	10	27.03	34	28.33	345	19.73	2	100
Thurne	2	8.70	0	0	0	0.00	6	5.00	0	0.00	0	0
Winterton	0	0.00	0	0	0	0.00	6	5.00	0	0.00	0	0
Total %		52.17		50		48.65		55.83		46.08		100
Filby	3	13.04	1	50	0	0.00	10	8.33	0	0.00	0	0
Hemsby	0	0.00	0	0	0	0.00	12	10.00	160	9.15	0	0
Herringby	0	0.00	0	0	0	0.00	0	0.00	100	5.72	0	0
Mautby	0	0.00	0	0	7	18.92	2	1.67	122	6.98	0	0
Oby	3	13.04	0	0	2	5.41	6	5.00	0	0.00	0	0
Ormesby	3	13.04	0	0	4	10.81	6	5.00	381	21.78	0	0
Rollesby	0	0.00	0	0	0	0.00	7	5.83	0	0.00	0	0
Stokesby	2	8.70	0	0	6	16.22	10	8.33	180	10.29	0	0
Total %		47.83		50		51.35		44.17		53.92		0
TOTAL	23		2		37		120		1749		2	

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Table 6.24

Projected cattle figures based on plough numbers across English and –by settlements

Place Name	Total in Demesne	Total belonging to peasants	Total	Projected total of cattle based on 8 oxen team	Place Name	Total in Demesne	Total belonging to peasants	Total	Projected total of cattle based on 8 oxen team
Ashby	1	4	5	40	Bastwick	0.5	0.5	1	8
Billockby	1	2.5	3.5	28	Burgh	2.5	6.5	9	72
Clippesby	0	4	4	32	Caister	2	25.5	27.5	220
Filby	3	12.5	15.5	124	Martham	2	19	21	168
Hemsby	3	15	18	144	Ness	0	0	0	0
Herringby	1	3	4	32	Repps	0	5.5	5.5	44
Mautby	1.5	14	15.5	124	Runham	1	9	10	80
Oby	2	5.5	7.5	60	Sco	0	0.5	0.5	4
Ormesby	2	25	27	216	Somerton	4	15	19	152
Rollesby	1	8.5	9.5	76	Thurne	1	3	4	32
Scratby	1	7	8	64	Winterton	2	7	9	72
Stokesby	3	9	12	96				Total	852
Thrigby	0	2.5	2.5	20					
			Total	1056					

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Table 6.25

Distribution of meadows across English and –by settlements

Place Name	Meadow (Acres)	Place Name	Meadow (Acres)
Bastwick	7	Ashby	17
Burgh St. Margaret	57	Billockby	19
Caister	7.5	Clippesby	25
Martham	109.5	Filby	41
Ness	1	Hemsby	48
Repps	21.5	Herringby	7
Runham	27.5	Mautby	17.5
Sco	0.5	Oby	33
Somerton	58	Ormesby	39
Thurne	27.5	Rollesby	22.5
Winterton	11	Scratby	6
		Stokesby	39
		Thrigby	6
TOTAL	328		320

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Table 6.26

Churches on Flegg and their Tenants in Chief 1086

Place Name	Hundred	Tenant in Chief	Church
Billockby	West Flegg	Bishop William	0.66
Filby	East Flegg	William d'Ecouis	1
Martham	West Flegg	Bishop William	1
Scratby	East Flegg	Bishop William	1
Somerton*	West Flegg	St. Benet	1
Stokesby	East Flegg	William d'Ecouis	1

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Table 6.27

Little Domesday values for *-by* and English settlements on East Flegg

EAST FLEGG				
Place Name	TRE Value	1066	1086 Value	Increase or decrease
Caister	£8	£8	£14	Yes
	20s		45s	Yes
Filby	8s		16s	Yes
			5s	no evidence
	40s		80s + 6d	Yes
	40s		50s	Yes
			5s	no evidence
Herringby			20s	no evidence
Mautby	30s		53s 7d	Yes
			8d	no evidence
Ormesby	£10		£21	Yes
	2s			no evidence
			8s	no evidence
Runham			3s	no evidence
			Always 10s	Same
			18s	no evidence
			2s 4d	no evidence
Scratby	20s		32d + 3s + 30s	Yes
			10s	no evidence

			10d	no evidence
Stokesby	10s		16d + 16s	Yes
Thrigby			9s	no evidence
			4s	no evidence
			12d	no evidence

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Table 6.28

Little Domesday values for *-by* and English settlements on West Flegg

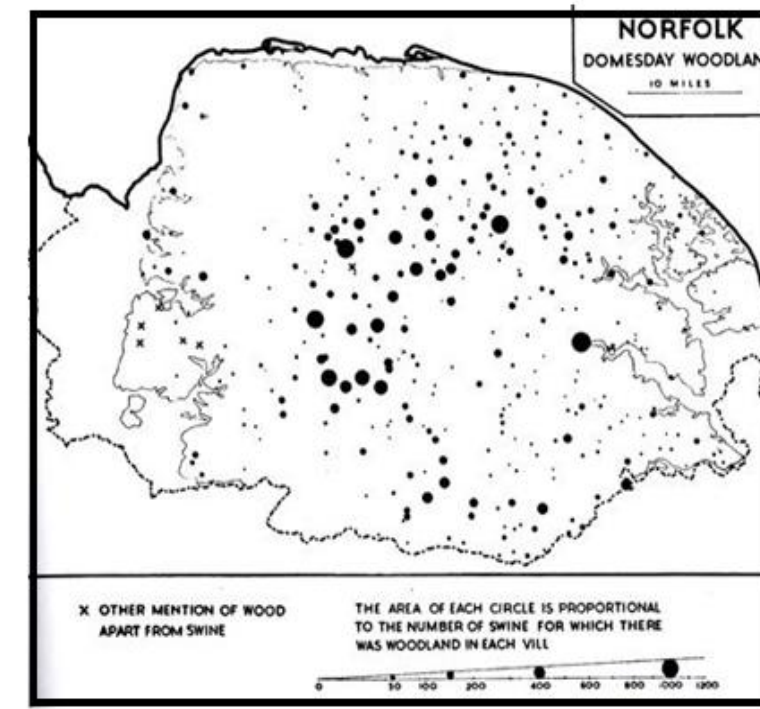
WEST FLEGG				
Place Name	TRE Value	1066	1086 Value	Increase or decrease
Ashby	12d		16d	Yes
	20s		26s 8d	Yes
Bastwick	always 18d			Same
	2s		22d	Yes
	12d		16d	Yes
Billockby			Always 20d	Same
	10s		20s + church worth 5d	Yes
	16d		20d	Yes
Burgh St Margaret	3s	6s	6s	Yes
			20s + 5d	no evidence
			Always 10s	Same
			21s	no evidence
	10s		20s	Yes
Clippesby			4s + 6d	no evidence
		20s	20s	Same
	3s		4s	Yes
Martham	4s	4s	6s 8d	Yes
	£6		£8 & 10s	Yes
			12d & 12d	no evidence
			Always 8d	Same
Nes			16d	no evidence
Oby			4s	no evidence
	Always 8d			Same
	20 s		36s & 30d	Yes
Repps			Always 8s	Same
	2s		3s	Yes

	3s		4s	Yes
Rollesby	10s		30s	Yes
	20s		26s & 12d	Yes
	4s		8s	Yes
			16d	no evidence
Somerton			20s	no evidence
	£5		£9	Yes
	16d	24d	24d	Yes
			Always 4s 8d	Same
			Always 2s	Same
Thurne			Always 2s	Same
	20s		26s 8d	Yes
	3s		4s	Yes
Winterton			8d	no evidence
	2s + 8d		4s + 24d	Yes
			24s & 24d	Yes
	4s		6s	Yes

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Figure 6.1

Distribution of Domesday Woodland



H.C. Darby, *Domesday Geography of Eastern England*, p. 127

Table 6.29

Pig numbers recorded at Flegg settlements

-by place Name	Numbers of Pigs	English place name	Numbers of Pigs
Filby	10	Caister	12
Hemsby	12	Runham	9
Mautby	2	Somerton	34
Oby	6	Stokesby	10
Ormesby	6	Thurne	6
Rollesby	7	Winterton	6

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Table 6.30

Domesday Churches recorded on Flegg

Place Name	Hundred	Church
Billockby	West Flegg	0.66
Filby	East Flegg	1
Martham	West Flegg	1
Scratby	East Flegg	1
Somerton*	West Flegg	1
Stokesby	East Flegg	1

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Table 6.31

Salt pans recorded at -by and English settlements

English place Name	Salt pans	-by place Name	Salt pans
Burgh	2	Clippesby	0.25
Caister	45	Filby	10.5
Runham	18.5	Hemsby	2
Somerton	3	Herringby	5.5
Winterton	0.5	Mautby	18.75
		Rollesby	0.5
		Stokesby	3
		Thrigby	0.5

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