University of Reading

Monasteries and places of power in pre-Viking England: trajectories, relationships and interactions

Book or Report Section

Published Version

Thomas, G. ORCID: https://orcid.org/0000-0003-0311-8218 (2017) Monasteries and places of power in pre-Viking England: trajectories, relationships and interactions. In: Thomas, G. ORCID: https://orcid.org/0000-0003-0311-8218 and Knox, A. (eds.) Early medieval monasticism in the North Sea Zone: proceedings of a conference held to celebrate the conclusion of the Lyminge excavations 2008-15. Anglo-Saxon Studies in Archaeology and History, 20. Oxford University School of Archaeology, Oxford, pp. 97-116. ISBN 9781905905393 Available at https://centaur.reading.ac.uk/70249/

It is advisable to refer to the publisher's version if you intend to cite from the work. See Guidance on citing.

Publisher: Oxford University School of Archaeology

All outputs in CentAUR are protected by Intellectual Property Rights law, including copyright law. Copyright and IPR is retained by the creators or other copyright holders. Terms and conditions for use of this material are defined in

University of Reading

the End User Agreement.

www.reading.ac.uk/centaur

CentAUR

Central Archive at the University of Reading

Reading's research outputs online

An offprint from

Anglo-Saxon Studies
in Archaeology and History
20

EARLY MEDIEVAL MONASTICISM IN THE NORTH SEA ZONE

Proceedings of a conference held to celebrate the conclusion
of the Lyminge excavations 2008–15

Edited by
Gabor Thomas and Alexandra Knox

General Editor: Helena Hamerow

Oxford University School of Archaeology

Published by the Oxford University School of Archaeology
Institute of Archaeology
Beaumont Street
Oxford

Distributed by
Oxbow Books
The Old Music Hall, 106–108 Cowley Road, Oxford, OX4 1JE, UK
Tel: 01865 241249 Fax: 01865 794449

Distributed in North America by
Casemate Academic
1950 Lawrence Rd, Havertown PA 19083, USA

www.oxbowbooks.com

© Oxford University School of Archaeology and individual authors, 2017

ISBN 978 1 905905 39 3
ISSN 0264 5254

A CIP record for this book is available from the British Library

Cover image: view of the 2014 excavations on Tayne Field, Lyminge, looking south-west with the parish church captured in the background

Designed and typeset by Oxford Book Projects
Printed in Great Britain by
Short Run Press, Exeter

Editor's Foreword

Anglo-Saxon Studies in Archaeology and History is a series concerned with the archaeology and history of England and its neighbours during the Anglo-Saxon period.

ASSAH offers researchers an opportunity to publish new work in an inter- and multi-disciplinary forum that allows for a diversity of approaches and subject matter. Contributions placing Anglo-Saxon England in its international context are as warmly welcomed as those that focus on England itself.

Papers submitted to ASSAH must be comprehensible to non-specialist readers. They must, furthermore, conform to the journal's house style. A copy of the style-sheet is available on-line, at: **http://www.arch.ox.ac.uk/assah**. A hard copy can be obtained from the Editorial Assistant, Dr. Laura Morley (Laura.morley@arch.ox.ac.uk). All papers are peer-reviewed.

The Editor is grateful to the contributors to this volume for their prompt and efficient responses, and to those peer reviewers who have taken the time to read and comment upon submissions.

All papers for consideration for future volumes should be sent to the Editor.

Professor Helena Hamerow
(Helena.hamerow@arch.ox.ac.uk)
Institute of Archaeology
34–6 Beaumont Street
Oxford OX1 2PG

Contents

List of Contributors vii

Foreword by John Blair ix

Gabor Thomas
Introduction: early medieval monasticism in the North Sea zone: recent research and new perspectives 1

Part I: Continental connections: re-examining the Frankish background to monasticism in Anglo-Saxon Kent

Barbara Yorke
Queen Balthild's 'monastic policy' and the origins of female religious houses in southern England 7

Ian Wood
Merovingian monasticism and England 17

Part II: Re-conceptualizing early medieval monastic space: comparative archaeological approaches

Rosemary Cramp
New perspectives on monastic buildings and their uses 27

David Petts
Places and spaces: some reflections on reconstructing the spatial organization of Northumbrian monasteries 43

Elisabeth Lorans
Marmoutier (Tours), a late Roman and early medieval monastery in the Loire Valley (fourth–eleventh centuries) 55

Tomás Ó Carragáin
Vernacular form, monastic practice in the early Middle Ages: evidence from Toureen Peakaun 67

Tony Wilmott
The Anglian abbey of Streonæshalch-Whitby: new perspectives on topography and layout 81

Part III: From tribal centre to royal monastery: Anglo-Saxon Lyminge explored through its archaeology

Gabor Thomas
Monasteries and places of power in pre-Viking England: trajectories, relationships and interactions 97

Rose Broadley
Preliminary observations on the Anglo-Saxon glass from Lyminge 117

Mark McKerracher
Seeds and status: the archaeobotany of monastic Lyminge 127

Zoe Knapp
Changing tastes: farming, feasting and fasting at Lyminge 135

Anglo-Saxon Studies in Archaeology and History 20, 2017

Monasteries and places of power in pre-Viking England: trajectories, relationships and interactions

Gabor Thomas

Abstract
Recent archaeological studies conducted at different scales, from the level of site through to landscapes and regions, have focused critical attention on the connections and interactions existing between secular and religious realms of life in Anglo-Saxon England. Settlement archaeology has made an important contribution to this re-evaluation by drawing attention to a series of high-status residences of the seventh–ninth centuries AD *whose trajectories and lifestyle blur the boundaries between monastic and secular aristocratic culture in pre-Viking England. Recent excavations in the Kentish village of Lyminge extend an appreciation of this theme into a region which has hitherto suffered from a deficit of Anglo-Saxon settlement archaeology. Originally conceived to improve archaeological understanding of a documented pre-Viking monastery, the Lyminge Project has subsequently gone on to uncover the remains of a separate and spatially distinct royal focus – a rare example of a seventh-century 'great hall complex' – grafted onto an earlier fifth–sixth-century settlement. A provisional interpretation of these results was published in 2013, but it is now possible to offer a more nuanced and richly textured account in the light of more recent findings and radiocarbon dating. This paper draws upon these new insights to reassess the settlement sequence and to evaluate Lyminge's wider contribution to relevant debates in early medieval studies.*

Introduction

Three seasons of excavation have passed since the last synthetic overview of the Lyminge Archaeological Project was submitted for publication in 2012.[1] This was written when the ink was barely dry on the first campaign in a new scheme of excavation designed to channel the momentum of previous fieldwork into the investigation of a large, centrally located open space within the village known as Tayne Field (Figs 1 and 3). The conclusions put forward in this earlier paper were necessarily provisional and, in a strong measure, predictive – hypothesizing what might be found in future years on the then available evidence. As a consequence, it is hardly surprising that parts of the synthesis advanced in 2012 require revision in the light of new archaeological discoveries and changes in perspective. With the final campaign of excavations now at an end, this contribution takes the opportunity to review what new evidence has been found and to evaluate its wider significance for Anglo-Saxon studies. The first part of the discussion reviews the evidence for two successive, but chronologically distinct, phases of Anglo-Saxon occupation unearthed on Tayne Field, together offering vital evidence for Lyminge's embryonic development and consolidation as a theatre of royal power. This is followed by a concluding discussion which draws out the key strands of interpretation and examines their implications for future analysis and wider research agendas.

Establishment and consolidation: Lyminge before the seventh century AD

In 2012, it was already possible to make some clear statements on Lyminge's early, pre-Christian, development based upon fresh archaeological discoveries. At that point in the project, domestic settlement remains of characteristic early Anglo-Saxon type had been identified at two sites within the village: a cluster of four sunken-featured buildings and a rectangular ground-level building of post-hole construction at the bottom of Rectory Lane, and a fifth sunken-featured building investigated as part of the inaugural season on Tayne Field (Figs 2 and 3). The wide separation of these two sites suggested that occupation of this period formed a spatially diffuse sprawl straddling the headwater of the River Nailbourne. While the structural remains seemed fairly typical of the period, albeit if evincing some regional tendencies, the rich cultural assemblages recovered from the backfilled remains of the sunken-featured buildings clearly marked

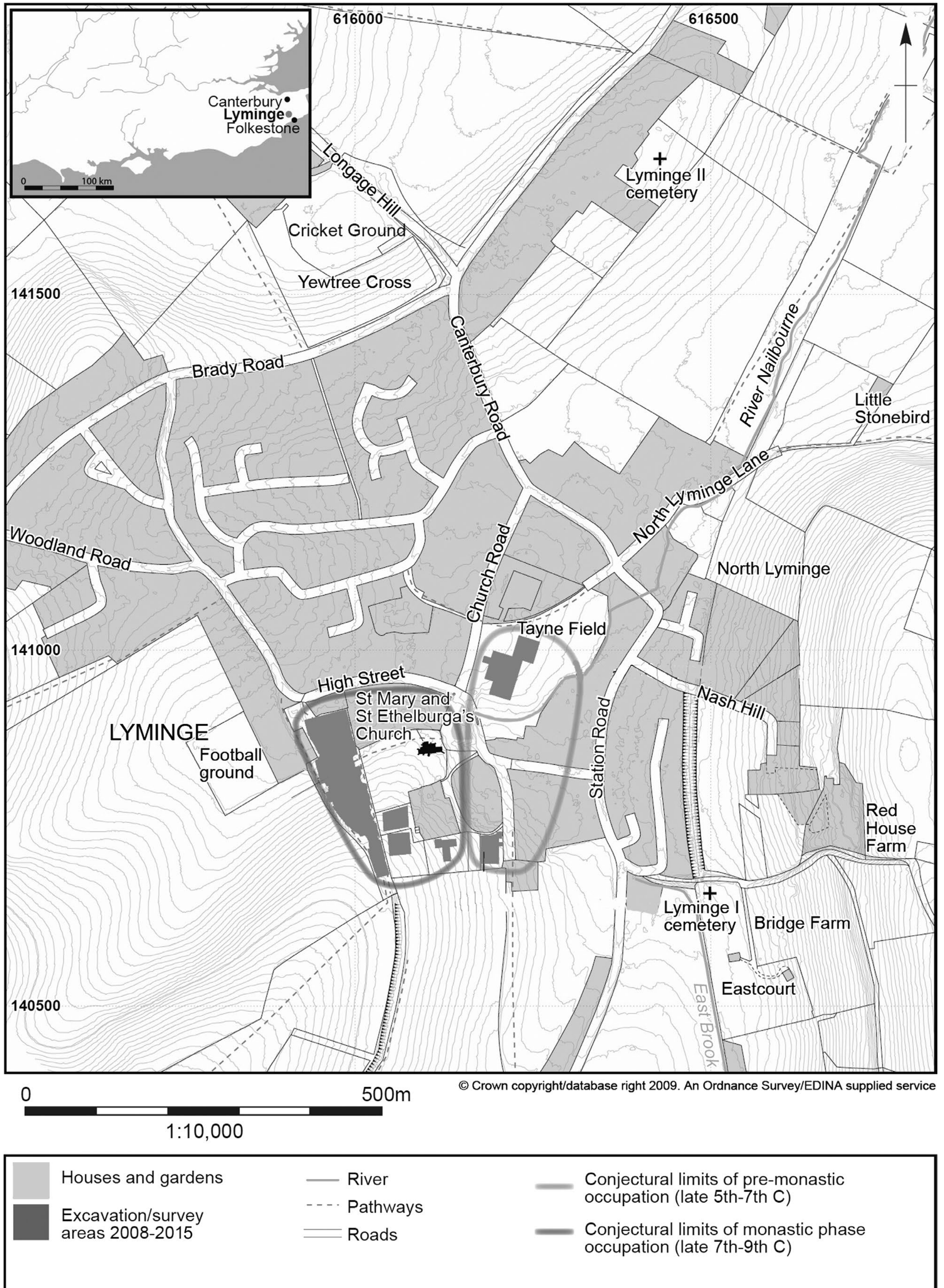

Fig. 1 Map showing location of excavations in relation to the modern-day topography of Lyminge village.

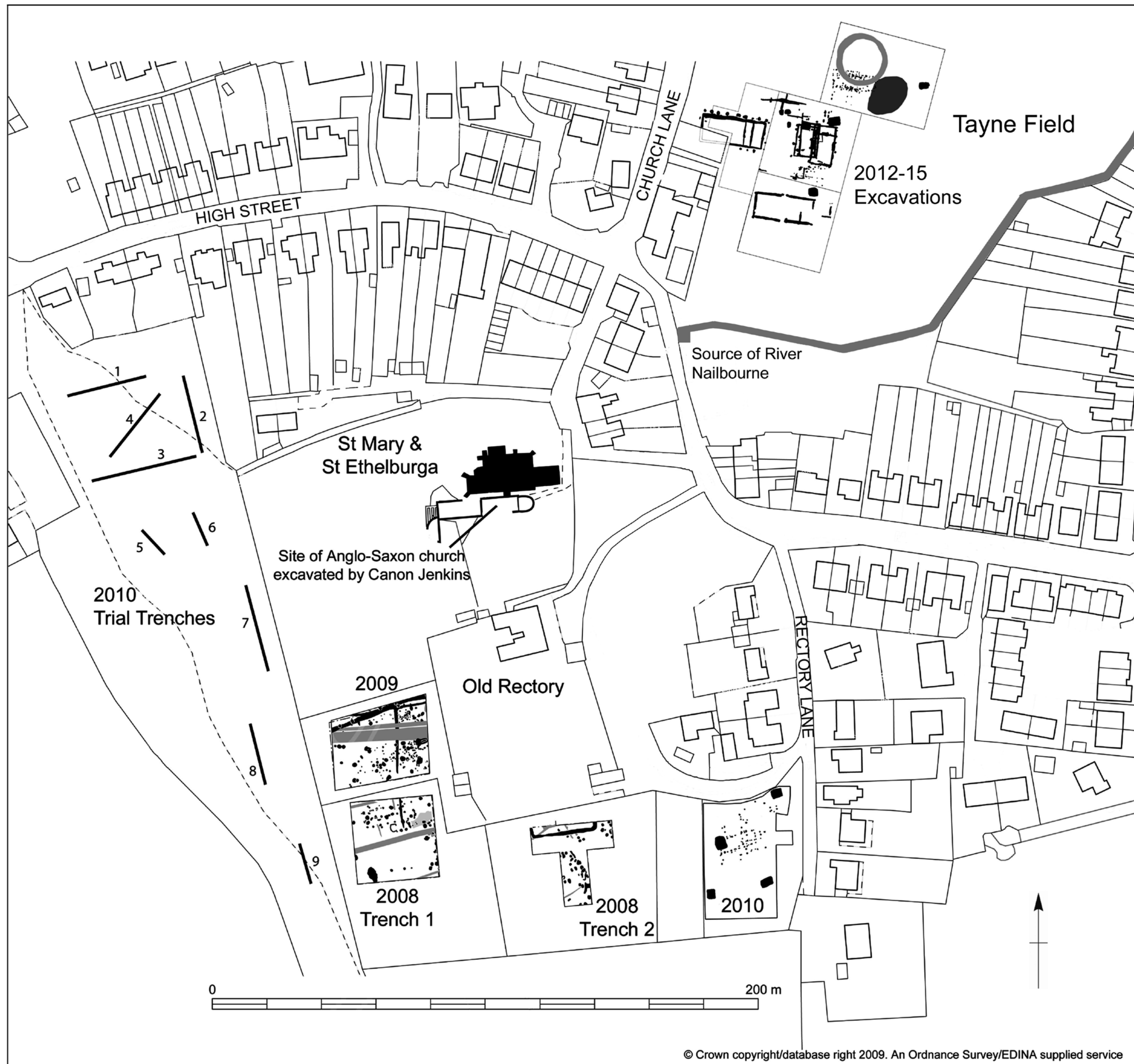

Fig. 2 Map showing different phases of excavation with Anglo-Saxon archaeology highlighted in bold.

sixth–seventh-century Lyminge out as a prosperous and socially pre-eminent community.[2]

The results of the ensuing three seasons of excavation add significant new detail and texture to this basic sketch. It is almost certain that the plateau of Tayne Field, a spur projecting into the main axis of the valley of the River Nailbourne, and directly overlooking its source, formed the epicentre of the early Anglo-Saxon settlement as well as its longest-lived component. The discovery of significant prehistoric activity in this same locale has also opened up a new vista for exploring the relationship between antecedent landscape features and Lyminge's emergent identity as a place of early medieval power and authority.

To understand the substance behind these statements, it is necessary to provide a brief summary of the newly unearthed evidence. For convenience, this can be broken down into features of, respectively, structural, and non-structural, character (Fig. 4); typological and radiocarbon dating indicates that these various components belong to a single, contemporaneous phase of occupation centring on the sixth century AD, pre-dating the site's subsequent redevelopment as a 'great hall complex' in the seventh century (Table 1).[3] Of the former, there were a further three sunken-featured buildings and one clearly identifiable ground-level building of post-hole construction of greater scale and architectural pretentions than that excavated in 2010 and displaying clear evidence for multiple constructional phases (Fig. 5). Non-structural features were present in two categories, both of which produced prodigious volumes of dumped midden material: a spatial cluster of three pits located at the western end of Tayne Field which shared large dimensions and carefully cut vertical sides and flat bases (Fig. 6), and, some 30 m to the north-west, a substantial

Fig. 3 View across Tayne Field looking south-west, with the 2014 excavation trenches in the foreground and the chalk promontory capped by the parish church beyond. The clump of trees in front of the church marks the source of the River Nailbourne.

infilled hollow, with plan dimensions of *c.* 18 m north–south by 12 m east–west.

It is possible to gain an enriched understanding of Tayne Field as the likely ancestral cult focus of Anglo-Saxon Lyminge by drawing attention to the considerable body of prehistoric archaeology unearthed in the 2012–15 excavations. Particularly germane to the current discussion is a previously unidentified Bronze Age barrow located on the north-east edge of the Tayne Field plateau, investigated as part of the 2014 excavation campaign (Figs. 4 and 5). It seems highly probable that this prehistoric monument influenced the layout and spatial development of the early Anglo-Saxon settlement on the grounds that the southern arc of the ring-ditch was directly superimposed by the aforementioned post-built hall representing the most significant structural component of the fifth–sixth-century occupation. Although this proposal lies beyond stratigraphic proof, it nevertheless falls into a coherent pattern of prehistoric monument reuse identified on fifth–seventh-century Anglo-Saxon

Table 1 Selected radiocarbon dates from the Tayne Field Anglo-Saxon settlement sequence.

Context	Sample number	Radiocarbon age (BP)	Calibrated 68% confidence	Calibrated 95% confidence
Dates for pre-hall-complex occupation				
Primary infill of midden-filled solution hollow	OxA-31785	1598±26	cal AD 414–534	cal AD 405–537
Primary infill of midden-filled solution hollow	OxA-31786	1602±26	cal AD 410–533	cal AD 401–537
Primary fill of pit [6118]	OxA-31719	1629±27	cal AD 388–527	cal AD 347–535
Secondary fill of pit [6134]	OxA-31720	1634±27	cal AD 385–506	cal AD 343–535
Secondary fill of pit [6788]	OxA-31721	1602±26	cal AD 410–533	cal AD 401–537
Dates for hall complex				
Hall A	OxA-31717	1479±27	cal AD 560–613	cal AD 544–640
Hall sequence B Phase 2	OxA-31726	1409±35	cal AD 615–656	cal AD 579–668
Hall sequence B Phase 3	SUERC-50221	1269±42	cal AD 681–770	cal AD 662–870
Hall sequence C Phase 3	OxA-31788	1259±26	cal AD 673–764	cal AD 663–770

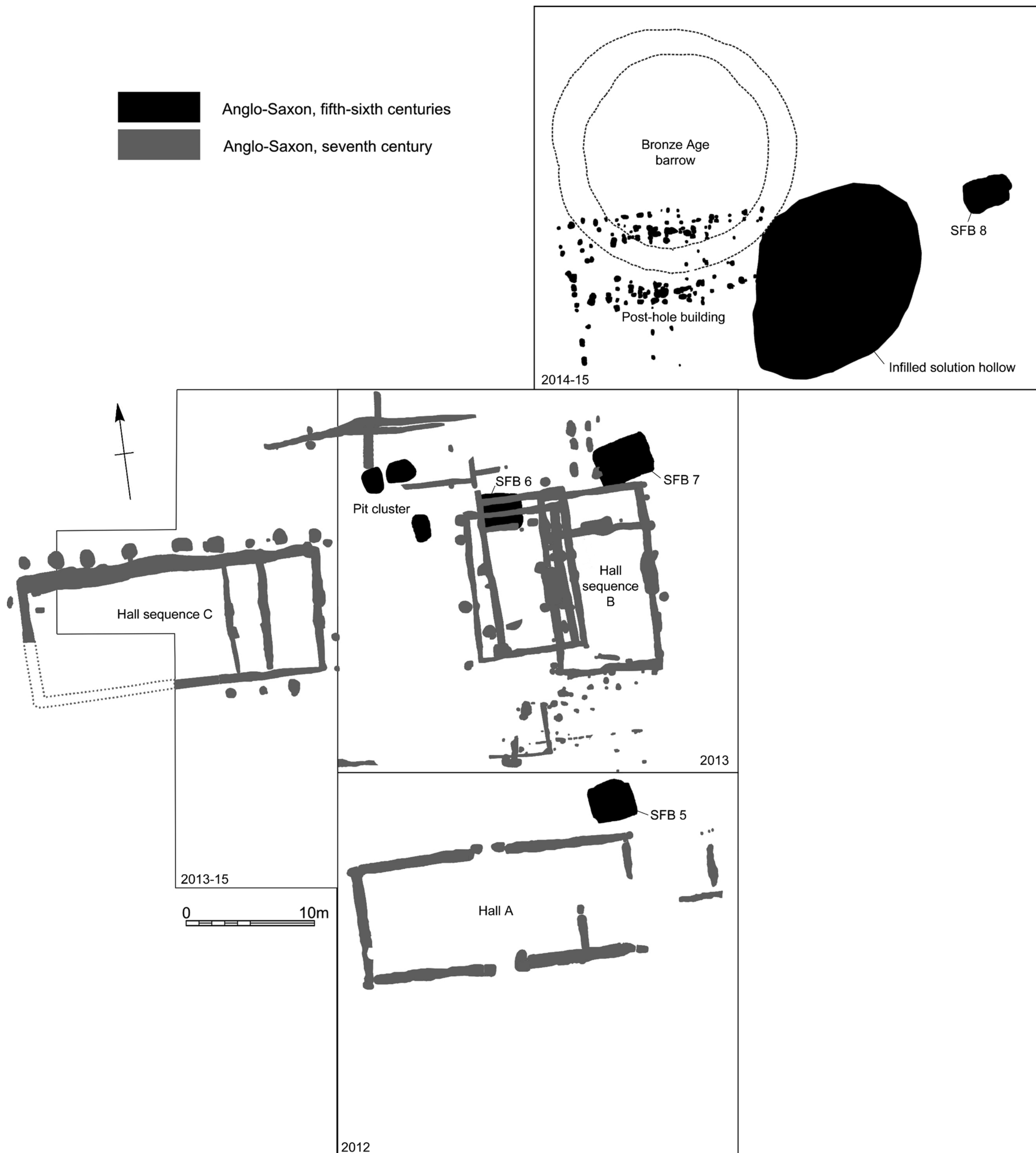

Fig. 4 Plan of Tayne Field excavations showing features relating to the two main phases of Anglo-Saxon occupation.

settlements echoing similar practices in contemporary funerary contexts.[4]

This interpretation can be developed further by taking into consideration clues that the hall concerned enjoyed focal or special significance within the settlement. It has previously been noted that this structure had a complex and extended structural biography reflected in a palimpsest of overlapping wall alignments which is unusual at this early period.[5] In addition, two pieces of Anglo-Saxon metalwork – an annular brooch and a delicate dress-pin measuring 120 mm long – were recovered from the foundations of this building, the former from a doorpost marking a principal entrance aligned on the mound of the barrow. According to the latest research examining the theme of 'special deposits' on Anglo-Saxon settlements, it is exceptionally rare to find metalwork deposited in association with halls and the Lyminge building is almost certainly unique in having a pair.[6] While somewhat earlier in date, it can be noted that the depositionary treatment of these items has clear affinities with articulated human/animal remains

Fig. 5 Vertical view of the post-hole building in relation to the Bronze Age ring-ditch and infilled solution hollow.

Fig. 6 The largest of the three pits from the western pit-cluster.

placed within the structural foundations and thresholds of major seventh-century Anglo-Saxon halls at the aristocratic sites of Cowdery's Down, Hampshire (Building C12) and Yeavering, Northumberland (Building D2).[7]

Any assessment of the influence of the antecedent landscape over Lyminge's formative development must also take into account the barrow's conspicuous neighbour: the large midden-filled hollow sampled in 2014–15 (Fig. 5). The current hypothesis is that this feature represents the infilled remnants of a prehistoric sink-hole or 'doline', the original formation of which pre-dated the construction of the neighbouring barrow.[8] While unusual in a valley bottom setting, juxtapositions of a similar kind have been identified in preserved tracts of prehistoric downland such as the Dorset ridgeway, attracting the theory that Bronze Age peoples attached particular cosmological significance to natural sink-holes as portals to the Otherworld.[9]

The key significance of the hollow for current purposes, however, is that it appears to have enjoyed a significant secondary life synchronous with the embryonic development of the Anglo-Saxon settlement. The earliest evidence for this early medieval appropriation comprised a 2-m-wide flint ramp which descended from the northern lip of the hollow to an interior depth of 2 m at a consistent 26 degree gradient (Fig. 7). This feature is difficult to explain, but may have been constructed to aid the extraction of fine quality clay which, according to cores extracted from the hollow's lower stratigraphic horizons, accumulated under natural erosional processes during later prehistory. The ramp was subsequently buried by the first of an extended sequence of dumped deposits representing the systematic disposal of midden material generated by intense and sustained occupation and industrial activity. The process of infilling appears to have been punctuated by specific events of intense burning and a longer period of stabilization when the hollow, by then no more than a shallow bowl, was exploited as a setting for industrial activity represented by *in situ* hearths and associated deposits of metalworking slag and furnace lining (Fig. 8).

The thick 'layer-cake' of stratigraphic superimposition within the hollow implies a relatively lengthy period of deposition which is to some extent confirmed by available dating evidence. Diagnostic dress-accessories indicate that the core period of infilling occurred in the period AD 500–70 and that the hollow had been completely infilled by the close of the sixth century at the latest (Fig. 9).[10] There are some indications that the earliest phases of the hollow's use, represented by the flint ramp and the midden deposits lying in direct superimposition, may date back into the fifth century. This is supported by clear differences in the material cultural signatures derived from relevant contexts: on the one hand, these lacked the diagnostic metalwork and vessel glass frequent in later levels, and on the other, produced a pottery assemblage characterized by a distinct admixture of Late Romano-British and early 'Germanic' forms. It may be further noted that a fifth-century inception can be safely accommodated within the error ranges associated with radiocarbon determinations from these same contexts (Table 1).

Fig. 7 A view of the flint ramp exposed beneath the Anglo-Saxon midden deposits contained within the prehistoric solution hollow.

There is one final point that needs to be made in evaluating the influence of the antecedent cultural landscape on Lyminge's early medieval trajectory: the fact that the multi-period archaeology uncovered on Tayne Field was totally devoid of *in situ* Romano-British occupation. This chronological gap, mirrored in all recent interventions within the village, takes on particular significance in light of the long-established tradition that a Romano-British villa was sited at the end of the chalk ridge later inhabited by the Anglo-Saxon church and its medieval successor. Many commentators have accepted this tradition at face value with the result that Lyminge is frequently cited in the literature as an Anglo-Saxon centre displaying strong and direct continuity with the Romano-British past.[11] This notion seems increasingly untenable in light of the chronological gap noted above: if there was indeed a Romano-British presence in this locale it was most unlikely to have matched the scale or economic significance of a villa and a smaller, perhaps ritual, focus is the more likely scenario given Lyminge's springhead location.

It remains to make some provisional and necessarily selective observations on the economy and social identity

Fig. 8 North-facing section across the infilled solution hollow showing the complex depositionary sequence as revealed by excavation in 2014. The in situ hearth shows up as black and orange banding at roughly the mid-point of the picture with more extensive burnt horizons below towards the right-hand edge of the section. An exposed portion of the flint ramp appears at the bottom of the sequence, part of which has been removed for sampling. Depth of section approximately 2 m.

Fig. 9 A selection of the sixth-century gilded dress-accessories recovered from the infilled solution hollow.

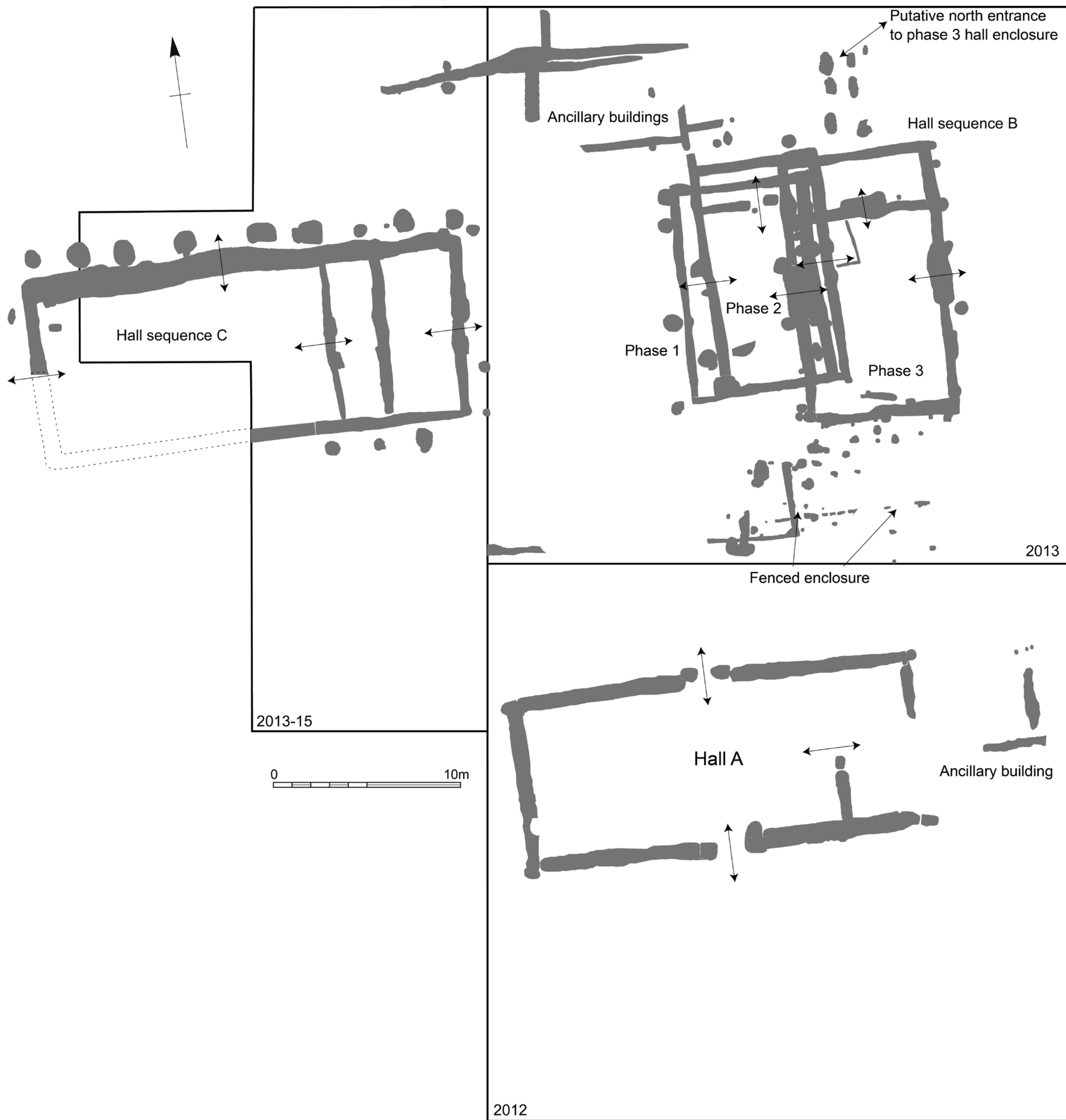

Fig. 10 Plan of the seventh-century great hall complex; arrows mark the position of entrances.

of the early settlement gleaned from the large cultural assemblages recovered over 2013–15. First is the strong imprint made by ironworking reflected in large quantities of smelting and smithing slag and furnace lining recovered from the cluster of pits identified in the western sector of Tayne Field and from the infilled solution hollow. This evidence anticipates by over a century a charter reference dated AD 689 attesting that the royal vill (*cors*) of Lyminge enjoyed proprietorship of an iron mine.[12] By the time this charter was issued, it would thus appear that Lyminge's involvement in iron production was already long established. The co-occurrence of smelting and secondary smithing debris at this early period is particularly significant as evidence for the centralization of the production process as a means of controlling the conversion of iron ore into finished products.[13]

A second point is that early Anglo-Saxon Lyminge played host to not one, but a multiplicity of specialist technologies. This extended to the manufacture of bronze artefacts employing both cast and wrought technology, the former attested by mould and crucible fragments, and the latter by a miscellany of sheet and wire offcuts, rivets and other attachments from composite objects. More tantalizing is the possibility that such specialization extended to the production of glass vessels. Standing at around 600 sherds, Lyminge has produced, by a considerable margin, the

Fig. 11 View across Hall sequence B looking west.

largest assemblage of vessel glass from a rural settlement in early Anglo-Saxon England. Preliminary analysis has highlighted clues strongly suggestive of on-site production: a significant quantity of Roman glass intended for recycling and waste products in the form of raw/molten glass, accompanied by possible moils from the glass-blowing process.[14] In the absence of more emphatic evidence in the form of glass furnaces and crucibles, confirmation for on-site production must ultimately await the results of detailed scientific analysis as a key priority of the post-excavation programme. Regardless of the final outcome of this analysis, however, it is the scale of *consumption* of glass vessels which deserves attention: in the period under review, one has to look to high-status fortified enclosures and monastic settlements in Celtic-speaking regions of Britain to find a comparable assemblage from a settlement context.[15]

Much more could be said on the wide range of portable material culture from this early period, but it is interesting to consider what is poorly represented. Textile manufacturing equipment is an immediate case in point: no loom-weights or shears were recovered from the 2013–15 excavations, and pin-beaters and spindle whorls were found in only limited numbers. This under-representation demands some explanation given the vast quantities of midden material sifted in these campaigns and the general ubiquity of textile manufacturing equipment on early Anglo-Saxon settlements. Since textile production appears to have been a female-gendered activity closely associated with the domestic sphere, the paucity of such objects might be interpreted as a reflection of Tayne Field's special status as a ritual/ceremonial focus of the settlement.[16]

Royal appropriation: delineating an Anglo-Saxon great hall complex

2012 marked a key turning-point in the Lyminge Project with the unexpected unearthing of a major timber hall at the southern edge of the Tayne Field plateau. Its large dimensions (21 m × 8.2 m), combined with a distinctive method of planked-wall construction, immediately placed this building (Hall A) within an Anglo-Saxon architectural tradition synonymous with what have become known in the literature as 'great hall complexes', first subjected to detailed archaeological examination at Yeavering, Northumberland, and subsequently at Cowdery's Down (Hampshire).[17] On the basis of these excavated parallels, it was conjectured that the Lyminge hall was likely to be accompanied by further buildings of comparable scale and sophistication.[18] Such was proven to be the case when the ground-plans of several further, spatially articulated, halls, displaying multiple phases of construction, were unearthed over 2013–15 (Fig. 10). It seems likely on the basis of the coherent layout of these halls that a greater part of the nucleus of the Lyminge complex has been successfully delineated; a brief description of the new structures follows, leading to some more general reflections concerning layout and chronology.

Fig. 12 A view of the western entrance of Hall sequence B (Phase 3) showing structural detail at the base of the massive entrance pit. The rectangular planks of the two doorposts can clearly be seen in the configuration of stone packing material. Vertical scale = 1 m.

Hall sequence B

Excavation in 2013 identified an overlapping sequence of three north–south structures constructed on a site 15 m to the north of Hall A (Fig. 11). It is clear from stratigraphic superimposition that the order of construction of the halls progressed from west to east and that each new hall was built on a larger scale than its predecessor (the largest measuring 13.60 m by 7.40 m and the smallest 11.0 m by 6.0 m). In spite of these and other variations in ground-plan, the three halls shared the same basic constructional technique: a foundation trench displaying a single row of plank uprights set towards the outside edge of the trench, flanked by external raking posts. The second- and third-phase halls had partition walls at their northern ends and, in all cases, opposed entrances were situated centrally in the long-walls of the buildings. One notable divergence between the third-phase hall and its predecessors related to the construction of the entrances: in the latter case, doorposts were founded in separate pits delineated from the main length of wall-trench, whereas in the former case, both doorposts were held in a single elongated pit of massive proportions (Fig. 12).[19] In all cases where timber impressions survived, the doorposts comprised larger versions of the cut planks used for the main walls.

It was possible to adduce additional architectural details for these halls from the excavated ground-plan evidence. Considerable quantities of fired daub were contained in the wall-trenches of the third-phase hall indicating that panels of wattle and daub filled the spaces between each of the plank uprights in accordance with 'C9 type' wall construction identified at the site of Cowdery's Down.[20] The same contexts also contained redeposited material derived from preceding constructional phases, indicating a surprisingly high level of interior finish for the Phase 1 and 2 halls. This included numerous fragments of *opus signinum* derived from internal flooring and slabs of walling material whitewashed on both surfaces to give a plaster-like appearance (Fig. 13).[21]

Fig. 13 Fragments of *opus signinum* recovered from the foundations of Hall sequence B.

Fig. 14 Vertical view of Hall sequence C with modern playground (bottom right) and the foundations of World War II structures (top right) including an associated drain-block cut through the southern long-wall of the Anglo-Saxon hall.

Hall sequence C

A further major timber hall of east–west alignment was identified at the western extremity of Tayne Field and excavated sequentially over 2013–15. The evidence for this hall and its constituent phases was less than ideal: its south-west corner extended under a modern playing ground and the exposed portion of the ground-plan was disturbed by a cluster of Saxo-Norman pits and intrusive features associated with a World War II canteen (Fig. 14). As with Hall sequence B, there were obvious signs of sequential rebuilding, but with a notable divergence: whereas in the former case, the same general construction style was maintained throughout the sequence, each phase of rebuilding here was accompanied by a change in technique. It is also possible to demonstrate that there was a selective reuse of certain wall-trenches from one phase to the next which introduces complexities for interpreting how the building developed architecturally. With these complications in mind, the following reconstruction can be tentatively attempted.

The first hall to occupy this site employed double-planked wall construction of the same general type featured by Hall A to the south-east. This was replaced by a second structure sharing the same constructional style as Hall sequence B (i.e. single-plank wall construction with exterior raking posts). This building reused the southern long-wall trench of its predecessor, but was repositioned slightly on its east–west axis and extended in length and width to give recorded dimensions of *c.* 24 m by 9.0 m. Much greater uncertainty concerns the third and final developmental phase of this hall, the evidence being confined to an alignment of regularly spaced post-pits which cut through the northern long-wall of the second-phase hall, perhaps suggesting that the northern façade was replaced while the remainder of the structure was still standing.

As well as being the largest structure on this site, the second-phase hall also displayed divergences in internal layout and the arrangement of doorways. Unlike its predecessor, it was furnished with an interior partition wall, as in the case of Hall A, located towards the eastern end of the building; it is also unique amongst the Lyminge halls in having two pairs of opposed entrances through both the long- and short-walls, the latter set on precise alignment with the doorway through the internal partition wall (Fig. 10).

Other constructional elements

On the evidence of Yeavering and Cowdery's Down, fenced boundaries and internal enclosures seem to be a recurrent expression of the formalized planning exhibited by Anglo-Saxon great hall complexes.[22] Unfortunately, evidence for such at Lyminge has largely been destroyed by the severe ground-truncation caused by medieval ploughing. A small

portion of a north–south fence-line was, however, identified to the south of Hall sequence B and could conceivably have formed part of a continuous circuit designed to enclose one or more of its constructional phases (Fig. 10). Of possible further relevance were three pairs of oval post-pits extending in an axial alignment beyond the northern wall of the third-phase hall, which might tentatively be suggested to represent a formal, passaged, entrance into the same enclosure.

More certain is the observation that the main range of halls at Lyminge was surrounded by a series of more lightly built structures of post-in-trench construction (Fig. 10). A portion of one of these smaller ancillary buildings was identified to the west of Hall A, with fragmentary remains of another, or potentially a range of interconnected structures, extending beyond the north-west corner of Hall Complex B. Both examples were clearly laid out on the principal site axis so must have formed an integrated part of the overall layout and conception of the complex. One can only speculate as to their function, but stables or storehouses immediately suggest themselves as necessary infrastructural components for a site of periodic royal residence and assembly.[23]

In stark contrast to the underlying phase of sixth-century occupation, no pits or features associated with storage or the regulated disposal of domestic refuse were found in association with the great hall complex. As a consequence, the quantity of material culture directly attributable to the occupation and use of the complex is small, practically all of the relevant objects being derived from structural features (wall-trenches and post-pits) relating to the halls themselves. On the other hand, the diminutive tally does include survivals redolent of the aristocratic cultural milieu of the Anglo-Saxon mead hall, including a delicately crafted bone gaming piece of a type replicated in the princely burial from Taplow (Buckinghamshire), and a selection of vessel glass fragments again representative of elite burial assemblages of the later sixth–seventh centuries AD (Fig. 15).[24]

Fig. 15 Bone gaming piece recovered from the foundations of Hall sequence B.

Layout and chronology

Lyminge follows other examples of Anglo-Saxon great hall complexes in displaying a high degree of spatial formality described in the relevant literature as 'ritual symmetry'.[25] The constructional precision underlying this symmetry is particularly evident in the relative positioning of Hall sequences B and C whose entrances fall on an intersecting alignment (Fig. 10). Although clearly forming an integral part of the complex, it may be noted that the entrances of Hall A do not appear to have articulated with those of adjacent structures and it is also the only hall within the complex *not* to display evidence for major episodes of rebuilding, other than the replacement of its long-wall entrances while the building was still standing. Notwithstanding these internal divergences, it is possible to propose a hypothetical model for the evolution of the complex informed by a comparable structural sequence from Cowdery's Down.[26] In this reading, the original kernel of the complex took the form of a small and quite modest north–south hall (Hall sequence B, Phase 1) which was then rebuilt on a larger scale as part of a massively more ambitious and architecturally sophisticated arrangement incorporating Halls A and C.

Hall complexes of Lyminge type are generally dated to the later sixth to seventh centuries AD on the basis of the site chronologies constructed for Yeavering and Cowdery's Down, but the quality of the underpinning dating evidence is in both cases deficient and problematic.[27] While better chronological precision is clearly required, opportunities are constrained by the scarcity of diagnostic material culture produced by such sites and, more generally, by the problem of artefact residuality endemic to Anglo-Saxon settlement archaeology. Lyminge exemplifies these issues well. With the obvious exception of the bone gaming piece, very few closely datable objects were recovered from the foundations of the halls and one of these – a sixth-century bridle fitting recovered from Hall A – was almost certainly an heirloom when consigned to the ground.[28]

In light of these limitations, an attempt has been made to exploit radiocarbon dating as a tool for placing the Lyminge complex on a more refined chronological footing. This objective has had to contend with the key constraint of an absence of preserved timbers and other samples (e.g. articulated animal disposals) that can be proven to be contemporary with the construction or occupation of the halls. To overcome this constraint, multiple samples of animal bone from each constructional phase were submitted as a strategy for isolating contemporary 'events' from residual background noise.[29] This exercise has confirmed that a significant proportion of the disarticulated animal bone recovered from the foundations of the halls is indeed derived from earlier phases of the settlement: in the case of Hall A, this extended to as many as four out of the five submitted samples. When these residual

dates are taken out of the equation, one is left with four determinations which, notwithstanding their wide chronological bandwidths, embrace some part of the seventh century, placing them within the expected target range (Table 1). Of these four dates, particular attention should be drawn to the pair relating to the ultimate phases of Hall sequences B and C: providing a constructional *terminus post quem* of the AD 660s, these determinations demonstrate that the complex is very likely to have endured into the final third of the seventh century and conceivably as late as AD 700.[30]

Discussion

On superficial reading, the detailed summary of pre-Christian remains provided above would seem to be of no more than peripheral interest to Lyminge's historically documented life as a royal monastery and, by extension, the core themes examined in this volume. In strictly chronological terms, it is true to say that the most recent campaign of excavation has added barely a scrap of new evidence relating to Lyminge's 'monastic phase' archaeology which previous investigative mapping has shown is restricted to high ground to the south and west of the churchyard, where the remains of a seventh-century church and potentially further contemporary masonry structures were uncovered by antiquarian excavations in the mid-nineteenth century.[31] On the other hand, there are very good reasons why the earlier temporal perspective provided by the results of the Tayne Field excavations deserves considered treatment in this publication. Lyminge is unique among the small corpus of excavated Anglo-Saxon monastic sites from pre-Viking England in possessing a continuous and tightly phased sequence of antecedent settlement extending deep into the pre-Christian era. As such, it is well placed to contribute to wider research agendas fixing attention on how the twin processes of Christianization and monastic foundation were negotiated in relation to landscapes of power and political authority.[32] The concluding discussion evaluates Lyminge's contribution to this sphere of understanding, commencing with the rapid and dynamic changes of the seventh century, followed by an examination of the antecedent landscape and its role in shaping Lyminge's long-term evolution as a theatre of royal power.

The creation of a monumental royal landscape: Lyminge in the seventh century AD

A large part of Lyminge's distinctiveness as one of a small and geographically disparate corpus of excavated royal centres dating to the pre-Viking era rests on the fact that a rare example of a 'great hall complex' has been unearthed in strikingly close proximity to the cult focus of a documented monastery. What significance can be attached to this near spatial convergence? At a general level, it exemplifies the magnetic influence of pre-existing geographies of power over the locations of pre-Viking monastic houses: as detailed topographic research has shown, monasteries were frequently established in close proximity to *villae regales*, typically within a radius of 2 to 3 miles – a clear expression of the agency of ruling dynasties in spearheading the Christianization of the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms.[33] While parallels for the spatial contiguity seen at Lyminge seem to represent the exception rather than the rule in most parts of Anglo-Saxon England, there do appear to be some regional anomalies, including east Kent, where the unusual preponderance of such cases has attracted repeated comment in the literature.[34] Depending upon which perspective is taken, this localized pattern can be interpreted as a reflection of a local kingship taking especially keen interest in the control of family monasteries as a dynastic strategy,[35] or, alternatively, as a manifestation of the long-term locational stability of royal vills within their dominion.[36] One of the key results of the Lyminge Project is that it has created a platform for examining how the monumental core of one of these centres evolved over the course of the seventh century in response to sustained royal investment; the following provides an appraisal of the relevant evidence leading to some wider reflections on the interplay between royal and ecclesiastical monumentality in Anglo-Saxon England.

The most recent phases of excavation on Tayne Field have reinforced the interpretation laid out in the previously published project synthesis that Lyminge's early medieval trajectory spans a transition between two spatially distinct foci – the earlier evidenced by fifth–seventh-century occupation inhabiting low-lying terrain overlooking the headwater of the River Nailbourne, and the later by eighth–ninth-century occupation sited on elevated ground surrounding the churchyard (Fig. 1).[37] This spatial reconfiguration was clearly influenced by two key events in Lyminge's evolution as monumental royal landscape: the abandonment of the Tayne Field great hall complex and the construction, on an adjacent site, of a masonry church in the Romanizing architectural style of the Augustinian mission.[38] Like other examples of its type, the former constituted a relatively short-lived, albeit architecturally extravagant, statement of royal power and ambition, the final demise of which marked the cessation of the long-established ancestral focus.[39] Conversely, the construction of the church created a new and enduring gravitational focus which structured the long-term development of the settlement throughout and well beyond its documented period as a royal monastery in the eighth and ninth centuries.

Although we can be reasonably confident of the general sequence underpinning Lyminge's seventh-century development, less certain is the precise temporal relationship between the great hall complex and the church: did one replace the other or was there a period of co-existence? Here we come up against major ambiguities surrounding the dating and chronological development of the 'monastic' core unearthed by the antiquarian Canon Jenkins

and differing views on the historical timeframe for the establishment of royal nunneries in Kent.[40] While there can be no definitive resolution of this issue without re-examination of the relevant area of the churchyard, it is not inconceivable that the church started life as an adjunct to the Tayne Field royal complex either in the role of a private oratory or funeral chapel.[41] Such a scenario would certainly be consistent with expected patterns of church foundation in east Kent as a 'Frankish-influenced aristocratic milieu',[42] while also according with evidence, albeit slender, for the existence of churches at other English great hall sites.[43]

A further piece of evidence which has relevance to the current argument, if only indirectly, is the striking discovery that certain phases of Lyminge's monumental timber halls were floored internally with pseudo *opus signinum* – a tantalizing glimpse of an active architectural dialogue between hall complexes and masonry churches in seventh-century Kent. This style of flooring is generally recognized as a diagnostic feature of the earliest extant generation of Anglo-Saxon churches in England, including such members of the so-called 'Kentish' group as SS Peter and Paul, and St Pancras, Canterbury, and St Mary's, Reculver.[44] Frequently overlooked, however, is evidence from excavated Anglo-Saxon levels at Dover demonstrating a parallel vernacular context: specifically two seventh–eighth-century timber halls forming part of a spatially articulating complex closely comparable to that excavated at Lyminge.[45] Crucially, extensive spreads of flooring at Dover were preserved *in situ* as a result of deep urban stratification, indicating that the redeposited fragments of *opus signinum* recovered from Lyminge are almost certainly derived from the sequence of halls rather than representing reused Romano-British building material.[46] Taken in conjunction, the evidence from Lyminge and Dover indicates that certain royal halls in conversion-period Kent were provided with elaborate terracotta-coloured floors inspired by the same 'Romanizing' architectural tendencies displayed by contemporary churches.[47]

This new perspective on royal architectural practice in conversion-period Kent offers an interesting contrast to Northumbria, the one kingdom of Anglo-Saxon England where it has been previously possible to make informed intra-regional comparisons between vernacular and ecclesiastical building traditions over the seventh–eighth centuries AD. For here, in a reversal of the direction of influence seen in Kent, ecclesiastical stone buildings, whether small bicameral churches of Escomb type or larger 'monastic' buildings exemplified by structures A and B at Jarrow, appear to have borrowed aspects of their architectural design and layout from Yeavering's monumental timber repertoire.[48] While following divergent pathways, Kent and Northumbria seem to be united in displaying evidence for hybrid architectural forms embodying a fusion between vernacular and ecclesiastical architectural traditions, a comparative insight which chimes well with other creative forms of monumental investment reproduced across the nascent kingdoms of seventh-century England.[49]

The ancestral background

Lyminge is by no means unique in providing firm evidence for the superimposition of a great hall complex on a pre-existing settlement. The monumental phases of Yeavering and Cowdery's Down appear to have been laid out across portions of earlier settlements of more modest character featuring smaller buildings organized in less formalized and theatrical configurations.[50] The most apt comparison, however, is with Sutton Courtenay (Oxfordshire). Here the great hall complex was implanted within the limits of an expansive and spatially diffuse settlement of the later fifth to sixth centuries featuring sunken-featured buildings some of which, in a manner identical to Lyminge, had been cut through by the seventh-century halls.[51] How should we characterize the antecedent phases of great hall sites given this recurrent pattern of appropriation? It would be very easy to dismiss these precursors as 'ordinary' on the grounds that they conform to observed tendencies in the fifth–sixth-century settlement record usually equated with the absence of a recognizable settlement hierarchy – loosely articulated layouts, relatively small, undifferentiated buildings and a lack of functional specialization.[52] In light of what we know of their later trajectories, however, one might legitimately ask if there was anything special or different about these places which might explain why they were exploited as focal points of royal power in the later sixth and seventh centuries AD. This question has been difficult to address robustly hitherto because the quality of the archaeological evidence for these phases is often ephemeral, incomplete and poorly recorded. But in the case of Lyminge we can draw upon a diversity of archaeological indicators which converge to show that it was functioning as a centre of power and regional authority significantly earlier than AD 600 in spite of lacking recognizably high-status architecture.[53] To draw out the relevant strands, it is necessary briefly to revisit the summary of the excavated remains given in the first part of this paper.

An obvious place to start is with the evidence for conspicuous consumption and ritualized feasting most likely conducted in connection with social gatherings and public assembly. The exceptionally large assemblage of fifth–sixth-century vessel glass immediately stands out in this regard as does the copious quantity of animal bone characterizing the majority of the midden deposits sampled from this phase of the occupation. While displaying much less of an emphasis on marine resources than the faunal assemblage associated with the later monastic-phase settlement, outlying coastal environments were clearly being exploited at some intensity during this period and it is notable that the contemporary fish assemblage includes evidence for the consumption of sturgeon as a potential luxury food with high-status connotations.[54] A potential further material expression of such activities (and of tenurial centrality more generally) is the cluster of large pits

identified at the western extremity of Tayne Field. The capaciousness of these features combined with their carefully sculpted interiors suggests that they are likely to have functioned as receptacles for the centralized storage of grain or other types of food render.[55]

A further strand crucial to understanding Lyminge's character at this early period is the practice of specialist craft technologies. Early Anglo-Saxon Kent has long been celebrated for the quality and distinctiveness of its jewellery and other native artefacts richly represented in contemporary furnished cemeteries, but previous archaeological evidence directly attesting to sites of manufacture has been all but non-existent.[56] The various forms of production identified at sixth-century Lyminge – the smelting and working of iron, the manufacture of a range of copper-alloy objects and less certainly the fabrication of glass vessels – help to fill this gap in knowledge while at the same time demonstrating that the patronage of specialist technologies was no less important to the identity of power centres in early medieval Kent as it was to their counterparts in other regions of the early medieval northern world.[57] Iron production deserves special consideration in this context given the strong indications from Kent and elsewhere that the distribution of iron, both in its refined state and as fabricated products, is likely to have been strictly controlled as a currency of power and important component of the tribute economy in early Anglo-Saxon England.[58] The desire to regulate this versatile and vital resource might explain why ironworking at Lyminge was seemingly sited within the ancestral core of the settlement in close proximity to contemporary buildings.[59] Given the mythological connotations of smiths in contemporary society and the symbolic meanings attached to smelting and smithing as 'processes of transformation', this strategy can only have added to the ritual and cultic aura of this particular setting.[60]

A final theme that helps to focus attention on Lyminge's embryonic development as a place of power is that of prehistoric monument reuse enshrined in the multi-period palimpsest unearthed on Tayne Field. Lyminge provides an interesting contrast to other excavated great hall complexes in this regard because here appropriation of the prehistoric backdrop occurs very early in the occupation sequence, long before the site reached its seventh-century zenith.[61] Valuable comparisons can, however, be made with a growing repertoire of fifth–sixth-century settlements attesting this practice, typically exemplified by the superimposition of sunken-featured buildings, and less commonly ground-level halls, on Bronze Age barrows.[62] Semple has argued that these settlements can be conceived as 'places of emergent power where connections were being made with the supernatural or ancestral and where access to this powerful resource was managed' which were engaged in the process of 'confirming identity and signalling territorial power at small scales'.[63]

Viewed against the regional backdrop, it is perhaps unsurprising that Lyminge should display evidence consistent with an identity as a regional centre of power and authority at such a precociously early date. The evidence provided by Kentish laws, place-names and other topographic sources indicates that the historic heartland of the Anglo-Saxon kingdom possessed a sophisticated territorial structure by AD 600 which went on to influence later administrative arrangements enshrined in the Kentish lathes.[64] This structure was underpinned by a network of royal vills originating as head settlements within river/springhead estates embedded within wider resource networks encompassing coastal marshlands and Wealden 'dens'.[65] Recent archaeological studies exploiting old cemetery archives in combination with modern metal-detector finds have shed new light on the life of these places as focal points of power and cult in the pre-Christian landscape.[66] The significance of Lyminge is that it extends our comprehension of these phenomena into the sphere of the living and a complementary nexus of social practices offering their own unique perspective on emerging power structures during the prehistory of the Kentish kingdom.

Conclusion

The material reviewed in this contribution provides graphic witness to the continuity and locational stability of regional centres of power and governance in Anglo-Saxon Kent: Lyminge was clearly functioning as a 'politico-religious' centre within its immediate locality by the mid-sixth century and continued to serve as a focal point for confirming royal power and authority in its wider region over several successive centuries. Masked beneath this apparent immutability, however, is a complex layering of transformations, each of which referenced and appropriated Lyminge's past, while simultaneously drawing new meaning, purpose and expression from changing social, political and ideological circumstances.

The Lyminge palimpsest invites consideration of a number of themes of wider relevance to the role played by places of power in processes of kingdom formation and Christian conversion in Anglo-Saxon England. The earliest horizon of early medieval activity encountered on the Tayne Field plateau offers significant new perspectives on the material and symbolic basis of power in early Anglo-Saxon Kent, while providing pointers on how we might begin to recognize similar tendencies in a broader spectrum of settlements of the fifth–sixth centuries AD lacking formalized layouts and high-status buildings. The argument made in this contribution is that this phase of Lyminge's occupation sequence deserves to be interpreted on its own terms as a vital stage in the crystallization of a regional power centre which determined its future trajectory as a theatre of kingship down through subsequent centuries.

By extending our appreciation of the great hall phenomenon to Kent, Lyminge highlights the widespread uniformity of the tradition and its underlying architectural

principles: the simultaneous replication of this tradition across several kingdoms bespeaks of the social proximity between emergent hereditary dynasties and pervasive modes of aristocratic self-expression which transcended political boundaries. Simultaneously, the Lyminge evidence alerts our attention to regional variations within the monumental idiom. Unlike their counterparts in Wessex and Northumbria, a proportion of great halls in Kent appear to have shared the interior flourishes of contemporary masonry churches, indicating that this was a regional context where the active proclamation of *Romanitas* through the medium of monumental display permeated the boundary between vernacular and ecclesiastical architectural traditions.

The short-lived trajectory of great hall sites provides a clear embodiment of the fragility of power in the seventh century as well as the fluid cultural basis of contemporary rulership: Lyminge and its like represent a transient experiment in the discourse of Anglo-Saxon kingship that soon passed into monumental history. Whereas other known sites seem to have fallen into obscurity relatively quickly, Lyminge displays a uniquely attested 'afterlife' as a royal monastery.[67] Aspects of how the transition from royal power centre to royal monastery played itself out in the seventh-century landscape remain obscure, but there are two good reasons why we should resist polarizing Lyminge's hypothesized monumental development into two separate and chronologically discrete phases, the earlier secular and the later ecclesiastical. Firstly, such a dichotomization fails to acknowledge the religious dimension of English great hall sites and analogous expressions of 'hall culture' in other parts of the early medieval North Sea world, attested most conspicuously within the Scandinavian/Viking sphere.[68] Secondly, it is difficult to reconcile this scenario with the complex conversion narratives of the Anglo-Saxon royal dynasties themselves, not least that of the native Kentish royal house, which readily exemplifies the twists and turns involved in what was a multi-generational, and indeed reversible, process.[69]

This contribution was written with the aim of offering a comprehensive re-evaluation of the Lyminge excavations based upon the assimilation of new results generated between 2013 and 2015. While the foregoing account is more comprehensive and nuanced than its predecessor, the underpinning research is still very much a work in progress. A large and complex programme of post-excavation analysis lies ahead and the interpretive landscape is currently shifting under the impetus of a spate of new research into sites of royal residence across early medieval Britain.[70] Further modifications and refinements to the Lyminge narrative can be expected in future publications.

Acknowledgements

I should like to express my gratitude to Sarah Lambert-Gates, Simon Maslin and Dana Goodburn-Brown for assistance with the production of some of the illustrations appearing in the paper, and to Helena Hamerow and John Blair for supplying me with constructive feedback on a previous version of the text.

Notes

1. Thomas 2013.
2. *Ibid*., 123–4.
3. More detailed descriptions of these features can be found in Thomas and Knox 2014 and 2015.
4. Crewe 2012; Semple 2013. A strikingly similar spatial relationship between an Anglo-Saxon building and prehistoric ring-ditch is seen at the seventh-century great hall complex of Sutton Courtenay (Oxfordshire): Hamerow and Brennan 2015.
5. Hamerow 2010, 64; 2012, 34.
6. Hamerow 2006; Sofield 2012; Sofield, pers. comm. As far as the author is aware, Yeavering is the only Anglo-Saxon settlement with comparable evidence for this practice: Hamerow 2006, 26, note 108.
7. *Ibid*., 11–12.
8. The archaeological significance of dolines is well established in Palaeolithic studies, e.g. White 1997; Delagnes and Ropars 1996, and a number of investigated examples in the chalklands of east Kent have produced material of this date, e.g. Halliwell and Parfitt 1993. The origins of the Lyminge example appear to be considerably later on the testimony of a small assemblage of later prehistoric flint recovered from its lower horizons.
9. Tilley 1999, 225–9.
10. This attribution is based upon the typological dating of metalwork (specifically brooch types) following the periodization of female grave assemblages by Brugmann (1999); the forms present straddle Phase I (AD 500–530/40) and Phase II (AD 530/40–560/70) of her chronology.
11. Chadwick Hawkes 1982; Everitt 1986, 102, 244, 75; Kelly 2006, 99.
12. S 12, *Charters of St Augustine's and Minster-in-Thanet*, no. 8, Kelly 1995, 33–6. The unnamed mine is often assumed to have lain in the Weald, but Harrington and Welch (2014, 116) have argued that ore deposits in the vicinity of Lyminge could have been viably exploited. Future analysis of the ironworking residues should be able to determine between these two sources.
13. The Middle Saxon ironworking site of Ramsbury (Wiltshire) offers a good comparison for centralized production under the control of a *villa regalis*, see Haslam 1980.
14. See Broadley, this volume.
15. Alcock 2003, 87–9; Campbell 2007. One might expect a similar scale of domestic consumption at other Kentish political/administrative centres associated with glass-rich cemeteries (e.g. Faversham), but the settlement archaeology for these places has proved to be stubbornly elusive.
16. Walton Rogers 2007.
17. Hope-Taylor 1977; Millett and James 1983; for the most up-to-date overview of the phenomenon, see Hamerow 2012, 102–9.
18. Thomas 2013, 127.
19. The third-phase hall also had shallower wall-trenches than its predecessors and much more substantial external raking posts, suggesting a rather different structural solution for counteracting the outward thrust of the walls.
20. Millett and James 1983, 228–33.
21. For comparable evidence for the use of white lime-plastered walls in relation to great halls at Yeavering and Sutton Courtenay, see Hope-Taylor 1977, 53, 140, and Hamerow and Brennan 2015.
22. Reynolds 2003, 105; Hamerow 2012, 102–5.
23. The character of the evidence accords well with the expectation, hitherto unsubstantiated, that the ceremonial cores of

contemporary royal vills are likely to have been surrounded by a 'penumbra of subsidiary occupation' (Blair 2005, 276).

24 See Webster 2007 for a review of the finds from the Taplow burial (Buckinghamshire) and Broadley, this volume, for the glass.

25 Reynolds 2003, 104–6; Hamerow 2012, 102–5.

26 Millett and James 1983, 197–200.

27 For a critique and reassessment of Hope-Taylor's phasing of Yeavering, see Scull 1991; the radiocarbon dating for Cowdery's Down lacks the precision of modern calibration techniques and also relies on 'best estimates' based upon the statistical correction of determinations returned from charred wood samples: Millett and James 1983, 197–200.

28 The bridle fitting is discussed and illustrated in Thomas 2013, 127.

29 A similar dating strategy was employed at the Anglo-Saxon settlement of Yarnton (Oxfordshire): Bayliss and Hey 2004, 259.

30 One would have to make special pleading for a date much later than AD 700; none of the portable material culture recovered from sealed contexts associated with the hall complex conforms to recognized 'Middle Saxon' types and the same is true of unstratified background noise associated with this sector of the settlement.

31 Thomas 2013, 128–32.

32 For various archaeological perspectives on this theme, see Carver 2003; Pestell 2004; Turner 2006; Semple 2013; Sánchez-Pardo and Shapland 2015.

33 Foot 2006, 77; Blair 2005, 186–8, 275–9.

34 Everitt 1986, 187–96; Tatton-Brown 1988.

35 Yorke 2003 and this volume.

36 Blair 2005, 278.

37 As explored in the 2013 article, this rupture in the occupation sequence also finds expression in other aspects of the archaeological record including a diachronic shift in dietary regime consistent with the adoption of Christian/monastic food regulations. See Knapp, this volume, for an updated zooarchaeological assessment of this shift.

38 The relevant evidence was recovered in a series of investigations by Canon R. C. Jenkins in the 1850s (Jenkins 1874; 1876; 1889). A useful summary of Jenkins' discoveries and their subsequent re-evaluation by modern scholarship can be found in Kelly 2006, 99–100.

39 On the temporary character of Anglo-Saxon royal vills, see Blair 2005, 204–12, 281–5; Hamerow 2012, 109.

40 Kelly 2006, 99–100; Cambridge 1999. For contrasting opinions on the dating of Kentish nunneries, see contributions by Wood and Yorke in this volume.

41 Such a suggestion (i.e. a purpose-built funerary chapel attached to a royal vill) has previously been entertained by Kelly (2006, 104) as one possible way of explaining Lyminge's early foundation date of AD 633. A number of Frankish sites, including the royal nunnery of Chelles, offer precedents for this hypothesized developmental sequence; see York, this volume, for Chelles.

42 Blair 2005, 70.

43 For Yeavering, see Hope-Taylor 1977, 72–8 and Petts, this volume; Shapland (2015, 497–500, 511–12) provides a more general survey of churches represented on great hall complex sites with the acknowledgement that further excavation is required to determine whether the apsidal-ended buildings represented at Foxley (Wiltshire), Hatton Rock (Warwickshire) and Sprouston (Roxboroughshire) might be churches.

44 For the use of *opus signinum* flooring in Kentish churches, see Dowker 1878, 259 (St Mary's, Reculver); St John Hope 1902, 232 (St Pancras, Canterbury); and Gem 1997, 97 (SS Peter and Paul, Canterbury). Gittos (2013, 157) highlights that the former two churches make use of such flooring as part of eighth-century alterations. Frustratingly, no direct mention of flooring material is made in Canon Jenkins' published accounts of the early church at Lyminge, though such seems highly probable in light of his mention of other, clearly Romanizing, tendencies such as the heavy reuse of Romano-British brick and tile for the surviving lower courses of the walls (Jenkins 1874; 1876; 1889).

45 Philp 2003, 46, 65 (Structures S10 and S14). The larger of the two structures, S14, is described as a church in the original excavation report but the striking similarities with Lyminge favour a secular interpretation as previously advocated by Welch 2007, 202–3.

46 The evidence will be examined in greater detail as part of a comparative examination of the great hall phenomenon in Anglo-Saxon Kent (Thomas forthcoming).

47 The white plastered walls noted at Lyminge may have similarly taken their inspiration from contemporary church architecture, but the evidence is less clear-cut than it is for *opus signinum* flooring because the use of lime wash to 'weatherproof' the exterior of timber buildings is fairly widely attested in the Anglo-Saxon settlement record.

48 Fernie 1983, 59; Blair 2005, 199–200; Cramp 2005, 352–4, 359; Gittos 2013, 72–3; see, also, Cramp, this volume.

49 Carver 2001; Blair 2005, 51–65; Semple 2013, 106–7, 207–9.

50 Hope-Taylor 1977, 154–8; Scull 1991; Millett and James 1983, 192–5.

51 Hamerow, Hayden and Hey 2007, 183–90. It is worth noting that some of the sunken-featured buildings at Sutton Courtenay forming the portion of the settlement excavated by E. T. Leeds were in use into the seventh century and thus were probably contemporary with (though some distance from) the great hall complex. A similar relationship may have existed at Lyminge given that one of the sunken-featured buildings excavated at the bottom of Rectory Lane is securely dated to the first half of the seventh century on the basis of radiocarbon dates and diagnostic material culture: see Thomas 2013.

52 Reynolds 2003, 130; Hamerow 2012, 70–2; Ulmschneider 2011, 159; Loveluck 2013, 105–8. Scull (1991, 60) describes the relevant phase of Yeavering as a 'modest farming settlement'; this rather dismissive view can be contrasted with Blair (2005, 57) who places emphasis on Yeavering's long-standing significance as a site of public assembly/cult observance as a context for its subsequent appropriation as a place of royal residence.

53 Thomas (2013, 116) provides an examination of contextual and place-name evidence attesting to Lyminge's importance as a pre-Christian centre of authority. Exciting new discoveries made at Rendlesham (Suffolk) suggest that the *villa regalis* here enjoyed a similarly early and significant ancestry to Lyminge (Scull, Minter and Plouviez 2014).

54 Loveluck 2013, 70, 131. See Knapp, this volume, for a more detailed examination of diachronic trends in the faunal assemblage.

55 Although accorded a different function as water-storage features, the scale of the pits compares favourably with those at the eighth–ninth-century settlement at Lake End, Dorney (Buckinghamshire), interpreted as an open-air assembly site: Hiller, Petts and Allen 2002, 57–72.

56 Faversham is frequently invoked in the literature as a likely manufacturing centre for elite jewellery and glassware on the basis of its place-name (= **OE** 'the village of the smith') combined with the material richness of the King's Field cemetery (Thomas 2011, 410–11).

57 Bayley 1991; Alcock 2003, 297–335; Hedeager 2011, 144–50.

58 Loveluck 1996; Harrington and Welch 2014, 104–21.

59 A similar spatial context for metalworking (both iron-smithing and the casting of copper-alloy) is repeated at the sixth–seventh-century settlement at Carlton Coalville (Suffolk) (Lucy, Tipper and Dickens 2009, 372–81).

60 Hinton 2003; Hedeager 2011, 139–40.

61 For this dimension of great hall complex phenomenon, see Semple 2013, 96–7, 207–11.

62 Crewe 2012; Semple 2013, 95–9.

63 *Ibid.*, 98.

64 On the origins of the Kentish lathes, see Brooks 1989; Brookes 2011.

65 Everitt 1986.

66 See Dickinson, Fern and Richardson 2011 for an application of this approach to Eastry, and Thomas 2013, 116–20, for a reconsideration of the cemetery evidence for Lyminge in the light of this pioneering study.

67 See Loveluck (2013, 110–11) for comparative settlement sequences

involving the monasticization of secular estate centres in a seventh-century Frankish milieu.

68 Walker (2010) provides a stimulating interrogation of the religious character of Yeavering interpreted against a wider backdrop of Scandinavian hall sites. A recent overview of the latter, examined as part of a broader continuum of sacred places/ritual landscapes, is provided in Fabech and Näsman 2013.

69 For reflections on the complex conversion narratives of the Anglo-Saxon royal houses, see Yorke 1999.

70 This new research is being pulled together in an academic network funded by the Arts and Humanities Research Council entitled 'Monumentalising Kingship: Places of Royal Residence and the Making of Early Medieval British Kingdoms AD 500–800'. For further information, see: http://royalresidencenetwork.org/

Bibliography

Alcock, L. 2003. *Kings and Warriors, Craftsmen and Priests in Northern Britain AD 550–850*, Edinburgh: Society of the Antiquaries of Scotland.

Bayley, J. 1991. 'Anglo-Saxon non-ferrous metalworking: a survey', *World Arch.*, **23**, 115–30.

Bayliss, A. and Hey, G. 2004. 'Scientific dating', in G. Hey, *Yarnton: Saxon and Medieval Settlement and Landscape*, 255–66, Thames Valley Landscapes Monograph, No. 20, Oxford: Oxford Archaeology.

Blair, J. 2005. *The Church in Anglo-Saxon Society*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Brookes, S. 2011. 'The lathes of Kent: a review of the evidence', in S. Brookes, S. Harrington and A. Reynolds (eds.), *Studies in Early Anglo-Saxon Art and Archaeology: Papers in honour of Martin G. Welch*, 156–70, BAR British Series, 527, Oxford: Archaeopress.

Brooks, N. 1989. 'The creation and early structure of the kingdom of Kent', in S. Bassett (ed.), *The Origins of the Anglo-Saxon Kingdoms*, 55–74, Leicester: Leicester University Press.

Brugmann, B. 1999. 'The role of Continental artefact-types in the sixth-century Kentish chronology', in J. Hines, K. Høilund Nielsen and F. Siegmund (eds.), *The Pace of Change: Studies in Early-Medieval Chronology*, 37–50, Oxford: Oxbow Books.

Campbell, E. 2007. *Continental and Mediterranean Imports to Atlantic Britain and Ireland, AD 400–800*, Council for British Archaeology Research Report, 157, York: CBA.

Cambridge, E. 1999. 'The architecture of the Augustinian mission', in R. Gameson (ed.), *St Augustine and the Conversion of England*, 202–36, Stroud: Sutton Publishing.

Carver, M. 2001. 'Why that, why there, why then? The politics of early medieval monumentality', in H. Hamerow and A. MacGregor (eds.), *Image and Power in Early Medieval British Archaeology: Essays in honour of Rosemary Cramp*, 1–22, Oxford: Oxbow Books.

Carver, M. (ed.) 2003. *The Cross Goes North: Processes of Conversion in Northern Europe, AD 300–1300*, Woodbridge: Boydell.

Chadwick Hawkes, S. 1982. 'Anglo-Saxon Kent c.425–725', in P. E. Leach (ed.), *Archaeology in Kent to AD 1500*, 65–6, Council for British Archaeology Research Report, 48, York: CBA.

Cramp, R. 2005. *Wearmouth and Jarrow Monastic Sites*, Vol. 1, Swindon: English Heritage.

Crewe, V. 2012. *Living with the Past: The Reuse of Prehistoric Monuments in Anglo-Saxon Settlements*, BAR British Series, 573, Oxford: British Archaeological Reports.

Delagnes, A. and Ropars, A. (eds.) 1996. *Paléolithique moyen en pays de Caux (Haute-Normandie)*, Paris: Éditions de la Maison des Sciences de l'Homme.

Dickinson, T. M., Fern, C. and Richardson, A. 2011. 'Early Anglo-Saxon Eastry: archaeological evidence for the beginnings of a district centre in the kingdom of Kent', *ASSAH*, **17**, 1–86.

Dowker, G. 1878. 'Reculver church', *Arch. Cantiana*, **12**, 248–68.

Everitt, A. 1986. *Continuity and Colonization: The Evolution of Kentish Settlement*, Leicester: Leicester University Press.

Fabech, C. and Näsman, U. 2013. 'Ritual landscapes and sacred places in the first millennium AD in south Scandinavia', in S. Nordeide and S. Brink (eds.), *Sacred Sites and Holy Places: Exploring the Sacralization of Landscape through Time and Space*, 53–110, Turnhout: Brepols.

Fernie, E. 1983. *The Architecture of the Anglo-Saxons*, London: B. T. Batsford.

Foot, S. 2006. *Monastic Life in Anglo-Saxon England, c.600–900*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Gem, R. 1997. 'The Anglo-Saxon and Norman churches', in R. Gem (ed.), *St Augustine's Abbey, Canterbury*, 90–122, London: B.T. Batsford/English Heritage.

Gittos, H. 2013. *Liturgy, Architecture, and Sacred Places in Anglo-Saxon England*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Halliwell, G. and Parfitt, K. 1993. 'Non-river gravel Lower and Middle Palaeolithic discoveries in east Kent', *Kent Arch. Rev.*, **114**, 80–9.

Hamerow, H. 2006. 'Special deposits on Anglo-Saxon settlements'. *Medieval Arch.*, **50**, 1–30.

Hamerow, H. 2010. 'Herrenhöfe in Anglo-Saxon England', *Siedlungs- und Küstenforschung im Südlichen Nordseegebiet*, **33**, 59–67.

Hamerow, H. 2012. *Rural Settlements and Society in Anglo-Saxon England*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Hamerow, H. and Brennan, N. 2015. 'An Anglo-Saxon great hall complex at Sutton Courtenay/Drayton, Oxfordshire: a royal centre of early Wessex?', *Arch. Jnl*, **172**, 325–50.

Hamerow, H., Hayden, C. and Hey, G. 2007. 'Anglo-Saxon and earlier settlement near Drayton Road, Sutton Courtenay, Berkshire', *Arch. Jnl*, **164**, 109–96.

Harrington, S. and Welch, M. 2014. *The Early Anglo-Saxon Kingdoms of Southern Britain AD 450–650: Beneath the Tribal Hidage*, Oxford: Oxbow Books.

Haslam, J. 1980. 'A Middle Saxon iron smelting site at Ramsbury, Wiltshire', *Medieval Arch.*, **24**, 1–68.

Hedeager, L. 2011. *Iron Age Myth and Materiality: An Archaeology of Scandinavia AD 400–1000*, London: Routledge.

Hiller, J., Petts, D. and Allen, T. 2002. 'Discussion of the Anglo-Saxon archaeology', in S. Foreman, J. Hiller and D. Petts, *Gathering the People, Settling the Land: The Archaeology of a Middle Thames Landscape: Anglo-Saxon and Medieval*, 57–72, Oxford: Oxford Archaeological Unit.

Hinton, D. A. 2003. 'Anglo-Saxon smiths and myths', in D. Scragg (ed.), *Textual and Material Culture in Anglo-Saxon England*, 261–82, Cambridge: D. S. Brewer.

Hope-Taylor, B. 1977. *Yeavering: An Anglo-British Centre of Early Northumbria*, London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office.

Jenkins, R. C. 1874. 'The basilica of Lyminge: Roman, Saxon and medieval', Arch. *Cantiana*, **9**, 205–23.

Jenkins, R. C. 1876. 'Remarks on the early Christian basilicas, in connection with recent discoveries at Lyminge', *Arch. Cantiana*, **10**, ci–ciii.

Jenkins, R. C. 1889. 'Observations on the remains of the basilica of Lyminge', *Arch. Cantiana*, **18**, 46–54.

Kelly, S. (ed.) 1995. *Charters of St Augustine's Abbey, Canterbury and Minster-in-Thanet*, Anglo-Saxon Charters, 4, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Kelly, S. 2006. 'Lyminge minster and its early charters', in S. Keynes and A. P. Smyth (eds.), *Anglo-Saxons; Studies presented to Cyril Hart*, 98–113, Dublin: Four Courts Press.

Loveluck, C. 1996. 'The development of the Anglo-Saxon landscape, economy and society "On Driffield", East Yorkshire, 400–750 AD', *ASSAH*, **9**, 25–48.

Loveluck, C. 2013. *Northwest Europe in the Early Middle Ages,* c. *AD 600–1150: A Comparative Archaeology*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Lucy, S., Tipper, J. and Dickens, A. 2009. *The Anglo-Saxon Settlement and*

Cemetery at Bloodmoor Hill, Carlton Colville, Suffolk, East Anglian Archaeology, **131**, Cambridge: Cambridge Archaeological Unit.
Millett, M. and James, S. 1983. 'Excavations at Cowdery's Down, Basingstoke, Hampshire, 1978–81', *Arch. Jnl*, **140**, 151–279.
Pestell, T. 2004. *Landscapes of Monastic Foundation*, Woodbridge: Boydell.
Philp, B. 2003. *The Discovery and Excavation of Anglo-Saxon Dover*, Ninth Report in the Kent Monograph Series, Dover: Kent Archaeological Rescue Unit.
Reynolds, A. 2003. 'Boundaries and settlements in later sixth to eleventh-century England', *ASSAH*, **12**, 98–139.
Sánchez-Pardo, J. and Shapland, M. (eds.) 2015. *Churches and Social Power in Early Medieval Europe: Integrating Archaeological and Historical Approaches*, Turnhout: Brepols.
Scull, C. 1991. 'Post-Roman Phase 1 at Yeavering: a reconsideration', *Medieval Arch.*, **35**, 51–63.
Scull, C., Minter, F. and Plouviez, J. 2014. 'Rendlesham rediscovered', *British Arch.*, **137**, 50–5.
Semple, S. 2013. *Perceptions of the Prehistoric in Anglo-Saxon England: Religion, Ritual, and Rulership in the Landscape*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.
Shapland, M. 2015. 'Palaces, churches, and the practice of Anglo-Saxon kingship', in J. Sánchez-Pardo and M. Shapland (eds.), *Churches and Social Power in Early Medieval Europe: Integrating Archaeological and Historical Approaches*, 495–522, Turnhout: Brepols.
Sofield, C. M. 2012. 'Placed Deposits in Early and Middle Anglo-Saxon Rural Settlements', unpublished DPhil thesis, University of Oxford.
St John Hope, W. H. 1902. 'Excavations at St Austin's Abbey, Canterbury I. The Chapel of St Pancras', *Arch. Cantiana*, **25**, 222–37.
Tatton-Brown, T. 1988. 'The churches of Canterbury diocese in the eleventh century', in J. Blair (ed.), *Minsters and Parish Churches: The Local Church in Transition 950–1200*, 105–18, Oxford University Committee for Archaeology Monograph, 18, Oxford: Oxford University Committee for Archaeology.
Thomas, G. 2011. 'Overview: craft production and technology', in H. Hamerow, D. A. Hinton and S. Crawford (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Anglo-Saxon Archaeology*, 405–22, Oxford: Oxford University Press.
Thomas, G. 2013. 'Life before the minster: the social dynamics of monastic foundation at Anglo-Saxon Lyminge, Kent', *Antiquaries Jnl*, **93**, 109–45.
Thomas, G. forthcoming. 'Hall culture and kingship in Anglo-Saxon Kent: new archaeological perspectives on sites of royal residence in pre-Viking England', *Early Medieval Europe*.
Thomas, G. and Knox, A. 2014. *Lyminge Excavations 2013: Interim Report on the University of Reading Excavations at Lyminge, Kent*, http://www.reading.ac.uk/web/FILES/archaeology/Lyminge_2013_interim.pdf
Thomas, G. and Knox, A. 2015. *Lyminge Excavations 2014: Interim Report on the University of Reading Excavations at Lyminge, Kent*, http://www.reading.ac.uk/web/FILES/archaeology/Lyminge_2014_Interim.pdf
Tilley, C. 1999. *Metaphor and Material Culture*, Oxford: Blackwell.
Turner, S. 2006. *Making a Christian Landscape: The Countryside of Early Medieval Cornwall, Devon and Wessex*, Exeter: Exeter University Press.
Ulmschneider, K. 2011. 'Settlement hierarchy', in H. Hamerow, D. A. Hinton and S. Crawford (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Anglo-Saxon Archaeology*, 156–71, Oxford: Oxford University Press.
Walker, J. 2010. 'In the hall', in M. Carver, S. Semple and A. Sandmark (eds.), *Signals of Belief in Early England: Anglo-Saxon Paganism Revisited*, 83–102, Oxford: Oxbow Books.
Walton Rogers, P. 2007. *Cloth and Clothing in Early Anglo-Saxon England, AD 450–700*, Council for British Archaeology Research Report, 145, York: CBA.
Webster, L. 2007. 'Taplow', *Reallexikon der Germanischen Altertumskunde*, **35**, 69–72.
Welch, M. 2007. 'Anglo-Saxon Kent to AD 800', in J. H. Williams (ed.), *The Archaeology of Kent to AD 800*, 187–250, Woodbridge: Boydell.
White, M. J. 1997. 'The earlier Palaeolithic occupation of the Chilterns (southern England): reassessing the sites of Worthington G. Smith', *Antiquity*, **71**, 912–31.
Yorke, B. 1999. 'The reception of Christianity at the Anglo-Saxon royal courts', in R. Gameson (ed.), *St Augustine and the Conversion of England*, 152–73, Stroud: Sutton Publishing.
Yorke, B. 2003. *Nunneries and the Anglo-Saxon Royal Houses*, London: Continuum.